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THE
ROMAN
HISTORY,

FROM THE
Building of *Rome* to the Ruin
of the *Commonwealth*.

Illustrated with MAPS and other Plates.

VOL. I.

By N. HOOKE, Esq;

The FIFTH EDITION.

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MDCCLXX.

T O

Alexander Pope, *Esq*;

S I R,

THE displaying your name at the head of these Sheets, is, I confess, like hanging out a splendid Sign to catch the Traveller's Eye, and entice him to make trial of the entertainment the place affords. But when I can write under my Sign, that Mr. POPE has been here, and was content, Who will question the goodness of the House?

You, see, SIR, and I had no desire to hide it, my interested view in this Epistle. Perhaps I should find it difficult, on such an occasion as the present, to address you in any terms, which might not be construed into Self-love, more or less refined. Will not this be the case, if I say, as with truth I can, that I was glad to seize the only opportunity I may

Epistle Dedicatory.

ever have of so publickly testifying my just Esteem for a worthy Friend, to whom I have been long and much obliged? Yet allow me to add, that I imagine I do give a Proof of that Esteem, when I inscribe to you this Attempt towards a History of Roman Virtue and Patriotism. No consideration, I hope, could engage me to it, if I were not persuaded that you really are, what your writings declare you to be, a Friend to Virtue, to your Country, and to the Liberties of Mankind.

I am with sincerity and affection,

S I R,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant,

N. Hooke.

P R E F A C E.

THE *compendious* History of the REGAL and CONSULAR STATES of ROME, by Mr. *Echard*, and a translation of the *extensive* one, written in *French*, by the *Jesuit-Fathers*, *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, were the only *general* Accounts which (unmixed * with foreign matters) had been given of them, in our language, when the present work was first offered to the publick. In the structure of it, the Author had an especial regard to those persons, who, wishing to be acquainted with the *Roman* story by reading it in *English*, found Mr. *Echard* too brief to satisfy their curiosity, and the *Jesuits* too *diffuse* and *verbose* to engage their attention agreeably. Not long after its coming abroad, the well known and much esteemed Monsieur *Rollin*, who, by the solicitation of his friends and admirers, had been prevailed with, in his old age, to undertake a *History of Rome from the building of the City to the battle of Actium*, obliged the publick with a part of what he had executed. Death prevented his prosecution of the work to its completion; but it has since been continued and finished by the ingenious and industrious Monsieur *Crevier*; and the whole is translated into *English*. Had M. *Rollin*, who not only has avoided, in his relations, the extremes abovementioned, but has drawn his historical matter (for the most part) from the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* authors, been somewhat more early in his enterprize, it would have hindered the writer of the present history from attempting any thing of this kind; whose project, at first, was nothing more than to *abridge* the *Jesuits* voluminous compilation, making use, occasionally, of Mr. *Vertot's* sprightly narrative of the revolutions in the *Roman* government. That project, however, he did not closely and constantly follow, even in this *first* volume, and he wholly departed from it in composing the *second*, chusing then to have recourse to the ancients for his materials, and also venturing, with regard to certain things, by them related, to make remarks, and give conjectures of his own; which, he

* Mr. *Howel*, in his *History of the World*, has given a dry, but very exact account of the *Roman* Kingdom and Republick. " His " *collections* (says Mr. *Echard*) are admirable, both for their usefulness and exactness; his *decisions* very just and faithful, " and his *learning* very uncommon and curious: in short, we may say, that no man

" ever more truly and carefully brought together the principal matters of all the " *Roman* historians, than he; and that he " was an incomparable collector and compiler, though at the same time he was but " an indifferent *historian*." Pref. to Ech. Rom. Hist.

imagined,

imagined, might at least occasion to his readers the pleasure of *considering*, if they proved of no service to assist them in *judging*. Nor was he diverted, from proceeding in this method, by the pieces M. Rollin had then published, of his *Roman* history : for this excellent writer, though more exact in his translations, and in giving the sense of his authors when he is not a mere translator, than either Monsieur Vertot or the Jesuits, has not, so often as could be wished, made use of his judgment to distinguish the *true* from the *false*, the *probable* from the *improbable* ; and he has sometimes chosen to transcribe Monsieur Vertot, where this Abbé did certainly not deserve that honour. Whoever peruses Monsieur Vertot's work must, I think, observe, that, with him, notwithstanding his strong and lively representation of the avarice, ambition, and usurpations of the *Nobles*, the *Tribunes* are *every way wrong*, either in the *matter* or the *manner*, or the *timing* of their proposals for relieving the *Plebeians*, and commonly in all three. And Monsieur Rollin, though he be not quite so devoted to the ARISTOCRATICAL faction as the Abbé, yet seems to have a stronger bias that way than perhaps in reason he ought to have. In pages 57, 58. of his second volume, speaking of the Agrarian Law, he says, " The demand
 " of the Tribunes on this article does really appear so founded in equity,
 " that it seems as if nothing reasonable could be objected to it ; and one
 " cannot easily look upon the Senate's obstinate withstanding it, but as
 " a crying injustice, and a partiality wholly condemnable. Nevertheless,
 " a Society so respectable, and abounding with persons of generally avow-
 " ed prudence and virtue, must undoubtedly have had strong reasons
 " for acting as they did. That possession [which the Patricians had] of
 " the lands belonging to the publick, might be *unjust in its origin*, and it
 " was *then* that a remedy might and ought to have been applied. But,
 " as Monsieur L'Abbé de Vertot observes, a *new partition* was a thing
 " attended with great difficulties." And then, to excuse the Senate, he transcribes Monsieur Vertot's *imaginary* difficulties ; of which the reader will find some notice taken in pages 287, 288. of this volume.

It is the more extraordinary that Monsieur Rollin should be so ready to ascribe the Senate's opposing the Agrarian Law to prudential motives, and a concern for the tranquillity of the publick, when he had said but five pages before, in speaking of their opposition to the law for a partition of *Agrovi Aventine* among the people, " There was nothing unreasonable in
 " this law : and the Senate ought to have granted the bill with a good
 " grace, and have even prevented the demand of the Tribunes ; but these
 " obtained nothing from the *Fathers* without violent struggle, the discord
 " being so great, and become, as it were, natural between the two Or-
 " ders."

IF

* The reader will find in p. 548. of the second volume of this history (second edition) some observations on a passage in the 28th Book of M. Rollin's *Roman History*, which, to my apprehension, are sufficient to

show, that he was unreasonably prepossessed against the POPULAR cause.

That supereminently learned and judicious writer, Dr. Blackwell, seemingly under the like prepossession, has (in p. 132. of the first

IF from some passages, in the present edition of this volume, regarding the civil contests at *Rome*, the Author should be thought too much bias'd to the POPULAR side, he hopes it will be remembered at the same time, that there is a sort of generosity in taking the part of the poor COMMONS, who, in almost all their endeavours to free themselves from oppression, have been usually represented, as an unreasonable, headstrong multitude, insolent, seditious, and rebellious. And he can truly say, that how partial soever to the Plebeians he may seem, he is not conscious of having passed over any material fact, reported by the ancients to the disadvantage of the Plebeian cause, or its advocates; notwithstanding his own incredulity with regard to several pretended facts of this kind. Thus, though he totally disbelieves the story of * *Cassius's treasonable plot*, with his trial and condemnation; as likewise that of the *wicked conspiracy of the Tribunes* † against the Senate and the Knights; yet he has given the substance of both these tales as they are related by *Dionysius*.

* See Hist.
B. 2. c. 14.
† B. 2. c. 21.

IN the *Forty-two* years, from the SECESSION to the DECENVIRATE, the main FOUNDATIONS were laid of that *Free Republican Government*, afterwards brought to its perfection by the *Licinian* laws, and their natural effects. For which reason, and a well grounded apprehension, that several transactions of those times were not placed in their true light by *Monsieur Vertot*, whose representations of them had been copied in the first edition of this volume, that portion of the history was revised with some attention, and compared with the original writers: and this comparison occasioned, in the second edition, not only some variations from *M. Vertot*, but here and there a critical remark on the ancient historians themselves; and in the present edition the reader will find several remarks that are not in the former, and of which some, perhaps, will appear to him entirely new. They are not given as things *certain*, but as probable, as having the *appearance* of truth.

WHAT is inserted in the margin of p. 133. by way of objection to *Livy's* account of the *Peace* made with *Porfena*, was borrowed from a Treatise entitled, *A Dissertation on the uncertainty of the history of the first 500 years of Rome*. It seems, for the reasons there given, highly probable, if not certain, that the King entirely subdued the *Romans*; and the truth of this opinion may perhaps receive some confirmation from another remark. *Livy* tells us, that it was a custom, transmitted from the ancients, and retained even in his time, for the crier, at publick sales,

first volume of his *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*) delivered it as his opinion, that the *Roman* constitution was unbinged, and its government converted from the best of forms to the worst, by those very measures, (in favour of the commons) which, according to *Dr. Middleton*, brought the government of *Rome* to its *Perfect* state: I mean the laying open to the *Plebeian* families a pro-

miscuous right to all the magistracies of the republick, and by that means a free admission into the senate,—the proposing equally and indifferently the honours of the government to every citizen, who by his virtue and services, either in war or in peace, could recommend himself to the notice and favour of his countrymen. See *Dr. Middleton's* preface to the life of *Cicero*, p. xxxvii.

to call the goods, *Porfena's goods*. (According to *Plutarch* it was at sales of goods belonging to the publick.) The *Latine* historian is at a loss for the true origin of this custom; because (as he intimates) it would seem, that the first goods, sold under this appellation, had been taken from *Porfena* in a hostile manner; and this does not well suit with the King's friendly departure from before *Rome*. "Either this custom (says he) must have commenced *during the war*, and been continued after the peace; or it must have taken its rise from an origin of a gentler kind than the outcry imports." *Cujus originem moris, necesse est aut inter bellum natum esse, neque transisse in pace: aut maiore crevisse principio, quam hic præ se ferat titulus, bona besuliter vendendi.* He adds, "The most credible tradition concerning this matter is, That, when *Porfena* marched away, he made a present to the *Romans* of his camp stored with provisions, of which, by reason of the long blockade of their city, they were in extreme want. And lest the people, pressed with hunger, should seize the provisions in a rapacious tumultuous way, these were sold and called *Porfena's goods*; not to signify that it was a sale of booty acquired by the *Romans* from the King in war, (for they were not in a condition to make such depredations) but of the free gifts of his bounty."

Tac. Hist.
L. 5. c. 72.
Plin. L. 34.
c. 14.

Now if, as *Tacitus* informs us, the city surrendered to *Porfena*, and if, as the treaty mentioned by *Pliny* imports, the *Romans* were reduced so low, as to submit to *the being prohibited the use of iron, except for agriculture*, we may easily believe, that the origin of the outcry, used in publick sales, was an *injunction* laid upon the *Romans* by the King, to make an acknowledgment, on all such occasions, that *whatever they possessed was his*. And this is not inconsistent with the supposition of his freely supplying their necessities, when they, through the pressure of famine, had absolutely submitted to him. The continuation of this custom, whether it arose from gratitude, or from obedience to power, will in either case be difficult to account for, unless we suppose, that the words, *Porfena's goods*, came soon to signify no more, than that the goods, exposed to sale, would be sold cheap; as probably those given by *Porfena* were. Father *Catrou* (upon what authority I know not) gives this meaning to the expression.

Liv. L. 2.
c. 12.
D. Hal. 2.
195.

It may be observed, by the way, that the enterprize of *Mucius* to stab *Porfena* is a strong proof, if the fact be true, of the extremity to which the *Romans* were reduced. And the fact, that *Mucius* did undertake to assassinate the King, and this (as *Livy* and *D. Hal.* report) *with the approbation of the Senate*, is made credible by that *unusual* ignominy with which he loaded his conquered enemies, in *forbidding them the use of iron for arms*; for it seems to have a reference to the *dagger* of *Mucius*, and the base attempt to which *the great council of his nation* had encouraged him.

^a That *Porfena* chose rather to be himself King of the *Romans*, than to restore *Tarquus* to the throne, will not be thought wonderful. But when, and by what for-

tunate incidents the *Romans* got, so soon as they did, from under the domination of the *Hebrurian*, must be left to conjecture.

The P R E F A C E.

v

Monſieur de *Beaufort*, a member of our Royal Society, and author of the *Difſertation* above-mentioned, gives ſome very good reaſons for queſtioning, in the ſtory of *Mucius*, the truth of that circumſtance, *his broiling his right hand*; and he has made ſeveral other ingenious obſervations on the Hiſtory of the firſt ages of *Rome*; yet I muſt take leave to ſay, that he ſeems very far from having proved, *That there is nothing more uncertain, than the whole Body of the Roman Hiſtory of the firſt 500 years, from the building of the City*: Qu'il n'y a rien de plus incertain que tout ce corps d'Hiftoire—qu'on n'y peut compter ſur rien. And, becauſe the matter of the following ſheets is the ſubſtance of what the ancients have written concerning thoſe times, I have, in a Diſcourſe, which is now prefixed to the ſecond volume of this Hiſtory, attempted a defence againſt the attack made on the credit of their accounts.

*Difſertat.
ſec. p. 32,
& 43.*



N. B. When *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* is cited, the *Pages* of the *Frankfort* Edition are referred to, becauſe, thoſe *pages* being marked in the inner margin of Dr. *Hudſon's* Edition, ſuch *Reference* will be equally convenient with regard to both.

R E M A R K S

O N T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

S E V E N R O M A N K I N G S,

Occasioned by Sir *Isaac Newton's* Objections to the supposed 244 years duration of the Regal State of *Rome*.

IT is commonly admitted, upon the authority of the ancient Chrono-^{Ant. Ch.}logers, that the fall of *Troy* was about 676 years before the expulsion¹¹⁸⁴⁻ of *Tarquin* the last King of *Rome*, who was indisputably expelled about the year before Christ 508. But Sir *Isaac Newton* has, by many arguments, made it probable, that those Chronologers have placed the taking of **Troy* near 300 years farther back than they ought to have done: And one of his arguments is drawn from the too long space of time supposed to be filled up by the reigns of only 21 Kings in succession (14 at *Alba*, and 7 at *Rome*.) For in no Country, of which the Historical and Chronological accounts are certain, is it found, that the like number of Kings in succession reigned near so long as 676 years. And because most of the 7 *Roman* Kings were untimely slain, and one deposed, he thinks it not reasonable to believe that their reigns took up half the 244 years allotted to them by the *Roman* Historians.

As the following Remarks, offered in support of Sir *Isaac Newton's* conclusion, may happen to fall under the inspection of several persons, who have not perused that Great Man's Chronological Work, it may to such, perhaps, be agreeable, if the Remarks be introduced by some of his fundamental reasons for questioning the truth of the received Chronology of ancient Kingdoms in general, and of the *Roman Kingdom* in particular.

* ALL Nations, before they began to keep exact accounts of time, have been prone to raise their antiquities; and this humour has been promoted, by the contentions between nations about their originals. ^{The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended, p. 43, & seq.}

* *Herodotus* tells us, that the priests of *Egypt* reckoned from the reign of *Menes* † to that of *Sethon*, who put *Senacherib* § to flight, three hundred forty and one generations of men, and as many Priests of *Vulcan*, and as many Kings of *Ægypt*; and that three hundred generations make ten thousand years: For, saith ^{Herod. l. 2. § Ant. Ch. 714-}

* Mr. *Whiston*, p. 971. of Authent. Rec. part 2. seems confident that *Troy* was taken just 1270 years before the Christian Era, which computation (he says) agrees with the Chronology of the Author of the life of *Homer* supposed to be *Herodotus*.
† He is supposed to be *Mixraim* the son of *Cham*, and grandson of *Noah*, and to have founded a Kingdom in *Ægypt*, A. M. 1772.
—Ant. Chr. 2232.

- * *Heradotus*, three generations of men make an hundred years : and the remaining
 * forty and one generations 1340 years : and so the whole time from the reign of
 * *Menes* to that of *Seth* was 11340 years. And by this way of reckoning, and
 * allotting longer reigns to the Gods of *Egypt* than to the Kings which followed
 * them, *Herodotus* tells us from the priests of *Egypt*, that from *Pan* to *Amosis* were
 * 15000 years, and from *Hercules* to *Amosis* 17000.
 * So also the *Chaldeans* boasted of their antiquity ; for *Calliphenes*, the disciple
 * of *Arjstarchus*, sent astronomical observations from *Babylon* to *Greece*, said to be of
 * 1903 years standing before the times of *Alexander* the Great. And the *Chaldeans*
 * boasted farther, that they had observed the stars 473000 years ; and there were
 * others who made the kingdoms of *Affrica*, *Media*, and *Damascus*, much older
 * than the truth.
 * Some of the *Greeks* called the times before the reign of * *Ogyges* UNKNOWN,
 * because they had no history of them ; those between his flood and the beginning
 * of the *Olympiads* FABULOUS, because their History was much mixed with poeti-
 * cal Fables : and those after the beginning of the *Olympiads* HISTORICAL, because
 * their History was free from such fables. The FABULOUS ages wanted a good
 * Chronology, and so also did the HISTORICAL, for the first 60 or 70 *Olympiads*.
 * The *Europeans* had no Chronology before the times of the *Persian* Empire,
 * and whatsoever Chronology they now have of ancienter times, hath been framed
 * since, by reasoning and conjecture.
 * *Plutarch* tells us, that the philosophers anciently delivered their opinions in
 * Verse, as *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, *Empedocles*, *Thales*.—
 * *SOLON* wrote in VERSE, and all the *Seven Wise Men* were addicted to Poetry,
 * as * *Anaximenes* affirmed.
 * Till those days the *Greeks* wrote only in VERSE, and while they did so, there
 * could be no Chronology, nor any other History than such as was mixed with
 * poetical fancies.
 * *Pliny*, in reckoning up the inventors of things, tells us, That *PHERECYDES*
 * *SCYRIUS* taught to compose discourses in PROSE in the reign of *CYRUS* ; and
 * *CADMUS MILESIUS* to write History. And in another place he saith, that *CAD-*
 * *MUS MILESIUS* was the first that wrote in PROSE.
 * *Josephus* tells us, That *CADMUS MILESIUS* and *ACUSILAUS* were but a little
 * before the expedition of the *Persians* against the *Greeks* : and *Suidas* calls *ACUSILAUS*
 * a most ancient Historian, and saith that he wrote genealogies out of tables of
 * brass, which his father, as was reported, found in a corner of his house. *Who*
 * hid them there may be doubted : For the *Greeks* had no publick table or inscrip-
 * tion older than the laws of *Draco*.
 * *PHERECYDES ATHENIENSIS* in the reign of *DARIUS HYSTASPIS*, or soon af-
 * ter, wrote of the antiquities and ancient genealogies of the *Athenians*, in ten
 * books ; and was one of the first *European* writers of this kind, and one of the
 * best ; whence he had the name of *Genealogus* ; and by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*
 * is said to be second to none of the genealogers.
 * *EPIMENIDES* (not the philosopher, but) an Historian, wrote also of ancient
 * genealogies : and

* According to the old Chronology, the
 Flood of *Ogyges* happened 1796 years be-
 fore the Christian *Æra* : but according to
 Sir *J. N.* little more than 1100 years. Short
 Chron. p. 10.

* In the beginning of that [the *Persian*].

“ monarchy, *Acusilaus* made *Phoroneus* as
 “ old as *Ogyges* and his flood, and that
 “ flood 1020 years older than the first O-
 “ lympiad ; which is above 680 years older
 “ than the truth.” Chron. of the *Greeks*.

p. 45.

• HELLANICUS (who was twelve years older than *Herodotus*) digested his History by the ages or successions of the Priestesses of *Juno Argiva*. Others digested theirs by those of the Archons of *Athens*, or Kings of the *Lacedæmonians*.

• HIPPIAS the *Elean* published a breviary of the *Olympiads*, supported by no certain arguments, as * *Plutarch* tells us: he lived in the ^b 105th *Olympiad*, and ^a *Plut.* in was derided by *Plato* for his ignorance. This Breviary seems to have contained ^{Num.} nothing more than a short account of the victors in every *Olympiad*. ^b About 360. Ant. Chr.

• Then § EPHORUS the disciple of *Isocrates* formed a *Chronological History* of *Greece*, beginning with the return of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponnesus*, and ending with the siege of *Porinthus* in the 20th year of *Philip*, the father of *Alexander the Great*, that is eleven years before the fall of the *Persian Empire*: but [§] *Diodor.* he digested things by *Generations*, and the Reckoning * by the *Olympiads*, or by ^{l. 16. p.} any other *Æra*, was not yet in use among the *Greeks*. ^{550.} ^{Ant. Chr.} ^{343.} ^{Polyb. p.}

• The ARUNDELIAN MARBLES were composed 60 years after the death of *Alexander the Great* (An. 4 *Olymp.* 128.) and yet mention not the *Olympiads* nor any other standing *Æra*, but reckon backwards from the time then present. ^{379. B.} ^{Ant. Chr.} ^{265.}

• But Chronology was now reduced to a *Reckoning by Years*; and, in the next *Olympiad*,

• TIMÆUS SICULUS improved it: For he wrote a History, in several Books, down to his own times according to the *OLYMPIADS*; comparing the *Ephori*, the Kings of *Sparta*, the Archons of *Athens*, and the Priestesses of *Argos* with the *OLYMPICK VICTORS*, so as to make the *OLYMPIADS* and the *Genealogies* and *Successions of Kings and Priestesses*, and the *Poetical Histories* suit one another, according to the best of his judgment; and, where he left off, *POLYBIUS* began, and carried on the History.

• ERATOSTHENES wrote above 100 years after the death of *Alexander the Great*. ^{223.} He was followed by *APOLLODORUS*, and these Two have been followed ever since by Chronologers.

• But how uncertain their Chronology is, and how doubtful it was reputed by the *Greeks* of those times, may be understood by these passages of *Plutarch*. Some reckon *Lycurgus*, saith he, contemporary to *Iphitus*, and to have been his companion in ordering the *Olympick festivals*, amongst whom was *Aristotle the philosopher*; arguing ^{In vita Ly-} ^{curgi sub} ^{initio.} [†] from the *Olympick Disc*, which had the name of *Lycurgus* upon it. Others supporting the times by the Kings of *Lacedæmon*, as *Eratosthenes* and *Apollodorus*, affirm that he was not a few years older than the first *Olympiad*. He began to flourish in the 17th or 18th *Olympiad*, and at length *Aristotle* made him as old as the first *Olympiad*; and so did *Epaminondas*, as he is cited by *Ælian* and *Plutarch*: and then *Eratosthenes*, *Apollodorus*, and their followers, made him above 100 years older.

[Mr. *Whiston* accuses Sir *I. Newton*, of not informing his readers, how very difficult a thing it is to tell the age of *Lycurgus*; nor that *Plutarch* himself declares, "How every thing about *Lycurgus* is disputed; and, above all the rest, ^{Confut. of} ^{Sir I. N.'s} ^{Chron. p.} ^{1047.}

* Sir *I. N.* says the same in the Introduction to his short Chronicle, and adds there these Words, *Nor does it appear that the Reigns of Kings were yet set down by numbers of years.*

† *N. B.* In p. 58. Sir *I. N.* shews the fallacy of this argument. *Iphitus*, says he, did not restore all the *Olympick Games*. Here-

stored indeed the *Racing* in the first *Olympiad*, *Coræbus* being Victor. In the 14th *Olympiad*, the double *Stadium* was added, *Hypænus* being Victor. And in the 18th *Olympiad*, the *Quinquertium* and *Wrestling* were added, *Lampus* and *Erybatas*, two *Spartans*, being Victors; and the *Disc* was one of the Games of the *Quinquertium*. ^{Pausan. l.} ^{5. c. 8:}

“ the

“the time when he lived.” I cannot see any good ground for this quarrel with Sir I. N.; but I wonder that Mr. *Wiffon* or any body should build much upon the authority of Chronological Canons, the framers of which were so destitute of authentick records as to be reduced to conjectures concerning the time when *Lycurgus* lived, than whose Legislature there is not a more memorable event in the History of Greece. And it ought to be observed, that the uncertainty with regard to *Lycurgus* must be attended with the like uncertainty as to the times of the Kings in the line of *Procles*; *Lycurgus* having been tutor to his nephew *Charilaus* the 7th King of that race. And it is remarkable that the Chronologers have not pretended to know the number of years which each of those Kings reigned, though they have marked the length of the several reigns of the Kings in the line of *Eurysthenes* down to *Polydorus* the 10th King.]

In Solon. In another place *Plutarch* tells us: ‘The Congress of Solon with Cræsus some think they can confute by Chronology. But a History so illustrious, and verified by so many witnesses, and which is more, so agreeable to the manners of Solon, and worthy of the greatness of his mind and of his wisdom, I cannot persuade myself to reject, because of some Chronological Canons, as they call them, which hundreds of authors correcting, have not yet been able to constitute any thing certain, in which they could agree amongst themselves, about repugnances.

Isid. N. p. 50. L. 1. 1. in Plutarch. ‘*Disdorus*, in the beginning of his History tells us, that he did not define, by any certain space, the times preceding the Trojan war, because he had no certain foundation to rely upon: but from the Trojan war, according to the reckoning of *Apollodorus*, whom he followed, there were eighty years to the return of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponnesus*; and that from that period to the first Olympiad, there were three hundred and twenty-eight years, computing the times from the Kings of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Apollodorus* followed *Eratoſthenes*, and both of them followed *Thucydides* in reckoning eighty years from the Trojan war to the return of the *Heraclides*: but in reckoning 328 years from that return to the first Olympiad, *Disdorus* tells us, that the times were computed from the Kings of the *Lacedæmonians*; and *Plutarch* tells us, that *Apollodorus*, *Eratoſthenes*, and others, followed that computation: and since this reckoning is still received by Chronologers, and was gathered by computing the times from the Kings of the *Lacedæmonians*, that is from their number, let us re-examine that computation.

‘The *Egyptians* reckoned the reigns of Kings equipollent to generations of men, and three generations to an hundred years, as above; so did the *Greeks* and *Latines*; and accordingly they have made their Kings reign one with another thirty and three years a-piece, and above.

‘For they make the seven Kings of *Rome*, who preceded the Consuls, to have reigned 244 years, which is 35 years a-piece.

‘And the first twelve Kings of *Sicyon*, *Ægialeus*, *Europus*, &c. to have reigned 519 years, which is 44 years a-piece:

‘And the first eight Kings of *Argos*, *Inachus*, *Phoroneus*, &c. to have reigned 371 years, which is above 46 years a-piece:

‘And between the return of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponnesus*; and the end of the first *Messenian war*, the ten Kings of *Sparta* in one race,

1. *Eurysthenes*,
2. *Agis*,
3. *Echestratus*,
4. *Labotas*,
5. *Doryagus*,
6. *Agelautus*,
7. *Archelaus*,

8. *Teleclus*,

8. Teleclus,
9. Alcamenes, and
10. Polydorus;

the nine in the other^b race, the ten^c Kings of *Messene*, and the nine^d of *Arcadia*; according to Chronologers, took up 379 years: which is 38 years a-piece to the ten Kings, and 42 years a-piece to the nine. And the five Kings [following Polydorus] of the race of *Eurysthenes*, between the end of the first *Messenian* war, and the beginning of the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*; *Eurycrates*, *Anaxander*, *Eurycrates II*, *Leon*, *Anaxandrides*, reigned 202 years, which is above 40 years a-piece.

Thus the Greek Chronologers, who follow *Timæus* and *Eratosthenes*, have made the King's of their several cities, who lived before the times of the *Persian* Empire, to reign about 35 or 40 years a-piece, one with another; which is a length so much beyond the course of nature as is not to be credited. For by the ordinary course of nature, Kings reign, one with another, about eighteen or twenty years a-piece: and if in some instances they reign, one with another, five or six years longer, in others they reign as much shorter: eighteen or twenty years is a medium.

So the eighteen Kings of *Judah* who succeeded *Solomon*, reigned 390 years, which is one with another twenty-two years a-piece.

The fifteen Kings of *Israel* after *Solomon*, reigned 259 years, which is 17½ years a-piece.

The eighteen Kings of *Babylon*; *Nabonassar*, &c. reigned 209 years, which is 11½ a-piece.

The ten Kings of *Persia*; *Cyrus*, *Gambyfes*, &c. reigned 208 years, which is almost 21 years a-piece.

The sixteen successors of *Alexander* the Great, and of his brother and son in *Syria*; *Seleucus*, *Antiochus Soter*, &c. reigned 244 years, after the breaking of that monarchy into various kingdoms, which is 15½ years a-piece.

The eleven Kings of *Egypt*; *Ptolomæus Lagi*, &c. reigned 277 years, counted from the same period, which is 25 years a-piece.

The eight in *Macedonia*; *Cassander*, &c. reigned 138 years, which is 17½ years a-piece.

The thirty Kings of *England*; *William* the Conqueror, *William Rufus*, &c. reigned 648 years, which is 21½ years a-piece.

The first twenty-four Kings of *France*; *Pharamundus*, &c. reigned 458 years, which is 19 years a-piece.

The next twenty-four Kings of *France*; *Ludovicus Balbus*, &c. 451 years, which is 18½ years a-piece.

The next fifteen, *Philip Valesius*, &c. 315 years, which is 21 years a-piece.

And all the sixty-three Kings of *France*, 1224 years, which is 19½ years a-piece.

Generations from father to son, may be reckoned one with another at about 33 or 34 years a-piece, or about three generations to an hundred years: but if the reckoning proceed by the eldest sons, they are shorter, so that three of them may be reckoned at about 75 or 80 years: and the reigns of Kings are still shorter, because Kings are succeeded not only by their eldest sons, but some-

^b 1. Procles, 2. Sous, 3. Eurypom, 4. Prytanis, 5. Eunomus, 6. Polydeutes, 7. Gharidamus, 8. Nicander, 9. Theopompus.

^c 1. Cresphontes, 2. Epytus, 3. Glaucus, 4. Istbmus, 5. Detadas, 6. Sibetas, 7. Phin-

^d 1. Cypselus, 2. Olaus, 3. Buchalion, 4. Phialus, 5. Simus, 6. Pompus, 7. Ægineta, 8. Polymnestor, 9. Æchmis.

^e times

times by their brothers, and sometimes they are slain or deposed; and succeeded by others of an equal or greater age, especially in elective or turbulent kingdoms.

In the later ages, since Chronology hath been exact, there is scarce an instance to be found of ten Kings reigning any where in continual succession above 260 years: but *Timæus* and his followers, and I think also some of his predecessors, after the example of the *Egyptians*, have taken the reigns of Kings for generations, and reckoned three generations to 100, and sometimes to 120 years; and founded the technical chronology of the *Greeks* upon this way of reckoning. Let the reckoning be reduced to the course of nature, by putting the reigns of Kings one with another, at about 18 or 20 years a piece: and the ten Kings of *Sparta* by one race, the nine by another race, the ten Kings of *Messenia*, and the nine of *Arcaëia*, above-mentioned, between the return of the *Heracides* into *Peloponnesus*, and the end of the first *Messenian* war, will scarce take up above 180 or 190 years: whereas according to Chronologers, they took up 379 years.

Chronologers have [not only] lengthened the time, between the return of the *Heracides* into *Peloponnesus*, and the first *Messenian* war, — they have also lengthened the time between that war and the rise of the *Persian* Empire.

Herod. l. 7. For in the race of the *Spartan* Kings, descended from *Eurysthene*, after *Polydorus*, reigned these Kings:

11. *Eurycrates*,
12. *Anaxander*,
13. *Eurycrates* II,
14. *Leon*,
15. *Anaxandrides*,
16. *Cleomenes*,
17. *LEONIDAS*, &c.

Herod. l. 8. And in the other race descended from *Procles*; after *Theopompus* [the 9th King] reigned these, *Anaxandrides*, *Archidamus*, *Anakleus*, *Leutychides*, *Hippocleides*, *Ariston*, *Demaretes*, *Leutychides* II, &c. according to *Herodotus*. These Kings reigned till the sixth year of *Xerxes*, in which *Leonidas* was slain by the *Persians* at *Thermopylae*; and *Leutychides* II, soon after, flying from *Sparta* to *Texa*, died there.

The seven reigns of the Kings of *Sparta*, which follow *Polydorus*, being added to the ten reigns above-mentioned; which began with that of *Eurysthene*, make up seventeen reigns of Kings, between the return of the *Heracides* into *Peloponnesus* and the sixth year of *Xerxes*: and the eight reigns following *Theopompus*, being added to the nine reigns above-mentioned, which began with that of *Procles*, made up also seventeen reigns: and these seventeen reigns, at twenty years a piece one with another, amount unto three hundred and forty years. Count these three hundred and forty years upwards from the sixth year of *Xerxes* and one or two years more for the war of the *Heracides*, and the reign of *Aristodemus*, the father of *Eurysthene* and *Procles*; and they will place the return of the *Heracides* into *Peloponnesus*, 159 years after the death of *Solomon*, and forty-six years before the first *Olympiad*, in which *Cnæus* was victor. But the followers of *Timæus* have placed this return 280 years earlier. Now this being the computation upon which the *Greeks*, as you have heard from *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, have founded the Chronology of their kingdoms which were antienter than the *Persian* Empire; that Chronology is to be rectified by shortening the times which preceded the death of *Cyrus*, in the proportion of almost two to one; for the times which follow the death of *Cyrus* are not much amiss.

[The truth of Sir I. N.'s computation with regard to the reigns of the seventeen Kings of *Sparta*, of whom *Leonidas* was the last, seems to be well supported by the space

space of time filled up by the reigns of the thirteen Kings, (of the same Line) who reigned in succession after *Leonidas*.

Leonidas was slain in the year before Christ, 480.

Cleomenes, the last of the thirteen Kings who reigned after him, being expelled *Peloponnesus*, killed himself in *Ægypt* (as *Petavius* * hath shewn) in 219, before Christ. * Rat.

The years between the deaths of these two Kings are 261, so that the thirteen Kings in succession from *Leonidas* reigned but about 20 years a-piece one with another. Temp. par. 1. l. 4. c. 4. Sir I. N.

As for the Chronology of the *Latines*, that is still more uncertain [than the Chronology of the *Greeks*] † *Plutarch* represents great uncertainties in the Originals of *Rome*, and so doth † *Servius*. The old records of the *Latines* were burnt || by the *Gauls* 120 years after the *Regifuge*, and 64 years before the death of *Alexander* the Great: and *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, the oldest Historian of the *Latines*, lived 100 years later than that King, and took almost all things [concerning the Originals of *Rome*] from *Diocles Peparethius* a *Greek*. p. 49. † Plut. in Rom. & Num. † In Æn. 7. v. 678. || Diod. l. 1.

When the *Romans* conquered the *Carthaginians*, the archives of *Carthage* came into their hands. And thence *Appian*, in his History of the *Punick Wars*, tells in round numbers that *Carthage* stood 700 years; and *Solinus* adds the odd number of years [37] in these words: *Adrymeto atque Carthagini autor est a Tyro populus. Urbem istam, ut Cato in Oratione Senatoria autumat, cum rex Hiabas rerum in Lybia potiretur, Elissa mulier extruxit, domo Phoenix, & Carthadam dixit, quod Phœnicum ore exprimit civitatem novam; mox sermone verso Carthago dicto est, quæ post annos septingentos triginta septem exciditur quam fuerat extructa.* Sir I. N. p. 64. Solin. c. 30.

Elissa was *Dido*, and *Carthage* was destroyed in the Consulship of *Lentulus* and *Mummius* in the year of the *Julian* period 4568; * from whence count backward 737 years, and the *Encænia* or dedication of the city, will fall upon the 16th year of *Pygmalion*, the brother of *Dido*, and King of *Tyre*. She fled in the seventh year of *Pygmalion*, but the *Æra* of the city began with its *Encænia*. Ant. Chr. 146.

Now *Virgil* and his scholiast *Servius*, who might have some things from the archives of *Tyre* and *Cyprus*, as well as from those of *Carthage*, relate that *Teucer* came from the war of *Troy* to *Cyprus*, in the days of *Dido*, a little before the reign of her brother *Pygmalion*; and, in conjunction with her father, seized *Cyprus*, and ejected *Cinyras*: and THE MARBLES say, that *Teucer* came to *Cyprus*, seven years after the destruction of *Troy*, and built *Salamis*; and *Apollodorus*, that *Cinyras* married *Metbarme* the daughter of *Pygmalion*, and built *Paphos*. Therefore, if the *Romans* in the days of *Augustus*, followed not altogether the artificial Chronology of *Eratosthenes*, but had those things from the records of *Carthage*, *Cyprus*, or *Tyre*; the arrival of *Teucer* at *Cyprus* will be in the reign of the predecessor of *Pygmalion*, and by consequence the destruction of *Troy*, about 76 years later than the death of *Solomon*. Ant. Chr. 903.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us that in the time of the *Trojan* war, *Latinus* was King of the *Aborigines* in *Italy*, and that in the sixteenth age after that war *Romulus* built *Rome*. By ages he means reigns of Kings: for after *Latinus* he names sixteen Kings of the *Latines*, the last of which was *Numitor*, in whose days *Romulus* built *Rome*: for *Romulus* was contemporary to *Numitor*, and after him *Dionysius* and others reckon six Kings more over *Rome*, to the beginning of the *Consuls*. Now these twenty and two reigns, at about eighteen years to a reign one with another, for so many of these Kings were slain, took up 396 years; which counted back from the Consulship of *Junius Brutus* and *Valerius Poplicola*, the two first *Consuls*, place the *Trojan* war about 78 years after the death of *Solomon*. Ant. Chr. 901.

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* When

S. I. N.
P. 125.
Vid. Dion.
P. 125.
L. 1. P. 49.
45.

When the *Greeks* and *Latines* were forming their Technical Chronology, there were great disputes about the antiquity of *Rome*: the *Greeks* made it much older than the Olympiads: some of them said it was built by *Aeneas*; others by *Romulus*, the son or grandson of *Aeneas*; others, by *Romus*, the son or grandson of *Latinus* King of the *Aberigines*; others, by *Romus*, the son of *Ulysses*, or of *Ascanius*, or of *Italus*: and some of the *Latines* at first fell in with the opinion of the *Greeks*, saying that it was built by *Romulus* the son or grandson of *Aeneas*. *Timæus Siculus* represented it built by *Romulus*, the grandson of *Aeneas*, above an hundred years before the Olympiads, and so did *Nævius* the poet, who was 20 years older than *Ennius*, and served in the first Punick war, and wrote the History of that war.

Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon, but about 140 or 150 years after the death of *Alexander* the Great, they began to say, that *Rome* was built a second time by *Romulus*, in the fifteenth age after the destruction of *Troy*: by ages they meant reigns of the Kings of the *Latines* at *Alba*, and reckoned the first 14 reigns at about 432 years, and the following reigns of the seven Kings of *Rome* at 244 years, both which numbers made up the time of about 676 years from the taking of *Troy*, according to these Chronologers; but are much too long for the course of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of *Rome* upon the sixth or seventh Olympiad: *Varro* † placed it on the first year of the seventh Olympiad, and was therein generally followed by the *Romans*; but this can scarce be reconciled to the course of nature: For I do not meet with any instance in all history, since Chronology was certain, wherein seven Kings, *most of whom were slain*, reigned 244 years in continual succession.

The fourteen reigns of the Kings of the *Latines*, at twenty years a-piece one with another, amount unto 280 years, and these years counted from the taking of *Troy* end in the 38th Olympiad: and the seven reigns of the Kings of *Rome*, four or five of them being slain, and one deposed, may at a moderate reckoning amount to fifteen or sixteen years a piece one with another: let them be reckoned at seventeen years a-piece, and they will amount unto 119 years; which being counted backwards from the Regifuge, end also in the 38th Olympiad: and by Ant. Chr. these two reckonings *Rome* was built in the 38th Olympiad, or thereabout.

† If this be not an error of the press, yet doubtless Sir *Iaac Newton* meant to write *Cato*, not *Varro*. *Varro* placed the foundation of *Rome* in the third year of the 6th Olympiad [Ant. Chr. 753.] *Cato* in the 1st year of the 7th [Ant. Chr. 751.]

These two writers agreed in giving 244 years to the *regal state* of *Rome*, but, as they fixed the *Æra* of the city by reckoning backward, and counted the years of the republick by the annual magistracies, and as *Varro*, in this way of counting, gave to the republick two years more than *Cato*; he of course placed the building of *Rome* two years farther back than *Cato* had done.

There were three Dictatorships, to each of which *Varro* allotted a whole year, which Dictatorships *Cato* had considered as only superseding so many Consulships, and therefore reckoned each Consulship and the Dic-

tatorship that superseded it as filling but one year. And this would have made *Varro's* reckoning, upon the whole, exceed *Cato's* by three years; but *Varro* by placing, in one and the same year, the third Decemvirate and the succeeding Consulship; to which Magistracies *Cato* allotted distinct years, the reckoning of *Varro*, upon the whole, exceeded that of *Cato* by two years only.

The Capitoline Marbles, with regard to the three Dictatorships and the third Decemvirate, reckon like *Varro*; but as they give only 243 years to the *regal state* of *Rome*, their Chronology, upon the whole, has a year less than *Varro's*, and a year more than *Cato's*.

See notes sur la Chron. Grecque-Rom. Selon *D. Hal.* by the French Translator of *Dionysius*, p. 34.

• The

* The 280 years and the 119 years together make up 399 years; and the same number of years arises by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years a-piece: and this being the whole time between the taking of *Troy* and the Refuge, let these years be counted backward from the * Refuge An. 1, Olymp. * Ant. Chr: 68, and they will place the taking of *Troy* about 74 years after the death of 508. *Solomon*. [Which death of *Solomon* Sir *Isaac Newton* places 979 years before the Christian *Æra*; so that the fall of *Troy*, soon after which *Æneas* began his voyages, will be about 905 years before that *Æra*; and as Sir *Isaac* makes the flight of *Dido* from *Tyre* to be Ant. Chr. 892, there were, according to this computation, but about 13 years between these two last-mentioned events.] Vid. Supr. xiii.

Mr. WHISTON, in his Treatise, intitled *A Confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology*, observes, (p. 987) that " In *England* we have had " NINE successive Reigns, at almost 30 years a-piece, from *Henry I.* to " *Edward III.*

" And TWELVE at almost 28 years a-piece, from *William the Conqueror* to *Richard II.*

" And the *French* have had SIX Reigns together at almost 40 years a-piece from *Robert* to *Philip II.*

" And EIGHT Reigns at above 35 years a-piece, from *Robert* to " *Lewis IX.*

" And TEN Reigns at almost 33 years a-piece from *Robert* to *Philip IV.* all inclusive, as these Tables will shew.

KINGS of ENGLAND.

1.	<i>William the Conqueror</i>	—	21.
2.	<i>William Rufus</i>	— — —	13.
3.	<i>Henry I.</i>	— — —	35.
4.	<i>Stephen</i>	— — —	19.
5.	<i>Henry II.</i>	— — —	35.
6.	<i>Richard I.</i>	— — —	11.
7.	<i>John</i>	— — —	17.
8.	<i>Henry III.</i>	— — —	56.
9.	<i>Edward I.</i>	— — —	34.
10.	<i>Edward II.</i>	— — —	19.
11.	<i>Edward III.</i>	— — —	51.
12.	<i>Richard II.</i>	— — —	22.

12) 333 (27 $\frac{1}{4}$

KINGS of FRANCE.

1.	<i>Rupert or Robert</i>	—	45.
2.	<i>Henry I.</i>	— — —	28.
3.	<i>Philip I.</i>	— — —	48.
4.	<i>Lewis VI.</i>	— — —	29.
5.	<i>Lewis VII.</i>	— — —	43.
6.	<i>Philip II.</i>	— — —	43.

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7. *Lewis*

Remarks on the History

7. Lewis VIII.	—	—	—	3.
8. Lewis IX.	—	—	—	44.
9. Philip III.	—	—	—	15.
10. Philip IV.	—	—	—	29.

10) 327 (32½)

From these examples Mr. *Whiston* infers, that we ought not to reject or alter the series of the reigns of the TWELVE Kings of *Macedonia*, from *Caranus*, of the *Heracidæ*, to *Archelaus*, which twelve reigns take up 415 years.

12) 415 (34½)
Nor the series of the reigns of the EIGHT last of the *Latine* Kings, from *Amulius* to *Tarquin the Proud*, which takes up 286 years 8) 286 (35½)
Which reigns of *Macedonian* and *Latine* Kings, he observes, are of all he had before marked (in several series of ancient long reigns) *the longest in proportion*, because they began after human life was reduced to its present standard.

Now I think it must be granted, that the examples, which Mr. *Whiston* has produced of long reigns in succession, both in *England* and in *France*, would be sufficient to make it credible, that the *Seven* Kings of *Rome* reigned as long as they are reported to have done, if there were no objection to this report, but its being *uncommon* to find, in authentick and undisputed history, *Seven* Kings reigning, in succession, 35 years a-piece one with another. But here it may be proper to consider,

I. That we have no better authority for the long reigns of the *Seven* Kings of *Rome*, than for the long reigns of the *Fourteen* Kings of *Alba*, their predecessors; and there is no instance, since Chronology was certain, of twenty-one Kings, in succession, reigning near thirty-two years a-piece, one with another, as the twenty-one Kings in question are represented to have done.

Mr. *Whiston*, as we see above, has given us *Ten* Kings of *France* in succession, who reigned 327 years, or 32½ a-piece.

I think he has stretched the reign of *Robert* 10 or 11 years beyond its true length. But, letting that pass, if to these *Ten* Kings we add the *Five* that preceded them, and the *Six* that followed them to make the number twenty-one, we shall find, that the twenty-one Kings reigned but about 21 years a-piece one with another.

For *Raoul*, the first of the 21, began to reign *A. D.* 923, and *Jean II.* the last of the 21, died in 1363, the whole space 440 years.

If to the *Ten* Kings we add the *Eleven* that preceded them, the reigns of the 21 will be still shorter.

Indeed, if to the *Ten* we add the *Eleven* that followed them, the 21 reigns amount to near 24 years a-piece one with another. But this is far short of 32 years a-piece, to which the 21 reigns of the *Latine* Kings amount, within a trifle, according to Bishop *Lloyd's* tables, cited by Mr. *Whiston*.

So

So likewise, though we have had in *England* Twelve successive reigns, at almost 28 years a piece, from *William* the Conqueror to *Richard* II. yet, if to those Twelve we add the Nine reigns which followed that of *Richard* II. we shall find that the 21 Kings did not reign quite 23 years a-piece one with another.

II. It may be further observed, that the old Chronology, which makes the reigns of 21 *Latine* Kings fill up a space of time so much longer than the reigns of the same number of Kings of any country have ever done since Chronology was certain, does in like manner, make the reigns of every series of Kings of the most ancient kingdoms exceed, in duration, what the common course of nature, as known by true history, admits; which universal excess affords a probable argument, that the old Chronology was wholly artificial, and not founded on authentick records or monuments.

When, I say, every series of Kings, it might perhaps be expected, that I should except the long successions of Kings in *Egypt*, (from the time of *Mizraim* the son of *Ham*) to which numerous Kings short reigns* are assigned by the old Chronology: But I consider those series of *Egyptian* monarchs as fabulous. For indeed the short reigns, assigned to them, are alone almost a demonstrative proof, that the greater number of the Kings, in those series, never existed, or at least, not in line of succession; as I shall shew hereafter.

III. That most of the Seven Kings of *Rome* being slain, and one deposed, there arises hence a great improbability of their reigning 35 years a-piece one with another.

IV. And lastly, that in the accounts given us of those Seven Kings, there are some particulars, by which the historians discover the uncertainty of their Chronology, and some that seem entirely to refute it, as the following Remarks will shew.

ROMULUS.

THE historians give 37 or 38 years to the reign of *Romulus*, yet if they had not expressly affirmed that he reigned so long, we should never

* Mr. *Whiston* (in p. 975.) makes the following observation.

“*Manetho*, when he speaks of the several Dynasties of *Egypt*, or of the several successions of collateral kingdoms, mentions the principal succession as extending to 113 generations in 3555 years: And implies, that the first 16, which were chiefly before the deluge, were more than equal to the other 97: Those 16 containing no fewer than 1985 years; and the 97 no more than 1570 years: the former allow-

ing to each generation or succession 124 years; as the duration of human life before the deluge well admitted; (and the *Chaldean* succession at *Babylon* in *Abydenus* and *Berosus* equally admitted also) while the latter allows but a little above 16 years to such a succession, till the days of *Alexander* the Great: which last small number might yet well agree to those latter ages of the kingdom of *Egypt*, which might be subject to great disturbances and changes of government all along.”

have imagined, from any thing they relate of his life and death, that his government was of near so long a duration: We should rather have concluded from what they themselves have written concerning him, that he reigned little more than 17 years.

I. *PLUTARCH* having related how *Romulus* took *Fidenæ*, and sent thither a *Roman* colony on the *Ides* of *April*, goes on to tell us, that shortly after, a plague broke out, and that before the plague ceased, the *Camerini* invaded the *Roman* territory; that *Romulus* without delay marched against them, defeated them, took *Camerinum* their city, transplanted half its inhabitants to *Reize*, and, on the *Kalends* of *August*, sent from *Rome* double the number of *Roman* citizens to *Camerium*: So greatly (adds *Plutarch*) was the number of his citizens increased in *Sixteen* years time from the building of the city.

The same author proceeds immediately to relate, that the *Veientes*, alarmed at this increase of the *Roman* power, made *Fidenæ* the pretence for beginning a war with *Rome*. They demanded *Fidenæ* back as a city belonging to them; and their demand being scornfully rejected, they took the field, dividing their forces into two bodies: One attacked the *Roman* army of *Fidenæ* with success; the other marched against *Romulus* and was defeated by him. One battle more put an end to the war: *Romulus* obtained a decisive victory, for which he triumphed on the *Ides* of *October*.

Not only *Plutarch*, but *Livy* and *Diomysius* make *Fidenæ* the pretence for the war undertaken by the *Veientes*; and they speak of this war as begun presently after the reduction of that town by the *Romans*. It is not therefore without good reason that *Pigbinus* places the King's triumph over the *Veientes* in his 17th year.

II. It appears from *Diomysius*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*, that the victory over the *Veientes* was the last military exploit of *Romulus*'s life.

Diomysius having related the particulars of the war with *Veii*, the decisive victory gained by *Romulus*, and his triumph on that occasion, concludes with words to this effect: *These are the most memorable wars of Romulus; an untimely death, when he was in the bloom of his military glory, hindered him from subduing any of the other neighbouring nations*.*

Livy, when he has spoken of the same war, goes on much in the same manner with *Diomysius*†: *These were almost all the achievements at home and abroad during the reign of Romulus*; and then speaks of his death. And,

Plutarch says expressly, that this war [with the *Veientes*] was the last war that *Romulus* ever waged‡.

* Οὕτω συνίσταται πόλεμος Ῥωμῶν λόγῳ καὶ πράξει ἄλλῃ· τῷ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολέμων ὁδὸν ἐκτελεσθέντι, τεχνῶν ἢ τακτικῶν τῷ βίῳ, συμβῆναι ἐπὶ ἀπαρχῇ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολέμους ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ γινώσκῃ ἰδίᾳ, p. 144.

† Hæc ferme Romulo regnante domi militæque gesta. L. 1. c. 15.

‡ Τέτοις ἰσχυρῶς πόλεμοις ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπολέμησεν, p. 33. *Vit. Rom.*

If then these two points be granted, that *Romulus's* war with *Veii* was his last war, and that this was finished about the 17th year of *Rome*, it will follow, that the 20 last years of his reign, if he reigned 37, were years of PEACE. But is it probable, that a Prince of so active and enterprising a spirit, should pass twenty years in peace with all his neighbours? Or if the *Romans*, when they sent an offer of the kingdom to *Numa*, had, of 37 years, (the whole period since the birth of their state,) been the last 20 in peace, how could he, with any propriety or truth, in his answer to the deputies, speak of the *Romans* as a people of a restless spirit, ever in war, and insatiably eager of conquest? *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Romans*, when *Numa* ascended the throne, were become hard as iron by war; and that this Prince thought religion the only means to soften such stubborn minds, and moderate their martial fury; and *Livy* calls them *animos militiæ effertos*. There is nothing in any of the historians to favour the supposition of *Rome's* continuing 20 years in peace in *Romulus's* time, except this only, that they fix his death to the 37th year of the city, and make his wars end about the 17th. See Hist. p. 51. & 60.

III. MAY it not be fairly collected from all the three historians before-mentioned, that *Romulus's* victory over the *Veientes* was not only the last military exploit of his life, but an exploit which did not long precede his death? It has been already observed, that *Diomyfius* and *Livy* pass immediately from the conclusion of the *Veientan* war to the King's assassination. *Plutarch* does the same; and it is farther to be remarked, that *Plutarch* and *Diomyfius* make the affront which *Romulus* put upon the Senators, when, without consulting them, he restored to the *Veientes* 50 hostages (which they had given him to secure the performance of their engagements by the treaty of peace) to be one of the chief provocations which incited the Senators to murder him. And this offence is mentioned as a thing recent at the time of his death: his sudden disappearing soon after this, says *Plutarch*, brought the Senate under suspicion and calumny. And the same historian mentions another recent offence given the Senate, That the King by his sole authority shared among the soldiers the lands acquired by the war. It is not indeed said, at what time the King gave the Senators these provocations; but we cannot easily suppose it to have been a great while after the war; and it will be very hard to suppose that it was 20 years after.

Plutarch is, I think, the only ancient writer who speaks of *Romulus's* moderation in not possessing himself of the kingdom of *Alba*, upon the death of his grandfather *Numitor*, to which kingdom he supposes *Romulus* to have had a right of inheritance. Now supposing *Romulus* to have been heir apparent to his grandfather, and yet never to have possessed *Alba*, it is much more probable that the grandfather outlived the grandson, than that the grandson declined a succession to which he had an hereditary right. This imagination which *Plutarch* had of the politick moderation of *Romulus* (for it was to regain the good-will of his people) seems wholly founded on the supposition that he reigned 37 years, in which case he probably outlived his grandfather: But if *Romulus* reigned but

but 17 years, his grandfather may very well be supposed to have outlived him; for, according to *Plutarch* himself, *Romulus* was but 17 years old, when he began to reign.

N U M A.

THERE are several considerations, which make it seem very improbable, that *Numa* reigned 43 years. His reign is by all represented as a reign of uninterrupted peace; and the sole object of his government, to turn the minds of his subjects wholly from war to agriculture and other honest occupations, and to religious exercises. His people look upon him as the wisest man and best king in the world, and revere him as their common Father. Nevertheless this very people, of whom not a man, fit to bear arms, had ever drawn a sword, are after 43 years habit of industry and devotion, brought at once, as soon as *Numa* is dead, totally to neglect his religious institutions, pick quarrels with their neighbours, and go to fighting as readily, as if war had been their constant and only trade. Has this any appearance of probability? Is it not natural to believe rather, that *Numa's* reign did not last above 15 or 16 years, and that the army, which *Tullus Hostilius* led into the field, consisted chiefly of *Romulus's* soldiers, who had been early inured to robbery and plundering, and whom *Numa's* discipline had not cured of their first habits and dispositions?

But, as to *Numa*, there is another difficulty, with which *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Plutarch*, were much embarrassed, and which will be wholly removed by Sir *Isaac Newton's* calculations.

All those three historians take notice of a tradition which had universally prevailed among the *Romans*, That *Numa* was instructed by *Pythagoras* the Samian philosopher. This Tradition they all reject; and they imagine, it had no foundation but the conformity between the Tenets of *Pythagoras* and those of *Numa*. At the same time, they have no argument against the truth of the Fact, but what they draw from the received Chronology of the regal state of *Rome*.

L. 2. p.
116.

“*Pythagoras*, (says *Dionysius*) was posterior to *Numa*, not a few years, but 4 entire generations,” i. e. 4 reigns of Kings: For (as he goes on), “*Numa* began his reign in the middle of the 16th Olympiad, and *Pythagoras* taught in *Italy* after the 50th Olympiad, μετα την πεντηκστήν,” [in

in *Numa*. * *Plutarch* speaks of some writers who (probably to get rid of the difficulties arising from this old tradition, compared with the received chronology of the Kings of *Rome*) imagined, that a certain *Pythagoras*, a *Spartan*, who gained the prize at the races in the 16th Olympiad, might be *Numa's* instructor. *Dionysius* likewise mentions this *Racer*, but declares, that he knows of no good author, *Greek* or *Roman*, who speaks of him, as conversing with *Numa*.

* *Cicero* * says, That *Pythagoras* came into *Italy* in the reign of *Tarquin* the Proud; and that he was in *Italy* when *Brutus* freed *Rome* from tyranny, i. e. 206 years after the beginning of *Numa's* reign, and in the 68th Olympiad. He supposes, that posterity being ignorant of the remote times [cum ætatis & tempora ignorarent propter vetustatem] and comparing the wisdom of *Numa* with that of *Pythagoras*, imagined, from that comparison, the

* *Tulc. Qu.* L. 1. c. 16. *Ibid.* L. 4. c. 1.

In the 4th year * of which Olympiad he places the accession of *Servius Tullius*, the 5th King from *Numa*. The whole number of years between *Numa's* accession and that of *Servius Tullius* is 137.]

Now taking it for granted; that *Dionysius* means to say, that *Pythagoras* began to teach in *Italy*, soon after the 50th Olympiad, and that he is right in this particular, a strong presumption will arise, from the constant Tradition of his intercourse with *Numa*, that this King did not begin to reign in the 16th Olympiad, but much later.

According to *Sir Isaac Newton's* computations, *Rome* was not built till about the 38th Olympiad; on which supposition, if we allow about 17 years for the reign of *Romulus*, *Numa's* accession to the throne will have been about the middle of the 42d Olympiad. And if this computation be just, there will have been but about 34 years (not 137) between the accession of *Numa* to the throne, and the arrival of *Pythagoras* in *Italy*; even supposing that *Pythagoras* did not come into *Italy* till the 51st Olympiad, which however is not asserted by *Dionysius*.

St. Austin (says *Mr. Bayle*) would easily have believed, that *Numa* was a disciple of *Pythagoras*; for he says, that *Thales* lived during the reign of *Romulus*. Now we know, that *Thales* and *Pherecydes* were contemporaries, and that *Pythagoras* was a disciple of *Pherecydes*, and some pretend that *Thales* was so too. It is certain, at least, that *Pythagoras* and

Anaximander, a disciple of *Thales*, lived at the same time.

That *Pythagoras* was contemporary with *Thales*, is no less certain, if *Thales* outlived *Pherecydes*, to whom *Pythagoras* was a disciple. And that

Thales outlived *Pherecydes*, is manifest from a letter which *Pherecydes*, upon his death-bed, wrote to *Thales*.

The King to have been a disciple of the Philosopher. Now on this I observe,

That whatever reasons *Cicero* might have to place the coming of *Pythagoras* into *Italy*, in the reign of *Tarquin* the proud, it is plain, that *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Pliny* thought otherwise, and had no deference to his authority in this particular.

The most accurate chronology, says *Mr. Stanley*, teacheth (as *Mr. Selden* observes) that *Pythagoras* flourished betwixt the 50th and 52d Olympiad, p. 350.]

2. I observe, that *Cicero* supposes his countrymen, when they first entertained the notion of *Numa's* being instructed by *Pythagoras*, to have been extremely ignorant of the times of their Kings, and particularly of the time when *Numa* lived. For, as to the time of *Pythagoras*, *Cicero*, who believed that he was still living in *Italy*, in the first year of the Republic, could hardly suppose that the Romans made a mistake of 200 years in their reckonings; and especially after their conquest of that country where *Pythagoras* had

resided. Yet the notion of his being contemporary with *Numa* prevailed after that conquest. It would seem therefore that the common opinion of the Roman state of *Rome* was long after framed long after the opinion concerning the intercourse between *Numa* and *Pythagoras* had been entertained; and if so, that the chronology ought rather to be rejected on account of the tradition, than the tradition rejected on account of the chronology, especially as the latter is not agreeable to the common course of nature, with regard to the reigns of Kings, and the former is entirely consistent with it.

When *Dionysius* places the accession of *Servius* to the throne in the 50th Olympiad, he goes upon the supposition, that *Servius* reigned 44 years. But I shall presently endeavour to shew that it is probable he did not reign above 20 years, nor come to the throne till about the 56th Olympiad, and yet that *Pythagoras* might be then living at *Crotona*, tho' he had been *Numa's* instructor.

It

Apollodo-
rus apud
Laert. Vit.
Thal.
Chron. P.
92.

It is generally admitted, that *Thales* was born in the first year of the 35th Olympiad. This opinion is adopted by *Petavius*, Mr. *Bayle* and Mr. *Stanley*; and Sir *Isaac Newton* seems to follow it, when he supposes, "That *Thales* in the 41st Olympiad applied himself to astronomical study, and predicted eclipses, being then a young man," [about 28 years of age.]

If then Sir *Isaac Newton* be right, in placing the foundation of *Rome* about the 38th Olympiad, St. *Austin* will not have erred in thinking, that *Thales* was contemporary with *Romulus*, tho' Mr. *Bayle* seems to smile at the Bishop's notion.

The ancient writers are of different opinions, concerning the times of *Pythagoras*'s birth, and of his going into *Aegypt*, and into *Italy*, and of his death. But it seems to be universally agreed that he was contemporary with *Thales*, and the rest of the 7 wise men, who all flourished between the 40th and 55th Olympiads.

L. 2. c. 8. And, if we may believe *Pliny*, *Pythagoras* could not be much younger than *Thales*. For *Pliny* says, that "*Pythagoras* observed the nature of the star *Venus*, about the 42d Olympiad, year of *Rome* 142" [i. e. the 142d of *Rome* according to the reckoning of *Cato*.]

Now,

p. 268.

"Both these numbers (says Father *Harduin*, in his notes on *Pliny*) must be grossly corrupted, or *Pliny* must have grievously blundered, *graviter hallucinatum*." Why so? "Because *Laertius* says, that *Pythagoras* was in the 60th Olympiad, *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatian* in the 62d Olympiad, and *Eusebius* writes, that he died in the 70th Olympiad: and *Dionys. Halic.* says that *Pythagoras* flourished after the 50th Olympiad; he seems indeed to speak without precision and at large," i. e. he does not say how long after.

I must here observe, that *F. Harduin* would have us understand the passage in *Dionysius* to mean certainly, that *Pythagoras* did not begin to flourish till after the 50th Olympiad. But this is not the clear import of the historian's words. He says nothing of the time when *Pythagoras* began to flourish, but says that he was posterior to *Numa* four entire generations [or four reigns of Kings] and that he lived or taught [there are two readings] in *Italy* after the 50th Olympiad, that is, so late as after that Olympiad, so late as in the reign of the 5th King from *Numa*. He does not say, at what time the philosopher came into *Italy*, and began to teach there. This might be long before the 50th Olympiad: but it was enough

for *Dionysius*'s purpose, that *Pythagoras* was living, after the 50th Olympiad: For if so, and if *Numa* came to the throne in the 16th Olympiad, the King could not have been a disciple of the Philosopher, which was all that *Dionysius* wanted to make out. His affirming that *Pythagoras* taught in *Italy* after the 50th Olympiad does in no wise clash with the passage above cited from *Pliny*.

But as to *Pliny*'s blundering, why may not *Laertius*, *Clemens*, *Tatian*, and *Eusebius* be as easily supposed to blunder as he? It is not improbable, that they all four took *Cicero* for their guide, who, in the opinion of *Livy* and *Dionysius*, did grossly blunder with regard to the point in question.

And as to a corruption of *Pliny*'s text by transcribers; since there are two *Æras* made use of, and the numbers in both ways of reckoning coincide in one and the same year, there is little ground to suppose a corruption, unless it can be shewn that *Pliny* has elsewhere said something that is repugnant to what is expressed in the passage before us: But the annotator having produced nothing of this sort, one may naturally conclude that he met with nothing in his author to the purpose.

Indeed there is in *Pliny* one passage, which as Sir *Isaac Newton* has happened (not according

Now, as I observed before, it was in this very Olympiad, that *Numa* came to the throne, according to Sir *Isaac Newton's* computations, if we allow but 17 years to the reign of *Romulus*.

LIVY

According to his usual exactness) to translate it, seems not to square with *Pythagoras's* making astronomical observations in the 42d Olympiad. Sir *Isaac Newton's* words are these: "*Pliny*, in reckoning up the inventors of things, tells us, that *Phercydes Scyrius* taught to compose discourses in prose in the reign of *Cyrus*." Now *Cyrus* did not found the *Persian* monarchy till the 4th year of the 62d Olympiad: and if *Pythagoras* was old enough in the 42d Olympiad to observe the nature of the star *Venus*, we must suppose that his master *Phercydes* was born as early, at least, as the 32d Olympiad, in which case he must have been 120 years old at the beginning of the *Persian* monarchy. But *Pliny* does not say, that *Phercydes* taught to compose discourses in prose in the reign of *Cyrus*, *Cyro Rege regnante*, but in the time, the age of *Cyrus*, *Cyri Regis Aetate*; L. 7. c. 26. and *Cyrus* was born in the 2d year of the 45th Olympiad, and was 63 years old when he came to the empire. So that supposing *Phercydes* born so early as about the 32d Olympiad, he was but 52 or 53 years old at the birth of *Cyrus*; and if he taught prose-writing in any part of *Cyrus's* life, the objection is removed.

Farther: that *Phercydes* did not teach in the 62d Olympiad is evident; because he died before *Thales*, who died in the 58th Olympiad, as is generally agreed.

There is another passage in *Pliny*, which, with regard to the point in question, deserves to be remarked. In L. 36. c. 9. he speaks of an *Egyptian Obelisk*, that was made by King *Semnefer-teus*, in whose reign (he says) *Pythagoras* was in *Egypt*. *Is autem obeliscus excisus est à Rege Semnefer-teo, quo regnante Pythagoras in Aegypto fuit.* F. *Harduin*, possessed with the opinion, that *Pythagoras* flourished not so early as *Pliny* represents him in L. 2. c. 8. and therefore that *Pliny* blundered in that part of his work, supposes, that he is right here, when he says that the philosopher was in *Egypt* in the reign of King *Semnefer-teus*. But who is King *Semnefer-teus*? According to F. *Harduin*, *Pliny* can mean no other than *Psammitus* the successor of *Amasis*. And why must *Pliny*, by *Semnefer-teus*, mean the successor of *Amasis*? Because *Laertius* and *Tacitus* say, that *Pythagoras* went

into *Egypt* in the reign of *Amasis* [who reigned long, and died about the beginning of the 64th Olympiad.] So we are to understand, that *Pliny* knew this, and means to say, that *Pythagoras* was still in *Egypt* when *Psammitus* came to the throne. Now I observe,

1. That *Gambyses* was preparing to invade *Egypt*, before *Amasis* died, and in 6 months after his death, dispossessed his successor *Psammitus*, who therefore, it is highly probable, had no leisure to attend to the making Obelisks. See P. i. deaux, Part. I. B. 3. p. 169.

2. That it seems somewhat extraordinary, that *Pliny* should take occasion, from the mention of *Psammitus*, who can hardly be said to have reigned at all, to speak of his reign, as the time, when *Pythagoras* was in *Egypt*. If *Pliny* had believed that *Pythagoras* went into *Egypt* in the reign of *Amasis*, and during that reign continued there many years, as he is represented by other writers to have done, it is natural to think, he would have taken occasion, rather from the mention of *Amasis*, than from the mention of his successor, an half-year King, to speak of *Pythagoras* being in *Egypt*.

I rather conclude therefore, that, by *Semnefer-teus*, *Pliny* means *Psammitichus*, who courted the *Greeks* and encouraged strangers to settle in his country, and was the first King of *Egypt* who did so. He reigned long and died in the 3d year of the 40th Olympiad. *Pythagoras*, who is said to have gone very young into *Egypt*, may have studied there some years in the latter part of this King's reign; and this will suit with what *Pliny* says of his observing the nature of the star *Venus* in the 42d Olympiad. Diod. Sic. L. 1. c. 67. Herod. L. 2. c. 154.

N. B. When Sir *Isaac Newton* places the building of *Rome* about the 38th Olympiad, it is by a reckoning backward from the refuge (which was about the first year of the 68th Olympiad) and by allowing, to the 7 Kings, 17 years a-piece, one with another. Nevertheless, as four or five of these Kings were slain and one deposed, he thinks that at a moderate reckoning the 7 reigns may be computed at 15 or 16 years a-piece. Now, computing them at 15 years a-piece, we shall bring down the building of *Rome* to the 41st Olympiad, and of course the accession of

L. 1. c. 18. *LIVY* agrees with *Dionysius*, as to the time of *Pythagoras* being in *Italy*, and makes use of the same argument against the old tradition. "It is manifest (says he) that *Pythagoras* in the time of *Servius Tullius* kept a school of young students in the remotest coast of *Italy* in the neighbourhood of *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, and *Crotone*." Be it so. It may nevertheless be true that *Pythagoras* was contemporary with *Numa*. For if the Reigns of *Tullus Hostilius*, *Ancus Martius*, and *Tarquinius Priscus* were very short, as from many particulars in the history there is great reason to believe they were, *Pythagoras*, who is said to have lived to the ages of 80, 90, 99, 104, may very well have been contemporary with both *Numa* and *Servius Tullius*.

See Bayle
Art. Py-
thag. (P.)

When *Livy* adds "That the School kept by *Pythagoras* was above* 100 years after *Numa*, *centum amplius post annos*," it is to conform himself to the received chronology of the Kings of *Rome*; of which chronology I shall presently shew, that in his own mind he made little account, notwithstanding any thing he says. And indeed, if one considers the reasons which he gives, why *Pythagoras*, supposing him contemporary with *Numa*, could not be his instructor, they must incline one to think that the historian is not serious in his opposing the common tradition. "How (says he) could the Fame of *Pythagoras* reach from the south-east coast of *Italy*, where *Pythagoras* kept school, into *Sabinia*? By an intercourse in what language, could *Pythagoras* excite in *Numa* a desire of learning? Under what protection could the one pass to the other through so many nations of different languages and manners? I am rather of opinion therefore, that *Numa*'s mind was naturally virtuous, and was improved, not so much by science acquired from abroad, as by the severe doctrines and discipline of the ancient *Sabines*."

2. 40. a. 29. As to the want of a common language in which the King and the Philosopher might converse, it is to be observed, that *Livy*, when he relates (after the prior historians) the discovery of *Numa*'s books under ground, does not object to that part of the story which said, that seven of those books were written in Greek, but to what *Valerius Antias* adds, namely, that those Greek books contained the doctrines of *Pythagoras*. "In this, (says *Livy*) *Valerius* suited his Faith to the common opinion, That *Numa* was a disciple of *Pythagoras*; a lie which has an appearance of truth: *Vulgate opinioni qua creditur Pythagorae auditorum fuisse Numam Mendacio probabilis accommodata fide*."

That this lie, if it be a lie, has an appearance of truth, must doubtless be admitted on account of the constancy of the tradition concerning the

Numa allowing to *Romulus* 17 years) to the 45th Olympiad: and on this supposition *Pythagoras* may have been in *Italy* early enough to be *Numa*'s instructor, before his accession to the throne.

* It is to be observed, that *Livy* affects no exactness in his reckoning. When he

says above 100 years after, if he counts from the death of *Numa* to the accession of *Servius*, the space of time is but 94 years: if he counts from the beginning of *Numa*'s reign, to the accession of *Servius*, the years are 137, by the old chronology.

inter-

intercourse between *Numa* and *Pythagoras*, and on account of the *undisputed conformity* of the King's tenets with those of the Philosopher. And there is one particular which gives this *pretended* lie so great an appearance of truth, that I should think we may admit it for a truth without being over credulous.

By *Livy's* report, *Numa's* books were discovered under ground in the consulship of *Cornelius Cethegus* and *Bæbius Tampilus*, which, according to the common reckoning, was in the year of *Rome* 571 or 573. *Plutarch* and *Pliny* place this discovery in the same consulship, and *Pliny* reckons 535 years from the *beginning* of *Numa's* reign to this discovery of his books, which reckoning places the latter in 573 of *Rome*, supposing *Numa's* reign to begin with the 39th of the city.

It being certain, as was before observed, that *Numa's* tenets resembled those of *Pythagoras*, they must without question have been contrary to the religion, which had been long established by law, at *Rome*, when his books were found; and accordingly these were, by order of the senate, burnt as heterodox: So *Livy* informs us; but at the same time tells us, that, before they were burnt, they had been read by so many persons, that they were in a manner publick: Now, though *Livy* cites no authority on this occasion but *Kalerius Antias*, we learn from *Pliny*, that the historians *Lucius Piso Censorius*, and *Cassius Hemina* (who adhered to the old Tradition) reported that *Numa's* books contained the tenets of *Pythagoras*. And these authorities are very considerable in this case: because *Piso* being a tribune of the people in the consulship of *Manilius* and *Censorinus*, about 33 years after finding the books; and *Cassius Hemina* flourishing in the consulship of *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Mammius Achaicus*, about 37 years after the same discovery; those two historians were near enough to the time of the discovery, to have very good means of informing themselves, concerning the contents of the books, from some of the many persons who had perused them.

Cic. in Brut. & L. xi. de Off. Censorinus Cap. xvii.

Ovid in his XVth book of *Metamorphoses* represents *Numa* as instructed by *Pythagoras*, which shews at least that this was still the popular and prevailing opinion in the time of *Augustus*.

The aim of all that has been said on the subject of *Pythagoras*, is to shew, that Sir *Isaac Newton's* computations, which bring down *Numa* to the time of *Pythagoras*, have the support of traditional and historical Facts.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

TO THIS Third King of *Rome* the historians allot a reign of 32 years, and he is represented to us as a prince of a more fierce, restless, enterprising spirit than even *Romulus*, and as seeking every-where pretences for war: *Ferocior etiam Romulo fuit: Tum Ætas viresque, tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat—undique materiam excitandi belli querebat.* Yet the reduction and demolition of *Alba*, in the beginning of his reign, and one victory which he soon after obtained over the *Sabines*, are the whole sum of his military exploits.

Livy, L. ii. c. 22.

Now

Remarks on the History

Not long after his Victory he is seized with some lingering distemper, his spirit sinks, he falls into superstition, and is killed by *Jupiter* for not performing a sacrifice in due form [that is to say, is privately murdered by *Ancus Martius* who succeeded him.]

If *Livy* after this account of him, had not told us that he reigned 32 years, we should hardly have imagined that he reigned 2.

ANCUS MARTIUS.

THOUGH MORE action be ascribed to this King, whose character is both martial and pacifick, than to his predecessor, it does not seem that all his performances could require a fourth part of the 24 years, that are given to his reign.

This remark however, and that, made on the history of *Tullus Hostilius*, are not offered as *sufficient proofs*, that these Kings did not reign 32 and 24 years respectively, but only as *probable arguments*, which, in conjunction with others, will have a degree of force. And thus much at least is certain, that the reigns of these two Kings *may have been very short*, notwithstanding any achievements ascribed to them.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

THE Historians represent the elder *Tarquin* as very rich when he comes first from *Etruria* to *Rome*, as very prosperous in war after his ascending the throne, and as having a taste for magnificence. This taste and his ability to gratify it, carry him to design and begin several great works. He does not live to finish these, nor even to make any considerable progress in them: which affords some ground to conjecture that he did not reign 38 years. But without laying any greater stress on this argument than it will bear, I proceed to another of more force, with regard to the present purpose.

Whether this 5th King of *Rome* was the *Father*, or the *Grandfather* of *Tarquinius Superbus*, the 7th King, is a question considered, and with full confidence determined by *Dionysius*. He decides, *contrary to the report of Fabius* and all the other prior historians (except *L. Piso*) that *Priscus* was the *Grandfather* of *Superbus*. And he imputes the supposed error of the historians, from whom he differs, to their not being aware of the *Absurdities* in which their opinion involved them.

Those *absurdities* he thus exposes:

It is agreed that *Priscus* with his wife *Tanaquil* came to *Rome* in the time of *Ancus Martius*.

Gellius places the arrival of *Priscus* in the *first* year of King *Ancus*; *Licinius* in the *eighth*: But both agree, that he was employed as general of the horse to *Ancus*, in the *ninth* year of his reign: the arrival therefore of *Priscus* at *Rome* could not be *later* than the *eighth* of *Ancus*.

As *Priscus*, before he came to *Rome*, had aspired to dignities and high offices in his own country, he was doubtless 25 years old at least, when he

he arrived: And as, after his arrival, *Ancus* reigned 17 years and *Priscus* 38, *Priscus* was 80 when he died.

Tanaquil was probably 5 years younger than her husband; consequently 75 at the time of his death.

She cannot be supposed to have borne children after the age of 50^a.

Aruns, the brother of *Superbus*, was two years younger than he; consequently, if *Superbus* was the son of *Tanaquil*, she could not be more than 48 when she bore him. And if so, *Superbus* must have been at least 27, when his father died, his mother being then 75.

But if *Superbus* was 27, when his father *Priscus* died, then, as *Servius Tullius*, the successor of *Priscus*, reigned 44 years, *Superbus* must have been 71 at the time of his own accession to the Throne: And as he reigned 25 years, he must have been 96 at the time of his dethronement. And, as, after his dethronement, he maintained a war against the *Romans* 14 years, he must have lived to the age of 110.

Now, (says *Dionysius*) would *Tanaquil* (the wife of *Priscus*) had she been the mother of *Superbus*, have placed a stranger on the Throne preferably to her own son, if her own son had been of an age to govern? A stranger, who was but 3 years older than her son? (For *Servius Tullius* was then but 30.) Or would *Superbus*, a man of so much spirit, have quietly suffered it?

Can we believe that *Superbus* was 71 years old, when with so much strength and vigour he seized *Servius Tullius* by the waist, hurried him in his arms through the senate-house, and cast him headlong from the top of the steps at the entrance of it?

Or is it credible, that he was 96 years of age, when at the head of an army he perform'd all the functions of a General, as it is agreed he did, in the siege of *Ardea*, at the time of his dethronement?

Or, since it is agreed, that *Superbus* after his dethronement, maintained a war against the *Romans* 14 years, and was in every action of that war, can it be admitted that he was 96 when that war commenced? Could he possibly keep the field till he was 110?

These things, says *Dionysius*, are incredible: and hence he concludes, that the *second Tarquin* was the GRANDSON, and not the SON of the *first*.

But, notwithstanding all the force of this reasoning, we do not find that *Plutarch* was convinced by it. He only tells us, that *Superbus* was either the son or grandson of *Priscus*, without declaring for either opinion.

And *Livy*, who, being no stranger to the reasons which determined *Dionysius*, says, the matter is not clear, yet declares, that he adheres to the opinion, That *Superbus* was the SON of *Priscus*.

^a Mr. Bayle observes, that *Dionysius*, by making *Brutus* to be the son of *Tarquinius* a daughter of *Tanaquil*, has fallen into one of the absurdities he imputes to those who differ from him concerning the birth of *Tarquin* the proud: For by his own way of reasoning it

will appear, that *Tanaquil* must have been 54, when she bore that daughter.

^b Hic L. Tarquinius Prisci Tarquinii Regis filius, neposque fuerit, parum liquet: pluribus tamen auctoribus Filium ostenditur. L. 1. c. 46.

Now which way can we account for *Livy's* rejecting the conclusion in *Dionysius's* argument, but by supposing that he did not believe what he himself, as well as *Dionysius*, relates, namely, that *Priscus* reigned 38 years, *Servius Tullius* 44, and *Tarquin the Proud* 25? Indeed, as *Livy* does not say in what year of King *Ancus Martius*, *Priscus* arrived at *Rome*, it is possible, he might, in his own mind, place that arrival some years later than *Dionysius* (following *Licinius*) has done; in which case, *Superbus* need not have been 27 years old when his father died. Yet, since *Livy* represents *Priscus* so great a favourite of *Ancus*, as to be by him left guardian of his children, the historian could not but allow a considerable time for *Priscus* to ingratiate himself with the King to that degree. Let us suppose, that *Priscus* came to *Rome* about 6 years only before the death of *Ancus*, the consequences will be, that *Superbus* was at least 17 when he lost his father, 86 when dethroned, and near 100, at the battle of the *Regillus*, in which battle (according to *Livy*) he rode briskly up to attack the *Roman* general hand to hand.

“ Is it not astonishing (says Mr. Bayle) that, considering the absurdities which attend the supposition, that *Superbus* was the SON of *Priscus*, *Dionysius* could find but one writer who makes him the GRAND-son? This writer, was *Lacius Piso*, whose opinion *Dionysius* has adopted. *Livy* had not the same discernment: he has chosen to follow the crowd of authorities, and thereby loaded himself with a heap of difficulties, that dishonour his memory.” *Artic. Tanaquil. (F.)*

This charge upon *Livy* of wanting discernment I apprehended to be entirely groundless. Supposing him to believe that the *Roman* chronology was true, he could not but be aware of the insuperable objections to his opinion concerning the birth of *Superbus*. But I take the case to be this. That *Superbus* was the son of *Priscus*, is a simple fact, which could easily be preserved by tradition; much more easily than the ages of successive Kings or the number of years they reigned. Tradition universally supported that simple fact; and there was nothing to bring the truth of it in question, but such reasonings as *Dionysius* has employed; founded on the received but uncertain chronology of the regal state of *Rome*. *Livy* believed the fact; and did not believe the chronology: Yet knowing that it would be unpopular and offensive, should he, in his history, lower the antiquity of the *Roman* state explicitly and expressly, he has avoided that, and at the same time, by declaring for the opinion, that *Superbus* was the son of *Priscus*, has discovered to his attentive readers his disbelief of the chronology commonly received.

Nor

² *Virgil* seems to have acted the like part in making *Aeneas* and *Dido* contemporary. Without giving offence, he has covertly insinuated, that the reckonings of the chronologers were very erroneous. Mr. Rollin (Hist.

Anc. vol. 1. p. 238, 242.) seems to admit that *Carthage* was built by *Dido* 883 years before the Christian Era, and 300 years after the fall of *Troy*, and the voyage of *Aeneas*: and he supposes *Virgil* to have known himself guilty of a great

Nor is it only by relating *facts*, inconsistent with the truth of the common chronology, that he discovers his disregard to it, but by one of his reckonings. For in L. i. c. 40. he speaks of the 38th year of *Tarquinius Priscus* as being ALMOST 100 years after the reign of *Romulus*; though, by the common chronology, it was 137 years after *Romulus*'s death.

It is remarkable, that *Livy* does not tell us how long any one of the *Roman Kings lived*; nor does he mention the lengths either of the *lives* or *reigns* of the 14 *Latine Kings* who preceded them.

With regard to *several* of the *Kings of Rome*, I should conjecture, that the first *Annalists*, who pretended to fix the number of years which each of them reigned, did, either through mistake or design, give the lengths of their *lives* for the lengths of their *reigns*. What has been already remarked concerning *Romulus* and *Tullus Hostilius* affords some ground for this conjecture; and the history of *Servius Tullius* seems to favour it with regard to him; or at least to furnish a very good argument for shortening the duration of his government.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

DIONYSIUS tells us in the very beginning of his history of *Servius*'s reign, (and he plainly speaks of the *beginning* of this Prince's reign) That the *Patricians* being much dissatisfied to find, that *Servius* having taken the reins of government into his hands only as a *Regent*, intended to hold them as a *King*, came to this resolution; That the very first time he assembled the *Senate*, they would oblige him to lay down the *fusces* and all the other ensigns of royalty, and would chuse *Inter-Kings*, in order to proceed to a legal election of a successor to *Tarquin*: That *Servius* being apprized of their design, applied himself to gain *the People*, to support him; and, that to this end, having assembled *the People*, he promised, among other benefits, *to ease them with regard to the publick taxes, by assessing every one in proportion to his substance, it being unreasonable (as he said) that the poor should contribute equally with the rich to the expences of the state.* *Servius* in consequence of his *PROMISE*, when they had chosen him King, and he had made some previous regulations, instituted the *Census*, di-

great Anachronism, in bringing *Aeneas* and *Dido* together; yet, with many others, he excuses the poet by the doctrine of *poetick licence*, "It being (he says) a great beauty, " in the *Aeneid*, to represent the implacable " enmity between *Rome* and *Carthage* as " taking its rise in the remotest origin of " the two states." But in reality, is *Virgil* more excuseable, than a modern poet would be, who should imagine a war between *Constantine* the first Christian Emperor, and *Mahomet* the founder of the Musulman Religion? Would any body pardon such a licence on account of any beauties whatsoever? Surely reason will carry us to believe, that

Virgil knew he was not guilty of any considerable Anachronism with regard to *Aeneas* and *Dido*.

The Jesuits *Catrou* and *Reuilli*, who likewise take for granted, that *Aeneas* and *Dido* lived at a great distance of time from each other, and that *Virgil* knew it, yet observe, that none of the criticks who were contemporary with *Virgil*, or who lived after him, till *Macrobias*'s time, [in the end of the 4th century] ever charged him with any Anachronism. And they farther observe that *Cedrenus* and several other historians have brought *Aeneas* and *Dido* under the same roof.

viding the Citizens into *Classes* and *Centuries*, &c. by which institution the burden of the taxes was thrown all upon the great and the rich.

As the Senate obstinately refused to confirm the *People's* choice of *Servius* to be King, and as *Servius* depended wholly on the *People's* affections for the preservation of his authority, is it reasonable to suppose, that he put 24 years distance between so important a promise and the performance? Now if the *Census*, which was to be renewed every 5 years, and to be always closed by a *Lustrum*, was instituted in the beginning of *Servius Tullius's* reign, How came it to pass that there were no more than four *Lustra* during the 44 years of this Prince's administration? That this was the number of *Lustra* in *Servius's* time, *Pigbius* (p. 48.) says, may be collected from the Capitoline Marbles; and we have also *Val. Maximus's* authority for it, B. 4. Would *Servius* neglect the observance of his own institution? An institution that was his master-piece of policy, and his chief glory? To have four *Lustra* in his reign required strictly but 16 years, the first *Lustrum* being at the time of the institution; and should we suppose that he was killed just before a new *Census* should have been taken, still the four *Lustra* could demand but 20 years. And this therefore is as long a space of time as can reasonably be allowed for his reign.

It must be confessed, that *Livy*, in his account of *Servius Tullius*, differs considerably from *Dionysius*, and, upon the whole, is more consistent, and more worthy of credit*. The *Latins* historian reports, that *Servius* took the crown with the consent of *the Fathers*. And if we consider, that;

M. de
Beaufort.

* The ingenious author of *The Dissertation on the Uncertainty of the Roman History*, has with great judgment compared the differing accounts given by the two historians of *Servius's* reign; and has clearly shewn, that *Livy's* is the more credible, not only with regard to the disposition of the Senate toward the King at the time of his accession, but with regard to that plan of republican government, which the King had formed some time before he died. *Dionysius* would have us believe, that the Senators combined with *Tarquin* the Proud to destroy *Servius*, because this latter intended to change the government into a *Democracy*. Now it is manifest from the King's own establishments, that he preferred *aristocratical* government to *democratical*. And therefore what *Livy* reports is highly credible, that the meditated change regarded only the *monarchy*. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium, tamen quia unus esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt. (l. 1. c. 48.) The same historian relates, that when two annual Consuls were first created to govern the state, this creation was ac-

cording to the plan of *Servius Tullius*. Duo Consules inde Comitibus Centuriatis à Præfecto urbis ex COMMENTARIIS Servii Tullii creati sunt. (l. 1. c. 60.) What was it then that induced the Senators to side with *Tarquin*, since *Servius's* new plan of government was so favourable to their ambition? *Livy* has answered this question. They were dissatisfied with the division which the King had made of the publick lands among the people. For though he did not think it expedient that the lower sort should govern, yet he thought it reasonable they should live free, and be made easy in their inferiority; whereas it was the constant policy of the nobles of *Rome* to keep the commons in indigence, and of course in a slavish dependence. *Tarquin* seized the favourable opportunity of the Senate's fit of anger, suddenly to perpetrate the murder of *Servius* and seat himself in the throne. Yet we find, that the usurper, when he had got power in his hands, and when the anger of the Senate against *Servius* was subdued, would not trust to their good-will to support him in possession: He would not put his crown

that, by the institution of the *Census*, and the *Centuriate Comitia*, the King threw all the power of the general assemblies into the hands of the nobles, it is not very probable, that the nobles were his enemies. It seems more probable, that when he possessed himself of the throne, he did it in concert with the Senators, and that he engaged them to support him by letting them into the secret of his intentions.

Be this as it will, it was absolutely necessary that *Servius*, in order to a quiet possession, should conciliate to him by some speedy measures both Senate and People. And this we find he did by his new regulation of the government, pleasing the ambition of the *Nobles*, and relieving the indigence of the *Plebeians*. His situation, I say, required that his measures to gain the hearts of his subjects should be speedy; and therefore it is not to be questioned, but his institution of the *Census*, and his division of the citizens into classes and centuries, &c. were in the *beginning* of his reign. And, if so, I ask again, how came it to pass, that there were no more than four *Lustra* in 44 years? It is against all reason to suppose, that the King neglected an institution of his own invention, and which, giving satisfaction to both orders in the state, gained him their esteem and affection, and established his authority.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

As to the 25 years which this King is said to have reigned, I shall only observe, that if his reign was really of that length (which does not seem improbable, since he began and finished the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and the famous Common Sewers) it aids the argument against the long reign of *Servius Tullius*. For if *Servius* reigned 44 years, and *Superbus* 25, the latter, let him be the grandson of *Priscus*, as *Dionysius* will have it, could not be far from 90 years of age, at the battle near the lake *Regillus*, 14 years after his dethronement, since he was some years old at the death of *Priscus*: And, accordingly, the Greek historian gives him that age, and infers from it, that *Gellius* and *Licinius* (whom *Livy* has followed) and all the other historians, who say, that *Superbus* fought on horseback in that battle, are not to be credited, because a man 90 years old could not fight on horseback. Now surely the juster way of reasoning would have been

crown to the hazard of an election. He did not seek to be *elected* King by the Senate, more than by the people. Supported by foreign troops he deprived both orders of their privileges, cruelly oppressed the Nobles, but soothed the *Plebeians*, (as more to be dreaded on account of their greater strength) by his liberalities, and by sharing among them the rich spoils acquired in war. See *Hist.* p. 178. The Nobles languished after that liberty and authority of which *Servius* had given them a taste; and the shocking atrocious deed of *Sextus Tarquinius*, which awak-

ened the people, and made them thoroughly feel the slavery they were in, furnished the Nobles with an opportunity of drawing them at once into measures for recovering the common freedom. This seems to be the true state of things with regard to *Tarquin* and the Revolution. And the quick settlement of the new government, without any opposition, sufficiently indicates, that *Brutus* and his associates went upon a plan already formed, and to which the chief men of the *Plebeians* were no strangers, namely, that of *Servius Tullius*.

this: *Tradition* and *History*, uncontradicted, tell us that *Superbus* fought on horseback in the battle near the *Regillus*; therefore he could not be then 90 years of age: But, according to the common Chronology, which gives 44 years to the reign of *Servius Tullius*, and 25 to that of *Superbus*, the latter was 90 years old at that battle; consequently the common Chronology is false.

It appears, that *Dionysius* (a critick by profession) had laid it down as a fundamental principle, that the received Chronology of the regal state of *Rome* was true and exact; and therefore, let a fact be never so well attested, he rejects it, if he cannot make it square with that Chronology.

Tradition and *History* said, that *Superbus* was the son of *Priscus*; that *Superbus* fought on horseback at the battle of *Regillus*; that *Collatinus* (the husband of *Lucretia*) was the son of *Egerius* (nephew of the elder *Tarquin*.) No, says *Dionysius*, none of these things can be true; for they are not consistent with the long reigns of the Kings. He produces no authority against the facts; nor does he know who was the father of *Superbus*, or the father of *Collatinus*: But he reasons from the received Chronology, and concludes, contrary to all historical testimony, that *Superbus* was not the son, but the grandson of *Priscus*; that he did not fight on horseback at the abovementioned battle; and that *Collatinus* was not the son, but the grandson of *Egerius*.

Livy, on the other hand, though he durst not openly contradict the received Chronology, seems to have been fully persuaded, that it was not so well vouched, as many historical facts, that were incompatible with it. He therefore adheres to the facts, and leaves it to such notable criticks as *Dionysius* to reconcile them with the Chronology as well as they can.

AS I HAVE ventured thus far in an attempt to support Sir *Isaac Newton*'s opinion concerning the duration of the regal state of *Rome*, it seems fit, that before I quit the subject, I should take some notice of what the learned Dr. *Stuckford* has said in answer to Sir *Isaac Newton*'s arguments, and in defence of the old Chronology.

In the Preface to the second volume of his *Sacred and Profane History of the world connected*, he writes thus:

P. xix.

‘ Our great and learned author remarks, that the seven Kings of *Rome*
 ‘ who preceded the Consuls, reigned one with another 35 years a-piece.
 ‘ I am sensible that it may be observed, that the reigns of these Kings not
 ‘ falling within the times I am to treat of, I am not concerned to vindicate
 ‘ the accounts that are given of them; but I would not entirely
 ‘ omit mentioning them, because the lengths of their reigns may be
 ‘ thought an undeniable instance of the inaccuracy of the ancient computations,
 ‘ more especially because these Kings were all more modern
 ‘ than the times of *David*; for supposing *Rome* to be built by *Romulus*,
 ‘ A. M. 3256. [*Usher's Annals*] we must begin *Romulus*'s reign 300 years
 ‘ after the death of *David*, and the lives of men in these times being reduced

duced to what has been esteemed the common standard ever since, it may perhaps be expected, that the reigns of those Kings should not be longer, one with another, than the reigns of our Kings of *England*, from *William* the Conqueror; or of the Kings of *France*, from *Pharamond*; or of any other series of Kings mentioned by our illustrious author: But here I would observe, that these seven Kings of *Rome* were not descendants of one another. *Plutarch* remarks of these Kings, that not one of them left his crown to his son. Two of them, namely, *Ancus Martius* and *Tarquinius Superbus*, were descendants from the sons of former Kings, but the other five were of different families.

The successors of *Romulus* were elected to the crown, and the *Roman* people did not confine their choice even to their own country, but chose such as were most likely to promote the publick good. It is evident therefore, that the lengths of these Kings reigns ought not to be estimated according to the common measure of successive monarchs, &c.

I might remark farther that there were *Interregna* between the reigns of several of them.—Each of these *Interregna* might perhaps take up some years. The historians allot no space of time to these *Interregna*, but it is known to be no unusual thing for writers to begin the reign of a succeeding King from the death of his predecessor, though he did not immediately succeed to his crown.

We see here that the learned writer, to get rid of the objection, drawn from the course of nature, against the long reigns of the seven *Roman* Kings, suggests two considerations by which we may account for them.

I. He observes that the *Roman* Kings were elected. Very true; but it is likewise true, that *Reigns* will naturally be shorter in elective monarchies, than in hereditary. And I observe, that this circumstance of election serves our learned writer to account for short reigns when he has occasion so to do. For when he would account for the short reigns of the first Kings of *Aegypt*, he has recourse to election.

The first twelve Kings of the *Aegyptian* kingdoms, according to Sir *John Marsham's* tables, did not reign full so long, [as the first twelve Kings of *Affyria*, i. e. not full 40 years a-piece] “But it must be remembered, that in the first times the Kings of *Aegypt* were frequently elected; and so, many times, sons did not succeed their fathers.”

According to Sir *John Marsham's* tables, the first twelve Kings of no one of the *Aegyptian* kingdoms reigned 34 years a-piece one with another. And yet these *Aegyptian* Kings are supposed to have reigned, when men lived to the ages of 400, 300, 200. But, as the learned writer supposes that the *Romans* were induced by the circumstances of their affairs to elect men, who were in the prime of life, to be their Kings, which accounts for the great length of their reigns; so doubtless he supposes, that the *Aegyptians*, on account of the circumstances of their affairs, elected old men to be their Kings, men of about 300, 200, or 180 years old, by which supposition the whole difficulty arising from the short reigns of the first Kings of *Aegypt* is removed.

I must

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172.Gen.
xxvi.

I must here observe, that the learned writer thinks it very reasonable to believe, that the *eight* first Kings of *Edom*, who reigned between the times of *Moses* and *Saul*, might reign above 48 years a-piece, one with another, [as they are represented to have done] “because it suits very well with the length of men’s lives in these times.” Now in these times, the lives of men were not half so long as in the times of the first *Egyptian* Kings, who by the tables did not reign 34 years a-piece, one with another. And the difficulty which arises from the comparison will not be solved by the supposed election of the *Egyptian* Kings to the throne; because it is pretty evident, that the *eight* first Kings of *Edom* were elected, not one of them being the son or brother of his predecessor.

To return to the Kings of *Rome*: The learned writer observes,

II. That, “Between the reigns of several of the *Roman* Kings, there were *Interregna*, and that each of these *Interregna* might perhaps take up some years, and that the historians allot no space of time to these *Interregna*.”

Now *Livy* tells us expressly, that the *Interregnum* which followed the death of *Romulus* was of *one year*, and the reason he gives for its being then terminated, was the jealousy of the people, who apprehended an intension in the Senate to reduce the government to an aristocracy; a reason which would naturally operate with like force in all future *Interregna*.

Upon the death of *Numa*, the same historian^a relates that there was an *Interregnum*, and that when *Tullus Hostilius* was chosen King, but says nothing to make us think that the *Interregnum* lasted longer than was necessary for the ceremony of the election.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* it would seem by *Livy*’s^b words, that there was but *one Interrex* before a successor to the crown was chosen.

After the death of *Ancus Martius* we are told by the same^c historian, that *Tarquin*, who was left guardian to the sons of *Ancus*, brought on the election of a successor with all expedition, and got himself chosen King.

After the death of *Tarquin* there was no *Interregnum*. Nor after the death of *Servius Tullius*.

N. B. THE learned writer takes no notice, that most of the seven Kings of *Rome* were slain, and one deposed.

AS the learned writer, though the *Roman* Kings did not fall within the times he was to treat of, judged it proper nevertheless to take notice

^a Annuum intervallum sequi fuit. L. 1. c. 17.

^b Numa morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostiliam—Regem populus iussit. C. 22.

^c Mortuo Tullio, res, ut institutum jam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hiq; interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia ha-

bente Ancum Martium regem populus creavit. C. 32.

^d Jam filii [Anci] prope puberem ætatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinus instare ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. C. 35.

of what Sir *Isaac Newton* has remarked concerning those Kings, "Because P. xx.
 " the lengths of their reigns might be thought an undeniable instance of
 " the inaccuracy of the ancient computations," perhaps I may be ex-
 cused, if, for a like prudential reason, I take notice of some things which
 the learned writer has said in support of the ancient computations, with
 regard to the kingdoms of *Ægypt*, *Sicyon*, and *Argos*. For though these
 computations may be true, and that concerning the duration of the regal
 state of *Rome* be nevertheless false; yet if it appears that the former can-
 not be supported with any shew of argument, this will certainly go a
 great way towards discrediting the latter, as it will give ground to suspect
 that the prophane Chronology regarding the most ancient times has been
 all conjectural and technical.

" The catalogues of Kings (says Dr. *Shuckford*) which our great and P. xvi.
 " learned author produces to confirm his opinion, are all of later date,
 " some of them many ages later than the times of *David*.

" It cannot be inferred from these reigns of Kings mentioned by Sir P. xvii.
 " *Isaac Newton*, that Kings did not reign, one with another; a much
 " longer space of time in the ages which I am concerned with, in which
 " men generally lived to a much greater age, than in the times out of
 " which Sir *Isaac Newton* has taken the catalogues of Kings which he
 " has produced.

" From *Abraham* down almost to *David* men lived, according to the
 " scripture accounts of the lengths of their lives, to I think at a medium
 " above 100 years, exceeding that time very much in the times near
 " *Abraham*, and seldom falling short of it, until within a generation or
 " two of *David*: But in *David*'s time the length of human life was, at a
 " medium, but 70 years: Now any one that considers this difference,
 " must see, that the lengths of Kings reigns, as well as of generations, P. xviii.
 " must be considerably affected by it. Successions in both must come
 " on slower in the early ages according to the greater length of men's
 " lives.

" I am sensible I could produce many catalogues of successions from
 " father to son, to confirm what I have offered; but since there is one
 " which takes in almost the whole compass of the times which I am con-
 " cerned in, and which has all the weight that the authority of the sacred
 " writers can give it, and which will bring the point in question to a clear
 " and indisputable conclusion, I shall for brevity's sake omit all others,
 " and offer only that to the reader's farther examination: From *Abraham*
 " to *David* (including both *Abraham* and *David*) were 14 generations:
 " Now from *Abraham*'s birth A. M. 2008 * to *David*'s death about A. M. * Ant. Ch.
 " 2986 † are 978 years, so that generations in these times took up one 1996.
 " with another near 70 years a piece; i. e. they were above double the † Ant. Ch.
 " length which Sir *Isaac Newton* computes them, and which they were (I be- 1018.
 " lieve) after the times of *David*. We must therefore suppose the reigns of
 " Kings in these ancient times to be longer than his computation in the
 " same proportion, and, if so, we must calculate them at above forty years
 " a-piece.

“ a-piece one with another; and so the prophane historians have recorded them to be: For according to the lists we have from *Cæstor* of the ancient Kings of *Sicyon* and *Argos*, the first twelve Kings of *Sicyon* reigned more that 44 years a-piece one with another, and the first eight Kings of *Argos* something above 46, as our great author has remarked.

“ But the reigns of the first twelve Kings of *Sicyon* extended * from A. M. 1920 to A. M. 2450, so that they began 88 years before the birth of *Abraham*, and ended in the times of *Moses*.

“ And the reigns of the first eight Kings of *Argos* began A. M. 2154, ended A. M. 2525, so that they reached from the latter end of *Abraham*'s life to a few years after the exit of the *Israelites* out of *Ægypt*.

“ And let any one form a just computation of the length of mens lives in these times, and it will in no wise appear unreasonable to imagine, that the reigns of Kings were of this length in these days.

P. xix. “ I might observe, that the ancient accounts of the Kings of different kingdoms in these times agree to one another, as well as our great author's more modern catalogues, &c.”

I. W. E. see here, that the learned writer would have it granted him, and reasons all along upon the supposition that it will be granted him, that the first named Kings of *Sicyon* and *Argos* in the old catalogues, reigned in the times he is concerned with, that is, in the times of Longevity: And he seems not to be aware, that this is begging the very question in dispute, and that while he begs the question he furnishes reasons to reject his petition. He very justly advances, “ That the difference there has been in the common length of human life in the different ages of the world, must have had a considerable effect upon the length of both reigns and generations, both which must be longer or shorter in this or that age, in some measure, according to what is the common standard of the length of mens lives in the age they belong to.” But this undoubted truth furnishes an argument irresistible against the long reigns of the Kings in the catalogues abovementioned.

Sir *Isaac Newton* has never said, that twelve Kings of *Sicyon*, of whom the First began to reign in A. M. 1920 (Ant. Chr. 2084) might not reign 44 years a-piece one with another: or that eight Kings of *Argos*, of whom the first began to reign A. M. 2154 (Ant. Chr. 1850) might not reign 46 years a-piece: But all his reasonings tend to prove, that the kingdoms, said to have commenced at those periods, did not then commence; that *Ægialeus* did not begin to reign in A. M. 1920, nor *Inachus* in 2154, but many centuries after those dates, and in the times of short life.

F 169, 170. As to *Ægialeus*, Sir *Isaac Newton* has sufficiently shewn by authorities, that he was the son of *Inachus* and brother of *Phoroneus*, who is counted

* By this reckoning the reigns of the 12 Kings took up 530 years. But Dr. *Stackford*, Vol. II. p. 41. gives only 38 years a-piece to the first six Kings, the whole time 228 years: so that the second six must have reigned above 50 years a-piece one with another, the whole time 302 years.

† Mr. *Whiston* has made the same petition principally.

the second King of *Argos*; the beginning of which kingdom was consequently prior to that of *Sicyon*. And he has likewise shewn it to be highly probable, that *Apis* the 4th King of *Sicyon*, and *Epopeus* the 17th King in the catalogue, were one and the same person, and that the twelve Kings, inserted between those two names, were imaginary. The judicious Mr. *Stanyan*, in his *Grecian History*, seems much disposed to adopt this opinion. And even Mr. *Whiston* confesses (p. 983.) that “the series of Kings of *Sicyon* is more suspected by the learned, than almost any that pretends to be very ancient; and that there are not wanting some plausible arguments against it.”

I shall therefore take no further notice of the *Sicyonian* Kings, but apply Sir *Isaac Newton*'s method of reasoning from the course of nature, to the succession of Kings at *Argos*, of whom the eight first are said to have reigned above 46 years a-piece one with another.

It is held by some learned men, that the life of man became reduced to the present standard in the time of *Moses*; others defer it to within a generation or two of *David*.

Moses at 80 years of age came out of *Aegypt* in the year Ant. Chr. 1491.

David dy'd, at about 70 years of age, A. M. 2986,

Ant. Chr. 1018. He was therefore born about——Ant. Chr. 1087.

The time between the Exodus and the birth of *David* is 404 years.

Let us take the middle number, 202, and add it to 1087, and this will carry us back to——Ant. Chr. 1289.

During these 1289 years, preceding the Christian *Æra*, we are authorized by Sir *Isaac*'s catalogues to compute (when there is no certainty) the reigns of any considerable number of Kings in succession at about 20 years a-piece one with another.

Let us then accept Sir *Isaac*'s allowance of 340 years (instead of 622) for the reigns of the 17 Kings, ending with *Leonidas*, who was slain in the year Ant. Chr. 480.

If to these 480 years we add the 340, this will carry us back to the year 820 Ant. Chr. the time of the return of the *Heracrides* into *Peloponnesus*, and the beginning of the reign of *Eurysthenes* the first of the 17 Kings of *Sparta* of that race.

It is generally admitted, that the beginning of the reign of *Eurysthenes*, (who ejected * *Tisamenus*, the son of *Orestes* and grandson of *Agamemnon*) was 80 years after the *Fall of Troy*. These 80 years being added to the 820, we are got to the year 900 before Christ, the year when *Troy* was taken.

Agamemnon King of *Mycenæ* (who was slain just upon his return from *Troy*) is given us for the 19th King in succession from *Inachus*, the first King of *Argos*, (*Perseus* the 15th King of *Argos* having removed the regal seat from *Argos* to *Mycenæ*.)

* N. B. *Tisamenus* was King of *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, and *Sparta*, when the *Heracrides* de-throned him.

Now supposing all these 19 Kings in succession to have *really* * *existed*, yet if we allow them but 20 years a-piece one with another (and there is no reason to allow them more, for we are not yet got to the times of *Longevity*) the sum will be 380, which being added to 900, carries us back to the year 1280 before Christ, about which time we have supposed the life of man to have been first reduced to the present standard. And this brings down the commencement of the kingdom of *Argos* 570 years later than where it is placed by the old Chronology.

BUT as we have here supposed, what perhaps many persons will not grant, that the life of man was brought to the present standard 202 years before the birth of *David*, let us fix the date of this abbreviation of human life at only 40 years before *David's* birth, and then it will be in the year before Christ 1127. This is I think as low a date as any body contends for; at least Dr. *Stuckford* will be content with it.

Of the 19 Kings it will require 11, at about 20½ years a-piece, to carry us up from the death of *Agamemnon* (which, by the foregoing computation, happened about the year before Christ 900) to the 40th year before *David's* birth, Ant. Chr. 1127: and consequently, if we will adhere to the *pretended* date of the commencement of the kingdom of *Argos*, viz. Ant. Chr. 1850 (or A. M. 2154) we must suppose the 8 first Kings to have reigned above 90 years a-piece one with another, and their reigns to have taken up 723 years; for this is the number that must be added to 1127 to make 1850.

But if the 8 first Kings of *Argos* reigned 90 years a-piece one with another, what the learned writer advances in the following passage concerning *monuments*, *stone-pillars* and *inscriptions*, can have no foundation.

* Mr. *Stanyan* mentions the following Kings of *Argos*, as said to have reigned in succession.

Inachus, *Phoroneus*, *Apis*, *Argus*, *Criasus*, *Phorbas*, *Iafus*, *Crtepus*. But as to *Apis*, he tells us (p. 19.) it is not generally assented to, that there was such a King of *Argos*. And in p. 22. he has these words: "As *Iafus* is not generally reckoned in the number of these Kings, so it is doubted whether *Phorbas* and his son *Triopas* ought not to be excluded, it being said that they fled from *Argos* to the island of *Rhodes*: And the same doubt has been raised concerning *Crtepus*, because he is likewise said to have left *Argos* and to have built a new city for himself in *Megaris*."

I observe that Sir *Isaac Newton* (p. 170.) by placing the beginning of the reign of *Phoroneus*, the second King of *Argos*, about the 12th of *Samuel*, or Ant. Chr. 1088, sup-

poses, that at least eight or nine of the Kings in the *Argive* catalogue were fictitious. In p. 172. he has these words: "*Acusilaus* wrote, that *Phoroneus* was older than *Ogyges*, and that *Ogyges* flourished 1020 years before the first Olympiad.—But *Acusilaus* was an *Argive*, and feigned these things in honour of his country.—*Inachus* might be as old as *Ogyges*, but *Acusilaus* and his followers made them 700 years older than the truth; and Chronologers, to make out this reckoning, have lengthened the *reces* of the Kings of *Argos* and *Sicyon*, and changed several contemporary princes of *Argos* into successive Kings, and inserted many feigned Kings into the race of the Kings of *Sicyon*." If Sir *Isaac Newton* had not cut off eight or nine of the Kings of *Argos*, he could not have placed *Phoroneus* so late as 1088 by his own method of computation.

" As

“ As to our illustrious author’s arguments from the length of reigns : Pref. p. liv.
 “ I might have observed that it is introduced upon a supposition which
 “ can never be allowed, namely, that the ancient Chronologers did not
 “ give us *the several reigns of their Kings* as they took them from *authentick*
 “ *records*, but that they made the lengths of them by *artificial computa-*
 “ *tions*, calculated according to what they thought the reigns of such a
 “ number of Kings as they had to set down, would at a medium one
 “ with another amount to : *this certainly never was fact* ; but as *Acusilaus*,
 “ a most ancient historian mentioned by our most illustrious author,
 “ wrote his genealogies out of tables of brass, so it is by far most
 “ probable that *all* the other *genealogists*, who have given us the lengths
 “ of lives or reigns of their Kings or Heroes, *took their accounts either*
 “ *from monuments, stone-pillars, or ancient inscriptions, or from other an-*
 “ *tiquaries of unsuspected fidelity, who had faithfully examined such origi-*
 “ *nals.*”

To this I further answer,

I. If these genealogists were so faithful and had such good vouchers,
 whence came “ those repugnances in their chronological canons (men-
 “ tioned by *Plutarch*) which hundreds of authors correcting have not
 “ been able to constitute any thing certain in which they could agree ?”
 For instance, how came *Ægialeus*, King of *Sicyon*, to be, according to some
 chronologers, 234 years, and, according to others, above 500 years
 older than *Phoroneus* King of *Argos*, when “ *Acusilaus, Anticlides, and Plato* See Sir I.
 “ accounted *Phoroneus* the oldest King in Greece ; and *Apollodorus* tells us, N. Chron.
 “ *Ægialeus* was the brother of *Phoroneus* ?” p. 169.

II. Dr. *Shuckford*, in another part of his work, seems to admit that the
 Ancients made use of an *artificial chronology* ; as appears by the following
 passage, vol. I. p. 207.

1. “ He [Sir *John Marsham*] observes from *Diodorus*, that *Menes* was
 “ succeeded by fifty-two Kings whose reigns all together took up the space
 “ of above 1400 years. In all which time the *Ægyptians* had done nothing
 “ worth the recording in history.

2. “ He supposes these 1400 years to end at *Sesostris* ; for *Herodotus* is
 “ express that the first illustrious actions were done in *Ægypt* in the time
 “ of *Sesostris* ; before *Sesostris*, says he, they had done nothing famous ;
 “ and *Diodorus* says that *Sesostris* performed the most illustrious actions far
 “ exceeding all before him.

3. “ He supposes, with *Josephus*, that this *Sesostris* was *Sesac* who besieg-
 “ ed *Jerusalem* in the 5th year of *Reboam*, King of *Judah*, about A. M.
 “ 3033.

“ The only difficulty in this argumentation will be, that it places *Me-*
 “ *nes* or *Mizraim*, above a century earlier than his true age ; for if we
 “ reckon backward 1400 years, from the year before named [3033] in
 “ which *Sesac* besieged *Jerusalem*, we shall place *Mizraim* A. M. 1633,
 “ i. e. 23 years before the flood, and 139 years earlier than the true time
 “ of his reign, which began,—A. M. 1772 ; but this difficulty may be
 “ easily

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“ easily cleared: The number 1400 years is a mistake: *Diodorus* says
 “ expressly, that there were but 52 Kings ^a from *Menes* to the time where
 “ *Sesoftris*’s reign is supposed to begin; and according to Sir *John Marsham*’s
 “ tables of the *Theban* Kings, from *Menes* to *Sesoftris* is but 1370 years,
 “ though we suppose *Sesoftris* the 55th King from *Menes*, and even this
 “ number is too great, if, as *Diodorus* computes, there were fifty-two
 “ Kings only.

“ The Ancients generally allowed about 36 years and a half to the reign
 “ of a King [when they made use of an artificial chronology] and therefore
 “ if we deduct 3 times 36 years and an half, or about 110 years from
 “ 1370 (the number of years between *Menes* and *Sesoftris*, according to
 “ Sir *John Marsham*’s tables) I say, if we deduct 3 times 36 years and
 “ an half, or about 110 years, (supposing those tables to have the names
 “ of 3 Kings too many, the number of Kings being, according to *Dio-*
 “ *dorus*, 52, and not 55) we shall then make the space of time between
 “ *Menes* and *Sesoftris* about 1260 years; and so it really is according to
 “ the *Hebrew* chronology, *Menes* beginning his Reign, as we before said,
 “ *Anno mundi* 1772; and *Sesoftris* or *Sesac* besieging *Jerusalem* in the 5th
 “ year of *Rehoboam Anno mundi* 3033.”

I cannot but observe here, that the learned writer, who in imitation of the Ancients, makes use of an artificial chronology, has in the present instance employed it somewhat unluckily; for supposing he might have allowed 110 years to 3 reigns in any other succession of ancient Kings, he has no right to make that allowance *here*, where the reigns of the 52 Kings filling only 1260 years, they could reign but about 24 years a-piece one with another. And indeed the shortness of these reigns furnishes a good argument against that Catalogue of fifty-two Kings, as well as *Diodorus*’s 80 Kings) and against the learned writer’s opinion concerning the ancient chronologers, *That they took their successions of Kings, and the numbers of years which each of them reigned, from AUTHENTICK RECORDS.*

For is it not highly incredible that 52 *Egyptian* Kings beginning with *Mizraim*, and reaching thro’ the times of longevity from A. M. 1772 to 3033, should reign but 3 or 4 years a-piece one with another longer than the like number of successive Kings in modern kingdoms? a consideration that seems sufficient to overthrow all imaginary tables of brass, stone-pillars, monuments, inscriptions, &c. recording the succession of those 52 Kings or 55 Kings between *Mizraim* and *Sesoftris* ^b.

Or, if it be credible that the reigns of 52 Kings of *Egypt* in succession from *Mizraim* took up but 1260 years, is it not improbable that the

^a “ According to *Diodorus*, *Sesoftris* was
 “ about 80 successions after *Menes* or *Miz-*
 “ *raim*. *Diodorus* must indeed have made a
 “ mistake in this computation, for from the
 “ death of *Menes* A. M. 1943, to *Sesac* about

“ A. M. 3033 are but 1090 years, and 55
 “ successions may very well carry us down
 “ thus far, &c.” Pref. p. xxxi. Vol. II.
^b See in p. xlix. the citation from Mr:
Whiston.

reigns of 39 * Kings in succession, from *Inachus*, took up 1370 years; that if the former Kings reigned but about 24 years a-piece one with another, the latter should reign 35: especially, if we consider that the reign of *Mizraim* is supposed to have begun 382 years before the reign of *Inachus*, and but 116 years after the flood?

Arphaxad was coeval with *Mizraim*. Now had *Arphaxad* established a kingdom A. M. 1772, and the crown had gone in lineal descent, it is probable, there would not have been more than 15 Kings in 1260 years, ^{Ant. Chr. 2232.} i. e. from the beginning of *Arphaxad*'s reign to the time of *Sesostris*, who was contemporary with *Solomon*. For from *Arphaxad* to *Solomon* (both included) there were but 23 generations: and, during the first nine generations, there would have been but three Kings, *Arphaxad*, *Salab*, and *Eber*: For *Eber* outlived *Abraham*, the 7th in descent from him.

And it is to be observed, that these THREE reigns would have taken up 415 years, (there being from A. M. 1772 to A. M. 2187, the year when *Eber* died, exactly that number) whereas in no series of *Egyptian* reigns in Sir *John Marsham*'s tables, do the TWELVE first take up more than 407 years.

And as to the 14 generations, beginning with *Isaac* and ending with *Solomon*, it is probable, they would not have furnished more than 12 Kings: For while the life of man was shortening from 180 years to 70, fathers would frequently outlive their sons, and the reigns would be fewer than the generations.

But supposing a King for each of the 14 generations from *Isaac* to *Solomon*, (both included) the whole number of Kings in 1260 years from *Arphaxad* to *Solomon*, would have been but 17.

That the reigns of 52 Kings in succession from *Mizraim* should take up no longer a space of time, than 23 generations from *Arphaxad*, has surely at first sight an appearance of improbability. How far the difficulty may be solved by the suppositions of *Election*, *Rebellion*, and *King-killing*, I shall leave to the reader to consider.

BUT, in the passage above cited (from pref. p. xix.) the learned writer, to support the credit of the old chronologers, observes farther, that "the ancient accounts of the Kings of different kingdoms agree to one another as well as Sir *Isaac Newton*'s more modern catalogues."

Yes, in some instances, they agree so well, as by their agreement to discover their *Technical* original. For the 22 first Kings of *Thebes*, in Sir *John Marsham*'s tables, take up but 676 years, and the 21 Kings of *Alba* and *Rome* take up just the same number, tho' the first are supposed to have reigned in the times when men lived to the ages of 400, 300, 200, 120, and the other when the life of man was shortened to 70 years.

* The 19 Kings ending with *Agamemnon*, ending with *Leonidas* make up the 39: They the 3 between *Agamemnon* and *Eurysthenes*, reign from Ant. Chr. 1850, to Ant. Chr. 480. and the 17 beginning with *Eurysthenes* and

So, in the times of SHORT LIFE, the twelve Kings of Macedonia, from Caranus to Archelaus, reign $34\frac{1}{2}$ years a-piece. And the eight last of the Latine Kings, from Amulius to Tarquin the proud, reign $35\frac{3}{4}$.

And in the times of LONG LIFE, the twelve first Kings of Assyria reign about 40 years a-piece one with another.

How can these things be made to square with that principle, laid down by the learned writer (Pref. p. xv.) that “the difference there has been
“in the common length of human life, in the different ages of the world,
“must have had a considerable effect upon the length of reigns, which
“must be longer or shorter in this or that age in some measure, accord-
“ing to what is the common standard of the length of mens lives in the
“age they belong to?”

I should think that the great mistake of the annalists who wrote of the first ages after the flood is not in allowing so many as 100 or 120 years to three reigns, but in not allowing more*. They seem to have known nothing of the fact, that mens lives extended to so great a length, during some centuries after the flood, as they are represented to do in Scripture: For had they known this, surely they would never have made their accounts of Kings reigns in the earlier and later ages agree so well together.

Pref. p.
xxii. to p.
liii.

p. lii.

As to the long argumentation which the learned writer has employed in support of Ctesias's chronolgy of the Assyrian monarchs, against Sir Isaac Newton's objections, I shall not enter into any consideration of it; because to my apprehension the learned writer does not seem to be quite satisfied with it himself; nor to have a very advantageous opinion of Ctesias. “We find (says he) from Scripture, that after Abraham's defeating his
“armies” [the armies of Chedorlaomer] “the Assyrian Kings appear not
“to have had any dominion over the nations between the Mediterranean
“and the Euphrates: This indeed seems to confine the Assyrian empire
“within narrower bounds, than can well agree with the accounts which
“the heathen writers give of it; but then it is remarkable, that these
“enlarged accounts come from hands comparatively modern. Diodorus
“informs us, that he took his from Ctesias; Ctesias might have the num-
“ber of his ancient Assyrian Kings from the Persian chronicles; but as all
“writers have agreed to ascribe no great actions to any of them, from after
“Ninus to Sardanapalus; so it appears most reasonable to imagine, that
“the Persian registries made but a very short mention of them,” [prob-
ably none at all;] “for ancient registries afforded but little history, and
“therefore I suspect, that Ctesias's estimate of the ancient Assyrian grandeur

* The fourteen first Egyptian Kings of Thebes are said to have reigned 414 years, i. e. from A. M. 1772 to 2186, or till three years after the death of Abraham, (who died at the age of 175) and tho' they lived in these times of longevity, yet they reigned but 29

years some months a-piece; they are not made to reign so long as the 14 Latine Kings, after the fall of Troy, which is supposed to have happened A. M. 2820, 634 years after the last of the fourteen Egyptian Kings.

“ was rather formed from what he knew to be true of the *Persian* empire,
“ than taken from any authentick accounts of the ancient *Affyrian*.”

And Mr. *Whiston* says (p. 980.) “ I desire not to be misunderstood in
“ this place as if I believed all the strange stories of *Ctesias* either as to the
“ beginning or ending of this *Affyrian* kingdom. I do not depend upon
“ such legendary relations.—I have not here set down the several years
“ which each of these Kings [in all 32 from *Belus* to *Sardanapalus* out of
“ *Moses Chorenensis*] reigned, because it must be acknowledged that the
“ copies differ much about them; and I suspect several mistakes in those
“ particular numbers of successions and of years, tho’ the general sum of
“ the years, within a little more than a century, is well attested by the
“ ancients.”

NOR shall I meddle with Sir *Isaac Newton*’s astronomical argument for
fixing the time of the *Argonautick* expedition, (and of course the time of
the fall of *Troy*, which was only one generation later) from the position
of the solstitial and equinoctial points on the sphere which *Chiron* made for
the use of the *Argonauts*. I am too little acquainted with the science of
Astronomy to speak pertinently on the subject. I shall only observe that
Mr. *Whiston* does not agree with Dr. *Stuckford* concerning the grounds of
the argument.

“ The fallacy of this argument (says Dr. *Stuckford*) cannot but appear Pref. p. iii.
“ very evident to any one that attends to it: for suppose we allow that
“ *Chiron* did really place the solstices, as Sir *Isaac Newton* represents, (tho’
“ I should think it most probable that he did not so place them) yet it
“ must be undeniably plain, that nothing can be certainly established
“ from *Chiron*’s position of them, unless it appears, that *Chiron* knew how
“ to give them their true place.

—“ If indeed it could be known what was the true place of the solstitial P. vi.
“ points in *Chiron*’s time, it might be known, by taking the distance of
“ that place from the present position of them, how much time was elapsed
“ from *Chiron* to our days.

“ But I answer, it cannot be accurately known from any schemes of
“ *Chiron* what was the true place of the solstices in his days; because,
“ tho’ it is said that he calculated the then position of them, yet he was
“ so inaccurate an astronomer, that his calculation might err four or five
“ degrees from their true position.”

Mr. *Whiston* (p. 991.) writes thus:

“ As to the first argument from the place of the two colures in *Eudoxus*
“ from *Chiron* the *Argonaut*, preserved by *Hipparchus* of *Bithynia*, I rea-
“ dily allow its foundations to be true, that *Eudoxus*’s sphere was the same with
“ *Chiron*’s, and that it was first made and shewed *Hercules* and the rest of
“ the *Argonauts* in order to guide them in their voyage to *Colchis*. And I
“ take the discovery of this sure astronomical criterion of the true time of that
“ *Argonautick expedition* (in the defect of eclipses) to be highly worthy
“ the uncommon sagacity of the great Sir *Isaac Newton*, and in its own
“ nature a chronological character truly inestimable. Nor need we, I
“ think.

“ think, any stronger argument in order to overturn Sir *Isaac Newton's*
 “ own chronology, than this position of the colures at the time of
 “ that expedition, which its proposer has very kindly furnished us
 “ withal.”

In p. 996: “ I now proceed to *Eudoxus's* accurate description of the
 “ position of the two colures, as they had been drawn on their celestial
 “ globes, ever since the days of *Cleomedes*, at the *Argonautick* expedition,
 “ and as *Hipparchus* has given us that description in the words of
 “ *Eudoxus*.”

Again (p. 1002.) “ Sir *Isaac Newton* betrays his consciousness how
 “ little *Eudoxus's* description or *Cleomedes's* colures agreed to his position of
 “ them, by pretending that these observations of the Ancients were *coarse*
 “ and inaccurate. This is true if compared with the observations of the
 “ Moderns which reach to minutes; and, since the application of *Tele-*
 “ *scopick* sights to *Astronomical* instruments, to ten or fewer seconds. But
 “ as to our present purpose this description in *Eudoxus* is *very accurate*,
 “ it both taking notice of every constellation, through which each of the
 “ colures passed, that were visible in *Greece*: and *hardly admitting of an*
 “ *error of half a degree* in angular measures, or 36 years in time. Which
 “ is *justly exact*.”

How far Mr. *Whiston* has succeeded in his argumentation about the
Neck of the Swan and the *Tail of the Bear*, &c. I must leave to others to
 consider. I shall only observe, with regard to the last paragraph cited
 from his discourse, that when Sir *Isaac Newton* calls the observations of
 the ancient astronomers *coarse*, he cannot well be understood to use that
 word, but in a comparative sense, that sense in which Mr. *Whiston* ad-
 mits it may be justly used. For otherwise Sir *Isaac* would not have in-
 ferred any thing, as CERTAIN, from those ancient observations. Now,
 in p. 95, after he has finished his argument from *Chiron's* sphere, he thus
 writes:

“ *Hesiod* tells us, that sixty days after the winter solstice, the star *Arc-*
 “ *turus* rose at sun-set: and thence it follows, that *Hesiod* flourished about
 “ 100 years after the death of *Solomon*, or in the generation or age next
 “ after the *Trojan* war, as *Hesiod* himself declares.

“ From all these circumstances, grounded upon the COARSE observa-
 “ tions of the ancient astronomers, we may reckon it CERTAIN, that the
 “ *Argonautick* expedition was *not earlier* than the reign of *Solomon*: and if
 “ these astronomical arguments be added to the former arguments taken
 “ from the mean length of the reigns of Kings according to the course of
 “ nature; from them all we may *safely conclude*, that the *Argonautick* ex-
 “ pedition was *after the death of Solomon*, and most probably that it was
 “ about 43 years after.

“ The *Trojan* war was *one generation later* than that expedition——
 “ several captains of the *Greeks* in that war being sons of the *Argonauts*,
 “ &c.”

By

By the last words here cited, I am brought round again to the point, from whence I set out in this discourse, the *Fall of Troy*; the time of which event, if it be rightly settled, or pretty near the truth, by Sir *Isaac Newton*, the received chronology of the regal state of *Rome* is totally discredited and overturned. For then the whole space of time, between the taking of *Troy* and the expulsion of *Tarquin the Proud*, will not have been above 400 years; and of these no-body, I imagine, will be inclined to give 244 to the 7 Kings of *Rome*, most of whom were slain, and but 156 to the 14 *Latine* Kings their predecessors.

To the probable arguments brought by Sir *Isaac* for shortening the duration of the regal state, I have added another, taken from certain traditions which prevailed among the *Romans*, and of which the chronology, framed afterwards, was not able to destroy the belief, though the truth of those traditions was incompatible with the truth of that chronology.

And I have shewn, that in the *Roman* story there are other particulars repugnant to the received chronology, but perfectly consistent with Sir *Isaac Newton's* computations.

Tradition and the earliest *Roman* historians said,

1. That *Numa* was contemporary with *Pythagoras*.
2. That *Tarquin the Proud* was the son of *Tarquin the Elder*.
3. That *Tarquin the Proud* was at the head of his army, and fought on horseback in his last battle with the *Romans* [about 14 years after his expulsion.]
4. That *Collatinus*, the husband of *Lucretia*, and created Consul on the expulsion of *Tarquin the Proud*, was the son of *Egerius*, nephew of *Tarquin the Elder*.

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It surely cannot be denied, that there is a great coincidence of circumstances to support Sir *Isaac Newton's* computations; and that his computations, if admitted, render credible many historical facts, which are incredible so long as we adhere to the old chronology.

A writer, not less distinguished for his depth of thought and logical exactness, than for his amiable, benevolent fairness in argument, observes, "That evidence arising from various coincidences, which confirm and support each other, is that kind of evidence upon which most questions of difficulty in common practice are determined.—And that *probable proofs*, by being *added*, not only *increase* the evidence, but *multiply* it."

Supposing it easy to shew, that in the present argument, (consisting of Sir *Isaac Newton's* reasons, and those I have added to them) this or that particular thing, offered in proof, is liable to objection, and of little weight in itself; yet the united force of all the particulars, in one view, may perhaps be irresistible; and certainly the conclusion we make from a view of the particulars, ought to be such as results from their *united force*.



THE

THE
Roman History.
 FIRST BOOK.

THE
REGAL STATE of ROME.

C H A P. I.

Of the Original of the *Romans*, and the Building of
Rome.

SECT. I. *The first Romans were of Trojan extraction.* §. II. *Æneas's voyage to Italy.* §. III. *The ancient inhabitants of that country.* §. IV. *Æneas's reception by Latinus, King of Latium. He marries Lavinia the daughter of Latinus, and builds Lavinium.* §. V. *He succeeds to the Kingdom of his father-in-law.* §. VI. *The death of Æneas, who is succeeded by his son Ascanius.* §. VII. *Ascanius founds Alba Longa, and yields Lavinium to Æneas Sylvius, the son of Æneas by Lavinia.* §. VIII. *The Latines upon the death of Ascanius unite Lavinium and Alba into one DOMINION, which they decree to Æneas Sylvius, but give the sovereign power in affairs of Religion to Iulus the son of Ascanius.* §. IX. *The succession of the Kings of Alba from Æneas Sylvius to Amulius, who dethrone his elder brother Numitor.* §. X. *The birth, education, and adventures of Romulus and Remus. They dethrone Amulius, and restore their Grandfather Numitor.* §. XI. *Numitor sends his two grandsons to plant a colony. They quarrel about the spot of ground where the new city shall stand. Remus is slain.* §. XII. **ROME is BUILT.**

Bef. J. C.
753.

C H A P. II.

R O M U L U S.

§. I. *Romulus is chosen King of Rome.* §. II. *He puts on a robe of distinction, and appoints 12 LICTORS to attend him.* §. III. *He divides his colony into 3 TRIBES, and these into 30 Curiae.* §. IV. *He distinguishes the people*

Y. of R. 1.
TRIBES.
CURIAE.

“ *as to our present purpose this assertion in itself is very accurate,*
“ *it both taking notice of every consideration through which each of the*
“ *columns sailed, that were visible in Ceylon and hardly admitting of an*
“ *error of half a degree in angular measures, or 36 years in time. Which*
“ *is perfectly exact.*”

How far Mr. *Whiston* has succeeded in his argumentation about the *Neck of the Swan* and the *Tail of the Bear*, &c. I must leave to others to consider. I shall only observe, with regard to the last paragraph cited from his discourse, that when Sir *Isaac Newton* calls the observations of the ancient astronomers *coarse*, he cannot well be understood to use that word, but in a comparative sense, that sense in which Mr. *Whiston* admits it may be justly used. For otherwise Sir *Isaac* would not have inferred any thing, as CERTAIN, from those ancient observations. Now, in p. 95, after he has finished his argument from *Chiron's* sphere, he thus writes:

“ *Hesiod* tells us, that sixty days after the winter solstice, the star *Arcturus* rose at sun-set: and thence it follows, that *Hesiod* flourished about
“ 100 years after the death of *Solomon*, or in the generation or age next
“ after the *Trojan* war, as *Hesiod* himself declares.

“ From all these circumstances, grounded upon the COARSE observa-
“ tions of the ancient astronomers, we may reckon it CERTAIN, that the
“ *Argonautick* expedition was *not earlier* than the reign of *Solomon*: and if
“ these astronomical arguments be added to the former arguments taken
“ from the mean length of the reigns of Kings according to the course of
“ nature; from them all we may *scarcely conclude*, that the *Argonautick* ex-
“ pedition was *after the death* of *Solomon*, and most probably that it was
“ about 43 years after.

“ The *Trojan* war was *one generation later* than that expedition—
“ several captains of the *Greeks* in that war being sons of the *Argonauts*,
“ &c.”

By

And I have shewn, that in the *Roman* story there are other particulars repugnant to the received chronology, but perfectly consistent with Sir *Isaac Newton's* computations.

Tradition and the earliest *Roman* historians said,

1. That *Numa* was contemporary with *Pythagoras*.
2. That *Tarquin* the Proud was the son of *Tarquin* the Elder.
3. That *Tarquin* the Proud was at the head of his army, and fought on horseback in his last battle with the *Romans* [about 14 years after his expulsion.]
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4. By

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THE

T H E

Roman History.

F I R S T B O O K.

T H E

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- PATRONS.** *into PATRICIANS and PLEBEIANS, PATRONS and CLIENTS. §. V. He constitutes a SENATE. §. VI. He appoints himself a guard of 300 horsemen called Celeres. §. VII. He settles the respective prerogatives of the King, Senate, and People. §. VIII. The religious laws of Romulus. §. IX. His civil laws. §. X. To augment his colony, he opens an Asylum for fugitive slaves and out-laws. XI. The rape of the Sabine women. §. XII. The Sabines endeavour to recover their women by a treaty. In the mean time Romulus defeats the Cœninenſes, ſlays Acron their King in ſingle combat, and decrees himſelf a TRIUMPH for his victory. He reduces Crustuminiſm and Antemnæ, and gains other advantages. §. XIII. Romulus's war with the Sabines. §. XIV. He concludes a peace with them, and admits Titus Tatius, their King, to be his partner on the throne. The followers of Tatius are transported to Rome, and become one people with the Romans. §. XV. Tatius creates 100 new Senators choſen out of the Sabines. The creation of the firſt ROMAN KNIGHTS. The feſtival of the MATRONALIA inſtituted. §. XVI. The death of Tatius. §. XVII. Romulus defeats the Camerini, Fidenates, and Veientes. He renounces the kingdom of Alba upon the death of Numitor. §. XVIII. The murder of Romulus by the Senate, and the artifice of Julius Proculus to appeaſe the people.*
- Y. of R.** 16. 37. 55.

C H A P. III.

N U M A.

- Interreg-** *§. I. The death of Romulus is followed by an Interregnum. A de-*
num. *ſcription of that ſort of government. The people grow weary of it; whereupon it is unanimouſly reſolved to choſe a KING. §. II. The character of Numa*
40. *Pompilius, a Sabine philoſopher. §. III. He is elected to ſucceed Romulus; but is with difficulty perſuaded to accept of the kingdom. He conſults the will of the Gods by augury. §. IV. Numa is no ſooner upon the throne, than he applies himſelf to quiet the diſſentions at Rome, and to moderate the warlike order of the Romans by the impreſſions of Religion. §. V. He divides the mi-*
Ministers *niſters of Religion into eight claſſes. The Curiones, Flamines, Celeres, Au-*
of Reli- *gurs. §. VI. Veſtals. §. VII. Salii. §. VIII. Feciales. §. IX. Pon-*
gion. *tifices. §. X. He directs an eſpecial reverence to be paid to the God Janus; and makes a Goddeſs of Bona Fides. §. XI. He introduces a new ſort of Gods, called Terminii or Boundaries. §. XII. He amends ſome of Romulus's laws; and makes new ones. §. XIII. He ſends away the idle ſoldiery to cultivate the lands conquered by Romulus. §. XIV. He diſtributes the citizens into diſtinct companies, according to their trades. §. XV. He reforms the ca-*
72. *lendar. §. XVI. Numa dies, and his books are buried with him.*

C H A P. IV.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

- 73.** *§. I. Tullus Hoſtilius, a man of a generous and martial diſpoſition, is elected by the Romans to ſucceed Numa. §. II. The rivalſhip between Rome and Alba*



Alba for superiority. §. III. The dispute is decided by the famous combat between the three Horatii and the three Curiatii, in which the latter are all slain, and two of the former. §. IV. The surviving Horatius, returning to the city, in triumph, stabs his own sister, for reproaching him with the death of her lover. He is tried by the Duumviri, and condemned to die. He appeals to the People, and they mitigate the sentence. §. V. Tullus, in conjunction with the Albans, engages in a war against the Veientes, and defeats them. The treachery of the Albans. Tullus demolishes Alba, and transplants the inhabitants to Rome. §. VI. He vanquishes the Fidenates, Sabines, and Latines; and institutes the Saturnalia. §. VII. In his old age, he falls into superstition, and studies magick. He is assassinated in his own palace.

Horatii
and Curi-
atii.

APPEAL
to the
PEOPLE.

Alba de-
stroyed.

113.

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ANCUS MARCIUS.

§. I. Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa, is chosen to succeed Tullus Hostilius. He declares war against the Latines in all the forms prescribed by Numa. He vanquishes the enemy in several battles, and takes many of their towns. §. II. He strengthens Rome by new fortifications, and builds Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. He defeats the Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes, and Volsci. §. III. He dies, leaving two sons under the tuition of Lucius Tarquinius, a foreigner from Hetruria, who had settled at Rome.

114.

Ostia
built.

139.

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TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

§. I. The politick management of Tarquinius to obtain the kingdom. He is elected King, and adds to the Senate 100 new Senators chosen out of the Plebeians. §. II. The Latines renew the war against the Romans. Tarquin, by repeated victories over them, reduces them to sue for peace. At his return to Rome, he builds a Circus for the Roman games. §. III. He totally subdues the 12 Lucumonies of Hetruria. §. IV. He applies himself to cleanse and beautify Rome. §. V. He renews the war with the Sabines. He increases the number of the Roman Knights. The adventure of Navius the Augur. §. VI. Tarquin subdues the Sabines. §. VII. He marks out the area of a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, on the hill Tarpeius, afterwards called the Capitol. §. VIII. The sons of Ancus conspire the death of Tarquin. He is assassinated in his own palace. The stratagem of Queen Tanaquil, to secure the kingdom to her son-in-law, who takes possession of it, without being legally elected to the throne.

100 Ple-
beians
brought
into the
Senate.

Navius,
Augur.

174.

C H A P. VII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

§. I. The birth and education of Servius Tullius. The honours he pays to the Goddess Fortune upon his elevation to the Throne. §. II. The Patricians conspire

- conspire to dispossess him. He gains the people to his interest, is legally elected King by the Curiae, and though the Senate refuses to confirm this election, keeps possession. §. III. Servius defeats the rebellious Hetrurians. He enlarges Rome, and adds a fourth Tribe to the three old ones. He institutes the Comitia in favour of slaves. He divides the Roman territory with its inhabitants into Tribes. He marries his two daughters to Lucius Tarquinius and Aruns, the grandsons of the late King. He subdues the Hetrurians. §. IV. Servius divides the Roman citizens into six CLASSES, and these into CENTURIES. He institutes the CENSUS and the LUSTRUM, and coins money. §. V. He gives the LIBERTI or Freedmen the privilege of Roman Citizens. §. VI. He reforms the Regal Power, and executes a scheme for securing to the Romans the safety and friendship of the Latines and Sabines. §. VII. The wicked intrigues of Tarquin and the younger Tullia. Tarquin accuses the King of usurpation before the Senate. Servius pleads his cause there, but appeals to the People, and is by them confirmed on the throne. §. VIII. Tarquin regains the King's favour by submissions, but soon after causes him to be murdered, and seizes the kingdom.

C H A P. VIII.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

- §. I. The tyranny of Tarquin, who gets the surname of the PROUD. His haughty treatment of the Latine Deputies and treacherous contrivance to destroy Turnus Herdonius. §. II. The Latine association, and the institution of the FERIAE LATINAE. Tarquin assisted by the Latines defeats the Volscians. He subdues the Sabines. He finishes the COMMON SEWERS and CIRCUS MAXIMUS at Rome. §. III. His war with the people of Gabii, and the cruel stratagem whereby he becomes master of that city. §. IV. The adventure of the woman with the SYBIL'S BOOKS. The rise of the written civil law. Tarquin builds the temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS. §. V. He sends two of his sons with Brutus to consult the oracle at Delphos. §. VI. The rape of LUCRETIA. The Tarquins are banished, and a COMMON-WEALTH established at Rome, under TWO CONSULS to be annually chosen.

243.

S E C O N D B O O K.

From the establishment of the ROMAN COMMONWEALTH in the year of Rome 243, to the re-building of the City in 365, after the burning of it by the Gauls.

C H A P. I.

- 244 S E C T. I. The state and condition of Rome on the abolition of the regal power. §. II. Tarquin prevails with the Magistrates of Tarquinii in Hetruria to send an Embassy to Rome in his favour, with a letter from him

to the Roman People. §. III. *A second Embassy from the Tarquinienſes to the Romans. The Ambaſſadors engage ſome of the young Patricians in a plot againſt the new government. It is diſcovered by Vindicius a ſlave. Brutus* BRUTUS's ſervant. *condemns his own ſons to death and ſees the execution.* §. IV. *Collatinus is forced to abdicate the Conſulſhip; and Valerius is choſen to ſucceed him.* §. V. *Tarquin having ſtirred up the Tarquinienſes and Veientes to take arms in his cauſe, they come to a battle with the Romans, in which Brutus is ſlain.* §. VI. *The people entertain a jealousy of Valerius's ambition, but ſoon after give him the name of Poplicola or Popular, on account of the laws he makes* Lex Valeria. *in their favour, to the diminution of the Conſular Authority. He creates* QUÆSTORS. *two treaſurers with the title of QUÆSTORS.*

CHAP. II.

§. I. *Poplicola is choſen Conſul a ſecond Time, and T. Lucretius appointed* 245. *to be his Collegue. Porſena, King of Cluſium in Hetruria, ſends a threaten-* Porſena. 246. *ing embaſſy to Rome. The Romans chuſe Poplicola Conſul a third time, and give him Horatius Pulvillus for a Collegue.* §. II. *Porſena in conjunction with ſome of the Latine ſtates, marches an army into the neighbourhood of Rome. The remarkable bravery of Horatius Cocles.* §. III. *The* Horatius Cocles. *deſperate enterprize and wonderful reſolution of Mucius Scævola. Porſena* Mucius Scævola. *intimidated by the courage of the Romans, deſiſts from his demand of having the baniſhed King reſtored. He makes a truce with the Romans, who refer it to his judgment, whether they ſhall reſtore to Tarquin his paternal eſtate or not. The adventure of Clælia during the pleadings. Porſena renounces the cauſe of Tarquin entirely, and makes a peace with the Romans.* §. IV. *The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is conſecrated. Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius choſen Conſuls. The Romans ſhew their gratitude to Porſena.* 247.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *The Romans, in the Conſulſhip of M. Valerius, (brother of Popli-* 248. *cola,) and P. Poſthumius, make war againſt the Sabines, and twice defeat them.* §. II. *The Sabines unite in a national body againſt Rome, where* 249. *Poplicola is choſen Conſul a fourth time. Appius Claudius leaves the Sa-* APPIUS CLAUDIUS. *bines and comes over to the Romans, with all his followers and dependants. The Sabines are again defeated.* §. III. *Poplicola dies. The Sabines upon his death take courage, and renew the war, in the Conſulſhip of P. Poſthumius and Menenius Agrippa, who obtain a ſignal victory over them.* §. IV. 250. *An OVATION only is decreed to Poſthumius, but a Triumph to Menenius.* OVATION. §. V. *The Sabines are ſubdued in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip of Sp. Caſſius* 251. *and Opiter Virginus.*

CHAP. IV.

§. I. *The Latines (in the Conſulate of Poſthumius Cominius and T.* 252. *Lartius) declare for King Tarquin againſt the new Republick; but, before they take the field, ſend an Embaſſy to Rome with propoſals for an accommodation.* 253. §. II.

- §. II. *A conspiracy is there formed by some of Tarquin's Emissaries, who accompany the Latine Ambassadors. The plot is discovered and prevented, by the Consul's Servius Sulpitius and Manius Tullius; and the Ambassadors are disappointed with a refusal of their demands.* §. III. *The Latines dispatch a second Embassy to Rome with offers of peace, upon new conditions; these are also rejected by the Senate. The Romans prepare for war: but when the Consuls Titus Lartius, and Q. Clœlius, would make the necessary levies, the poorer citizens refuse to serve.* §. IV. *The cruelty of their creditors is the cause of this mutiny. The debtors demand an absolute remission of their debts. Great disputes arise in the Senate on this occasion. In so dangerous a situation of affairs the Senate judge it necessary to create a Dictator, (a sovereign uncontrollable Magistrate, and to this they get the People's consent.* §. V. *Titus Lartius is appointed to that supreme dignity. The levies for a war are now carried on without difficulty. After very little action in the field, a truce is made with the Latines for a year; during which the Roman women married into Latium, and the Latine women married at Rome, have leave to return to their respective countries.* §. VI. *The truce being expired, Posthumius one of the Consuls is named Dictator, and has the sole conduct of the war. He gives the Latines an entire overthrow in the battle of Regillus; after which the whole Nation submits. Tarquin being obliged to quit Latium, retires to Cumæ in Campania, and there, in a few months after, dies.*

C H A P. V.

- §. I. *The peace concluded with the Latines is followed by domestick broils at Rome; where the Senate get the Consulship for Appius Claudius and P. Servilius.* §. II. *The Volsci encouraged by the civil feuds among the Romans, prepare to fall upon them. The Plebeians at Rome refuse to list themselves for the war. Servilius with an army of volunteers, who follow him out of personal affection, enters the territory of the enemy, and terrifies them into a submission for the present; but he has no sooner led back his army, than they renew their preparations to attack the Republick.* §. III. *While the Senate are consulting about the levies to be made on this occasion, a sudden accident occasions an insurrection at Rome. Servilius appeases the tumult. News comes that the Volsci are approaching. Servilius by fair promises in relation to the debts engages the people to list themselves.* §. IV. *He defeats the enemy, and, tho' the Senate refuse him a triumph at his return, on account of his indulgence to the soldiers, he triumphs in spite of their opposition.* §. V. *After this he takes the field again, and defeats the AURUNCI.* §. VI. *The debtors at his return from the war claim the performance of his promises. Servilius, not having power to make them good, is treated by the people with contempt. He thereupon becomes their enemy, and the sedition increases.*

C H A P. VI.

- §. I. *The people refuse to obey the summons of the new Consuls (A. Virginus and T. Veturius,) to list themselves for a war against the Sabines, Æqui, and Volsci. The Senate, after some dispute among themselves, agree to create a Dictator,*

tator. Manius Valerius, a brother of Poplicola, is named to that dignity. §. II. Valerius prevails with the People to serve, by promising them full satisfaction in relation to their complaints when the war shall be over, and by suspending in the mean time all prosecutions for debt. Three armies are raised, to be commanded by the Dictator and the two Consuls. The enemy are defeated on all sides. §. III. The Dictator at his return home demands of the Senate to discharge his engagements to the debtors. His demand is rejected. He excuses himself to the People and resigns the Dictatorship.

C H A P. VII.

§. I. The discontent among the People augments. The consuls, to give the mutineers a diversion, lead their two armies, which they had not yet disbanded, ^{SECESSION.} again into the field. The soldiers desert their Generals, and by the advice of Sicinius Bellutus, retire to a hill three miles from Rome. §. II. The Senate ^{260.} dispatch a deputation to them to persuade them to return; but in vain. Posthumius Cominius and Spurius Cassius are chosen Consuls. Warm debates in the Senate. A second deputation is sent to the mutineers in spite of the remonstrances of Appius Claudius. §. III. The artful management of Sicinius Bellutus and Junius Brutus, the two heads of the sedition, in their conference with the Deputies. §. IV. Menenius Agrippa by soft words, and by his famous apologue, overcomes the obstinacy of the mutineers; but when they are just ready to go back to the city, Brutus puts a stop to their march till the Senate have agreed to the creation of some new officers chosen out of the Plebeians to be the future protectors of the People. These officers, stiled ^{TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.} TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE, being elected, and their persons declared sacred, the mutineers return to Rome.

C H A P. VIII.

§. The TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE obtain of the Senate, that two officers ^{Pleb. A.} be annually elected (out of the Plebeians) to be their Ministers and Assistants; who are afterwards called ^{Ediles.} ÆDILES. §. II. The war is renewed against the Volsci. The Roman arms prevail. Caius Marcius Coriolanus signalizes his courage in this war. §. III. T. Geganius and P. Minucius ^{261.} are chosen Consuls. Rome suffers extremely by a famine, and this calamity revives the civil dissensions. The Senate, to disburthen the City, send away great numbers of the People to plant two Colonies. The Plebeians, who remain at Rome, grow more mutinous, in proportion as the famine increases. §. IV. The Tribunes give out, that the dearth of provisions is owing to the malice of the Senate. The Consuls convene the People to undeceive them. The Tribunes dispute with the Consuls the right of speaking in the Assembly. The next day, A LAW is passed by the People, *Tribuno rogante*, whereby it is made penal to interrupt the Tribunes when they are speaking in the Comitia. Coriolanus, at the head of some volunteers, takes the field and ravages the enemy's territory, sharing all the spoil among his soldiers.

C H A P. IX.

152.
CORIO-
LANUS.

§. I. *Plenty of corn being brought to Rome from Sicily (in the Consulate of M. Minucius and A. Sempronius) fresh disputes arise in the Senate about the distribution of it. Coriolanus is for taking advantage of the people's distress to get the Tribuneship abolished. The younger Senators applaud the motion. §. II. The Tribunes, who had been present at this debate, go away in a fury and stir up the People to revenge. They cite Coriolanus to appear before them. He refuses. They endeavour to seize him as he comes out of the Senate-house, but are repulsed by those who attend him. The Consuls appease the tumult. §. III. Early the next morning the Tribunes hold an Assembly of the People on this affair. Minucius the Consul by gentle words disposes the multitude to peace; but Coriolanus spoils all by a fresh declaration of the same sentiments which had before offended them. The Tribunes condemn him to death. The Patricians oppose the execution of this rash sentence, and the People seem not to approve it. The Tribunes therefore resolve to prosecute Coriolanus in a legal way, and to convene the People by Tribes for his trial. The assembly is adjourned.*

C H A P. X.

§. I. *The Consuls endeavour by remonstrances to allay the heat of the Tribunes, and bring them to conform to the ancient usages, which did not allow the People to take cognizance of any affair till it was referred to them by a decree of the Senate. The Tribunes consent to observe this rule, and desire they may be heard by the Fathers in relation to their charge against Coriolanus. §. II. The Tribune Decius makes a long Speech in the Senate, inveighing bitterly against the accused, and contending for the People's right to judge him. §. III. Appius Claudius in very strong terms opposes this pretension. §. IV. But Valerius, in terms no less strong, urges the expediency of the Senate's compliance. He exhorts Coriolanus in the most pathetic manner to submit himself to the People's judgment; and he adds a discourse in behalf of a balance of power between the Patricians and Plebeians. §. V. It is carried by a majority of votes that Coriolanus shall be tried by THE PEOPLE. Coriolanus having assurances given him, that the Accusers charge shall be confined to the single crime of Tyranny, consents to the drawing up of the decree.*

C H A P. XI.

COMITIA
BY
TRIBES. §. I. *The day being come for Coriolanus's trial, a dispute arises between the Consuls and Tribunes, whether the People shall give their suffrages by CENTURIES, according to the ancient custom, or by TRIBES, which had never yet been practised. The Tribunes, who are for the latter, prevail. §. II. Coriolanus's cause is heard. He is condemned to banishment, and leaves Rome.*

C H A P.

C H A P. XII.

§. I. *The Plebeians exult upon the victory they have gained over the Patricians in the affair of Coriolanus. The Romans having now no war abroad, nor squabble at home to employ them, turn their minds wholly to superstition, during the Consulate of Q. Sulpicius and Sp. Lartius.* §. II. *The Tribunes, from a political view, persuade the People at the next election of Consuls to chuse men of little spirit, and mean abilities for war. Their choice falls upon C. Julius and P. Pinarius Rufus.* §. III. *In the mean time, Coriolanus retires privately to Antium, one of the principal cities of the Volsci, discovers himself to Attius Tullus, General of that nation, offers him his service against Rome, and is nobly received by him.* §. IV. *These two Generals concert a stratagem to stir up the Volsci to renew the war with the Romans. Coriolanus is introduced by Tullus into the Assembly of the Volscian States, and there makes a speech, which is highly applauded. They resolve upon war, and to commit the conduct of it to Tullus and Coriolanus; but first, by the advice of the latter, send an embassy to Rome, to make such demands of the Republick, as they are sure will be rejected. The Volscian Ambassadors are dismissed by the Roman Senate with a haughty answer.*

C H A P. XIII.

§. I. *Coriolanus at the head of a Volscian army recovers from the Romans all the towns they had taken from the Volsci; carries several cities in Latium by assault, and then leads his troops within five miles of Rome; where new Consuls are chosen, Sp. Nautius and Sex. Furius.* §. II. *The People, terrified at his approach, cry out to have the sentence of his banishment reversed. The Patricians oppose it. He marches to Rome and invests it. The Senate and People agree to sue to him for peace. Three Deputations are sent to him successively, to persuade him to desist from his demands in favour of the Volsci; but all in vain.* §. III. *The Mother and Wife of Coriolanus go attended by all the Roman Ladies of distinction to make a fourth attempt upon his resolution.* §. IV. *The interview and conference between Coriolanus and his Mother, who prevails upon him to raise the siege of Rome; after which he is assassinated by the Volsci.*

C H A P. XIV.

§. I. *Two brave and able Captains, Aquilius Tuscus and Sicinius Sabinus, being promoted to the Consulate, they recover the reputation of the Roman arms by the victories they obtain over the Volsci and Hernici.* §. II. *They are succeeded by Sp. Cassius (now a third time Consul) and Proculus Virginius. Cassius concludes an alliance with the Hernici upon terms which displease the Senate.* §. III. *He aspires to make himself King of Rome; and, to gain the People, proposes for the first time the AGRARIAN LAW (or the law for dividing the conquered lands among the citizens of Rome) and that the La-*

268. *tines and the Hernici (newly become allies of Rome, and admitted to the rights of citizenship, may share with the Romans in that distribution. §. IV. The opposition of the Nobles to the passing of this law, with the reasons of that opposition. §. V. The Consul Virginius and even the Tribunes oppose it. §. VI. The artful conduct of the Tribune Rabuleius to draw an advantage to the People from the dispute between the Consuls. §. VII. Cassius, to get his law passed, brings great numbers of Latines and Hernici to Rome to vote for it. His Colleague orders them to leave the city. §. VIII. The Senate, to quiet the contention, decree a Partition of the conquered lands, but postpone the execution of their decree till the Consuls elect (Q. Fabius and Serv. Cornelius) shall have entered upon their office. §. IX. Cassius is arraigned before the People for treason, condemned and executed.*

C H A P. XV.

269. *§. I. The People regret the death of Cassius. The Senate find means to divert them a while from the affair of the AGRARIAN LAW. §. II. L. Æmilius with Cæso Fabius, and M. Fabius with L. Valerius are successively chosen Consuls. In the Consulship of the latter the war with the Volsci breaking out afresh, the Tribune Mænius protests against any levies for the service, till something effectual be done in relation to the Agrarian Law. The Consuls, by a stratagem, get the better of his opposition. §. III. The Senate at the next Assembly for choosing Consuls, endeavour to obtain that dignity for Appius Claudius (the son of the first Appius so often mentioned.) The Tribunes, to hinder it, excite such a tumult, that there is no possibility of proceeding in the election. The Republic falls into an Inter-regnum. Sp. Latinus being Interrex quiets the contention between the two parties. They agree to give the Fasces to C. Junius and Q. Fabius, the first a creature of the Tribunes, the second a man zealous for the Senate. These Consuls take the field against the Veientes; and for a while all is quiet at Rome. §. IV. The next election raises new disputes. Sp. Furius and Cæso Fabius (a second time) are chosen, each party having a Consul to its liking. The Tribune Icilius, in imitation of Mænius, opposes the necessary levies for a war with the Æqui and Veientes. Appius Claudius suggests a stratagem to the Senate by which they carry their point against Icilius. The Consuls take the field.*

APPIUS
CLAU-
DIUS II.

C H A P. XVI.

270. *§. I. The Troops commanded by Cæso Fabius, not liking their General, will not suffer him to gain any honour in the campaign. §. II. M. Fabius (a second time) and Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus are elected to the Consulship. They obtain a signal victory over the Hetrurians, chiefly by the bravery of the Fabii, who from this time become popular. §. III. Cæso Fabius (a third time) and T. Virginius are chosen Consuls. Cæso defeats the Æqui and Veientes, §. IV. The Fabian family undertake alone to guard the frontiers against the Veientes. Cæso, as soon as he has resigned the Fasces (to L. Æmilius and C. Servilius) joins the rest of his family in quality of PROCONSUL, a new in-vented*

274.
FABIUS FA-
MILY

275.
PROCON-
SUL.

wanted dignity. §. V. The Romans carry on the war against the Æqui, Volsci, and Volcentes. Æmilius after a successful campaign against the last is refused a triumph. He seeks to revenge himself on the Senate. §. VI. In the succeeding Consulship (of C. Horatius and T. Menenius) all Hetruria declares war against Rome. The miserable fate of the Fabii. The Hetrurian arms prevail. But the next year's Consuls (A. Virginus and P. Servilius) give the enemy an entire overthrow.

C H A P. XVII.

§. I. The Tribunes not being able to carry their point in relation to the AGRARIAN LAW, turn their rage against some Consulars, who when in power had oppressed them. Menenius the last year's Consul, is accused before the People, and condemned in a fine. §. II. His successor Servilius is maliciously prosecuted as soon as he has resigned the Fasces to P. Valerius and C. Nautius, but he is honourably acquitted. In this and the following Consulship (of Aulus Manlius and L. Furius) war is carried on with success against several of the neighbouring States. §. III. The succeeding Consuls, L. Æmilius (a third time chosen) and Vopiscus Julius, are publicly called upon by the Tribune Genucius, to name the Commissioners for the Partition of the Lands. Finding that the Consuls shun meddling in that affair, he begins a criminal process against their predecessors Manlius and Furius, for having neglected the naming of those Commissioners. The trial is prevented by the sudden death of Genucius.

C H A P. XVIII.

§. I. The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the Consuls after the death of Genucius, in relation to P. VOLERO, whom, tho' he had been an Officer, they would oblige to list himself for a common soldier. The People rise, and the Consuls hide themselves. §. II. L. Pinarius and P. Furius succeed to the Consulate, and VOLERO is chosen a Tribune of the People. VOLERO proposes a Law for electing the Tribunes in the Comitia by Tribes. The Disputes on this head are interrupted by a plague. §. III. The Senate get the Consulship for Appius Claudius and T. Quinctius. The two Collegues differ about the means to defeat VOLERO's project. §. IV. VOLERO renews the proposal of his Law in an Assembly of the People. Quinctius, by soft words, disposes the People to reject it: But Appius, by a speech full of pride and heat, ruins the effect of what his Collegue had said. The Tribune Lætorius commands Appius to leave the Assembly, and even orders him to be led to prison. A scuffle ensues. Night puts an end to the Disorder. §. V. The tumult is renewed the next morning. Quinctius by prudent management quiets it, and prevails with the Senate to let VOLERO's Law pass.

C H A P. XIX.

§. I. The Consuls lead two armies into the field against the Æqui and Volsci. Appius's troops, that he may have no claim to a TRIUMPH, refuse to fight the enemy. He punishes them with the utmost severity, and returns to Rome. §. II. The affair of the Agrarian Law being revived in the Consulship of

203. of his successors (L. Valerius (a second time Consul) and T. Æmilius) he opposes the Tribunes with more heat than ever. They cite him before the People, as an enemy to the public liberty. He kills himself. §. III. The Tribunes resume the affair of the Conquered Lands, but drop it again till the close of the next Consulship (of A. Virginus and T. Numicius) when no Plebeian appears in the Curia, where T. Quinctius (a second time) and Q. Servilius are chosen to that dignity. These Consuls, to keep things quiet at home, busy the People in various wars. §. IV. The domestic dissensions begin afresh in the Consulship of T. Æmilius (a second time Consul) and Q. Fabius. Æmilius favours the People in relation to the Agrarian Law. Fabius, without promoting that affair, falls upon an expedient to stop their complaints. §. V. He then takes the field, and reduces the Æqui to ask peace; who nevertheless in the next Consulship of Sp. Posthumus and Q. Servilius (now a second time Consul) begin to stir again; and in the following year, when T. Quinctius (a third time) and Q. Fabius (a second time) are Consuls, the war breaks out anew; it is continued by their successors, A. Posthumus and Sp. Furius, to the advantage of the Romans. §. VI. In the succeeding Consulship of P. Servilius Priscus and L. Æbutius Elva, a most dreadful plague rages in the city. The Æqui and Volci appear before Rome, but soon retire; and the Romans the next year, under the command of the new Consuls (L. Lucretius and T. Veturius) give them an entire overthrow.

C H A P. XX.

- TERENTI-
AN LAW. §. I. During the absence of the Consuls from Rome, Terentius Arsa, one of the Tribunes, proposes to the People, that there should be an establishment of FIXED LAWS to be the RULE to the Magistrates in deciding causes between man and man. §. II. Q. Fabius, Governor of the City, warmly opposes it, and sends to the Consuls to return to Rome. Terentius on their arrival suspends the pursuit of his design. §. III. But the affair is revived in the succeeding Consulship of P. Volumnius and S. Sulpitius. Great contests about it. A stop put to it by prodigies and ill omens. §. IV. The Law is again proposed. The contending parties come to blows. Quinctius Cæso, the son of Quinctius Cincinnatus, is cited before the Commons for the violent part he had acted in these scuffles. §. V. He has not courage to appear on the day appointed for his trial. His uncle T. Quinctius appears for him. Cæso is falsely accused of murder. The decision of the cause is deferred to another day; before the coming of which Cæso banishes himself.

C H A P. XXI.

293.
C. Claudius. §. I. Notwithstanding the violent proceedings of the Tribunes against Cæso, the Patricians keep steady in their opposition to the Terentian Law; and the better to maintain their ground, they get C. Claudius (brother of that Appius Claudius, who killed himself) into the Consulship. (P. Valerius, now a second time Consul, is given him for a Collegue.) The Tribunes despairing of victory in a fair open contest, combine together to destroy the better part of the Senate; and in order thereto, pretend to have discovered a plot upon the public liberty. Claudius

Claudius exposes their malice and forgeries before the People, and thereby quashes their wicked design.

C H A P. XXII.

§. I. *These civil broils among the Romans encourage one HERDONIUS, a private Sabine, to attempt the conquest of Rome. At the head of 4000 men he surprizes the CAPITOL. The Tribunes take advantage of this publick distress, and before they will consent to let the People arm, insist upon a promise from the Consuls, that they will not oppose the passing of the Terentian Law. Claudius rejects the condition, but Valerius makes the promise required, and prevails with the People to march against the enemy, and take an oath not to lay down their arms without the Consuls leave. Valerius is killed in the attack of the Capitol. Nevertheless the Romans carry the place, and Herdonius is slain.*

C H A P. XXIII.

§. I. *C. Claudius is cited by the Tribunes to perform the promise of his deceased Collegue. He defers it under various pretences; and at length refuses to do any thing in the affair, till a new Consul be elected in the room of Valerius. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus is chosen to that dignity in his absence, to the terror of the People who had so lately banished his son Cæso. The Deputies from the Senate who carry Quinctius the news of his election, find him driving the plough.*

§. II. *He comes to Rome. convenes a general Assembly, reproves both Senate and People for their past behaviour, and threatens the latter (whose oath of obedience to the Consuls was still binding) to lead them into the field, and make them pass the winter there. By this and other arts, which he employs, he makes the Tribunes desist from their pursuit of the Terentian Law.*

§. III. *Virginus Volscius, and the other Tribunes, get themselves continued in their employments for another year, notwithstanding a Decree of the Senate expressly made to bind any citizen from standing two years together for the same office. The Senate hereupon are for continuing Quinctius a second year in the Consulate, but he rejects the motion with indignation, and reprimands them for shewing so little regard to their own Decrees. The Fasces are transferred to Q. Fabius and L. Cornelius; and Quinctius returns to his plough. The Quæstors commence a prosecution against Volscius, for having borne false witness against Quinctius's son Cæso; but the Tribunes put a stop to it, and the Senate make this a pretext for continuing their opposition to the Terentian Law.*

C H A P. XXIV.

§. I. *The Consuls of the present year are successful in war against the Æqui and Volsci. But the next year, when C. Nautius and L. Minucius are Consuls, the latter having the conduct of the war against the Æqui, suffers himself to be so shut up by the enemy in a valley, that his whole army is in danger of perishing by hunger. His Collegue being employed against the Latines, and therefore unable to assist him, names Quinctius Cincinnatus Dictator. This great man being fetched again from his plough, puts himself at the head of a strong army,*

army, expeditiously marches against the Æqui, blocks them up in their camp as closely as they had closed up Minucius, and reduces them to surrender on his own terms. He then degrades Minucius from the Consulate, and refuses to let the soldiers, whom he had rescued from danger, have any part of the enemies' spoils. They nevertheless beg to be allowed to make him a present of a crown of gold. He has a triumph at his return to Rome; and the 16th day after his promotion to the Dictatorship, resigns that office, and retires once more into the country, his son Cæcilius being recalled from banishment. §. II. The Senate in the next Consulate (of C. Horatius, and Q. Minucius) recall Quinctius again to Rome to set him up against the Tribunes, who refuse the necessary levies for a war with the Æqui and Sabines, unless the Terentian Law be first passed. Quinctius addresses the Senate and the whole body of the Patricians to take arms: They accordingly repair all armed to the Forum, where Horatius convenes an Assembly of the People, and reproaches them with their baseness and cowardice. The Tribune Virginius seeing the multitude moved by the Consul's speech, consents to drop the affair of the Law, and to waive his opposition to the levies, provided the Senate will suffer the number of the Tribunes to be augmented to ten. C. Claudius opposes this motion, but Quinctius declaring that he thinks that it may turn to the Senate's advantage to comply with it, his opinion prevails, and the People are allowed to elect TEN TRIBUNES.

C H A P. V.

§. I. Icilius, chief of the Tribunes, proposes that mount Aventine may be yielded to the People. The Consuls M. Valerius and Sp. Virginius looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the Agrarian Law, and deferring therefore to convene the Senate for the hearing and debating it, Icilius sends an Officer to them, commanding them to assemble the Senate forthwith, and to repair to it themselves. The messenger, by order of the Consuls, is chastised for his insolence by one of their Lictors. The Tribunes cause the Lictor to be seized, and the Senate, to save his life, are obliged to yield to the People the ground they demand. §. II. The concessions of the Senate made the Tribunes still more presumptuous. T. Romilius and C. Veturius (Consuls for the next year), attempting to force the citizens to list themselves for a war in spite of the opposition of the Tribunes, the latter order the Ædiles to seize those supreme Magistrates and lead them to prison. The Patricians hinder by force the execution of this order. The Tribunes hereupon cite the Consuls to appear before an Assembly of the People. Their citation being disregarded, they apply to the Senate for a Decree, empowering the People to try the Consuls. Romilius answers them with reproaches and menaces, and nothing is determined that day. §. III. The Tribunes, without any further soliciting a Senatus consultum, resolve to get the Consuls condemned by the People in a fine; but when the day for the Assembly comes, they drop that design, and propose anew the Agrarian and Terentian Laws. Sicinius Dentatus, an old soldier, makes a notable speech in relation to the former. The Assembly is adjourned to the next day; and then the Patricians by violence hinder the suffrages from being collected.

lected. The following day the People being again assembled, empower their Tribunes to make enquiry after the Authors of the Tumult. The misdemeanor is charged upon three eminent Patrician families; and the Senate, to pacify the People, suffer the estates of the delinquents to be confiscated without opposition. §. IV. During these contentions, the Consuls are obliged to lead an army into the field against the Æqui. Sicinius Dentatus serves as volunteer in this war at the head of 800 Veterans. Romilius orders him with his company upon a desperate enterprize. Sicinius remonstrates against it, but nevertheless obeys; and he succeeds so well, as to occasion the total defeat of the enemy by the Consuls; afterwards he marches to Rome, complains to the People of the General's tyranny, and prevails with them to refuse him a triumph. And in the following Consulate (of Sp. Tarpeius and A. Æternius) Sicinius being chosen Tribune, Romilius and Veturius are accused before the People for misconduct during their Magistracy, and fined. A Law is also passed, empowering any Magistrate to impose a fine for disobedience.

CHAP. XXVI.

§. I. The Tribunes finding they cannot by any means bring the Consuls to hear of the AGRARIAN LAW, return to the pursuit of the Terentian. Romilius, whom the People had lately fined, takes part with them on this occasion. At his motion both Senate and People agree to send Deputies to Athens to copy out the Laws of Solon and of the other Law-givers of Greece, in order to form thereby a body of Roman Law, to be the future rule to the Magistrates in all the parts of their administration. The next year (when Sextus Quintilius and P. Horatius are Consuls) there is neither war abroad, nor contention at home, but Rome is dreadfully afflicted by a plague. §. II. In the following Consulate of P. Sestius and T. Menenius, the Deputies return from Greece. The People press the nomination of the ten Commissioners, or Decemvirs, who are to compile the new Laws. The Consuls, to avoid proceeding in this affair, insist upon a previous election of their successors, under whose administration it is to be settled. Appius Claudius (son of that Appius who killed himself, and grandson of the first Appius) is chosen with T. Genucius. After this Menenius pretends sickness. The Consuls elect, to please the People, offer to forego their pretensions to the Consulate, rather than hinder the immediate nomination of the Decemvirs. Sestius, the Collegue of Menenius, assembles the Senate, where it is carried by a majority, to create Decemvirs, and the Tribunes, after some struggle, consent to let them be all Patricians. §. III. The election is made in the Comitia by Centuries, where Appius is the first named. The Decemvirs, having entered upon their office, behave themselves much to the satisfaction of the People. They compose TEN TABLES OF LAWS, which are approved by the Centuries Assembled.

APPIUS
CLAUDI-
US III.

DECEM-
VIRAL GO-
VERNMENT
and Laws.

CHAP. XXVII.

Fragments of the TEN TABLES of Laws before-mentioned, as they have been collected and digested by the learned Jesuits Catrou and Rouillé, and also of the TWO TABLES of Laws soon after added to the TEN.

C H A P. XXVIII.

§. I. *The People and Senate agree to have the same sort of government continued for another year, in order to the adding two tables of Laws to the ten already established. The Collegues of Appius suspecting him of ambitious views, declare him President of the Assembly where the second election of Decemvirs is to be made, thinking thereby to hinder him from being one of the candidates. But Appius, in spite of all decency, names himself the first, and not only gains the voices of the Assembly in his own favour, but in favour of nine men (three of them Plebeians) all devoted to his will; to the exclusion of all his late Collegues, and of the best men in the Republick.*

303. §. II. *The new Decemvirs privately agree to make their authority perpetual. They exercise an absolute and cruel tyranny. C. Claudius, the uncle of Appius, would reprove him for his conduct, but cannot get admittance to him. Two new tables of laws are*

304. *drawn up.*

§. III. *The year of the Decemvirs Government being expired, they continue themselves in office by their own authority. They convene the Senate in order to obtain a levy of troops to oppose the incursions of the Æqui and Sabines. Valerius, an avowed enemy of the Decemvirs, in the warmth of his zeal, rises up to speak before his turn. Appius commands him silence, and not being obeyed, threatens to punish him as an incendiary. Horatius answers the Decemvir in a bold speech, which makes him soften his tone and manner. Appius desires his uncle C. Claudius to give his opinion. The uncle with great frankness reproves his nephew for all his vices and tyranny, and exhorts him to divest himself of a power which he held only by usurpation, and which in the end would prove fatal to him. He concludes with declaring against any levies of troops till the Consulship be restored. The Quinctii and all the other eminent members of the Senate are of the same opinion. The majority is nevertheless for empowering the Decemvirs to raise troops, and to command them; which Appius perceiving, then calls upon Valerius to speak his opinion. Valerius declares for naming a Dictator, and moves to have the question put, and this motion is seconded; but the other party cry out, that the affair is already determined, and the care of the war given to the Decemvirs. A Decree to that effect is accordingly drawn up.*

§. IV. *Valerius and Horatius, to secure themselves from being insulted by the Decemvirs, keep guards about their persons. Many of the Senators, and other principal citizens, retire into the country. Appius confiscates their estates.*

§. V. *Fabius, with two other of the Decemvirs, leads an army against the Sabines. Five other Decemvirs lead five legions against the Æqui. Appius and Oppius stay with a body of troops in Rome. Nothing succeeds in the two camps, the soldiers being resolved not to conquer. Sicinnius Dentatus, that old soldier, who had been in 120 battles, publickly groes out at Rome, that the misfortunes of the campaign are owing to the incapacity of the Generals. Appius hereupon contrives, in concert with*

305. *the Decemvirs, who command against the Sabines, to get him treacherously murdered. The discovery and report of so detestable a villainy disposes the soldiers to a revolt.*

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIX.

§. I. Appius (at Rome) falls in love with Virginia, the daughter of a Ple- VIRGINIA.
beian named Virginus, a centurion in the army employ'd against the Æqui.
To get her into his power, having in vain tried to corrupt her nurse, he conceals
a stratagem with M. Claudius one of his clients. Claudius seizes the girl as a
slave belonging to him, and leads her before the Decemvirs Tribunal, there to
have his right legally confirmed to him. He pretends that Virginia was born of
one of his slaves, and that Numitoria, the wife of Virginus, had (in concert
with the mother of the girl) imposed her upon Virginus as her own child, she
herself being barren. §. II. Numitoria, the uncle of Virginia, demands that
the decision of the affair may be suspended, and his niece left under his care till
her father can be fetched from the camp. The Decemvir finds reason for refu-
sing this request: But Icilius, to whom Virginia had been promised in marriage,
coming into court just in this instant, spirits up the People to such a pitch of fury,
that Appius thinks fit to comply. Virginus is sent for, and arrives at Rome,
notwithstanding the secret measures taken by Appius to intercept him on the road.
§. III. The cause is heard, and the imposture of Claudius made manifest to all
present. Appius nevertheless making himself a witness in the affair, and pre-
tending conscience, decrees Virginia to his client. The father hereupon, to hin-
der his daughter from being dishonoured, stabs her, and then hastens back to the
army, leaving the city in a great commotion, which Valerius and Horatius take
care to augment. §. IV. The soldiers upon hearing the tragical story from Vir-
ginus revolt from their Generals, return to Rome, and incamp on Mount Aven-
tine. §. V. The Senate being convened by the Decemvir Oppius, dispatch three
of their body to them, to question them upon their desertion. The soldiers unani-
mously cry out to have Valerius and Horatius sent to them, and they give no
other answer. This army is soon after joined by all the soldiers of the other,
who were equally incensed against the Decemvirs, by the complaints of Icilius.
The Senate is for sending Valerius and Horatius to the mutineers; but those
two Senators refuse to go unless the Decemvirs depose themselves. The latter
reject this condition, till they hear that the armies are marched to the Mons
Sacer; they then promise to lay down their authority. §. VI. Valerius and
Horatius repair to the Mons Sacer, and prevail with the army, upon a promise
of the ancient Government's being restored, to return to Rome; but the sol-
diers before they separate chuse their Tribunes; and soon after Valerius and
Horatius are named Consuls. §. VII. These popular Magistrates get sever-
al new laws passed in favour of the People. §. VIII. Virginus being now one
of the Tribunes, impeaches Appius for his conduct as a Judge in relation to
Virginia; and insists upon his making his defence immediately, or being impri-
soned till the day of trial. Appius appeals to the People, but in vain. He
is carried to prison. His uncle C. Claudius solicits for his enlargement with-
out success. Appius dies in prison. His Collegue Oppius being tried and con-
demned dies also in prison the day of his commitment. The other Decemvirs all
banish themselves. Claudius the client and minister of Appius is condemned to
death,

death, yet suffers only banishment. The Tribune Duilius puts a stop to all farther prosecutions, relating to the tyranny of the Decemvirs.

C H A P. XXX.

§. I. *The Consuls take the field. Valerius defeats the Æqui and Volsci, and Horatius the Sabines. Nevertheless the Senate, being dissatisfied with their too popular administration, and being especially moved by a speech of C. Claudius, who inveighs bitterly against them, reject their petition for a triumph. Hereupon they apply to the People, and obtain of them, by means of the Tribunes, what the Senate had refused.* §. II. *The Tribunes form a design of getting themselves perpetuated in the Tribuneship, and Horatius and Valerius in the Consulate. Duilius disliking this project of his Colleagues, contrives to defeat that part of it which related to the Consuls, by engaging these to declare publicly, that they will not hold over after their year is expired, though the People should desire it. He then holds the Assembly for electing Tribunes; and by his influence, joined with the Senate's, five new ones are chosen; after which finding that he cannot prevail with the Tribes to fill the other five places with new Magistrates, he dismisses the Assembly, referring the completion of the whole number of ten Tribunes to the five already elected. These five, among those they associate with them in their office, name two Patricians. (Lartius Herminius and T. Virginius are chosen Consuls.)* TREBONIUS ASPER, one of the Plebeian Tribunes, shortly after gets a Law passed, forbidding the Tribunes the practice of Co-optation. §. III. *The next year (when M. Geganius and C. Julius are Consuls) produces nothing remarkable. But in the succeeding Consulate (of T. Quinctius Capitolinus and Agrippa Furius) the old dissensions are renewed; insomuch that tho' the Æqui and Volsci, taking advantage of these disorders, ravage the country to the very gates of Rome, the Tribunes oppose the necessary levies of troops to repulse them: But Quinctius gets the better of this opposition, by a speech he makes to the People. The Consuls rout the enemy, and make a great slaughter of them.* §. IV. *The Roman People dishonour themselves by a judgment they give in a cause referred to their arbitration by the cities of Ardea and Aricia.*

Co-optation.
305.
Trebonian Law.
306.
307.
Quinctius Capitolinus.
Unjust decree of the Roman people.

C H A P. XXXI.

308. §. I. *The Commons of Rome (in the Consulate of M. Genucius and C. Curtius) demand that Plebeians may be admitted into the Consulship, and that the law prohibiting Patricians and Plebeians from inter-marrying may be repealed.* Canuleius one of the Tribunes declares to the Senate in the most solemn manner, that he will constantly oppose all levies of troops, let the want of them be never so pressing, till these concessions are made to the People. §. II. *C. Claudius in a private Assembly of the eldest Senators moves to have recourse to arms and violence, rather than yield to these demands. But T. Quinctius and the majority of the Assembly think it better to comply than come to a rupture with the People. Claudius hereupon, to hinder the debasing of the Consulship, makes this*

Canuleius.

new

new proposal, that instead of Consuls a certain number of MILITARY TRIBUNES be chosen partly out of the Senate, and partly from among the Commons; and that these new Magistrates be invested with Consular power. This project being approved, the Senate is assembled, and the Tribunes are called to it, to give their reasons in behalf of the new laws which they demand. Canuleius, instead of speaking to the matter in hand, inveighs against the Consuls for holding secret Assemblies, from which Horatius and Valerius are excluded. The Consul Genucius gives a satisfactory answer to this complaint. After Valerius and Horatius have spoken in favour of the People, and Claudius against them, the Consul's brother T. Genucius makes the proposal which had been suggested by C. Claudius. In conclusion it is approved by Senate and People, and six MILITARY TRIBUNES (three of each order) are to take the place of two Consuls. §. III. But when the day of election comes, the People will not give their voices to any but Patricians; and only three Military Tribunes are elected. These are obliged soon after to abdicate on account of some defect in their inauguration; and two Consuls (L. Papirius and L. Sempronius) are chosen to govern the Republick the remainder of the year. §. IV. Under the succeeding administration of T. Quinctius Capitolinus (a fifth time Consul) and M. Geganius (a second time) the CENSORSHIP is established.

MILITARY TRIBUNES.

303.

310.

CENSORS.

C H A P. XXXII.

§. I. *The Romans put an end to the civil war among the Ardeates. §. II. The next year's Consuls, M. Fabius and Posthumius Æbutius, make the Ardeates some amends for the wrongs the Romans had done them on occasion of their contest with the Aricians. This year proves a year of peace, as does also the following year, when the Government is in the hands of C. Furius and M. Papirius. §. III. But in the succeeding Consulate of Proculus Geganius and L. Menenius, a Roman Knight named Sp. Mælius aspires to the sovereign power. Being a rich corn merchant, he during a dearth of provisions wins the meaner sort of people by a free distribution of corn, and some of their Tribunes by money. He causes great quantities of arms to be brought into his house by night. His designs are discovered by Minucius, Superintendant of provisions, in the Consulate of T. Quinctius Capitolinus (now a sixth time Consul) and Agrippa Menenius. Quinctius on this occasion names his brother Quinctius Cincinnatus Dictator, who appoints Servilius Ahala to be his General of the Horse. Mælius being summoned to appear before the Dictator's Tribunal, and not obeying, is slain by Servilius. Three of the Tribunes, provoked at this action, stir up the People to mutiny; and the Patricians, to pacify them, consent to the creation of Military Tribunes for the next year. None but Patricians are chosen to that office.*

311.

312.

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Sp. Mælius, the corn-merchant.

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31.

C H A P. XXXIII.

§. I. *Fidenæ revolts from the Romans, and puts itself under the protection of Tolumnius, King of the Veientes. The Romans prepare for war, and thinking it adviseable to have Consuls to conduct it, M. Geganius (a third time) and L. Ser-*

316. L. Sergius are chosen; but these soon resign the care of the war to a Dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, who defeats the enemy in a pitched battle, wherein Cornelius Cossus a legicnary Tribune kills Tolumnius and strips him of his armour.
317. §. II. In the following Consulate of M. Cornelius and L. Papirius, a Tribune named Sp. Mælius commences a prosecution against Servilius and Minucius, for the death of Mælius the corn-merchant. The historians are not agreed about the issue of it. §. III. The Veientes and Fidenates renew the war during the
318. Consulate of Julius Iulus and L. Virginus, when the Romans are sorely distressed by a plague. Q. Servilius Priscus being named Dictator, routs the enemy and takes Fidenæ. It is uncertain what Magistrates were chosen to govern the
319. Republick, the next year, but whoever they were, they resigned their authority to Mamercus Æmilius, who is again named to the Dictatorship, upon a rumour that all Hetruria is preparing for war. This rumour proves groundless. Æmilius, thro' zeal for the publick liberty, gets a law passed restraining the office of Censor to 18 months duration. He then resigns the Dictatorship. C. Furius and M. Geganius, the Censors, in revenge deprive him of the Common privileges of a citizen. Æmilius nevertheless protects those his bitter enemies from the fury of the populace, who are ready to murder them. §. IV. The Senate are
320. obliged to humour the People, by suffering Military Tribunes to be created for the next year. However none but Patricians are chosen. Nothing memorable happens during their administration, but a plague, which ceases in the following year,
321. when the Republick is again governed by Military Tribunes all Patricians. The rich Plebeians complain of the poorer sort for their having constantly refused to elect any of them to that Magistracy. A Law is passed, forbidding those who stand for offices to wear garments of an extraordinary whiteness: The Senate, fearing lest some of the chief Plebeians should get into the Military Tribuneship, determine if possible to restore the Consulship (from which Plebeians are excluded.) A war with the Æqui favours this design. T. Quinctius (son of Lucius) and
322. C. Julius are chosen Consuls; but these disagreeing, through jealousy, the Senate judge it necessary to have a Dictator. The Consuls refuse to name one. The Senators provoked hereat, rashly apply to the Tribunes to interpose in the affair. The Tribunes threaten the Consuls to have them carried to prison if they don't comply. Posthumus Tubertus is named Dictator. He defeats the enemy, and
323. returns triumphant to Rome. §. V. The Æqui in the following Consulate of C. Papirius and L. Julius obtain a truce for eight years. (A regulation is made,
324. that fines shall for the future be paid in money instead of cattle.) The Romans continue in peace during this and the succeeding Consulate of L. Sergius (a second time Consul) and Hostus Lucretius. The next year, when T. Quinctius
325. (a second time) and A. Cornelius Cossus are Consuls, Rome is afflicted by a famine and a plague which occasions the People to have recourse to foreign supplications, but these are soon prohibited. §. VI. The Veientes in the following Consulate of L. Papirius (a second time Consul) and Servilius Ahala, make incursions on the Roman lands. Disputes arising between the Senate and People about the prerogative of proclaiming this war, the Romans do not take the field till
326. the next year, when the People prevail to have Military Tribunes in the Government, but they are all Patricians. These not acting in concert are defeated by

by the enemy; whereupon Mamercus Æmilius (who had been degraded by the Censors) is a third time raised to the Dictatorship. He gives the Veientes a total overthrow, and takes their camp, as also Fidenæ, which had again revolted from the Romans.

C H A P. XXXIV.

§. I. Military Tribunes are chosen to the Government the two following years; 328.
but the choice falls only on Patricians. The Tribunes of the Commons use 329.
their utmost endeavours to dissuade the People from this preference of the Nobles to them, in the elections. The Senate to counterplot them, before the new elections come on, contrive to send away the principal of the Plebeians into the field against the Volsci. In their absence Appius Claudius (son of the Decemvir) one of the Appius
Military Tribunes, holds an Assembly for electing Consuls, and C. Sempronius Claudius
and Q. Fabius are chosen. §. II. Sempronius brings the whole Roman army IV.
into danger of being cut to pieces by the Volsci. An Officer of horse named Tem- 330.
panius, by his bravery and prudence, prevents the defeat of the Romans. He arrives at Rome before the Consul, and gives testimony in favour of his conduct. §. III. The People condemn Posthumius (one of those Military Tri- 331.
bunes, who by their disunion had lost a battle in the year 327) in a fine. Tempanius is made one of the Tribunes of the Commons. His General Sempronius being prosecuted by the People for his misconduct, he takes his part, and engages the Tribune Hortensius, the accuser, to drop the prosecution.

C H A P. XXXV.

§. I. The next year, in the Consulate of T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and Nu- 332.
merius Fabius, new dissensions arise in the Republick, on occasion of a propo-
sal to add two Quæstors to the two already established. The Tribunes insist 333.
that of the four one half shall be always Plebeians. The Senate oppose this, ^{from Qua-}
but are willing to leave the People free in their choice. The Tribunes not ^{estors.}
content, protest, by way of revenge, against holding the Comitia for electing
Consuls. The two parties come at length to this compromise, that Military
Tribunes shall be elected to the Government, and that the People shall be free
to chuse Patricians or Plebeians to the Quæstorship. Notwithstanding all that
the Tribunes of the Commons can do, the People chuse not only the Military
Tribunes but the Quæstors too out of the Patricians only. The Tribunes 334.
of the Commons, to vent their rage, renew the prosecution against Sempro-
nius (whose kinsman A. Sempronius, one of the new Military Tribunes,
had presided in the Assembly for chusing Quæstors) and they get him fined.
§. II. The following six years, to the year of Rome 340, the State is govern-
ed by Military Tribunes. In 334 a conspiracy of the slaves is discovered and 335.
prevented. In 335 the Romans have a war with the Labicani and Æqui
united. The three Military Tribunes quarrel about the command of the army,
one of the three being to stay in the city. Q. Servilius, formerly Dictator,
the father of one of them, orders his son to remain at Rome. The other two
take

- take the field, and command alternately. The Roman army is routed. Young Servilius names his father to the Dictatorship: This great man in eight days recovers the affairs of the Republick, and then resigns his office. The year 336 is a year of peace. In the year 337 the Tribunes revive the old quarrel about the distribution of the conquered lands. Appius's advice to the Senate, to raise a division among these Magistrates, is followed with success. Six of them side with the Patricians. The like good understanding is maintained the next year (338) between the Nobles and some of the Tribunes.
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§. III. But in 339 the affair of the AGRARIAN LAW is revived. Posthumius, one of the Military Tribunes and General of the army, having promised the soldiers the plunder of Bola taken from the Æqui, afterwards breaks his word with them. Sextius, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, to make the soldiers amends, proposes that a colony of them shall be settled at Bola, and its territory divided among them. Posthumius (who had been called to Rome to oppose Sextius's proceedings) threatens that it shall be the worse for his men if any such step be made in their favour. The Tribune takes advantage of this proud and imprudent menace to incense the People against the General; and a report of it being made in the camp, the soldiers mutiny and wound one of the Quæstors; and Posthumius, at his return to the camp, attempting to punish the guilty, is stoned by the soldiers. The Senate, fearing lest the People, in order to screen the murderers, should abuse Plebeian Military Tribunes for the next year (340) use all their endeavours to get Consuls elected, and they prevail. The fasces are transferred to A. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus, who shew great moderation and prudence in the prosecution of the criminals. §. IV. Nothing very memorable, except a plague and famine, happens in the three following Consulates.
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- But in the year 344, when Cn. Cornelius and L. Furius (a second time) are Consuls, three Tribunes of the name of Icilius prevail with the People to abuse three of the four Quæstors out of the Plebeians. The Senate is likewise forced to consent to the abusing of Military Tribunes for the next year, but find means to disappoint the Icili in their expectation of being raised to that dignity. Three Patricians are chosen. These being ordered by the Senate to name a Dictator, on occasion of a war with the Volsci, two of them refuse. The Senate hereupon has recourse, as formerly, to the Tribunes; but these return a disdainful answer, and will not meddle in the dispute. Servilius Ahala, the third Military Tribune, names P. Cornelius Dictator, who quickly puts an end to the war. Servilius's two Collegues in anger against the Senate propose Military Tribunes at the next election: However Patricians are chosen, and so likewise the next year. The Tribunes of the Commons, provoked to the utmost, revenge themselves by opposing the levies for a war with the Veientes, who had insulted the Roman Ambassadors; and they make the old affair of the Agrarian Law their pretence. The Senate get the better of this opposition, by decreeing that the infantry shall hereafter have the better of this opposition, by decreeing that the infantry shall hereafter have
- PAY al-
lowed to
the INFAN-
TRY.
- PAY out of the publick treasury during the service. The People joyfully confirm this Decree, and readily offer themselves to be enlisted.

C H A P. XXXVI.

§. I. *The Romans invest Veii. In the two first years of the siege (which lasted ten) there is little action. The third year (350 of Rome) the Tribunes of the Commons made a stir about the hardship the soldiers suffer by being detained in the camp all the winter. Appius Claudius, Military Tribune, (grandson of the Decemvir) assembles the People and inveighs against their Tribunes for their seditious behaviour. His harangue has little effect; but a loss which the besiegers sustain before the place, animates the Plebeians with a zeal to push on the siege with vigour. The Senate for the first time allow PAY to the HORSE.* §. II. *The year following, Sergius and Virginus (two of the Military Tribunes) having the conduct of the siege, quarrel and divide the troops between them. The Falisci and Capenates (People of Hetruria) come to the assistance of the Veientes, and fall upon one side of Sergius's camp, while the besieged sally out and attack the other. Virginus refuses to assist his Colleague; the troops of the latter are routed. Hereupon the two Generals are both recalled. All the Military Tribunes of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are chosen. The Tribunes of the Commons raise such disturbances at Rome about the levies, that in the election of those Magistrates the People cannot agree in the choice of more than eight. The majority of those eight name two more, in defiance of the Trebonian Law. C. Trebonius, one of the present Tribunes, draws the hatred of the People upon three of his Colleagues on this account, but they artfully divert it from themselves by turning it against Sergius and Virginus (the Generals of the last year) who are both fined for misconduct.* §. III. *The Tribunes renew the domestick broils: But all is quieted by the chusing some Plebeians into the Military Tribuneship. At the next elections the Comitia chuse five Plebeians to that dignity, and only one Patrician. The arms of the Republick prosper, but there happens a great mortality among men and cattle. To avert this evil the ceremony of the Lectisternium is observed.* §. IV. *The Senate take advantage of the People's fears and superstition, to get the Military Tribuneship for Patricians only; pretending that the Gods were angry at the choice, which had been made of Plebeians to that Magistracy. The lake of Alba overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, and an old Veientan soldier having delivered a prophecy, that Veii should not be taken before the water of that lake was all run out, Deputies are sent from Rome to consult the Oracle of Delphos. These return the next year with an answer agreeable to the old man's prophecy. Canals are made to drain the lake. Some defect being discovered in the inauguration of the present Military Tribunes, they all abdicate, and six new ones are chosen all Plebeians. Their administration not being prosperous, Camillus is named Dictator.* §. V. *He takes Veii by sap.*

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350.
APPIUS
CLAUDI-
US V.
PAY al-
lowed to
the HORSE.
351.
352.
PLEBEIAN
MILITA-
RY TRI-
BUNES.
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354.
355.
356.
357.
Camillus
takes Veii.

C H A P. XXXVII.

§. I. *The People are much displeased with Camillus on account of some singularities in the pomp of his triumph; but much more for demanding back from them*

VOL. I. i a tenth

- a tenth part of the spoil of Veii, to discharge a vow which he had made to Apollo just before the assault, and which he had afterwards forgot. The Roman Ladies contribute their Jewels to make a golden vase for Apollo. §. II. The next year (the Republick being under the Government of six Military Tribunes, all Patricians) Sicinius Dentatus, a Tribune of the Commons, proposes that half of the Senators, Knights, and People of Rome should remove to Veii, and settle there. After much struggle Camillus and the other Senators bring this project to nothing. §. III. Camillus is chosen one of the six Military Tribunes for the year following, and to him is committed the conduct of the war against the Falisci. He besieges Falerii their capital city. A school-master to whom the sons of the chief inhabitants of the place are committed for education, betrays his trust, and puts all the children into the hands of Camillus. The Roman detesting both the treachery and the traitor, makes the boys whip him back again into the town. The Falisci moved by this generous action, submit to the Romans, who grant them peace on the condition only of paying the expences of the Campaign. During this transaction, two of Camillus's Collegues gain a victory over the Æqui. §. IV. The People, when the time comes for electing their Tribunes, chuse to the same office those of the old ones who had appeared for the proposal of removing half the People to Veii. On the other hand, the Patricians get Consular Government restored. L. Lucretius and Servius Sulpitius are elected Consuls. Sicinius the Tribune, Author of the project of going to Veii, gets two of his late Collegues fined for having opposed it. This project is debated in an Assembly of the People, and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The Senate decree seven acres of the lands of Veii to every freeman of Rome. §. V. L. Valerius and M. Manlius are chosen Consuls for the next year. The Volturnenses, a People of Hettruria, take arms against Rome. The Consuls being seized with a contagious distemper, resign the Fasces. An Interregnum ensues. And then six Military Tribunes are elected to the Government.*

C H A P. XXXVIII.

- §. I. An accusation is brought against Camillus, for having taken to his own use some part of the spoil of Veii. To avoid the disgrace of a condemnation, he banishes himself. §. II. Shortly after, Clusium in Hettruria being besieged by the Gauls under King Brennus, the Inhabitants implore the assistance of the Romans. Three brothers of the name of Fabius are sent Ambassadors from Rome to mediate a peace between the contending powers. Brennus gives them a haughty reception. The Fabii young and indiscreet, having entered the town, put themselves at the head of the Clusians, and make a sally with them against the besiegers. Q. Fabius with his own hand kills one of their Captains. Brennus provoked at this breach of the law of nations, raises the siege, and marches strait towards Rome. He sends a Herald, and demands that the Ambassadors be delivered up to him. The Romans, instead of complying with this demand, chuse the Fabii to the Military Tribuneship, and place them at the head of the army which is to act against the Gauls. §. III. Brennus gives the Romans a total overthrow on the banks of the Allia. The third day after*

ter the Battle, he enters Rome, the gates of it being left open, most of the citizens fled, and the Senate, with all they were capable to bear away, retired into the Capitol. Brennus finds about 80 venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death, sitting in the Forum in robes and chairs of state. They are all slain. The Capitol is invested, and the City burnt. §. IV. Camillus ^{Rome burnt.} *(who in his exile resided at Ardea) puts himself at the head of the Ardeates, surprizes and cuts off some detachments of Gauls sent out to plunder the country. Upon the report of this action, the Romans, who were dispersed about the territory of Rome, assemble, and send a request to him to be their General. He declines it; till a young man, dispatched away to the Capitol for that purpose, brings him from the Senate a commission, which constitutes him Dictator. §. V. While Camillus is assembling an army, the Gauls attempt to scale the Capitol in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is discovered by the cackling of some geese. The assailants are repulsed, chiefly by the bravery of M. Manlius. Camillus hinders all provisions from coming to the enemy. §. VI. Both besiegers and besieged being distressed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The Romans are to purchase a peace with 1000 lb. weight of gold. While the gold is weighing, Camillus arrives: He breaks off the treaty, and forces the Gauls to raise the siege and quit the country. §. VII. Rome being destroyed, the Tribunes* ^{364.} *renew the proposal of removing to Veii. Camillus (who is continued in the Dictatorship the whole year) opposes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a centurion is what determines the People to stay and rebuild the city. Manlius is rewarded. Q. Fabius the Ambassador, who by his blameable conduct had provoked the Gauls against Rome, kills himself to avoid a publick condemnation. §. VIII. Before the end of the next year (during which the Commonwealth is governed by six Military Tribunes) the CITY is entirely REBUILT.* ^{365.} *Rome rebuilt.*

T H I R D B O O K.

From the year of ROME 365, when the CITY was REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the year 489, when the ROMANS, having subdued ALL ITALY, began the first PUNICK or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

C H A P. I.

§. I. *The Nations bordering upon the Roman State resolve, if possible, to crush it before it can recover its former strength. The Military Tribunes march an army against the Volsci and Latines, but by ill conduct suffer it to be inclosed by the enemy. Camillus hereupon is, a third time, named Dictator; he raises new forces, rescues the army in distress, and forces the enemy's camp, after which he takes the capital city of the Æqui, subdues the Volsci, and recovers*
 365. *Sutrium from the Hetrurians.* §. II. *The next year (when the Commonwealth is again governed by Military Tribunes) the Roman arms prosper abroad. The*
 Four new Tribes. *year following is a year of peace. FOUR NEW TRIBES are added to the*
 367. *TWENTY-ONE.* §. III. *The expectation of a new war makes the Romans*
 368. *chuse Camillus to be one of the six Military Tribunes for the next year. He leads the Roman troops, first against the Volsci of Antium, and then against the Hetrurians; and has success in both expeditions. The Latines and Hernici submit.*

C H A P. II.

369. §. I. *The next year Military Tribunes being again chosen to the Government, M. Manlius (who saved the Capitol) uses such methods to make himself popular, as alarm the Senate. They name A. Cornelius Cossus Dictator. He summons Manlius to appear before him. Manlius not answering directly to the Dictator's question is committed to prison, Cossus soon after resigns the Dictatorship. The Senate fearing the rage of the People, who are devoted to Manlius, set him at liberty.* §. II. *Camillus is chosen one of the Military Tribunes for the next year. Two of the Tribunes of the Commons impeach*
 370. *Manlius of Treason, and, by sentence of the People, he is thrown headlong*
 M. Manlius put to death. *from the Tarpeian rock.*

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

§. I. *During the six following years, and the beginning of the seventh, Rome is almost intirely free from civil diffensions; but wars are carried on abroad against the Prænetini and Volsci, with very little interruption. Camillus being one of the Military Tribunes in the year 373, gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when disrespectfully treated by one of his Collegues.*

C H A P. IV.

§. I. *The lower sort of the People of Rome are over-awed and oppress'd by the Great and the Rich; and the Commons in general lose that spirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the Nobles.* 377.
 §. II. *In the midst of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman sets three bold and enterprising men at work to raise the fortune of the Plebeians higher than ever, and to obtain even the dignity of the Consulship for persons of that order. The three who form this design are M. Fabius Ambustus, the Lady's Father, (a Patrician) C. Licinius Stolo, her Husband (a Plebeian) and L. Sextius, another Plebeian of great distinction. The two latter having obtained the office of Tribunes of the People, propose a law for the restraining of Usury, another to prohibit any citizen from possessing more than 500 acres of land, and a third to restore the Consulship, and make it an establish'd rule for the future, that of the two Consuls one shall indispensably be a Plebeian. The Senate and Patricians on this occasion gain over to them eight of the Tribunes, who pronouncing the word Veto when the affair is brought before the Tribes, quash the whole project for the present.* LICINIAN LAWS.
 §. III. *Licinius and Sextius in revenge, and to gain their point, being continued in the office of Tribunes of the Commons, oppose and hinder for four years successively any election of Military Tribunes; and the Republick falls into a kind of anarchy. But, in the fifth year, a new war breaking out obliges them to desist from their opposition; and then six Military Tribunes, all Patricians, are chosen to the government. The war continuing, Military Tribunes are again elected, and these too are six men of the Patrician order. Nevertheless, as Fabius Ambustus happens to be one of the number, Sextius and Licinius, having his countenance and assistance, take this opportunity to renew their proposal of the three Laws; to which they add a fourth, importing, that Ten Guardians, instead of Two, shall have the care of the Sybilline Books, and that of these ten, five shall be Plebeian. The determination of the whole affair is suspended on account of the absence of so many Citizens, as are employed in the war.* 378.
 §. IV. *The next year the Republick has again six Patrician Governors, but the Senate is obliged to have recourse to a Dictator, and Camillus is rais'd (a fourth time) to that dignity. He disperses by his authority an assembly of the Tribes,* 382.
 which 383.

- which the Tribunes had conceived in order to get the Laws passed; and
 presently after resigns his post. §. V. P. Manlius is chosen Dictator in his
 Plebeian room. This Dictator names a Plebeian to be his General of the Horse,
 the first instance of such a nomination. The Tribunes having a supreme
 magistrate so favourable to them, think of passing their affair with fresh
 vigour; but the People themselves grow cold and indifferent as to that part
 of the project which relates to the Consulate. Sextius and Licinius, en-
 raged heret, tell them plainly in a general assembly, that either that law,
 which qualifies Plebeians for the Consulate, shall pass, or none; and that if
 they persist in such ingratitude to their protectors, they will no longer serve
 in the office of the Tribuneship. Appius Claudius (grandson of the De-
 cemvir) makes a speech, expatiating on the insolence shewn in such a decla-
 ration. The decision of the affair is put off. Soon after the Commons
 obtain the Law concerning the Sybil's Books, and then suffer new Military
 Tribunes to be chosen, all Patricians. §. VI. The contest relating to the
 other Laws is revived with great heat, but is again suspended by the ap-
 proach of an army of Gauls. Camillus is appointed Dictator (a fifth time.)
 He defeats the enemy, and has a Triumph at his return to Rome. §. VII.
 The Tribunes Sextius and Licinius being resolved to carry their point, sum-
 mon the Tribes and proceed immediately to take the voices. Upon the Dicta-
 tor's opposing their measures, they send an officer to seize him and carry him
 to prison. This causes a great commotion and struggle. The Dictator and
 Senate retire to the Senate-house to consider what is best to be done, and
 they come to a resolution to concede that one of the Consuls may be a Plebeian.
 Hereupon the Centuries choose L. Æmilius and L. Sextius (the Tribune) to
 be Consuls. But now the Senate refuse to confirm the election of the
 latter, which occasions new and warm contentions. The Dictator, to quiet
 them, proposes, that the prerogative of judging in civil causes be taken from
 the Consulate, and Prætors be appointed to perform that function, and that
 these Prætors be always Patricians. Hereto both parties agree, and the Se-
 nate acquiesce in having a Plebeian Consul. §. VIII. The Curule Ædile-
 ship is establish'd in favour of the Patricians. The Tribunes soon after ob-
 tain, that Plebeians may be chosen to the Curule Ædileship. §. IX. The
 next year, L. Genucius and Q. Servilius being Consuls, a dreadful plague
 in Rome carries off many persons of distinction, among whom is the great
 Camillus.

C H A P. V.

- §. I. In the following Consulate (of C. Sulpicius and C. Licinius Stolo)
 the plague continuing, and the Romans, to remove it, having in vain tried
 the superstitious ceremony of the Lectisternium, they endeavour to appease
 the Gods by instituting to their honour the Scenic Shews. This expedient
 also failing, they try another the next year (L. Æmilius (the 2d time) and
 Cn.

Cn. Genucius being Consuls) which is to create a Dictator to drive a Nail into the wall of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The plague ceases; but L. Manlius Imperiosus the Dictator is unwilling to resign his authority, and uses violence to make the People list themselves for a war with the Hernici. The Tribunes however oblige him to abdicate; and in the following Consulate of Q. Servilius and L. Genucius (both Consuls a 2d time) he is cited by the Tribune Pomponius to answer for his misconduct during his Dictatorship, and particularly for his cruelty to his own son, named Titus. The son, who was in the country, hearing of what had pass'd, comes to Rome, surprizes Pomponius in his bed, and, by threatening to stab him, makes him swear to desist from the prosecution. The People, pleased with the filial piety of young Manlius, give him soon after the post of Legionary Tribune (or Colonel.) §. II. In this same year the earth opens on a sudden in the midst of the Forum, and continues open to the great terror of the City. M. Curtius, a young Patrician, moved by an obscure answer of the Augurs, who had been thereupon consulted, leaps into the gulph completely armed and on horseback. Some authors say, that the earth immediately closed. §. III. The Consul Genucius, the first Plebeian Rome had ever placed at the head of an Army, conducts the war against the Hernici. He falls into an ambush, his Legions are routed, and he himself slain. This disaster is imputed by the Patricians to the anger of the Gods on account of the profanation of the Augural Ceremonies, by inaugurating a Plebeian. The surviving Consul names Appius Claudius Dictator, who, carrying on the war, gains a victory, but with great loss. §. IV. The People, notwithstanding the clamours of the Patricians, chuse Licinius Stolo (that famous Plebeian) a 2d time to the Consulate. They give him for a Collegue C. Sulpicius Peticus. But the Tyburtes revolting soon after, and it being suspected that they were encouraged to this revolt by a secret promise of assistance from the Gauls, it is thought necessary to create a Dictator. T. Quinctius Pennas is named to that dignity. The Gauls advance within three miles of Rome, incamping on the banks of the Anio. The Romans pitch their camp on the opposite side, a bridge parts the two armies. On this bridge young Manlius in single combat slays the mightiest champion of the Gauls, a man of gigantick stature; which accident so discourages them, that they leave their camp in the night and in confusion. The next year (in the Consulate of M. Fabius Ambustus and C. Pœtelius Libo) the Gauls appear again in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the Romans (under the conduct of Servilius Ahala, created Dictator) once more defeat them. The two Consuls make war with success against the Tyburtes and the Hernici.

L. Manli-
us Imperi-
ofus.

391.

CURTIUS.

PLEBEIAN
GENERAL.

392

T. Manli-
us Tor-
quatus.

393.

408. cum, and burns it. The Secular Games are celebrated for the second time according to Fast. Cap. §. VI. The next year's Consuls, M. Fabius Dorso and S. Sulpicius Camerinus, name L. Furius Camillus to be Dictator (a second time) on occasion of a war with a new enemy, the Aurunci. Furius overthrows them in battle, and at his return builds a Temple, which he had vowed, during the action, to Juno Moneta. The year following, the Romans imagining that the Goddess, conformable to her name MONETA, admonish'd them by
409. *Prodigies of the impending wrath of the Gods*, C. Marcius Rutilus (now Consul a second time) and T. Manlius (Consul a second time) appoint P. Valerius to be Dictator, to order the Celebration of the *Feræ Latinæ*.

C H A P. VIII.

410. §. I. In the succeeding administration of M. Valerius Corvus (a third time Consul) and Cornelius Cossius Arvina, happens the FIRST RUPTURE between the ROMANS and SAMNITES, on occasion of a war which the latter had carried on with success against the people of Capua in Campania. The Campanians, to engage the Romans to succour them in their distress, make a surrender of themselves and their country to the Republick. Hereupon Valerius is directed to march an army into Campania, and Cornelius to carry the war into
- SAMNITE
WAR. §. II. Cornelius, on the other hand, by an imprudent march, brings his army into danger of being entirely cut off by the enemy; however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by a stratagem, suggested and executed by a Legionary Tribune named P. Decius Mus; and presently after, following the advice of the same Decius, he gains a victory over the Samnites, who lose 30,000 men in the action. Decius is rewarded with many honours. §. III. Valerius obtains a second victory over the Samnites in Campania. These successes make the Romans respected abroad.

C H A P. IX.

411. §. I. C. Martius Rutilus is elected (the fourth time) to the Consulate, and with him Q. Servilius Ahala. The former marches an army into Campania. He finds a general depravation of manners in some Cohorts of Roman soldiers, who had been left in Capua all the winter; and discovers that they had plotted to make that delightful City their own, and to settle there. To disappoint this scheme, he artfully contrives to send away the most mutinous and enterprizing, without treating them disgracefully, or letting his design appear. The soldiers at length suspecting it, are alarmed with the apprehension of punishment. All the soldiers of one Cohort desert. These having posted themselves advantageously near Anxur, are soon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the City and the Camp. They force one Quinticius, an old soldier, whom they find employed in husbandry, to be their leader to conduct them to Rome. Valerius Corvus is hereupon named Dictator, to march an army against the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from Rome, comes to a parley with them, and, being a man extremely beloved by the soldiers, prevails with them to submit; yet the Rebels, besides pardon, obtain some concessions from the Republick.

C H A P. X.

§. I. *The Romans, by these condescensions to the Rebels, lose credit among their neighbours. Privernum revolts, but is quickly reduced by C. Plautius Hypsæus (now the 2d time Consul.) His Collegue L. Æmilius lays waste the country of the Samnites, who thereupon sue for peace, and an alliance with Rome. These being obtained, they turn their arms once more against the Sidicini, who being refused succour by the Senate at Rome, even upon the terms of being subject to the Republick, give themselves to the Latines, already in arms, to recover their independence. The Campanians join the Latines. An army, formed of these three nations, enters Samnium, but soon retires.* §. II. *The Samnites send an embassy to the Republick, to complain of her suffering the Latines and Campanians to commit hostilities in Samnium. They receive an answer unsatisfactory to them, offensive to the Campanians, and which, seeming to betray a sense of weakness in the Romans, elates the spirits of the Latines. Manlius Torquatus is promoted (a 3d time) to the Consulate with P. Decius Mus. Alexander King of Epirus, uncle of Alexander the Great, comes into Italy on the invitation of the Tarentines, to make war with the Bruttians, and concludes an alliance of friendship with Rome.* §. III. *The Romans summon ten of the Latine Chiefs to appear at Rome, and give account of their preparations for war. The Latine Council send L. Annius with nine more to Rome, to demand, as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that one of the Consuls and half of the Senate of Rome be for the future chosen out of the LATINES. This demand is re-
 jeeted with indignation, and war is declared.* §. IV. *Manlius and Decius having marched two armies into the field, and incamped near the enemy, dream both of them the same dream concerning the event of the war.* §. V. *The Consul Manlius causes his own son to be beheaded, for having fought in single combat with one of the enemies officers, tho' he proved victorious; because he had fought without leave from his General.* §. VI. *The Romans come to a battle with the Latines. The wing where the Consul Decius commands beginning to lose ground, he, to recover the day to his party, and pursuant to the interpretation which had been given of his dream, devotes himself to death, rushing alone into the thickest of the enemy. His troops getting fresh courage and strength from superstition, and Manlius conducting the battle with great skill, the Latines are totally routed, and fly to Minturnæ. Manlius gives them a second overthrow, after which both they and the Campanians submit, and are most of them dispossess'd of their lands.* §. VII. *In the following Consulate of Q. Publilius and T. Æmilius some of the Latines rebel, and form two armies. Publilius succeeding in an expedition against one of them, is decreed a Triumph. Æmilius, not having equal success against the other, is refused that honour. Hereupon he inveighs against the Senate, and incites the People to sedition; and because the Senate, to prevent disturbances, order him to name a Dictator, he in revenge nominates to that dignity his Plebeian Collegue. The Dictator, during his whole administration, employs his*

LATINE
WAR.Severity of
Manlius
Torqua-
tus.Devote-
ment of
DECIVS.

414.

power and influence for the advantage of the Plebeians and obtains some laws in their favour. The Senate to pique Æmilius, tender of his honour, enable the
 415. next year's Consuls, L. Furius Camillus and C. Mænius, to finish with glory the war which he had left unfinished. §. VIII. The Romans determine the
 LATINES fate of the several conquered Cities. The Latines, from being Allies, are
 subjected. made Subjects of Rome.

C H A P. XI.

416. §. I. In the following Consulate of C. Sulpicius Longus and P. Ælius
 PLEBEIAN Pœtus, PUBLILIUS, tho' a Plebeian, obtains the PRÆTORSHIP; so that all
 PRÆTOR. the great Dignities in the State, except those of the Priesthood, are now com-
 mon to the two Orders. From this year 416, to the year 425, the most me-
 morable events are, The invention of Moveable Towers and Cover'd Galleries,
 418. by the Consul M. Valerius Corvus (in the year 418) at the siege of Cale, the
 chief City of the Ausones, allies of the Sidicini. The Republic's changing
 the custom of raising a new army upon every change of Consuls. The reduction
 of the Sidicini (probably in 420.) The addition of two new Tribes (in 421)
 Two new Tribes. to the 27 old ones. A plot formed (in 422) by some hundreds of Roman Wo-
 422. men to poison their Husbands. The revolt of Privernum (in 423) the reduc-
 Privernum. tion of that City (in 424) and the courageous and noble answer given by one of
 424. the Citizens, when questioned by the Roman Senate concerning the conduct
 which the Privernates would observe for the future.

C H A P. XII.

425. §. I. The next year (in the consulate of C. Plautius Proculus and P. Cor-
 nelius Scapula) the Romans give umbrage to the Samnites, by planting a
 Colony in their neighbourhood. And the Palæpolitans make an irruption in-
 to the Roman Territory. §. II. A remarkable instance of the Romans ab-
 horrence of Malice, in the prosecution of a criminal. §. III. The Fasces be-
 426. ing transferred to Q. Publilius (now a 2d time Consul) and L. Cornelius
 Lentulus, the former marches an army against the Palæpolitans. Cornelius
 incamps another near Capua, to keep in awe the Campanians, who are thought
 to be gain'd over by the Samnites, between whom and the Republic there is a
 427. new rupture. §. IV. The next year's Consuls, C. Pœtelius Libo and L.
 Papirius Mugillanus, having their forces strengthened by the Lucanians,
 and Apulians, take some Towns from the Samnites. And Publilius (who
 with the Title of PROCONSUL is continued at the head of the same army he
 had commanded the last year when Consul) takes Palæpolis by means of a
 stratagem laid and executed by two of the Citizens. For this exploit Publilius,
 A Procon- tho' but a Proconsul, is decreed a TRIUMPH. §. V. The Tarentines hav-
 sul tri- ing left their protector King Alexander of Epirus, and being jealous of the
 umphs. growing power of Rome, by an artful stratagem deprive her of all assistance
 from the Lucanians, seducing them into a league with the Samnites. §. VI.
 A Law in About this time the infamous passion of a Roman, named Papirius, for one
 favour of of his insolvent Debtors, occasions the passing of a law at Rome, whereby
 Debtors. CREDITORS are disabled from seizing the Persons of their DEBTORS.

C H A P. XIII.

§. I. *The Vestini, a People on the coast of the Adriatick sea, take arms against Rome, in the Consulate of L. Furius Camillus and D. Junius Brutus. Brutus defeats them in battle.* §. II. *Camillus, who was to act against the Samnites, falling sick, names to the Dictatorship L. Papirius Cursor, who appoints Quintus Fabius Rullianus to be his General of the Horse. The Dictator having taken the field against the Samnites, returns soon after to Rome on account of some Religious Scruple, but first forbids Fabius to hazard a battle with the enemy during his absence. Fabius nevertheless attacks the Samnites, and gains a notable victory; after which he burns all the spoil, that it may not do honour to the Dictator, by being carried in his Triumphal Procession. Papirius hastens back to the camp to punish his disobedient General of the Horse. Fabius is rescued out of the hands of the Lictors, and escapes to Rome. His father immediately gets the Senators together, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him. Papirius arrives on a sudden, takes his place in the Senate, and orders his Lictors to seize young Fabius. The father hereupon appeals to the People. Papirius, tho' the thing is unprecedented, does not dispute the legality of the appeal; but the People themselves, when the affair comes before them, are unwilling to interpose their Authority; they chuse rather to become intercessors with the Dictator, who at their request pardons the offender.* §. II. *Papirius returns to the camp with a new General of the Horse, and finding his army ill-affected to him, because of his severity in command, changes his manner on a sudden, becomes familiar with his soldiers, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the Samnites to sue for peace.* §. IV. *The Senate grant the Samnites only a year's truce, which the latter break so soon as they hear that Papirius has quitted the Dictatorship: They are joined by the Apulians. Little progress is made in the war this year, when C. Sulpicius Longus and Q. Aulius Cerretanus are Consuls. But their successors, Q. Fabius (who had been General of the Horse to Papirius) and L. Fulvius Curvus, by skilful conduct obtain a compleat victory over the enemy.* §. V. *The Samnites repenting of their breach of the Truce, endeavour to pacify the Romans by making restitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the Treaty.*

C H A P. XIV.

§. I. *The Samnites being refused a Peace, notwithstanding the satisfaction they have made for the breach of the Truce, prepare to carry on the war with vigour: and they appoint one Pontius, an able officer, to be their General. At Rome T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius are chosen Consuls. Pontius by a stratagem draws these Generals with their Legions into a dangerous pass (called afterwards the Caudine Forks) where they are surrounded by the Samnites, and have no possibility of forcing their way out of it. The Samnite General being undetermined in what manner to treat the Romans, is advised by his father, either in a friendly way to set them all free, or without mercy to cut them*

- all off. The son, rejecting this advice, will spare the lives of the Romans, but demands as the condition, That they all pass unarm'd under the Yoke, Officers and Soldiers; that they engage to draw all their forces out of Samnium, and give hostages for the performance of this article. The Romans, after some demur, submit to the terms imposed, being exhorted to it by L. Lentulus, a considerable Officer in the army. The Consuls, at their return to Rome, being ashamed to appear in publick, instantly name a Dictator to hold the Comitia for electing new Consuls. This election however is not made till the Government falls into an Inter-regnum. §. II. And then the Fasces are given to Papirius Cursor (a 2d time) and to Publilius Philo (a 3d time.) The Treaty made with the Samnites being laid before the Senate, Posthumius (one of those Consuls who had been parties to it) declares that the Roman People are not bound by it, as not being made by their orders; that the honour of the Republick will be saved by surrendering him and the rest of the Officers concerned in that Treaty to the Samnites, which he moves may be forthwith done. This proposal is approved, and put in execution by a Fecialis appointed thereto; but Pontius, the Samnite General, reproaching the Romans with baseness and breach of faith, refuses to accept the prisoners in satisfaction of the Treaty. §. III. Satricum revolts from the Romans; and the Samnites surprize Fregellæ, a Roman Colony, and, after a promise of quarter, burn the inhabitants alive. C. Mænius, being appointed Dictator to take cognizance of treasonable practices, and alledging all canvassing for Officers to be Treason against the State, cites several Patricians to trial on accusations of that sort; but he is forced, by the clamour of the whole body of the Nobles, to desist; and being himself accused of the same crime, abdicates his office, stands a trial, and is acquitted.*

C H A P. XV.

- §. I. Cornelius Lentulus being created Dictator, leads an army against the Samnites incamped near Caudium, and gives them a great overthrow. Papirius Cursor, his General of the Horse, takes from them Luceria (in Apulia) and rescues the 600 Roman Knights, who had been given as Hostages upon the Treaty with Pontius. §. II. Papirius is chosen (a 3d time) and Q. Aulius Cerretannus (a 2d time) to the Consulate. The latter takes Ferentum, the former recovers Satricum from the Samnites. The Character of Papirius. §. III. In the Consulate of L. Plautius and M. Follus, a two years Truce is granted to some Cities of Samnium. The Roman arms prosper in Apulia. Campania is turned into a Roman Præfecture. Two new TRIBES are formed, which make the whole number 31. §. IV. The next year (Q. Æmilius and C. Junius being Consuls) all Apulia is subdued. Antium receives laws from Rome for its future government. The succeeding Consuls, Sp. Nautius and M. Popilius, name a Dictator, to begin the siege of Saticula, a Campanian City in alliance with the Samnites; and notwithstanding that those two great men, Papirius Cursor and Publilius Philo, are both chosen (the 4th time) to the Consulate for the year following, the carrying on of that siege is committed to another Dictator Q. Fabius, the enemy and rival of Papirius. Fabius having taken*

taken Saticula, marches to besiege Sora (in the country of the Volsci) which had gone over to the Samnites. By an artful stratagem he defeats the Samnites in the field, but leaves the siege of Sora to be finished by the next year's Consuls, M. Pætilius, and C. Sulpicius (who is now chosen the third time.) 439.
These Generals take Sora by means of a stratagem suggested to them by a deserter from the place. §. V. The Romans surprize three Cities of the Ausones in one day. Luceria in Apulia rebels, and is again reduced. The Samnites are once more defeated in battle by the Romans. The next year, when L. Papirius Cursor (a fifth time) and C. Junius Brutus (a second time) are Consuls, C. Pætilius Libo is named Dictator to carry on the war. He recovers several Cities from the Samnites. The year following, when M. Valerius and P. Decius are in the Consulate, the Romans being alarmed with the apprehensions of a war with all Hetruria, appoint C. Sulpicius Longus Dictator to conduct it; but no hostilities ensue on either side. 440. 441.

C H A P. XVI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, one of the Censors of Rome, displeases the Senate, by admitting the SONS OF FREED MEN into that Body. The People reform this abuse the next year (when C. Junius (the third time) and Q. Æmilius (the second time) are Consuls) and make some new regulations. 442.
 §. II. Æmilius routs the Hetrurians. §. III. During the administration of Q. Fabius (a second time Consul) and C. Marcius, the Censor Appius obstinately refuses to quit his office, though his eighteen months (the legal time for its duration) are expired, presuming on the favour of the People, because he had made an Aqueduct to bring water to Rome, and a fine road between that City and Capua. He is prosecuted before the People; seven of the Tribunes are against him, but the other three taking him under their protection, he carries his point, and keeps his post. 443.
 APPIUS CLAUDIUS CENSOR.

C H A P. XVII.

§. I. The Consul Fabius defeats the Hetrurians in battle near Sutrium. He penetrates into the Ciminian Forest, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a second overthrow. §. II. The Roman army, under the Consul Marcius, not having equal success against the Samnites, and the Consul falling sick, the Senate orders Fabius to name Papirius Cursor (the man he most hates) to be Dictator to carry on that war. Fabius, after some struggle with himself, complies. §. III. He continues (with the title of Proconsul) to conduct the war against the Hetrurians, and routs them once more, though the soldiers of their army had bound themselves by oaths to conquer or die. §. IV. The Dictator Papirius is no less successful against the Samnites, who, to raise the courage of their Troops, had given them finer arms than usual. He returns to Rome, and, being now very old, retires 444.

445. *res for the rest of his life from publick business. §. V. Q. Fabius (a third time) and P. Decius Mus, (a second time), are chosen Consuls. Fabius conducts the war with success against the Samnites, assisted by the Marfi and Peligni. Decius reduces the Hetrurians to sue for an Alliance with Rome, but they obtain only a truce for one year. He subdues all Umbria. §. VI. Appius Claudius, the Censor, is chosen to the Consulate with L. Volumnius. Appius stays at Rome, while Fabius (in quality of Proconsul) carries on the war successfully in Samnium, and Volumnius leads an army with success against the Salentines. In the following Consulate of Q. Marcius and P. Cornelius the HERNICI rebel, and are subdued; and the SAMNITES are twice defeated. 446. The Fasces being transferred to Posthumius Megellus and Tib. Minucius, the Romans gain two more victories over the Samnites, but Minucius is slain in the second battle. 447. §. VII. In the succeeding Consulate of Sempronius Sophus and P. Sulpicius Saverrio, the Samnites request and obtain a renewal of their alliance with Rome. The ÆQUI, who had lately rebell'd, are totally subdued.*

C H A P. XVIII.

450. *§. I. The renowned Q. FABIVS being CENSOR this year, acquires the surname of MAXIMUS, for his reformation of an abuse introduced by APPIUS, who had dispersed great numbers of the Freed Men and meanest of the People into all the Rustick Tribes, thereby to influence the Elections according to his own humour. (One Flavius, who had been a Scribe, is by the strength of this base faction raised to the Curule Ædileship.) Fabius reconfines those mean fellows to the four City Tribes. §. II. The next year (when Cornelius Lentulus and L. Genucius are Consuls) is spent chiefly in sending Colonies to the Conquer'd Cities. In the succeeding Consulate of Livius Denter and Æmilius Paulus, the art of Painting is introduced at Rome by C. Fabius, surnamed PICTOR. Cleonymus, son of Cleomenes, King of Sparta, brings a fleet upon the coast of Italy, and makes two descents there without success. 451. §. III. All the following year the Republick is govern'd by two Dictators, successively created, Q. Fabius and Valerius Corvus. The former quells an insurrection of the Marfi; the latter obtains a signal victory over the Hetrurians, to whom afterwards a Truce is granted for two years.*

C H A P. XIX.

453. *§. I. In the year of Rome 453, when Valerius Corvus is the fifth time Consul, and has Q. Apulius Pania for his Colleague, a LAW is passed at the motion of two Tribunes, of the name of Ogulnius, to qualify PLEBEIANS for the Pontificate and Augurate. §. II. The Lex Valeria is confirmed anew. PLEBEIAN
PONTIFI-
CES and
AUGURS. §. III. Q. Fabius Maximus declines the Consulship, to which the People would again raise him, and at his own request obtains the Curule Ædileship, in which office he gains new glory.*

C H A P.

C H A P. XX.

§. I. *The Hetrurians break the Truce with Rome, in the Consulate of M. Fulvius Pætinus and T. Manlius Torquatus. Picenum obtains an alliance with the Republick. The Consul Manlius, who was to act against the Hetrurians, being killed by a fall from his horse, Valerius Corvus is by every voice in the Comitia declared Consul (the 6th time) to succeed him. The very presence of so renowned a warrior strikes a terror into the enemy; they quit the field, and retire into their Towns. (This was the last Military expedition of that great man, who lived to an hundred years of age.* 454.
 §. II. *In the close of the following Consulate of Cn. Fulvius and L. Cornelius Scipio, a report being spread, that both the Hetrurians and the Samnites (which last had broke their alliance with Rome) were making mighty preparations to attack the Republick, the Romans cast their eyes on the great Fabius to be one of their Consuls for the new year, and they oblige him to accept the office contrary to his inclination; but, at his request, gave him P. Decius Mus (who had been Consul with him in the year 445) to be his Collegue. The Hetrurians, instead of taking the field, come to a resolution to ask peace; so that the Consuls march their two armies into Samnium, and make terrible devastations in that country.* 455. 456.

C H A P. XXI.

§. I. *Appius Claudius, who two years before had made a fruitless attempt to exclude the Plebeians from the Consulate, endeavours now with the same view to get the Consular Fasces for Fabius and himself. Fabius being president in the Comitia, opposes his own re-election; whereupon Volumnius Flamma, a Plebeian, is joined with Appius in the Consulship. Fabius and Decius (in quality of Proconsuls) are continued in the command of their respective armies for six months longer. Fabius binds the Lucanians from joining the Samnites. Decius gains great advantages over the latter, to compleat whose destruction Volumnius marches a new army into Samnium.* 457.
 §. II. *But he soon after leaves that country to go to the assistance of his Collegue Appius, much embarrassed with a war against the Hetrurians, strengthened by a body of Samnites and another of Gauls. Appius pretends to be displeased with his arrival, upon which Volumnius offers to lead back his army into Samnium: But the troops of Appius oppose this motion. The united armies of the two Consuls come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them.* Appius Claudius and Volumnius.
 §. III. *After this Volumnius returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the Samnites, who (after Fabius and Decius, whose Proconsulate was expired, were returned to Rome) had made an incursion into Campania.*

C H A P. XXII.

§. I. *The Republick being alarmed by accounts from Appius, of extraordinary preparations for war by the Hetrurians and their allies, (the Umbrians, Gauls, and Samnites) elect Fabius (the 5th time) to the Consulate, and, at his request, the Comitia grant him Decius again for a Collegue, tho' the first Centuries have already voted for Volumnius. Volumnius himself approves of the request.* §. II. *A rivalry happens at this time between the Patrician and Plebeian Ladies for the reputation of strict Chastity.* §. III. *When the time comes for the Consuls to take the field, the Senate decree the conduct of the war against the Hetrurians to Fabius. Decius (to comply with the humour of his party, the Plebeians) refuses to yield that command to his Patrician Collegue, unless it fall to him by lot; and he appeals from the Senate's decree to the People. The People having heard the pleas of the two competitors, and consider'd the present exigence, determine in favour of Fabius as the greater General.* §. IV. *Fabius in his way to the camp being informed that Appius has fortified it in such an extraordinary manner as betrays fear, sends orders before him immediately to level the fortifications: and after his arrival, instead of shutting up his soldiers within Lines, he keeps them in constant motion by frequent marches and counter-marches. Before he enters upon action, he returns to Rome, but for what reason is uncertain. The Senate that he may be able to contend with the enemy, judging it necessary to strengthen him by a second army, Fabius desires that his Collegue Decius may be the General to command it; which request is granted. The Consuls, having sent Volumnius with an army into Samnium, and leaving two other armies incamped near the city, to cover it on the side of Hetruria, take the field. The forces of the enemy are divided into two bodies, which incamp separately: One consists of Samnites (who had been driven out of their own country) and Gauls; the other of Hetrurians and Umbrians. Fabius ordering the two armies he had left near Rome to go and ravage a part of Hetruria, the Hetrurians and Umbrians march away to defend it, and in their absence the Consuls come to a battle with the united Gauls and Samnites. The left wing of the Romans, which Decius commands, being terrified and broken by the armed Chariots used by the Gauls, he, to recover the courage of his men, devotes himself to death in the same manner his father had done on the like occasion. After this Fabius obtains a compleat victory.* §. V. *Before the end of the year the Samnites raise two new armies, which are routed by the forces of Appius, now Prætor of Rome, and the Proconsul Volumnius. Rome is afflicted by a Plague, and terrified by Prodigies.*

C H A P. XXIII.

§. I. L. Posthumius (*the second time*) and M. Atilius Regulus are chosen 459.
 Consuls. Posthumius falling sick, the war is carried on against the Samnites by Atilius at the head of only one Consular army. The Samnites have the advantage in this campaign, till Posthumius, being recovered, brings a second Roman army into the field; they then retire, and leave their country open to be pillaged. While Posthumius is employed in taking some of their Towns, Atilius marches to the relief of Luceria (in Apulia) besieged (as he was told) by the Samnites. He meets the enemy in his way, and comes to a battle with them, the success of which is such, that neither army cares to try a second engagement. Their situation however forces them to it; and then Atilius, by singular bravery and skill, obtains the victory. §. II. In the mean time Posthumius, without orders from the Senate, leaves Samnium, and marches into Hetruria, where he reduces three of the Lucumonies to sue for peace. Nevertheless, the Fathers, at his return to Rome, refuse him a Triumph, because of his irregular proceedings. He obtains it however by the favour of the People. §. III. In the new Consulate of L. Papirius Cursor (son of the famous Papirius) and Sp. Carvilius, the Samnite war is continued. 460.
 The Samnites make 16000 of their soldiers bind themselves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. Their whole army consists of 36000. While Carvilius lays siege to Cominium, in the eastern extremity of Samnium, Papirius leads his forces against the formidable army of the enemy, incamped near Aquilonia in Hirpinia. He gains the victory by the new stratagem of making the Muleteers and other servants of his army (whom he mounted upon Mules, and sent to some distance) appear in the heat of the action, like a new army come to his assistance. §. IV. Carvilius takes Cominium; after which the two Consuls join their forces to compleat the destruction of the Samnites. But the war breaking out afresh in Hetruria, Carvilius leads his army into that country, and reduces the enemy to buy a truce for a year. Both the Consuls have Triumphs. In this year a Sun-dial is the first time seen at Rome. Sun dial.
 §. V. A new regulation is made at Rome, relating to the Guardianship of Orphans, and another relating to the Publick Games.

C H A P. XXIV.

§. I. Q. Fabius Gurges (son of Fabius Maximus) is chosen to the Con- 461.
 sulate, though his father had opposed his promotion. The Collegue given him is Junius Brutus Scæva. Neither the one nor the other is well qualified to conduct an army. Junius however being well assisted by Carvilius, the late Consul, makes a successful expedition against the Falisci in Hetruria. But Gurges, through his ill conduct, is shamefully vanquished in a battle with the Samnites.

- Samnites. *The People of Rome having resolved to punish him, old Fabius pacifies them, by offering to serve under his son the remainder of the Campaign. Gurgès, assisted by his Father's counsel, obtains a glorious victory over the enemy; and Pontius, the famous Samnite General, is taken prisoner.* §. II. *The Romans, to put a stop to the Plague, send Ambassadors to bring from Epidaurus the God Æsculapius, worshipp'd there under the form of a serpent.* §. III. *The God arrives on the beginning of the next Consulate of L. Posthumius (now the third time chosen) and Junius Brutus Bubulcus. Posthumius proudly assumes to himself the conduct of the war in Samnium, without drawing lots with his Colleague, or waiting for a decree of the Senate in his favour. When he comes into the field, he, contrary to the will of the Senate, obliges Fabius Gurgès, now Proconsul, to desist from the siege of Cominium (which had been retaken by the Samnites) and leave it to him. He takes that town and another. The Senate, nevertheless, to punish his disobedience, mortify him in several instances; and in the succeeding Consulate (of P. Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus) he is fined by the People for a misdemeanour during his Magistracy.* §. IV. *The Consul CURIUS (a Hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty) reduces the Samnites to ask PEACE, which is now granted them the 4th time, on the conditions prescribed by Curius, whom they in vain endeavour to bribe.* §. V. *He reduces SABINIA to a state of subjection to the Republick, and has two Triumphs decreed him for his exploits in one year. He is afterwards accused of embezzling some of the spoil taken from the enemy, but is honourably acquitted.* §. VI. *In quality of Proconsul he carries the war into Lucania, the new Consuls, M. Valerius Corvinus and Q. Cœdicius Noctua, spending their whole year in works of peace, and in sending Colonies to the conquer'd Cities. To relieve the Prætor of Rome, three new judges are created to try Malefactors. The cruelty of a Creditor to his Debtor, for whom he had conceived an infamous passion, occasions great commotions in Rome in the second Consulates of Q. Marcius Tremulus and P. Cornelius Arvina, and a new Secession of the People in the following year, when M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Nautius Rutilus are Consuls. The Patricians, to effect a reconciliation, are obliged to make concessions. Fabius Maximus, in his old age, is made Dictator, to finish the accommodation; which done, he presides in the Comitia, where M. Valerius Potitus and C. Ælius Pœtus are chosen Consuls. He soon after dies. The year of the new Consuls, proves barren of great events.*

C H A P. XXV.

- §. I. *Nothing memorable happens the next year, when C. Claudius Canina and M. Æmilius Lepidus are Consuls. But in the following Consulate of C. Servilius Tucca and L. Cæcilius Metellus the Tarentines endeavour privately to stir up both old and new enemies against Rome. The Gauls, called Senones,*

Senones, murder some Roman Ambassadors, who had been sent to persuade them to desist from the siege of Aretium in Hetruria; and they soon after give the Roman army, under the conduct of Cæcilius, a terrible overthrow. Curius Dentatus revenges this defeat by leading an army into the country of the Gauls, and laying it waste. §. II. The next year the Romans, under the Consuls 470. P. Cornelius and Cn. Domitius, vanquish in battle the Senones, the Boii, and the Hetrurians. The Samnites revolt. In the succeeding Consulate of 471. C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus, almost all Italy rises in arms against the Republick. Fabricius defeats the confederate forces of the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites. The Romans imagine that the God Mars had fought in person for them. §. III. The Tarentines, who had not yet openly appear'd against Rome, fall in a hostile manner upon a Roman fleet, which chanced to come into their port. The Romans send to demand satisfaction. The Tarentines insult the Ambassadors in the most outrageous manner, and then turn their thoughts to seek an alliance with Pyrrhus King of Epirus, and to invite him into Italy. [A short account of this Prince, and the state of his affairs at this time.] §. IV. The Senate of Rome having long debated, whether to begin a war immediately with the Tarentines, or to defer it, determine for the first, and the People confirm their Decree. L. Æmilius 472. (who, with Q. Marcius, is now in the Consulate) marches an army directly for Tarentum. The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the Citizens on his approach. They resolve to invite Pyrrhus to their assistance. Æmilius endeavours to make them lay aside this design, by generously releasing some Tarentine prisoners he had taken. §. V. Pyrrhus accepts the invitation, and sends before him to Tarentum the famous Cyneas with 3000 men, who take possession of the Citadel.

The Tarentines.

C H A P. XXVI.

§. I. P. Valerius Lævinus and Tib. Coruncanius are chosen Consuls at 473. Rome. Pyrrhus (whose Character is given) being arrived at Tarentum (after escaping shipwreck by a storm which dispersed his Fleet) takes measures to turn the Tarentines from the pursuit of Pleasures, to which they are entirely addicted; and he makes himself absolute master in the place. In the mean time the Romans send Fabricius to visit their Colonies and Allies, with whom they are fallen into some discredit, through the villainous behaviour of a Legion of Campanian Soldiers, which had been sent by the Republick to garrison Rhegium at the request of the inhabitants, and which had massacred the Citizens, and seized the City for themselves. §. II. Pyrrhus bearing at Tarentum that the Consul Lævinus has march'd an army into Lucania, takes the field. He sends a letter to the Consul, incamp'd near Heraclea, requiring him to submit the quarrel between Rome and Tarentum to his arbitration. Lævinus, in answer, returns a defiance. Pyrrhus takes a view of the Roman camp, and admires the order of it; and his confidence of success in the war being thereby abated, he resolves to wait for the junction of his allies before he hazards a battle; but the Romans force him to fight. He gains

KING PYRRHUS arrives in Italy.

Garrison of Rhegium.

gains the victory by means of his Elephants. §. III. After this success Pyrrhus forms Designs upon Capua and Naples. Disappointed in these designs, he marches towards Rome with an intention to besiege it. But hearing that the Consul Coruncanius, who had subdued all HETRURIA, is coming with his victorious army against him, he marches back into Campania, where Lævinus having recruited his forces, offers him battle once more. The King declines it, and returns to Tarentum. §. IV. Thither Fabricius and two other Senators from Rome come to treat with him concerning the ransom of Prisoners. He has some private conversation with Fabricius. The King resolves to send Cyneas to Rome with proposals of Peace, one of the conditions of which is to be a release of the Roman prisoners without Ransom. Cyneas comes to Rome, and employs all his arts to effect his desires; but the Senate, moved chiefly by a spirited speech of Appius Claudius the Civilian, (now blind) unanimously refuse to enter into any treaty of Peace with the King while he continues in Italy. Cyneas returns to Tarentum, full of admiration of the Romans.

FABRICI-
US.APPIUS
CLAUDI-
US, THE
BLIND.

C H A P. XXVII.

§. I. The next year the Romans, under the conduct of their new Consuls, P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus, come to a second battle with King Pyrrhus, near ASCULUM in Apulia. The circumstances and event of this action are not well known. Pyrrhus retires to Tarentum, and the Consuls into winter-quarters. §. II. The year following, when C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus (both a second time) are Consuls, the Carthaginians send a fleet to the assistance of the Romans against Pyrrhus, who, they fear, will invade their dominions in Sicily, if he should conclude a Peace with the Romans. (He had been invited thither by the Sicilians.) The Senate refuse the assistance offer'd, yet enter into a Treaty with Carthage. §. III. The Romans and Epirots having again taken the field, and the two armies lying in sight of each other in the territory of Tarentum, the Consuls send a letter to the King, giving him notice of the treachery of his Physician, who had offer'd to poison him for a reward. Pyrrhus, in return for their generosity, releases the Roman Prisoners, and once more sends Cyneas to Rome with proposals of peace, but to no effect. §. IV. Pyrrhus leaving a garrison in Tarentum, passes with his army into SICILY.

Pyrrhus
goes into
Sicily.

C H A P. XXVIII.

§. I. The state of Sicily at the time of Pyrrhus's arrival there. He makes rapid and extensive conquests in the island. §. II. In the mean time the Romans chuse Cornelius Ruffinus and C. Junius Brutus to the Consulate. These Generals lead their forces against the Samnites, advantageously posted in their mountains, and suffer a shameful defeat. After this, Ruffinus by a stratagem takes Croton from the Bruttians. Locris submits to the Romans, the inhabitants having just massacred the garrison which Pyrrhus had left there. §. III.

4-6.

§. III. *The Romans (under their new Consuls Q. Fabius Gurges and C. Genucius) continuing the war with success against the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, these nations send to intreat Pyrrhus to return to their assistance. The King's affairs in Sicily being now in a bad way, he is glad of so honourable a pretext to leave the Island. His fleet, in its return to Italy, is dispersed and partly destroyed by the Carthaginian fleet. After his landing near Rhegium, he is attacked in his march to Tarentum, by a body of Mamertines (who had passed the Straights expressly) and suffers a considerable loss. He lays waste the territory of the Locrenses, and plunders the Temple of Proserpine.* 477. *Returns to Italy.*

§. IV. *Curius Dentatus (a 2d time) and L. Cornelius Lentulus are raised to the Consulate at Rome. The People, from some unaccountable caprice, being unwilling to enlist themselves for the war, Curius confiscates the goods of the first man who refuses, and sells the man himself for a slave, and by this example of severity gets the better of the People's obstinacy. Two armies are raised. While Lentulus leads one into Lucania, Curius leads the other into Samnium, where he comes to a battle with the Epirots in the Taurasian fields, and gives them a total overthrow. He takes their camp; and the Romans admiring the form of it, resolve to make it the future model of their own.* 478.

§. V. *Pyrrhus leaving a strong garrison in Tarentum, embarks for Epirus under pretence of going to fetch recruits.* *Embarks for Epirus.*

C H A P. XXIX.

§. I. *The Consul Curius has a pompous Triumph for his victory over King Pyrrhus, but he refuses what other rewards the Senate offer him. Ruffinus (who has been Consul and Dictator) is by the Censors struck out of the list of Senators for having too much Silver Plate.* §. II. *Curius is continued for another year in the Consulate, and has for his Colleague Cornelius Merenda. The Tarentines beginning to despise Pyrrhus, force the garrison he had left there to confine themselves in the Citadel. Curius forces the Samnites and Lucanians to retire for refuge to their mountains. But they appear again in the field the next year, when C. Fabius Dorso and C. Claudius Carina are the Roman Consuls. Claudius defeats them in a pitch'd battle.* 479.

§. III. *Ptolemy Philadelphus sends an Embassy to Rome, to ask an alliance with the Republick. The Romans send Ambassadors into Ægypt.* §. IV. *The new year's Consuls, L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius (both promoted a 2d time) have scarce enter'd Samnium with two armies, when a certain account comes that Pyrrhus is dead. [The manner of his death is related.] This news throws the SAMNITES into despair; they put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby totally subdued by Papirius, after a war which had lasted 72 years. The BRUTTIANS and LUCANIANS submit soon after; and Papirius by negotiation prevails with Milo and the Tarentines to put their City and Citadel into the hands of the Romans; after which the Carthaginians, whose fleet lay before Tarentum, and who seem to have had a design upon it, sail away from the coast.* 480.

§. V. *The Consular Fasces are transferred to Quinctius Claudius and L. Genucius; and the* *Death of PYRRHUS.* *Samnites, Bruttians, &c. subjected to Rome.* 481.

Romans

- Rhegium
taken. 483. Romans being now in a condition to punish the perfidious Campanian Legion, which had formerly seized RHEGIUM, besiege it, carry the place, restore it to those of the old inhabitants who had escaped the massacre, and put all who remain of the Legion to death. §. VI. The following Consulate of C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius produces nothing of moment; and the most memorable thing that happens under the administration of their successors, Q. Ogulnius and C. Fabius Pictor, is the Coining of Silver Money at Rome for the first time. §. VII. The next year, when Appius Claudius (son of Appius the Blind) and P. Sempronius Sophus are Consuls, Picenum is totally subdued, and the SABINES are made entirely Roman, by being admitted to the right of suffrage in the Roman Comitia. §. VIII. The Consuls of the following year, L. Julius and M. Atilius Regulus, commence a war with the Salentines; and this nation, together with the Sarcinates in Umbria, being entirely subdued by the succeeding Consuls, Numerius Fabius and D. Junius Pera, Rome becomes thereby mistress of all the Countries in ITALY from the remotest part of Hetruria to the Ionian Sea, and from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Adriatick. §. IX. The Republick is now courted by foreign States. The Ambassadors from Apollonia in Macedon being insulted by some of the Citizens of Rome, the offenders are deliver'd up to the Apollonians, and a law is passed to make the like practice general in like cases. In the Consulate of Q. Fabius Gurges and L. Mamilius Vitulus, the Romans regulate their Finances, and appoint four Provincial Quæstors for the four Provinces into which they divide Italy.
484.
485.
486.
487.
488.
- Silver Money coined.
Provincial Quæstors.





THE Roman History.

FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Original of the *Romans*, and the Building of *Rome*.

Sect. I. *The first Romans were of Trojan extraction.* §. 2. *Æneas's voyage to Italy.* §. 3. *The ancient inhabitants of that country.* §. 4. *Æneas's reception by Latinus, King of Latium. He marries Lavinia the daughter of Latinus, and builds Lavinium.* §. 5. *He succeeds to the Kingdom of his father-in-law.* §. 6. *The death of Æneas, who is succeeded by his son Ascanius.* §. 7. *Ascanius founds Alba Longa, and yields Lavinium to Æneas Sylvius, the son of Æneas by Lavinia.* §. 8. *The Latines upon the death of Ascanius unite Lavinium and Alba into one dominion, which they decree to Æneas Sylvius, but give the sovereign power in affairs of religion to Iulus the son of Ascanius.* §. 9. *The succession of the Kings of Alba from Æneas Sylvius to Amulius, who de-thrones his elder brother Numitor.* §. 10. *The birth, education, and adventures of Romulus and Remus. They dethrone Amulius, and restore their Grandfather Numitor.* §. 11. *Numitor sends his two grandsons to plant a colony. They quarrel about the spot of ground where the new city shall stand. Remus is slain.* §. 12. *ROME is built.*

§. 1. **T**HAT *Æneas* came into *Italy* after the destruction of *Troy*, and that the founders of *Rome* were descended from him and his followers, are points of history sufficiently authorized and established. All the *Latine* Historians either expressly relate these facts or suppose them; and many of the *Greek*, less zealous for the *Roman* glory, adhere to the same tradition. *Dionysius* indeed speaks of some ancient writers who will not allow *Æneas* to have travelled farther than *Thrace*; of others who make him settle in *Arcadia*; and again of others, who admitting that he passed into *Italy*, and there planted a colony, yet affirm, that he afterwards went back into his own country, where, they say, he was King of *Troy*, and at his death left the Kingdom to his son

Ascanius: But all these opinions are rejected by that critical antiquary, who, upon better authorities, has given us the following account of the adventures of the *Trojan Prince*.

D. Hal. B. §. II. WHEN the *Greeks*, by the treachery of the sons of *Antenor*, or
 1. p. 36, by whatever other means it happened, were become masters of *Troy*,
 & seq. * *Aeneas* with the forces under his command retired into the fortress of
 the city, and defended it bravely for some time; but yielding at length
 to necessity, he conveyed away his Gods, his father, wife, and children,
 with every thing he had that was valuable, and, follow'd by a numerous
 crowd of *Trojans*, fled to the strong places of Mount *Ida*. Hither all
 those of his countrymen who were more anxious than the rest to preserve
 their liberty flocked to him from the several towns of *Troas*. His army
 thus augmented and advantageously posted, he continued quiet, waiting
 for the departure of the *Greeks*, who, it was imagined, would return
 home as soon as they had pillaged the country. But these, after they
 had enriched themselves with the spoils of *Troy* and of the neighbouring
 towns, turn'd their arms against the fugitives, resolving to attack them
 in their strong holds upon the mountain. *Aeneas*, to avoid the hazard
 of being forced in his last refuge, had recourse to negotiation, and, by
 his heralds, intreated the enemy not to constrain him to a battle. Peace
 was granted him on condition that he, with his followers, quitted the
Trojan territories; and the *Greeks*, on their part, promised not to molest
 him in his retreat, but to let him safely pass through any country within
 the extent of their domination.

Upon this assurance, *Aeneas* equipp'd a fleet, in order to seek a settle-
 ment in some foreign land. We are told, that at his departure he left
 his eldest son *Ascanius* with the *Dascylites*, a people of *Bitynia*, who de-
 sired to have him for their King; but that the young Prince did not re-
 main long with them; for when *Scamandrius* (*Astyanax*) with the rest of
 the *Hectoride* whom *Neoptolemus* permitted to return home from *Greece*,
 repaired to him, he put himself at their head, and led them back to their
 native country.

The *Trojan*, having cross'd the *Hellepont*, arriv'd in the Peninsula of
Pallene^b, where he built a city, called from him *Aeneia*, and left in it a
 part of that multitude which had follow'd him. From thence he sailed
 to *Delos*^c, and thence to *Cythera*, where he erected a temple to *Venus*.
 He

P. 38. ^a Though this account of *Aeneas's* con-
 duct with respect to his country be what
D. Hal. esteems the most probable, yet he
 owns that the Historians are of various o-
 pinions concerning it, and he particularly
 mentions a passage of *Menecrates*, import-
 ing, that *Troy* was taken through the trea-
 chery of *Aeneas*, and that he betrayed it to
 the *Greeks*, to be revenged on *Paris*, who
 had opposed his having a certain sacer-
 dotal dignity to which he aspired.

^b The *Pallene* here meant was probably
 that of *Macedon*, not that of *Thrace*; but
 being inhabited by *Thracians*, is by *D. Hal.*
 p. 39. spoken of as in *Thrace*. *Livy*, B. 1.
 c. 1. says, that *Aeneas* flying from his native
 country, came first into *Macedon*. C. & R.

^c *Deles* and *Cythera* are both Islands in the
Archipelago or *Aegean Sea*, the first, near
 the Isle of *Rhène*, has with it at present the
 common name of *Dili* or *Idilles*. *Cythera*
 lies



He built another to the same Goddess in ^a *Zacynthus*, in which Island he likewise instituted games, called *The Races of Æneas and Venus*: the statues of both, says *Dionysius*, are standing to this day. In ^b *Leucas*, where the *Trojans* landed, was to be seen in the same author's time, a temple erected to *Venus the mother of Æneas*. Nor were ^c *Altium* and ^d *Ambracia* without monuments that testified his arrival in those places. At ^e *Dodona* were found brazen vases, upon which the name of the *Trojan* hero, who had made an offering of them to *Jupiter*, was engraven in old characters. Not far from ^f *Butrotos*, in *Epirus*, a *Trojan* camp, which had escaped the injuries of time, retained the name of *Troja*. All these antiquities, still subsisting in the reign of *Augustus*, were then look'd upon as indisputable proofs of *Æneas's* voyage to *Epirus*; “ and that he came into
“ *Italy*, (adds the same *Dionysius*,) we have the concurrent testimony of all ^{p. 39.}
“ the *Romans*; the ceremonies they observe in their sacrifices and festivals
“ bear witness to it, as also the *Sibylline* books, the *Pythian* oracles, and
“ many other things which no body can reasonably reject as invented
“ merely for ornament.”

The first land of *Italy* which *Æneas* made, after crossing the *Ionian* ^{p. 41.}
Sea, was Cape ^g *Minerva*, in *Iapygia*; and here he went on shore. Sailing afterwards from hence, and coasting along the south-east of *Italy* and the east and south sides of *Sicily*, he arrived with his fleet either by choice or stress of weather at the port of ^h *Drepanum* in that Island. *Elymus* and *Ægestus* who had escaped from *Troy* a little before him, had brought a *Trojan* colony to this place. *Æneas* augmented it by a good number of his followers, whom, pleas'd to have found a safe resting ^{p. 42.}
place after many dangers and fatiguing voyages, he willingly left behind him at their request; though certain authors pretend that he was constrained to do it by the difficulty of transporting them, because some *Trojan* women, weary of the sea, had burnt a considerable part of his ships.

Æneas leaving *Drepanum*, steer'd his course for *Italy* across the ⁱ *Tyrrhenian* sea. To the cape, where he first landed, he gave the name ^k *Palinurus*, from one of his pilots who died there. The little Island of *Leucasia*, not far distant, whither he sailed next, got its name in like manner

lies to the east of the *Morea* or *Peloponnesus*, and is now called *Cerigo*.

^a Now *Zante*.

^b Now *Santa Maura*.

^c A Promontary of *Epirus*, now *Capo Figalo*.

^d Formerly a city of *Epirus*, now only a Village, bearing the name of *Ambrakia*.

^e In the country of the *Molossi* in *Epirus*. There are no traces of it remaining.

^f Now *Butranto*.

^g A Promontory where there was a good

summer haven. It was from this time call'd the port of *Venus*, now *Castro*.

^h Now *Capo di Sant' Alessio*. The town is call'd *Trapani*.

ⁱ The *Tyrrhenian* sea is a part of the *Mediterranean*. It washes the shores of *Tuscany*, the *Pope's* territories, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. It was called by the ancients *Mare Inferum*, to distinguish it from the *Adriatick*, which they named *Mare Superum*.

^k Now *Capo di Palinuro* in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

D. H. p. 43. from a daughter of *Aeneas's* sister, who there ended her days. The port of ^a *Misenum*, the Island of *Prochyta*, and the promontory of ^b *Cajeta*, where he successively arrived, were so called from being the burial places, the first of a noble *Trojan* his companion, the second of his kinswoman, and the third of his nurse. At length the *Trojan* Prince and his chosen band finished their tedious and painful voyages on the coast of the since famous *Latium*^c. This was a small territory on the east side of the river *Tiber*, containing a part of the present *Campagna di Roma*: *Latinus* was the King of it; his capital town, *Laurentum*^d; his subjects, a people who, till his time called *Aborigines*, had from him taken the name of *Latines*. Here, far removed from their implacable enemies the *Greeks*, *Aeneas* and his followers undertook to raise a second *Troy*: they fortified a camp near the mouth of the *Tiber*, gave it the name of *Troy*, and flattered themselves with the hopes of a quiet settlement, a period to all their unhappy adventures.

P. 2. P. 43. P. 27. §. III. *ITALY*^e, according to *Dionysius*, did not get that name till about the time of *HERCULES*: It was before called, by the *Greeks*, *HESPERIA*, and *AUSONIA*, but by the *Inhabitants* *SATURNIA*, from the God *SATURN*, whom they worshipped ^f universally. And, before it acquired this

^a *Capo di Miseno* in the same Kingdom.

^b Now *Gaieta*.

^c *Latium* at this time comprehended but a small part of what was afterwards called by that name.

^d It is difficult to fix the situation of the ancient city of *Laurentum*, of which there is no trace remaining. It was called by that name from the great number of laurels growing thereabouts. *Farræ*, B. 4. *de lingua Latina*, p. 36.

^e *Italy* did not anciently contain above one half of what now goes by that name, yet it comprehended many distinct Nations, the principal of which were, the *Aborigines*, *Sabines*, *Hetruscans* or *Tuscans*, *Umbri*, *Samnites*, *Campani*, *Apulii*, *Calabrii*, *Lucanii*, and *Bruttii*. The rest was chiefly possessed by the *Gauls* who had driven out the former inhabitants, and by the *Ligures* and *Ventii*.

^f *D. Hal.* tells us (B. 1. p. 27.) that This appears from some *Sibylline Verses*, and other Oracles of the Gods; and that, in his time, there were still, in *Italy*, many temples of *SATURN*; and that several cities and other places, especially rocks and very high hills had derived their names from that of the God; and particularly that the hill *CAPITOLINUS* was anciently called *SATURNIUS*. He mentions, as fabulous, a notion which pre-

vailed very much among the people of *Italy*, That *SATURN*, in the *GOLDEN AGE*, was King of their country, and that it had been favoured, more than any other, with the plenty and pleasures, peculiar to those happy days.

Both this notion, and the worship universally paid, in *Italy*, to *SATURN*, are easy to be accounted for, if we suppose, with Sir *Isaac Newton*, (*Chron.* p. 152.) that the *SATURN* of the *Latines* was the *Cretan ASTERIUS*, father of *MINOS*, the *Cretan JUPITER*; and that (in true Chronology) the *Golden Age* falls in with the reign of *ASTERIUS*; and that when he fled from his son, he retired first into *ATTICA*, and afterwards into *ITALY*, where being well received by *JANUS*, he introduced many of the arts useful to life. Sir *Isaac Newton*, after citing some passages, from various authors, in support of his opinion, goes on thus: in (*Chron.* p. 153, 154.)

“ By *SATURN's* carrying letters into *Italy*,
“ and coining money, and teaching Agri-
“ culture, and making Instruments, and
“ building a Town, you may know, that he
“ fled from *CRETE*, after letters, and the
“ coining of money, and manual arts were
“ brought into *EUROPE* by the *Phœnicians*;
“ and from *ATTICA*, after Agriculture was
“ brought into *Greece* by *CERES*; and so
“ could not be older than *ASTERIUS*, and
“ *EUROPA*, and her brother *CADMUS*: and
“ by

this last name, it was called *ÆNOTRIA*, from *ÆNOTRUS*, *LYCAON*'s youngest son, who led thither a colony of *Arcadians*. *Dion. Hal.* thinks p. 9. that these *Arcadians* were the same with the *Aborigines*, and the first *Greeks* who came into *Italy*; and that *Italus*, a conqueror, and one of p. 27, 28. the descendants of *Ænotrus*, gave it the name which to this day it retains.

“ by *ITALY*'s being called *ÆNOTRIA*, before it was called *SATURNIA*, you may know that he came into *Italy* after *ÆNOTRUS*, and so was not older than the sons of *LYCAON*, [the son of *PELAGUS*.] *ÆNOTRUS* carried the first Colony of *Greeks* into *ITALY*, *SATURN* the second, and *EVANDER* the third; and the *Latines* know nothing older in *Italy* than *JANUS* and *SATURN*: and therefore *ÆNOTRUS* was the *JANUS* of the *Latines*. —

Macrobius, (*Saturnal.* l. i. c. 7.) tells us, that when *SATURN* was dead, *JANUS* erected an Altar to him, with sacred Rites, as to a God, and instituted the *SATURNALIA*, and that human Sacrifices were offered to him; till *HERCULES*, driving the cattle of *Geryon* through *Italy*, abolished that custom: By the human Sacrifices you may know, that *JANUS* was of the race of *LYCAON*; which character agrees to *ÆNOTRUS*.”

D. Hal. (B. i. p. 30.) says, that *HERCULES*, to prevent scruples in the people, about omitting a religious Rite, received from their forefathers, persuaded them to throw, instead of men, little images of men, dress'd up and adorn'd, into the *Tiber*, by way of sacrifice to the God; assuring them that *SATURN* would be as well pleased: And the historian adds, that even in his time the *Romans* annually, about the vernal Equinox, performed this ceremony; the High Priest, with great solemnity, throwing thirty *Popets* into the River.

It may be proper to observe, that according to *Sir Isaac Newton's short Chronicle*, the people of *Latium* could not have been long accustomed to human Sacrifices, if *ÆNOTRUS* introduced the practice; for between his coming into the country, and the arrival of *HERCULES*, who abolished the practice, there were but twenty years: Yet the expression of the Greek Historian, is *quasi patria sacra neglexissent.* (*Hudf. Transl.*)

Some Historians held the *Aborigines* to be natives of *Italy*, who had that name given them because they had been there *ab origine*

from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other Nation. Others pretend that the *Aborigines* were vagabonds and vagrants, who coming from different countries, met accidentally in *Italy*, and there lived by rapine; for which reason the same writers call them *Aberrigines*, that is to say, a wandering people, like those whom the ancients stiled *Leleges*, by which they meant such adventurers as have been described. *D. Hal.* B. i. p. 8.

But *Dionysius*, who was persuaded that the *Aborigines* came from *Arcadia*, says, that they were called by that name from their living upon mountains, in which the *Arcadians* much delighted; and if so, it must be derived from *ἀπ' ὀρίων γένος*, which imports as much as mountaineers, or natives of the mountains. *D. Hal.* B. i. p. 11.

That the *Aborigines* were from *Arcadia*, as *Varro* also believed, *Sir Walt. Raleigh* seems to think probable. This name of *Aborigines*, says he, (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as original or native of the place which they possessed; which title the *Arcadians* are known in a vaunting manner to have always usurp'd, fetching their antiquity from beyond the moon. But he is inclined to think, with *Reynceus*, from several passages in *D. Hal.* *Strabo*, *Justin* and *Pliny*, that *Italy* did not take that name from *Italus* the *Oenotrian*, but from *Ætolus* and a colony of *Ætolians*, which under him settled in that country. The word *Italia*, says he, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, save that the first letter is cast away, which in the Greek words is common, and the letter *o* is changed into *a*, which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an Island near *Italy* peopled by the *Ætholians*; and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* dialect, which dialect, (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach. *Hist. of the World*, p. 458, 459.

From whatever country the *Aborigines* came, they were obliged to maintain a long wars against the *Siculi*, (the first inhabitants of *Italy*) till, having received a considerable reinforcement by the arrival of a colony of *Peloponnesians* from *Greece*, they drove out their enemies, and seized upon their towns; after which they granted a large extent of land to the *Pe-
l^ogi*, and borrowed from them many of the customs of *Greece*.

As for the *Siculi*, they being chased out of all the countries of *Italy*, took refuge in *Sicily*, which was at that time possessed by the *Sicani*, a people originally of *Spain*. And at length the *Pel^ogi* themselves, not being able to bear up against divers calamities with which they were afflicted, returned most of them into *Greece*, and retained there the name of *Syraceni*, which they had gained by their living in the neighbourhood of that nation during their stay in *Italy*.

About sixty years before the war of *Troy*, another colony, which came from *Peloponnesus* under the conduct of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, son of *Carmen^o* (or *Tberis*) a prophetess, arrived in a port of *Latium*. *Jaunus* then reigned over that petty Kingdom, and was a prince of humanity and prudence. He considered, that nothing was to be fear'd from a few unhappy men, who had been convey'd thither in only two vessels; and he therefore suffered *Evander* to settle on a small uncultivated hill near the *Tiber*, where the *Arcadian* built a little town and called it *Pallantium*, after the name of his native city in *Arcadia*, which a popular commotion had constrained him to leave. The hill itself was thence called the hill *Palatinus*, which in the time of *Augustus* stood in the center of *Rome*.

Evander established in this new settlement the worship of the Gods of his own country. *Pan* was the tutelar Deity of the *Arcadians*. They invoc'd him to preserve their flocks from the wolves. And as the temple which had been dedicated to him in *Greece* was called ^a *Lyc^oum*, so that which *Evander* built, or rather cut in a rock, in *Italy*, was named ⁱ *Lupercal*: The *Arcadian* ceremonies were retain'd in his worship, and only the *Greek* name of his temple changed into a *Latin* one.

Evander built altars likewise, in *Pallantium*, to ^a *Victory* and *Ceres*, and

^a The building of the temple of *Pan* under the name of *Lyc^oum* or *Lupercal*, answered to the idea which the *Pagans* had formed to themselves of *Pan*, whom they looked upon as the tutelar God of their flocks against the Wolves. *Dien. Hal.* Book 1. p. 25. says, that of all the Gods, the *Arcadians* worshipped *Pan* with the most devotion. Nay these people, according to *Macrobius*, called him τὸν τῶν ὀνῶν Κύριον, i. e. the Lord of all material substances. C. & R.

ⁱ The *Lupercal* was a cavern dug in a rock in a corner of mount *Palatine*. Some authors, and amongst them *Ovid*, pretend that *Remulus* and *Remus* consecrated this cave, because it had been the retreat of the wolf that suckled them.

Illa loco nomen fecit, locus ipse Lupercal,
Fast. B. 2.

In commemoration of this, the *Romans* placed there a brazen statue, representing a wolf suckling the twins. *Fulvius Urfinus* thinks 'tis the same which may be seen at present on the *Capitol*, at the palace of the *Conversators*. C. & R.

^a The *Latines* adored *Victory* and *Ceres* before the other Gods *Jupiter*, *Juno*, &c. They represented *Victory* under the form of a young girl with wings painted white. *Ceres* was represented like the mother of a family, with a long training robe, and held in her hand some ears of corn, or poppies. C. & R.

instituted

instituted the festival ¹ of the *Equestrian Neptune*, so called, because, accord- Virg. Geo. l. 1. v. 12. Died. Sic. l. 5. p. 233. Pausan. l. 7. c. 21.
 ing to the *Greek Fable*, NEPTUNE, with a stroke of his *Trident*, raised the *first horse* out of the earth; or, because, according to *Diodorus* and *Pausanias*, he was the *First* man who found out the art of *breaking horses*.^m

During

¹ This festival, says *D. Hal.* was called by the *Arcadians* HIPPOCRATIA, but by the *Romans* CONSUALIA, from *Consus*, a name afterward given to *Neptune*, in the time of *Romulus*.

Before *Romulus* the subterraneous cavern made by order of *Evander* was dedicated only to the *Equestrian Neptune*; but *Romulus*, when he designed to carry off the *Sabine women*, took occasion from this altar, which he had found under ground, to celebrate those games at which he executed his design; and as this project was the effect of a long deliberation, he therefore called the Divinity, whose worship furnished him with the opportunity, *Consus*, that is, *The God of counsel*. These games consecrated to the *Equestrian Neptune*, or otherwise to *Consus*, were celebrated ever after at *Rome*, and called, by way of eminency, the *Roman* or *great games*. They consisted chiefly in chariot and horse races; at first they held only one day, but they were afterwards prolonged to two, then to three, and at length even to nine. They were celebrated in the great *Circus*, and called also, *Ludi Circenses*, or, the games of the *Circus*. C. & R.

^m This CHEVALIER NEPTUNE, to whom *Diodorus* and *Pausanias* give the honour of being, not only the first *Riding Master*, but the first *Admiral of a Fleet*, and the inventor of ships (on which account the mariners, after his death, worshipp'd him as God of the sea) was, according to *Sir Is. Newton* (*Chron.* p. 67. & 230.) the Brother and Admiral of SESOSTRIS King of *Egypt*, son of AMMON, (deify'd after his death by the name of JUPITER AMMON.) He conjectures (upon no weak grounds) that the several names, BACCHUS, OSIRIS, SIRIS, BUSIRIS, MARS, HERCULES and SESOSTRIS, were names of one and the same man; and that this man was no other than the SESAC or SHISHAK of the Old Testament, whose sister SOLOMON married, and who pillaged *Jerusalem* in the 5th year of REHOBOAM, (the son of *Solomon*, but not by his *Egyptian Queen*.)

The following particulars are part of *Sir Isaac Newton's* history of this mighty Conqueror:

“SESOSTRIS being brought up to hard Labour by his father AMMON, warred first

“under his father, being the HERO or HER-
 “CULES of the *Egyptians* during his father's
 “reign, and afterward their KING.

“Under his father, whilst he was very
 “young, he invaded and conquered *Tro-*
 “glodytica, and thereby secured the harbour
 “of the *Red sea*, near *Coptos* in *Egypt*;

“And then he invaded *Ethiopia*, and car-
 “ried on his conquest southward as far as to
 “the region bearing cinnamon:

“And, his father, by the assistance of the
 “*Edomites*, having built a fleet on the *Red*
 “*sea*, he put to sea, and coasted *Arabia Fax-*
 “*lix*, going to the *Persian Gulph* and be-
 “yond, and in those countries set up co-
 “lums with inscriptions denoting his con-
 “quests;—

“After these things he invaded LI-
 “BYA, and fought the *Africans* with Clubs,
 “and thence is painted with a club in his
 “hand:—

“And after the conquest of LYBIA, by
 “which *Egypt* was furnished with horses [in
 “greater abundance than ever before] and
 “furnished SOLOMON and his friends; he
 “prepared a fleet on the *Mediterranean*, and
 “went on westward upon the coast of *Af-*
 “ric, to search those countries, as far as to
 “the Ocean, and island *Erythra* or *Gades* in
 “*Spain*; as *Macrobius* (*Saturn.* l. 5: c. 21.)
 “informs us from *Panyasis* and *Pherocydes*:
 “[if *Sesostris* was their *Hercules*;] and there-
 “he conquered *Geryon*, and at the mouth of
 “the Straits set up the famous Pillars.

Venit ad occasum mundique extrema Sesostris. Lucan. l. 10.

“Then he returned through *Spain*, and
 “the southern coasts of *France* and *Italy*,
 “with the cattle of *Geryon*, his FLEET at-
 “tending him by sea, and left in *Sicily* the
 “*Sicani*, a people which he had brought
 “from *Spain*.—&c. *Chron.* p. 214.

In this Expedition his ADMIRAL was his
 brother NEPTUNE, who, because the fleet,
 which he commanded, consisted of *Three* Chron. p. 215.
 squadrons, was represented by the ancients
 with a TRIDENT: And because he reigned
 over LIBYA, the country from which HORSES p. 16.
 originally came, he was called EQUESTRIAN
 NEPTUNE. 13

D. H. p. 26. During the celebration of this Festival, a cessation from labour was granted to all horses and mules, and they were crowned with flowers.

The mixture of this new colony of *Arcadians* with the *Aborigines*, did not a little contribute to improve and civilize the latter. Some say that the art of expressing their thoughts by literal characters ^a was first taught them by *these Arcadians*, who had themselves but lately learnt it. *Evander* likewise habituated their ears to the sounds of those musical instruments he had brought from his own country, and changed their oaten pipes into harmonious flutes and stringed instruments ^o.

p. 33. 34. In the mean time one of those Heroes, to whom the ancients gave

Chron. p. 132. It is not possible, that NEPTUNE, who, whenever he lived, was doubtless a *seaman*, and probably the first who commanded a fleet of long ships with sail, might owe his *Knighthood* to his having, for the ensign of his ships, the figure of a *horse*? Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, that the fable of *Jupiter's* assuming the shape of a Bull, had its origin from a Bull's being the ensign of the ship in which EUROPA was carried away from *Zidon*. Now *Pausanias* (in B. 8. c. 25.) gives us a fable of NEPTUNE's changing himself into a Horse, and for the sake of a woman too. It seems, that while CERES was rambling about in quest of her stolen daughter, NEPTUNE saw her and fell in love with her. She, to avoid his importunities by a disguise, transformed herself into a *Mare*: But NEPTUNE, having discovered the cheat, served her as good a trick, by changing himself into a *Horse*; in which shape he pursued her and compassed his ends. Perhaps the meaning of this courtship of CERES by NEPTUNE, in the shape of a Horse, might be no more, than that NEPTUNE with a fleet of ships, which had, for their ensigns, or in their heads, the figure of a horse, pursued and took some vessels loaded with CORN; or perhaps sailed to SICILY, the country of CERES, for CORN; for thither, according to *D. Hal.* the great HERCULES (Sir *Isaac's* SESOSTRIS) sailed when he left *Italy*.

D. H. p. 32. 'Tis observable that the same *Evander*, who is said to have been the first who recognised HERCULES for a God, and to have erected an altar to him present, is also said to have instituted the Festival of the EQUESTRIAN NEPTUNE; who, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, was the Admiral of the *Egyptian* HERCULES, that is, of SESOSTRIS.

Chron. p. 17. & 25. Sir *Isaac Newton*, in his *short Chronicle*, places EVANDER's going into *Italy* above sixty years later than the arrival of this *Egyp-*

sian Hercules there; but he assigns no reason any where for so placing it; and he observes (Chron. p. 182.) that *Dionysius* makes them contemporary. And this would seem more probable, if Sir *Isaac* has rightly placed the arrival of HERCULES in *Italy*. For *Dionysius* tells us, that EVANDER, who taught letters to the *Aborigines*, had himself but lately learnt them: consequently we should suppose, that he flourished soon after CADMUS brought letters into *Greece*. And from CADMUS's coming into *Greece* to the coming of HERCULES into *Italy*, there are little more than thirty years, by Sir *Isaac's* computation; and but seven years from the time that ASTERIUS, the SATURN of the *Latines* (who was the husband of EUROPA, the sister of CADMUS,) fled from *Crete* into *Italy*, and introduced letters there, to the arrival of HERCULES. But Sir *Isaac* says in his introduction (p. 8.) that he does not pretend to be exact to a year; there may be errors [in his calculations] of five or ten years, and sometimes twenty.

^a The Greek characters were the first the *Latines* made use of; there were some visible proofs of this remaining in the time of *Augustus*. The treaty which *Tarquin the Proud* made with the *Gabini*, was still to be seen in the time of *Dion. Hal.* in the temple of *Jupiter Fidius*. It was written in Greek letters, tho' in *Latin* words, upon a wooden shield cover'd with the skin of the ox, which had been sacrificed on that occasion. *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 257.

^o The *Latines*, in consideration of the benefits they received from *Evander* and his mother *Carmenta*, (so called from the word *carmen*, she being a Prophetess who sung her oracles in verse) paid them divine honours after their deaths, and *Rome* continued to offer sacrifices to them when in her greatest splendor.

the

the name of HERCULES came from *Spain* into the country where FAUNUS and EVANDER had their settlements. The story of HERCULES being sent by *Eurystheus* to the Island *Erythea* (*Gades*) to bring from thence *Geryon's* cows to *Argos*; and likewise the story of *Cacus* the cow-stealer, *Dionysius* rejects as meer *Fables*. Those authors (says he) who have written *historically* of *Hercules*, seem to come nearer the truth, when they tell us, that he was the greatest captain of his time, and, at the head of a mighty army, over-ran the whole earth (*quicquid terrarum oceanus cingit*;) that he civilized the nations which he conquered, establishing among them legitimate government, and excellent laws, and using his endeavours to open a free and safe commerce, by land and sea, between all nations: so that he did not come into *Italy*, a single adventurer, driving cattle before him. For (adds the historian) it was no good road from *Spain* to *Argos*, and he would never have been so honour'd in *Italy* as he was, had he only *passed through* the country: But he came attended by numerous forces, to conquer it, and to subject all its inhabitants to his obedience. This, to the benefit of the conquered, he effected, though not without difficulty, from the vigorous opposition of some of the nations, and especially of the *Ligurians*, in his passage over the *Alps*. *Cacus*^p, who withstood HERCULES, seems to have been the chief of a people in the neighbourhood of *Faunus* and *Evander*: Because, after the reduction and death of this enemy, HERCULES disposed of his lands, partly to the subjects of those two princes, and partly to some of his own troops, which he left behind him in *Italy*. (For it was his custom to recruit his army with the people he subdued, and, when they had served him faithfully for some time, to reward them with lands, and easy settlements, in other countries which he had conquered by their assistance.) These troops of *Hercules* made themselves at first a separate republick; but at length, by social intercourse and a mutual communication of customs and manners they grew into one body with the *Aborigines*, and the *Arcadians* of *Evander*; and all distinction ceased.

EVANDER is said by some to have recognized HERCULES for a God, *D. Hal. p.* and to have been the first that did so, erecting an *Altar*^q, and sacrificing³² a bull to him, even present.

When the conqueror had settled every thing in *Italy* to his mind, *p. 35.*

^p One night when the troops of *Hercules* were asleep, *Cacus* came upon them by surprise and carried off their baggage and provisions; and hence the Fable of his stealing from *Hercules*, *Geryon's* cows.

^q This altar, called *Ara Maxima*, was remaining at *Rome* in the time of *Augustus*. It stood in the ox-market; but notwithstanding its fine name, it was very much neglected, and very poorly adorned. *Hercules* was invoked in all verbal bargains to be the voucher of the faith and sincerity

of the parties, by this form of an oath, *Me Deus Fidius*, which comprehended all the energy of this, *ita me Deus Fidius adjuret*. According to several commentators, these monosyllables, *me* and *è*, had the same force amongst the *Latines* as the preposition *per*; so *me Deus Fidius*, and *per Deum Fidium*, *è Castor*, and *per Castorem*, signified the same things. This form of speech answered to these particles *μὲν, ἐν*, which the *Greeks* made use of before their oaths. C. & R.

and when his fleet was arrived from Spain, he embarked and passed into Sicily.

He had staid long enough in Italy to build *Herculanum*, and to have two sons, *Pallas* and *Latinus*, the first by *Lavinia* the daughter of *Evan-der*, the other by a north-country girl (*Hyperborea Puella*) whom, in his progress, he had received from her father as a hostage. 'Tis said that he had no private conversation with her till he came into Italy, but then took a liking to her, and she proved with child. The mother, at his departure from Italy, he graciously gave in marriage to *Faunus*; which occasioned an opinion, entertained by many, that *Latinus* was the son of *Faunus*, whereas in truth he was only his successor, and was the son of *Hercules*.

D. Hal. B. 1. 45. §. IV. IT was this *Latinus* who reign'd in *Latium*, when *Aeneas* arrived there. Being then in war with his neighbours the *Rutulii*, and fortune not favouring his arms, it greatly added to his perplexity to hear that a foreign Army had made a descent upon his coasts, pillaged the maritime part of his dominions, and were fortifying themselves in a camp at a little distance from the sea. Instantly he marched with all his forces, against these strangers, hoping to get rid of them at once: but when, drawing near them, he perceived that they were armed after the Greek manner, and that keeping exactly their ranks, they stood resolutely prepar'd for a battle, he began to doubt of the success, and, instead of fighting, desired a parly. *Aeneas* by the mention of *Troy*, the place of his nativity, utterly destroyed and reduced to ashes, and by the relation of his battles against the united power of *Greece*, fill'd *Latinus* at once with terror and compassion. The

Dion. Hal. Trojan proceeded in words to this effect:

B. 1. p. 47. A place of refuge and a quiet settlement are what, by the direction of the Gods, we seek in this country. We are not come upon your coasts as enemies. We have indeed taken by force wherewith to supply our pressing wants; necessity compelled us to this unbecoming violence; but we intreat you not to be offended at what is past, nor to look upon it as an act of hostility. We are ready to repair by important services, the injuries we have done you against our inclination. Our strength and our courage, which have been often tried, shall be employed to defend your lands from invasion, and to invade those of your enemies. But if, rejecting our humble supplication, you determine for a war, it will neither be the first nor the greatest that we shall have sustained.

Latinus, struck with the magnanimity and boldness of the Trojan leader and his followers, and considering that these strangers might do him great service in his present wars, easily granted their request, enter'd into a league with them, and assigned them a tract of land for a settlement. They, in return, employed their arms, valour and experience in defence of *Latinus*,

* The *Rutulii* inhabited the sea coast of the *Campagna di Roma*, between *Patrica* and *Nettuno*. C. & R.

* The *Trojans* were then but 600. *Solinus*, c. 8.

who

who came at length to have so great a confidence in the *Trojan Prince*, p. 48, 49. that he gave him *Lavinia* his daughter and only child in marriage[†], and thereby secured to him the succession to the *Latine* throne.

Lavinia therefore could not but be dear to *Aeneas*, who in proof of it gave her name to the camp which he had pitched; and instead of *Troy* called it *Lavinium*. And as all the *Trojans* followed the example of their leader, and by marriages made alliances with *Latine* families, they and the *Latines* in a little time became one people.

§. V. THE prosperity of *Aeneas* proved the ruin of *Turnus*, a young Prince, the Queen's nephew, and educated in the palace under the eye of *Latinus*, and who had therefore entertained hopes of marrying *Lavinia*, and of succeeding to the throne. To revenge himself for this disappointment, he went over to the *Rutuli*, and soon after brought on a battle between them and the *Latines*, in which he and *Latinus* both[‡] perished; and p. 51. thus *Aeneas* by the death of his father-in-law, and by that of a dangerous rival, came into quiet possession of the Kingdom of *Latium*, which he governed wisely, and transmitted to his posterity.

ÆNEAS reigned three years, and applied himself no less to the regu- p. 52. lation of religion, than to the necessary measures for his defence and security. He establish'd in *Latium* the worship of the Gods of his own country. The two^{*} *Palladiums*, which had been the protectors of *Troy* before

[†] *Aeneas*, according to *Virgil*, lost his first wife *Creüsa* in the dark, when he was making his escape from *Troy*.

[‡] According to *Livy* B. 1. c. 2. *Turnus* survived this battle.

^{*} These were two statues, whereof one was the original, and the other the copy: so that properly speaking, there was but one true *Palladium*.

Ovid speaks of this statue as an image of *Pallas* which fell down from Heaven upon one of the hills near *Troy*. According to *Diodorus*, it fell at *Pessinus*, a city of *Phrygia*; it was made of wood, and held a pike in its right hand, and a distaff and spindle in its left: To which he adds, that this miraculous image was put into the hands of *Dardanus*, who took all possible care to preserve the precious depositum, having been told by the Oracle of *Apollo*, that this new city of *Ilion* should subsist so long as he kept this present from Heaven in it, and no longer. And this tradition, fabulous as it is, was the foundation of that religious respect the *Romans* paid the *Palladium*. *D. Hal.* [B. 1. p. 54, 55, 56. and B. 2. p. 127.] frankly owns, that there were many secrets belonging to this piece of antiquity, which he was not let into; adding, that it was unlawful to discover them

to the prophane vulgar. However, when the world came to be enlighten'd by Christianity, the cheat was soon discover'd, and even the keepers of this pretended divinity, made no scruple of undeceiving the credulous people. *Arnobius* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, agree in their account of the *Palladium*, that it was made of the bones of *Peleus*, that antient King of *Peloponnesus*, and that the *Pagans* themselves had betray'd this secret.

Clemens Alexandrinus goes farther, and discovers the shameful rites of that mysterious worship, which the ancient *Pagans* paid to this and two other statues, on which the fate of cities and nations were supposed to depend. He seems to have thought them pieces of necromancy. He tells us, that *Athenodorus* discover'd the composition of which the statue of *Serapis*, the tutelar God of the *Egyptians*, was made. And he adds these words:

Sesostris having subdued many nations of Greece, brought away from thence all sorts of artificers, and he ordain'd one *Briaxes* to make a statue of *Osiris*, one of his ancestors, which the artificer did, using all sorts of metals and precious stones in it, to render his work the more perfect; and he took particular care to put into it a perfume, with which the bodies of *Osiris* and *Apis* had been embalmed; from their two

before it was ruin'd, became the tutelar Deities of *Lavinium*, and in process of time, of the whole *Roman* Empire. They were shut up at *Rome* in the temple of *Vesta*, and to the *Vestals* only was permitted the sight of them.

Dionysius is of opinion, that *Æneas* brought into *Italy*, together with the *Palladium*, the statues of the *Great Gods*, honoured by the *Greeks*, and more especially by those of *Samosbraces*: And he tells us, he is supported in this opinion by the authority of *Calisthratus*, who wrote a history of *Samosbraces*; *Strabo*, who made a collection of ancient fables; and *Aratius* the most ancient poet known.

§. VI. BUT while *Æneas* was thus employ'd, the *Rutulians* enter'd into a league with the *Hebrurians*¹, against a stranger, whose good fortune they envied. Especially *Mezentius*, King of the *Tyrrhenians*², was alarm'd at the too frequent arrival in *Italy* of colonies from the eastern nations, their numerous settlements, and the encroachments they made upon the lands of the first inhabitants. Fear and jealousy therefore made him take the field.

While the confederate armies were advancing towards *Lavinium*, either to besiege it, or to draw the *Trojan* to an engagement, *Æneas* marched out, and gave them battle. The action lasted till night, and equal bravery was shewn on both sides: But *Æneas* being pushed to the banks of the *Numicus*³, and forced into that river, was there drown'd. The *Trojans* conceal'd his body, and to make him pass for a Deity in the minds of his credulous subjects, pretended that he had vanished away on a sudden; accordingly a temple was erected to him, with an inscription⁴ upon it, which declared him at least a demi-god. Such was the end of

Æneas, therefore, the statue was called *Oûrapiis*, and afterward, by corruption, *Serapis*.

The same *Clement Alexandrinus* informs us, that the statue of *Jupiter Olympius*, the tutelar God of *Greece*, was made of the bones of an elephant. From all which we may conjecture, that the tutelar Gods of the several countries of the *Pagan* world were so many Talismans, made according to the rules of magick.

But to return to the *Palladium*, it may be asked whence it got that name? The common answer is, that it represented the Goddess *Pallas*, but there is some foundation to believe, that the Goddess owed both her name and origin to the statue. *Dion. Hal.* [B. 1. p. 55.] gives us the following story of the *Palladium*, upon the testimony of *Calisthratus*. *Pallas*, says he, was a King of *Arcadia*, and the father of *Chryse*, she was married to *Dardanus*, and had this statue for her portion, and called it *Pallas's present*, who in all probability made this Talisman. In after times, to gain it veneration, fable made it the statue of a Goddess, who bore the name of *Arcadian Pallas*. And what strengthens this conjecture

is, that the *Palladium* represented a young man armed from head to foot. As it was easy to mistake the sex, the vulgar made it a warlike Goddess. C. & R.

¹ We are to understand here the people of that part of ancient *Hebruria*, which comprehended what is now called *St. Peter's Patrimony*, the duchy of *Castro*, and the territories of *Orvieto* and *Perugia*. C. & R.

² *Mezentius* had under his dominion that territory which depended on the ancient city *Agylla*, now *Cerveteri*, in the *Ecclesiastical State*. C. & R.

³ The *Numicus*, now *Rio de Nimi*, according to geographers, was formerly a river. It is now scarce more than a rivulet, it ran close by *Lavinium*. C. & R.

⁴ This inscription, according to *Aurelius Victor*, was in these words: *Patri Deo Indigenti*. The word *Indiger*, with the *Latines*, signified one of those Gods who had been of the race of men, and at length were deify'd. The same *Æneas*, according to *Livy*, B. 1. c. 2. had divine honours paid him, under the name of *Jupiter Indiger*. C. & R.

Æneas,

Aeneas, the *Trojan* Prince so much celebrated by the *Greek* and *Latine* poets, and who, because he was illegitimate, and born of a mother remarkable for her beauty, was, agreeable to the manner of speaking in those times, called the son of *Venus*.

The death of *Aeneas* caused no disorder in the affairs of the *Latines*. His colony and kingdom subsisted under the administration of his son *Eurileon*^a, who succeeded him. This Prince was born at *Troy* of *Creüsa*, the daughter of *Priam*, and had come with his father into *Italy*. He had changed his name, and at this time bore that of *Ascanius*, the name of his elder brother, who had been left in *Bithynia*. The young King did not think it advisable to engage immediately in a pitched battle with a formidable enemy, whose pride was elevated by the death of *Aeneas*: He had the prudence to confine himself within the walls of *Lavinium*, and to try what could be done by negotiation, before he had recourse to arms. The haughty *Mezentius* demanded of the *Latines*, as one of the conditions of a peace, that they should pay him yearly, by way of tribute, all the wine produced in the territory of *Latium*. *Ascanius* preferred an honourable war to a shameful dependence. To break off a treaty so injurious to his people, he caused all the vines throughout his dominions to be consecrated to *Jupiter*; and by thus transferring the demesne to the God, he made the estate unalienable. D. Hal. D.
1. p. 52.

The enemy had pitched their camp in the neighbourhood of *Lavinium*; and the flower of their youth, under the command of *Lausus*, the son of *Mezentius*, lay intrenched almost at the gates of the city. The *Trojans*, who had been accustomed, during a ten years siege, to make brisk sallies upon the besiegers, marched out in the night, and vigorously attack'd the post where *Lausus* commanded. His entrenchments were forced; and then the army in the plain, intimidated by the defeat of their advance-guard, immediately fled. The *Latines* pursued them, and in the pursuit *Lausus* was slain; which, with the check his troops had receiv'd, so discourag'd *Mezentius*, that he immediately sued for peace. It was agreed, that for the future, the *Tiber* should be the boundary both to the *Latines* and *Hebrurians*. p. 53.
Livy, B. 1.
c. 3.

§. VII. BUT now *Lavinia*, whom *Aeneas* at his death had left with child, entertain'd a strong jealousy of the ambition of her step-son, whom victory made absolute in his new dominions; and she feared to expose the infant, she was going to be delivered of, to the danger of his politicks. She fled therefore into the woods, trusting herself to the care of one *Tyrrhenus*, chief of her father *Latinus*'s shepherds, and was there delivered of a son, who from the place of his birth took the surname of *Sylvius*. But the Queen's flight, who had disappear'd on a sudden, occasioning suspicions at *Lavinium* prejudicial to the reputation of *Ascanius*, he caused diligent search to be made after her, calm'd her fears, and engaged her to return to the town with her son, whom he ever after treated as a brother. And as *Lavinium* was in reality the patrimony of *Lavinia*, D. Hal. B.
1. p. 56.
Aur. Victor de Orig. Rom.
Livy, B. 1.
c. 3.

^a He had three names, *Eurileon*, *Ascanius*, and *Ascanius*.

and a demefn which ought therefore to defcend to *Sylvius*, it was, perhaps, for this reason, that *Ascanius* determined to yield it to them, and to build another city where to fix his residence. This new city he called

D. Hal. B. *Alba Longa*^b; *Alba*, as the historians tell us, from a white ſow which
 1. F. 53. *Aeneas* found in the place where it was built; and *Longa*, both to diſtin-
 and Livy, B. 1. c. 3. guish it from another town named *Alba*, and becauſe without having
 D. Hal. p. much breadth, it extended itſelf the whole length of a lake near which it
 53. was founded.

2. 56. It was thirty years after the building of *Lavinium*, that *Ascanius* removed to *Alba*; and there he died, after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which he had reſided at his new ſettlement. He left by a wife, whoſe name hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us, at leaſt one ſon, who was born in *Alba*, and called *Iulus*; ſo that there remained of the poſterity of *Aeneas* a ſon and a grandſon, the one *Aeneas Sylvius*, the other this *Iulus*; and between them lay the right of ſucceſſion to the ^c *Latine* throne.

Id. §. VIII. THE *Latines* not thinking it for their intereſt to continue divided under two governments, reſolved to unite *Alba* and *Lavinium* into one dominion: and as *Sylvius*, being the grandſon of *Latinus*, ſeem'd to have the beſt title to the whole, the people who were the judges decreed it to him. However, to prevent diviſions, and to make *Iulus* ſome amends, they conferr'd on him the ſovereign power in affairs of religion. It was, perhaps, from hence that the *Julii* conſtantly preſerved the prieſthood in their family, and that the *Ceſars* always aſſumed the quality of high-prieſts.

P. 57. §. IX. THE kingdom of *Alba* continued for near 400 years in an almoſt uninterrupted tranquillity under *Aeneas Sylvius* and his ſucceſſors, without being either conſiderably diminiſhed or increaſed. But as a ſtate^d which remained ſo long in peace afforded little matter for hiſtory, we have ſcarce any thing left us, beſides the names of its Kings, and the number of years which each of them reigned.

Aeneas Sylvius Poſtumus, died after a reign of 29 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Aeneas Sylvius, who governed *Latium* 31 years.

Latinus Sylvius, who ſucceeded him, held the ſceptre for the ſpace of 51 years.

Alba reign'd 39.

Capetus (or according to *Livy*, *Atys*) 26.

Capis 28. And

Calpetus 13.

^b *Alba* was probably ſituated between *Men-
 te Cove* and the lake of *Caſtelle Gandolfo*.
 C. & R.

^c The *Latine* ſtate ſeems to have had no greater extent, than from *Alba* to the mouth of the *Tiber*, nor any other towns than *Lavinium*, *Alba Longa* and perhaps *Laurentum*,

where *Latinus* kept his court at the time of *Aeneas's* arrival; if, after all, *Lavinium* and *Laurentum* were not the ſame town. C. & R.

^d This ſtate ſubſiſted, according to *D. Hal.* about 430 years, reckoning from *Aeneas's* arrival in *Italy* to the building of *Rome*.

Tiberinus, who succeeded him, being less peaceably inclined than his Predecessors, undertook a war which proved fatal to him. In an engagement upon the banks of the *Tiber*, which till then was called *Albula*, he was forced into the river, and being carried away by the current, was drown'd. This accident of *Tiberinus*, who reigned but eight years, caused the river's name to be changed, and ever since it has borne no other but that of *Tiber*.

Agrippa, successor to *Tiberinus*, after a reign of 41 years, left the throne to

Alladius, who reign'd 19 years, and was succeeded by

Aventinus, who reign'd 37 years, and left his name to the hill *Aventinus*, where he was interred.

Procas, who succeeded him, held the sceptre 23 years. He was the father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, and at his death bequeathed the throne to his elder son *Numitor*.

* *Amulius*, who doubtless surpass'd his brother in understanding and courage, had no respect either to priority of birth, or to the last appointment of his father. He not only snatched the sceptre from *Numitor*, and Liv. B. 1. made him pass his days in retirement; but used all the cruel precautions C. 3. of a tyrant to secure the throne to himself, by extinguishing his brother's posterity. *Numitor* had an only son named *Ægestus*, and a daughter call- D. Hal. B. ed ' *Rhea Sylvia*. The tyrant caused the first to be slain at a hunting, 1. P. 62. and, to prevent the other from having children, consecrated her to the worship of *Vesta*, by which she was obliged to perpetual virginity. But this precaution proved ineffectual; for the vestal, either by her own fault, or by violence done to her, became the mother of twins. The story is related after the following manner.

§. X. *RHEA SYLVIA* was called to the performance of some religious service in the temple of *Mars* near the town. A spring of water glided thro' the sacred wood, with which the temple was inclosed; and the priests, in order to discharge one of her sacerdotal functions, went thither to take the necessary water for the sacrifice. Then and there a man disguised in a military habit, like that in which *Mars* was commonly represented, surprized and forced the *Vestal*. *Amulius*'s ill reputation has made him suspected by some of doing this violence to his niece himself; not so much to gratify a brutal passion, as to have a pretence for condemning her to that punishment which the law had assign'd for *Vestals* who proved unchaste. Others are of opinion, that she met a young lover there by appointment. Be that as it will, *Rhea Sylvia* thence forward ab- p. 63. stain'd from her functions, and from entering the temple, under a pretence of an indisposition. Usurpers are ever suspicious. *Amulius* soon conjectured what kind of disorder it was that afflicted his niece, and therefore caused her to be watched. Nay he scrupled not to tax the father and mo-

* *Amulius* being the younger brother, says *Plutarch*, had the gold and silver for his portion, and *Numitor* his father's crown. *Amulius* made use of his riches to dethrone his brother, in *Rom.* p. 19.

† Sometimes *Ilia*.

ther of the *Vestal* as the contrivers of an intrigue, which might procure them grand-children. When *Rhea* could no longer conceal her shame, she charged the God *Mars* with being the cause of it. The circumstances of the temple, the sacred wood, and the pretended presence of that God, who was believed to make his residence in a sanctuary consecrated to him, gave a less odious colour to the matter, whether her crime, or her misfortune. But these things made no impression on the mind of *Amulius*. He not only placed some trusty women about her, but appointed a guard of armed men to watch her, which they did till she was delivered of two sons. The tyrant took all advantages of this accident, he laid open the *Vestal's* shame in an assembly of the people, exaggerated her fault, and urged both religion and the laws against her. *Rhea* was condemned to be first whipp'd, and then put to death; and the fruits of her criminal amour to be thrown into the *Tiber*. But most of the historians say, that *Amulius*, at the intercession of his daughter *Anko*, changed the sentence against *Rhea* into perpetual imprisonment, and that she was not releas'd from her confinement till the tyrant was dethroned. As to the twins the sentence against them was executed in this manner:

D. Hal. p. 64.

Plot. in Rom. p. 19.

Fabius Pictor, Porcius Cato, Calpurnius Piso, apud D. Hal. B. 1. p. 64. &c.

p. 71.

Plot. in Rom. p. 20.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 66.

Ælius Tacitus, apud D. Hal. B. 1. p. 67.

A little wooden trough being prepared, and the two infants laid in it, they were carried to the bottom of Mount *Palatine*, and there turn'd a-drift upon the *Tiber*, which at that time overflow'd its banks and wash'd the foot of the mountain. The place where they were expos'd was about 120 furlongs from *Alba*. The little skiff floated a while without any accident, but at length being carried against a stone by the ebbing of the flood, it was over-set, and the two brothers turned out upon the strand. It has been the general tradition, that a she wolf hearing their cries came and suckled them; but it is more probable that *Acca Laurentia*, whose husband, *Faustulus*, found the two children, and who nursed them, was called by the nick name of *Lupa*, or wolf, for her disorderly life, and that this gave rise to the fabulous miracle.

Faustulus was the chief of the King's shepherds, and being probably well acquainted with the birth of the twins, was suitably careful of their education: he sent them to *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, to learn the *Greek* literature. As they grew up, they appeared to have something great in their mein and air, which commanded respect, and they assumed a superiority over the other shepherds, and the country people. A quarrel happening between the herdsmen of *Amulius* and those of *Numitor*, the two brothers took the part of the former against the latter, of whom in the fray they slew some, wounded others, and put the rest to flight. The worsted party resolv'd to be reveng'd on *Romulus* and *Remus* (for so the twins were called) and the festival of the * *Lupercalia* yielded a favourable opportunity

* *Valerius Maximus*, B. 2. c. 2. §. 9. pretends, that the festival of the *Lupercalia* was not older than the foundation of *Rome*. *Livy*, L. 1. c. 5. *Dion. Hal. B.* 1. p. 25, 67. and *Pistarch*, (*Rom.* p. 31.) are of opinion that this festival was brought by *Ewander* out of

Greece. The ceremonies observed in it were these. First, two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of distinction were touch'd with the bloody knife, and they were to laugh when they were

nity to put their design in execution. While the two brothers were scouring the plain with their whips in their hands, according to the ceremonies used in this festival, *Remus* was on a sudden surrounded, taken prisoner, and led away to *Numitor*, before whom he was accused of exercising a kind of tyranny in the forests. The deposed King for the most part led a private life in the country, in the utmost subjection to the Usurper's will. He durst not proceed against the person accused, without the consent of *Amulius*; but he had no sooner obtained it than he condemned the prisoner to death. The sentence was just going to be executed, when either out of instinct, compassion, or esteem for a young shepherd, whose person and courage spoke something superior to his condition, he found himself strongly inclined to save him. He therefore deferred the execution, and resolv'd to have a moment's conference with the criminal. He asked him in what part of *Latium* he was born, and who were his parents. *Remus* replied, that his family and the place of his nativity were equally unknown to him. All I could learn, said he, from the shepherd who brought up my brother *Romulus* and me, is, that we are twins, and that we were found exposed upon the bank of the river; an answer which immediately struck *Numitor* with a lively remembrance of his two grandsons: Their age, which was about eighteen years, agreed with the time when the two Princes were exposed upon the *Tiber*, and there needed no more to change his anger and threatnings into tenderness.

In the mean time *Romulus*, impatient of the detaining his brother, was eager to pursue and attack those who had carried him off; but *Faustulus* dissuaded him from it, and on this occasion disclosed to him his birth; a discovery which awakened in his breast sentiments worthy of his high extraction. He resolv'd at all hazards to attempt the delivering his grandfather and mother from the oppression they were under. And while he was assembling the country people, and disposing every thing for the execution of his design, *Numitor* made the same discovery to *Remus*, concerning his parents, and the injustice they suffered, pressed him to revenge it, and then bid him go and send *Romulus* to his house. *Romulus* came, and the shepherd *Faustulus* made haste to follow, taking with him the trough, or skiff, in which the twins had been exposed on the river, in order to shew it to *Numitor*. But as he entered the gate of the city, he was stopped by the guards, who perceiving an air of haste and confusion in his looks, imagined he was loaded with something of consequence. By chance there was one among them who had been at the exposing of the children, and employed in the office; he seeing the

were thus touched. When this was done, the skins of the victims were cut into thongs and whips for the young men; who, armed in this manner, and covered only with a pair of drawers, ran about the city and the fields, striking all they met. The young married women suffered themselves to be struck by them, and believed those strokes were a help

to fruitfulness. This festival was celebrated the 15th of *February*. The priests who presided at these sacrifices, were at first divided into two colleges, one whereof was for *Remus*, the other for *Romulus*; but afterwards there was a third added in honour to *Julius Caesar*. This festival was chiefly celebrated in the villages. C. & R.

Plutarch
in Rom. p.
22.

trough which *Faustulus* could not conceal, and knowing it by its make and inscription, guess'd at the business, and without farther delay, telling the King of it, brought in the man to be examined. The shepherd, without losing his presence of mind, confess'd what his business was, and own'd that the twins were living, but pretended that they were feeding flocks in a remote desert. This was gaining time, and the brothers made the best use of it. *Remus* undertook to raze the city, and *Romulus* to invest the King's palace. The country people came at the time appointed, and form'd themselves into companies of an hundred each. Their ensigns were bundles of hay, hanging upon poles, which the *Latines* at that time called *Manipuli*^a, and from thence came the name of *Manipulares*, which was originally given to troops rais'd in the country.

With this tumultuous army *Romulus* beset the avenues of the palace, forced the guard, slew the tyrant (who had reigned 42 years) and restored his grandfather to the throne.

Such was the adventure, according to the common tradition, by which the birth of *Romulus* and *Remus* came to be discover'd. *Plutarch* concludes his account of it with these words: "These are for the most part the relations of *Fabius* and *Dicæus Pæparetbius* (who, I think, is the first that writes of the building of *Rome*) which some suspect to be only fabulous, and invented stories; but they are not wholly to be rejected, if we consider, what strange things Fortune sometimes brings about, and also how improbable it is, that the *Roman* Empire could ever have arrived at such a pitch of greatness and power, if the Gods had not laid the foundation of it, and given it a miraculous beginning."

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 72. *§. XI. NUMITOR*, not long after his re-establishment on the throne, finding that *Alba* was overstock'd with inhabitants by the inundation of those rustick troops which *Romulus* had brought thither, propos'd to his grandsons, that they should make a settlement elsewhere. To this ^b *Remus* and *Romulus* very willingly consented, and the King gave them for their new settlement those lands near the *Tiber*, upon which they had been cast by the waves, and where they had been brought up. *Numitor* also supply'd them with all manner of instruments for breaking up ground, and with slaves, and beasts of burden, and granted to his subjects full liberty to join the two brothers. Upon which, some of the best families, and among the rest, several who were descended from the *Trojans*, chose to follow the fortune of *Remus* and *Romulus*; so that even in *Augustus's* time there were in *Rome* fifty great families sprung from *Trojan* ancestors, and which had subsisted there ever since its foundation.

load.

^a Hence came the word *Manipulus*, for a battalion, which at first consist'd of 100, afterwards 200, and in the decline of the empire of less than 100.

^b *Plutarch* (in *Rom.* p. 22.) thinks it very possible that *Remus* and *Romulus* resolv'd to

seek another habitation, rather through necessity than choice, being probably discountenanced by the people of *Alba*, who had reason to fear every thing from such a troop of fugitive slaves and out-laws as attended the two brothers.

As that handful of people, who came from *Alba*, were of themselves in no condition to found a colony any thing considerable, the two brothers got together all the inhabitants of *Pallantium* and *Saturnia*, two small towns, and it was thought proper to divide those who were to be employ'd in building the new city into two companies, one under the command of *Romulus*, the other of *Remus*. But this division, which was made purely with a view to the publick welfare; and for the better carrying on the work, instead of answering the end proposed, gave birth to two rival factions, and produced a jealousy between the brothers, which broke out when they came to fix upon a place where to plant their colony. *Romulus* declared for mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* for mount *Aventine*. There was no law whereby they could decide their difference: nor could either of them pretend a superiority by years or merit. The matter was therefore referred to their grandfather. *Numitor* being very much prepossessed p. 73. in favour of *Augury*, with which the *Hebrurians* had infected *Italy*, declared it his opinion, that the contending parties ought to have recourse to the Gods, in order to put an end to a dispute which no man had a right authoritatively to decide; and accordingly they agreed, that it should be determined by the flights of birds*. When the day appointed for the ceremony came, some persons were deputed from both sides to be witnesses of the truth of the auguries, and the two brothers posted themselves each upon his mountain, *Remus* upon mount *Aventine*, and *Romulus* upon mount *Palatine*. *Vulturs* were to decide the affair; whoever should first see any of these birds, or see the greater number of them, was to gain his cause; for, said they, these birds are very scarce, and sent by the Gods from foreign countries to foretel extraordinary events. Besides, they remembered that *Hercules* used to judge of the success of his undertakings from the flights of vulturs. When the two rivals had a while gazed round the horizon, watching the appearance of a favourable augury, we are told, that *Romulus*, either to divert his brother's attention, or to secure to himself the publick voice by a fraud, sent to tell him that he had seen some vulturs. Whilst the messengers were yet on their way, *Remus* actually perceived six. He ran therefore to mount *Palatine* to examine the truth of his brother's augury; and he had no sooner got thither, than by an unexpected good fortune, twelve vulturs appeared to *Romulus*, who instantly cried out in a transport of joy, and pointing to them with his hand, be judge, be judge yourself, brother, of the truth of what my messengers have told you. *Remus* nevertheless discovered the cheat; he was informed that *Romulus* did not see the twelve vulturs, till after he himself had seen six: and then one insisted on the number of birds, the other on the time of seeing them. The people were divided, each man

Plut. in
Rom. p.
22, 23.

D. Hal. B.
1. p. 74.

* *Augury*, or the art of divination, and foretelling future events by the flight, cries, or motions of birds, came from the *Chaldeans* to the *Greeks*, from thence it was transmitted to the *Hebrurians*, and from them to the *Latines* and the *Romans*. Vid. *Cicero*n. de divin. and *Orig.* l. 4. contra *Cels.* C. & R.

taking the part of his leader; and the dispute growing warm, from words they came at length to blows.

The shepherd *Faustulus* throwing himself unarmed into the crowd to part the combatants, an unlucky blow laid him dead upon the ground; and some historians are of opinion, that *Remus* lost his life in the same skirmish; but the greater number place his death later, and say that he was slain by one *Facrus*, who in a passion struck him on the head with a mattock, for having, in derision, leap'd over the wall of the new city: and they add, that the murderer was, from this action, afterwards called *Colat*, i. e. hasty or passionate; but *Livy* says, the more common report was, that *Remus* died by his brother's own hand.

§. XII. *ROMULUS* being now head of the colony, by the advantage or more favourable auguries than those of his brother, or rather by having got the better in the late engagement, apply'd his thoughts wholly to build the city, which was to be call'd *Roma*, in allusion to his name. Mount *Palatine* was the place chosen for its situation: and the founder on this occasion perform'd all those ceremonies which the superstition of the *Hebræans* had introduc'd, and made customary at the building of towns. He offer'd sacrifices to the Gods, and order'd all the people to do the same, every man according to his abilities: and from that time decreed that eagles should be the auspices of his new colony. After this, great fires were kindled before their tents, and all the people leap'd through the flames to purify themselves. This ceremony over, they dug a trench round that spot where the *Comitia* or assemblies of the people were afterwards held, and into this trench they threw^e the first fruits of whatever they were allowed to make use of for food; besides which, every man of the colony cast in a handful of earth, brought either from his own, or some neighbouring country. This trench they called *Mundus* (the world) and made it the center round which the city was to be built. Then *Romulus* yoking a cow and a bull to a plough, the coulter whereof was brass,

^e *Plutarch* in his life of *Romulus*, (p. 17, 18.) says, that authors are not agreed by whom and for what reason the city of *Rome* was so called; that some are of opinion, the *Pelasgians*, who had over-run the greater part of the habitable world, fixed themselves there; and from their own military strength (in Greek *Ρωμα*, *Roma*) called the city by that name: that others say the city was built by some *Trojans*, who escaping from *Troy*, were driven upon the coasts of *Tuscany*, among whom was a woman of distinction named *Roma*, who engaged the *Trojan* women to burn the ships they came in, and that the city was called so from her: but that others say the *Roma* from whom the city had its name, was daughter of *Italus* and *Lacaria*, others of *Telephus*, *Hercules's* son, and that she was married to *Æneas*. Others make her the daughter of *Ascanius* *Æneas's* son. The same author speaks of *Romulus* the son of

Ulysses and *Circe*, *Remus* the son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomed* sent from *Troy*, and of one *Romus* a King of the *Latins*, who drove out the *Tuscans*; to each of these the building of *Rome* has been ascribed. *Solinus* bestows the honour of it upon *Evander*, and says, that it was in old times called *Valentia*. Others say, that it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*, witness *St. Aug. de Civit. Dei Lib. 3.* But *Livy* and others will have the building of the city to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation. C. & R.

^e The design of this ceremony, was to admonish the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their principal study to procure for their fellow citizens all the conveniencies of life, to maintain peace and union amongst a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this means to form themselves into one body, never to be dissolved. C. & R. mark'd

mark'd out, by a deep furrow^c, the whole compass of the city; and those two animals (the symbols of marriage by which towns are peopled) were afterwards slain upon the altars. All the people follow'd the plough, throwing inwards the clods of earth which the plough-share sometimes turned outwards: and when they came to those places where they intended to make the gates, they took up the plough and carried it. Hence the Latin word, *Porta* a gate, à *portando aratrum*. Plut. in Rom. Ibid.

The people's throwing inwards the clods of earth, was a significant ceremony, importing, that plenty in cities is owing to the fruitful lands about them; and withal, how careful the inhabitants ought to be to bring every thing from abroad, which may contribute to the publick welfare. The whole length of ground where the plough had pass'd, was by the ancients looked upon as sacred and inviolable. For this reason it was, that they thought themselves obliged to spend the last drop of their blood in defending their walls; and to break through them was a crime of the highest nature. But the gates were not sacred; otherwise, as *Plutarch* observes, the city could not have been supplied with the necessaries of life, without a breach of the law, nor could the filth, dead bodies, and other things which they reckoned unclean, have been carried away.

As mount *Palatine* stood by itself, and was not joined to any other hill, the whole was inclosed within the line made by the plough, which form'd almost the figure of a square, for which reason *D. Hal.* calls it *Roma Quadrata*. The walls were built upon this Line, which was therefore call'd *Pomarium*, according to *Plutarch*, from *Pone mœnia*: But *Livy* defines the *Pomarium* to be that space of ground both within and without the walls, which the Augurs at the first building of cities solemnly consecrated, and on which no edifices were suffered to be raised. B. 2. p. 125. & Plut. p. 22. Livy, B. 1. c. 44.

^a As to the exact year of the foundation of *Rome*, the historians differ about it. *Varro* places it in the third year^b of the sixth olympiad, that

^c The ancients oftentimes described the compass of their cities by a train of white earth. We read in *Strabo*, B. 17. p. 1142. that for want of this earth, *Alexander* mark'd out *Alexandria* with meal. C. & R.

^a Chronologists are not agreed about the exact year of the foundation of *Rome*. *L. Cincius* fixes it in the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; *Fabius Pictor*, in the first year of the eighth. *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus*, in the second year of the seventh olympiad; *Portius Cato* and others, in the first year of the same olympiad; *Marcus Terentius Flaccus*, (the supposed author of the *Capitoline tables*;) and *Livy*, in the fourth year of the sixth olympiad. But the majority of the best Roman writers follow *Varro's* calculation, according to which the foundation of *Rome* is placed near the end of the

third year of the sixth olympiad. *Petavius* contends, that *Varro's* opinion is the most agreeable to the rules of chronology, *Lib. 1. de doct. temp. C. & R.*

^b If *Rome* was built, as *Varro* believed, in the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, it must, as *Petavius* observes, have been in 3960 or 3961 of the *Julian* period. For the first olympiad beginning at the summer solstice in 3938, the third year of the 6th olympiad will begin in the summer of 3960, and end in the summer of 3961. And if, as *Petavius* thinks, *Rome* was founded in the end of the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, that will fall in 3961. *Father Catron*, in his *Rom. Hist.* p. 59. says it is incontestable, that *Rome* was founded 21 April, and yet, that it appears to have been founded in autumn, and that April was then a month in autumn, and was afterwards

that is, 431 years after the destruction of *Troy*, and 753 before the beginning of the Christian Era. The *Romans*, (according to *Plutarch*, and others) began to build on the twenty-first of *April*. This day was then consecrated to *Pales*, Goddess of shepherds, so that the festival of *Pales*, and that of the foundation of the city, were afterwards jointly celebrated at *Rome* on the same day.

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When *Rome* had received near the utmost perfection, which men rude and indigent were able to give it, it consisted only of about 1000 poor huts, which had no upper stories, nor any kind of ornament. The walls even of *Romulus's* palace were made of rushes, and it was covered with thatch. Every man having chosen his ground to build upon according to his fancy, without any regard to the regularity or beauty of the whole, the streets (if they might be called streets) were both crooked and narrow. *Rome*, properly speaking, was at first but a sorry village, whereof even the principal inhabitants followed their own ploughs: and until it was rebuilt after the burning of it by the *Gauls*, did not deserve the name of a city. Such were the beginnings of the capital of the world.

afterwards set back in the calendar. Upon this supposition, the date of the foundation of *Rome*, according to the *Julian* period, will be 3960. Yet father *Rouillé*, as we see in the preceding note, which is taken from him, tells us, that the majority of the best *Roman* writers following *Varro's* calculation, place the foundation of *Rome* in the end of the 3d year of the

6th olympiad, consequently, if it was in *April*, *April* must have been a month in the spring as it is now, and the year of the foundation of *Rome* will be 3961 of the *Julian* period. All the discussions of former writers to fix the exact year of the foundation of *Rome* seem very idle performances, since the publication of Sir *Izaak Newton's* book of Chronology.

C H A P. II.

R O M U L U S.

SECT. I. Romulus is chosen King of Rome. §. II. He puts on a robe of distinction, and appoints 12 LICTORS to attend him. §. III. He divides his colony into 3 TRIBES, and these into 30 Curiae. §. IV. He distinguishes the people into PATRICIANS and PLEBEIANS, PATRONS and CLIENTS. §. V. He constitutes a SENATE. §. VI. He appoints himself a guard of 300 horsemen called Celeres. §. VII. He settles the respective prerogatives of the King, Senate, and People. §. VIII. The religious laws of Romulus. §. IX. His civil laws. §. X. To augment his colony, he opens an asylum for fugitives, slaves, and outlaws. §. XI. The rape of the Sabine women. §. XII. The Sabines endeavour to recover their women by a treaty. In the mean time Romulus defeats the Cœninenfes, slays Acron their King in single combat, and decrees himself a TRIUMPH for his victory. He reduces Crustumium and Antemnæ, and gains other advantages. §. XIII. Romulus's war with the Sabines. §. XIV. He concludes a peace with them, and admits Titus Tatius, their King, to be his partner on the throne. The followers of Tatius are transplanted to Rome, and become one people with the Romans. §. XV. Tatius

Tatius creates 100 new senators chosen out of the Sabines. The creation of the first ROMAN KNIGHTS. The festival of the MATRONALIA instituted. §. XVI. The death of Tatius. §. XVII. Romulus defeats the Camerini, Fidenates, and Veientes. He renounces the Kingdom of Alba upon the death of Numitor. §. XVIII. The murder of Romulus by the Senate, and the artifice of Julius Proculus to appease the people.

§. I. **A**S Romulus had not taken upon him the chief command of the colony for any longer time than while the city was building, he, as soon as the work was finished, submitted the form of its future government to the choice of the people. He called the citizens together, and harangu'd them in words to this effect: *If all the strength of cities lay in the height of their ramparts, or depth of their ditches, we should have great reason to be in fear for that which we have built. Are there in reality any walls too high to be scaled by a valiant enemy? And of what use are ramparts in intestine divisions? They may serve for a defence against sudden incursions from abroad; but it is by courage and prudence chiefly, that the invasions of foreign enemies are repell'd, and by unanimity, sobriety and justice, that domestic seditions are prevented. Cities fortified by the strongest bulwarks, have been often seen to yield to force from without, or to tumults from within. An exact military discipline, and a steady observance of civil policy, are the surest barriers against these evils. But there is still another point of great importance to be considered. The prosperity of some rising colonies, and the speedy ruin of others, have in a great measure been owing to their form of government. Were there but one manner of ruling states and cities that could make them happy, there would be no room for choice. But I have learnt that of the various forms of government among the Greeks and Barbarians, there are three which are highly extoll'd by those who have experienced them (Government by one, by a few, by the many;) and yet, that no one of these is in all respects perfect, but each of them has some innate and incurable defect. Chuse you then in what manner this city shall be governed; Shall it be by one man? Shall it be by a select number of the wisest among us? Or shall the legislative power be in the people? As for me, I shall submit to whatever form of administration you shall please to establish. As I think myself not unworthy to command, so neither am I unwilling to obey. Your having chosen me to be the leader of this colony, and your calling the city after my name, are honours sufficient to content me; honours of which living or dead I can never be deprived.*

Thus spake the founder of Rome, by the advice of his grandfather Numitor; and the people, who had been accustomed to Kings, having lived easy under them, and having likewise experienced the courage and capacity of Romulus, unanimously chose him to be their King.

As the chief religion of those times lay in the regard paid to the prognosticks, which the *Augurs* and *Haruspices* drew from thunder, lightning,

¹ It may not be improper to say something here of the different offices of the *Haruspices*

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ning, the wind, the flight of birds, or the entrails of beasts, the Prince elect, before he ascended the throne, would needs consult the will of the Gods

and *Augurs*, of whom frequent mention will be made in the course of this history. The *Roman Haruspices* were all taken at first from *Etruria*, where their art had most credit. Afterwards young *Romans* were sent into *Etruria*, to be there brought up in the science. It consisted in foretelling future events, by attending to various circumstances of the victims. First, it was an ill omen, when the victim would not come to the altar without dragging, when it broke its rope, fled away, avoided the stroke, struggled much after it, made a great bellowing, was long a dying, or bled but little. Secondly, presages were drawn from inspecting the noble parts of the victim when opened, as the heart, lungs, spleen, and especially the liver. If all these were sound, if the top of the liver was large and well made, and if its fibres were strong, it presaged well for the affair in question. Thirdly, Knowledge was also drawn by the *Haruspices* from the manner in which the fire consumed the victim. If the flame brightened immediately, was pure and clear, rose up in a pyramid without noise, and did not go out till the victim was consumed; these were happy signs. Fourthly, The smoke likewise was considered; whether it whirled about in curls, or spread itself to the right or left, or gave a smell different from the common one of broil'd meat. Fifthly, It was a lucky omen, if the incense they burned melted all at once, and gave a most agreeable smell.

Of *Augurs* or *Auspices* (very different from the *Haruspices*) *Romains*, who was himself skilled in the augural science, established three, one to each *Tribe*. *Servius Tullius*, who added a fourth *Tribe*, is also said to have added a fourth *Augur*. But their college (for so it was called) was afterwards increased to 15, under a head, or *Master of the Augurs*. Their offices, comprized in the augural law, which we find in *Tully's second book of Divination*, were these. They were the interpreters of the will of the Gods, with respect to the making war and peace. And according to the divinity of that time, all were obliged to obey them, in so important an article. They drew their predictions from the different signs, which they said appeared in the air, and upon the earth. Thus what they pronounced to be contrary to the intentions of heaven,

was deem'd unlawful; and it was capital to act contrary to their decisions. They likewise appointed the expiations they thought necessary, on account of the signs the Gods seemed to give of their anger. And from hence it appears how powerful they were in the *Roman* state; since by pronouncing any affair, any assembly of the *Comitia*, election of magistrates, war or peace, to be disagreeable to the Gods, they prevented it.

They pretended to make these discoveries of the will of the Gods several ways. First, By the flight or chirping of birds. Secondly, By thunder or lightning. Thirdly, By the setting of the wind. Fourthly, By the hunger and different postures of chickens which were bred up in cages on purpose for the *Augur's* use, and were carried about in the *Roman* armies.

When the *Augur*, in the execution of his office, was to observe the heavens, he went up upon some high place; took the augural staff (which was a sort of crozier, bent at one end) in his hand, and mark'd out the four quarters of the heavens with it. Then he turn'd to the east, having the west behind him, the south to his right, and north to his left; and this is what the *Romans* called, *Stare de caelo*. In this situation he waited for a sign, by *thunder* and *lightning*, *birds*, or the *wind*.

When thunder was heard to the left, when the lightning came from the east, and was driven back by the wind to the same point, without darting forward to the west; when it did not upon the falling strike into the earth, but rebound towards heaven: these were happy presages.

As to *birds*: ravens, owls, and such like, were thought to presage things by their croaking and screeching; but eagles, vulturs, and especially wood-peckers, by their flying, which they observed whether it was from the right to the left, or from the left to the right.

As to the wind; its changes were the matter of observation.

When these sorts of signs fail'd, recourse was had to the chickens. Betimes in the morning, the augur whose business it was to observe them, and who was thence called *Pullarius*, (if that name did not rather belong to the keeper of the chickens) having commanded

Gods by augury. 'Tis said, that when he had offered sacrifice in an open place, a flash of lightning gleamed from the left, a lucky omen, according to the augural divinity. Be that as it will, it became a custom established by an express law of *Romulus*, not to raise any person to the royal dignity, the priesthood, or any of the publick magistracies, nor to undertake any war, till the Auspices had been first consulted; and this practice lasted above 700 years. For though it owed its origin to nothing but the ignorance of those early ages, the priests and sacrificers persuading the people, that in the flights of birds, and the entrails of beasts, they could plainly read the destinies of men, yet in process of time, it became one of the chief mysteries of state policy, as there will be frequent occasion to observe in the course of this history.

§. IV. *ROMULUS* being thus declared King of *Rome* by the voices of the people, and with the approbation of the Gods, immediately put on a habit of distinction, to give himself a greater air of majesty. He also appointed twelve lictors or serjeants to attend him whenever he should appear in publick, each of them bearing a battle-ax stuck in a bundle of rods, which was then the usual symbol of sovereignty in the petty states of * *Hetruria*. But notwithstanding these ensigns of royalty, his power was confined within very narrow limits. For the form of government established by the *Romans*, was, as we shall presently see, a kind of mixt monarchy, the sovereignty being divided between a Head or Prince of the nation, a senate that was to be his council, and the assembly of the people.

Romulus having numbered the citizens of *Rome*, found them to be about 3000 foot, and 300 horse. He divided them into three equal parts, which were called Tribes or *Thirds*, each being commanded by its Præfect or Tribune.

These tribes he divided into ten *Curie* or companies of a 100¹ men, each company commanded by an officer, whom *Dionysius* calls *Curio*.

Again, the thirty *Curie* were subdivided each of them into ten *Decurie*: over which were appointed distinct officers, named *Decuriones*.

commanded a general silence, caused the pen to be opened, and threw down a handful of crumbs or corn. If the chickens did not immediately run fluttering to the meat; if they scattered it with their wings; if they went by without taking notice of it, or if they flew away, the omen was reckoned unfortunate, and to portend nothing but danger or mischance; but if they leapt presently out of the pen, and fell to so greedily as to let some of their meat drop out of their mouths upon the pavement, there was all the assurance in the world of happiness and success. This augury was called *tripudium quasi terripavium*, the old word *pavire* signifying as much as *ferire*. We meet with *tripudium Solistimum* and *tripudium Sonivium* in *Festus*, both derived from the crumbs falling to the ground.

The *Augurs* had several other ways of diving into futurity. C. & R. and *Kennet*.

* *Livy* (B. 1. c. 8.) thinks, that not only the lictors, and the number of them, were taken from the *Hetrurians* (who inhabited the country now called *Tuscany*) but also the *Sella curialis*, and the *Toga Prætexta*.

¹ *Dionysius* seems here to differ from *Polybius* and *Varro*. These tell us, that this division took place among the squadrons of horse called *Turme*; which has made *Grævius* say, p. 7. of the præf. to 1 vol. of *Rom. Antiq.* that *D. Hal.* is mistaken. Nevertheless we cannot draw thence a decisive proof against the Greek historian. What was done in later times with respect to the cavalry, does not contradict the order *Romulus* at first establish'd in the *Curie*. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
I.

R O M U -
L U S First
King.
D. Hal. p.
80, 81.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 8.

D. Hal. B.
2, p. 78.
Plut. in
Rom. p.
24.

B. 2, p. 32.

Year of
R O M E
1.

R O M U L U S
1. r s First
King.

Strabo, B.
6. p. 352.

Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 82.

p. 83.

p. 84.

p. 85.

D. H. p.
84.

p. 85.

As *Rome* had at first no lands belonging to her, but what she got by cession from the city of *Alba*, her territory was very small, not above five or six miles in extent. *Romulus* nevertheless shared it into three parts, but not equal. One was allotted for the expences of religious worship; another reserved for the King's revenue and the uses of the state; and the third and most considerable was divided into thirty portions, to answer to the thirty *Curiae*.

The next thing done by *Romulus*, was the distinguishing those of the people who were better born, more rich or more eminent for virtue, from the poorer and more ignoble. The former he called *Patricians*, the latter *Plebeians*. All dignities, civil, military, and sacerdotal, were to be confined to the former. But to prevent the seditions which such a distinction might produce through the pride of the higher order, and the envy of the lower, he endeavoured to engage them to one another by reciprocal ties and obligations. Every *Plebeian* was allowed to chuse, out of the body of the *Patricians*, a Protector, who should be obliged to assist him with his interest and substance, and defend him from oppression. These Protectors were styled *Patrons*; the protected, *Clients*. It was the duty of the *Patron* to draw up the contracts of his *Clients*; to extricate them out of their difficulties and perplexities, and to guard their ignorance against the artfulness of the crafty. On the other hand, if the *Patron* were poor, his *Clients* were obliged to contribute to the portions of his daughters, the payment of his debts, and the ransom of him or his children, if they happen'd to be taken in war. The *Client* and *Patron* could neither accuse, nor bear witness against each other; and if either of them were convicted of having violated this law, the crime was equal to that of treason, and any one might with impunity slay the offender, as a victim devoted to *Pluto* and the infernal Gods. For more than 600 years, we find no dissensions nor jealousies between the *Patrons* and their *Clients*, not even in the times of the Republick, when the people frequently mutiny'd against the great and powerful.

* *Dionysius* (in this place) says Παῖδες, Fathers; but this title seems to have properly belonged to the senators only; he himself telling us (page 85.) that the senators were chosen out of the *Patricians*, which supposes the distinction of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, before the election of the Senators or Patres. *D. Hal.* p. 83, 111.

* *M. Vertot* quoting only *Dion. Hal.* makes the *Patrons* to be chosen out of the body of the Senate, yet *Dion. Hal.* says, out of the *Patricians*, and he mentions the institution of the patronage before the creation of the Senate: and *Plutarch* (p. 25.) affirms, that the *Patrons* were taken from the wealthier sort, who were not of the Senate.

According to *Plutarch* (p. 24.) the word *Patron* comes originally from one *Patro*, an *Arcadian*, a companion of *Evander*. He was a man very assiduous to the defenceless, and a protector to the poor. Be that as it will, the inhabitants of *Rome* were not the only persons who had their *Patrons*. The colonies, and other cities allied to, or conquered by the *Romans*, had afterwards their *Patrons* also at *Rome*. The only alteration in the *Patronage*, as instituted by *Romulus*, was of the custom of the *Clients* sometimes parting with their goods in favour of their *Patrons*. The *Romans* thought it unworthy of them to sell their protection. Of this *Plutarch* assures us, p. 25.

§. V. THE establishment of a * SENATE to assist the King in the ad-
 ministration, succeeded the institution of the *patronage*. *Romulus* compo-
 sed it of a hundred men chosen out of the *Patricians*; but the choice was
 not made by the King himself; * he named only the first, who was to be
 chief Governor of the city, whenever the King should be in the field; then
 each tribe elected three, after which each of the thirty *Curie* chose
 three, which completed the number of a hundred Senators. They were
 called *Patres*, [Fathers] either upon account of their age, or their *pater-*
nal care of their fellow citizens. “ Those who anciently composed the
 “ council of the Republick (says *Sallust*) had indeed bodies enfeebled by
 “ years, but their minds were strengthen’d by wisdom and experience.”
 Their descendants, to whom alone some appropriate the name of *Patri-*
cians, were the prime Nobility among the *Romans*.

§. VI. TO form a guard for his Person, the King made a draught, p. 86.
 from each *Curie*, of ten horsemen, the whole number amounting to three
 hundred. These were called *Celeres*, either from their first captain, whose
 name was *Celer*, or else upon account of the *celerity* with which they exe-
 cuted the orders they received. They fought on foot or on horseback,
 as the occasion required, or the ground would allow ¹.

§. VII.

* *Plutarch* says, (p. 24.) that *Romulus* stiled
 his hundred Counsellors, *Patricians*, and the
 whole body of them the Senate, which signi-
 fies properly (says he) a consistory of old men.
 He adds, some say the *Patricians* were so call-
 ed, because they were the fathers of legiti-
 mate children; others, because they could
 tell who their fathers were, which every one
 of the rabble that poured into the city could
 not do; others from the word *Patrocinium*,
Patronage, because they were the defenders
 of the poor and weak; but he seems to think
 it most probable, that they were so stiled
 from the people's calling them and esteem-
 ing them as *Patres* or Fathers, on account of
 their being so protected by them.

¹ *Livy* seems to ascribe the choice of all the
 Senators to the King, when he says (B. 1. c.
 8.) that *ROMULUS* created one hundred Sena-
 tors: Nevertheless it is not clear, that by those
 words he meant, that the hundred Senators
 were created by the single authority of the
 King, and in virtue of his royal prerogative.
In whom resided the Power of creating Sena-
tors? is a question which neither *Livy* nor any
 of the *Latine* writers “ treat professedly, but
 “ touch it only incidentally; and it is natu-
 “ ral to all, upon the slight and occasional
 “ mention of an Event, to ascribe it to the
 “ principal agent, concerned in its producti-
 “ on; so as to impute the acts of popular as-
 “ semblies to the Prince or ruling Magistrate,
 “ who convened and presided in them, and
 “ had the chief influence perhaps in deter-

“ mining the transactions themselves. Thus
 “ when *Livy* tells us that the *Præfēt* of the
 “ city created the first *Consuls* [l. 1. c. 60;] and
 “ that *Brutus*, one of these *Consuls*, created *P.*
 “ *Valerius*, his colleague in that office [l. 2. c. 2.]
 “ or that the *INTERREX*, on other occasions,
 “ created the *Consuls*, [l. 9. c. 7.] or that the
 “ *Pontifex Maximus* was ordered by the Senate
 “ to create the first *Tribunes*, [l. 3. c. 54.] he
 “ means nothing more, than that those Ma-
 “ gistrates called the people together, in or-
 “ der to make such creations, in which they
 “ assisted and presided. *Ibi exemplo, Ponti-*
 “ *fice Maximo comitia habente, Tribunos Ple-*
 “ *bis creaverunt.* [ibid.] And as this is the
 “ usual stile of all writers, so it is peculiar-
 “ ly of those, who write the History of their
 “ own country, and for the information of
 “ their own people; who have not the pa-
 “ tience to treat minutely of things which
 “ they suppose to be known to their rea-
 “ ders, as well as to themselves: and hence
 “ it sometimes happens, that the origin of
 “ Customs and Constitutions of the greatest
 “ importance are left dark and obscure, not
 “ only to strangers, but even to the natives
 “ of later ages.”

Dr. *Middleton's* treatise on the *Roman* Se-
 nate, p. 18.

² Thus far *Dion. Hal.* concerning the *Ce-*
leres. M. *Vertot* adds, that the state found each
 of them a horse (*Equus*) from which they were
 called *Equites*, and that they were distinguish-
 ed by a gold Ring, and thus he makes these

§. VII. THE respective powers and privileges of the King, Senate, and People, were thus settled:

The KING was to be in all religious affairs supreme; he was to be the guardian of the laws and customs, to take cognizance of the weightier causes between man and man, referring those of less moment to the Senate, upon whose decrees he had nevertheless a controul. It belonged to the King to convene the Senate and the assemblies of the people, propose affairs to them, give his own opinion first, and then do what was concluded upon by the majority. He was also to command the army in time of war with absolute authority; and he had the care of the publick money.

The SENATE were not only to be Judges in private causes, but to deliberate upon such publick affairs as the King proposed, and to determine by the plurality of voices.

To the ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE three things were committed ; to create magistrates, make laws, and determine concerning any war that was proposed by the King ; yet in all these things the Senate's approbation was necessary.

The people for many years gave their voices by *Curia*, in which every private man had his vote. The majority of votes in each *Curia* determined the sense of that *Curia*, and what the major part of the 30 *Curie* agreed to, was deemed the resolution of the whole assembly, which assembly was therefore called *Comitia Curiata*.

Such was the fundamental constitution of this state, neither purely monarchical, nor entirely republican; the King, the Senate and the People, were in a sort of mutual dependence on each other, from whence resulted a balance of power, whereby the Regal Prerogative was restrained, a useful authority preserved to the Nobles, and the liberty of the People secured.

§. VIII. *ROMULUS* considering that the happiness of states depended upon the favour of the Gods, which was only to be obtained by the piety and virtue of the people, proceeded to the establishment of *religious* and *civil laws*.

With respect to RELIGION, He did not give it all that form in

Celeres or life-guards the first Roman Knights, and speaks of them as a kind of middle order, between the *Patricians* and the people. But *Dion. Hal.* tho' he mentions the forming of this Life-guard, immediately after the creation of the Senate, says nothing of the Ring, nor of any of those marks by which the Equestrian Order was afterwards distinguished from other *Plebeians*. And *Livy* does not mention the creation of any Knights till the union of the *Romans* and *Sabines*. He seems to think, that the *Celeres* or life-guard which *Romulus* kept in pay in time of peace as well as war, were not formed

till towards the end of his reign, when he affected despotism and tyranny. *Plutarch* seems also of that opinion.

* M. Vertot says (p. 6. Tom. 1.) that he directed the disposal of the publick money, which was under the care of two treasurers, afterward called *Quaestors*; but I do not find this in the authors cited by him, and it seems not well to agree with what he himself says (p. 59) of the institution of two treasurers in the time of *Poplicola*; till then the Kings or Consuls seem to have had the keeping of the publick treasure. See the Consulship of *Poplicola* in this history.

which

which it afterwards appeared: he only regulated the worship of those Divinities which *Evander* had introduced, of those which *Aeneas* had brought from *Phrygia*, and of those which the *Aborigines* had honoured in their time. He neither introduced the infamous fables of the *Greek* Divinities into the publick faith, nor suffered any licentious ceremonies in the publick worship. He appointed that every *Curia* should have its own temple (which was itself called *Curia*) and its peculiar God and Priest; that the people should assemble on certain stated days, in *Curia* or publick halls built for that purpose, each of which was consecrated to its particular Deity, and that they should there feast in common upon the victims offered to the Gods. *Romulus* likewise established festivals, whereby religion became an ease and relief to a laborious people.

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p. 93.

The ministers of the Gods were to be at least 50 years old, and none but their wives could perform the functions of priestesses. Their sons, to the age of *puberty*, were to wait at the altars, and their daughters so long as they continued virgins. The girls were called *Camillæ*, the boys *Camilli*. When a priest had no children of his own, he might chuse the handsomest children in his *Curia* to attend him in the sacrifices. To the sacerdotal families were granted distinguishing privileges. The laws exempted them from paying taxes, and from bearing arms. As the Priest's office was for life, it excited the ambition of many; but *Romulus* forbade all intriguing and caballing to obtain it, as also the purchasing it with money, and the trusting it to the hazard of lots. He left to the *Curia* the free choice of their Priests; and as these ministers of religion were laid under an obligation to acquaint themselves with the laws and customs of their country, and to record the principal events that happened in the state, they were its first historians and first lawyers.

§. IX. AS to the civil laws of *Romulus*, we have only some few fragments of them. The first relates to marriages; it decrees that the wife shall not leave her husband upon any pretence whatsoever, at the same time that it allows the husband to put away his wife*, and even to punish her with death (her relations concurring in the sentence) in case she be convicted of adultery, poisoning, making false keys, or only of drinking wine†. *Romulus* thought it necessary to be thus severe in the article of wine, in order to prevent adultery, which he looked upon as a

* *Plutarch* in his life of *Romulus* says, that if the husband put away his wife for any other cause, but for poisoning his children, counterfeiting his keys, or adultery, he was to give one moiety of his goods to his wife, and consecrate the other to *Ceres*.

† This law was so severely observed, that, according to *Valerius Maximus*, B. 6. *de Severitate*, *Egnatius Metellus*, who caught his wife drinking wine, and killed her upon the spot, was neither brought to a trial, nor censured for it: And *Fabius Pictor* mentions another woman whom her relations

starved to death, for having broke open the chest in which were the keys of the cellar. *Aulus Gellius* and *Pliny* likewise assure us, that in consequence of this law, it was customary at *Rome* for the ladies to be saluted by their near relations whenever they met them, not so much out of civility and friendship, as to find out by their breath whether they had been drinking wine. But in process of time, the severity of this law was somewhat abated. Women who had drunk wine, were only condemned to lose their portions. C. & R.

second drunkenness, and a natural effect of that dangerous liquor. Each husband was confined to one wife, and their ^u goods were in common between them, but under the administration of the husband. The wife was declared universal heiress ^{*} to her husband, if he died intestate, and without children; but if he had children by her, they were to be equal sharers with her in the inheritance. It is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the power given to husbands to put away their wives, there was no instance of a divorce among the *Romans* for 530 years.

Nothing ever equalled the severity of the law which *Romulus* made in relation to children. He gave their fathers an absolute power over them. A father by his own private authority could imprison his children, put them to death, and even sell them for slaves three times over, of whatever age they were, or to whatever dignity they had arrived [†].

Plutarch observes it as a singular thing in *Romulus*, that, calling all murder parricide, he ordained no punishment for real parricide, believing it an impossible crime; and indeed for near 600 years, it was not once known in *Rome*.

By another law of *Romulus*, who knew that the power of a state consists not so much in the extent of its territory, as in the number of its people, it was made criminal to kill an enemy who yielded, or so much as to sell him. His chief view in making war, was to conquer men, being sure of not wanting lands, if he did not want troops.

^{*} This community of goods was thus expressed in the marriage ceremonies: The persons to be married came to a sacrifice, in presence of ten witnesses; and the priest, among other offerings presented a wheat loaf, and scattered pieces of it over the victim. This was to shew that bread, the symbol of all other goods, should for the future be in common between the husband and wife; and this rite was called *confarreatio*. Hence it is said in *Romulus's* law, *Uxor farreatione viro juncta, in sacra & bona ejus venit*. It appears likewise by the same law, that the wife, upon marriage, professed the same Gods, and the same worship with her husband; both as to the household Gods of each family, and the respective God of each *Curia*. The law adds, *jus devorandi ne esto, i. e.* let not the husband have an absolute and unlimited power of divorcing his wife. This is the strict meaning of *devorandi*; but it is also sometimes used to signify a power of refusing to accept the person who had only been betrothed. C. & R.

[†] This is what *D. Hal.* says of the wife's interest (in *Romulus's* time) in the husband's effects after his decease. But this law is not among those of *Romulus*, which now remain.

There were two sorts of marriages among the *Romans*: The first was to marry their wives without any other covenant, but that of keeping them in their houses. But these were not truly wives, till they had continued with their husbands a whole year, without three days interruption: And this was called a marriage by use, *usu*. The other way was, to marry a woman after marriage covenants had been made; and this was called a marriage by mutual sale, *ex coemptione*. In this case the woman gave her husband three pieces of money called *Asses*, to express that she purchased of him a right of sharing in his goods; and the husband gave the wife the keys of the house, to shew he committed to her the care of the family. These latter only were called mothers of families, *matres-familias*; and it is probable, that they only were sole heiresses to their husbands. C. & R.

[‡] In case a child was born with any monstrous deformity, the father might make away with it; but if it was a son, or an eldest daughter, he was first to advise with five of his neighbours; if he did not observe this rule, the half of his goods were confiscated to the publick use. *Instit. (Juf-tin. B. 1.) C. & R.*

As

As this Prince was of opinion, that the sedentary arts and occupations emasculate men's minds, and enervate their bodies, he permitted none but strangers or slaves to be employed in them. He confined the citizens to the two professions of war and agriculture; and considering the ill consequences that might arise from dividing the employments, he made every *Roman* of free condition exercise both.

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§. X. THUS was the colony settled; and the form of its government, and the wisdom of its laws attracted strangers to *Rome* from all parts. But what contributed most to people the city, was an asylum or sanctuary of refuge, which *Romulus* opened for runaway slaves, homicides, out-laws, and persons plunged in debt. Nor was the appearance of religion wanting to cover the King's policy. This sanctuary was dedicated to a new sort of Divinity, called the *Asylean* God, under whose protection all sorts of criminals and discontented persons who fled from their own countries to *Rome* were to live securely. *Romulus* made them all soldiers, and *Rome* in a little time became formidable to her neighbours. The *Romans* wanted nothing but women to secure the duration of their state. The King therefore sent Deputies to the *Sabines*², and the other neighbouring nations, to propose alliances with them by marriages of their daughters with his *Romans*. He represented to them, that new colonies were not always contemptible, and that the Gods had hitherto shewn favour enough to *Rome*, to make it no dishonour to enter into alliances with her. But as the *Sabines* had begun to look upon *Romulus's* new settlement with a jealous eye, they absolutely rejected his proposal, and some of them added raillery to the refusal, asking the deputies why their Prince did not open an asylum for vagrant women, and slaves of that sex, as he had done for men: your people then, said they, will be well matched; a pack of vagabond and loose women will make the fittest wives for a crew of fugitives loaded with crimes or debts.

B. 2. p. 88.
Liv. B. 1.
c. 8.
Plut. in
Rom. p.
22.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 9.

§. XI. WHEN this insulting answer was brought to *Rome*, *Romulus* heard it with the quickest resentment, resolving to be revenged, and to take away the daughters of the *Sabines* by force. He communicated his design to the Senate, and had their approbation of it. The only question was, how to succeed in the enterprize. It happened, or so it was pretended, that as workmen were digging in a field near *Rome*, they found a subterraneous altar dedicated to the God *Consus*, or the God of council, who is the same with the *Equestrian Neptune*². The discovery of this altar furnished *Romulus* with a pretext to proclaim a festival and publick sports in honour of the God. He notified the day he had

Ibid.
Plut. in
Rom. p.
25.

² The *Sabines* possessed that part of *Italy* which lies between the *Tiber*, the *Teverone*, and the *Apennines*. They inhabited divers little towns, some of which were governed by petty Princes, and others only by magistrates, and in form of a republick; but tho' their particular governments were dif-

ferent, they were all united by a kind of league and community which formed the several societies of that nation into one state. The *Sabines* were some of the nearest neighbours to *Rome*.

² See page 8.

fixed for these games to the neighbouring towns, and made all the pompous preparations for them, that the poverty of his colony would admit.

Those of the *Sabines* who lay nearest to *Rome*, flocked thither in crowds upon the day appointed for the solemnity, as *Romulus* had foreseen they would; so small numbers came also from the little towns of *Coma*, *Cranium*, and *Artemne*. The strangers were received by the *Romans* with great demonstrations of joy. Every citizen had his guest, whom, when he had treated him in the best manner he could, he conducted and placed where he might conveniently see the sports. The peace and harmony that continued for some days, lulled the strangers into security; but the *Romans* did not put their enterprize in execution till the last day of the festival. They had received orders to come armed that day, but to conceal their arms under their cloaths. When the multitude were most attentive to the show, *Romulus*, who presided at it in a striped robe called *Trabea*, rising from his seat, gathered up his robe, and threw it over his body. This was the signal agreed upon. Instantly the *Romans* drawing their swords, rushed in among the strangers, and seized their daughters. The men being unarmed and terrified, ran away, and the *Romans* who had no design of shedding blood, let the fathers and mothers depart in safety. In the hurry of the action, some *Romans* of distinction perceiving a body of their people carrying off a young woman of singular beauty, envied them so fine a prey, and attempting to take her from them, the latter cried out *Thalasso, Thalasso*, meaning that the young person was designed for *Thalassus*, a brave and worthy *Roman*, much esteemed in the colony; and

* As to the nature of these games, it is probable they chiefly consisted of races, wrestling, and the like, since this was the manner that afterwards prevailed of celebrating the *Cerckia*, which were perpetuated at *Rome* in memory of this first show given by *Romulus*, and according to *Plutarch*, annually observed on the 18th of *August*, because the rape of the *Sabines* was on that day. C. & R.

† The festival began in the beginning of the month *Septilis*, and did not end till the 20th. Reckoning from *March*, which was the first month of the year in *Romulus's* calendar, the 6th month was *August*, which was for that reason called *Septilis*, even after the regulations made by *Numa Pompilius* and *Julius Caesar*. C. & R.

‡ The learned have wearied themselves with enquiries about the habits of the ancient *Romans*, especially the *Trabea*. All things considered, *Dion. Hal.* and other ancient authors, incline one to believe it was very like the *Toga*; with this difference, that it was adorned with stripes of purple, at due distances, on a white ground. This was the ordinary habit of the Kings of *Rome*; and it

will hereafter appear, that the chief magistrates of the republick, and the *Roman* Knights, appeared in it, on certain days of ceremony. But there was likewise another sort of *Trabea* worn only by the *Augurs*; of which more in its place. C. & R.

* This is the opinion of *Livy* and *Plutarch*. *Varro*, as quoted by *Sex. Pompeius*, differs from them. He thinks the word *Thalasso* anciently signified those little baskets in which the ladies put their work to this day. As the *Sabine* virgins would not afterwards give themselves voluntarily to the *Romans*, but on condition that they should only be obliged to work in wool, they carried little baskets to their husbands houses, on the day of marriage, to put their work in. Others say (*Plut.* p. 26.) *Thalasso* was the word *Romulus* had agreed to pronounce, when the *Romans* were to begin the rape. And indeed this cry suited very well with the God of the sea, whose festival they then celebrated: And therefore the poets always give him the surname of *Thalassios*. *Aristophanes* speaking of *Neptune*, calls him *Θαλάσσιος*. C. & R.

hence

hence it was, that the crying out *Tbalaffio* became customary at *Rome* in the marriage ceremony, as *Hymen* and *Hymenæe* prevailed among the *Greeks*.

As this violence had been dictated by publick necessity, rather than brutal passion, *Romulus's* orders are said to have been observed with great exactness; he had forbid any further attempts upon the women, till marriages should be solemnized in form. For this purpose he commanded the *Sabine* virgins (for they were all called *Sabine*, because the greater number was of that nation) to be brought into his presence the next day. They were by this time a little recovered from their fright, and the King comforted them under the loss of their relations by words to this effect.

“ The *Romans* have not used this violence with an intention to dishonour, but to marry you; such methods of procuring wives are ancient in *Greece*, and, to women, more honourable than any other. Soften therefore the fierceness of your anger, impute our offence to your own fathers, who scornfully rejected our civil requests, and surrender your hearts to those men to whom fortune has given possession of your persons. Wrongs and injuries are often the forerunners of love and friendship; you will find your husbands behave themselves with so tender an affection, as shall leave you no cause to regret the loss of either your parents or your country.” To these words of the King the young men added caresses and flatteries, pleading violent love in excuse of their fault; love, of all pleas, says *Livy*, the most easily admitted by woman-kind.

After this, *Romulus* without delay married the women to his *Romans* by the same form, which was ever after used in marriages, *Partake ye of your husband's fire and water*: and it was not long before they experienc'd the truth of what *Romulus* had foretold them. The merit and fondness of their husbands made them forget their native country and their father's houses.

As to the number of these *Sabine* women, some historians make them to have been 683, others 527, and others reduce them to 30, the number of the *Curia*, deriving the word *Curia* from *Curcs*, the name of the town of which the women were for the most part natives; but no eminent historian is of this opinion.

It is an ancient historical tradition, that the brides never stepped upon the threshold, when they went into their husband's houses. They were held up to prevent it.

*Turritaque premens frontem matrona coronâ
Translatâ vitat contingere limina plantâ.*
Pharf. B. 2.

Varro indeed contends, that it was out of respect to this part of the house which was con-

secrated to *Vesta*: but *Plutarch* (p. 26.) says, it was to shew, that the first marriages were made by rapes. And from hence, say some authors, comes the custom of parting the Hair of the new married women with the point of a lance. This was intended to shew, that iron and violence gave the first *Romans* their wives: and the truth of this custom seems to be confirmed by *Ovid*, in these words,

Comat virgines hasta recurva comas.

C. & R.
But

F

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D. Hal. B.
2. p. 96.
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p. 100.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 9.

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 100.
Plut. p. 25.

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 110.

Plut. in
Rom. p.
26.

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But whatever was their number, it is agreed, that among them all, there was only one married woman; whose name was *Herfilia*. She either was mistaken for a Virgin, or, as some say, would not leave her only Daughter. *Zenodotus*, a Greek historian, mentioned by *Plutarch*, says, that *Romulus* made her his wife, and had a daughter by her, named *Prima*, because she was his first child, and a son named *Abilius*. But other writers contend, that *Herfilia* was married to a noble Roman named *Hostus*, and that *Tullus Hostilius* the third King of *Rome* descended from her.

§. XII. THE *Sabines* are held by some to have been a colony of *Lacedæmonians*, transplanted into *Italy*; and it is not improbable. At least the moderation, wisdom, and frugality of these two nations, gave them a great resemblance to each other. Their state was a pretty extensive one, if compared with the little neighbouring sovereignties; but the people lived mostly in villages that were open on all sides, or only enclosed with palisades. And therefore, though their courage excited them to revenge the affront they had received in the persons of their daughters; yet their prudence made them seek to repair their honour by a treaty, before they would run the hazard of a war. They sent to demand the restoration of their daughters, promising on that condition to enter into a friendly and neighbourly alliance with the *Romans*. But *Romulus* was inflexible. He on his part demanded, that the *Sabines* should confirm the marriages of his *Romans*, which were made indeed by violence, but a violence that was become necessary. Whilst the treaty, which went on slowly, suspended hostilities on both sides, *Acron*, whom the historians call King of *Canina*, prevented the *Sabines*, and took the field before them. He was a man of valour, and had signalized himself in many battles. He thought the neighbourhood of the *Romans*, which had given him jealousy from their first establishment, was now indeed become formidable since the audacious Rape committed upon the *Sabine* women, and that it was necessary to crush, in its infancy, a colony which otherwise would increase in strength as it grew in age: And for this reason he solicited the *Sabines*, as also the inhabitants of *Crustumerium* and *Antenna*, to join their forces with his. Their slowness made him impatient. He imagined he could, without their help, subdue a handful of Men, got together in a city newly founded, and very little fortified: But the march of his army had more the air of an incursion of robbers, than of a regular expedition. The *Caninenses* having ravaged the lands of *Rome*, *Romulus* did not confine himself within his walls: He in-

¹ *Canina* was situated on the confines of *Latium* and *Sabinia*. *Plutarch* and *Stephens* make it a city of the *Sabines*; but the authority of *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Festus*, who think this a city of ancient *Latium*, is against them. *Cluverius* thinks, that *Canina* was on this side the *Anio*, four miles from *Rome*. *Holsteius* places it beyond that river, in the neighbourhood of *Mancicelli*. C. & R.

² *Crustumerium* and *Antenna*, were either

subject to, or in the neighbourhood of *Sabinia*. Some geographers think the former was situated near the place where *Marcigliano Vecchio* now stands. They place the latter upon the *Tiber*, almost between the *Tiburtine* and *Nemantine* ways. But it is uncertain where they stood. *Plutarch* (p. 27.) says, that *Fidenæ* made a league with *Crustumerium* and *Antenna*, against the *Romans*. C. & R.

stantly

stantly marched out against the enemy, and joined battle with them in the open field, where the *Romans* fought for every thing that was dear to them, and even for the hopes of posterity. In the heroic times it had been a common custom, and it was not yet abolished, for the two commanders in the heat of an engagement mutually to provoke each other with their eyes and voices to single combat: Upon which the armies opened, and left a space where their leaders were to fight. *Romulus* and *Acron* challenged each other, and on this occasion the former made a vow to *Jupiter*, that if he came off conqueror, he would erect a trophy¹ to him of the spoils of the conquered. As impressions of religion frequently exalt a man's courage, the young King performed the hero so well, that he slew his enemy, an experienced warrior, and stripped him of his armour. The death of *Acron* was followed by the rout of the *Cænineses*; and *Romulus* pursued them to their town, which they had of late slightly fortified. The *Romans* entered it with the runaways, and took it without opposition. And then did the Conqueror give a signal proof both of his moderation and his good policy. He spared the blood of the conquered, and contented himself with * razing *Cænina*, and carrying the inhabitants to *Rome*, to augment his colony: And the establishment he gave them, upon the same foot with his first citizens, became a precedent to himself, which he ever after followed on the like occasions. And now, either out of ostentation, or to animate his people with an ardent love of glory, he celebrated his victory with a new kind of pomp. He decreed himself the honours of a triumph¹; for so was called the reception given to Generals at their return from successful expeditions. Nor is it improbable, that this example of *Romulus's* triumph excited the emulation of succeeding commanders, and contributed as much as any thing to the

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Rom. p.
27.

¹ The use of trophies, especially among the *Greeks*, is immemorial. It was customary to erect them upon the field of battle. The ancient trophies consisted of a post, a stake, or a trunk of a tree dressed up with the spoils of the enemy. The figures of them are to be seen on several medals, which were struck after the gaining of great and important victories. In after-times, conquerors erected pillars of brass, or marble, or stone, and towers, and triumphal arches, with inscriptions to perpetuate the memory of their victories. But according to *Plutarch* in his *Roman questions*, those who first made use of marble and brass for trophies, were abhorred, because, says he, it seemed inhuman to transmit the shame and misfortunes of people to future ages: and he adds, that in consequence of this, they would not suffer the triumphal arches to be repaired. These monuments were generally dedicated to some divinity. C. & R.

* If we may believe *Dionysius Halicarnas-*

seus, *Romulus* preserved the city, and gave p. 103. the inhabitants their choice, either to stay at home or settle at *Rome*: and the same author adds, that the conqueror thought fit to send a colony of three hundred *Romans* to *Cænina*. C. & R.

¹ This was the first *Roman* triumph. The word comes originally from *Θρίαμβος*, one of the names of *Bacchus*, who conquered the *Indies*; and who, according to *Pliny* and *Diodorus Siculus*, first received the honours of a triumph. They who followed the conquerors, made the air resound with this name of *Bacchus*; whence the acclamation, *Io Triumphe!* which is thus expressed by *Horace*:

Tuque dum procedis, Io Triumphe!
Non semel dic meus Io Triumphe!
Civitas omnis.

The order, laws, and pomp of the ancient triumphs will be spoken of hereafter. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
I.

R o m u -
l u s First
King.

* a ferent-
do.

Plut. in
Rom. p.
27.
Livy, B. I.
c. 11.

conquest of the world : But the preparations for this ceremony were suitable to the poverty of the *Romans* in those days : *Romulus* did not ride in a chariot, but entered *Rome* on foot^m, with his troops marching some before and some after him. His long hair flowed upon his shoulders, and his head was crowned with lawrel. He had fixed the spoils of *Acron* to the trunk of a small oak, and covered it with them. This trophy represented a man armed, which the King carried in triumph on his right shoulder. All the people came out of the city to meet the conqueror, singing his praises ; and lined the road on both sides. As soon as he entered *Rome*, they presented him wine, and before the houses, spread tables for those of the soldiers who wanted to refresh themselves. *Romulus* proceeded in the same order he entered the city, to the hill *Saturnius*, where, after the procession was over, he erected a small temple of only ten feet long, and five broad ; and here the triumphant victor deposited his trophy, consecrating it to *Jupiter* * *Feretrius* *. This name was then given to *Jupiter*, because *Romulus* had himself carried thither the present he had vowed : And a name of distinction was likewise given to the spoils of the King of *Cænina* ; they were called ° *opima Spolia*, because they were more honourable than any other, being taken by the General of the *Roman* army, from the General of the enemy's army, after he had killed him with his own hand.

Not long after this, *Romulus*, with one ^p Legion, levied in haste, subdued the *Antemnates* and *Crustumini*, who had taken arms on the same account as the *Cæninenses*. *Herfilia*, who was of *Antemna*, interceded with him for her countrymen ; and as lenity suited best with the King's po-

* *Dion. Hal.* (p. 102.) represents *Romulus* as carried in a chariot drawn by four horses, ~~ἐκ τριῶν καρπυρίων~~, during the ceremony of his triumph ; but *Plutarch* (p. 27.) and *Zonaras* affirm, that the elder *Tarquius* was the first that triumphed, drawn in a chariot : and the former of those writers says, there were statues at *Rome* in his time representing *Romulus* on foot loaded with his trophy.

* *Plutarch* (p. 27.) derives the word *Feretrius* from *ferire* to strike ; and supports his conjecture by *Romulus*'s prayer to *Jupiter* to strike *Acron*. But this interpretation does not very well agree with what he says in another place, that the *Greek* tongue was in use in the reign of *Romulus*. What he says in his life of *Marcellus*, is most probable, namely, that *Feretrius* came originally from *φερίτης*, which signifies any machine for carriage. C. & R.

° *Festus* derives the word *Optima* from *Ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces ; so that *optima Spolia*, according to him, signifies rich spoils. But *Plutarch* (p. 27.) derives it from *Opus*, as if one had said *spolia difficult to be obtained*. This name was given only to such spoils as the General of the Ro-

man army had taken from the General of the enemy's troops ; at least this is *Plutarch*'s opinion. Though *Varro* assures us, that not only a subaltern officer, but even a common soldier might make a trophy of the spoils he had taken from him who commanded in chief the enemy's army. In the space of about five hundred and thirty years after *Romulus*, only *Cornelius Cossus* and *Cladius Marcellus* are recorded to have had the glory of carrying off this sort of spoils. C. & R.

* The word *Legion* comes from *legere*, which signifies to choose. And indeed the *Roman* legions were all chosen men. The number of men in a legion, was different at different times, as will be occasionally observed in the course of this history. It is sufficient to observe here, that when *Livy* says, *Romulus* led one legion against the *Antemnates*, he must be understood to mean, that he led three thousand foot and three hundred horse against them ; which were then the best part of the *Roman* forces. *Plutarch* (p. 24.) says, that the *Roman* legion consisted at that time of three thousand foot and three hundred horse. C. & R.

licy,

licy, having first consulted with the Senate, he transplanted the inhabitants of both the conquered cities to *Rome*, where they were admitted to all the privileges of *Roman* citizenship; and he sent colonies from thence into their towns. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became so great, that several cities of *Hetruria* voluntarily submitted to him. *Cælius* an *Hetrurian* Leader brought to *Rome* all the troops under his command, and settled on a hill near the city, which from him took the name of *Mount Cælius*.

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R O M U-
L U S First
King.
D. Hal. p.
104.

Romulus was now obliged to enlarge the bounds of *Rome*. The city had hitherto contained only the hill *Palatinus*, which was encompassed with a square wall: But upon this augmentation of inhabitants, it spread itself to the *Capitol*, then called the hill *Saturnius*; and on the top of that hill they built a citadel, which was committed to the government of a noble *Roman* named *Tarpeius*; it was surrounded on all sides with ramparts and towers, which equally commanded the city and the country. They likewise built a wall from the foot of the hill *Saturnius* to the *Tiber*, and opened a gate in it which they called *Carmentalis*.

§. XIII. BUT this increase of the *Roman* forces and fortifications did not terrify the *Sabines*. They sent a second deputation to *Romulus*, to demand back their daughters, and upon his refusal, they march'd towards *Rome* with an army of 25000 foot, and 1000 horse, under the command of their King *Titus Tatius*. The troops which *Romulus* led against them, are said to have been not much inferior in number, for he received supplies from his grandfather *Numitor*, and from *Hetruria*; the *Hetrurians* being commanded by one *Lucumo* a brave warrior, or rather by one of their 12 *Lucumones* or governors. *Romulus* posted his army on the hills *Esquilinus* and *Quirinalis*.

D. Hal. B.
2. P. 105.

The *Sabines* advanced in good order, and encamped at the foot of the hill *Saturnius*, in that plain since called the *Campus Martius*. *Tatius* seeing all the posts guarded, was extremely uneasy about the success of his enterprize: But an unforeseen adventure extricated him out of his difficulties. As the *Sabines* were roaming round the hill, to find a passage whereby they might get into the citadel, the Governor's daughter, named *Tarpeia*, who went accidentally to draw water for a sacrifice, was much taken with the bracelets and rings with which the enemies were adorned. She therefore privately sent one of her maids to desire a conference with the *Sabine* General; and at night *Titus Tatius* came to the Postern-Gate that had been shewn him, and agreed to give *Tarpeia* what the soldiers wore on their left arms, provided she would facilitate their entrance into the citadel, by that very gate. It is probable the young woman, whose eyes were at first so dazzled with the ornaments of the *Sabines*, repented of her treachery: And then, in order to turn the stratagem against the *Sabines* themselves, she sent to *Romulus*, desiring a strong body of troops to oppose *Tatius*, who expected to enter the Citadel the night following, by a gate that she was to open to him. But it unfortunately happened that the messenger proved a traitor, went to the camp of the *Sabines*, and informed.

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I.

R O M U -
L U S F I R -
M A G .

D. H. P.
107.

p. 103.

p. 107.

formed them of the ambush that was laying for them. *Tatius* did not fail or being at the gate at the time appointed, but with a greater body of men than *Tarpeia* expected. As soon as it was opened, he led in his troops and made himself master of the citadel: And then the *Sabines* are said to have crushed *Tarpeia* to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking themselves to have discharged their promise by thus giving her what they wore on their left arms.

From her the hill *Saturnius* took the name of *Tarpeius*, which it retained till it got that of *Capitolinus* (from the head of one *Tolus*, which was found there when workmen were digging to lay the foundations of a temple to *Jupiter*.) And even then, the steepest part of it, down which criminals were thrown, continued to be called *The Tarpeian Rock*.

The *Sabines*, now masters of the Citadel, had the advantage of being able to continue the war with more security. For a long time, only light skirmishes past between the two parties without much advantage on either side. At length both armies resolved to come to a general engagement. The first action (which the night put an end to) determined nothing, the success being equal on both sides. In the second, the *Romans* at the beginning had the advantage, in both wings commanded by *Romulus* and the *Lucano*, till a brave *Sabine*, named *Mucius Curtius*, who commanded the main body of the *Sabine* army, turned the scale in favour of his countrymen. He broke into the center of the *Roman* army, and, with design to give the wings of the *Sabines* an opportunity of rallying, pursued it to the very gates of *Rome*. *Romulus*, seeing this, press'd no longer after that wing of the *Sabines*, which he had forc'd to give ground, but immediately faced about, and hasten'd to attack *Curtius*; who, making a gallant resistance, facilitated the retreat of his countrymen toward their camp. At length *Romulus* met him and engaged him in single combat. *Curtius* being now wounded in several places, and unable to maintain the fight, threw himself into a lake which was made by the inundation of the *Tiber*, because on all the other sides he was surrounded by enemies. This lake was very full of mud towards the banks, and the water was deep in the middle; so that *Romulus*, thinking his enemy could not escape perishing, returned to the pursuit of the *Sabines*. But *Curtius*, tho' encumber'd with his armour, got safe out of the water, and left his name to the place; it was ever after called *Lacus Curtius*, even when it was dried up, and almost in the center of the *Roman Forum*.

Romulus, upon his return to his army, pushed the enemy with such vigour, that they fled in confusion, and took refuge in the Citadel. The *Romans* followed them, and, flushed with their success, expected to have retaken it. But the *Sabines* rolling great stones from the top of the hill, one of them hit *Romulus* on the head, and stunn'd him, so that falling down senseless, he was carried out of the field into the city. This accident re-

^a *Proculus* says, that the *Lacus Curtius* was so called, from the famous *Curtius*, who leap'd into the gulph that opened in that place.

And others think that it received its name from *Curtius* the Consul (colleague to *M. Genucius*) who wall'd it in.

vived

vived the courage of the *Sabines*; the *Romans* were put to flight in their turn, and pursued to the very gates of *Rome*. However, *Romulus* having by this time recovered his senses, rallied his troops, put himself again at their head, and drove the enemy back to the Citadel.

We are told that in the most critical minute of the day, when the *Romans* were flying before the enemy, *Romulus* made a vow to *Jupiter* in order to obtain his favour for the speedy rallying of his troops, and that, as fortune would have it, they stopped at the sight of their General, upon his return to the field of battle. Out of a belief therefore, that this was a particular blessing of Heaven, he erected a temple to *Jupiter*, whom he called *Stator*, because the *Romans* recovering from their fright made a *stand*, and faced the enemy. *Livy* and *Plutarch* say, that in this very moment the *Sabine* women coming out of the city with their hair dishevelled, and their children in their arms, threw themselves between the two armies, and by their tears and intreaties put a check to the fury of their fathers and husbands. But *Dionysius* gives a different and more probable account of the part which those women had in the reconciling of the two nations.

§. XIV. NEITHER *Romulus* nor *Tatius* was very forward to hazard another engagement. The *Sabines*, who remained masters of the Citadel, debated whether they should content themselves with only ravaging the lands of the *Romans*, and then return home; or should send for new levies from *Sabinia* to continue the war, till it could be finished with more advantage. The *Romans*, on their side, were no less doubtful and undetermined what to do. Their enemies they knew to be a powerful nation, that could more easily repair its loss than they could theirs. But on the other hand, could the *Romans* with honour restore the women? Would not that be a confession of weakness which might render the *Sabines* more haughty and more difficult to treat with? Whilst both parties were thus deliberating and in suspense, the women for whose sake the war had been undertaken, met together without the knowledge of their husbands, and, at the persuasions of *Herfília*, formed a design of mediating between the two nations. Before they could put their project in execution it was necessary to get it approved by the King and Senate; this, in the present conjuncture of affairs they found no difficulty to effect. A decree was passed, permitting the women to go upon the negotiation they proposed, on condition however that they left their children behind them; yet those who had several were allowed to take one or more with them, as it might be a means to promote the success of their enterprize.

The women being thus authorized, laid aside their ornaments, put on mourning, took some of their children in their arms, and leaving the city, advanced towards the camp of the *Sabines*. They no sooner arrived there, but casting themselves at the feet of their relations and countrymen, they by their tears and lamentations excited a general compassion. King *Tatius* having assembled his chief officers in council, and ordered the women to declare the intention of their coming, *Herfília*, in the name of her companions, is said to have made a long and pathetic speech to this effect:

“ If

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I.

R O M U -
L U S First
King.
Aurel.
Victor,
&c.
Plut. p. 29.

B. I. c. 13.
Plut. p. 29.

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 109.

p. 110.

Y. of
R.OME
I.
Rom. v.
L. v. f. a.
Kings.

“ If it be love to us which has moved you to begin the war, the same love should now induce you to put an end to it. It is true, we were unjustly forced away from our parents by the men who are now our husbands; but you neglected so long to revenge the injury, that we became engaged, by the strictest ties of affection, to those whom at first we hated: we are full of anxiety for them when they are fighting, and we lament their deaths when they fall in battle. You do not now come to vindicate the honour of virgins, but to tear away wives from their husbands, and mothers from their children; this is not to rescue us, it is to make us a second time captives.”

When she had thus spoken, she begg'd a truce, that the chiefs of the two armies might have an opportunity to treat of an accommodation. As D. Hal. B. the *Sabines* wanted only a pretence to lay aside their resentments, they readily accepted the proposal, and soon after the two Kings had a conference, 2. p. 111. which ended to the satisfaction of both parties. A treaty of union was Plut. p. 30. made and confirmed by oath. It was agreed, that both the Kings should reside in *Rome*, and be equal in power; that as many of the *Sabines* as were willing might come hither and be incorporated in the *Tribes* and *Clares*; that their common city should continue to be called *Rome*, but that the *Romans* should take the name of *Quirites*, till then peculiar to the *Sabines*; and that the latter should be admitted to public offices both civil and religious. Three considerable *Sabine* families are particularly mentioned to have followed the example of their King, and settled at *Rome*. The in Popl. p. head of one of them was *Valerius Volesus* (to whom *Plutarch* gives the honour of negotiating the peace;) of another, *Talus Tyrannus*; and of the 97. third, that *Mecius Curtius* who had signalized himself so much in the last battle: and these brought with them a multitude of their relations and dependants.

§. XV. BY THIS TREATY, which so considerably increased the colony, *Rome* became formidable. D. Hal. B. *Dien. Hal.* tells us, that the number of the new inhabitants equalled that of the old. *Tatius*, that he might imitate and equal *Romulus* in all respects, formed a council of a hundred Senators of his own nation. They were stiled *Fathers*, and enjoyed the same privileges with those who had been instituted by the founder of *Rome*. The *Roman* and *Sabine* Senators held their first assemblies on affairs of state separately, at the houses of their respective Kings. But after-

¹ *Dien. Hal.* says, that each particular citizen was to be called *Romanus*, and the collective body of them *Quirites*; yet it appears by this ancient form of words used at funerals, *Ollus Quiris letba datus est*, that each private citizen was also called *Quiris*.

The origin of the word *Quirites*, which was at first peculiar to the *Sabines*, and became in *Romulus's* time, the general name of the inhabitants of *Rome*, has been much sought for; and the most probable account antiquity gives of them, is this. The word

Quiris, according to *Plutarch* (p. 36.) and some others, signified in the *Sabine* language, both a dart, and a warlike Deity armed with a dart. 'Tis uncertain whether the God gave name to the dart, or the dart to to the God. But be that as it will, this *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, was either *Mars*, or some other God of war; and the worship of *Quiris* continued in *Rome* all *Romulus's* reign: but after his death, he was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, and took the place of the God *Quiris*. C. & R.

wards

wards they all met together, near the temple of *Vulcan*, in a place which, because the *Sabines* and *Romans* went thither to form one assembly, was called *Comitium**, Place of Meeting.

And now, according to *Livy*, were formed the three centuries of *Roman* Knights, called " *Ramnenses*, *Tatienses*, and *Luceres*. The first had its name from *Romulus*; the second from the *Sabine* King; and the third from the *Lucus* or grove where the *Asylum* stood, and where the Knights of this century had formerly dwelt. These three bodies of horse were incorporated into the *Roman* legions, which, according to *Plutarch*, consisted from this time of * six thousand foot and six hundred horse each.

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R O M E

R O M U -
L U S First
King.

Livy, B. 1
c. 13.
Plut. in
Rom. p.
But 30.

* *A cocundo, quasi comeundo*. The *Comitium* was part of the *Forum* at *Rome*; and was at the foot of the hill *Palatinus*, over against the *Capitol*. C. & R.

Originally the Knights alone formed the body of the *Roman* or legionary cavalry. They, who aspired to the honour of being admitted into this order on account of their fortunes or birth, often served in the army as volunteers; with this difference, that the state furnished the former with horses out of the publick treasury, whereas the latter were obliged to furnish themselves with horses at their own costs. This custom continued till the time of *Marius*. Then *Rome* had recourse to her allies, to supply the deficiency of the *Roman* Knights: And from that time, the provinces furnished as many horse, as were wanted to recruit the legions. Indeed the *Equitrian* Order never had any settled form, till after the *Census* appointed by *Servius Tullus*. They who had the honour of being joined to them, engaged themselves to be soldiers by profession. They fought equally on foot or on horseback, as occasion or the disposition of the ground required. They were sometimes posted in the advanced guard, sometimes in the center, but more frequently in the wings, of each legion. But in length of time this illustrious body degenerated, and the *Roman* Knighthood became a bare title of honour. Those who enjoyed it, were distinguished from the *Plebeians*, by a gold ring they wore on their fingers. In the latter times of the republick, the *Roman* Knights were no more confined to war, than any other citizens. On the contrary, they undertook to collect the publick taxes, under the name of publicans. C. & R.

* *Varro*, *Plutarch*, and *Festus* give the same names to the three tribes established by *Romulus*, which *Livy* gives to these three centuries of Knights drawn out of the tribes.

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They are easily reconciled, if we will suppose each century to bear the name of its respective tribe. *Dion. Hal.* dates the division of the colony into tribes, from the first year of *Rome*. *Plutarch* brings it down to the time of this union of the *Romans* with the *Sabines*. And what can we infer from these different accounts, but that *Romulus* instituted the tribes from the beginning of his reign, thereby to settle his form of government; and that each tribe had no particular name, till after the conclusion of his treaty with *Tatius*. What confirms this conjecture, is, that the second tribe was called *Tatiensis*, or *Titiensis*, from the name of *Titus Tatius*. Some authors indeed give all the three names, *Ramnenses*, *Tatienses*, and *Luceres*, an *Utrurian* derivation. But the generality of historians agree in calling the colony of the inhabitants of *Alba* that went to *Rome* with *Romulus*, *Ramnenses*; and so they do, in calling the second tribe, *Tatienses*. The others who fled into the *Asylum*, were called *Luceres*, if we may believe *Festus*, from *Lucerus*, King of *Ardea*, who, according to him, joined with *Romulus* against the *Sabines*. C. & R.

* The most learned criticks have observed, that *Plutarch* is mistaken, when he says (p. 30.) the *Roman* legion consisted of six thousand foot and six hundred horse, after the conclusion of the treaty between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. But it is probable, that *Plutarch* meant no more, than that *Romulus* formed two legions, of the two united nations, which consisted each of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse. Αἱ λαγαῖται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πεζοῦ καὶ ἱππικῶν δὲ ἑξακοσίαι. And by the help of the same interpretation, we may explain *Dion. Hal.*'s saying, that *Romulus* incorporated into his legion, or army, three thousand of the *Cæninenses* and *Antemnates*. Though it were true, as some authors conjecture, that each legion did consist of

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above

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ROMULUS
First
KING.

PLUT. p. 30.

But the most common opinion is, that the *Roman* legion did not then consist of above four thousand men at the most.

Rome could not without ingratitude forget the services that had been done her by the *Sabine* women, who were become entirely *Roman*, by affection as well as marriage. Honourable privileges and marks of distinction were decreed them. Every body was to give way to them when they passed along; all immodest and too free discourse was forbidden in their presence: it was a law, that indecent objects should never be brought into their sight; they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges, in capital cases; and lastly, they were permitted to hang a ball² of gold about their children's necks, to distinguish them from the vulgar. A particular robe was also assigned these children, called² *Prætecta*, the use of which was forbidden to all others.

above three thousand three hundred men at this time; yet it is certain, that, *ordinarily*, it did not exceed four thousand foot; for which reason, *Festus* calls a legion *square*; though this denomination owed its origin to their order in battle. I say, *ordinarily*, because on some occasions, the legion did consist, if we may believe *Vegetius*, of five thousand foot, and two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, and sometimes seven hundred horse. *Livy* tells us, the legions which were appointed to go over into *Africa* with *Scipio*, consisted of six thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. And therefore *Festus* is mistaken, when he says that *Marius* first made the *Roman* legion to consist of six thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The number of soldiers in a legion was different at different times. Nevertheless, it is probable, that from *Marius*'s time, the legions did more commonly consist of six thousand foot, and three hundred horse. C. & R.

² It is difficult to find out exactly what was the form of this ornament, which the *Sabine* women had leave to hang about their children's necks. It was called *Bulla*. *Plurarch* says, that this *Bulla* was like the little bubbles which the drops of rain make, when they fall upon running water; and it is therefore probable, that these little golden balls were both hollow and light; and, that they were but half globes, with one side flat, and the other globular. *Macrobins* pretends, that *Tarquin the Elder* extended the right of wearing these ornaments to all the children of the *Patricians*, and began with his own. The young *Romans*, when they came to the age of manhood, quitted the *Bulla*, and made an offering of it to the *Di Lares*, which were then called *Lares Bullati*. Hence *Perfius*:

*Cum primum parvulo custos mibi purpura cessit,
Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit.*

and this ornament was also sometimes consecrated to some other divinity, as appears by this inscription which *Gruterus* gives us from an ancient monument:

JUNONI. PLACIDÆ.
CONSERVATRICI. AUGUSTÆ.
CLAUDIA. SABBATIS.
BULLAM. D. D.

The *Romans* used also to inclose in these *Bulle* certain preservatives which paganism had consecrated, to secure their children against enchantments: and they perhaps attributed this virtue to certain hieroglyphicks, or other mysterious characters. Or it may be, the figures of the Deities and of animals were made use of for this purpose; as in that particular kind of preservatives, which the *Latines* called *Amuleta*, whose form was arbitrary. C. & R.

² These robes were laced at the bottom, and perhaps on the two lappets, if what *Rubinius* thinks be true, that they were open before. They were called *Prætectæ*, from this purple edging or lace. They were worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen, and took the *Toga Virilis*, or *Manly Robe*. But what was in *Romulus*'s time a mark of distinction for the children of the *Sabine* women, was afterwards very common. All even to the children of the *Liberti*, or men who were made free, wore robes bordered with purple in their youth: and at length, the gravest of the magistrates wore them likewise, not only at *Rome*, but in the colonies, and *Municipia*, or free cities. C. & R.

For

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First
King.D. Hal. p.
115.

occasion of it was this. Some of *Tatius's* people having ravaged the territory of the *Lavinians*^d, the latter sent envoys to *Rome* to den and satisfaction. *Romulus* declared himself for delivering up the aggressors to the injured party; but *Tatius* interposed. He alledged, that it was not fit to deliver up *Roman* citizens into the hands of strangers, their cause, and that the complainants ought to come and plead their cause at *Rome*. Nor was his conduct hitherto greatly to be condemned. But some of the envoys, in their return home, being murdered by the very robbers they had complained of, *Tatius* still continued to skreen these assassins from punishment. However, when the *Lavinians* renewed their complaint, *Romulus*, of his own authority, surrendered up the murderers to the *Lavinians*. *Tatius* looking upon this as an insult offered him by his colleague, put himself at the head of some armed men, pursued the *Lavinians*, and rescued his people out of their hands. So excessive a partiality to his colleague, accompanied with such grievous injustice, cost him his life. For, going after, to *Lavinium*^e with *Romulus*, to offer certain sacrifices, as the Kings were obliged to do, to those *tutelar* Gods of their state, which had been brought from *Troy*, and still remained at *Lavinium*, the relations and friends of the envoys who had been murdered, fell upon him and slew him at the foot of the altar with the priest's knives and the spits for roasting the victims. To *Romulus* they did no violence, but conducted him out of the town with acclamations of praise and benediction. He conveyed the body of his colleague to *Rome*, and honourably buried it on mount *Aventine*.

Romulus, being now a second time sole King of *Rome*, and revered, not only by his subjects, but by strangers, the *Latine* nation sought his friendship and alliance, and by their ambassadors concluded a treaty with him. To clear himself entirely of the violence offered to the envoys of the *Lavinians*, he pronounced sentence of banishment against the murderers, who on the death of *Tatius* had immediately fled from the city. After this he summoned the *Lavinians* who had slain his colleague, (and who had been delivered up to him) to answer for their crime; but they alledging, that they had only taken a just revenge for the murder of their ambassadors, he allowed their plea to be good, and dismissed them with impunity^f: yet the *Sabines* express'd no disposition to a revolt.

Plut. p. 32.

D. Hal. p.
116.

§. XVII. ABOUT this time a plague, which a famine made more terrible, raged in *Rome*, and the people of *Camerium* took advantage of the heavy affliction the *Romans* laboured under, to shake off the yoke. *Romulus* conquered them a second time, and on this occasion had the honours of a second triumph. He entered *Rome* with the acclamations of the people, as after the defeat of *Acron*. He had slain 6000 of the *Camerini* in the battle; and of those who had escaped, he transported one half to *Rome*,

^d *Plutarch* (p. 32.) says, it was the *Lavinians* who were injured, and who slew *Tatius* at *Lavinium*.

^e According to *Licinius* apud *D. Hal. Ta-*

tius did not go to *Lavinium* with *Romulus*, nor to offer sacrifices, but went by himself to exhort the *Lavinians* to pardon the criminals.

^f *Plutarch* (p. 32.) says they were punished tending

sending from thence to *Camerium* twice as many *Roman* Citizens; so prodigiously, says *Plutarch*, was the number of his people increased in 16 years from the building of the city.

P. 33.
Year of
R O M E
XVI.

After ^a this he vanquished the *Fidenates*, took their city, (which stood about 40 furlongs from *Rome*) and sent thither a colony of 2500 *Romans*. But now the *Veientes* ^b, grown jealous of their prosperous neighbour, demanded *Fidenæ* back, as a city in their dependance; and having received a contemptuous refusal, they laid siege to it. A second body of troops they marched against *Romulus*, who had an army in the field. He defeated them in two battles with great slaughter, and took a vast number of them prisoners, together with their commander, who had acted a very weak part. And what was now done at the sale of these slaves, laid the foundation of a custom which prevailed ever after. When the people offered sacrifices to the Gods, in thanksgiving for any victory, they dressed up an old man in a purple robe, with a child's *bullæ* about his neck, and cried all around him, *Sardians to sell*. By which cries and ceremony, they originally alluded to these two things: That the old governor of the *Veientes* had ruled his state like a child: And that the *Veientes*, an *Ettrurian* people, were a colony of *Lydians*, whose capital city was *Sardis*.

R O M U -
L U S First
King.
Plutarch,
p. 32, 33.
D. H. p.
116, 117.

Romulus, being intent upon making the best advantage of his victory, passed the *Tiber*, and pursued the *Veientes* to the gates of their city; whose situation preserved it. *Veii* was built upon a steep rock, and *Romulus* had then neither the troops, nor the provisions necessary to besiege it. He therefore retired; yet with a full purpose of returning in a little time, and reducing to ashes a city, which had no motive to conspire against *Rome*, except jealousy or ambition. But two defeats had taught the *Veientes* wisdom; and they prevented their total ruin by their submission. They sent a deputation to *Rome* to sue for peace; and *Romulus* granted them a truce for 100 years, upon their surrendering seven small towns on the *Tiber*, with some salt-pits at the mouth of that river, and their sending 50 of their principal citizens to *Rome*, as securities for their fidelity. A war so advantageously ended obtained him a third triumph.

p. 118.
Liv. B. 1.
c. 15.

This was the last military exploit of *Romulus*. It is surprising, and not easy to be accounted for, that this Prince, who seemed so eagerly bent upon extending his domination over his neighbours, should, after the death of his grandfather *Numitor*, leave *Alba* in possession of her laws and li-

Plut. p
34.

^a *Plutarch* and *Dionysius* speak of *Fidenæ* as taken before *Camerium*.

^b *Veii*, the city of the *Veientes*, stood about 200 furlongs from *Rome*. *D. Hal.* compares it to *Athens* for extent and riches.

^c This account is taken from *Plutarch*. But *Sinius Capito* gives the custom a later date. He says, that when *Tiberius Sempronius*

Gracchus the Consul had conquered *Sardinia*, he brought so great a number of slaves from thence, that for a great while together, nothing was to be seen in the markets but *Sardinians*, or *Sardi*, to be sold. Which gave rise to the proverb, *Sardi venales, alius alio nequior*. That is, *Sardinians to sell, every one worse than his fellow*. C. & R.

Year of
ROME

Rome
1st & 2nd
K. 67.

p. 34.
D. H.
p. 113,
119.

Levy. The sovereignty of that state devolved upon him, and he might have subjected it to the *Roman* laws; yet he reserved to himself no other power over it, than that of naming annually a magistrate, with the title of Dictator, to govern it, in form of a republick.

§. XVIII. SO great an instance of moderation in the first King of *Rome* is the more extraordinary, as the historians all agree, that being elated with his continual prosperity, he now affected an absolute tyranny. He paid no longer any deference to his great council; the Senators were assembled merely for form sake, he made himself the sole arbiter in all affairs. Having erected a judgment-seat in the *Forum*, he there administered justice, or rather exercised cruelty, attended by his 300 * *Celeres*, and his 12 *Lictors*, the ministers of his despotic will. But that which more than all things else provoked the *Fathers* was, that, of his own authority, and without consulting them, he shared the conquered lands among the soldiers, as he pleased; and, even against their opinion, restored the *Veientes* their hostages. The Senators not able to endure that the government should be thus changed into an absolute monarchy, conspired his destruction; and it was not long before they effected it.

Year of
ROME
XXXVII.

Plutarch,
Rom. p.
121. and
Num. p.
60. Livy.
B. i. c. 16.

On the seventh of *July*, in the thirty-seventh year of *Rome*, *Romulus* (now sixty years old, or, as some say, only 55) appointed a review of his troops in a plain, without the city; and the Senate for the greater state attended him thither. Whilst the King was haranguing his army, near a pond, called *Goats-pond*, a sudden storm of hail and thunder came upon them. The storm dispersed the soldiers; and the Senators remaining alone with the King, thought this a favourable opportunity of executing their design. The King was * slain, and his body conveyed out of sight in an instant. Some pretend, that, the better to conceal the fact, the Senators cut him into pieces, and that every Senator carried away one under his robe. Be that as it will, the circumstance of the storm gave occasion to the fable which the assassins spread among the people, that the King was all on a sudden surrounded with flame, and snatched up in it from earth to heaven. The credulous were contented with a story which made the founder of their colony a God; but the more penetrating

* The three hundred horse which *Romulus* had for his guard, were the first Corps of the *Roman* soldiery. They were chosen by the thirty *Curiae*, each furnishing ten men; and *Romulus* divided them into three companies, under the command of a general officer called *Tribunus Celerum*. The particular captain of each company was stiled *Præfectus Celerum*. The *Tribunus Celerum* had great authority in *Rome*, and may be said to have been the second person in the state next the King. He had a right of assembling the people on pressing occasions. C. & R.

¹ This adventure, according to *Plutarch*,

(p. 36.) gave rise to the *Caprotine Nones*, or *Populi fugium*, a festival in the *Roman* calendar on the *Nones* of *July*. But other authors give another origin to this festival.

^m The historians are not agreed about the manner in which *Romulus* was assassinated. Some say it was done by the people, who were enraged at the King for shewing more favour to those who were newly come to *Rome* from the conquered cities, than to the old inhabitants: whilst others pretend, that Senators stabbed him in full Senate, and having cut his body in pieces, every one took a part of it, and carried it away under his robe.

conceived just suspicions against the murderers; insomuch that the Senate became odious to all the better sort in *Rome*. This made it necessary to find out some secret to stop the complaints, and appease the anger of the multitude: And *Julius Proculus*, a considerable man among the *Fathers*, was the person whom the Senate suborned to impose upon the people. He was esteemed a man of probity, and his word had the more credit, as he had always been thought a friend to *Romulus*, having come from *Alba* with him, and preferred the doubtful fortune of his unsettled colony to the certain advantages he possessed in his own country. When the *Curie* were assembled, he told them the following story, and swore to the truth of it. That as he was travelling along, *Romulus* suddenly appeared to him: his stature was taller than that of mortals, and his armour cast a dazzling brightness: The apparition filled him with a religious dread, and he addressed himself to it in these words: *Wherefore, O King, and for what crime of ours have you thus exposed us to the most unjust and grievous suspicions? Why have you so suddenly forsaken a city, which by your absence is universally plunged in the deepest sorrow? To which Romulus answered: It pleased the Gods, O Proculus! that I should continue among mortals till I had put Rome into a condition of rising to the highest pitch of power and glory, and that I should then return to Heaven from whence I originally came. Go therefore and admonish my Romans to love temperance and warlike exercises; for it is by these that they will one day become masters of the world.*

Year of
R O M E
XXXVII.

R O M U -
L U S First
King.

Plut. p.
35.

This fable, averred for truth by a man who was thought sincere and honest, removed all suspicions; the people were transported with joy; divine honours^a were decreed to the new Deity; and the Senate concurred to make a God of him whom they could not endure for a King.

Such was the end of *Romulus*, the founder of *Rome*: A Prince, as we have seen, of uncertain birth, brought up by shepherds, and whose first empire was over a promiscuous, undisciplined rabble: Who, when he had built a city, peopled it chiefly with robbers, out-laws, runaway slaves, and fellows of desperate fortunes, from all quarters, men, who though restrained by laws from injuring one another, yet subsisted by rapine, and got every thing by violence, not even their wives excepted: A Prince, who by his policy and courage, in a reign of 37 years, brought a colony from such beginnings to be formidable to all the states around it, having before his death increased his subjects from 3300 men to 47000, all stout soldiers, and all actuated by the same views of preserving their own liberty, and invading that of their neighbours: To conclude; a Prince, who of a gang of slaves and profligates formed a people which in time became masters of the world, and, what is worthy to be remarked, more illustrious by their virtue, than by the number of their victories, or the extent of their empire.

^a A festival was instituted to *Romulus*, called *Quirinalia*. It was celebrated on the 17th of February.

Year of
R O M E
A C X V I I .
R O M U -
L U S first
King.

In the relation here given of the first settlement of the *Roman* government, the acts and institutions of *Romulus*, &c. *D. Hal.* has been chiefly, though not entirely followed, with respect to the order in which those events are placed. As the accounts left us by that author, *Livy* and *Plutarch*, of the beginnings of the *Roman* state, do not perfectly agree, either as to matter, or time, it may perhaps be a satisfaction to the reader to let him see by a summary of each, in what particulars they differ.

D I O N Y S I U S,

after the building of *Rome*, and a formal election of *Romulus* to be King of it, mentions

1. The division of the colony into *Tribes*, *Curie* and *Decurie*.
2. The distinction of the people into *Patricians* and *Plebeians*.
3. The institution of the *Patronage*.
4. The constituting a *Senate*. Of 100 Senators, the King chuses but one, the *Tribes* and *Curie* the rest.
5. The appointment of the 300 *Celeres* for the King's life-guard.
6. The settling of the respective powers and privileges of the King, Senate, and assemblies of the People.
7. The opening of the *Ajylum*, or sanctuary of refuge.
8. *Romulus's* religious and civil laws.
9. The erecting a judgment-seat in the *Forum*, where the King administer'd justice, attended by his 300 *Celeres* and 12 *Lictors*, with their fasces and axes.
10. The rape of the *Sabine* women, the union of the *Sabines* and *Romans*, and the creation of 100 new Senators by *Tatius*.

N. B. *D. Hal.* makes no mention of the 3 centuries of Knights, elected, according to *Livy*, in the time of *Romulus* and *Tatius*, nor of any other horsemen, but the 300 *Celeres*, till the reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, when he says, this King would have created 3 new tribes of Horsemen, and was opposed by *Navius* the Augur. He afterwards tells us, that *Servius Tullius* composed the Equites or Knights of those citizens who were most eminent by birth and riches, and divided them into 18 centuries.

L I V Y

speaks of *Romulus* and *Remus*, as being both saluted Kings, by their respective followers, before the building of *Rome*. After the build-

ing of the city and the death of *Remus*, he relates,

1. *Romulus's* making religious and civil laws.
2. His putting on a habit of distinction, and being attended by 12 *Lictors*.
3. His opening an *Ajylum*.
4. His constituting a Senate of 100 men, who were stiled *Patres*, and their posterity *Patricians*.
5. The rape of the *Sabine* women, and the union of the two nations; after which,
6. The division of the citizens into 30 *Curie*.
7. The institution of three centuries of Knights, the *Tatenses*, *Ramenfes*, and *Luceres*.
8. *Livy* does not mention the *Celeres* till the close of *Romulus's* reign.

N. B. *Livy* says nothing of *TRIBES*, till he comes to the 4 tribes of *Servius Tullius*; nor ever mentions the 100 new Senators created by *Tatius*.

He says, B. 1. c. 36. that *Tarquin the Elder*, without increasing the number of *Romulus's* Centuries of Knights, increased the number of the *Knights* to 1800, which were still called three Centuries: And B. 1. c. 43. he tells us, that *Servius Tullius* made six Centuries of the three instituted by *Romulus*, but that they retained the old names; and that these six with 12 other Centuries of Horsemen made a part of the first and richest of *Servius's* classes.

P L U T A R C H

does not speak of any formal election of *Romulus* to be King, but he being supposed such,

1. Opens the *Ajylum*, soon after the first foundations of the city were laid, and thereby greatly augments his colony.
2. Lists all who were fit to bear arms into military companies, each company consisting of 3000 foot, and 300 horse. These companies were called *Legions*, from the word *Legere*, to chuse, because they were select and chosen men. The rest of the multitude were called *Populus* (People.)
3. Chuses 100 Senators, whom he stiles *Patricians* and *Patres*.
4. Distinguishes the rest of the wealthier sort from the common people, by making the former Patrons to the latter, who are called Clients.
5. Then follows the rape of the *Sabine* women, and the union of the two nations. After which,

6. The

6. The people are divided into 3 Tribes, called *Ramenses*, *Tatenses*, and *Luceres*, (the names *Livy* gives to his 3 Centuries of Knights.)

7. Then the religious and civil laws are mentioned; and

8. *Plutarch* speaks for the first time of *Romulus's* robes of state, his *Celeres* and *Lictors*, just before his death, and as proofs of that haughtiness of spirit which provoked the Senators to murder him.

Year of
R O M E
XXXVII.

C H A P. III.

N U M A.

§. I. *The death of Romulus is followed by an interregnum. A description of that sort of government. The people grow weary of it; whereupon it is unanimously resolved to chuse a King.* §. II. *The character of Numa Pompilius, a Sabine philosopher.* §. III. *He is elected to succeed Romulus; but is with difficulty persuaded to accept of the kingdom. He consults the will of the Gods by augury.* §. IV. *Numa is no sooner upon the throne, than he applies himself to quiet the dissensions at Rome, and to moderate the warlike ardor of the Romans by the impressions of religion.* §. V. *He divides the ministers of religion into eight classes. The Curiones, Flamines, Celeres, Augurs.* §. VI. *Vestals.* §. VII. *Salii.* §. VIII. *Feciales.* §. IX. *Pontifices.* §. X. *He directs an especial reverence to be paid to the God Janus; and makes a Goddess of Bona Fides.* §. XI. *He introduces a new sort of Gods, called Termini or Boundaries.* §. XII. *He amends some of Romulus's laws; and makes new ones.* §. XIII. *He sends away the idle soldiery to cultivate the lands conquered by Romulus.* §. XIV. *He distributes the citizens into distinct companies, according to their trades.* §. XV. *He reforms the calendar.* §. XVI. *Numa dies, and his books are buried with him.*

§. I. **R**OMULUS dying without issue, the kingdom, which, had he left a son, might perhaps have proved hereditary, as that of *Alba* had been, continued elective; and *Rome* was greatly divided about the choice of another King. The minds of the first *Romans*, and of the new inhabitants, were not at present in so perfect an union as formerly; there were diversities of factions among the commonalty, and jealousies and emulations among the Senators. All agreed, that it was necessary to have a King; but what person, or of what nation, was the dispute. Those who had been builders of the city with *Romulus*, though they had yielded a share of the lands and dwellings to the *Sabines*, thought it by no means adviseable to resign to them the regal authority. On the other hand, the *Sabines* alledged, that they, after the decease of *Tatius*, having peaceably submitted to *Romulus's* government, it was but just, that the King should be chosen out of their nation: nor did they esteem themselves inferior to the *Romans*, or to have contributed less to raise *Rome* to that pitch of wealth and power to which she was arrived.

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R O M E
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Plut. Numa, p. 60.

Year of
R O M E
XXXVIII.

Liv. B. 1.
Plut. P.
...

During these disputes, the Senators^a, to prevent anarchy and confusion, took the sovereign power into their own hands. They divided themselves into decuries or tens, and each ten in their turn (as lots decided) possessed the supreme authority five days^b, yet so as one person only of the governing ten had the badges of sovereignty at one time, and when he had been honoured with them twelve hours, he resigned them to another. This sort of government, which was called *Interregnum*, lasted little more than a year^c; for the people grew weary of such a frequent change of masters, who had not all the same views and inclinations; and they were likewise jealous of certain of the *Fathers*, who seemed to aim at the establishing themselves in the supreme power. The Senate therefore finding it necessary to proceed to the election of a King, the *Inter-rex* for the time being summoned the people, and addressed himself to them, in these words: *Good, fortunate and happy may it be! Elect yourselves a King, O Romans. The Senate give their consent, and, if you pitch upon a Prince worthy to succeed Romulus, will confirm your choice*^d.

Liv. ibid. The Senate having thus recognized the people's right to chuse a King, the people, in compliment, remitted the choice to the Senate. But the old difficulty still remained, whether the Sovereign to be elected should be a *Sabine*, or a *Roman*. At length they came to this conclusion: That the *Romans* should chuse the King, but should be obliged to chuse a *Sabine*.

Plut. p. 61. §. II. THERE was at this time in *Sabinia* a man of distinguished birth and virtue, who led a retired life, and had no thoughts of empire, but ever his own passions. His name was *Numa Pompilius*. He was the fourth son of *Pompilius Pompo*, a *Sabine* Noble, and had married the

^a *Plutarch* reduces the number of the Senators who divided the regal power between them to 150. and *Livy* to 100, but *Dick. Hal.* makes them 200; which seems to come nearer the truth, if it be certain, that *Titus Tatius* added 100 Senators to the 100 created by *Romulus*.

^b *D. Hal.* (B. 2. p. 119.) makes each man of each *Decury* to reign 5 days, and consequently each *Decury* 50, in which case, only seven *Decuries* could have the administration in the whole year of the *Interregnum*.

^c Father *Cesari* (B. 2. p. 133.) has followed *Plutarch*, in fixing *Romulus's* death to the 37th year of *Rome*, and (p. 144.) he has followed the same author, in fixing *Numa's* birth to the very day that *Rome* was founded, and in making him about 40 when he was offered the kingdom: (by the words *about 40*, he means, that he was in his 40th year, as appears by the date in the margin; and so *Plutarch*, *ἔτι τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῷ Νύμῳ παρατίθει*) Nevertheless, as the learned Father allows with *Dionysius*, but about a year

to the *Interregnum*; these things are incompatible. Father *Reuilié* therefore in his note (B. 2. p. 144.) agrees with *Petavius*, in saying that *Romulus* reigned above 38 years. They follow *Narré's* calculation in placing the foundation of *Rome* in *April* in the 3d year of the sixth olympiad, and the death of *Romulus* in *July* in the 1st year of the 16th olympiad. The difference between these two dates is 38 years and some months. *Numa* was therefore in his 39th year, when his predecessor died, and the *Interregnum* lasting about a year, he was in his 40th year when he was chose King.

If the reader has perused the Preliminary Discourse to this Work, he is probably inclined to think, that *Romulus* reigned neither 38 nor 37 years, nor even 20, and consequently that *Numa* must have been born long before the building of *Rome*.

^d *Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit, Quirites, Regem create, ut a Patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab Remulo numeretur creaveritis, duces fient.* Liv. B. 1. c. 17.

daughter.

daughter of King *Tatius*, but had not followed his father-in-law to *Rome*. *Tatius* having the same inclinations with her husband, had preferred the tranquillity of a private life to the embarrassing honours and distinctions of a Court. She lived with him thirteen years, at *Cures*; and after her death, he gave himself up entirely to the service of the Gods, and the contemplation of their nature and power. He left the city, and in a solitary manner frequented those groves and fountains which religion had made sacred. And hence doubtless came the fable, which was very early received among the *Sabines*, that *Numa* lived in familiarity with the Nymph *Egeria*^a. It is certain that when he was upon the throne he took advantage of this general persuasion to give credit to his laws, and bring about a reformation at *Rome*.

§. III. THE *Romans* having pitched upon this man to be King, two Senators, *Julius Proculus* and *Valerius Volesus*, the first of *Alban*, the other of *Sabine* extraction, were deputed to go to him with an offer of the kingdom: They addressed him in few words, imagining there needed no long arguments to persuade him to accept it: But, upon trial, they found themselves obliged to use many reasons and intreaties to allure him from his quiet and retired life. In presence of his father and of his kinsman *Martius*, he returned the deputies an answer to this effect:

“ Since in every alteration of a man’s life the success is doubtful, it
 “ would be madness for one who is easy, and provided with all things
 “ necessary and convenient, to endeavour after any change of his con-
 “ dition, or even to consent to it. For what is this but to prefer an
 “ uncertain satisfaction to an assured tranquillity? It is not difficult to
 “ form a judgment concerning the temper of the *Roman* people, by
 “ what happened to the late King, who did not escape the suspicion of
 “ having plotted against the life of his Colleague, *Tatius*; nor is the
 “ Senate free from the accusation of having treacherously murdered
 “ their Prince *Romulus*. And yet *Romulus* had the advantage to be
 “ thought of divine race, and to be preserved in a miraculous man-
 “ ner in his infancy: Whereas my descent is merely human, and, if
 “ I have gained any reputation, it is for such qualities as are in no
 “ wise proper to make me shine upon a throne; a love of peace, re-
 “ tirement, study, and divine worship. As *Rome* is envied by her
 “ neighbours, and threatened with foreign wars (for which *Romulus*

^a Some persons not favourable to *Numa*’s reputation, have thought that under his affected passion for woods and caves, was concealed another which was more real and less chaste. Hence *Juvenal* speaking of the grove called *Lucus Egeriæ*, says,

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.

Sat. 3.

But St. *Austin*, building upon a passage taken out of *Varro*’s book of antiquities, gives an

allegorical interpretation to these frequent meetings between *Numa* and *Egeria*. He says, that this King being versed in hydro-mancy, saw several *Demons* in the water whom he consulted, and from whom he received the laws he proposed to his people; and that because *Numa* drew water for his magical Operations, *ex quod aquam egerit*; this gave occasion to the fiction, that he had married the Nymph *Egeria*, who took her name from the *Latin* word *Egerere*. C. & R.

“ perhaps gave no provocation) she has need of an active and warlike
“ Prince to govern her. What benefit could you receive in these circum-
“ stances from a King who would be wholly employed in establishing peace,
“ justice, and the neglected worship of the Gods; such a Prince must needs
“ appear despicable to a people entirely actuated by views of ambition,
“ and the insatiate desire of conquest.”

The deputies perceiving by these words, that he refused the kingdom, became now more urgent with him, intreating him not to suffer them to relapse again into their former seditions and civil discord, which they must unavoidably do, if he continued to reject their offer, there being no other person on whom both parties could agree to fix their choice. His father, likewise, and *Martius*, taking him aside, endeavoured to persuade him to accept the kingdom, as conferred on him rather by Heaven than by men. “ Though you are contented, *said they*, with your own fortune, and court
“ neither riches nor power, ought you therefore to pay no regard to
“ the appointment of the Gods, who have chosen you to fill a throne?
“ Have they indued your heart with so great a love of equity, only to
“ lie useless in a desert? The throne is an eminent place, from whence
“ virtue shews itself to advantage, and exercises a power which subdues
“ and captivates the hearts of men. *Tatius*, though a foreigner, was
“ highly esteemed by the *Romans*; and the memory of *Romulus* was so
“ precious to them, that after his death they voted him divine honours.
“ And who knows but *Rome*, influenced by the royal example, may mo-
“ derate her pride and fury, and the love of arms be succeeded by a re-
“ spect for religion?”

This discourse made some impression upon the philosopher, and when his own countrymen, the people of *Cures*, understood what message the *Roman* ambassadors had brought him, they earnestly pressed him to accept the offer, as the only means to appease all civil dissensions, and effectually incorporate both nations into one body. *Numa* yielded at length to these reasons and persuasions, and, having first offered sacrifices to Heaven, set
D. Hal. B. out for *Rome*. He was met in the way by the Senate and people, who
2. p. 121
& 122. with an impatient desire came forth to receive him; and the women also welcomed him with acclamations of joy. The *Inter-rex* for the day, *Spurius Vettius*, for form sake, which he thought should not be neglected, called an *Assembly of the people**, that they might proceed to an Election. *Numa* was there chosen King, and his choice was unanimously confirmed by the Senate.

But when the royal robes were brought to the new Sovereign, he refused to be clothed with them, till (like *Romulus*) he had first consulted the will

* By an *Assembly of the people* is to be understood a convention not only of the *Plebeians*, but of the Senators, Patricians, Knights, and all the *Roman* citizens without exception, who had right of suffrage, of what rank or condition soever. Nevertheless, what was done in these Assemblies, was properly said

to be the act of the *Plebes*, or *Commons*, because they being here more numerous than all the rest, had in reality the decision of all affairs: Their decrees however in these early times were of no effect, unless they were afterwards approved by the Senate.

of the Gods by augury. Conducted therefore to the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, he was there seated upon a stone, with his face to the south, and his head covered with a veil. The chief of the augurs stood behind him, and, stretching his right hand over the King's head, turned himself to the east and pray'd for him. Then gazing around to discover a favourable omen, he saw some birds, which were presumed to be fortunate; and this was sufficient. The King came down from the hill, the people renewed their shouts and acclamations; and, what seldom happens to a state that receives a new master, the joy was universal and sincere.

§. IV. THE reader is not here to expect the history of a reign memorable for battles and conquests. *Numa's* particular glory was his quieting all contentions at home, reforming the manners of the *Romans*, and establishing good polity among them.

At the time of his accession to the throne, there were some disputes and heart-burnings between the Senators of *Romulus's* election and those which *Tatius* had added to them; the former claiming certain honours and pre-eminences, which destroyed that perfect equality for which the latter contended. Many of the new-comers among the *Plebeians* were also greatly dissatisfied. *Romulus* had left them utterly unprovided for; and the want of a necessary subsistence made them ready to join in any sedition by which they might hope to better their fortune. *Numa* had no sooner taken into his hands the reins of government, than he silenced the complaints of these poor *Plebeians*, by distributing some of the conquered lands among them: nor was he less successful in his endeavours to quiet the animosities among the *Patricians*: And when the citizens of *Rome* were all brought to a perfect concord and harmony among themselves, so as to have no view but the public good, and when he had enlarged the city, by inclosing within its walls the hill *Quirinalis*, he applied himself to form such regulations as might preserve peace, and make justice flourish among his subjects.

He began his reformatations with himself, dismissing the three hundred *Celeres*, whom *Romulus* had made his guards; for he said, it would ill become him to reign over a people he distrusted, and as ill to distrust a people that compell'd him to reign over them. And being sensible, that the chief source of the disorders in the state had been the too passionate love of arms, he laid a scheme for moderating the warlike ardor of the *Romans*, by the impressions of religion.

Plutarch tells us, that *Numa* acknowledged a first principle of all things, who is impassible, invisible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible; and for this reason forbade the *Romans* to represent God in the form of man or beast; and he adds, that there was no painted or graven image in their temples and sanctuaries, for the first 160 years. *Numa* likewise prohibited all bloody sacrifices; and appointed loaves and meal to be presented to the Gods, with Libations of wine and milk. And because *Pythagoras*, the *Samian*, brought the like ceremonies from *Greece*, *Numa* has been thought by some to have learned them from him; but *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch*

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Plut. p. 64.

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2. p.

Plut. p. 67.

p. 65.

Year of ROME 711—LXXIII. *Pythagoras* are all against this opinion, and assert, that *Pythagoras* did not live till long after *Numa's* time.

But notwithstanding the right notions which this Prince had of the Deity, he did not introduce the worship of him; he authorized both the *Latin* and *Etruscan* ceremonies of religion, and contented himself with establishing order and decency in the performance of them.

§. V. THE ministers of religion he divided into eight classes.

FIRST, the *CURIONES*, those Priests of whom each *Curia* or Parish had one, proper to itself. Their whole number was 30, there being just so many *Curie* in *Rome*.

THE SECOND CLASS were the *FLAMINES**, who took their names, as some say, from the flame-coloured tufts upon their caps: But *Plutarch* tells us, that these Priests were first called *Pilamines*, from the *Latin* word *Pileus*, which signified such a Picked bonnet as they wore, and that *Flamines* was only a corruption of *Pilamines*. In *Romulus's* time there was a *Flamen* called *Dialis*†, because he presided in the worship of *Jupiter*; and another

* The *Flamines* were chosen by the people: after which, they received an inauguration, or rather a sort of consecration, at the hands of the *Pontifex Maximus*, to whom they were absolutely subject. Their ministry was confined to one particular God, whose name they took. All other priestly officers were incompatible with that of *Flamen*; a dignity from which they could not, but for very great reasons, be deposed. In this case they were degraded, which the *Romans* called *Flaminis abire*. It was a crime for the *Flamines* to appear in public uncovered, or to offer sacrifice bare-headed. *Val. Maximus* speaks of one *Supplicius*, who was deprived of the office of *Flamen*, for having let his bonnet fall off whilst he was sacrificing. The body of the *Flamines* did not form a society or particular college, as the *Augurs* and *Pontifices* did: but they were summoned, and took their seats as judges, whenever an affair was to be determined, the cognizance of which belonged to the College of the *Pontifices*. *Tully pro lege Julia*, addresses himself to his judges thus: *Discrete orationem Pontifices & res Flamines*. In civil life, the *Flamines* were tied up to several trifling practices, which the extravagance of paganism had made sacred. Their wives, who were called *Flaminicæ*, partook of the Priesthood of their husbands, and shared with them the care of the sacrifices: as we learn from *A. Gellius*, and some of *Gruter's ancient inscriptions*: and a *Flaminica* could not be divorced on any account whatsoever. Death alone could sepa-

rate a *Flamen* from his wife; and upon her death he lost his sacerdotal dignity. They had under their care some young girls and boys, to assist in the sacrifices. These sorts of *Acolythes*, whose fathers and mothers must be living, were called *Flaminii* and *Flaminicæ*. The number of the *Flamines* was at first but three; afterwards they increased to twelve, and to fifteen. C. & R.

† The *Flamen Dialis* was the most distinguished of any, both by the pre-eminence of his rank, and the God he served. The engagements he entered into, as Priest of *Jupiter*, were inconsistent with his bearing civil offices, which he could neither solicit, nor accept. But to make him amends, he had the privilege of being guarded by a *Lictor*, and wearing a magnificent robe: to which were added the honours of the *Curule Chair*. He was generally of a *Patrician* family, as also the *Flamen Martialis*, and the *Flamen Quirinalis*: and therefore these were called *Flamines Majores*, to distinguish them from the *Flamines Minores*, who were *Plebeians*. The *Flamen Dialis* was subject to very troublesome laws, the particulars of which we have in *A. Gellius*. Among other things, he was forbidden to ride on horseback, or cast his eyes upon an army drawn up in battalia. It was unlawful for him to swear, and therefore his taking the oaths appointed by the laws, was dispensed with. His word alone was a sufficient testimony, according to that form of words used by the *Prætor*, which had the force of a perpetual edict, *Sacerdotem Vestalem, & Flaminem*

another called *Martialis*^a, because consecrated to the worship of *Mars*. To these *Numa* added a third, in honour of *Romulus*, who had been deified under the name of *Quirinus*.

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THE THIRD CLASS consisted of those three hundred *CELERES* who had been *Romulus's* guards. *Numa* changed this military body into a company of *Sacrificers*.

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THE^b *AUGURS* composed the FOURTH CLASS; their functions extended farther than the name seems to imply. They did not only foretel future events by the flying or singing of birds; all sorts of divination were within their province. They interpreted dreams; drew presages from several *Phænomena* both in the Heavens, and on the Earth, such as monsters, earthquakes, &c. and their ministry was equally made use of by the public, and by private persons.

§. VI. THE *Vestals* made the FIFTH CLASS: Though *Numa* was not the first institutor of these, yet he was the first who erected a particular temple to *Vesta*, and caused a fire to be kept always burning in it. This fire the *Romans* looked upon as sacred in itself, and the extinction of it fatal to the Republic. The King committed the care of supply-

D. H. p.
125, 126,
127.

Flaminem Dialem, in omni mea jurisdictione jurare non cegari. He could not attend funeral solemnities, but with the utmost precautions. To be absent but one night from *Rome*, to touch a dead body, and a thousand other actions, which were in themselves indifferent, were thought to be so many considerable faults in the *Flamen Dialis*. But in order to lighten this heavy yoke, great marks of distinction were annexed to his office. He wore a hollow or pierced ring on his finger; he had the privilege of wearing the *Prætecta*, and sitting in a *Curule Chair* in the Senate; and only a freeman could cut his hair. In some cases, the respect shewn him was carried to extravagant superstition. Witness this law: *Unguium Dialis, & capille Segmina subter Arborem felicem, terra integunto.* C. & R.

^a The *Flamen Martialis* was the second in rank among the *Flamines*. It was not lawful for him to go out of *Italy*, at least in the first ages of *Rome*. We learn from *Livy* and *Val. Maximus*, that *Aulus Posthumus*, Consul and *Flamen Martialis*, could not get leave of *Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, to command the *Roman* army in *Africa*. The *Flamen Quirinalis* was also subject to the same law. *Liv. B. 39.* gives us an instance of it in the person of *Q. Fabius Pictor*. C. & R.

^b See what is said of the *Augurs*, page 24. *Numa* allowing of no bloody sacrifices instituted no *Huruspices*.

^c It is probable, that the ancient under-

stood by the *Vesta*, whole world, or the universe to which they attributed a soul, and which they looked upon as the only Divinity, sometimes under the name of *τὸ πᾶν*, and sometimes under that of *μῶναι*, that is to say, *Unity*. This was the mystical signification of *Vesta*, though the vulgar worshipped her as the Goddess of the Earth and of Fire. And with a view to represent the universe under the name of *Vesta*, *Numa Pompilius* built a round temple in honour of this Goddess: under which form, the temples of this Goddess are still represented in medals. In the midst of the temple *Numa* placed the altar of the sacred fire, which was ever burning, out of a persuasion, that the proper region of fire was the center of the world. In all probability, this King did not think the earth immoveable, but fancied it was always rolling round the fire; that is, the sun, which he thought placed in the center of the universe. And *Plato* embraced this opinion towards the end of his life; as did *Pythagoras*, and his disciples. So that, if we believe *Plutarch*, who relates all these facts, we must acknowledge, that the system which has since been adopted by *Copernicus*, was known in *Italy*, so early as in the days of *Numa Pompilius*. C. & R.

^d The keeping up of a sacred fire had always been a part of religion, in different nations. *The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar, saith the Lord, it shall never go out, Lev. vi. 13.* Such a fire was preserved in the temples of *Ceres* at *Mustina*, of *Aphile* at *D. H. p.*

Year of ROME LXXVII. ing and preserving it to four * virgins, whose names were *Gegania*, *Vere-*
 Numa second King. *nia*, *Coruicia*, and *Tarpeia*. Thus *Numa a Sabine*, seems to have had
 D. Hal. p. 1-5. more regard for the remains of the *Trojan* religion, than his predecessor, though descended from *Aeneas*. But *Remulus* for a particular reason, as some think, would not suffer at *Rome* any of these consecrated Virgins. He fear'd lest the faults of the *Vestals* should call to remembrance what had happened to *Rhea Silvia*, his mother.

All conversation with men was not forbidden these Virgins; they were permitted to receive visits from them by day; by night, none but persons of their own sex were suffered to come into their apartments. They were obliged to strict continence for thirty years; of which they employed the first ten in learning the ceremonies of religion, the next ten in the performance of them, and the ten last in teaching them to the younger *Vestals*. After this they were permitted to quit the functions of Priestesses, and marry. But as these late marriages were observed not to be very happy, few of them left their old profession, even after the time of their ministry was expired. And indeed the restraints of their condition were in some measure compensated by the honours that were annexed to it. If they chanced to meet a criminal going to execution, they had the privilege of pardoning him provided they affirmed, that their meeting him was purely accidental. It was a capital crime to enter with them into the litters in which they were carried. At what age soever they were admitted *Vestals*, they became immediately mistresses of their own fortunes. And lastly, they had a right of making their wills, even in their father's life-time^b.

But then, as the honours done them were great, so were the punishments of their faults. The least levity in their behaviour, the smallest neglect in the discharge of their office, was, after proof made of it before the *Pontifex*, punished, at their command, with severity. The penalty, inflicted on them for prostituting their honour, had something in it inexpressibly terrible. The offender, placed in a litter, shut up so close that her cries could not be heard, was carried cross the *Forum*, and thence through the *Colline Gate*, to the place where she was to be buried alive. Her friends and relations walked before her in tears, in the same order as in a funeral procession, till they came near the vault, in which she was to end her days. In this vault was a little bed, a lamp burning, and a small quantity of provisions. The *Pontifex* read some prayers over her,

Delphos and *Atbens*, and in that of *Diana* at *Ecbatan* among the *Perhans*. *Setinus* committed the care of the sacred fire in the temple of *Minerva*, and of the statue of *Pallas* to a society of young women. The *Magi* had the charge of keeping a fire always burning on altars erected in the middle of those little temples which *Strabo* calls *magia*. A lamp was always burning in the temple of *Jupiter Anxus*. And, if we may believe *Diod. Si-*

culus, this custom came from the *Egyptians* to the *Greeks*, and from them to the *Romans*, who made it a principal point of their religion. C. & R.

* *Tarquin the Elder* added two more, and this number was never increased. The *Vestals* were chosen from six to ten years of age. None beyond that age were admitted.

^b *Dio Cassius* says this privilege was granted them by *Augustus*, l. 56.

with

with a low voice; but without the lustrations and other expiatory ceremonies used for the dead. This done, they let her down into the vault, and bricking up the entrance, covered it with earth. It is not certain that this custom of burying the *Vestals* was so early as *Numa*. Some authors say, they were burnt; and others, that they were stoned. As for the partner in the crime, he was whipped to death.

To suffer the sacred fire to go out, was also an unpardonable negligence in the *Vestals*. Being thought to forbode approaching ruin, it alarmed the whole city. Fresh fire, kindled, according to *Festus*, by rubbing two pieces of wood together, or, according to *Plutarch*, by the rays of the sun, was brought into the temple of *Vesta*, after many purifications; and the *Pontifices* examined into the causes of this wicked neglect, that it might be punished with severity. *Festus* says, that the *Pontifex* whipped the offender through a veil.

§. VII. THE SIXTH CLASS, established by *Numa*, were the *SALII*. For their origin we must go up as high as *Evander*, who brought from *Arcadia* into *Italy* a company of musicians, the chief of whom was named *Salius*. Their office at first was only to sing at the sacrifices: But it was afterwards changed to dancing to the sound of the flute, in honour of those *Genii*, on whose favour success in war depended. *Numa Pompilius* laid hold of an opportunity that offered to revive this order, and make it a religious one. In the eighth year of his reign, a pestilence which ravaged *Italy* was severely felt in *Rome*. Fear increasing the superstition of the people, *Numa* took advantage of it for the promoting of his views, with respect to religion. He made them believe, that a shield of an extraordinary make fell down from Heaven to him, and that the Nymph *Egeria* and the Muses had told him, the health and prosperity of *Rome* depended upon the preservation of that shield. For fear therefore lest so precious a *Depositum* should be stolen, and that it might be the more difficult to distinguish it, he ordered a skilful workman, named *Mamurius*, to make eleven more, exactly like it. He pretended, that the Nymph *Egeria* and the Muses had directed this, and also that the fountain where he used to converse with them, and the fields about it, should be consecrated; and that the *Vestals* should from that fountain draw all the water with which they sprinkled their sanctuary. The twelve shields, called *Ancilia*, he hung up in the temple of *Mars*, and appointed twelve young *Romans*, taken out of good families, to be the keepers of them. Their name of *Salii* was agreeable to their ministerial office: for the descent of the miraculous shield was annually celebrated by them on the first of *March*, with public *dancings.

§. VIII.

* In this festival, the twelve *Salii* marched out of the temple in good order, each carrying one of the sacred shields on his left arm, and a javelin in his right hand. They were dressed in habits striped with purple, and girded with broad belts, clasped with brass buckles; on

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their heads they wore helmets, or high bonnets, which terminated in a point. As they marched, sometimes they sung in concert, and sometimes they danced, to the sound of instruments, martial entries, which they diversified agreeably enough. Sometimes one

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D. Hal. B.
128.

P. 129,
130.
Plut. p. 68.

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N U M A
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B. C.
D. Hal. B.
2. 1. 132,
132.

§. VIII. THE SEVENTH CLASS of Ministers dedicated to religion, were the *FECIALES*; whose employment being of importance to the state, and their authority great, and for life, care was taken to chuse them out of the best families. It is probable, that a war, with which this pacifick King was threatened by the *Fidenæ*, occasioned his thinking of this establishment. Notwithstanding the revolt of *Fidene*, and the depredations committed by its inhabitants, on the *Roman* lands, *Numa* thought himself obliged to attempt an accommodation by treaty, before he had recourse to arms. The better therefore to ascertain the equity of this war, if he should undertake it, and of all such as *Rome* should for the future engage in, he established a sacred college of 20 persons, who were to be in some measure the arbiters of war and peace: It was not lawful to commit any hostilities on the lands of the neighbouring nations, till all means of an amicable accommodation had been first tried, without success. In case the Republick had suffered any injury from a foreign state, two of these *Feciales*, or Heralds, were dispatched to demand satisfaction; and the manner was this. One of them, chosen by the college, under the name of * *Pater Patratus*, to be the chief actor, was cloathed in a magnificent habit, and in his hand was put a sort of sceptre, or *caduceus*, which distinguished him from his colleague. Thus accoutred he went out of the city: And when he arrived at the enemy's frontiers, he called *Jupiter* and the other Gods to witness, that he came only to demand justice in behalf of the *Roman* people. Then he advanced into the country of the aggressors, and took a second oath, that he would say nothing at the place whither he was deputed to go, but what was true, and require nothing but what was equitable. He told the first stranger he met, that he had taken these oaths, and then went on towards the city, of which he was to demand satisfaction. As he entered it, he repeated the same oaths at the gate, in presence of the officer who was upon guard, or at least of some of the inhabitants. From thence he went on to the place of publick concourse, and there declared the reasons of his coming. This done, he desired a conference with the magistrates: And if

only danced, who was called *Præsul*, he was the head of the company, and both led the dances, and regulated them. Sometimes they all joined together, and diverted the spectators with their martial attitudes, and their quick and lively motions. They were particularly expert in beating just time, which they did with their javelins upon their shields. In the choice of the *Salii*, *Numa* would have these two rules observed: 1st, That they should be natives of *Rome*, and free-born. 2^d, That their fathers and mothers should be alive. By this means he made sure of their fidelity, their parents being their security. The festival lasted several days. During which, the first *Romans* were scrupulous of undertaking any serious and important affair. It was not then lawful for them to marry, or undertake a journey, or any mili-

tary expedition. In the latter ages, they shook off the yoke of this superstition, and became less scrupulous. The *Salii* ended all these days of ceremony with repasts, in which no cost was spared. Hence *Tully* uses the words, *Saliarum in modum cenare*, to signify a splendid entertainment. C. & R.

* No persons were ever deputed to treat of peace or war, but such, whose fathers were living, and who were themselves the fathers of several children. And from hence comes the name of *Patres Patrati*, i. e. *Fathers in reality*, [or perhaps, *Fathers who had Fathers*] according to *Plutarch*; who adds, that this law was a political invention of *Numa*. This King thought, that a man who had a father and children alive, would be the more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote its interests. C. & R.

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they submitted to reason, and delivered up to him the persons who had been guilty of the insult offered to *Rome*, he carried them away with him. If the magistrates asked time to deliberate, he gave them ten days; and, when these were expired, ten more; and so on to thirty. But if, after the 30 days, they still continued to refuse him justice, he called the Gods of Heaven and Hell to witness against them; and forthwith declared, that he was going to make his report at *Rome*, where it would be considered of at leisure. Upon his return to the Senate, he reported, that he had performed all the duties of his office, and that nothing hindered the *Romans* from declaring war^a; and then was the time for the Senate to come to a resolution. But before these formalities had been observed, it was not lawful for either King, or Senate, military tribunes, or subaltern officers, to attempt any thing against the enemy. In this manner did *Numa*, perhaps a little at the expence of his own authority, put a check to the precipitate sallies of the *Romans*, who attended more to the suggestions of their ambition, than the rules of equity, in making war: And it was probably owing to these regulations, that the *Fidenates* escaped the resentment of the *Romans*; for the latter undertook no war in *Numa's* time.

§. IX. THE EIGHTH, and most venerable of all the different bodies D. Hal. 2. consecrated to religion, was the PONTIFICES^b; the origin of which name is uncertain. 2. P. 132, 133.

^a If the Senate determined to declare war, the *Feciales* returned to the enemy's country, and, in the presence of three witnesses, who were arrived at the age of *Puberty*, declared the cause of the war. After which he committed the first act of hostility, by throwing a bloody javelin: and at the same time uttered this form of words, which *A. Gellius* has preserved: The *Hermondulian* people, and those of this country, have offered violence to the Roman people, who for that reason declare war against them. The name *Hermondulian* is of no determinate signification, and was then universally applied to all nations. *C. & R.*

^b Most of those who have written of the *Roman* antiquities, (and particularly *D. Hal.* p. 132. and *Varro* de ling. Lat. l. 4.) derive the word *Pontifices*, from *Pons* and *facere*, the repairs of the bridges being committed to their care. Bridges were then thought sacred. The most solemn sacrifices were performed upon them. The bridge *Sublucius* is said to have been built, pursuant to the directions of an oracle, which forbid the use of iron in the framing it, and commanded that the parts of it should be joined together with wooden pins. But *Plutarch* finds fault with the abovementioned etymology of the word *Pontifex*. He says, this word was in use at *Rome* before there were any bridges there. That wooden bridge itself, which was the

first that was built at *Rome*, and called *Sublucius*, was of so late date, as to be the work of King *Ancus Martins*, *Numa's* grandson; whereas the word *Pontifex* was in use so early as in *Numa's* time. *Plutarch* (p. 65.) therefore gives another derivation of the word *Pontifex*; he derives it from *Potnis*, which, in old *Latin*, signified powerful or absolute master: some authors derive it from the two words, *potis* and *facere*, understanding by the word *facere*, to sacrifice.

From *Numa's* time, to the middle of the fifth century, after the foundation of *Rome*, the college of *Pontifices* consisted but of four. Afterwards, at the request of the people, who were desirous of sharing the honours of the priesthood with the *Patricians*, four *Pontifices*, of *Plebeian* families, were added. To these eight *Sylla* added seven more. The first eight were, according to some, styled *Pontifices majores*, and the rest *Pontifices minores*. According to others, these titles distinguished the *Patrician Pontifices* from the *Plebeian*.

It will appear in the latter ages of the republick, that the people claimed the right of choosing the inferior *Pontifices*: for as to the *Pontifex Maximus*, he seems to have been always chosen by the people, assembled in their *Comitia*. At least, we find instances of this kind in *Livy*, especially in B. 25. at the very

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uncertain. Their office was, to give judgment in all causes relating to religion; to enquire into the lives and manners of the inferior priests, and to punish them if they saw occasion; to prescribe rules for publick worship; to regulate the feasts, sacrifices, and all other sacred institutions; to determine what works should be deemed lawful, and what unlawful, on festival days. Their President had the title of *Pontifex Maximus*; and his office was one of the most honourable in the commonwealth. Some say, the King reserved this eminent dignity to himself; and others, that he conferred it on his kinsman *Numa Marcius*.

§. X. SUCH were the eight classes into which *Numa* divided the priests and ministers of sacred things, multiplying the ceremonies and amusements of religion, in order the more effectually to divert the *Romans* from the pursuits of ambition, and the violence of arms. It was with the same view, or at least to give a check to the hasty proceedings of this fierce and rugged people, ever ready, upon the slightest occasions, to begin a war, that he caused a particular reverence to be paid to *Janus*, whose two faces being the symbol of prudence, which looks backwards and forwards, and considers the causes and consequences of things, were to be a memento to them, to recollect themselves, before they gave way to their fury. He ordered the temple of that God to be kept shut in time of peace, and open in time of war.

D. H. . p.
144
Plut. p. 79.
I. na
Fides.

But there is no part of *Numa's* management, which *Diomysius* admires so much, as his contrivance to make the *Romans* honest, by turning *Good Faith* into a Goddess, and appointing her a divine worship. It was a new invention unknown both to *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, and contributed greatly, as that historian observes, to bring the republick to be faithful to her treaties, and the private citizens to their contracts with one another, into which they entered without witnesses. A scrupulous regard to truth became in time so universal among them, that the magistrates frequently determined doubtful causes between man and man by the bare affirmation, *ex fide*, as it was called, of the plaintiff or defendant. This veracity and this strictness in the performance of covenants were virtues still subsisting among the *Romans* in the time of *Polybius*, who gives them the glorious testimony, that they inviolably kept their word, making witnesses and securities needless; whereas ten securities, twenty promises, and as many witnesses, were no fence against the knaveries of the *Greeks*.

Polyb. B.
4. c. 54.

time when the inferior *Pontifices* were chosen by the pontifical college. The *Pontifex Maximus* was also generally taken out of the other *Pontifices*. The Emperors assumed this dignity from *Octavius's* time; and the Christian Emperors continued to bear this title, to the time of *Gratian*, who (as we learn from *Zozimus*) absolutely refus'd it. C. & R.

^a *Tully*, in his oration, *pro domo sua*, tells the *Pontifices*, that the honour and safety of the commonwealth, the liberty of the people, the houses and fortunes of the citizens,

and the very Gods themselves, were all committed to their care.

^b *Livy* leaves it uncertain, whether *Numa* built the temple of *Janus*, or not. *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* say nothing of it. *Varro*, as quoted by *St. Austin*, says, that *Romulus* caused the first temple of *Janus*, in *Rome*, to be erected, after the treaty made between him and *Titus Tatius*; and that he gave this God two faces, to shew, that at *Rome* two Kings reigned at the same time, and two nations were united, and become one. C. & R.

§. XL

§. XI. THE same spirit of equity in *Numa* made him likewise introduce other Deities, under the name of *Termini* or *Boundaries*. In *Romulus*'s time, neither the *Roman* territory in general, nor the estates of private persons had any fixed limits. That ambitious Prince would have betrayed his own cause; and his encroachments on his neighbour's lands would have been too manifest, had he set bounds to his own. But *Numa*, having no views of enlarging his dominion, ordered stones, dedicated to *Jupiter Terminalis*, to be placed on the borders of the *Roman* state, to mark the just extent of it. The same was done with regard to the lands of private property, and these land-marks became themselves a kind of Deities. To remove them was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature, that any man might with impunity slay the transgressor. And, in order to render the law yet more inviolable, *Numa* instituted a festival, called *Terminalia*, in honour to the *Dii * Termini*: It was celebrated the 22d or 23d of the month of *February*. The owners of lands met on the confines of their estates, and there made their offerings of loaves, and the first gatherings of their fruits and harvests. Thus did this wise King make a great variety of superstitions serviceable to the purposes of equity.

These following laws of *Numa*, concerning religion, subsisted in *Rome* ever after: Let none appear in the presence of the Gods, but with a pure heart, and sincere piety. Let none there make a vain shew and ostentation of their riches, but fear lest they should thereby bring on themselves the vengeance of Heaven. Let no one have particular Gods of his own, or bring new ones into his house, or receive strange ones, unless allowed by edict. Let every one preserve in his own house the Oratories established by his Fathers, and pay his domestick Gods the worship that has always been paid them. Let all honour the ancient Gods of Heaven, and the heroes whose exploits have carried them thither, such as *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Castor*, *Pollux* and *Quirinus*. Let altars be erected to the virtues which carry us up to Heaven; but never to vices.

§. XII. THOUGH religion was *Numa*'s chief care, the explaining and amending the Civil Laws took up a great part of his attention: particularly, he reformed that law of *Romulus* which gave fathers an unlimited power over their children; he would not suffer them to sell their sons after marriage, because it was very unjust, that a woman who had married a freeman should be constrained to live with a slave.

This King in his regulations had an especial regard to the preserving modesty in women. He excluded them from all publick affairs, insomuch, that a woman having appeared in a court of justice to plead her own cause, it was looked upon as one of those prodigies which foreboded danger to the state, and as an ill omen which ought to be averted by expiations. He also forbid prostitutes to enter into the temple of *Juno*. Nevertheless,

* The *Dii Termini* invented by *Numa*, were in his time nothing more than square stones, or posts, to which a religious honour was paid. Afterwards they were adorned with statues representing human figures, were crowned with flowers, and rubbed with perfumes. C. & R.

D. Hal. B.
2. P. 133,
134.
Plut. p. 71.
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Cic. de
Leg. B. 2.
c. 8.

Plut. p. 72.

A. Gel.
B. 4. c. 3.

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he permitted husbands to lend out their wives, when these had borne them children. It was a sort of temporary divorce, in favour of those men whose wives were barren, but the lender continued to have the power of a husband over his wife, and could call her home, or lend her to others, as he pleased.

Numa, observing that the expences in mourning habits and funeral ceremonies were carried to excess, put a restraint upon that kind of extravagance. Nor would he suffer the dead to be buried or burnt within the walls of *Rome*. He forbade the mourners at funerals to make loud lamentations, and abolished the mad custom of the women's tearing their faces upon the death of their children or husbands; and lastly, he limited the time of mourning to ten months.

§. XIII. NOR were these the only reformatations made by *Numa*. *Remulus* having employed his people in continual wars, his successor was much embarrassed with a soldiery, who had been accustomed to plunder, and who were now without business. He shared therefore among them those lands which the late king had obtained by conquest, and had left uncultivated. And the better to keep them constantly attentive to the improvement of their farms, he distributed them into *Pagi*, or villages, over each of which he appointed a Chief or Super-intendant. The business of the Super-intendant was, to have a watchful eye over the husbandmen to encourage them when diligent, and to punish them when slothful. He was also to make a report of the progress of agriculture in his district to the King, who, judging of every man's capacity for publick affairs by his prudence and oeconomy in the management of his farm, frequently advanced the industrious husbandman to the first dignities in the state. *Plutarch* observes another great advantage arising from this manner of employing the idle soldiery; that hereby they were not only inured to fatigue, as in time of war, but became accustomed to a peaceable and regular way of living; for there is nothing which so reconciles the minds of men to peace, as husbandry and a country life; it makes them abhor all violence, at the same time that it gives them courage and resolution to defend their arable lands and pastures from the encroachments of their neighbours.

§. XIV. BUT the master piece of *Numa's* policy, according to *Plutarch*, was his distribution of the tradesmen of *Rome* into distinct corporations. The city had been long divided into two factions, occasioned by the mixture of the *Sabines* with the first *Romans*. Hence arose the dissensions of the *Interregnum*; and it was an inexhaustible source of discord.

* The dead were anciently carried on funeral beds, which were adorned with flowers and coronets. And when luxury prevailed, the *Romans* took a pride in multiplying these beds, adorning them in a costly manner, and exposing the images of the ancestors of the dead upon them, to make the procession the more stately and magnificent. C. & R.

† This regulation of *Numa's* is not mentioned by *Livy*, or *Dion. Hal.* and indeed it seems inconsistent with what the latter says, B. 2. p. 95. That only two sorts of employment, *War* and *Agriculture*, were permitted to the freemen by *Remulus*, and that all other occupations were for a long time looked upon by the native *Romans* as dishonourable, and left to slaves and strangers.

Numa

Numa therefore to remedy this evil, and to abolish the very names of *Tatian* and *Romulist*, made all the artists and tradesmen of *Rome*, of whatever nation they originally were, enter into separate companies, according to their respective professions. The Musicians, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Curriers, Dyers, Tailors, &c. formed distinct communities. He ordained particular statutes for each of them, and granted them peculiar privileges, and a power of making by-laws. Every corporation was permitted to hold lands, have a common treasury, and to celebrate festivals and sacrifices proper to itself; in a word, to become a sort of a petty republic. By this means, says *Plutarch*, the *Sabines* and *Romans* forgetting all their old partialities and party names were brought to an entire union.

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§. XV. THE last reformation which this second King of *Rome* undertook, was that of the calendar: And if he did not bring it to its utmost perfection, he at least purged it of its grossest faults.

The year is said to have consisted, before his time, of but 304 days; which is neither agreeable to the solar nor lunar year. *Numa* therefore did his utmost to make it agree with the courses both of the sun and moon: And he took this method in order to it. He knew the lunar year consisted of 354 days, and he made his to consist of 355: The additional day was given to it out of superstition; *Numa* being persuaded, that the Gods were pleased with odd numbers. And upon the same principle, when he added ^a *January* and *February* to the old year, which consisted only of ten months, he appointed that the months which before contained, some of them more than 35 days, others fewer than 20, should now have each 29 days, or 31. *February* only consisted of 28; and it was therefore looked upon as a fatal month, and consecrated to the infernal Gods, who were thought to be pleased with even numbers. *Numa* appointed likewise, that the year, which before begun with the month of *March*, should henceforwards begin with that of *January*. And after he had in some measure regulated his year by the course of the moon, he turned his thoughts to make it agree with that of the sun. He was not ignorant that the course of the sun took up about eleven days more than that of the moon: And therefore he appointed that every two years an intercalary month of twenty-two days should be added to

Vairo.
Macroh.
Sat. B. 1.
c. 14.

^a This whimsical notion was built on the most chimerical foundation. The *Pagans* looked on an even number, as the symbol of division, because it could be divided into two equal parts: whereas an odd number was, for the contrary reason, the symbol of concord. This prejudice gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, some of which are continued even among those whom reason, enlightened by religion, ought to have undeceived. 'Twas a notion that came originally from the *Egyptians*. C. & R.

^b *January* had its name from *Janus*. *February* was so called from the expiations signified by the word *Februa*, which were in

this month performed. *March* had its name from *Mars*, the supposed father of *Romulus*, which upon that account had been placed first. *April* from *Apbrodite* or *Venus*, because of the superstitious worship then paid to her. *May* from *Maia*, the mother of *Mercury*, to whom this month was made sacred. *June*, from *Juno*, or some will have it, from *Juventus*, because the season is warm, or as it were *juvenile*. The rest had their names from their order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November* and *December*. Only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* were afterwards turned into *July* and *August*, by the senate in the time of *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*.

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the rest; which month the *Romans* called ^a *Mercedinus*. And as he was sensible that the solar year consisted of three hundred sixty-five days and six hours, and that these six hours made a whole day, in four years; he therefore commanded that the month *Mercedinus*, after every four years, should consist of twenty-three days. Thus did this learned Prince remedy the disorders of the calendar, as far as he could, and put it into a condition of more easily admitting of new corrections.

§. XVI. *NUMA* had now filled the throne near 43 years; and was about 82 years old when he died of some chronical distemper, which gradually wore him away, without lessening the vigour of his mind. During his whole reign no declaration of war had obliged the *Romans* to open the temple of *Janus*. He became the arbiter of all the differences among his neighbours; and his virtues seem to have communicated themselves to all the nations round about *Rome*. As to the *Romans* themselves, it might be literally said, that their weapons of war were changed into instruments of husbandry. No intestine seditions, no ambitious desires of the throne, nor attempts upon it, nor so much as any murmurs against the person, or administration of the King, appeared among them. When he died, they lamented him as sincerely, as if every man had lost his own father; and the concourse of strangers to *Rome*, to celebrate his obsequies, was exceedingly great. *Numa* had forbidden the *Romans* to burn his body; they therefore put it into a stone coffin, and, pursuant to his own orders, buried the greatest part of the ^b books he had written, in the same sepulchre with him. In consequence of the law he had made, that no dead body should be interred within the city, he himself had chosen a burial-place beyond the *Tiber*, at the foot of the *Janiculum*: And thither he was carried on the shoulders of his Senators, and followed by all the People, who bewailed their loss with tears. He left no children, except a daughter, named *Pompilia*, who was married to *Numa Marcius* (the

^a *Pistarch*, in the life of *Julius Cæsar*, calls this month *Mercedonius*. And *Festus* tells us of certain days, which he calls *Mercedonius Dies*, because they were the time appointed for the payment of workmen and domesticks. The intercalary month began the day after the *Terminalia*. A little astronomy was sufficient to shew, that *Numa's* year could not agree with the courses of the sun and moon. The exact periods of the revolutions of the sun and moon were not then known. *Lucy* writes, that *Numa* first instituted the days the *Romans* called *Fasti* and *Nefasti*. *Macrobius*, B. 1. distinguishes three sorts of days, which he calls *Festi*, *Profesti*, and *Interfesi*. The first were consecrated to the worship of the Gods; the second set apart for publick and private business; the last were divided between both. C. & P.

^b These books, when dug up some time after, were burnt by a decree of the Senate. He had therein explained his reasons for the novelties he had introduced into the *Roman* worship. We are indebted to *Varro* for this account. He tells us, that one *Terentius* had a piece of ground near the *Janiculum*: and that a husbandman of his, one day accidentally running his plough over *Numa's* tomb, turned up some of that Legislator's books; wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the *Romans* upon the foot on which he left it. The husbandman carried these books to the *Prætor* of *Rome*, and the *Prætor* to the Senate; who, when they had read the frivolous reasons he assigned for his religious establishments, agreed, that the books should be destroyed according to *Numa's* intentions: and it was accordingly decreed,

(the son of his kinsman *Marcus*, who had persuaded him to accept of the government) and was the mother of *Lucus Marcius*, fourth King of Rome.

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creed, that the *Prætor* should throw them into the fire. *Varro*, *apud S. Aug. lib. 7. de Civit. Dei*, cap. 24. *St. Austin* thinks there were some footsteps of magick in these books; of which *Numa* had in his life-time been suspected. C. & R.

CHAP. IV.

TULLIUS HOSTILIUS.

§. I. *Tullius Hostilius a man of a generous and martial disposition is elected by the Romans to succeed Numa.* §. II. *The rivalryship between Rome and Alba for superiority.* §. III. *The dispute is decided by the famous combat between the three Horatii and the three Curiatii, in which the latter are all slain, and two of the former.* §. IV. *The surviving Horatius in his return to the city, in triumph, stabs his own sister, for reproaching him with the death of her Lover. He is tried by the Duumviri, and condemned to die. He appeals to the People, and they mitigate the sentence.* §. V. *Tullius, in conjunction with the Albans, engages in a war against the Veientes, and defeats them. The treachery of the Albans. Tullus demolishes Alba, and transplants the inhabitants to Rome.* §. VI. *He vanquishes the Fidenates, Sabines, and Latines; and institutes the Saturnalia.* §. VII. *In his old age, he falls into superstition, and studies magick. He is assassinated in his own palace.*

§. I. **T**HE two factions of the *Romulists* and *Tatians*, whose quarrels suspended for so long a time the election of a successor to *Romulus*, being now no more, the *Interregnum* which followed the death of *Numa* proved very short. *Tullus Hostilius*, a man of a warlike genius, was unanimously chosen King by the People, and accepted by the Senate. He was grandson to a noble Roman, named *Hostus Hostilius*, who is said to have signalized his courage in *Romulus's* time in the second battle with the *Sabines*, and to have married either the famous *Herfilia* or her daughter.

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Livy, B. 1.
c. 22.

Tullus having riches enough in his own patrimony, both for the maintenance of his household, and the expences of the publick worship, was no sooner upon the throne, than he distributed among such of the citizens as remained unprovided for, those portions of the conquered lands which his predecessor had reserved for the royal demesnes, or set apart for the uses of religion: And thus he began his reign by a shining act of generosity, which gained him immediately the universal affection of his people.

This Prince being not only generous and brave, but of an enterprising genius, found in himself a greater inclination to tread in the steps of *Romulus* than those of *Numa*: But the laws established by his pacifick predecessor laying such restraints upon his martial ardor, as he could not instantly break through, he waited till fortune should be so favourable, as to set him free: And it was not long before she furnished him with a pretext to open the temple of *Janus*.

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D. Hal. B.
p. 137.

p. 138.

§. II. THE *Albans*, upon the death of *Romulus*, seeing the race of their ancient Kings extinct, had resumed their independence upon *Rome*; and they chose their own Governors. *Caelus* or (according to *Livy*) *Cluilius* was now at the head of affairs in *Alba*. He is sometimes styled King, by the historians, and sometimes Dictator. His jealousy of the growing greatness of *Rome*, which by the conquests of *Romulus*, and the wise administration of *Numa*, was already become equal to any city in *Italy*, made him impatient to put a stop to its growth; and having no plausible reason at present to give his people for engaging them in a war with the *Romans*, he made use of the following stratagem to bring them into his sentiments and measures. He privately commissioned some of the vilest and most indigent of his subjects to go and ravage the *Roman* lands, not doubting but *Rome* would immediately fly to arms to revenge herself, and thereby give him a fair opportunity to make her pass, in the minds of the *Albans*, for the first aggressor, and the beginner of the war. Nor was *Cluilius* disappointed in his expectation. A *Roman* army entered the territories of *Alba*, attacked the robbers, slew many of them, and took abundance of prisoners. *Cluilius* being now sufficiently provided with matter for his purpose, convened an assembly of the people, inveighed against the *Romans*, produced a great many of the wounded, as also the relations of those who had been killed or taken, and, by exaggerating the losses which *Alba* had sustained, at length brought the Assembly to this conclusion: That an embassy should be sent to the *Romans* to demand satisfaction of them, and, in case they refused it, that war should be declared.

When the Ambassadors arrived at *Rome*, *Tullus*, guessing at their errand, resolved to prevent them, and be the first in demanding satisfaction; that so he might throw upon the *Albans* all the odium of the breach between the mother-city and the colony: For it had formerly been agreed between them, that they should never make war against one another, till a reparation of the damages sustained on either side had been previously asked in a friendly manner. It was for this reason that *Cluilius* had hastened the departure of his deputies; but *Tullus*, no less artful than he, made use of various pretences to defer giving them audience; and he contrived to have them so agreeably entertained in the houses where they were lodged, that they neither cared to stir abroad, nor had any uneasiness about these delays. In the mean time, the *Roman* King sent an embassy to *Alba*, with orders to require satisfaction on the part of *Rome*, and to press the conclusion of the affair. A *Fecialis* was at the head of the Ambassadors, who, setting out before sun-rising, reached *Alba* the same morning. They found *Cluilius* in the midst of the publick *Forum*, and there discharged their commission, putting him in mind to conform himself to the old treaty of alliance: To which *Cluilius* briskly answered, *It is you alone who violate the treaty, my part has been already performed; I have sent Ambassadors to your King, but to no effect; and I therefore declare war against you.* The *Fecialis* then asked him, whether that King, of the two, who first refused to hear the other's complaints, ought not to be deem'd guilty of the first breach of.

p. 139.

of the alliance? and, upon *Cluilius's* answering, *Without doubt*, the other invoked the Gods to attest, that the *Alban* King was the first violator of it. After which he and the Ambassadors instantly took their leave, and set out for *Rome*.

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* Livy, B.
1. c. 22.

They were no sooner returned thither, but *Tullus* * sent for the *Alban* Deputies, received them in an obliging manner, and then enquired into the design of their embassy. These civilly made long excuses for the disagreeable commission with which they were charged; protesting, that they had accepted it contrary to their inclinations, and were very sorry to find themselves under a necessity to demand satisfaction of him, and to declare war, in case of a refusal. To which *Tullus* replied, *Go, tell your King, that the King of Rome calls the Gods to witness, which of the two nations did first refuse the other satisfaction, that upon that nation they may heap all the miseries of this war.*

The *Roman Fecialis* had given *Cluilius* but thirty days to consider of the means to prevent hostilities. This time was employ'd on both sides, in making preparations for the war, and getting succours from their allies. At length, both armies took the field; *Cluilius* pitched his camp five miles from *Rome*, and fortified it with a good ditch, (which continued long after, and was called *Fossa Cluilia*.) King *Tullus* posted his *Romans* on an advantageous ground, within view of the enemy.

D. Hal. B.
3. P. 139.

But now, whatever was the cause of it, the two armies were no sooner in sight of each other, than their ardor for fighting cooled, and they both kept close within their intrenchments. This inaction made the *Albans* begin to murmur at their Commander as the Author of a fruitless war; so that, to free himself from their reproaches, he resolved at length to offer the enemy battle; but the next morning, he was found dead in his tent with all his guard about him, and without any signs of violence.

Upon the death of *Cluilius*, the army saluted *Metius Fuffetius* Dictator. He was a man of the same turbulent character, and in the same views with his predecessor; but, receiving advice that the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* intended to fall upon both armies when they should be weakened by a battle, he, instead of pursuing the war, desired a conference with the King of *Rome*, in order to a reconciliation. *Tullus* having received the same information, listen'd readily to the proposal. When the two commanders came to a parley, both of them expressed a willingness to have a union formed between the *Albans* and *Romans*. *Tullus* proposed, as the best means to make it durable and perfect, that all, or the chief of the *Alban* families should remove to *Rome*; or, in case they were unwilling to leave their native city, that one common senate should be established to govern both cities, of which the more worthy should have the dominion over the other. The *Albans* who attended *Fuffetius*, and whom he took aside to consult with them upon these expedients, would by no means consent that *Alba* should be deserted by its inhabitants; but they approved of the motion for a common senate, and giving one city the command over the other. The only difficulty now was to settle which

D. Hal. B.
3. P. 142,
& seq.

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p. 150.
A. 100.

city should have the preference. *Fuffetius* spoke in favour of *Alba*, making this his chief plea, that she was the mother-city, from which *Rome* was but a colony; and *Tullus* urged, in behalf of *Rome*, her superiority of strength and grandeur. In the close of his speech, he offered to terminate the dispute by a single combat between himself and *Fuffetius*. The *Alban* General not being brave, or perhaps not thinking himself a match for *Tullus*, brought several prudential reasons, to prove that it would be better to choose three champions out of each camp, whose swords should terminate the contest, than to hazard the lives of the Generals. This proposal *Tullus* accepted; and the Chiefs retired into their entrenchments.

§. III. AS soon as the conditions of the union of *Alba* and *Rome* were known in the two armies, there was in both of them a strong emulation among the young warriors, for the honour of being chosen to this important combat. *Fuffetius* cast his eyes on three brothers, whom he imagined the Gods themselves had pointed out to be the champions for *Alba*; believing also, that three brothers who were then in the *Roman* camp, were under the like destiny of being the champions for *Rome*. It was the extraordinary circumstances of their birth, which made *Fuffetius* entertain this notion. *Sequimius*, an illustrious *Alban*, had two daughters; one he married to *Curatius*, a citizen of *Alba*, the other to *Horatius*, a citizen of *Rome*: and these two women were brought to bed on the same day, each of three male children. The *Horatian* and *Curatian* brothers were now in the flower of their age, and all six remarkable for their strength and dexterity in fighting. The *Alban* General having fix'd his choice on the three *Curatii*, and gained their consent, communicated his thought to the King of *Rome*, and exhorted him to pitch upon the three *Horatii*. Fate, said he, appears to have brought three champions on each side into the world, on purpose to decide by their swords the fortune of their countries. *Tullus* proposed the matter to the *Horatian* family, but would lay no injunction upon them. Old *Horatius*, the father of the three brothers, left them free to act as they would do, if he were not living; and, when he understood, that they, following the example of the *Curatii*, preferred a glorious death, or important victory, to an inglorious life, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and embracing them, cried out, *I am a happy Father*; and then commanded them to declare his consent to the King.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 24.

When the Day appointed for the combat came, *Tullus* led the *Horatii*, and *Fuffetius* the *Curatii*, into the plain between the camps: where the two Kings, attended by their *Feciales*, met in the middle of it, and, before the engagement, concluded a * treaty in form.

D. Hal. p.
154.

And now the *Alban* and *Roman* champions advanced with a slow pace, each

* The form of this treaty escaped the injuries of time, till *Livy's* days: he (B. 1. c. 24.) gives us the following account of it; and it served as a pattern for the greater part of the treaties which were afterwards made by the *Romans*.

First, one of the college of the *Feciales*, named *Marcus Valerius*, demanded of King *Tullus*, *Whether he gave him orders to conclude a peace with the Pater Patratus of the Albans?* The King answered, *He did*. Give me then, replied the herald, *some Vervein*, [the sign

each to meet his adversary. But in the instant, when the people expected to see them in a fierce encounter, they quitted their arms, and, with tears in their eyes, flew to embrace each other. The spectators, greatly moved at this sight, began to murmur at their Kings, who had engaged such tender and generous friends in a cruel rivalry for glory. A new scene quickly put an end to their pity, captivated all their attention, and employed all their hopes and fears. The triple combat began; and fortune, for a long time, held an even balance. At length, the eldest of the *Horatii* received a mortal wound, and fell; a second of the *Roman* champions had the same fate, and expired upon the body of his brother. The *Alban* army, hereupon, gave a great shout, while consternation and despair spread themselves through the *Roman* camp. The *Roman* cause however was not yet desperate; for * all the *Alban* champions were wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* unhurt, and undaunted. Nevertheless, he did not think himself able to sustain the attack of the three brothers at once, and therefore made use of a stratagem to separate them: He pretended fear, and fled before them. The *Curatii* pursued him, but at unequal distances, and as their strength would permit. *Horatius* turned short upon the nimblest and slew him. He then flew to the next, and, at one stroke, cut off his arm; after which he ran him through the body. The third was in no condition to fight. Being desperately wounded he could hardly support himself on his buckler. *Horatius* cried out, *To the glory of Rome I sacrifice thee*, struck him on the throat, and, big with victory, seized the spoils of the vanquished. Thus ended this famous combat, which gave *Rome* the superiority over her mother *Alba*. *Fuffetius* immediately saluting King *Tullus* as his master, asked him, what were his commands? *I command you nothing*, said *Tullus*, *but to keep the Alban youth in readiness to march at my orders, in case I make war with the Veientes*. He likewise endeavoured to comfort the *Albans*, who were

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P. 155.
Livy, c. 25.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 26.

sign of his commission.] *Yes*, answered the King, *bring me some that is pure*. At those words, the *Fecialis* went and gathered some Vervein on a little hill, brought it, and went on thus: *Do you then appoint me to be Fecialis and Plenipotentiary of Rome to the Albans, and engage to protect my equipage and retinue?* *Yes*, replied the King, *as far as is consistent with my interest, and those of the Roman people*: and then *Valerius* the *Fecialis* appointed *Spurius Fufus* to be *Pater Patratus* of the treaty, by crowning him with Vervein. His office was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath in the name of the *Roman* King and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty.

After this ceremonial, which passed only among the *Romans*, the *Pater Patratus* read the articles of the convention in the presence of the *Albans*; and then expressed himself

thus: *Hear, O Jupiter, hear, O Pater Patratus of the Alban people, hear, O Alban people: Of these articles as I have just now read them out of these waxed tablets, without fraud or deceit, and as they have been from one end to the other clearly understood, the Roman people will never be the first violators. If they should violate them by publick authority and by fraud, may Jupiter at that instant strike them, as I shall now strike this hog! May thy stroke, great Jupiter! be as much heavier as thy power is greater*. At which words he killed the hog, [that was to be offered up in sacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty,] by a blow on the head with a flint. The heralds of the *Albans* took the like oaths, and also offered their sacrifices.

* *Dionysius* says, that there remained only two of the *Curatii*, and that one was killed in the beginning of the fight, after the first of the *Horatii*.

grievously.

D. Hal. B. grievously cast down, by assuring them, that he would change nothing in
2 P. 152. their laws or form of government.

§. IV. BUT now, in the height of young *Horatius's* joy, when his glory seems to have dazzled his own eyes, and to have made him forget that he was a man, he fell into a crime, that obscured the lustre of his exploit, brought disgrace upon him, and even merited, in strictness of justice, a much severer punishment. As he was returning to the city in a sort of *Triumph*, his temples encircled with a crown the King had put upon his head, and his shoulders loaded with the spoils of the three *Curatii*, he, to his great surprize, beheld his sister, unaccompanied by her mother, and without any attendance, hurrying forward in the promiscuous crowd to meet him. However, in his own mind, he excused the uncommon indecency, by imputing it to an impatient desire of seeing and congratulating her victorious brother. But, alas! the zeal which had brought her from home was of another kind: One of the *Alban* champions had been her lover, and was to have been her husband. Upon the first report of his being slain, she had stolen from her mother, and was come, running like a distracted creature, to learn the certainty of his fate: And, when she saw the conqueror bearing in triumph her lover's military robe (a robe which she had wrought with her own hands) all stained with his blood, she tore her hair, beat her breast, and reviled her brother in the bitterest expressions. *Thou monster of wickedness*, she cried, *how couldst thou dip thy hands in the blood of thy relations, whom thou hast so often called thy brothers? How couldst thou murder the man thy sister should have married? Horatius*, still warm with slaughter, and enraged at these reproaches, and the untimely grief of his sister, *Go then to thy lover, with thy unseasonable passion, Thou, who forgettest thy dead brothers, thy living brother, and thy country.* Thus, *let every Roman perish, who laments the death of an enemy to Rome!* As he uttered these last words, he stabbed her with his sword; and, without longer stay, without sign of pity or remorse, went strait on to his father's house. The father approved of the cruel deed, and refused to let his daughter be buried in the sepulchre of her family.

D. Hal. B. Nevertheless when King *Tullius* returned to *Rome*, *Horatius* was arraigned
2 P. 159. before him upon an accusation of murder; and some of the most eminent of the citizens concerned themselves in the prosecution. They thought it of dangerous consequence to slacken the rigour of the laws in favour of any man, merely on account of his bravery or success in battle; and the law expressly forbid to kill any person whatsoever who had not been first condemned. This affair threw the King into some perplexity, being divided between his regard for the laws, especially in the case of murder, and the desire he had to save the young warrior, who had done him such important service. To avoid the odium he might bring upon himself by either acquitting or condemning the criminal, he, as *Livy* tells us, turned the affair into a state crime, and, having called the people together, named two commissioners or *Duumviri* to try him as a traitor. This was conformable to the law, in cases of treason. The law ran thus: *Let two Com-*

p. 156,
157.
Liv. 2. 25.
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ROME
LXXXIII.
Tullius
Hostilius
the third
King.

Liv. B. 1.
c. 25.

Commissioners be appointed to try state crimes. If the criminal appeal from the sentence of these judges, let his appeal be received. If their sentence be confirmed, let him be hood-winked and hanged with a rope upon a cursed tree, having been first scourged either within or without the pomarium. The fact of which *Horatius* was accused being notorious, and not disowned by the prisoner, the *Duumviri*, without delay, pronounced sentence against him in these words: *Horatius, we judge you to be guilty of treason. Go, Lictor, tie his hands.* The executioner had already laid hold of him, when *Horatius*, by the King's advice, appealed to an *Assembly of the People*; and this shews that the authority of the people was superior to that of the King. *Horatius* appeared there with the same undaunted resolution that he had shewn in his combat with the champions of *Alba*; and his father pleading for him, and even justifying the fact, the Assembly, through admiration of his courage, rather than for the justice of his cause, revoked the sentence that had been passed against him. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpunished, they condemned *Horatius* to pass under the yoke, an ignominy to which they usually subjected prisoners of war who had cowardly surrendered their arms. (The yoke was a kind of gallows, in form of a door-case.) The King likewise appointed expiations to pacify the Anger of the Gods; and the *Pontifices* erected two altars, one to *Juno*, the protectress of women, and another to *Janus* (deemed perhaps one of the guardian *Genii* of men) now stiled *Curatian Janus*, from the name of *Horatius's* cousins, whom he had slain. An annual commemoration of the thing was likewise ordered to be observed, with sacrifices on those altars; which altars, with the yoke under which *Horatius* passed, were still remaining in the time of *Augustus*. All the honour done to *Horatius* for his victory was erecting a square column in the middle of the *Forum*, and hanging thereon the spoils of the *Curatii*.

Year of
R O M E
TULLUS
HOSTILI-
us Third
King.

D. H. p.
159, 160

§. V. *TULLUS* did not forget the treacherous designs of the *Fidenates*, during his war with the *Albans*, and he at length resolved to take his revenge. But, to proceed regularly, he first cited them to appear before the Senate of *Rome*, and answer for their conduct. They, being conscious of guilt, and in secret intelligence with *Fuffetius*, who hoped to free himself from the *Roman* power, refused to obey, and in conjunction with the *Vcientes*, took the field. *Fuffetius*, in obedience to *Tullus's* orders, joined him with the *Alban* troops; but the day before the battle, he imparted to his chief officers his secret intention, which they approved. It was to stand neuter till fortune had decided the day, and then to fall upon that side which should be routed. Accordingly, just before the action began, he retired with his men to a hill. *Tullus* had notice of his desertion; and, in this distress, privately made a vow to add twelve priests to the college of the *Salii*, and to build a temple to *Fear* and *Paleness*. Then telling his men, in the hearing of the enemy, that the motion *Fuffetius* had made was by his order, he confidently attacked the *Fidenates*, who being disheartened by the apprehension of treachery in the *Albans*, were easily routed; and then *Fuffetius* poured down from his hill upon the runaways.

D. Hal. B.
3. p. 160,
& seq.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 27, 28,
29.

Tullus.

Year of
R O M E

TULLUS
HOSPILI-
US Third
King.

† D. H. p.
167.

p. 172.

Livy, c. 30.

D. Hal. B.
5. P. 172.

p. 173.

Tullus concealed his knowledge of *Fuffetius's* treachery, went privately in the night to *Rome*, consulted the Senate, and returned to the camp before break of day. Instantly he detached *Horatius* † with a chosen band of horse and foot to go and demolish *Alba*; and while these orders were executing, he commanded both the *Roman* and *Alban* troops to attend him unarmed, but with private instructions to the *Romans* to bring their swords under their clothes. When they were all assembled, he made a speech to them, in which he laid open the perfidiousness of *Fuffetius*; and in the conclusion ordered him to be fastened to two chariots, and torn asunder, by driving the horses contrary ways. His chief accomplices were also put to the sword; but the King transplanted the rest of the *Alban* soldiers and citizens to *Rome*, and even admitted the principal of them into the *Roman* Senate. Of these the historians particularly mention six families; the *Julii*, *Quintii*, *Servilii*, *Gegamii*, *Curatii*, and *Clalii*: Others were promoted to the dignity of Knights, and all without exception enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens.

This new increase of inhabitants obliged *Tullus* to enlarge the limits of the city; he took in mount *Caelius*, and allotted it for the *Albans* to settle upon (without excluding them from other parts of the city) and built his own palace there.

§. VI. THE *Fidenates* persevered in their revolt, and *Tullus* spent the winter in making preparations to attack them early in the spring. He then took the field, defeated them under the walls of *Fidene*, and obliged them to retire into the city; where by cutting off all succours and provisions from it, he reduced them to such extremities that they surrendered at discretion. He punished the heads of the revolt, but suffered the rest to continue in their city, under their own form of government, only in dependance upon *Rome*. This compleat victory procured him the honours of a triumph, in which the spoils of the enemy were carried as trophies.

And now the *Romans*, flushed with success, and strengthened by their union with the *Albans*, demanded satisfaction of the *Sabines* for the insults which some *Roman* citizens had formerly suffered from them at the temple of the Goddess *Feronia*, i. e. (*Flora*, or *Proserpina*) which stood at the foot of mount *Soracte*, upon the banks of the *Tiber*, and was frequented by both *Sabines* and *Romans*. The *Sabines* not being able to get succours, kept themselves for some time on the defensive only. At length they came to so bloody a battle with the *Romans*, that both armies, terrified with the numbers of their slain, retired into their own countries, and attempted nothing more that campaign. The next year the war was renewed with greater fury. The two armies met near *Eretum*, a town about 13 miles from *Rome*, and the battle continued long in suspense; till *Tullus* by making a vow to *Saturn* * and *Ops*, to institute a festival to their honour, so raised the

* These festivals of *Saturn* and *Ops*, or one and the same solemnity, continued for *Rhea*, were kept at *Rome*, in the month of several days together. The festival appropriated to *Saturn*, was fixed to the 16th of the calends of *January*; and that of *Ops*, which

the courage of his men, that he obtained a complete victory. The *Sabines* p. 174. submitted, and the Senate prescribed the conditions of a treaty with them; ^{Year of} *ROMA* which, when concluded, was written on pillars erected in holy places, that ^{Tullus} those pillars might be lasting monuments of the superiority of *Rome*. ^{Hospital- us Third}

So much success carried the *Romans* to make new pretensions. They summoned all the *Latine* towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, to submit to the *Roman* laws. Upon this an assembly of the *Latine* nation was¹⁷⁵ held at *Ferentinum*, where it was resolved not to bow under the yoke of *Rome*; and two Generals were chosen to command their forces. The *Romans* did not make war upon them in a regular way, but after the old manner of incursions and incursions, destroying their harvest. *Medusa*, which had submitted to *Romulus*, and since revolted, was the only town taken by King *Tullus*, in this war.

The *Sabines* some years after, thinking themselves in a condition to take¹⁷⁴ revenge upon *Rome*, invaded the *Roman* territory, and in small parties, ¹⁷⁵ spread themselves all over it, to pillage; and the little opposition they met with, encouraged them to think of besieging *Rome*. But *Tullus* marched against them, and once more entirely defeated them near the *Malefactor's Forest*.

§. VII. IT is related, that King *Tullus*, when grown old, fell into super- Plut. Num- perdition and credulity, and was much imposed upon by stories of prod- ^{ma, p. 75.} igies, and voices from heaven, upon which occasion he ordered expiatory Liv. B. 1. sacrifices for nine days, the time usually employed afterwards in expia- ^{c. 31.} tions, when the people were terrified with prodigies. He is said also by some to have studied magick, and to have hid himself in a private place to perform a magical sacrifice, in order to raise *Jupiter's Elicius*; but that, omitting some part of the necessary ceremonies, the God in a rage set his palace on fire by lightning, so that the King, his wife and CXIII. children all perished in the flames. But others are of opinion, that *Tullus* died by the hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his successor; who, when the D. Hal. p. 176.

which was likewise a part of the *Saturnalia*, to the 14th. *D. Hal.* attributes the origin of them to *Tullus Hostilius's* vow. Because all the fruits of the earth were gathered in in *December*, the *Romans* therefore fixed the festival of these Deities in that month, one of which represented the Heavens, and the other the Earth, to whose united influences and power all fruits owe their production. These festivals were celebrated with mutual entertainments; the slaves themselves eat at their masters tables. Which was not only to reward them for their labours in cultivating the earth, and gathering the fruits of it, but likewise to renew the remembrance of the golden age, in which all men were equal. Servants had at this time a right of being served by their masters, wearing their clothes, and reproving them for their faults. In this

sense we are to understand *Horace's* applying himself to his servant,

— Age, libertate Decembri,
(Quando ita majores voluerunt) utere: narra.
Sat. 7. B. 2. C. & R.

^a The *Ferentinum* here spoken of, was in *Latium* near *Monte Albano*, in the same place where *Marino* now stands. C. & R.

^b The art of raising some Dæmon, under the name of *Jupiter Elicius*, was pretended to in *Italy*, from the times of the old Kings of the *Aborigines*. We are told, that *Fauns* and *Picus* practised it in their time; and that, by their enchantments, they forced this pretended Divinity to appear to them by the side of a spring in *Italy*, and were by him enabled to raise a storm of thunder and lightning, when they pleased. *Arnob.* B. 5. C. & R.

Year of
ROME
CXIV.

King and his whole family were met to perform a domestick sacrifice, first slew them, and then set fire to the palace, to conceal his crime.

Tullus had been more inclined to fighting, than to legislation. No law is mentioned to have been made by him but this, That whenever three male children should be born at a birth, they should, in memory of the *Heratii*, be brought up at the publick expence. Generosity and personal courage were his chief merit. As for his rekindling in the *Romans* that love of war, and ambition of conquest, which his predecessor *Numa* had, during his long reign, so industriously extinguished, it conduced indeed much to the aggrandising the *Roman* state, and getting it a name, but not much to the real happiness of its people.

CHAP. V.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

§. I. *Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa, is chosen to succeed Tullus Hostilius. He declares war against the Latines in all the forms prescribed by Numa. He vanquishes the enemy in several battles, and takes many of their towns.* §. II. *He strengthens Rome by new fortifications, and builds Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. He defeats the Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes and Volsci.* §. III. *He dies, leaving two sons under the tuition of Lucius Tarquinius, a foreigner from Hetruria, who had settled at Rome.*

ANCUS
MARCUS
Fourth
King.
D. Hal. p.
160.

D. Hal. B.
3. p. 177,
178.

§. I. **T**HE deceased King being looked upon as a man struck by the Gods, no honours were done to his ashes. After a short *Interregnum*, the People and Senate unanimously chose ^a *Ancus Marcius* (son of *Pompilia*, the daughter of *Numa*) to succeed *Tullus*. The new King began his reign, by endeavouring to restore *Rome* to the condition in which *Numa* had left it; to revive husbandry, and the neglected worship of the Gods. He was ambitious of imitating his grandfather: But he soon found, that his devoting himself wholly to works of peace drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations.

The *Latines* pretending that their treaty with the *Romans* was no longer binding, than while King *Tullus* lived, had committed hostilities in the territory of *Rome*. *Ancus* determined to revenge it; nevertheless out of respect to the laws of *Numa*, he previously observed all the ^b forms appointed by him to be used in declaring war. He then raised an entirely new army, marched to *Politorium*, a *Latina* city, and surprized it. He shed

^a Every *Roman* had ordinarily three, and sometimes four names. The first was called *Prænomen*, the second *Nomen*, the third *Cognomen*, and the fourth *Agnumen*. The *Nomen* shewed the family from which he was descended; the *Prænomen* and *Cognomen* were often nick-names, taken from the circumstances of the person's birth, or his defects,

or his bodily qualities. And the last names were, to some, titles of honour, as those of *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. *Valerius* assures us, that *Ancus Marcius* had his name of *Ancus* from the Greek word *ἀγκυς*, because he had a crooked arm. C. & R.

^b These forms were as follow. A *Fecialis* was deputed to go to the *Latines*: he no sooner

shed no blood, nor destroyed the city, but transplanted the inhabitants to *Rome*; and these, with the inhabitants of *Tellena* and *Ficana*, two other cities of *Latium*, which he likewise took, he settled on the hill *Aventinus**, which he inclosed, and made a part of *Rome*, but without consecrating the boundaries.

The next year the *Latines* repeopled *Politorium*, which obliged *Ancus* to besiege it again; and, upon the second reduction of it, he demolished it entirely. After this he led his troops four years successively to the siege of *Medulia*, which he at length took and plundered. *Ficana*, which he had neglected to demolish, he reduced a second time, and now destroyed it. The *Latines*, not discouraged, appeared in the field, but being defeated in one pitched battle, they durst not venture another. They divided their troops into small parties, and contented themselves with making incursions into the *Roman* territory; and *Ancus*, to oppose them, made a like division of his army, which he left to the conduct of *Tarquinius*, (a foreigner lately come from *Hebruria*) and full of glory returned to his Capital.

§. II. *ROME* was exceedingly enlarged in this Prince's time, for, not content with carrying its walls round the *Aventine* hill, he likewise encompassed the hill *Janiculum*, which stood on the other side of the *Tiber*)

sooner arrived on the borders of that people; but he cried out, *Hear, great Jupiter, hear, ye confines of the Latine nation, let justice bear. I am a publick messenger from the Roman people, I come justly and religiously commissioned; let credit therefore be given to what I say.* After which he laid open his demands; and then, having called *Jupiter* to witness, he added these words: *If I have unjustly, and impiously made these demands; [which were of persons or goods to be delivered up to him] may'st thou never suffer me to return to my own country.* He repeated these words at his entering the *Latine* territory, then to the first person he met, then at the gate of the city, then in the market-place. If in about thirty days his demands were not satisfied, he said, *O Jupiter, Juno, thou Romulus, and all ye Gods of Heaven, of Earth, and of Hell; hearken! I call you all to witness, that the Latines are unjust. We will therefore enter into deliberations at Rome, on the proper means of obliging them to give us just satisfaction.*

No sooner was the *Fecialis* returned, but the King referred the affair to the Senate: which he did in the form prescribed by *Numa*, addressing himself to every particular Senator, in these very words: *Say, what think you of the refusal which the Pater Patratus, and whole nation of the Latines have given the Pater Patratus of the Romans, of restoring and granting us what we demanded of them?* To which every Senator gave this answer: *Let*

us again demand our rights by just and lawful war: This is the opinion for which I declare myself. And when the greater part of the Senators had declared their opinions in this manner, the war was considered as unanimously concluded on. Then the *Fecialis* went to the confines of the enemy's country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was either headed with iron, or burnt at the the end, and dipped in blood. When he came to the territory of the *Latines*, he pronounced the following prescribed form of words, in the presence of at least three persons, not under 14 years of age: *On account of the damages which the ancient Latines have done the Roman people, and in obedience to a decree made by the Senate and People of Rome, importing, that war be declared against the ancient Latines; I, and the Roman People declare it and begin it.* At which words he threw a dart upon the enemy's lands. (*Livy*, B. 1. c. 32.) All this ceremonial had been instituted by *Numa*; though that Prince having never engaged in any war, had never put it in practice: and *Tullus*, who was of an active spirit, had not confined himself to these tedious formalities. But *Ancus Marcius* established the use of them; and from his time they were always practised. And it ought here to be observed, that at this time, no use was made of the King's name or authority in treaties: only the Senate and the People are mentioned.

Year of
R O M E

ANCUS
MARCIUS
Fourth
King.

* D. Hal.

P. 182.

P. 179.

P. 183.

Liv. B. 1. with a wall, and made it a sort of citadel for Rome; and in order to have
 a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge,
 called *Sublicus*, (the first perhaps known in Italy) over the *Tiber*, in that
 place where it washes the foot of the hill *Aventinus*. To suppress the li-
 centiousness of the people, he next built a prison in the *Roman Forum*.
 And lastly, observing that Rome lay open to surprizes from an enemy, in
 those places where the country about it was low and flat, he caused a wide
 ditch to be dug there, which was ever after called *Fossa Quiritium*, because
 all the people were employed to make it.

When *Anus* had finished these works of peace, the first enemies that
 felt the return of his martial disposition were the *Fidenates*, who being
 rebels, he did not send a *Fedius* to them, but marched straight to *Fidena*,
 which he besieged and took by *Sap*; this being the first instance we meet
 with in Roman story of that kind of attack.

He next marched against the *Sabines*, who, since the death of King *Tu-
 lus*, believing themselves discharged from the engagements they had enter-
 ed into with Rome, had renewed hostilities. He quickly forced them to
 sue for peace, and they obtained it on easy terms.

The four following years *Anus* employed in enlarging the temple of
Jupiter Feretrius, in building the port and city of *Ostia*, and in digging
 salt-pits on the sea-shore. The distribution of salt which he made among
 his subjects at this time gave rise to those publick liberalities, called *Con-
 giaria*, from the word *Congius*, a measure in use among the ancient Romans,
 containing about a gallon.

After this he twice defeated the *Veientes*, and was decreed a triumph by
 the Senate; and to reward the merit of *Tarquinius*, who had distinguished
 himself at the head of the Roman cavalry, the King promoted him to the
 rank of a *Patrician*, and Senator. The *Veii* were next attacked, and
Veii, their capital, besieged by *Anus*; but the inhabitants, being reduced
 to extremity, and sending out their old men as suplicants, obtained first a
 truce, and afterwards a peace. The King of Rome then turned his arms
 against those of the *Sabines*, who had not yet been conquered. Success at-
 tended his expedition, and he returned triumphant to Rome, where he passed
 some time in tranquillity.

§. III. *ANCUS*, after a reign of 23 or 24 years, (in which, according
 to *Livy*, he shewed himself not inferior to any of his predecessors, either
 in civil or military government) is said by *Plutarch* to have died by vio-
 lence; but other writers speak of his death as altogether natural. He left
 two sons, one an infant, the other near fifteen years of age, and both un-
 der the guardianship of *Tarquinius*, an able politician, who had found the
 secret to make himself equally the favourite of his master and of the
 people.

CHAP. VI.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

§. I. The politick management of *Tarquinius* to obtain the kingdom. He is
 elected King, and adds to the Senate 100 new Senators chosen out of the Ple-
 beians.

beians. §. II. The Latines renew the war against the Romans. Tarquin, by repeated victories over them, reduces them to sue for peace. At his return to Rome, he builds a Circus for the Roman games. §. III. He totally subdues the 12 Lucumonies of Hetruria. §. IV. He applies himself to cleanse and beautify Rome. §. V. He renews the war with the Sabines. He increases the number of the Roman Knights. The adventure of Navius the Augur. §. VI. Tarquin subdues the Sabines. §. VII. He marks out the area of a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, on the hill Tarpeius, afterwards called the Capitol. He marries one of his daughters to Servius Tullius. §. VIII. The sons of Ancus conspire the death of Tarquin. He is assassinated in his own palace. The stratagem of Queen Tanaquil, to secure the kingdom to her son-in-law, who takes possession of it, without being legally elected to the throne.

§. I. **TARQUINIUS** was the son of *Damaratus*, a merchant of *Corinth*, who, to secure his great wealth from *Cypselus*, the Tyrant of that place, had retired with it to *Tarquinii*, one of the most considerable cities of *Hetruria*. The Greek merchant married there a woman of distinction, by whom he had two sons, *Arux* and *Lucumo*. The elder died before his father; and tho' he left his wife with child, yet his father not knowing it, and dying soon after him, left all his wealth to *Lucumo*: So that the posthumous son of *Arux*, disinherited before he was born, took the melancholy name of *Egerius*, from *egere* TO WANT. *Lucumo*, now in possession of all his father's immense riches, aspired to the highest dignities in *Tarquinii*; and his wife *Tanaquil*, an *Hetrurian*, was no less ambitious than he of his advancement: But he being looked upon as a stranger, this hindered him from rising to any considerable post. At the instigation of his wife therefore he resolved to remove, with all his effects, to *Rome*, where merit never failed of being rewarded with honours. No sooner was he admitted a citizen there, but he endeavoured to appear entirely *Roman*. He changed his names of *Lucumo Damaratus*, for those of *Lucius Tarquinius*; artfully insinuated himself into the King's favour; became popular by his liberalities and polite address; and, lest his great wealth should create suspicions of him, offered to deposite it in the publick treasury, to supply the wants of the city. Besides all this, he distinguished himself by his military exploits, (the surest steps to greatness,) and appeared to be no less able in council, than formidable in arms.

Tarquin, as soon as the throne was vacant, turned his thoughts to bring on the election of a new King with the utmost expedition, before the elder of the late King's sons should be full fifteen; and, to keep him out of the sight of the people during the *Comitia*, he sent him a hunting in the country. This aspiring Greek was the first who introduced into *Rome* the custom of soliciting for offices, and openly making interest to obtain them. Nay, he did not scruple to extol his own merit in a publick harangue, and to propose himself to the people for a successor to *Ancus*. As he had already gained them by money and caresses, he was chosen

D. Hal. B.
3. P. 184.
Liv. B. 1.
c. 34.
Year of
ROME
CXXXIX.

TARQUIN
I.
Fifth King.

D. Hal. p.
187.

p. 185.

p. 186.

Liv. B. 1.
c. 35.

Year of
R O M E
CXXIX.

TARQUIN
I.
P. 186.

chosen by a majority of votes; and the *Roman* people *commanded* him (for that was the term then used) to sit down at the helm of affairs. And then to strengthen his party in the *Senate*, he created an hundred new *Senators*, who were called *Senatores Minorum Gentium*, because chosen out of *Plebeian* families. But this name was never authorized by any publick act. They had the same authority in the *Senate* as the other *Senators*, and their children were deemed *Patricians*.

§. II. ALMOST all the nations subdued by the *Romans*, pretending that their treaties with them were no longer binding than during the lives of those Princes by whom they had been subdued, *Tarquin* had inevitable wars to sustain. The *Latines* were the first who attacked him, but not the whole nation of them jointly. *Tarquin* besieged *Apiolæ*, took it by stratagem, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The *Crustumini*, who had revolted, repented and submitted; the King treated them mildly, but settled a *Roman* colony among them. *Nomentum* likewise experienced the clemency of *Tarquin* upon its submission. *Collatia* being more obstinate, the King, after its reduction, disarmed, and taxed the inhabitants, and placed a garrison there to keep it in subjection. He gave the sovereignty of this city to *Egerius*, his brother *Arunx*'s son, who from thence took the name of *Collatinus*, which he transmitted to his posterity. *Corniculum* was besieged next, and after a brave resistance, was carried by assault, and reduced to ashes.

The fate of these cities induced several others to unite their forces to oppose the King's progress: But he defeated these forces in a bloody battle near *Fidene*; and then, taking advantage of the terror his victories occasioned, solicited those cities to enter into alliance with him; to which some of them consented, chusing rather to submit to a sort of dependance upon *Rome*, than to run the hazard of being reduced to a state of slavery. This submission so alarmed the rest of *Latium*, that, in a national assembly held at *Ferentinum*, they came to a resolution to employ their whole strength to oppose the torrent that threatened them; and they engaged all *Sabinia*, and a part of *Hetruria* to join with them. In two actions the King vanquished these confederate armies; and then those *Latine* cities which had refused his alliance, sued for it and obtained it.

Tarquin at his return to *Rome* after so many victories, had the honour of a *triumph*, and he applied the wealth he had brought from the conquered cities to the building a *Circus* * for the *Roman Games*, otherwise

* *Tarquin* was of a *Greek* family: and this led him to think of building a *Circus* at *Rome*, in imitation of the chief cities of *Greece*. The first *Circus* which was ever built, and was a pattern to all the rest, was in *Elis*, where the *Olympick* games were celebrated.

It is certain the *Roman* games were also called, *The great Games*: *Livy* (B. i. c. 35.) assures us of it. Nevertheless, we must not from thence conclude, that all the sports which were

celebrated in the *Circus*, and which were called *Circenses*, were the great games. Some were celebrated in the *Circus*, to *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. which were different from the great or *Roman* games: Nor were those called *Megalenæ*, the same with the great games. The former were celebrated before the *Nones* of *April*, and the latter on the eve of the *Nones* of *September*. Besides, the *Roman* games were instituted in honour of the great Gods, whence they were called

wife called the *Great Games*. The place chosen for this *Circus*, was in the valley which reached from the *Aventine* to the *Palatine* hill.

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§. III. THE long war which this King waged with the *Hetrurians*, and the signal victories he gained over them, greatly advanced his glory, and both enabled and inclined him to introduce magnificence into his Court. *Hetruria* was a very large country, extending itself from the *Tyrrhenian* sea to the *Apennine* hills, and from *Liguria* to the *Tiber*. The *Latines* called the inhabitants of it sometimes *Tuscans*, and sometimes *Hetrurians*; but the *Greeks* more frequently, *Tyrrhenians*; who, possessing so much of the south coast of *Italy*, gave their name to the sea, which washes it. This great state was divided into twelve cantons called *Lucumonies*^b, which were subject to twelve heads, who governed them with a sort of sovereign authority, under the name of *Lucumonies*. Sometimes one *Lucumony* made war by itself; at other times the *Hetrurians* all joined in a national body, in defence of their common interests.

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Strabo,
Pliny,
Mela.

Tarquin having gained some advantages over certain of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies*, this awakened the jealousy of the whole nation. Besides, they had reason to complain of a want of justice in the King of *Rome*, who had not only refused audience to the Ambassadors they had sent to him with a reasonable demand, but had detained them as so many hostages for the obedience of the *Hetrurians*. The twelve *Lucumonies*, therefore, came to a resolution to make war upon the *Romans*; and it was decreed, that if any city of *Hetruria* stood neuter, it should be for ever cut off from the general alliance. They took the field, made themselves masters

D. Hal. B.
3. P. 192.
193.

called the great games; and the *Megalenses* only in honour of *Cybele*. Lastly, the great games were instituted by the elder *Tarquin*; and the *Megalenses*, not till *Junius Brutus*'s time, who appointed them to the honour of *Cybele*, then called *μεγαλῶν*, or the Great Goddess.

At one end of the *Circus* stood the posts round which the chariots were obliged to turn; at the opposite end the chariots started, and on each side of the *Circus* the spectators sat in two great galleries. It is certain, that the end where the turning-posts stood, described a portion of a circle: and it is probable the opposite end where the chariots started, was semi-circular: But this is not absolutely certain.

Dion. Hal. plainly tells us, that this *Circus* was three *Stadia* and a half long and four *Jugera* broad: and that 150000 men could sit in it at their ease: but *Pliny* makes it only three *Stadia* long. He probably omitted the half *Stadium*, mentioned by the Greek historian, for the sake of a round number. Nothing therefore remains, but to compute how long and wide the *Circus* was, according to our measures. Now *Pliny* tells us, B. 1. c. 3. the length both of the *Roman Stadium* and *Juge-*

rum. The former, according to him, contained six hundred twenty-five *Roman* feet, each of which feet contained twelve inches, or sixteen fingers-breadths: so that consequently the *Circus*, as it was three *Stadia* and an half, must have been two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven *Roman* feet long. And it being four *Jugera* broad, each of which *Jugera* contained, according to him, two hundred and forty *Roman* feet; it is from thence easy to infer, that the *Circus* was nine hundred sixty *Roman* feet broad, and consequently was above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the *Circus* was somewhat more than three *English* furlongs, very near half an *Italian* mile, or about a quarter of a *French* league. C. & R.

^b The names of the capital cities of the twelve *Lucumonies* were, according to *Cluverius* and *Helfius*, *Clusium*, *Perusia*, *Cortona*, *Arritium*, *Volaterra*, *Vetulonium*, *Rufella*, *Tarquinius*, *Volturni*, *Cære*, *Falerii*, and *Veii*. *Hetruria* was long the mother of all the learning and politeness of the *Romans*: they sent their children thither to cultivate their minds, till the conquest of *Greece* furnished them with a better school. C. & R.

of

of *Latium* by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, and ravaged the *Roman* territory. *Tarquin*, not being prepared, suffered them to go on without opposition till the next year, when he had put himself into a better condition to engage with them. He then divided his army into two bodies; the *Romans* he commanded himself, and gave the command of the other to his son *Collatinus*. The latter by his ill conduct suffered a defeat: But the King routed the *Latians*, first near *Veii*, and then under the walls of *Cere*.

Latium being a key to the dominions of *Rome*, the conquest of it was of the utmost importance to her. The *Romans* therefore bent their forces that way, and after defeating the Enemy in a sharp engagement besieged the place, and took it. All those of the *Latians* who had been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were first whipped and then beheaded; the rest were sent into banishment, and their lands distributed by lot among the *Roman* soldiers. Then *Tarquin* hastened to attack the *Hebrurians* once more, before the whole strength of the new army they were raising could be got together. He came up with them near *Erutum*, a small city of the *Salines*, and gave them an entire overthrow; for which the Senate decreed him a triumph. And now the *Lacemonians* despairing of any future success against the *Romans*, sent an humble deputation to ask peace; which *Tarquin* granted without insisting on any other condition, than their owning his sovereignty over them. To this they readily agreed, and sent him all the ensigns of authority they had among them: a crown of gold; a throne of ivory; a scepter with an eagle on the top of it; a tunick embroidered with gold and adorned with the figures of palm branches; and a purple robe enriched with flowers of various colours. But the King deferred the making use of these stately ornaments, till the People and Senate had consented to it by an express decree: He then employed them in the decoration of his triumph, and never after laid them aside. In this triumph he rode in a gilt chariot drawn by four horses.

§. IV. HAVING now an interval of rest from his wars, he turned his thoughts to the fortifying, cleansing, and beautifying the city. He undertook to build the walls of *Rome* of hewn stone, and drained the low grounds about

* This the *Latins* called *Tunica palmata*. It is true, authors sometimes confound it with what they call *Toga picta*: but these were two different ornaments, worn by those who triumphed; and it is necessary to show here the difference between them. The *Tunica palmata* was not, properly speaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a vest, which was partly hid under the robe. It at first had no sleeves, and afterwards but very short ones. As all the *Romans* wore *Tunicks*, they shewed the difference of their rank, by that of their *Tunicks*. Some sewed upon theirs purple flowers, which were stuck on like the heads

of nails; and hence comes the word *Laticlavium*. Only the chief Magistrates and Senators, and general officers of the army, could wear these. The inferior Magistrates, the *Roman* Knights, and some other officers in the army, wore indeed *Tunicks* with purple flowers; but these flowers were smaller than the others: and from hence comes the name *Angusticlavium*. As for those who triumphed, of whom we are now speaking, they, instead of embroidered flowers, wore purple *Palm Branches* upon their tunicks, thence called *Tunica Palmata*. The *Toga picta*, some think, was a robe common among the *Romans*, only



Romans in the Toga.

about the *Forum*, and between the hills, in order to the making those *common-sewers*^c, which when made by the second *Tarquin*, were among the wonders of the world. He likewise adorned the *Forum*, surrounded it with galleries, made shops in it for bankers and money-changers, erected temples, schools for the youth of both sexes, and halls for the administration of publick justice.

P. 200,
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§. V. *TARQUIN* after some time spent in these works of peace, entered into a new war with the *Sabines*, on pretence of their having assisted the *Hetrurians*; and he came to a battle with them, which lasted the whole day. The advantage was so equal on both sides, that the two armies stood in awe of each other, and retired into their respective countries, without committing any further hostilities the rest of the campaign. During this cessation of arms, *Tarquin*, considering that he had often been hindered from sufficiently pursuing the advantages of a victory, for want of horse, resolved to add some new bodies of Knights to those of the first institution: But as the first division of the horse into three *corps*, had been determined by *Auguries*, *Attius Navius*, the most famous Augur of that time, opposed the King's design as irreligious. *Tarquin* could not persuade himself that the Augur was serious in this opposition, and therefore sent for the diviner into his presence, being resolved to confound and discredit, in him, that divining art, which superstition maintained to the diminution of the Royal Authority.

As soon as *Navius* appeared before *Tarquin*, in the midst of the *Forum*, and in the sight of all the people, the King said to him, *Diviner, canst thou discover by thy art, whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not? Go and consult thy birds.* The Augur did as he was ordered, and returning quickly, answered, *Yes, Tarquin, my art tells me, that what you are thinking of may be done.* Upon which *Tarquin*, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied with a contemptuous smile, *I was thinking whether it were possible to cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy own craft; the introducing the Gods*

Livy, B. 1.
c. 36.
D. Hal. B.
3. p. 203.
and Flo-
rm.

of a purple colour: And as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a sort of very long mantle, which hung in great folds quite down to the ground, and which they put on upon their right shoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. The robes of the Senators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as the *Tunicks*; and those of the Knights with smaller. And the *Robes* of those who triumphed were likewise probably adorned with palm-branches, as their *Tunicks* were. At least, it is certain they were made of rich stuffs, and had some gold in them; and they were called *Togæ pictæ*. Only two persons ever had the privilege of wearing them out of a triumph, and in common, *Paulus Æmilius* and *Pompey*. C. & R.

^c All the arches of these common-sewers were of hard stone, and neither expence

nor labour was spared to make the work durable. Their height and breadth were so considerable, that a cart loaded with hay could easily pass thro' them. But the greatest difficulty of the work was, to convey the waters (which through these sewers were to carry off the filth) into the *Tiber*. It was necessary to cut through hills, and under the city, through rocks, a channel large enough for a navigable stream, and covered with arches strong enough to bear the weight of houses, which were often built upon them, and stood as firm as on the most solid foundations. The expence of this incomparable work was never so well understood as when it came to be repaired. The *Censors* gave no less than a thousand *Talents* to him who undertook to cleanse these sewers. C. & R.

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into thy decisions is all cheat and imposture. If thou canst perform what is impossible, do. At these words the people burst out into laughter, whilst *Navius* alone discovered no emotion. He addressed himself to the King with an air of assurance, and said, ^a Put the razor to the flint, and try; I readily submit to any punishment, if what you thought of be not done. Upon trial, the razor passed through the flint so easily and so suddenly, that, *Tarquin* having given more force to it than was necessary, it wounded and drew blood from his hand. The people hereupon gave a great shout, the King's contempt for the *Augur* turned into admiration, and, from this time, the augural science had a higher degree of credit in *Rome* than ever before. (D. Hal. p. 204. *Tarquin* afterwards erected a statue of brass to the memory of *Navius*, in the place called *Comitium*, where the publick assemblies were held; and there it continued till the time of *Augustus*. The razor and flint, kept as monuments of the miracle, were deposited near the statue^b, under an altar, at which they swore witnesses in civil causes.)

But tho' *Tarquin* laid aside his project of increasing the number of the *Corps* of horse, he increased the number of the Knights in each *Corps*; making the *Roman* cavalry amount in all to 1800 men.

§. VI. WITH this reinforcement the King marched out to renew the war with the *Sabines*, who had got succours from *Heltruria*, and were encamped near *Fidene*, by the place where the *Anio* joins the *Tiber*. The *Heltrurians*, posted on one bank of the *Tiber*, and the *Sabines*, on the other, had a communication by a bridge of boats. *Tarquin*, who had pitched his camp upon the *Anio*, at a little distance from the place where it discharges itself into the *Tiber*, perceived, that the current of that little river would carry into the *Tiber* any thing, which was sent down it; and that if the same wind, which then blew, continued, it would, with a little help, carry barks up the *Tiber* against the stream, and bring them to the enemy's bridge. With this view, he built flat-bottom boats, like rafts, and loaded them with dry wood, sulphur and rosin: and in the night, while the wind continued favourable to his design, he sent these fire-ships some down the *Anio*, and others up the *Tiber*, at the same time; so that the bridge, being thus invested on both sides with fire, was quickly all in a flame. The *Sabines* ran instantly to extinguish it; and, as is very frequent on such unforeseen and sudden accidents, left their camp unguarded. *Tarquin*, who, to attack it, had, with the best part of his forces, marched out of his intrenchments while it was yet dark, was by break of day master of it. On the other bank, a detachment, which by his order had passed the *Tiber* in the night, fell suddenly upon the

^a *Livy* says, *Navius* took the flint into his own hands, and cut it, in *Tarquin's* presence.

^b The reader will no doubt think it strange, that an event related with so many circumstances, reported by all the writers of the *Roman* History, and adopted even by some of the Fathers of the church, who without questioning it, imputed it to magick,

should be a mere fabulous invention: and yet this is the judgment which *Tully* himself formed of it, tho' an *Augur*. Look with contempt, says he to his brother *Quintus*, look with contempt on the razor and flint of the famous *Attius*; when we reason as philosophers, we ought to lay no stress upon fables. *Cic. B. 1. de Div. C. & R.*

camp of the *Hetrurians*, in the instant that the bridge of boats took fire, which was the signal the King had given. The enemy, disconcerted and routed on both sides of the river, perished, some of them by the flames, others by the sword, and others by leaping into the *Tiber*, to save themselves; and their arms which floated down the stream, carried the news of the victory to *Rome*, before the couriers, dispatched by the King, arrived there.

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I.
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After this, *Tarquin* would give his enemies no rest, but immediately entered the territory of the *Sabines*; whose misfortunes had not yet abated their courage. They ventured to face the *Romans*, with an army tumultuously assembled. Being once more routed, they sued for peace, but the King did not think fit to grant them more than a truce.

This truce was no sooner expired, than the *Sabines* passed the *Anio*, and made incursions on the territory of *Rome*; but tho' they were equal in numbers and bravery to the *Romans*, *Tarquin*, in a pitched battle, defeated them by the stratagem of detaching a body of horse, which fetched a compass and came upon their rear during the action. The *Sabines* imputing their ill success to the incapacity of their General, chose a more experienced Commander for the next campaign. The King of *Rome* appeared early in the field, and shewed himself to the enemy: and when he found that their new General, not having got together all his troops, avoided a battle, and kept within his camp, he blockaded him there, and reduced him to the utmost extremity for want of provisions: however, the latter, taking the advantage of a dark stormy night, marched his army secretly out of his intrenchments, and stole off; and thus the campaign ended.

The next year, the *Sabines*, pleased with the conduct of their General, took courage again, enlisted all their youth capable of bearing arms, and formed a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies. *Tarquin* on the other side augmented his forces with troops from *Latium*, *Hetruria*, and all his allies, and divided them into three armies, which were always to encamp near each other. He commanded the *Romans* himself, put his nephew *Collatinus* at the head of the *Hetrurians*, and gave the command of the *Latines* and other allies to *Servius Tullius*, a foreigner who had been a slave, and had since obtained the privileges of a *Roman* citizen. The battle lasted the whole day; and *Tarquin* obtained the victory; but not till he had inspired his men with fresh courage, by making a vow to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, to build them a magnificent temple. While he was marching afterwards to besiege the *Sabine* cities, they sent Deputies to him to sue for peace, offering to give him possession of their fortified places, and of all their country, if he would grant them tolerable conditions. He treated them favourably, as he had done the *Hetrurians*; and then returning to *Rome*, entered it in triumph, and with the same pomp as after the conquest of *Hetruria*.

§. VII. THE victorious King did not forget his vow to build a temple to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. He levelled the top of the hill *Tarpeius* (formerly *Saturnius*) marked out the plan of the temple, and laid the foundations

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p. 202.

dations of it. *Navius* the *Augur*, having been consulted about what part of *Rome* *Jupiter* would like best to be placed in, had declared for the hill *Tarpeius*: but then a difficulty arose about removing the Gods, who had already got possession of this hill, without giving them offence. By the help of *Augury*, it was discovered, that they were all willing to be removed, except the God ^a *Terminus*, and the Goddess *Youth*, who having no mind to go, were afterwards inclosed within the walls of the temple, the *Area* of which was now dedicated by *Navius*.

This famous *Augur* soon after disappeared. He was supposed to be murdered; and the people were very inquisitive after the authors of his death. The sons of *Ancus Marcius* endeavoured to fix the calumny upon the King, and accused him publickly. *Tarquin* attempted in vain to appease the tumult which they excited; *Servius Tullius*, the King's son-in-law, and the most popular man in *Rome*, was obliged to employ all his credit to quiet the rage of the people. At length the falseness of the accusation being known, the sons of *Ancus* were detested for having raised the slander. However, *Tarquin* pardoned them, in consideration of the favours he had received from their father.

p. 200.

He was more severe to *Pinaria*, a prostitute *Vestal*. He caused her to be buried alive, and the man who had dishonoured her, to be whipped to death. Nevertheless, he did not lose his esteem for the class of *Vestals*; on the contrary, he added two to their number, augmenting it to six.

p. 204.

Livy, B. 1.

c. 42.

§. VIII. *TARQUIN* being now eighty years old (of which he had reigned 37) and drawing near his end, the ambition of the sons of *Ancus* grew more active. They always remembered with indignation the arts by which their guardian had secured to himself their father's kingdom, nor could they brook to see a foreigner sit upon the *Roman* throne to their prejudice: But when they perceived that the kingdom was not likely to pass to them, even after the death of *Tarquin*, but that *Servius Tullius* would probably succeed his father-in-law, they no longer set any bounds to their resentment. *What!* said they, *while we the sons of Ancus Marcius, are living, shall the Roman throne lie open, not only to strangers, but even to slaves?* Nevertheless, they bent their fury rather against the life of *Tarquin* than of *Servius*, both because the revenge of a King was more to be dreaded than that of a private man, and because, should they destroy *Servius*, *Tarquin* might provide himself another son-in-law to succeed him. The method they took to compass the death of the old King was this: They hired two young men who dressed themselves like peasants, with hatchets on their shoulders, as if they were wood-cleavers: These going near the King's palace pretended to have a quarrel about some goats. The noise they made reaching the inmost rooms of the palace brought the officers of the Court about them, who carried them before the King, to whom they both appealed. At first they began to bawl and rail at each other till they were restrained by a *Lictor*, and ordered to speak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his story, and while the King was wholly

D. Hal. p.
205, 206.

^a *Livy*, B. 1. c. 55. places this Fact of the unwillingness of *TERMINUS* to remove, in the reign of *Tarquin* the proud.

attentive

attentive to it, the other lifting up his hatchet gave him a great cut in the head; after which, leaving his weapon in the wound, he instantly ran out of doors with his fellow. But, while some of the company hastened to assist the wounded King, others pursued the ruffians and seized them; and being put to the torture, they confessed by whom they had been employed. By this time there was a great concourse of people at the palace wondering at the attempt, and curious to know the event.

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TARQUIN
I.
Fifth King.

Queen *Tanaquil* did not lose her presence of mind on this occasion. She cleared the palace of the crowd, shut herself up in the apartment of the expiring King, with only her son-in-law, *Servius Tullius*, his wife, and *Ocrisia* his mother, and pressed him to ascend the throne, that *Tarquin's* two grandsons^a might be safe under his protection: *Servius, if thou art a man, the kingdom is thine, and not theirs who have committed the greatest villainy by the hands of other men. Take courage then, and follow the Gods thy conduitors, who foretold thy future glory by the divine^b fire which shone round thy head. Let that celestial flame now warm thee. Rouze thyself in earnest. We who were strangers have reigned here. Think who thou art, not of whom thou wast born; and if thy counsels are at a stand by reason of this unexpected accident, follow mine.* She then opened the window which looked upon the street, and bid the people be in no concern; she told them that the wound was not deep, that the King was stunned with the sudden blow, but was come to himself again, and she hoped they would see him very shortly; that in the mean time he ordered them to obey *Servius Tullius*, who would administer justice to them, and perform all other Kingly Offices. This stratagem succeeded. The report, that the King would soon be well again, and appear in publick, being spread and believed, this so terrified the sons of *Ancus*, that they went of their own accord into banishment to *Suessa Pomelia*.

D. Hal. B.
4. P. 209,
& seq.
Livy, B. 1.
c. 41.

The second day after the murder of *Tarquin*, *Servius Tullius*, attended by the *Liſtors*, sat on the throne in the royal robes, and heard causes; some he decided, and upon others he pretended he would consult the King. As it became him to revenge the attempt against the person of his Sovereign, he accordingly cited the sons of *Ancus* to appear before his tribunal; and upon their non-appearance, they were declared infamous, and their estates confiscated. The Regent continued for some time to act this part, and so managed his affairs as to gain the hearts of the *Romans*, by his prudent administration. At length, when he thought his authority sufficiently established, the death of *Tarquin* was proclaimed as a thing recent, with loud lamentations, and *Servius* performed magnificent obsequies for him: after which, without being legally elected King, either by^c Senate or People, he continued to hold the reins of Government, appearing in publick with a strong guard, and with all the ensigns of royalty.

^a It is much contested whether the children here spoken of, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Arunx*, were the sons or grandsons of *Tarquinius Priscus*. *Dion. Hal.* contends warmly for the latter opinion.

^b A report had been carefully propagated,

that when *Servius* was a child, and asleep, a sudden light or flame, in form of a crown, encompassed and rested upon his head.

^c *Livy* says, that *Servius Tullius* took possession of the kingdom with the consent of the *Fathers*.

C H A P. VII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

§. I. *The Birth and Education of Servius Tullius. The Honours he pays to the Goddess Fortune upon his elevation to the Throne.* §. II. *The Patricians conspire to dispossess him. He gains the people to his interest, is legally elected King by the Curiae, and though the Senate refuses to confirm this election, keeps possession.* §. III. *Servius defeats the rebellious Hetrurians. He enlarges Rome, and adds a fourth Tribe to the three old ones. He institutes the Compitalia in honour of slaves. He divides the Roman territory with its inhabitants into TRIBES. He marries his two daughters to Lucius Tarquinius and Aruns, the grandsons of the late King. He subdues the Hetrurians.* §. IV. *Servius divides the Roman citizens into six CLASSES, and these into CENTURIES. He institutes the CENSUS and the LUSTRUM, and coins money.* §. V. *He gives the LIBERTI or Freed-men the privilege of Roman Citizens.* §. VI. *He reforms the Regal Power, and executes a scheme for securing to the Romans the fidelity and friendship of the Latines and Sabines.* §. VII. *The wicked intrigues of Tarquin and the younger Tullia. Tarquin accuses the King of usurpation before the Senate. Servius pleads his cause there, but appeals to the People, and is by them confirmed on the throne.* §. VIII. *Tarquin regains the King's favour by submissions, but soon after causes him to be murdered, and usurps the kingdom.*

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to
CCXIX.

SERVIVS
TULLIVS
Sixth
King.
D. Hal. B.
4. p. 205.

Plut. de
Fort.
Rom. p.
323.
D. Hal. B.
4. p. 207.

§. I. **SERVIVS** Tullius, the sixth King of Rome, was the son of Ocrisia, a woman of extraordinary beauty and distinguished virtue, taken captive at the sacking of Corniculum: but who his father was is uncertain. *Dionysius* reports that one Tullius, a warrior of royal extraction, and killed in the defence of that city, was the husband of Ocrisia, and at his death left his wife with child of this son. Tarquin made a present of the fair captive to Queen Tanaquil, who being soon after apprized of her quality and merit, conceived a particular esteem for her and restored her to freedom. Nevertheless, Ocrisia's son, being born while she was yet in a state of servitude, had thence the name of Servius. This is *Dionysius's* account. But *Plutarch* will have Ocrisia to have been a virgin at the time of her falling into captivity, and to have afterwards married one of the King's clients, by whom she had Servius Tullius. Nor have there been wanting writers who have given this Prince a divine origin; and made him the son of Vulcan, a fable which probably owed its rise to another fable, reported for truth by Tanaquil and Ocrisia, of a sudden flame, in form of a crown, which surrounded the head of Servius when he was a child and asleep.

From such different accounts, as also from the silence of the Capitoline marbles on this head, 'tis pretty certain that nothing was less known to the historians

historians than the true ^a descent of *Servius*. In these things however they all agree, That King *Tarquin* and his Queen had the same tenderness for the son of *Ocrisia* as if he had been their own offspring, and took the same care of his education; and that, nevertheless, it was chiefly to his own wife, noble, and uniform conduct that he owed his gradual elevation to the highest step of honour.

Servius Tullius distinguished himself by his military achievements, even before he was arrived to the age of manhood. The reputation of a brave warrior, which he then acquired, increased as he advanced in years; and this, with his amiable polite manners, his eloquence, and his extraordinary ability in council, so gained him the esteem and affection of the people, that with unanimous approbation he was raised to the rank of a Patrician and to a place in the Senate. The King and Queen nevertheless did not originally intend him the honour of an alliance with the Royal Family. They married him to *Gegania* a Roman lady of illustrious birth; and it was only after her death that they first thought of giving him their daughter *Tarquinius*: but after this alliance the King reposed an entire confidence in him for the management both of his domestick concerns, and the affairs of the publick; in which latter *Servius* acquitted himself so well, that the people were quite indifferent whether they were governed by him or *Tarquin*; and this it was that made it so easy for him to seat himself on the throne upon the death of his father-in-law.

As *Servius*, notwithstanding his superior merit, looked upon himself to be wholly indebted to *Fortune* for his grandeur, the first homage he paid after he was King, was to this Goddess; and he erected an incredible number of altars and temples to her, stiling her by various epithets: And being resolved to make the peaceful *Numa* his pattern, and aspire to fame by establishing as much order in the civil polity of *Rome* as that wise Prince had done in the religious, he, like him, pretended to have private conversations with a Goddess, and *Fortune* was his *Egeria*.

§. II. BUT how much soever *Servius* had been favoured by his Goddess in possessing himself of the government, the beginning of his reign was not without disturbances. The *Patricians* especially were much dissatisfied with the little respect he had shewn to the ancient usages, upon the demise of a King. He had ascended the throne without being elected to it, and only as a Regent; there had been no *Interregnum* as formerly. Complaints of these things were first dropp'd in private assemblies, but soon improved into almost a general conspiracy; and the Senators agreed among themselves, that the first time they met, they would force the King to lay aside his royalty. *Servius*, in this emergency, applied himself to gain the people, and employ their power against that of the *Patricians*. Among his other natural endowments, he had a ready and lively eloquence, proper to make impressions on a multitude. When therefore he had convened

^a Father *Catrou* thinks it strange that none of the historians have made *Tarquin* himself the Father of *Servius*; but would it not have been more strange if any of them had, since *Tarquin* thought fit to marry him to one of his daughters?

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the People, having with him the two grandsons of the late King, one on each hand, he made a speech to the assembly to this effect: *See here, illustrious Romans, the tender offspring of one of your greatest Kings. The bare sight of them will bring to your remembrance the virtues and victories of their grandfather. A melancholy death and cruel parricide robbed you of him, and left his posterity exposed to the artifices and fury of his assassins. I alone received a charge from the dying King to protect these helpless children in their infancy: and to this I found myself pre engaged, both by the alliance I had made in Tarquin's family, and by the favours heaped on me by that generous Prince. Be you, Romans, their joint guardians with me; and whatever gratitude you owe me for the services I have formerly done you, which I need not remind you of, let it all be transferred to these my pupils. But why should I employ many words with you in their favour? You know what is fit to be done, and will do it. I shall now only tell you the benefits I have resolved to procure for you; and it was for this reason I called you together. You shall no longer be the slaves of your creditors, nor bear the chief burthen of the publick taxes. I will provide remedies for both these evils. It is not just, that the lands which are conquered at the expence of your toils and blood, should be distributed only among the most audacious of the great; whilst you continue without a foot of land of your own, and are obliged to cultivate the estates of others for hire. You have long enough borne the contemptuous usage of the Patricians who hardly look upon you as freemen, because you are poor. I will never rest till I have established you in perfect liberty. Nor was this harangue of the King mere empty words: for a few days after he commanded all the insolvent debtors to send him an account of their debts, and the names of their creditors; and then causing compting-houses to be opened in the Roman Forum, he there paid all with his own money. He likewise published an edict, commanding all such as had usurped any lands belonging to the publick, to quit them at an appointed time; and ordered those of the citizens, who had no land of their own, to petition for them. And, lastly, he made some new laws, which retrenched certain pretended privileges, made use of by the Patricians, in their law-suits with the Plebeians, to vex and oppress them.*

D. Hal. B.
4 P. 216.

P. 245.

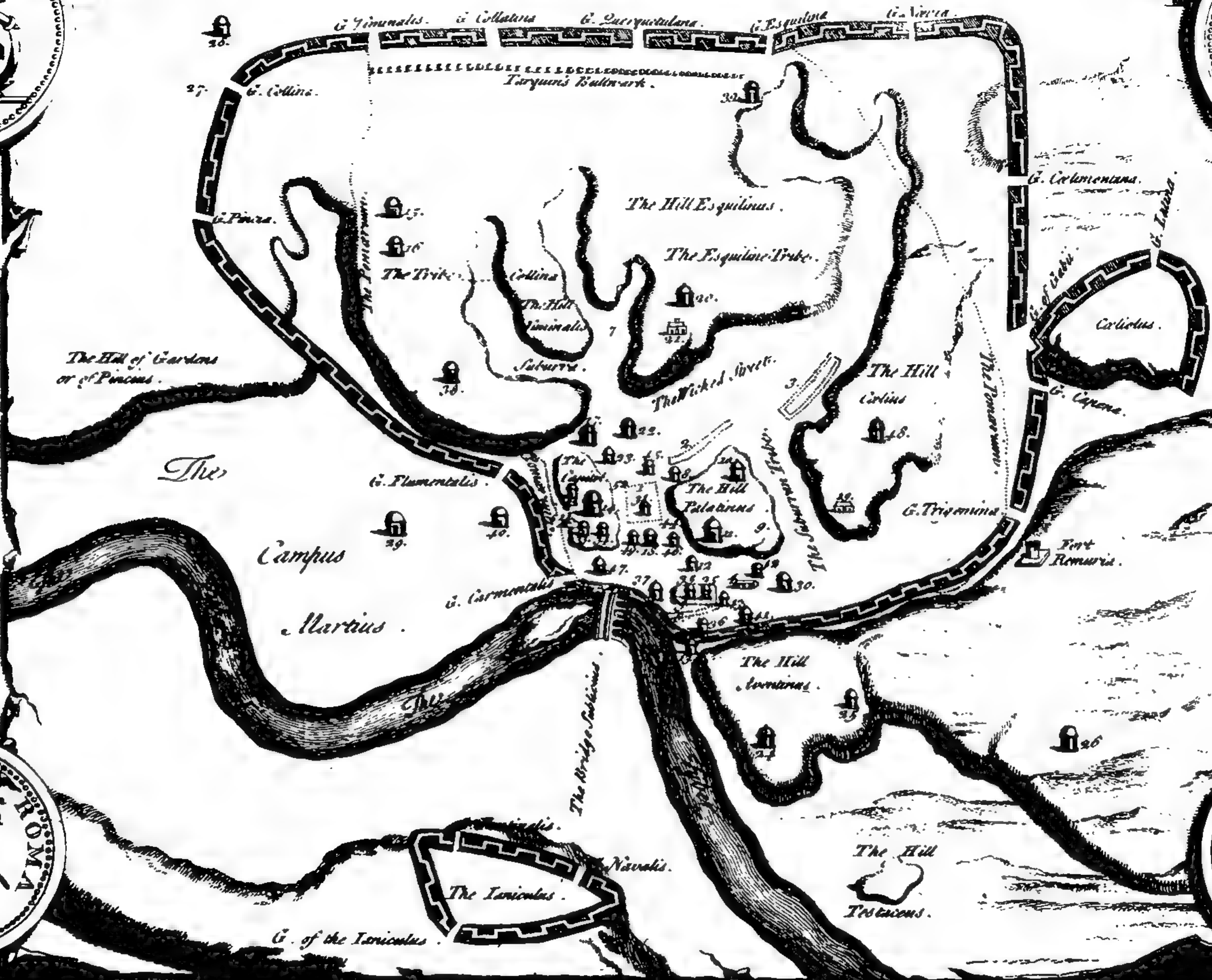
But though the inclinations of *Servius Tullius* led him more to works of peace, and civil government, than to military exploits, he found himself obliged to embark in a war. It proved a very long one, but brought much glory both to the *Roman* people, and to their King. The *Veientes*, whom *Tarquin* had often subdued, refused now to recognize the Sovereignty of *Rome*, and had lately treated with scorn some ambassadors sent from thence to claim their submission. *We entered*, said they, *into no treaty with the son of a slave; nor will we ever submit to Servius's dominion. Tarquin is dead, and our obligations to be subject to the Romans are dead with him.*

This confidence of the *Veientes* proceeded partly from the hopes they had of profiting by the dissensions between the King and Senate of *Rome*. They therefore prepared for war, and drew two other *Lucumonies*, viz.

C. Plan of Rome containing its Several Additions from the time of Servius Tullius to that of its being taken by the Gauls.

1. The Forum Romanum.
2. The Via Sacra.
3. The Carine.
4. The Great Circus.
5. The Ox-market.
6. The Velabrum Tuscan Street.
7. The Vena Street.
8. The Temple of Vesta.
9. The Curia Hostilia.
10. The Temple of Jupiter Stator.
11. The Temple of Quirinus.
12. The Temple dedicated to Fortune.
13. The Temple of Fortunatissima.
14. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
15. The Temple of Fides.
16. The Temple of Laurinus.
17. The Temple of Health.
18. The Temple of Saturn.
19. Hostilius's Palace.
20. The Temple of Juno Lucina.
21. Marcus Tullius's Palace.
22. The Temple of Peace.
23. The Temple of Jupiter Stator.
24. The Temple of Diana.
25. The Temple of Victory.
26. The Temple of Queen Juno.

27. The Campus Martius.
28. The Temple of Venus Erycin.
29. The Temple of Apollo.
30. The Temple of Ceres.
31. Bacchus, and Proserpine.
32. The Temple of Castor & Pollux.
33. The Temple of Faith.
34. The Temple of Good Fortune.
35. The Temple of St. Fortune.
36. The Temple of Hercules.
37. The Temple of Janus.
38. The Temple of Jupiter Stator.
39. The Temple of Libitina.
40. The Temple of Mars.
41. The Temple of Mercury.
42. The Temple of Minerva.
43. The Temple of Nymphs & Eques.
44. The Comitium.
45. The Temple of Venus Cloacina.
46. The Temple of Vulcan.
47. The Temple of Larentia.
48. The Temple of Ceres.
49. The Temple of Concord.
50. The Fountain of Mercur.
51. The Palatine Tribe.
52. The Tarpeian Rock.



those of *Cere* and *Tarquinius*, into their party. But *Servius*, by his courage and conduct subdued these confederates, and, judging it proper to make them examples of severity, because they had been the aggressors, he deprived them of their lands, and transferred the property of them to such of the new citizens of *Rome*, as had yet no lands of their own: After which, supported by his own glory and the favour of the people, he obtained the honours of a *Triumph*, in spite of the hatred of the Senate.

The Senators now finding the People entirely well affected to the King, suppressed their complaints, lest if they insisted on an *Interregnum*, it should occasion a legal election of *Servius* by the *Curia*. This Prince had too much penetration not to see into the mystery of their policy, and therefore resolved to make advantage of the present favour of the multitude, to render his title to the throne less disputable. He assembled the citizens, and, in a moving speech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a design formed by the *Patricians* to take away his life, and to bring back the sons of *Ancus*. And this, said he, for no other reason but the kindness I have shewn to the *Plebeians*. In the conclusion of this harangue, he left the kingdom absolutely to their disposal, and begged them to determine between him and his pupils on one side, and their competitors on the other. If you give sentence against us, these children, with the rest of *Tarquin's* family and blood, shall immediately leave the city. As for me, I have lived long enough for the views of virtue and glory: nor when I have once lost the hearts of you, my people, which I value above all things else, will I consent to drag on an ignominious life among strangers. Take then these fasces, and if you so think fit, give them to the *Patricians*; I will trouble you no more with my presence. As he ended these words he stepped down hastily from the *Tribunal*, in order to leave the assembly; but they called to him to stay, intreated him to be their King, and even used violence to stop him. Some cried out, Let the *Curia* be assembled, that we may elect *Servius* without delay. Accordingly a day was appointed; and, when the day came, he was chosen King. However the Senate could never be brought to confirm this election; and their faction was so formidable, that *Servius* deliberated with himself, whether he should not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people: but imparting his perplexities to *Tanaquil*, she encouraged him, and even took an oath of him, whereby he engaged himself not to resign the kingdom. This magnanimous Queen died soon after; and the King, to immortalize her domestick virtues, the true glory of a woman, hung up her distaff in the temple of *Hercules*.

§. III. AS *Servius* was now resolved to continue on the throne, the *Hebrurians* furnished him with an opportunity to augment his glory. His victory over them obtained him the honour of a second *Triumph*. An interval of rest after this war he dedicated to the enlarging and adorning the city. *Romulus* had inclosed at first only the hill *Palatinus*, and afterwards added the hill *Tarpeius*; to these *Numa* joined the *Quirinalis*; *Tullus Hostilius* took in the hill *Cælius*; *Ancus Marcius* inclosed mount

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* D. Hal.

B. 4 P.
218.

P. 220.

Aventine and joined the *Janiculum* to the city by a wooden bridge; *Tarquinius Priscus* only built the walls of *Rome* of hewn stone, without enlarging its bounds; but *Servius* * inclosed within its limits the hills *Esquilinus* and *Viminalis*, on the first of which he fixed his own palace, in order to draw inhabitants thither; and he added a fourth tribe to the ^a three of *Romulus's* division, and called it *Tribus Esquilina*.

This King, in order to have an exact register of the inhabitants of *Rome*, obliged every one to stay in the *Tribe* wherein he was born; and he likewise made a law, That a piece of money should, upon every death, be paid into the temple of the Goddess *Libitina*, who presided over funerals; another into the temple of *Juno Licina*, upon every birth; and another into the temple of *Teuth*, as soon as any person was past the state of childhood. By this means it became easy to know the number of the *Roman* citizens, and who of them were able to bear arms.

P. 219.

It was partly perhaps to do honour to his first condition, that *Servius* made an institution in favour of slaves. He erected little wooden oratories in all the cross-ways, dedicated to the *Dii Compitales*, or Gods of the cross-ways, and commanded that slaves only should be priests to these Gods. They had their particular festival, on which masters gave the slaves rest from all labour.

P. 220.

To establish equal order throughout the *Roman* state, *Servius* disposed into distinct ^b tribes all the citizens that dwelt in the country; and he ordered, that in each of these *country tribes* there should be one place of refuge situated on a steep hill to secure the effects of the peasants upon sudden alarms. These strong holds he called *Pagi*, which signifies villages or boroughs; and he appointed a festival, called *Paganalia*, to be held every year in each of these *Pagi*. All the peasants of the several tribes were to be present at the yearly sacrifices offered to the tutelary Gods of their respective villages, and every person was to bring a piece of money, the men a piece of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third sort, to be paid into the hands of those who presided at the sacrifices. By counting these pieces of money they learnt the exact number, age, and sex of the persons belonging to each tribe.

* The three tribes of *Romulus's* division were called the tribe of the *Rhamneses* or *Tribus Palatina*; the tribe of the *Tatienfes* or *Tribus Suburana*, and the tribe of the *Luceres* or *Tribus Collina*.

As taxes were raised by laying a certain sum on each *Tribe*, it was hence, as *Varro* tells us, that those taxes were called *Tributes* and *Contributions*; though *Livy* says that the *Roman Tribes* were so called from the *Tributes* levied on them.

^b What the number of these tribes was, into which *Servius* divided the freemen of *Rome* who lived in the country, seems to be uncertain. The learned Jesuits, *Fathera Carreu* and *Rouillé*, make it to be

just 15, but they give no reason for their conjecture. They offer good reasons why the number could not be 31, as *Dionysius* (following *Veneni* an ancient author) believed. For according to the same *Dionysius* there were in all, including the 4 city tribes, but 21 who voted at *Coriolanus's* trial many years after. *Livy* and *Florus* speak of an augmentation of the tribes in the year 258, after which augmentation the number was but 21; and *Livy* afterwards speaks of another addition of tribes. Now the whole number of *Roman* tribes never exceeded 35, which number would have been complete in *Servius's* time, according to *Veneni's* account.

In the midst of his cares for the publick safety, this provident King did not forget his own. His two wards *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Arans* being now sufficiently advanced in years to be capable of disturbing his government, should they prove ill affected to him, he the better to secure their fidelity, married them to his two daughters : And though the elder of these daughters, being of a mild and virtuous disposition, resembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters who was violent and vicious, yet he thought it most advisable to match them according to priority of birth, that so the mildness and discretion of the elder *Tullia* might restrain the dangerous impetuosity of *Lucius*, and the vivacity of the younger *Tullia* quicken the unambitious indolence of *Arans*.

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During the publick rejoicings for this double marriage, the *Hebrurians* were preparing to make war upon the *Romans* in a national body. The historians have not been particular in their accounts of this war ; they only tell us that *Servius*, by repeated victories over them, reduced them to ask peace, and to submit to him upon the same conditions on which they had submitted to his predecessor : and that for this success he was honoured with a third *triumph*.

D. Hal. p.
231.

§. IV. AFTER this the King returned to the pursuit of his political schemes. Taxes had been hitherto levied upon the people at so much a head, without distinction of rich and poor ; and as both sorts were equally obliged to serve in the field at their own expence, it was often very hard upon the poorer sort. There was likewise this farther inconvenience in the present government of affairs, that, as war and peace, the creation of magistrates and the making and abrogating of laws were determined by a majority of the *Curie* assembled, and as in these *Curie* the Rich and the Poor, the *Patrician* and the *Plebeian* were mingled without any distinction, and every man's voice was of equal value, the indigent and ignoble, tho' less qualified to judge, and more easily corrupted, yet being vastly the more numerous, had in these assemblies a greater share in all decrees than the noble and wealthy. *Servius* formed a project to remedy these evils. He ordered all the *Roman* citizens under the severest penalties to give an account in writing of their names and ages, with those of their fathers, wives, and children. He further obliged all the heads of families to deliver in upon oath a just estimate of their effects, and to mention the places of their residence, whether in town or country. Having got information of these things, he undertook to ease the poor, by burthening the rich, and yet to please the latter, by augmenting their power.

p. 221;
222.

To this end, he divided the *Roman* citizens into six *Classes* : and as all the soldiery was to be raised out of these, he appointed them offensive and defensive arms, according to their dignity and pre-eminence. The first *Class* consisted of those, whose estates in land and effects were worth at least a hundred thousand *Asses* of brass, according to the *Latin* way of computing, or ten thousand *Drachmæ*, according to the *Greek*. This first *Class* was subdivided into fourscore *Centuries*, or companies of foot,

Livy, B. 1.
c. 43.
322 l. 18 s.
4d.
Arbuth.

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forty of which companies were made up of young men; that is, of such as were from seventeen to forty-five years of age, and these alone were obliged to take the field: the other forty companies of the same class were old men; that is, such as were past forty-five, whose only duty was to defend the city. Every soldier of this first and most honourable body of the Roman infantry was defensively armed with a small oval shield after the Greek fashion, an helmet of brass, a cuirass, and *cuisse*s of the same metal; and their weapons were a pike, a javelin and a sword. To these fourscore *Centuries* of foot, *Servilius* joined eighteen *Centuries* of Roman Knights, who fought on horse-back. Hitherto there had been but three *Centuries* of Knight. What number of men they contained is uncertain. *Livy* tells us, that of these three *Centuries*, *Servilius* made six, and added twelve new *Centuries* to them, and ordained that this considerable body of horsemen should be at the head of the rich *Class*: because, doubtless, the estates of these Knights exceeded the sum necessary for being admitted into this first *Class*. But though they were rich, yet the publick supplied them with horses; and a tax was laid on widows, who were exempt from all other contributions, for maintaining their horses. This first *Class*, including infantry and cavalry, consisted of ninety-eight *Centuries*.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 43.

The second *Class* comprehended those Romans, whose estates were worth at least 75000 *Asses* of brass, or 7500 *Drachmæ*. It was divided into twenty *Centuries* of soldiers, all foot: Ten of young men, and ten of old. And to these twenty were joined two other *Centuries* of carpenters, smiths, and other artificers for the engines of war; so that the second *Class* contained in all twenty-two *Centuries*. The soldiers of this *Class* were armed like those of the former; with this only difference, that they had no cuirass, and instead of the small oval shield had a buckler of the figure of an oblong square, which almost covering their whole body made the cuirass needless.

D. H. E.
4. p. 221.
242 l. 35.
9 d.

In the third *Class* were those, who were esteemed worth 50000 *Asses*, or (which amounts to the same) 5000 *Drachmæ*. These wore no defensive armour but the helmet and square buckler; but they fought as the others did, with the pike, javelin and sword. These were also divided into twenty *Centuries*.

161 l. 98.
2 d.

The fourth *Class* consisted of such as were worth 25000 *Asses*, or 2500 *Drachmæ*, and this likewise contained twenty *Centuries*, ten of old men, and ten of young; and to these were added two other *Centuries* of trumpets and blowers of the horn, who supplied the whole army with this martial musick. The soldiers of this *Class* had no defensive arms but a square buckler; their offensive ones were the same with those of the former.

201. 143.
7 d.

161. p.
222.

In the fifth *Class* were included those whose whole substance did not amount to more than 12500 *Asses*, or 1250 *Drachmæ*. They were divided into thirty *Centuries*, fifteen old, and fifteen young. They were not suffered to wear any defensive armour, and their only weapons were slings and darts.

431 78.
1 d. 1/2
A. Gell.
B. 16.

The

The sixth *Class* comprehended all those who either had no estates or were not worth so much as the soldiers of the fifth *Class*. The number of them was so great, as to exceed that of any of the other *Classes*, yet they were reckoned but as one *Century*.

By this enumeration we see that the *Roman* people were, in *Servius's* time, divided into one hundred and ninety-three *Centuries*^a, reckoning the

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^a It may be proper here to explain, once for all, the difference between the three sorts of *Comitia* successively established in the *Roman* government, with the manner in which the people gave their votes in these assemblies.

The *Comitia*, according to *Sigonius's* definition, were general assemblies of the people lawfully called by some magistrate, for the enjoinment or prohibition of any thing by their votes^{*}.

The proper *Comitia* were of three sorts; *Curiate*, *Centuriate*, and *Tribute*; with reference to the three grand divisions of the city and people into *Curia*, *Centuries*, and *Tribes*: For by *Comitia Calata*, which we sometimes meet with in authors, in elder times were meant all the *Comitia* in general; the word *Calata*, from *calare* or *calo*, being their common epithet; tho' 'twas at last restrained to two sorts of assemblies, those for the creation of priests, and those for the inspection and regulation of last wills and testaments†.

The *COMITIA CURIATA* owe their original to the division which *Romulus* made of the people into thirty *Curia*; ten being contained under every *Tribu*. They answered, in most respects, to the parishes in our cities, being not only separated by proper bounds and limits, but distinguish'd too by their different places set apart for the celebration of divine service, which was perform'd by particular priests (one to every *Curia*;) with the name of *Curiones*.

Before the institution of the *Comitia Centuriata*, all the grand concerns of the state were transacted in the assembly of the *Curia's*; as, the election of Kings, and other chief officers, the making and abrogating of laws, and the judging of capital causes. After the expulsion of the Kings, when the commons had obtained the privilege to have *Tribunes* and *Aediles*, they elected them for some time at these assemblies: But that ceremony being at length transferr'd to the *Comitia Tributa*, the *Curia* were never convened to give their votes, except now and then upon account of making

some particular law, relating to adoptions, wills, and testaments, or the creation of officers for an expedition; or for the electing of some of the priests, as the *Flamines*, and the *Curio Maximus*, or superintendant of the *Curiones*, who themselves were chose by every particular *Curia*.

The power of calling these assemblies, belonged at first only to the Kings; but upon the establishment of the Democracy, the same privilege was allowed to most of the chief magistrates, and sometimes to the *Pontifices*.

The persons who had the liberty of voting here, were such *Roman* citizens as belonged to the *Curia*; or such as actually lived in the city, and conformed to the customs and rites of their proper *Curia*; all those being excluded who dwelt without the bounds of the city, retaining the ceremonies of their own country, though they had been honoured with the *Jus Civitatis*, or admitted free citizens of *Rome*‡.

The place where the *Curia* met was the *Comitium*, a part of the *Forum*, as has been already mentioned§.

No set time was allotted for the holding of these or any of the other *Comitia*, but only as business required.

The people being met together, and confirmed by the report of good omens from the *Augurs* (which was necessary in all the assemblies) the *Rogatio*, or business to be propos'd to them, was publickly read. After this (if none of the magistrates interposed,) upon the order of him that presided in the *Comitia*, the people divided into their proper *Curia's* and consulted of the matter; and then the *Curia's* being called out, as it happened by lot, gave their votes, man by man, in ancient times *vivâ voce*, and afterwards by *Tablets*||; the most votes in every *Curia* going for the voice of the whole *Curia*, and the most *Curia* for the general consent of the people‡‡.

In the time of *Cicero*, the *Comitia Curiate* were so much out of fashion, that they were formed only by thirty *Lictors* representing

^{*} *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Civ. Rom.* l. 1. c. 17.
Prev. l. 3. c. 1. § See Part II. l. 1. c. 5.

† *A. Gell.* l. 15. c. 27. ‡ *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur.*
|| *Tabellæ.* †‡ *Rosin.* l. 7. c. 7.

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100

the whole sixth *Class* as but one *Century*: And after a full enquiry, it appeared

the thirty *Centuries*; whence in his second oration against *Rullus*, he calls them *Comitia admodum*.

THE *Comitia Centuriata* were instituted by *Servius Tullius*, who obliging everyone to give a true account of what he was worth, according to those accounts divided the people into six Ranks or *Classes*, which he subdivided into 193 *Centuries*. The first *Classis* containing the *Equites* and richest citizens, consisted of ninety-eight *Centuries*. The second, taking in the tradesmen and mechanics, made up two and twenty *Centuries*. The third, twenty. The fourth, twenty-two. The fifth, thirty. And the last, filled up with the poorer sort, but one century*.

And this, though it had the same name with the rest, yet was seldom regarded, or allowed any power in publick matters. Hence 'tis a common thing with the *Roman* authors, when they speak of the *Classes*, to reckon no more than five, the sixth not being worth their notice. This last *Classis* was divided into two parts, or orders, the *Prelerarii*, and the *Capite Cens.* The former, as their name implies, were designed purely to stock the commonwealth with men, since they could supply it with so little money. And the latter, who paid the lowest tax of all, were rather counted and marshalled by their heads, than their estates†.

Persons of the first rank, by reason of their pre-eminence, had the name of *Classees*; whence came the phrase of *Classici Auctores*, for the most approved writers. All others, of what *Classis* soever, were said to be *infra Classes*‡.

The assembly of the people by *Centuries*, were held for the electing of *Consuls*, *Censors*, and *Prætors*; as also for the judging of persons accused of what they called *Crimen Perduellionis*, or actions by which the party had show'd himself an enemy to the state; and for the confirmation of all such laws as were proposed by the chief magistrates, who had the privilege of calling these assemblies.

The place appointed for their meeting was the *Campus Martius*; because in the primitive times of the commonwealth, when they were under continual apprehensions of enemies, the people, to prevent any sudden as-

sault, went armed, in martial order, to hold these assemblies; and were for that reason forbid by the laws to meet in the city, because an army was upon no account to be marshalled within the walls: Yet in latter ages, 'twas thought sufficient to place a body of soldiers as a guard in the *Janiculum*, where an imperial standard was erected, the taking down of which, denoted the conclusion of the *Centuria*.

Though the time of holding these *Comitia* for other matters was undetermined; yet the magistrates, after the year of the city 601, when they began to enter on their place on the kalends of *January*, were constantly design'd about the end of *July*, and the beginning of *August*.

All the time between their election and confirmation, they continued as private persons, that inquisition might be made into the election, and the other candidates might have time to enter objections, if they met with any suspicion of foul dealing. Yet at the election of the *Censors*, this custom did not hold; but as soon as they were pronounced elected, they were immediately invested with the honour§.

By the institution of these *Comitia*, *Servius Tullius* secretly conveyed the whole power from the commons: For the *Centuries* of the first and richest class being called out first, who were three more in number than all the rest put together, if they all agreed, as generally they did, the business was already decided, and the other *Classes* were needless and insignificant. However the three last scarce ever came to vote||.

The commons, in the time of the free state, to rectify this disadvantage, obtained, that before they proceeded to voting any matter at these *Comitia*, that *Century* should give their suffrages first, upon whom it fell by lot, with the name of *Centuria Prærogativa*; the rest being to follow according to the order of their *Classes*. After the constitution of the five and thirty *Tribes*, into which the *Classes* and their *Centuries* were divided, in the first place, the *Tribes* cast lots, which should be the *Prærogative-Tribe*; and then the *Centuries* of the *Tribe*, for the honour of being the *Prærogative-Century*. All the other *Tribes* and *Centuries* had the appellation of *Jure vocata*, because they

* See *Dionys.* l. 4.
† *Dionys.* l. 4.

† *A. Gell.* l. 7. c. 13.

† *Vid. A. Gell.* l. 16. c. 10.

§ *Liv.* l. 40.

were

peared that the number of freemen, who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to eighty-four thousand, seven hundred.

D. Hal. B.

4. p. 225.

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These R O M E

SERVIVS

TULLIVS

SIXTH

King.

were called out according to their proper places.

The *Prerogative-Century* being chose by lot, the chief magistrate sitting in a * Tent in the middle of the *Campus Martius*, ordered that *Century* to come out and give their voices; upon which they presently separated from the rest of the multitude, and came into an inclosed apartment, which they termed *Septa*, or *Ovilia*, passing over the *pontes*, or narrow boards, laid there for the occasion; on which account, *de ponte dejici* is to be denied the privilege of voting, and persons thus dealt with, are called *Depontani*.

At the hither end of the *Pontes*, stood the *Diribitores* (a sort of under officers, called so from dividing or marshalling the people) and delivered to every man, in the election of magistrates, as many † Tablets as there appeared Candidates, one of whose names was written upon every Tablet.

A fit number of great chests were set ready in the *Septa*, and every body threw in which Tablet he pleas'd.

By the chests were placed some of the publick servants, who taking out the Tablets of every *Century*, for every Tablet made a prick, or a point in another Tablet, which they kept by them. Thus the business being decided by most points, gave occasion to the phrase of *omne tulit punctum* ‡, and the like.

The same method was observed in the judiciary processes at these *Comitia*, and in the confirmation of laws; except that in both these cases only two Tablets were offer'd to every person, on one of which was written *U. R.* and on the other *A.* in capital letters; the two first standing for *Uti Rogas*, or, *Be it as you desire*, relating to the magistrate who proposed the question; and the last for *Antiquo*, or *I forbid it*.

'Tis remarkable, that though in the election of magistrates, and in the ratification of laws, the votes of that *Century* whose Tablets were equally divided, signified nothing; yet in trials of life and death, if the Tablets *pro* and *con* were the same in number, the person was actually acquitted §.

THE division of the people into *Tribes*,

was an invention of *Romulus*, after he had admitted the *Sabines* into *Rome*; and tho' he constituted at that time only three, yet as the state increased in power, and the city in number of inhabitants, they rose by degrees to five and thirty. For a long time after this institution, a *Tribe* signified no more than such a space of ground with its inhabitants. But at last the matter was quite altered, and a *Tribe* was no longer *pars urbis* but *civitatis*; not a quarter of the city, but a company of citizens living where they pleased. This change was chiefly occasioned by the original difference between the *Tribes* in point of honour. For *Romulus* having committed all sordid and mechanick arts to the care of strangers, slaves, and libertines, and reserved the more honest labour of agriculture to the free-men and citizens, who by this active course of life might be prepared for martial service; the *Tribus Rusticae* were for this reason esteemed more honourable than the *Urbanæ*: And now all persons being desirous of getting into the more creditable division, and there being several ways of accomplishing their wishes, as by adoption, by the power of the *Censors* and the like; that *Rustick Tribe* which had most worthy names in its roll, had the preference to all others, tho' of the same general denomination. Hence all of the same great family, bringing themselves by degrees into the same *Tribe*, gave the name of their family to the *Tribe* they honoured; whereas at first, the generality of the *Tribes* did not borrow their names from persons but from places ||.

The first assembly of the *Tribes* we meet with, is about the year of *Rome* 263, conven'd by *Sp. Sicinius*, *Tribune* of the commons, upon account of the trial of *Coriolanus*. Soon after the *Tribunes* of the commons were ordered to be elected here: and at last all the inferior magistrates and the collegiate priests. The same *Comitia* served for the enacting of laws relating to war or peace, and all others proposed by the *Tribunes* and *Plebeian* officers, tho' they had not properly the name of *Leges*, but *Plebiscita*. They were generally conven'd by the *Tribunes* of the commons; but the same privilege was allowed to all the chief magistrates.

* *Tabernaculum*. † *Tab. Ille*. ‡ *Ille. de Arte Poet.* §. *Dionys.* 1. 7. ¶ See *Mr. Walker of Coins*, p. 126.

They

Year of
R O M E

Servius

Tullius

Scipio

Romulus

D. Hal. p.

224. 225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

These regulations being made, the troops were no longer raised at so many men each *Tribe*, nor were taxes levied at so much a head as formerly; but every *Century* furnished so many men, and so much money; and the first and richest *Class*, being more numerous in *Centuries* than all the rest together, furnished of consequence more men and more money for the public service than the whole *Roman* state besides. However, that ample amends might be made this *Class* for the weight laid on it, *Servius* gave it in effect the whole authority in publick affairs, by assembling the People in *Comitia* by *Centuries*, instead of *Comitia* by *Curie*. For the votes in the former being reckoned by *Centuries*; and the rich *Class* containing more *Centuries* than all the other five, had consequently every thing at its disposal. The votes of this *Class* were the first taken, so that if the 98 *Centuries* happened to agree in opinion, or only 97 of them, the affair was determined, because these made the majority of the 193 *Centuries* which composed the 6 *Classes*. There was very rarely any occasion to go so low as the fourth *Class* for a majority of votes. After this time the assemblies of the *Curie* were only held for the election of the *Flamines*, and the chief *Curio*; and for some other matters of no great moment.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

D. Hal. p.

225.

L. v. B. 1.

c. 43.

Servius having established this distinction among the citizens according to the * *census*, or valuation of their estates, commanded them to appear on a day appointed, under arms, and according to their *Classes* and *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, which was a large plain field, lying without the city near the *Tiber*. It had been consecrated by *Romulus* to the God *Mars*. Here, by the King's order, was made a solemn lustration or expiatory sacrifice in the name of all the people. The sacrifice consisted of a sow, a sheep and a bull, whence it took the name of *Succetaurilia*. The whole ceremony was called *Lustrum*, à *lucendo*, from *paying*, *expiating*, *clearing*, or perhaps from the Goddess *Lus* (so named from the verb *luo*) to whom *Servius* is said to have built a temple. She was invoked in all expiations, and when people made up their accounts and paid their debts. Because of the continual change of mens estates, it was ordered, that the *Census* should be renewed every 5 years, and it being usually closed by the *Lustrum*, it was hence that this word came to signify that term of years. 'Tis probable, that the first coined money ever known in *Rome* was struck at this time. The sacrifices of the *Lustrum* might perhaps lead *Servius* to stamp the figures of the animals there slain on pieces of brass of a certain weight.

They were confined to no place, and therefore sometimes we find them held in the *Comitium*, sometimes in the *Campus Martius*, and now and then in the capitol.

The proceedings were in most respects answerable to those already described in the account of the other *Comitia*, and therefore need not be insisted on; only we may farther observe of the *Comitia* in general, that when

any candidate was found to have most *Tablets* for a magistracy, he was declared to be *designated* or *elected* by the president of the assembly: And this they term'd *renunciari Consul*, *Prætor*, or the like: And that the last sort of the *Comitia* only could be held without the consent and approbation of the *Senate*, which was necessary to the convening of the other two*. *Kennet's Antiq. P. 2. B. 3. c. 16.*

* *Diwyf. l. 9.*

It is undoubted, that money was called *Pecunia*, from the word *Pecus*, i. e. Year of
Cattle. ROM E

§. V. THIS wise Prince contrived also to augment the number of SERVIVS
the citizens, by an expedient which none of his predecessors had ever TULLIVS
thought of. Remembering his former servile condition, he commiserat- Sixth
ed the case of those whom an unsuccessful war had reduced to slavery, and King.
who were often persons well born. He judged, that such of these unfortu-
nate People, who by long and faithful services to their masters had deserved
and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy to be made citizens
of *Rome*, than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were
usually admitted without distinction. He gave the *Freed-men* their choice
therefore, either to return to their own countries, or continue at *Rome*. D. Hal B.
Such as chose to continue there he divided into the four City Tribes. 4. P. 226.
They were still distinguished from the other *Plebeians*, by their old name
of *Liberti*, or freed-men, but enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens.
The Senate at first took offence at this regard shew'd to such mean peo-
ple; upon which the King having assembled them, addressed himself to
them in the following manner:

If nature has made any distinction between slaves and such as are born free, we ought indeed to observe the order she has established, and to divide those from the rest of mankind whom she has separated from them: but if the placing some in a state inferior to others, be owing to fortune only; does it not become your wisdom to rectify the capricious determinations of a blind Goddess? Has this Fortune, who now inspires you with so much contempt for men taken in war, promised you that your happiness shall be perpetual? Are you sure you and your children shall uninterruptedly enjoy this prosperity which renders you so haughty? Brave and illustrious nations have been often known to experience the vicissitudes of the fortune of war. Such as have play'd the tyrant over those they had conquered, have been themselves reduced to undergo tyranny and oppression from them in their turn. How many instances of these unexpected revolutions have we in Greece, and the barbarous nations? But to return to us Romans; how inconsistent are our proceedings, when we refuse the rights of citizens to those men, to whom we grant liberty? If your slaves were vicious, why did you set them free? And if they were men of probity, why are they not to be incorporated in our tribes? You have hitherto admitted to be citizens all such persons of the neighbouring nations as the love of your laws has drawn to your city. And have you enquired whether their birth was not blemished by the slavery of their fathers? Why then are you influenced, to the disadvantage of your slaves, by such reflections as have no weight with you against fugitives who are utter strangers? In short, if we must compleat the peopling of Rome, let us fill it with such as have for the most part breathed its air from their infancy, such as education has already made entirely Roman, and whose probity has shewn them worthy of recovering their liberty. The publick interest invites you to this, and it is the private interest of every noble family that it should be done. The more of your freed-men you see made citizens of Rome, the greater credit and influence will you have in our

Year of
N O M E
Comitia. *Gratitude will not suffer them to refuse you their suffrages; and your authority will increase in proportion to the number of your new clients.*

SERVITIUS
TULLIUS
C. XII.
K. 2.
D. H. S.
4. 1. 23.
230.
This discourse entirely appeased the Senators, and they passed his institution into a law which subsisted ever after.

§. VI. When *Servius* had thus established order among the people, and encouraged the slaves to virtue, he came at last, from a love of the publick good, to reform the Regal Power. His predecessors had reserved to themselves the cognizance of all causes both publick and private. It is true, the Senate and People decided in publick affairs by their votes, but it was the King's business to draw up in form and report the matters that were to be laid before them: So that in reality the whole weight of the government lay upon the King: and he finding the duties of his office too much for one man to discharge them as he ought, transferred to other judges, chosen out of the Senate, the care of hearing and deciding all private causes, excepting state crimes; but he prescribed to these judges certain rules and laws by which they were to proceed.

p. 230.
L. L. B. 1.
43.
All these regulations at home being finished, *Servius Tullius* then turned his thoughts abroad; and he laid a scheme for securing more effectually the friendship and fidelity of the *Latines* and *Sabines*, by such social ties as should be strengthened by religion. He summoned the several cities of *Latium* and *Sabinia* to send their deputies to *Rome*. When they were come, he proposed to them to build a temple to *Diana*, at which the *Latines* and *Sabines* should meet every year, and join with the *Romans* in offering sacrifices to the Goddess; that this festival should be followed by a council, at which all disputes, which had happened between the cities, should be amicably determined; that there proper measures should be taken to pursue their common interests; and lastly, that, in order to draw the common people thither, a fair should be kept, at which every one might furnish himself with what he wanted. To this proposal the deputies readily consented, leaving to the King to chuse a proper place where to erect the sanctuary. *Servius* chose the hill *Aventinus*; the temple was finished, and assemblies were annually held in it. The treaty of alliance with the *Latines*, the laws ordained to be observed in those assemblies, as likewise their decrees were engraved on a pillar; which in *Augustus's* time were still to be seen in the temple of *Diana*.

D. H. S.
4. 7. 43.
L. L. B. 43.
D. H. S.
43.
L. L. B. 43.
§. VII. TO compleat his work of making the *Roman* people entirely free, this republican King is said to have come to a resolution in the latter part of his life, to abdicate the throne and reduce the government to a democracy. But whatever scheme he might have of this kind, it was frustrated by the ambition and violence of *Tarquinius*, the elder of his sons-in-law, afterwards surnamed *the Proud*. *Tarquinius's* wife endeavoured by all the ways of sweetness and insinuation, to moderate and soften the haughty fierceness of her husband, and to divert him from all criminal enterprizes; while her younger sister, a very fury of a woman, was ever urging the quiet, the good-natured *Arms* to the most villainous attempts, in order to reach the throne. She loudly lamented her fate in being ty'd to such an indolent

indolent and drowsy husband. Similitude of temper and manners formed by degrees a great intimacy between her and *Tarquin*. At length she proposed to him nothing less than the murdering her father, sister, and husband, that they two might meet and ascend the throne together; and their conversation on this head ended in their anticipating the pleasures of an incestuous marriage. Shortly after they contrived the poisoning, he of his wife, she of her husband; and then impudently asked the King's and Queen's consent to their marriage. *Servius* and *Tarquinia*, though they did not give it, were silent, through too much indulgence for a daughter, in whom now was their only hope of posterity. These criminal nuptials were followed by intrigues against the King. The *Patricians*, apprehensive of the King's designs in favour of the people, were many of them easily brought over to favour the pretensions of *Tarquin*; and, by the help of money, he gained also great numbers of the poorer citizens to his interest. *Servius*, being informed of what was doing, had frequent conferences in private with his son-in-law and daughter, to persuade them by reason to desist from such proceedings, and to wait for the kingdom, till his death: But *Tarquin* and *Tullia* loved violent measures, and to make a noise; they despised the counsels of the King, and resolved to lay their pretensions before the Senate. So that the affair came to a formal process; and *Servius* was obliged to summon the Senate to hear it. *Tarquin* reproached his father-in-law, that he had placed himself upon the throne, without suffering a previous *Interregnum*; that he had bought the votes of the people, and had despised the suffrages of the Senate. He then urged his own right of inheritance to the kingdom, and the injustice of *Servius* (who was only his tutor) in keeping possession of it, when he himself was of an age to govern. To this *Servius* answered, that he had not been intrusted with the Regal Authority under an obligation to preserve it for his pupils, but to secure their lives against the sons of *Ancus*; who, if there could be an hereditary right to the scepter, had a much better one than the grandsons of the late King, who must himself have been an usurper. *Take your choice*, said he, *either to lay aside all hopes of reigning till after I am dead, or to submit from this instant to obey the murderers of your grandfather. But I am surprized, that there should be any among you, Fathers, who would join with this man in endeavouring to dethrone me. What injustice have I done you? Is there any violence, any oppression, any one tyrannical act you can accuse me of? No. But perhaps I am too proud and arrogant. Which of your former Kings ever shewed that moderation in the exercise of power which I have done? Have I not treated the citizens as a tender father his children? Have I not relinquished some part of the Regal Authority to you, and remitted all private causes to your cognizance and judgment? You have nothing to accuse me of but my kindness to the people. This is my only crime, and with regard to this, I have often justified myself to you. But it is needless to mention these things at present. If this *Tarquin* seems to you better qualified to govern, I will not envy the state a better prince than I am. I received the kingdom from the people; to them I will restore it; and will endeavour*

Year of
ROME
Servius
Tullius
Sixth
King.

D. H. E.
4. P. 235.

p. 236, 237.
107.

deavour to shew, when reduced to the condition of a private man, that as I knew how to govern, I know how to obey.

D. Hal. p.

240.

Year of
R O M E

SERVIVS
TULLIVS

Sixth

King.

When *Servius* had thus spoken, he immediately dismissed the Senate, and appointed an assembly of the people, which was proclaimed by heralds all over the city. The *Roman Forum* was soon filled with auditors, and the King harangued them in such a manner as gained all their affections. He began with an account of his exploits in war: he gave them the particulars of the battles he had fought, the victories he had won, and the triumphs he had obtained. And then passed on to the wholesome institutions of which he had been the author. The people repeated their applauses upon the mention of every action of *Servius*, and were a great while in suspense, not knowing to what this long preamble tended: Till, after an exact numeration of all the benefits for which the publick was indebted to his government, he fell at last upon *Tarquin*. *A new competitor for the throne offers himself to you, and comes to dispute with me the remains of a reign which I have dedicated to the happiness of the publick. He pretends that his dying grandfather bequeathed the kingdom to him, and that you had no right to dispose of the property of another. Can you bear this without indignation? Will you suffer your rights to be called in question? As for me, if the hardships of a tyrannical administration have made you weary of me, or if the virtues of *Tarquin* have made him more worthy to reign, I consent that you resume the scepter which I received from you: but I do not think myself at liberty to resign it into any hands but yours; and to you therefore I reject it.* As he ended these words, he would have immediately left the tribunal, but the people stopped him; they all cried out to him not to yield the throne to another. And amidst their confused noises, these words were likewise heard, *Let *Tarquin* perish, let him die, let us kill him!* This language terrified the proud Prince, and he retired to his house in great haste: whilst the King was conducted back to his palace with the acclamations of the people.

§. VIII. AND now *Tarquin* finding the ill success of violent measures, acted a new part. By caresses and submissions he entirely regained the King's favour, and lulled him into an agreeable security. Tranquillity seemed for some time to be re-established in the royal family; but it was not long before the cruel *Tullia* put an end to it. To reflect that *Tanaquil* a foreigner had made two Kings of *Rome* successively, and that she herself, a King's daughter, was not able to make one, were such afflicting thoughts as would allow her no repose. She fancied her husband grown stupid and insensible, she upbraided him with cowardice, and incited him to act every crime which could serve ambition. *I thought to have found in thee a man of spirit, a true *Tarquin*, one who had rather have than hope for a kingdom. If thou art the man whom I thought I married, I must call thee King as well as husband. Renze thyself. Thou hast no need like thy grandfather to come from *Corinth* or *Tarquinius* to seek a kingdom. Thy household Gods, the Gods of thy country, the royal palace, the regal throne in that palace, the name of *Tarquin*, create and call thee King.* But if thou art unmoved

Liv. B. 1.

cc. 47.

by

by all this, why dost thou deceive the expectations of the People? Why dost thou suffer them to regard thee as a man of a princely soul? Go, coward, get thee hence to Tarquinii or Corinth; thou hast more in thee of thy brother, than of thy grandfather.

Year of
R O M E
SERVIUS
TULLIUS
Sixth
King.

Tarquin, incited by these reproaches of his wife, renewed his intrigues among the Senators. He went from house to house to beg votes, and made his own house a rendezvous of pleasure for the young *Patricians*. Having formed his party, he chose the time of harvest (when most of the principal citizens were in the country) to put in practice a stratagem which surprized the People by its novelty, and succeeded by the boldness of its execution. Cloathed in royal robes, preceded by some of his domesticks bearing *Fasces*, and followed by a great number of his party, who had swords under their robes; he crossed the *Roman Forum*, and came to the gate of the temple where the Senators were wont to assemble. From thence he sent expresses to them all, commanding them, in King Tarquin's name, to repair immediately thither. He then advanced with a grave pace, and seated himself on the royal throne. Those of the Senators who were of his faction he found already in their places, having given them private notice to be there early; and he now exhorted them resolutely to pursue the intention of their meeting. In the mean time, the rest of the Senators made all the haste they could to the place to which they were summoned. The greater part of them thought *Servius* dead, since *Tarquin* assumed the title and the functions of King; and no one durst keep away from the assembly, for fear his absence, in the beginning of a reign, should be made a crime. When the Senators were got together, *Tarquin* repeated the invectives they had so often heard him utter against his father-in-law: *That being a slave and the son of a slave, he had, after the cruel murder of Tarquin the late King, possessed himself of the kingdom, not by the free voices of the People, or the approbation of the Senate, but by the mere artifice of a woman. That thus born, and thus created King, he had ever been a favourer of mean wretches like himself, and, out of hatred to the Patricians, for their noble birth, had stript them of their estates to give them to the vilest of the people; that the burdens which were before common to all he had heaped on the nobles alone, and had instituted the Census for no other reason, but that the fortunes of the rich might be more visible to the eye of envy, and that he might have them ready to bestow on beggars whenever he be pleased.*

Livy, B. 1.
c. 47.

While he was yet speaking, *Servius Tullius* appeared. He had been informed of the part his son-in-law was acting in the Senate, and immediately hastened thither with but few attendants, and with more boldness than discretion. As soon as he beheld *Tarquin* on the throne, he cried out at a distance, and with a loud voice, *What is it, thou most flagitious of men, that has made thee thus audacious to convene the Senate, and take possession of my throne, while I am alive?—It is thy impudence*, *Servius*, replied *Tarquin*, *it is thy iniquity. I fill the place of my grandfather, which thy villainess was not ashamed to usurp. Is a King's grandson or his slave the more*

c. 48.

worthy

Year of ~~senility to inherit his kingdom? A slave that has been too long suffered, licen-~~
 R O M E ~~tiously to insult his masters?~~ These words threw the old King into a transf-
 CCXIX. port of passion, which made him rashly give way to the motions of his
 S E N A T U S courage, without considering his strength. He drew near the throne to
 T U L L I U S pull *Tarquin* down from it. This raised a great shout in the assembly, and
 the people crowded into the temple; but no body ventured to part the two
 rivals. *Tarquin*, who was now under a necessity of coming to extremi-
 ties, being more strong and vigorous, seized the old man by the waist,
 and hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of
 the steps into the *Forum*. The King, grievously hurt and covered with
 blood, raised himself up with some difficulty, but all his friends had de-
 serted him; only two or three of the people, touched with compassion, lent
 him their arms to lead him to his palace. As they were slowly trailing him
 D. Hal. p. along, the cruel *Tullia* appeared in the *Forum*. She had come hastily in her
 242. chariot, upon the report she had heard of what passed in the Senate. She
 found her husband on the top of the steps of the temple, and, being trans-
 ported with joy, was the first who saluted him King; and her example was
 immediately followed by the Senators of *Tarquin's* party. She then took
 her husband aside, and suggested to him the thought of not leaving his work
 imperfect; upon which he instantly dispatched some of his domesticks, to
 overtake the old King, and deprive him of his small remains of life.

p. 242. *Tullia* having heard the orders given for the parricide, mounted her
 chariot again with an air of triumph to return home. The way to her house
 was through a narrow street called *Vicus Cyprius*^a, or the good street. Ex-
 tended across it lay the King's body, which was still panting. The cha-
 rioteer perceived it, and being struck with horror, checked his horses and
 made a stop. *Why don't you go on?* cried *Tullia* to him. *What is it that*
stops you? The charioteer turned about to her, *alas!* said he, *it is the*
body of the King your father. At these words *Tullia* catching up a stool
 which was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, *Go on, villain,*
she cried, are you afraid of driving over a dead corps? The charioteer obeyed;
 and the blood of the father is said to have dyed the chariot wheels, and
 even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. And from hence the street was
 called ever after *Vicus Sceleratus*, the wicked street.

Such was the deplorable end of *Servius*, a Prince of so excellent a con-
 duct, says *Livy*, that even a good successor, a reasonable King, would have
 found it difficult to emulate him. He subdued all the enemies of *Rome*,
 and never made it his business to create her new ones. He did not con-
 quer merely for the sake of glory; he rated the value of his conquests
 only by their tendency to the publick good. One triumph did not beget
 the ambition of obtaining another. He made *Rome* more formidable, by
 twenty years of peace, than his predecessors had done by many victories, and
 the sacking of a hundred cities. He introduced order in the *Militia*, and
 publick revenues; he rectified the confusion of the assemblies of the Peo-

^a The word *Cyprius*, according to *Varro*, who had inhabited this quarter, good or
 signified in the old language of the *Sabines*, happy.

ple; he extended the jurisdiction of the Senate, and yet kept its authority within due bounds. He distinguished the rich, only to make them bear the heaviest burdens; and he eased the poor, that he might keep them contented, and without murmuring, in their inferiority. In a word, he was beloved by the People, esteemed by the *Patricians*, and perhaps would have had no enemies if he could have preserved the affections of his own family. He died at seventy-four years of age, after he had reigned forty-four. *Tarquin* refusing to suffer the usual obsequies to be performed for him, lest it might occasion a dangerous commotion among the people, *Tarquinius* conveyed the body of her husband privately by night to his tomb; and the night following she died herself; but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedness of *Tullia*, is uncertain. The veneration the people had for the memory of *Servius* seems to have placed him among the Gods. The slaves annually celebrated his festival in the temple of *Diana Aventina*, on the day he lost his life.

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SERVIVS
TULLIVS
Sixth
King.

D. Hal. P.
243.

C H A P. VIII.

T A R Q U I N I U S S U P E R B U S.

§. I. *The tyranny of Tarquin, who gets the surname of the Proud. His haughty treatment of the Latine deputies and treacherous contrivance to destroy Turnus Herdonius.* §. II. *The Latine association, and the institution of the FERIAE LATINÆ. Tarquin assisted by the Latines defeats the Volsci and subdues the Sabines. He finishes the COMMON SEWERS and CIRCUS MAXIMUS at Rome.* §. III. *His war with the people of Gabii, and the cruel stratagem whereby he becomes master of that city.* §. IV. *The adventure of the woman with the SYBIL'S BOOKS. The rise of the written civil law. Tarquin builds the temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.* §. V. *He sends two of his sons with Brutus to consult the oracle at Delphos.* §. VI. *The rape of LUCRETIA. The Tarquins are banished, and a COMMONWEALTH established at Rome.*

OF the seven Kings, who successively governed *Rome*, only the four first seem to have ascended the throne by the people's free choice, according to the original constitution of the State. The elder *Tarquin* (distinguished after this time by the surname of *Priscus*) had indeed the voices both of the *Curie* and of the Senate for his elevation; but, as he bought these voices, he in reality bought the kingdom: His successor *Servius Tullius* (though his merit entitled him to it) may be said to have artfully stole it: and as for the present *Tarquin*, the last of the *Roman* Kings, he seized upon it as his property, his undoubted right by inheritance. He who had so often reproached his predecessor with usurpation, for his want of a legal election to the government, disdained any other title

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L. H. B.

4. P. 244.

& 100.

Livy, B. 1.

c. 49.

D. H. B.

264.

P. 245.

245.

P. 247.

Livy, B. 1.

c. 50.

title to it himself, but that of hereditary right, or possession acquired by regicide.

The whole series of this Prince's reign was suitable to the manner of his accession to the throne. Scarcely had he seated himself there, when for his capricious humour and arrogant behaviour he got the surname of *the Proud*. He communicated no affairs of state either to Senate or People. Having made sure of a sufficient number of soldiers, partly strangers, to guard his person and to execute his pleasure; all his proceedings were by acts of power; and how grievous soever was the oppression, the oppressed were denied the privilege of complaining. Informers were dispersed throughout the city; the King was the sole judge of the accused; wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes. Of this latter the Tyrant gave a remarkable proof in the murder of *M. Junius*, a venerable old man, the father of the famous *L. Junius Brutus*, who afterwards destroyed the Regal Power. This *M. Junius* was descended of a noble family, and had an ample patrimony, upon which considerations the first *Tarquin* had given him his youngest daughter in marriage. The new King, to get possession of his estate, caused both him and his other son to be assassinated, and *Brutus* escaped only by counterfeiting stupidity. In short, *Tarquin* carried his tyranny to such excess, that the flower of the Senate went into a voluntary banishment, to avoid the effects of his cruelty and avarice. The People, who had rejoiced at first to see the Senate humbled, were now in their turn as ill-treated as the *Patricians*, and all the laws made in their favour were annulled. The poor were constrained to pay the same taxes as the rich. No *Census*, no *Lustrum*, no division of the citizens into *Classes* and *Centuries*. All assemblies of the people, even for diversion and recreation, were prohibited, both in town and country.

But now *Tarquin*, being sensible that all the orders of men in a state could not be long under oppression, without uniting against the oppressor, turned his thoughts to gain foreigners to his interest. And to this end he married his daughter to *Ostavius Mamilius*, a man of bravery and experience in war, and of the most considerable interest of any among the *Latines*. *Mamilius* procured his father-in-law many friends of the chief persons of *Latium*; but *Tarquin* had like to have lost them again by his haughty behaviour. He had desired the *Latines* to convene a national Council at *Ferentinum*, where he would meet them on a day appointed by himself. The deputies came and took their places in the sacred grove of the temple of *Flora*. There they waited many hours, but *Tarquin* did not appear. The assembly grew impatient, and *Turnus Herdonius*, an enterprising eloquent man, who hated *Tarquin*, and was jealous of *Mamilius*, laid hold of this occasion to inveigh against the King. *I am not all surprized*, said he, *that Rome has given Tarquin the surname of the Proud. What can be a greater instance of pride than thus to trifle with the whole Latine nation; to summon hither the Latine Chiefs to meet him, and not to appear himself? Doubtless he means to put our patience to the test, and to judge by our manner of bearing his insults, how far he may oppress us when he has brought us under his yoke. If my ad-*

vice may have any weight with you, let us return home and take no more notice of the assembly-day than he who appointed it. But Mamilius rose up and excused his father-in-law, by imputing his absence to some unforeseen and urgent affairs which hindered his coming, and he prevailed to have the council adjourned to the next day^a. Then Tarquin appeared, and being put in mind by those who were near him to make some excuse to the Latines for having disappointed them the day before, *I was engaged*, said he very coldly, *in making up a difference between a father and his son.—Of all differences, (briskly answered Herdonius) there is none requires so little time and so few words to compose it. There needs only to tell the son, that if he do not obey his father some dreadful mischief will befall him.* This beginning did not please Tarquin, but he concealed his resentment for the present, and proceeded to tell the assembly, that his design in calling them together was to claim his right of commanding the Latine armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grandfather; but which he desired might be confirmed to him by them. These words were scarce ended, when Herdonius stepping forth into the midst of the assembly, with great warmth renewed his invectives against the King and opposed his demand. *What!* said he, *does Tarquin the Proud pretend to an hereditary right to govern us? Needs there any stronger proof, than such a claim, of the injustice and wickedness of him who makes it? Was it then a condition in the treaties we made with his grandfather, that we should be subject to his posterity? Was this the meaning of the voluntary and temporary concession we made to him? Tarquin employs the same pretence of hereditary right against us, which he has improved to the ruin of Rome. Latines! if you hearken to him, your slavery is as certain as that of the Romans. And will it be less severe? His own subjects have been some of them murdered by him, others banished their country, others stripped of their estates; the very best among the Romans have been thus treated, and all in general are deprived of liberty. Will strangers find Tarquin a less cruel and less covetous master? Judge of the fate you are to expect by that of Rome.*

Tarquin was disconcerted by the boldness of this orator, and desired that the assembly might sit again the following day, when he promised to give an answer to the invectives of Herdonius. In the mean time he corrupted some of Herdonius's domesticks, and engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their master's baggage. The next morning entering the assembly with an air of confidence, he told them that one word was sufficient to destroy all the calumnies of Herdonius. *In reality (he added) my accuser has himself acquitted me. Were I such a person as he represents me, would he have sought an alliance with me? He earnestly solicited me to give him my daughter in marriage; but for good reasons I refused to accept him for a son-in-law, and here is the source of his malice. But this is no time to enter further into my justification. Your own interests, your own safety, your liberties and lives demand at present all your attention.* He then accu-
Livy, B. 1. c. 50.
D. Hal. p. 248.
p. 249.
Livy, B. 1. c. 50.

^a Livy says, B. 1. c. 50. That the assembly was formed early in the morning, and that Tarquin arrived the evening of the same day.

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his adversary of having laid a plot to cut off all the Deputies there present, and to usurp a tyranny over the *Latine* cities; and, as a proof of this, he informed them of the arms in *Herdonius's* baggage. An accusation of such importance threw all the assembly into a fright, except the accused, who knowing nothing of those arms, and believing that his innocence would quickly appear, desired his baggage might be searched; declaring at the same time, his consent to be judged guilty, if the fact, alledged in evidence of the crime, proved true: accordingly an examination was made; and the arms being found and brought into the assembly, it put the Deputies into such a rage, that, without suffering *Herdonius* to make his defence, they immediately sentenced him to be thrown into a basin at the head of the spring of *Ferentinum*; where a hurdle being laid upon him, and stones heaped upon the hurdle, he was pressed down into the water and drowned.

§. II. BUT the death of an enemy was not the only advantage *Tarquin* drew from this monstrous treachery: The *Latines* looked upon him as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grandfather, and declared the King of *Rome* General of the *Latine* armies. And, soon after this, the *Hernici*, and two *Cantons* of the *Volsci*, entered into a league with him upon the same terms. In order to keep these confederates firm to their engagements, *Tarquin*, with their approbation, erected a new temple in the midst of them to *Jupiter Latialis*. It stood on a hill near the ruins of *Alba*. There the Diets of the united *Cantons* were annually to assemble; and it was agreed that the several nations in league should upon no pretence do any act of hostility against each other during that time; but should there jointly offer sacrifices to *Jupiter* and feast together in token of union. These assemblies were called *Latia*; and the day appointed for their annual meeting, which was the 27th of *April*, was called *Ferie Latine*. The *Romans*, as the chief members of the alliance, always presided at the sacrifices and deliberations. The Diet consisted of forty-seven Deputies; from so many cities, forming that *Latine* association, which, in after-times, was the best part of the *Roman* strength, and contributed more than all the rest of *Italy* to the conquest of the world.

CCXXIV. *Tarquin*, thus strengthened and supported, resolved to make war upon those of the *Volsci* who had refused to enter into alliance with him. But he did not raise his army upon the foot of *Servius's* division of the *Roman* soldiery by *Centuries*, nor were the allies any longer a separate corps. Not having sufficient confidence in the fidelity of his *Romans*, he chose only a small number of them, such as he could most depend on, and blended them with the *Latines* in the same *Legions*. The inhabitants of *Suessa Pometia*, one of the most flourishing cities of the *Volsci*, having committed some depredations on the *Latines*, *Tarquin* laid hold of this pretence to begin the war. He defeated their army, took their city by storm, and gave the plunder of it as free booty to the soldiers, reserving only the tenth part of the spoil towards the expence of finishing the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

He

He then turned his arms against the *Sabines*, who had divided all their forces into two bodies, and posted them, one near *Eretum*, the other near *Tidenæ*. By his masterly conduct, he entirely defeated both armies, and made the whole *Sabine* nation tributary. And it is probable, that the King at this time decreed himself two triumphs, one for his victory over the *Volsci*, the other for having subdued the *Sabines*.

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Upon his return to *Rome*, he set the people at work to finish the common sewers, and the great *Circus*. He thought an idle populace, who did not love their Prince, dangerous. The artificers were likewise taken out of their shops, and obliged to painful drudgeries, with short allowance: but by these vexatious methods he brought to perfection those two structures which his grandfather had begun.

§. III. IN the mean while, a great number of discontented *Patricians*, who fled from their own city, took refuge at *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, about 100 furlongs from *Rome* in the way to *Prænestæ*; and the inhabitants being touched with compassion to see so many considerable persons under persecution, resolved to make themselves parties in the quarrel, and begin a war with the King of *Rome*. *Tarquin* was informed of their preparations to take the field, and, suspecting against whom they were designed, raised a prodigious bulwark (much boasted of in after-ages) to cover the city on the side of *Gabii*. This war between the *Romans* and the *Gabini* lasted seven years, with various success; and the inroads and devastations made on both sides, being a hindrance to all sowing and reaping, produced at length a scarcity of corn. It was chiefly felt at *Rome*, where complaints were made by the people, that they suffered, not by any hatred of their neighbours to them, but to the King; and they demanded either a peace or provisions; and these discontents were fomented by emissaries from the exiles at *Gabii*. *Tarquin* being much perplexed by the people's clamours, which tended to a general sedition, his son *Sextus Tarquinius* proposed, and, in concert with him, put in practice an expedient equally artful and dishonourable for reducing *Gabii*. He pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed against him as a tyrant, who had no compassion even for his own children; upon which the King caused him to be beaten publicly in the *Forum* as a rebel. This discontent of the son, and barbarity of the father, were reported at *Gabii* by trusty persons sent thither on purpose, who by artful management made the *Gabini* very desirous to have *Sextus* among them. Accordingly a secret negotiation was set on foot for that end, and *Sextus* was at length prevailed with to accept the invitation of the *Gabini*, they giving him their solemn promise never to deliver him up to his father, on any pretence whatsoever.

CCXXXV
to
CCXLI.
D. Hal. p.
253.
P. 254.
Liv. B. 1.
c. 53.

When he was come to *Gabii*, his whole talk, both in publick and private, turned upon the tyranny of the King of *Rome*; and he suited his actions to his discourse. No enemy of *Rome* was more active and enterprising. He frequently made inroads on the *Roman* lands, and came back loaded with spoil; his father contriving to gain him honour, by always sending against him weak parties which must infallibly be worsted. By

D. H. ibid.
Liv. c. 54.

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D. Hal. p.
255.

p. 256.

p. 257.

D. Hal. p.
260.

this means, *Sextus* came at length to such a high degree of credit among the *Gabini*, that he was chosen General of their army, and was as much master in *Gabii*, as *Tarquin* was in *Rome*. And now finding his authority sufficiently established, he dispatched a slave to his father, to enquire what he should do. The King, unwilling to send an answer, either in writing, or by word of mouth, took the slave into a garden, and there (in imitation of *Tharjivius* the *Milesian*) struck off the heads of all the tallest poppies. This done, he sent back the messenger. *Sextus* understood the hint, assembled the *Gabini*, and pretended to have discovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people in a rage pressed him to declare the conspirators, and with much difficulty he suffered them, as it were, to extort from him the name of *Antistius Petro*, a man whose merit had made him the most considerable person in his country. *Antistius* despised the accusation; but *Sextus* had bribed his servants (in the same manner as *Tarquin* had formerly done those of *Herdonius*) to convey among his papers some letters from the King of *Rome*; which being produced and read, the populace, without further examination, immediately stoned him; and to *Sextus* was committed the care of discovering his accomplices, and appointing their punishment. Upon this he ordered the city gates to be shut, and sent officers into every quarter of it, to cut off the heads of all the eminent men, and flower of the Nobility, without mercy. And in the midst of the desolation and confusion, caused by this dreadful massacre, he opened the gates to his father, to whom he had given timely notice of his design; and *Tarquin* entered the city with all the pride of a conqueror.

The *Gabini* no sooner saw themselves thus totally at the mercy of the Tyrant, but they fell into the lowest depths of despair, and there was no evil which they did not expect to suffer. However, their misfortunes were not so great as their fears. *Tarquin* upon this occasion consulted good policy more than his revenge. Not one of the citizens was put to death by his orders. He granted them life, liberty, and estates, and even entered into a treaty with the city; the articles of which, when it was ratified, were written on a shield made of the hide of an ox sacrificed on that occasion. This treaty was yet to be seen at *Rome* in *Augustus's* time, in the temple of *Jupiter Fidius*.

It was one part of *Tarquin's* refined politicks to keep his sons at a distance from him. He left *Sextus* therefore in *Gabii*, and made him King of the place. His two other sons, *Titus* and *Aruns*, he sent away under pretence of making them the founders of two colonies*. The first

was

* It is proper to declare, in the beginning of this history, on what occasions the *Romans* sent out colonies, and what privileges those colonies enjoyed. The *Romans* never sent out their citizens to found colonies, but either to enlarge their limits, or to curb some nations who were yet unsubdued, or to ease their city

of too great a number of inhabitants, or to get rid of a multitude who were inclined to sedition, or to reward the old soldiers of the *Roman* legions. Before these colonies set out from *Rome*, a certain quantity of land was assigned them, in the place where they were to settle, which was to be their own property.

was to build a city at *Signia*, and the other at *Circæum*, a promontory on the shore of the *Tyrrhene* sea, and both these to keep the *Volsi* in awe.

§. IV. *TARQUIN* now enjoyed a profound peace at *Rome*; the *Romans* were become accustomed to the yoke of an imperious master; and the weight of oppression made them silent. It was at this time that an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which she offered to sell, but at a very considerable price. *Tarquin* refusing to give it, she withdrew and burnt three of the nine. Some time after she returned to court, and demanded the same price for the remaining six. This made her look'd upon as a mad woman, and she was driven away with scorn. Nevertheless having burnt the half of what were left, she came a third time, and demanded, for the remaining three, the same price which she had asked for the whole nine. The novelty of such a proceeding made *Tarquin* curious to have the books examined. They were put therefore into the hands of the *Augurs*, who finding them to be the oracles of the *Sybil* of *Cumæ*, declared them to be an invaluable treasure. Upon this the woman was paid the sum she demanded, and she soon after disappeared, having first exhorted the *Romans* to preserve her books with care. They soon began to be religiously respected at *Rome*. *Tarquin* appointed two persons of distinction^a, to be guardians of them. These were styled *Duumviri*. When the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was built, the books were locked up there in a vault, and were afterwards burnt with the temple itself.

It was also in this *Tarquin's* time, that the written civil law had its rise among the *Romans*. One *Papirius*, a Senator, collected all the laws made by the Kings into one^b body, which was called the *Papirian* law.

Rome

perty. And the number of families sent from *Rome* was proportioned to the quantity of ground which was to be given them. The persons so transplanted were generally such as had neither land nor houses, either in city or country. They marched to the place of their new habitation in order of battle. There they either built them a city themselves, or took possession of one already built, which was left empty for them. Here they lived agreeably to the *Roman* laws, but immediately lost the right of suffrage they had had in the *Comitia*. Nor could they stand for any office in the Commonwealth, unless they were again made citizens of *Rome*. C. & R.

^a These officers were afterwards increased to 10 (*Decemviri*), and then to 15 (*Quindcemviri*.) It was their business to consult the *Sybilline* books, whenever the Senate thought it proper: But recourse was had to them, in times only of publick distress; as when a dangerous sedition threatened the state,

when the *Roman* armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to *Rome*; as for instance, an eruption of the fire of *Vesuvius* or *Ætna*, or some monstrous birth of man or beast. Then the *Duumviri* had the care of putting in execution whatever they thought commanded by the books of the *Sybil*. They presided over the sacrifices, and publick sports, which they appointed, to appease the wrath of Heaven. And lastly, they ordered every thing that related to the *Ludi Seculares*. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, as well as from civil and military employments. This sort of magistracy continued at *Rome* till the time of *Theodosius*, when it was abolished with the rest of the *Roman* superstitions. C. & R.

^b Some pretend, that *Papirius's* work did not continue long in use, since the laws of the Kings did not survive *Tarquin the Proud*, but were abolished with the regal Power. But this

D. Hal. B. 4. p. 258, 259. C. & R. *Rome* continuing in peace, *Tarquin* laid hold of the opportunity to carry on the magnificent work his grandfather had begun, the temple of the *Capital*. The money necessary for it had been laid by ever since the taking of *Saga Pometia*. He hired architects and skilful workmen from *Hetruria*; and as to the laborious part, he made his subjects the drudges, as he had often done before; but as this was a religious undertaking, they assisted in carrying it one with more chearfulness than usual.

§. V. WHILE *Tarquin* and the *Romans* were thus employed, a dreadful plague raged in *Rome*; and this with some other extraordinary events made such an impression upon his mind, that he resolved to send his sons *Titus* and *Aruns* to consult the oracle of *Delphi* upon the cause and cure of the contagion. The Princes prepared magnificent presents for *Apollo*; and *Junius Brutus* (the counterfeit idiot) being to attend them for their amusement in the journey, resolved to carry his offering too. The present he chose for the God was an elder-stick, and this was matter of diversion to the whole court. However, as he knew that the Gods of those times, or their ministers, were much affected with valuable offerings, he had the precaution to inclose a rod of gold in his stick, without any body's knowledge. And thus it was a true emblem of his own mind and conduct,

this opinion ought to be confined within just bounds. It is true, the laws that favoured the monarchick state were abolished after the revolution, which changed the government of *Rome* into a Republick. But the laws which related to good polity in general, such as those of *Servius Tullius* concerning commerce, contracts, the *Census*, and the *Lex*, always continued in force. It may likewise be affirmed, that the laws of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and other Kings were still respected, and ever continued to be, as it were, the ground-work of the *Roman* law. C. & R.

* The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was situated on the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, which had been long since made a part of *Rome*. The original of the new name of *Capitol*, given to this hill, is by historians said to be this. As the workmen were digging the foundations, or levelling the *Area* of the temple of *Jupiter*, they are said to have found, very deep in the earth, the head of a man, whose features were preserved entire, and the blood of it was red as if but newly shed. This the *Romans* looked on as a prodigy, and the *Hetrurian* diviners being consulted upon it, declared it to presage, that *Rome* would some time or other become the mistress and head of *Italy*. The prodigy and the answer of the *Augurs* therefore encouraged *Tarquin* to spare neither pains nor cost, in

the raising a structure to the honour of those Gods, who were the authors of so glorious a destiny. Accordingly the foundations of it, were marked out, and the temple was built of almost a square form; for it was but fifteen feet longer than it was broad. It is reckoned to have been two hundred feet broad, and about two hundred and fifteen feet long. The front of this great building was to the south, that is, it faced the hill *Palatinus* and the *Forum Romanum*. An hundred steps led up to it from the *Forum*, which were divided at certain distances, by large half-paces, or landing-places, to give those who went up time to breathe, before they came to the top of the hill, and the foot of the *Portico*. This front consisted of three rows of pillars; and the two sides of the temple were adorned with a *Peristyle*, consisting of a double row of pillars. It was, in after ages, burnt down more than once; and the *Romans* always rebuilt it, still preserving the same proportions: till at last, the embellishments that were added to it, made it one of the richest sanctuaries in the world. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt, both within and without. It contained three chapels, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva*, or was rather three temples under the same roof. D. Hal. B. 4. p. 258, 259. C. & R.

who

who under a contemptible outside concealed the richest gifts of nature. It is probable that the Oracle told them, among other things, that there would quickly be a new reign at *Rome*; because it is said, that when they had performed their father's commission they enquired, which of them should succeed *Tarquin*; and that the God declared, that the government of *Rome* was destined to HIM *who should first give a kiss to his mother*. Upon this we are told, that the two brothers either drew lots, which of them at their return to *Rome* should first kiss his mother *Tullia*, or agreed to do it both together, that they might reign jointly; but that *Brutus*, imagining the Oracle had another meaning, pretended to fall down by chance and kissed the earth, the common mother of all living. Whether these things be entirely fabulous or not, the revolution, which abolished the Regal Power, happened soon after their return to *Rome*. They found the city in a commotion, on account of the war in which the King was engaged with the *Rutuli*. In hopes of recruiting his exhausted treasury, he had marched his army to *Ardea*, their capital, about 20 miles from *Rome*, thinking to take it without opposition: but he found himself obliged to besiege it in form. This put him under a necessity of laying a heavy tax upon the people; and this tax greatly increased the number of the malecontents, and disposed them to a revolt.

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II.
Seventh
King.
Livy, ibid.
D. Hal. p.
265.
CCXLIII.

§. VI. THE siege being carried on very slowly, the general officers had a good deal of leisure for diversions, and they mutually made entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when *Sextus Tarquinius* was entertaining his brothers, their kinsman *Collatinus* being of the company, the conversation happened to turn upon the merit of wives. Every one extoll'd the good qualities of his own; but *Collatinus* affirm'd, that his *Lucretia* excelled all others. It was a kind of quarrel, and in order to end it, they took the method which mirth and wine inspired; which was to mount their horses, go and surprize their wives: and it was agreed, that she whom they found employed in the manner most becoming her sex, should have the preference. Away therefore they galloped first to *Rome*, where they surprized the King's daughters-in-law all together in the midst of feasting and diversions; and the Ladies seemed much disconcerted by the unexpected return of their husbands. From *Rome* they hastened away to *Collatia*, the place where *Collatinus* resided in time of peace. (He was the grandson of *Egerius* that nephew of *Tarquinius Priscus* beforementioned, to whom that King gave the city and territory of *Collatia* in property.) Tho' the night was far advanced when the Princes arrived there, they found *Lucretia* up, with her maids about her, spinning and working in wool. The company her husband brought her of a sudden did not discompose her; and they were all pleased with the reception she gave them. *Sextus* was so captivated with her beauty, and so inflamed with passion, which her insuperable modesty made the more violent, that he became exceedingly unwilling to leave the place; but there was an

Livy, B. 1.
c. 57.

* See Page 78.

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K. of
Lat. B. 1.
c. 43.

D. H. B.
4. p. 262,
273.

Livy, *ibid.*

D. Hal. p.
275.

absolute necessity for his appearing at the camp before *Ardea*. However he found a pretence to return very soon to *Collatia*; and went to lodge at his kinsman's house. *Lucretia*, in her husband's absence, entertained him with great civility and respect, and after supper he was conducted to his apartment. When all were asleep he stole into *Lucretia's* chamber, and coming with his drawn sword to her bed side, laid his left hand upon her breast and awakened her: *Lucretia*, said he, *I am Sextus Tarquinius, if you speak a word you die.* Then he declared his passion, and by intreaties, mixed with menaces, endeavoured to make her yield to his desires. And when he found that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to consent, he threatened her also with intamy. He told her that he would kill one of her slaves, lay him naked by her when she was dead, and then declare to all the world that he had only revenged the injured honour of *Collatinus*. The dread of ignominy was too powerful for *Lucretia's* constancy; *Sextus* obtained his wishes, and early the next morning appeared again in the camp. *Lucretia*, though she had escaped what she dreaded as the greatest of evils, yet could not endure the thoughts of life after the violence she had suffered. She dressed herself in mourning, took a ponyard under her robe, wrote to her husband at the camp to meet her at her father *Lucretius's* house, and then mounting her chariot came to *Rome* *. People were surprized to see her wearing all the marks of the deepest sorrow, and often asked her as she passed along what was the cause of her grief. She answered them only by weeping; and, when the same question was put to her at her father's house, she still refused to discover the matter, till there should be a full assembly of her friends and relations, whom she desired might be called together. Upon the first summons great numbers of the Nobility crowded to the house, and among the rest *P. Valerius* (afterwards *Poplicola*) and *Lucius Junius*, who seems to have waited for this moment to throw off that mask of stupidity, which had got him the surname of *Brutus*. When the assembly was pretty numerous, she addressed herself to her husband *Collatinus*, disclosed in few words the whole secret, her own shame and his dishonour, and the treacherous author of both: She protested the unspotted innocence of her heart, but at the same time declared her firm resolution not to live, and conjured them not to let the crime of *Sextus Tarquinius* go unpunished: All who were present gave her, one by one, their solemn promise to revenge the insult she had suffered; they also endeavoured to comfort her, by telling her, that the body could not sin, and that there could be no guilt, where the mind was unconsenting; but nothing could divert her from the desperate resolution she had taken: *No*, said she, *no woman shall hereafter survive her honour, and say, Lucretia was her example*; and then having embraced her father and her husband, as one that

* According to *Livy*, she sent to desire her own house, and it was at *Collatia* that her father and husband to come to her at she killed herself.

bids a last farewell, she immediately plunged the concealed dagger into her breast. Her father and husband, starting, cried out as she fell at their feet; a mixture of compassion and fury seized the whole assembly; and the blood which *Lucretia* shed to attest her innocence, or repair her glory, served likewise to cement the union of those illustrious patriots who gave liberty to Rome. For Brutus going near to the dying Lady, drew the ponyard out of her bosom, and, shewing it all bloody to the assembly, *Yes*, said he, *I swear by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing but royal villainy could have polluted, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword, nor will ever suffer any of that family or of any other whatsoever to be King in Rome; Ye Gods, I call you to witness this my oath!* — This said, he presented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company, and engaged them to take the same oath. These noble Romans, struck with amazement at the prodigious appearance of wisdom in an idiot, look'd on him as inspired, and submitted entirely to his conduct. He then let them know, that his folly had been only feigned, he exhorted them to defer lamenting the death of *Lucretia* to another time, to behave themselves now like men and Romans, and think only of revenging it; and he advised them to begin by shutting the gates of Rome, and placing a trusty guard to secure them, that no body might go out of the city to give notice at the camp of what was doing. This counsel was approved, and, as Lucretius had been left Governor of the city by Tarquin, was put in execution without difficulty.

Then *Brutus*, causing the yet bleeding *Lucretia* to be carried to the place where the *Comitia* were usually held, and placing the corps where it might be seen by every body, ordered the people to be called together. By a surprizing instance of good-fortune, he happened to be legally invested with the power of assembling the *Comitia*; this right was annexed to the office of *Tribune*, or chief commander of the King's horse-guards, which *Tarquin* had given him, because he thought him incapable of using it to his disadvantage. When the multitude were assembled, the imagined idiot, to their great surprize, addressing himself to them, began with an apology for his presuming to speak in publick on so important an occasion; he in few words explained to them all the mystery of his past conduct, and the necessity he had been under, for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means to preserve his life after the murder of his father and elder brother. He then proceeded to tell them the resolution the Patricians were come to of deposing the Tyrant, and press'd them in the strongest terms to concur in that design. He enumerated the crimes by which *Tarquin*, in concert with the wicked *Tullia*, had made his way to the throne. He put them in mind of *Aruns Tarquinius* (the Tyrant's brother) and the elder *Tullia*, both persons of amiable dispositions, and both treacherously poisoned, he by his wife the present Queen, she by her husband the present King; the criminal nuptials that followed the secret murders, and the horrid tragedy that followed those nuptials;

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CCXLIII.

TARQUIN

II.

Seventh

King.

Lib. B. 1.

C. 55.

D. 11. B.

4. p. 110.

4. 119.

nuptials; *Servius Tullius*, the justest, the mildest, the most beneficent of Kings, openly assassinated, and the cruel *Tullia* riding in triumph over the body of her expiring father: O execrable fact! ye Gods, the avengers of injured parents, I Lament it. But why should I dwell on these crimes committed by the tyrant against his own family and blood? The wrongs he has done his COUNTRY, his cruelties to every one of you in particular are insufferable and without end. With what an utter contempt of all our laws did he usurp an elective Kingdom? And how has he maintained himself in his illegal power? By murders, by banishments, by the oppression of all his subjects. As for the Patricians — you see the condition to which we are reduced; — I shall say nothing of it — our greatest enemies could not behold it without compassion. And as for you Plebeians, what is become of your rights and privileges? Are you ever called together to assist at the sacrifices? to elect your magistrates? or to give your suffrages in publick affairs? Have you not been treated as the vilest of slaves? The victorious Romans, victorious over all the nations around them, are condemned at home to undergo the most painful drudgeries, to be hewers of stone, to sweat under heavy burthens, to work in mines, and breathe the unwholesome air of sinks and common sewers. And are these miseries, these indignities never to have an end? Or, if you ever propose to assert your freedom, how long will you delay it? You wait, perhaps, for *Tarquin's* death. But what benefit would accrue to you from that? He has three sons, more wicked, if possible, than himself. By what the eldest of them has just now done, you may judge what is to be expected from such a race. There! Romans, turn your eyes to that sad spectacle—the daughter of *Lucretius*—*Collatinus's* wife—she died by her own hand. See there a noble Lady, whom the lust of a *Tarquin* reduced to the necessity of being her own executioner, to attest her innocence. *Sextus*, hospitably entertained by her, as a kinsman of her husband's,—*Sextus*, perfidious guest, became her brutal ravisher. The chaste, the generous *Lucretia* could not survive the insult. Glorious woman! Once only treated as a slave, she thought life no longer to be endured. *Lucretia*, a woman, disdained a life that depended on a tyrant's will; and shall we, shall men with such an example before our eyes, and after five and twenty years of ignominious servitude, shall we, through a fear of dying, defer one single instant to assert our liberty? No, Romans, now is the time; the favourable moment, we have so long waited for, is come. *Tarquin* is absent from Rome: The Patricians are at the head of the enterprize: The city is abundantly provided with men, arms, and all things necessary. There is nothing wanting to secure the success, if our own courage does not fail us. And shall those warriors who have ever been so brave when foreign enemies were to be subdued, or when conquests were to be made to gratify the ambition and avarice of a Tyrant, be then only cowards, when they are to deliver themselves from SLAVERY? Some of you are perhaps intimidated by the army which *Tarquin* now commands. The soldiers, you imagine, will take the part of their General. Banish so groundless a fear. The love of liberty is natural to all men. Your fellow citizens in the camp feel the weight of oppression with as quick a sense as you that are in Rome, and will as eagerly seize

seize the occasion of throwing off the yoke. But should we grant, there may be some among them, who through baseness of spirit, or a bad education, will be disposed to favour the tyrant, the number of these can be but small, and we have means sufficient in our hands to reduce them to reason. They have left us hostages more dear to them than life. Their wives, their children, their fathers, their mothers, are here in the city. Courage! Romans, the Gods are for us, those Gods whose temples and altars the impious Tarquin has profaned by sacrifices and libations made with polluted hands, polluted with blood, and with numberless unexpiated crimes committed against his subjects. O ye Gods, who protected our fore-fathers, and ye Genii, who watch for the preservation and glory of Rome, do you inspire us with courage and unanimity in this glorious cause, and we will to our last breath defend your worship from all profanation.

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CCXLIII.
TARQUIN
II.
Seventh
King.

Brutus's harangue was often interrupted by the acclamations of the people. Some wept at the remembrance of past sufferings; others out of joy, at the hopes of a more happy government; and every one called out for arms. But Brutus did not judge it proper to arm the people, till they had first confirmed, by their suffrages, a decree of the Senate, which was to this effect: It deprived Tarquin of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him and all his posterity to perpetual banishment, and devoted to the Gods of hell every Roman who should hereafter by word or deed endeavour his restoration. The Curia being assembled and the matter proposed, they were all unanimous in confirming the Senate's decree.

D. Hal. B.
4. P. 275.

And now the government being reduced to an *Interregnum*, and the people having declared Spurius Lucretius (the Father of Lucretia) *Inter-Rex*, the great and important question, the future form of government, was debated by the Leaders in the Revolution. And here again Brutus discovered himself to be a consummate politician: Experience, said he, has shewn us in the examples of Romulus and Numa, and other good Kings, that it is by no means proper that Rome should be without supreme Magistrates, to keep an even balance of the powers of the Senate and People; but it is necessary that the sovereign authority should neither center in one man, nor be perpetual; let it be divided between two, who may jointly make the interests of the publick their chief concern: they will be a check upon each other, and have a mutual emulation in the discharge of their duty. However, let us take particular care, not to continue their power too long, lest they abuse it, and become unwilling to part with it. Let us change the very names of King and Kingdom, and give the two heads that are to govern us, the name of Consuls*, and the Roman state that of Republick.

Let

* Pomponius the Civilian contends, that the name of Consul was taken from the word *confulere*, as signifying, *To watch for the publick good*. Varro derives this name from the same word *confulere*, but in a different signification,

namely, as importing to *consult*, or *ask counsel*, because the intent of those who first instituted the Consuls, was, that they should do nothing, but with the *advice*, or *counsel*, of the people, and the Senate. The law which

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ROME
CCXLIII.

TARQUIN
II.
seventh
king.

Let us abolish the pompous ^a ensigns of regal power, sceptres, crowns, and royal robes; let our Consuls only sit on an ivory chair, wear a white robe, and be attended by twelve Lictors ^b. But what am I saying? I am not for utterly abolishing the venerable name of King, which was consecrated by the same auspices as Rome herself at her foundation. Let us give it to that Magistrate to whom we commit the superintendency of religion; let his office be for life, and let him be called King of Sacred Things ^c. The whole council approved of this scheme; and the people, being again assembled by Curiae, established the new form of administration by a law.

But to lose no time, and to put the finishing hand to the revolution, the people were once more called together, not by Curiae, but by Centuries, and directed to come armed to the Campus Martius, in order to the election of the two first Consuls. There Junius Brutus, the warmest and most active of the patriots, and Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, being proposed to the people by Lucretius the Inter-Rex, were unanimously chosen to the new dignity, the Romans believing they could no where find more irreconcilable enemies to the Tarquins. Tullia, now seeing that all was lost, and that she could no longer be safe in Rome, left it, to go to her husband. She was hooted at, and cursed by the populace as she passed through the city, yet they forbore to offer her any violence.

In the mean time Tarquin being informed by some who had got out of Rome before the gates were shut, that Brutus was raising commotions to his prejudice, came in all haste to the city, attended only by his

placed the Consuls at the head of the Republic, calls them also Prætors and Judges. We have this law yet remaining, as quoted by Tully in his Third book of Laws. When it was made in the Comitia, which changed the Monarchy into a Republic, it is said to have run thus: *Regis imperio duo sunt, iique prætorum, judicant, & consulendo, Prætores, Judices, Consules, appellantur. Militiæ summum prætor habent. Nemo parento. Ollis salus populi summa lex esto. C. & R.*

^a The Consuls were only denied the common use of the sceptre, crown, and an habit of distinction. Livy, B. 30. assures us, that the Consuls, on the days of their triumphs, in the publick Sports, and at solemn Sacrifices, wore the crown of gold, the ivory staff or sceptre, and the habit striped with purple, as the Kings did. C. & R.

^b We read in the fourth book of Valerius Maximus, that the Consuls at first retained as many Lictors as the Kings, and that they had twenty-four. And he adds, that the Consul Poplicola reduced them to twelve. But each Consul was not attended with twelve Lictors; neither did they divide them so as to have each of them six. They were only guarded by the twelve Lictors alternatively, each in

his month. This we learn from Livy. This ceremonial began with the two first Consuls. The Consul, who was the elder, or had most children, or most suffrages for the Consulship, had the Lictors the first month. It appears by a line in Virgil's 6th Book of the Æneis, that Brutus was first attended with the Fasces, before his colleague Collatinus:

*Consulis imperium hic primus sævasque securas
Accipiet — C. & R.*

^c The Rex Sacrorum, or Rex Sacrificulus, was a considerable dignity among the Romans, though inferior to that of Pontifex Maximus. For fear the name of King should make him too proud, they made him but a subordinate officer, even in the affairs of religion. His wife was called Queen. This office was never conferred on any, but in the Comitia of the people, assembled in the Campus Martius, by Centuries. Nor could any but a Patrician be chosen for it. The King of the Sacrifices was not suffered to intermeddle with state-affairs. Inasmuch, that when, in the Comitia, the sacrifice over which he presided, was ended, he withdrew from the assembly. C. & R.

sons,

sons, and a few friends; but finding the gates shut, the people in arms upon the walls, and that *Lucretius* refused him entrance, he returned with equal expedition to the camp. There to his extreme surprize he found that the conspirators had, during his short absence, gained over the army to them. The Consuls not doubting but *Tarquin* would, upon the first notice of the revolt, hasten to the city, had sent ² letters to the camp, giving an account of the resolutions taken at *Rome*, and exhorting the troops to shake off the tyrant's yoke. These letters *Titus Herminius* and *Marcus Horatius* had read in a full assembly of the soldiers convened by *Centuries*, and the matter being put to the vote, it was unanimously agreed to adhere to the decree passed in the city; so that *Tarquin* being both driven from his capital, and rejected by his troops, was forced, at the age of seventy-six, to fly for refuge, with his wife and three sons, to *Gabii*^b, that city of *Latium*, of which he had formerly made his son *Sextus* governor, investing him with a kind of regal power. Here he continued some time; but not finding the *Latines* forward enough to espouse his cause, he retired into *Hetruria*, the country of his mother's family, where he hoped to find more friends, and a readier assistance for attempting the recovery of his throne.

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D. Hal. B.
4. p. 276.

p. 277.

B. 5. p.
279.

^a *Livy*, (B. 1. c. 60.) says, that *Brutus* went in person to the camp on this affair, but to avoid meeting *Tarquin*, shunned the high-road; and that he arrived before *Ardea* at the same time that *Tarquin* appeared at the gates of *Rome*.

^b *Tarquin's* first retreat, according to *Livy*, B. 1. c. 60. was to *Cære* in *Hetruria*, whither he was followed by only two of his sons. *Sextus* (he adds) retiring to *Gabii*, as his kingdom, was there slain by some of the inhabitants, in revenge of his former treachery and cruelties. *Livy* also makes *Sextus* to be the youngest of *Tarquin's* sons, whereas *Dionysius* makes him the eldest. The last-mentioned author brings *Sextus* frequently upon the stage after this time; nay he introduces him 14 years after the expulsion of his father, at the battle of *Regillus*, where he is killed. The actions which *Dionysius* ascribes to *Sextus* in that battle, the Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* give to a fourth son of *Tarquin* named *Lucius*: yet neither *Dionysius*

nor *Livy* mention more than three sons of that King. *Livy*, B. 1. c. 52. calls *Sextus*, *minimus ex tribus*. D. Hal. B. 4. p. 273. makes *Brutus* say to the people in his speech on the affair of *Lucretia*, that *Tarquin* had three sons more wicked than himself: and B. 5. p. 279. *Tarquin* after his banishment wanders from place to place with his three sons. These three sons were *Sextus*, *Titus*, and *Aruns*. If indeed we suppose with *Livy* that *Sextus* was slain by the *Gabini*, and yet suppose with *Dionysius*, that *Tarquin* had two sons living at the battle of *Regillus*, we must unavoidably allow him to have had, in all, four sons; for it is agreed, that *Aruns* was killed in his encounter with *Brutus* in the first battle after the refuge: but it is to be observed, that *Dionysius*, who makes two of *Tarquin's* sons to be in the battle of *Regillus*, makes *Sextus* to be one of the two; and *Livy*, who supposes *Sextus* to be slain before this time, speaks but of one son of *Tarquin* in that battle.

THE

Roman History.

SECOND BOOK.

From the establishment of the ROMAN COMMONWEALTH in the year of *Rome* 244, to the re-building of the City in 365, after the burning of it by the *Gauls*.

CHAP. I.

- §. I. *The state and condition of Rome on the abolition of the Regal Power.*
 §. II. *Tarquin prevails with the Magistrates of Tarquinii in Etruria to send an Embassy to Rome in his favour, with a letter from him to the Roman people.* §. III. *A second Embassy from the Tarquinienſes to the Romans. The Ambassadors engage ſome of the young Patricians in a plot againſt the new government. It is diſcovered by Vindicius a ſlave. Brutus condemns his own ſons to death and ſees the execution.*
 §. IV. *Collatinus is forced to abdicate the Conſulſhip; and Valerius is choſen to ſucceed him.* §. V. *Tarquin having ſtirred up the Tarquinienſes and Veientes to take arms in his cauſe, they come to a battle with the Romans, in which Brutus is ſlain.* §. VI. *The people entertain a jealouſy of Valerius's ambition, but ſoon after give him the name of Poplicola or Popular, on account of the laws he makes in their favour, to the diminution of the Conſular Authority.*

Year of
R O M E
CCXLIV.
Bef. J. C.
DVIII.

JENIUS
BRUTUS,
and TAR-
QUINIUS
COLLA-
TIUS
Conſuls.

§. I. **T**HE baniſhment of the *Tarquins* delivered *Rome* from her domeſtick tyrants, but it raiſed her many enemies abroad, and, by occaſioning the defection of her allies, reduced her empire almoſt within the ſame limits where *Romulus* had left it. What might properly be called the *Roman territory*, had always been confined to a very narrow circuit. In the ſpace of 243 years, the *Romans*, though conſtantly victorious in war, had not gained *land* enough to ſupply their city with provisions. The main ſtrength of the ſtate lay in the *number of the citizens* of *Rome*, which the cuſtom of tranſplanting the inhabitants of

the conquered cities thither had so prodigiously increased, that it put the *Romans* in a condition of usurping an authority over other nations, the most inconsiderable of which had an extent of country far exceeding theirs. By frequent incursions and depredations they so harassed the petty states of *Latium* and *Etruria*, that many of them were constrained to enter into treaties with *Rome*, whereby they obliged themselves to furnish her with auxiliaries, whenever she should be pleased to invade and pillage the lands of her other neighbours. Submissions of this kind she called making alliances with her; and these useful alliances supplied the want of a larger territory. But now upon the change of her government, all her allies forsook her at once, and either stood neuter, or espoused the cause of the banished King; so that she was left entirely to herself to maintain the liberty she had assumed.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLIV.
Bef. J. C.
DVIII.
First Con-
sulship.

Rome however enjoyed a profound peace in the beginning^a of the new administration. The army which had been employed in the siege of *Ardea* marched home under the conduct of *Herminius* and *Horatius*, who had made a truce with the *Ardeates* for 15 years. Upon this increase of strength by the return of the troops which had served under *Tarquin*, the Consuls thought it expedient to convene the people again by *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*; and when they had in long speeches exhorted them to concord, the decree, passed some days before against the *Tarquins*, was confirmed. Nor was this all. The Consuls standing before the altars where expiatory sacrifices had been just offered, took an oath in the name of themselves, their children and posterity, that they would never recall King *Tarquin*, nor his children, nor their posterity from banishment, nor create any other King of *Rome*, nor suffer any to be created; and they made the people take the same oath. After this the *Comitia* proceeded to elect a *Rex Sacrorum* to preside at the sacrifices; and many of the laws of *Servius Tullius* were revived to the great joy of the people, who were restored to their ancient right of deciding by their votes in all important affairs.

D. Hal. B.
4. P. 277.

B. 5. p.
277.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 1, 2.

D. Hal. p.
278.

Brutus, being jealous of some in the Senate, put all the Senators likewise to the test of an oath. In this venerable body *Valerius* was the man of the greatest weight. He had expected to be named Consul at the first election, and being highly displeased at the preference given to *Collatinus*, had for some time withdrawn himself from publick affairs; insomuch that he began to be suspected of favouring the banished King: But he removed these apprehensions, by the remarkable zeal he shewed for liberty, when the day came for the Senators to take the same oath which the people had taken. He was the first man who swore never to favour the pretensions of the *Tarquins*; and his actions soon after proved the sincerity of his oath.

Plut. in
Poplic. p.
97, 98.

§. II. IN the mean time the *Tarquins* were using their utmost endeavours to stir up the neighbouring states to take arms against *Rome*. Having

D. Hal. B.
5. P. 279.

^a *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* agree in fixing the Consulship of *Brutus* and *Collatinus* to the year of *Rome* 245; but the *Capitoline Tables*, (which the Fathers *Catroux* and *Rouillé* constantly follow) fix it to the year 244.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLIV.
B. C. I. C.
DVIII.

Plut. Con-
sulp.
Pat. in
Popl. P.
98.

wandered from city to city, the old King at length made *Tarquinius* in *He-
truria* his place of residence; and by moving words he so railed the com-
passion of the *Tarquinienses* as to engage them to send an Embassy to *Rome*,
with a modest, submissive letter from himself, directed to the *Roman* peo-
ple. The Ambassadors represented to the Senate in such strong terms the
reasonableness of letting the King be heard, before he was condemned, and
the danger which threatened the *Roman* state, from the neighbouring pow-
ers, if that common justice were refused, that the Consuls inclined to bring
these agents before the people, and leave the decision of the affair to the
Curia: But *Valerius* strenuously opposed so hazardous a proceeding, and,
by his influence in the Senate, defeated this first attempt of the artful
Tarquin. Indeed the Senate was most especially concerned for ever to ex-
clude Kings, who had often oppressed it; and the Consuls therefore thought
it proper to restore that venerable body to all its rights and prerogatives,
and to gain it the respect of the people, not only by the dignity but by the
number of its members, which *Tarquin's* murders and proscriptions had
greatly diminished. And to this end, wise men, and men of interest, were
sought out, amongst the *Roman* Knights, to fill up the vacant places; so
that the ancient number of 300 was once more compleated. The old Se-
nators had been styled *Patres*, or *Fathers*; and because these new ones were
put upon the same list with them, they were called *Conscripti*^b, i. e. Persons
written or enrolled together with them.

§. III. BUT notwithstanding all these prudent measures, the rising
Republick was upon the brink of being destroyed in its very beginning.
Many of the young *Patricians* having been accustomed to licentiousness
and pleasure, the austere form of a republican government, in which the
laws alone, always deaf and inexorable, were to reign, gave them greater
apprehensions than tyranny itself. They were fond of the flattering dis-
tinctions of a court, and could not bear the mortification of seeing them-
selves almost upon a level with the multitude. The sons of *Tarquin* build-
ing their hopes on these young debauchees, who regretted the loss of their
former companions in pleasure, prevailed with the *Tarquinienses* to send a
second Embassy to *Rome*, under pretence of demanding the estates of the

Plut. in
Popl. P.
98.

^a We have this account from *Plutarch*.
D. Hal. affirms, that *Brutus* had no regard
to the remonstrances of the Ambassadors.

^b These *Conscript Fathers* were called the
New Senate, *Novus Senatus*. And it appears
by *Livy's* words, rightly understood, that
the old Senators only were called *Patres*;
and that the new ones were distinguished
from them by the name of *Conscripti*. It is
true, *Dion. Hal.* gives the same name of *Pa-
tres Conscripti* to the first Senators, created by
Romulus: but this form, *Qui Patres, quique
Conscripti essent*, which was used when the
Senate was called together, sufficiently shews
the mistake of the *Greek* historian: So that
when we find in *Latin* authors, *Patres Con-*

scripti, used to express the Senate in general,
the words must be understood, as if they
were joined by a conjunction, *Patres, & con-
scripti*, i. e. *The Fathers*, and *those who have
been added to them*. *Festus* favours this opi-
nion, when he says, that those were called
Conscripti who had passed from the order of
Roman Knights into that of Senators. Thus
far *Father Reuillé*.

Plutarch in his life of *Romulus* says, that
the Senators were at first called simply *Patres*,
and when more were added to them, *Patres
Conscripti*: But this does not determine whe-
ther the latter appellation was given them
upon the addition made by *Tatius* the *Sabine*
King, by *Tarquinius Priscus*, or by *Brutus*.

exiles;

exiles; but with private instructions to spirit up a faction, if possible, to attempt the lives of the Consuls. The Ambassadors were admitted, and nothing could be more modest than the demands of the banished King. He asked only his paternal estate; and on that condition promised never to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by force of arms. The Consul *Collatinus* was for complying with the request; but *Brutus* opposed it. The affair, having been long considered by the Senate, was at last referred to the people. *Brutus* endeavoured to bring his Collegue, who was a relation of the *Tarquins*, under a suspicion of treachery. However, the opinion of *Collatinus* prevailed in the *Comitia*, and it was carried by ^a one vote, that the *Tarquins* should be put in possession of the estates of their family.

Whilst the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and in selling what could not be carried off, the Ambassadors found means to draw some of the nearest relations of the Consuls into a plot against them. These were three young Noblemen of the *Aquilian* family (the sons of *Collatinus*'s sister) and two of the *Vitellii* (whose sister *Brutus* had married) and these latter engaged *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the two sons of *Brutus*, in the same conspiracy. They all bound themselves by solemn oaths, with the dreadful ceremony of drinking the blood of a murdered man, and touching his entrails. The house of the *Aquili* was their place of meeting, and there they all wrote letters to the banished King, which they put into the hands of the Ambassadors. But notwithstanding a great deal of precaution used by the conspirators, to keep the secret from their servants, *Vindicius* a slave, and then butler to the *Aquili*, suspecting his master's designs, staid at the door of the apartment, and through a crevice saw and heard all that passed. He durst not disclose the secret to either of the Consuls, on account of their near relation to the conspirators: he went strait to *Valerius*, and unburdened his mind to him. *Valerius* took the slave under his protection; and then, by the help of his brother *M. Valerius*, and of his own friends, clients and domesticks, not only seized the letters of the conspirators, but took all the heads of the conspiracy prisoners.

Early the next morning the people being summoned to the *Comitium*, where *Brutus* and his Collegue sat on the tribunal of justice, the prisoners were brought forth to trial. *Brutus* began it with the examination of his two sons. *Vindicius* appeared against them, and the letters they had written to the *Tarquins* were read. The proof being clear, the prisoners stood quite silent, and pleaded only by their tears. *Titus* and *Tiberius*, said the stern *Brutus*, *What have you to offer in your defence?* They were thrice called upon to plead, but tears were still their only answer. The major part of the Senators being touched with compassion, a low murmur was heard among them, *Banish them, banish them.* *Collatinus* wept, and even *Valerius* seemed to relent, because he said nothing. All the people stood trembling

^a *Dionysius* must here mean, that there was 16 *Curia* against 14, because he tells us, that the affair was decided by the 30 *Curia*.

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in expectation of the sentence. *Brutus* at length rose up, and with a steady voice, not interrupted by a sigh, said, *Lictors, I deliver them over to you, the rest is your part.* At these words the whole assembly shrieked; the universal confusion was inexpressible; distress shewed itself in every face, and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity: but neither these intercessions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father by the most endearing names, could soften the inflexible judge. The *Lictors* seized upon the criminals, beat them with rods, and then struck off their heads; *Brutus* all the time gazing on the cruel spectacle with a steady look, and a composed countenance. This execution over, he immediately^a quitted the tribunal, and left his colleague to do the rest. *Collatinus*, being inclined to spare his nephews the *Aquilii*, allowed the prisoners a day to clear themselves; and ordered their slave *Vindicius* (the only evidence against them) to be delivered up to his masters. But this roused the indignation of the people, as well as the zeal of *Valerius*, who had promised with an oath to protect the witness. In vain did the *Lictors* attempt to force *Vindicius* from him; and the multitude called out for *Brutus* to return to the *Comitia*. When *Brutus* came, he told the people that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children: but that for the rest of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate. Accordingly, by a decree of the *Curia*, the conspirators all suffered as rebels, except the Ambassadors, who were spared out of respect to the law of nations. As for *Vindicius*, the people judged him worthy of that liberty^b he had secured to the *Romans*; and beside the privileges of

^a *Diss. Hal.*'s account of this matter differs from that of *Plutarch*. The former pretends, that *Brutus*, immediately after the execution of his children, had the *Aquilii* brought before him: that after their letters were read aloud, he gave them leave to make their defence; and that they, having nothing to say for themselves, had recourse to tears and entreaties; but to no purpose. For *Brutus*, still inflexible, ordered the *Lictors* to seize them, and carry them to execution. *Collatinus* suspended it, and made the warmest remonstrances to his colleague in favour of the conspirators: but being piqued when he found he could make no impression upon him, he had recourse to his authority, and pardoned the criminals. This so exasperated *Brutus*, that he committed the *Aquilii* to prison, in spite of the opposition of his colleague, and accused him before the people, of treason and perfidiousness. *Collatinus* seeing with grief, that the people were unanimously against him, and against those whose defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exercise the office of a Consul with dignity; and therefore chose to abdicate the magistracy, at the persuasion of *Spurius Lu-*

cretius, his father-in-law. *Collatinus* was succeeded by *Publius Valerius*. *Brutus* immediately, with the concurrence of his new colleague, put all those to death, who had been concerned in the conspiracy. *D. Hal.* p. 284.

^b It is commonly thought, and is probable enough, this *Latin* phrase, *Vindicare in libertatem*, had its rise from the name of *Vindicius*, who was made free by the Consul: But there are others, who will have it to be derived from the word *Vindicta*, which signifies a *Wand*, with which the *Prætor*, whose office it was afterwards to grant freedoms, struck the slave, whose master had a mind to set him at liberty. In order to reconcile these opinions, it may be said, that the *Wand* itself took its name from *Vindicius*. In the ceremony of granting freedoms publicly, (for there were private ones, which were granted either by will, or in the presence of witnesses) the master presented his slave to the *Prætor*, first holding him by the hand, and afterwards quitting his hold; whence came the *Latin* word *Manumissio*. Then, after he had given him a little blow on the cheek, he presented him to the Consul or to the *Prætor*: who striking him gently with his wand, pronoun-

cc.

of a *Roman* citizen, gave him * 23000 *Asses* of brass,ⁿ (about 80 l. 14 s. 7 d.)

And now, though the people had formerly decreed that the estates of the *Tarquins* should be restored to them, the Senate made no scruple to destroy their palace, and distribute their lands among indigent citizens; the publick only retaining a piece of ground (near the *Campus Martius*) which the King had usurped, and added to his demesnes. This piece of ground they consecrated to *Mars*, and it became afterwards a common field, where the *Roman* youth exercised themselves in running and wrestling. But after this consecration, the *Romans* scrupled to house the corn which they found there ready reaped to their hands; so that, with some trees, it was thrown into the *Tiber*, and the water being low, it stopped in the middle of the river, and began to form that fine island which was called *Insula sacra*, after many temples had been built on it.

§. IV. THE severity with which *Brutus* had treated his two sons, greatly increased his authority, insomuch, that there was not a single *Roman* who durst for the future entertain a thought of bringing back *Tarquin*. *Collatinus* on the contrary, by his weak conduct with regard to the conspirators, had exasperated the *Romans* against him; his very name of *Tarquinius* became an offence to them. *Brutus* observing this, and hating his colleague, either on account of his relation to the *Tarquins*, or because there was some reason to believe he secretly favoured them, or perhaps only because he was of a character and temper different from his own, took advantage of the disposition the people were in to get him deposed. In a numerous assembly, he made a speech to them to this effect: *If, Romans, when you chose two Consuls, you could at the same time have united their sentiments and inclinations, there would have been no defect in the new government, and I should have had nothing more to wish. But it unfortunately happens, that there is as great a difference betwixt Collatinus and me, as between a hatred of tyranny, and a love of tyrants. His affection for his detestable family, makes him run all hazards to restore our oppressors; whilst I am profuse of my own blood to preserve the liberty of my country. Have not all Collatinus's thoughts, and the whole strength of his interest, been levelled at the destruction of that liberty, which his honour obliged him to defend? And you had hopes, he would defend it: but his soliciting you to restore the Ty-*

ced these words: *Aio te liberum esse more Quiritium*. This ceremony being ended, the slave was registered upon the roll of Freed-men. Then he was shaved, and put on the cap called *Pileus*, which was worn by the *Romans* upon certain days. In order to make the taking possession of this kind of cap more solemn, it was performed in the temple of *Feronia*, the Goddess of the Freed-men. In one of these temples there was a stone seat, with this inscription on it: *Benemeriti Servi sedeant, surgant liberi*: and it is well known, that the *Pileus* was, a-

mong the ancient *Romans*, the sign and symbol of liberty. At the death of *Nero*, the people appeared in the streets with this cap on their heads. C. & R.

* *Livy* says only, that a sum of money was given to *Vindicius*. It is here fixed at five and twenty thousand *Asses* of brass; because *Livy* himself, in B. 9. of his first *Decad*, has observed, that the reward appointed by law, for the slaves who should discover conspiracies, amounted to that sum; as that for freed-men did to a hundred thousand. C. & R.

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Livy, B. 2.
c. 5.
Plutarch,
p. 100.
D. Hal. B.
5. p. 287,
288.

p. 284
285.

Year of 184. E. rants their estates, and the impunity with which he was going to dismiss the
 184. E. conspirators, have discovered his secret inclinations and designs. What! Col-
 184. E. latinus, have I refused to spare my own children, and shall I spare you? A
 184. E. man, whose loyalty is with us, and whose soul and affections are with our
 184. E. enemies? A perfidious man, who would preserve the betrayers of his country,
 184. E. and would destroy me for being its zealous defender? No, far from shewing
 you any indulgence, I declare you from this moment deposed from the magis-
 tracy; and I command you to retire to some other city. As for you, Romans,
 I shall without delay assemble you by Centuries, that you may confirm, if you
 think good, the sentence I have pronounced. You are free to chuse whether to
 have Collatinus or Brutus for your Consul; but be assured of this, you cannot
 have both.

D. Hal. B. These words raised so great a commotion among the People, that they
 5. p. 236. would scarce hear Collatinus's defence: In vain did he reproach Brutus
 with betraying his friend, and defaming his Colleague; no attention was
 given to his invectives. At length, by virtue of his authority as Consul,
 he forbade the holding that assembly of which Brutus had spoken. But this
 prohibition incensed the People yet more, and they cried out to have their
 votes instantly taken. Collatinus was just going to be deposed with igno-
 miny, and banished by a publick decree, when his father-in-law, Sp. Lu-
 cretius, desired permission of the Consuls to speak to the Assembly, and
 obtained it. He is said to have been the first private man that ever made
 a speech in the Comitia. His age, and the remembrance of Lucretia his
 daughter, gained him attention; and he addressed himself first to his son-
 in-law: 'Tis in vain, Collatinus, to pretend, against the will of the People,
 to continue in the Consulship. You received it at first from them; and to them
 you ought now to resign it. As to the crimes, of which you are accused, you
 will more easily clear yourself by your future conduct, than by all your protes-
 tations, or by any thing you can say. If the People judge it necessary for their
 tranquillity that you should retire, do you shew your regard and deference for
 the publick by acquiescing in the publick sentiment. You should consider, that
 though with respect to all other crimes, it is only the actual commission of them
 that is cognizable by the justice of a nation; yet when treason against the State
 is but apprehended, and this upon never so ill grounds, it is held more prudent to
 guard against it, as an evil really impending, than to run the least hazard of
 destruction by too much security.

Then turning to Brutus, he pressed him not to insist on the disgraceful
 banishment of a Colleague, who had so happily joined with him in measures
 which had procured the common liberty; and he added, that if Collatinus
 would of his own accord divest himself of the Consulship, and retire from
 Rome, not only time ought to be allowed him to remove his effects, but a
 present made him out of the publick treasury, a mark of the People's good
 will, which might be a consolation to him under his misfortune.

p. 237. This advice of Lucretius being received by the Assembly with applause,
 Collatinus became sensible that he had no way left but to conform himself
 to it; therefore when he had invoked the Gods to be witnesses of his in-
 nocence,

nocence, and of the ingratitude of his relations and friends, he resigned the *Consulship*. *Brutus* highly commended his wisdom, and to remove all suspicion of his having any personal enmity to him, procured him a present of ^a twenty talents out of the publick treasury, to which he added five talents of his own. The place to which *Collatinus* chose to retire was *Lavinium*; where he lived in peace, and at last died of old age.

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Brutus, that he might not give the *Romans* any cause to suspect that he intended to govern singly, and, under the name of Consul, aimed at the authority of a King, immediately assembled the Centuries in the *Campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the election of a new Consul, to fill the place of *Collatinus*. The Suffrages of the people were in favour of *Publius Valerius*, a descendant of that noble *Sabine* named *Valerius Volesus*, to whom *Plutarch* (as was before * observed) gives the honour of negotiating the Peace between the *Sabines* and *Romans*, in *Romulus's* time. *Publius* had got himself a great name by the means of his wealth and his eloquence; which latter he had, during *Tarquin's* reign, generously employ'd in the defence of justice, as he had done his riches in the relief of the poor, to whom he was ever easy of access. He was also remarkable for his frugality and temperance; and in all the parts of his conduct from his early years he discovered such a surprizing wisdom, that he seemed to have been born a Philosopher. The two Consuls, equally eminent for their love of the publick good, began their joint administration, by passing a law which granted a general Amnesty to all those who had followed the fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they returned to the city within twenty days; and this brought back a great number of excellent subjects to *Rome*.

Plut. p.
100.
D. Hal. B.
5. p. 287.
P. 38.

§. V. HOWEVER, nothing could so far discourage the dethroned King, as to make him quit the Hope of recovering the Kingdom by force. He went about, soliciting the neighbouring Nations, and engaged the *Veientes* and *Tarquinienses* to unite their forces in the support of his cause. The first were moved to it by the hopes of regaining what they had lost in their former wars with *Rome*, having now at their head a *Roman* General of known courage and ability: And as for the *Tarquinienses*, the considerations of name and blood, and the glory of having a man of their own Nation King of *Rome* were to them sufficient inducements. These allies took the field and entered the *Roman* territory. The Consuls without delay marched out their troops to meet them; *Brutus* commanded the horse, and *Valerius* the foot drawn up in a square battalion. The two armies being in sight of each other, *Brutus* advanced with his cavalry at the same time that *Aruns*, one of *Tarquin's* sons, was coming forward at the head of the enemy's horse, the King himself following with the legions. *Aruns* no sooner discovered *Brutus* attended by the *Lictors*, but all inflamed with rage, he cried out, *There he is, that enemy who has banished*

Livy, B. 2.
c. 6.
D. Hal.
Liv. Vol.
Max.
Plut. Popl.
p. 101.
Livy, ibid.
D. Hal. p.
289.

* According to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, who reckons but 60 *Minæ* to a *Talent*, the 20 *Talents* amount to 3875 *l.* Sterling. *Livy* represents

Collatinus as resigning before the conspiracy, and *Valerius* as consul when it was discovered. B. 2. c. 2, 3.

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Liv. B. 2.
Plut. ibid.

D. Hal. p.
291.
Plut. ibid.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 7.

D. Hal. p.
292.

Liv. B. 2.
c. 7.
Plut.
Popl. p.
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us from our native country! See how gallantly he rides adorned with all the ensigns of my father's dignity! Now aid me, ye Gods, the avengers of injured Kings! This said, he instantly set spurs to his horse, making directly at the Consul, who perceiving his design made no less speed to meet him. Blindly following the dictates of hatred and passion, and regardless of self-preservation, they rushed on to the encounter, and with their lances ran each other through the body. They both fell dead from their horses; and the death of these Generals was the prelude to the battle. Never was the success of an engagement more dubious; for when the night had put an end to it, it was not known in either camp which side had gained the victory, or which had lost the greater number of men. A report was spread, that a voice had been heard out of the wood *Arfic*, declaring the *Romans* conquerors; a stratagem probably of *Valerius*. Be that as it will, it is certain that their enemies, very soon after the action, left their camp in confusion, disbanded, and returned into their own country. And it is said, that *Valerius*, remaining master of the field of battle, caused the slain to be numbered, and then found, that the *Hebrurians* had lost 11300 men, and the *Romans* only 11299.

Rome was inconsolable for the loss of *Brutus*; a hero who had restored liberty to his country, cemented it with the blood of his children, and died in defending it against the tyrant. The first funeral honours were paid him in the camp; but, the next day after *Valerius's* triumph, the corpse was brought into the *Forum* in a magnificent litter, and then *Valerius* gave *Rome* the first example of those funeral orations, which were ever after made in praise of great men. The Ladies distinguished themselves on this occasion. To shew their respect for the avenger of the sex's honour, they mourned for him a whole year, as if they had lost a common father.

§. VI. AS *Valerius*, for some reasons, deferr'd convening the Centuries for the election of a new Consul, this delay began to raise a distrust, as if it were owing to ambitious designs, a jealousy which seemed to be in some measure authorized by his then building a fine house on a steep part of the hill *Palatinus*, which overlook'd the *Forum*. The people considered it as a citadel, whence the new Monarch might command the city. But when *Valerius* was informed of their uneasiness, he ordered some workmen to go the very next night and pull down the fabrick to the ground; and calling the people together as soon as it was day, he expostulated with them about their unjust suspicions, and bid them go see the ruins of his house: He then told them he would fix his habitation in the valley, that from the top of the hill, where he had intended to dwell, they might crush him with stones, if he continued to be the object of their jealousy. This said, he ordered the *Comitia* to assemble for the election of a new Consul, in which he left them entirely free; and they chose *Lucretius*, the father of the unfortunate *Lucretia*. The people, as they came out of the *Comitia*, being ashamed of having suspected *Valerius*, complimented

mented him with a large ground-plot, in an agreeable place, and there they built him a house.

The new Consul died in a few days after his promotion, so that *Valerius* was once more sole Governor. And now the sensible proofs which, in the interval between the death of *Lucretius* and the election of another Colleague, he gave the people of his zeal for their interest, gained him the surname of *Poplicola*, or Popular; they called him by no other ever after. He ordered the Axes, which were so apt to strike terror, to be taken out of the *Falces*; and commanded the *Lictors* to lower these in the assemblies of the People, by way of homage to their sovereignty. And this was a kind of introduction to a law, enacted while he was sole Consul, whereby an accused person was allowed to appeal to the People from the judgment of the magistrates. Another law was made, exempting artificers, widows, and old men (who had no children to relieve them) from paying tribute. A third law, tho' it prescribed an absolute submission to the orders of the Consuls, yet limited the penalty for disobedience to the value of five oxen and two rams (probably pieces of money with those figures stamp'd upon them.) And, to remove all manner of suspicion of his having the least thoughts of tyranny, *Poplicola* published a fourth decree, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any person who should aim at being master of the liberty of his fellow-citizens, and so likewise in the case of usurping a publick office without the People's consent: The assassin was to be declared innocent, provided he brought proof of the ill designs of him he had slain ^a.

Poplicola would not take upon him the keeping of the publick money, rais'd to defray the expences of war; but caus'd it to be deposited in the temple of *Saturn*^b; and by his advice, the people appointed two persons, elected out of the Senate, to take the charge of it. These officers

^a *Livy* represents these laws as made before the election of *Lucretius* to the Consulship. B. 2. c. 8.

^b The publick treasury was called *Ærarium*; because at first nothing was lodged in it but unstamp'd brass, which went by weight, and which was called *Æs rude*. Afterwards stamp'd pieces of brass were lodged there, which were called *Æs grave*, or *Æs leve*, according to the different weight of the several coins. This treasure had been kept at the houses of the Kings and Consuls, till the time of *Poplicola*, who removed it to the temple of *Saturn*, which was situated at the foot of the hill *Saturnius*, or the *Capitol*. In after-times, the publick treasury was divided into two branches; the one was called, *The Common Treasury*, or *Ærarium vulgare*; the other was called, *The Sacred Treasury*, or *Ærarium Sanclius*; in which the *Aurum vicissinarium* was reserved, for the extraordinary

occasions of the commonwealth. But of this in its proper place.

According to *Plutarch*, there were no *Quæstors* in *Rome*, till *Poplicola's* time; and this office was originally a branch of that of the Consuls. But *Ulpian* pretends, on the contrary, and quotes several authors for it, that there were *Quæstors* even in *Tullus Hostilius's* time. It was therefore to be observed, that the name of *Quæstors*, among the *Romans*, had two different significations. Sometimes it signified Commissioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable, and sometimes Magistrates who were put in commission for getting in the publick money. *Ulpian* might speak of the former sort of *Quæstors*, as being in the time of the Kings, and *Plutarch* of the other sort, which was introduced by *Poplicola* in the time of the commonwealth. These latter *Quæstors* were chosen by the People assembled in *Comitia*. C. & R.

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D. Hal. B.
5. p. 292.
Liv. B. 2.
c. 8.
Plut. Popl.
p. 102.
Plut. ibid.
103.

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they afterwards called *Quæstors*. The first persons chosen to this office were *P. Veturius* and *M. Minucius*. When *Poplicola* had by these regulations done all he desired towards diminishing the Consular authority, he assembled the people in the *Campus Martius*, for the election of a new Consul, to be his Collegue; and the choice fell upon *Horatius Pulvillus*.

C H A P. II.

§. I. *Poplicola* is chosen Consul a second Time, and *T. Lucretius* appointed to be his Collegue. *Porfena*, King of *Clusium* in *Etruria*, sends a threatening embassy to Rome. The Romans chuse *Poplicola* Consul a third time, and give him *Horatius Pulvillus* for a Collegue. §. II. *Porfena* in conjunction with some of the *Latine* states, marches an army into the neighbourhood of Rome. The remarkable bravery of *Horatius Cocles*. §. III. The desperate enterprize, and wonderful resolution of *Mucius Sævola*. *Porfena* intimidated by the courage of the Romans, desists from his demand of having the banished King restored. He makes a truce with the Romans, who refer it to his judgment, whether they shall restore to *Tarquin* his paternal estate or not. The adventure of *Clælia* during the pleadings. *Porfena* renounces the cause of *Tarquin* entirely, and makes a peace with the Romans. §. IV. The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* is consecrated. *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius* chosen Consuls. The Romans shew their gratitude to *Porfena*.

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I N a few months after the promotion of *Horatius*, the first year of the Consular power expired, and then the Romans thought fit, because of the present critical situation of their affairs, to chuse *Poplicola* again; and with him they joined *T. Lucretius*, the brother of the famous *Lucretia*. These began their administration by reviving the old institutions of King *Servius Tullius*, the *Census* * and the *Lustrum*, and they

* The learned differ about the persons whose names were given in upon each *Roman Census*. Some will have it, that in this multitude, all the *Roman* citizens were comprehended, without excepting their wives, children, widows, orphans, or pupils. But is it credible, that the commonwealth, when *Rome* was become the capital of the world, should reckon but three hundred, four hundred, and never so much as five hundred thousand citizens, in all the *Roman* territory, and in the whole extent of its municipal towns? For we don't find that the most numerous *Census* ever exceeded five hundred thousand, for above seven hundred years together. O-

thers think that the number mentioned by the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, comprehended only the heads of families. But this opinion can't be supported. For, not to say that it cannot be reconciled with the account the historians give us, we shall never be persuaded, that under the Consulship of *Valerius*, for instance, the *Roman* state, which was confined within narrow limits, and extended little farther than the walls of *Rome*, should be able to reckon up a hundred and thirty thousand heads of families; and consequently, several millions of souls, including children, slaves, widows, orphans, pupils, strangers, &c. whose names were not taken down in the *Census*. It is therefore

they found the number of *Roman* citizens, at or past the age of puberty, to be 130000. As a war from the *Latine* quarter was what the *Romans*, at this time, chiefly apprehended, the Consuls at a great expence fortify'd *Sinquinium*, or *Sigliuria*, an important post on that side. However the first of the neighbouring powers that appeared, after the death of *Brutus*, in favour of the *Tarquins*, was *Porfena*, a potent Prince, King of *Clusum* in *Hetruria*. He sent a haughty and threatening embassy to the *Romans*, requiring them either to recall the *Tarquins*, or to give them back their estates. The first they absolutely refused, and as to the second, they answered, that it was impracticable; a part of those estates having been consecrated to *Mars*, and the rest divided among indigent people, from whom they could not be recovered.

While the *Romans* were employed in preparations for a brave defence, the time came for electing new Consuls, and then *Poplicola* was chosen a third time, and, with him, *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been a few months in that office.

§. II. *PORSENA*, attended by his son *Aruns* and the exiles, marched towards *Rome* with a formidable army, and was joined by a considerable body of *Latines*, under the command of *Mamilius*, *Tarquin the Proud's* son-in-law. The Consuls upon their approach made the peasants carry their effects into strong holds, and they endeavoured to secure the hill *Janiculum* which overlooked *Rome*, and was its only fortification on that side the *Tiber*. And to keep the populace in temper and spirit, the Senate made several agreeable regulations with respect to taxes and provisions, and took great care to provide for their subsistence during the war; they sent to several parts of *Campania*, and even to *Cumæ*, to fetch corn, which was afterwards sold to the common People at low rates, lest the want of bread should tempt them to purchase it with the common liberty, and open the gates of *Rome* to *Tarquin*. Nay the Senators, at the same time that they taxed themselves higher than any others, would lay no impost on the common people during the war; following this generous and equitable maxim, "That the lower sort paid tribute enough to the Commonwealth by bringing up children who would in time be able to defend it." In a word, the *Romans* were all sensible of the difference of

therefore more reasonable to conclude, with *Fabius Pictor*, as quoted by *Livy*, that none but those who were able to bear arms, were included in this reckoning; i. e. those only who were about seventeen years of age, and under forty-six. Thus we are to understand *Dion. Hal.* when, speaking of this fifth *Roman* Census, he says, that the number of those who were arrived to the age of puberty, is 130,000, amounted to an hundred and thirty thousand men. He speaks in much the same manner, whenever he mentions the Census, always excepting the women, children, orphans, handicraftsmen, slaves, and

people of mean trades, and low condition of life, who in earlier times of the Republick were excluded from the *Roman* militia; as we are informed by credible authors. And in short, if we do but consider, that at the end of *Romulus's* reign the *Roman* army consisted of forty-six thousand foot, and very near a thousand horse, it will not appear at all surprising, that *Rome*, which was now become more powerful, and better peopled, should be able to raise an hundred and thirty thousand men; especially since the inhabitants of *Alba* and the other conquered cities had removed thither. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLV.
Bet. J. C.
DVII.

Second
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
5. p. 293.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLV.
Bet. J. C.
DVI.

Third
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
294.
Livy, B. 1.
c. 9.

Year of the present government from the former, and all equally solicitous to avoid
 ROME servitude; so that concord reigned in *Rome* even in the time of a famine
 CCXLVI with which it was grievously afflicted before the end of this war.
 Ref. J. C. DVI.

Porsena soon display'd his banners along the *Tiber*. His first attack
 Third was upon the fort of the *Janiculum*, and he drove the *Romans* out of it.
 Consulship. Upon this, the Consuls made all their troops pass the river, and drew
 D. Hal. B. them up in order of battle to defend the bridge: and *Porsena* advanced
 S. P. 294. to engage them. The victory was for a long time doubtful; but *M. Va-*
 295. *lerius* (*Poplicola's* brother) and *T. Lucretius* who were at the head of the
 Livy, B. 2. left wing, being both unfortunately wounded, and carried out of the field,
 a. 10. a general terror seized the *Roman* army. The bridge *Sublicius* was in a
 moment covered with runaways, who strove to gain the city. *Horatius*
Cocles (nephew of *Horatius* the Consul) being joined by *Sp. Lartius* and
T. Herminius, (who had commanded the right wing) these three gallant
 men, to hinder the enemy from pursuing the *Romans*, posted themselves at
 the entrance of the bridge, and for a long time bravely defended it.
 The defensive arms of *Lartius* and *Herminius* being at length broken,
 they retired; *Horatius* desiring them to advise the Consuls, from him, to
 cut the bridge at the other end. Then for a while he sustained alone the
 attack of the enemy. The heaps of dead bodies which had fallen by the
 hands of the three heroes formed a kind of rampart for him against
 close assaults, and with his buckler he covered himself from the missive
 weapons thrown at him. At length being wounded in the thigh, and the
 signal being given that the bridge was almost broken down, he leapt into
 the river, and swam across it through a shower of darts. Thus *Cocles*
 saved the Republick from ruin; and the *Romans* being sensible of it,
 erected a statue of brass to him in the temple of *Vulcan*. They gave him
 likewise as much land as he himself, with one yoke of oxen, could
 plough in one day. And each of the inhabitants of *Rome*, to the num-
 ber of 300000, gave him the value of as much food as each consumed
 in a day. But notwithstanding all this, because he had lost one eye;
 and from his wounds continued lame the remaining part of his life, these
 defects prevented his ever being elected to the Consulship, or to any mi-
 litary command.

Though the city was not entirely invested, but had several avenues open,
 it was very difficult to find provisions for so great a number of inhabitants,
 as could hardly subsist there in time of peace; and a famine began to be
 severely felt. *Porsena*, having notice of it, sent the *Romans* word, that
 if they would receive their old masters, he would furnish them with pro-
 visions; to which they returned this answer, *that hunger was a less evil than*
slavery and oppression.

§. III. NEVERTHELESS *Rome* was almost wearied out with
 this long siege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman* of noble birth,
 desired permission of the Consuls and Senate to cross the *Tiber*, and go
 into the enemy's camp, there to attempt something for the service of his
 country; and he begged, as his only recompence, that, in case he fell

in

in the dangerous enterprize, his zeal might not be buried in oblivion, but proclaimed after his death. The Consuls and Senate having encouraged him to undertake any thing in the present exigence, he dressed himself in an *Hetrurian* habit, and, with a ponyard hid under his clothes, left the city. As he spoke the language of the *Hetrurians* perfectly well, he easily got into their camp, and made his way quite to the King's tent. It happened to be the day, on which the troops were reviewed and paid. *Porfena's* secretary, magnificently dressed, was sitting on the same tribunal with the King, giving audience, and receiving petitions. *Mucius* mistook him for the King himself, leaped upon the tribunal, and with one stroke of his ponyard laid him dead at the King's feet. He then attempted to escape, but was seized, and brought back to the presence of *Porfena*. *Thou execrable villain*, said the King, *who art thou, whence comest thou? Who are thy accomplices?* *Mucius*, with a haughty look that struck more terror than it expressed fear, answered, *that his name was Caius Mucius; that he was a Roman; and that Roman bravery made him capable of attempting whatever man could do, and of suffering whatever man could endure.* *Porfena* filled with amazement at his answer, was yet more astonished when he saw him with a steady countenance, and a look which testified his inward rage for having missed his aim, thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there let it broil, without shewing any signs of pain. The King's resentment changed wholly into admiration; he granted him life and liberty, and even restored him the dagger with which he had designed to stab him; and because *Mucius*, having now lost the use of his right hand, took it with his left, he had thence the surname of *Scevola*, i. e. left-handed.

The *Roman* was no less surprized at the King's generosity than the King had been at his intrepid boldness: However, he had the presence of mind to invent a story for the service of his country. He pretended to be moved by the King's goodness to discover to him a secret, which, he said, no torments could have extorted from him: *That three hundred young Romans, all as resolute as himself, and who were dispersed in the Hetrurian camp, had bound themselves by the most sacred oaths, to attempt his life one after another, at the like hazard as he had done.* This discourse struck *Porfena* once more with terror, and having ordered *Mucius* to withdraw, he called a council to deliberate upon the best means to preserve himself from the dangers with which he was threatened. His son *Aruns*, a great admirer of the *Roman* virtue, advised him to render all precautions needless, by concluding a peace with the *Romans*. The King readily listened to this proposal, and the more readily as the *Romans*, in a sally out of the town, had destroyed a great many of his troops; which occasioned a murmuring in the camp: Deputies were sent to *Rome*, who had orders not to mention the recalling of the *Tarquins*, but only to insist on a restitution of their estates, or an equivalent; and as to what concerned the *Hetrurian* nation, to require the *Romans* to reinstate the *Veientes* in the possession of seven villages taken from them in former wars. *Poplicola*,

zealous to have the people relieved in their misery, prevailed with the Senate to comply with these conditions: but the people themselves refused to consent to the first article, till *Porfena* had heard their cause pleaded against the *Tarquins*; and to his arbitration they left it. As to the second, they readily agreed to it, and offered hostages to secure its performance.

A truce being made, the *Romans* deputed some of the Senators to plead their cause before the *Hebrurian* King, and, at the same time, sent ten young virgins, and as many boys, of the best families in *Rome*, for hostages: But then the *Tarquins* refused to admit *Porfena* for a judge between them and the *Romans*. The King however resolved to inform himself in the affair, and made his son *Aruns* his associate for the hearing and deciding it. The *Roman* deputies had scarce begun to open the cause, when the proceeding was interrupted by news brought, that the young women, given as hostages, had ventured to swim cross the *Tiber*, and were returned to *Rome*. They had been permitted to bathe in the river; where the famous *Clelia*, (one of the number) happening to turn her eyes towards her native city, took a longing to go back to it. Away she swims, the rest follow her, and they all get safe to the opposite shore*. When the truth of the matter was known, it served only to increase the esteem which *Porfena* and *Aruns* had for the *Roman* bravery. But in the mean time *Poplicola* was very uneasy at the return of the young women, among whom was his own daughter *Valeria*. He dispatched a deputation to the *Hebrurian* camp, to excuse the folly of the girls, and with a promise to send them back. *Mamilius* and the *Tarquins* having notice of this, prepared an ambush to surprize them on the road; and when the *Roman* maids, under the guard of a few horsemen, were almost at the gates of *Porfena's* camp, they appeared on a sudden with a considerable body of horse and fell with fury upon the weak convoy. *Poplicola* had by good fortune put himself at the head of the *Roman* troop; he sustained the attack of the enemy with incredible valour, while his daughter *Valeria*, exceedingly terrified, rode full speed to the *Hebrurian* camp, and gave notice of the danger her father was in; and then *Aruns*, with a great body of cavalry, flying to his relief, the assailants were soon routed.

This attempt of the *Tarquins* greatly displeased *Porfena*, and gave him a strong suspicion of the badness of their cause. He summoned the chief officers of his army, and, in their presence, heard the complaints of the *Romans*; who enlarged on all the crimes committed by their tyrants, from the assassination of King *Servius*, to the violence committed on the chaste *Lucretia*. The *Hebrurians* were filled with horror; and *Porfena*, renouncing all alliance with the *Tarquins* and *Mamilius*, ordered them to leave his camp. He then commanded the ten young virgins to be brought before him, and enquired who was the first author of their enterprize. *Clelia*, with a fearless air, confessed, that she alone was guilty, and that she had emboldened the rest by her advice. The King, as much surprized with her steadiness, as with her courage, addressed himself to her in a gracious

* *Livy* adds, that they passed the River through a shower of *Hebrurian* darts.

manner,

manner, extolled her adventure above the bravery of *Horatius*, and the intrepidity of *Mucius*, and made her a present of a fine horse with sumptuous furniture. After this he concluded a peace with the *Romans*, restored them all their hostages, and told the Consul, that he looked upon the *Roman* probity as the best guarantee of the treaty.

And now *Porfena* being to return to *Clusum*, signalized his departure from the neighbourhood of *Rome* by an act of liberality, which the noble manner of it made the more agreeable to the *Romans*. He ordered his *Illetrurians* to leave behind them their tents furnished with all sorts of provisions, and other valuable effects, and to carry nothing away with them but their arms. *Rome* was hereby much relieved in her wants; and the *Romans*, on this occasion, took up a custom, whenever any effects belonging to the publick were to be sold, of proclaiming them by a herald, in the following words, *These are Porfena's goods*; the intention of which was, to preserve the memory of that Prince's kindness; and it also signified, that the effects exposed to sale would be sold cheap. More than this, the Senate set up a brazen statue of the King near the *Comitium*, and sent an embassy to him with a present of a throne, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe^a.

§. IV. WHEN, after the departure of *Porfena*, the *Romans* had rewarded those who had behaved themselves well in the siege, and particularly *Mucius Scaevola*, to whom they gave a large piece of ground, and erected a statue, their next care was to shew their gratitude to the Gods, by some publick act of religion. The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, though finished, had not yet been consecrated. It naturally belonged to one of the Consuls to perform the ceremony; and it must prove an immortal honour to whoever should do it. Had the election of the consecrator been in the people, *Poplicola* would undoubtedly have carried it: but it was the Senate's right to nominate the man; and they being grown envious, and jealous of *Poplicola*, sent him upon a slight expedition, and, in his absence, commissioned his Colleague to dedicate^b the temple. We are told,

^a These presents being of the same kind with those which the *Illetrurians* are represented to have sent^{*} to *Tarquin the elder* by way of recognizing their Sovereignty over them, as a people subdued, give good ground to believe, that *Porfena* took *Rome*, and totally subjugated the *Romans*. *Tacitus* speaks of it as a thing well known, that the city surrendered to *Porfena*: *Sedem Jovis Optimi Maximi [the capitol] auspicio a Majoribus pignus imperii ceditam, quam non Porfena DEDITA URBE, neque Galli capta temerare potuissent*, &c. L. 3. c. 72. Hist. And *Pliny* says, that in the treaty which *Porfena* granted the *Romans*, an express stipulation is found, that they should make no use of iron but for the

business of agriculture. *In facere quod expulsi Regibus, populo Romano dedit Porfena, nominatim comprehensum invenimus, ne ferro nisi in agricultura uterentur*. L. 34. c. 14. See B. 1. c. 6. §. 2.

^b The honour of dedicating a temple was a mark of distinction, which the great men of *Rome* earnestly solicited. This office, in the earliest times of the Commonwealth, belonged to him of the two Consuls, whom the Senate should appoint. Afterwards the people assembled by Tribes named the Consecrator. At length the right of nomination was again in the Senate, and this even in the time of the *Roman Emperors*. The dedication of a temple was a solemn festival, accompanied with extraordinary rejoicings.

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R O M E
CCXLVI.
Bæ. J. C.
DVI.

Third
Consulship.
Prim. Popi.
p. 104.

told, that just as *Horatius* was beginning, at the door of it, to pronounce the form of consecration, *Poplicola's* brother *Mercus*, who had watched his opportunity, cried out, *Thy son, O Consul, lies dead in the camp*: The thing was false, but he hoped by these words to avert him from his purpose. *Horatius*, without shewing the least emotion, only answered, *Then cast the body where you please, I admit not of mourning*, and finished the consecration. Thus *Poplicola*, in the close of his third Consulship, received a sensible mortification: And no necessities of state obliging the people

The altars were then adorned with flowers and garlands; sacrifices were offered up, and hymns sung to instruments. The Magistrate who was to preside at the ceremony, gave the college of the *Pontifices* notice of the day of the dedication. He summoned the *Pontifex Maximus* to appear at the temple, and pronounce the words of consecration: after whom, this magistrate repeated them, word for word, with his hand upon the side-post of the door of the temple. He was obliged to be extremely exact in doing it. A syllable forgotten, or ill-pronounced, gave the people an alarm, and they thought it an inauspicious omen to the consecrator. Therefore *Natellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, who had an impediment in his speech, was several months learning to articulate the word *Opifera*. It was not lawful to appear at this solemnity in mourning, but only in white clothes.

The name of the magistrate who performed the ceremony of the consecration, was usually inscribed on the frontispiece of the Temple. Thus far *F. Cat.* and *Ronillé*.

It may be proper here to take notice once for all of the general names by which the places set apart for divine worship are called in ancient authors.

Templum was a place which had not been only dedicated to some Deity, but withal formerly consecrated by the *Augurs*.

Ædes Sacra, were such as wanted that consecration; which if they afterwards received, they changed their names to temples. Vid. *A. Gell.* L. 14. c. 7.

Dilubrum, according to *Servius*, was a place that under one roof comprehended several Deities.

Ædicula is only a diminutive, and signifies no more than a little *Ædes*.

Sacellum may be derived the same way from *Ædes Sacra*. *Festus* tells us, 'tis a place

sacred to the Gods, without a roof. *Ken. Antiq.* Part 2. B. 1. c. 3.

'Twere endless (adds Mr. Kennet) to reckon up but the bare names of all the temples we meet with in authors. The most celebrated on all accounts were, the *Capitol* and the *Pantheon*.

The *Capitol*, or temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, was the effect of a vow made by *Tarquinius Priscus* in the *Sabine* war (a). But he had scarce laid the foundations before his death. His nephew, [son, or grandson] *Tarquin the Proud*, finished it with the spoils taken from the neighbouring nations (b). But upon the expulsion of the Kings, the consecration was performed by *Horatius* the Consul (c). The structure stood on a high ridge, taking in four acres of ground. The front was adorned with three rows of pillars, the other sides with two (d). The ascent from the ground was by an hundred steps (e). The prodigious gifts and ornaments, with which it was at several times endowed, almost exceed belief. *Suetonius* (f) tells us, that *Augustus* gave at one time two thousand pound weight of gold: and in jewels and precious stones, to the value of five hundred testerces. *Livy* and *Pliny* (g) surprize us with accounts of the brazen thresholds, the noble pillars that *Sylla* removed hither from *Athens* out of the temple of *Jupiter Olympus*; the gilded roof, the gilded shields, and those of solid silver; the huge vessels of silver, holding three measures; the golden chariot, &c. This temple was first consumed by fire in the *Marian* war, and then rebuilt by *Sylla*; who dying before the dedication, left that honour to *Quintus Catulus*. This too was demolished in the *Vitellian* sedition. *Vespasian* undertook a third, which was burnt down about the time of his death. *Domitian* raised the last and most glorious of all; in which

a: *Livy*, lib. 1.
in *A. Gell.* cap. 50.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Paterculus* in *P. Poplicol.*

(d) *Dionys. Halicarn.*

(e) *Tacitus.*

(f) *Livy*, lib. 10, 55, 38. *Pliny*, lib. 33, &c.

people to continue him longer in office, *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, (who had distinguished themselves in the war with *Porfena*) were chosen Consuls for the next year.

The new Consulship proved a year of peace; the only remarkable thing the *Romans* did was shewing that they were a grateful people. *Aruns*, the

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DV.

Fourth
son Consulship.

the very gilding amounted to twelve thousand talents (*b*). On which account *Plutarch* (*i*) hath observed of that Emperor, that he was like *Midus*, desirous of turning every thing into gold. There are very little remains of it at present; yet enough to make a *Christian* church (*k*).

The *Pantheon* was built by *Marcus Agrippa*, son-in-law to *Augustus Caesar*; and dedicated either to *Jupiter Ultor*, or to *Mars* and *Venus*, or more probably to all the Gods in general, as the very name (*quasi Tōv πάντων Θεῶν*) implies. The structure, according to *Fabrizius* (*l*) is an hundred and forty feet high, and about the same breadth. But a latter Author hath increased the number of feet to an hundred fifty-eight. The roof is curiously vaulted, void places being left here and there for the greater strength. The rafters were pieces of brass of forty feet in length. There are no windows in the whole edifice, only a round hole at the top of the roof, which serves very well for the admission of the light. Diametrically under is cut a curious gutter to receive the rain. The walls on the inside are either solid marble, or incruited (*m*). The front on the outside was covered with brazen plates gilt, the top with silver plates, which are now changed to lead (*n*). The gates were brass, of extraordinary work and bigness (*o*).

The temple is still standing with little alteration, besides the loss of the old ornaments, being converted into a *Christian Church* by Pope *Boniface III.* (or, as *Polydore Virgil* (*p*) hath it, by *Boniface IV.*) Dedicated to *St. Mary*, and all Saints, tho' the general name be *St. Mary de Rotonda* (*q*). The most remarkable difference is, that whereas heretofore they ascended by twelve steps, they now go down as many to the entrance (*r*).

The ceremony of the consecration of temples (a piece of superstition very well worth our notice) we cannot better apprehend, than by the following account which *Tacitus* gives us of that solemnity, in reference to the *Ca-*

pitol, when repaired by *Vespasian*: Though perhaps the chief rites were celebrated upon the entire raising of the structure, this being probably intended only for the hollowing the floor. *Undecimo Kalendas Julias* (*s*), &c.

‘ Upon the 21st of *June*, being a very clear day, the whole plot of ground designed for the temple, was bound about with fillets and garlands. Such of the soldiers as had lucky names, entered first with boughs in their hands, taken from those trees which the Gods more especially delighted in. Next came the *Vestal Virgins*, with boys and girls whose fathers and mothers were living, and sprinkled the place with brook-water, river-water, and spring-water. Then *Helvidius Priscus* the *Prætor*, (*Plautus Elian*, one of the chief Priests, going before him) after he had performed the solemn sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and a bullock, for the purgation of the floor, and laid the entrails upon a green turf, humbly besought *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and the other Deities, Protectors of the empire, that they would be pleased to prosper their present undertaking, and accomplish, by their divine assistance, what human piety had thus begun. Having concluded his prayer, he put his hand to the fillets, to which the ropes, with a great stone fastened in them, had been tied for this occasion; when immediately the whole company of Priests, Senators, Knights, with the greatest part of the common people, laying hold together on the rope, with all expressions of joy, drew the stone into the trench designed for the foundation, throwing in wedges of gold, silver, and other metals, which had never endured the fire.’

Some curious persons have observed this similitude between the shape of these old temples, and our modern churches: That they had one apartment more holy than the rest, which they termed *Cella*, answering to our chancel or choir: That the porticos in

(b) *Plutarch* in *Poplicola*.
por. Rem. Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 6.
cap. 8.

(i) *Ibid.*
(q) *Fabriz.* cap. 9.

(l) *Fabriz. Roma*, cap. 9.
(r) *Ibid.*

(s) *Ibid.*
(o) *Marlian. ibid.*

(p) *Lib. 6.*

son of *Publius*, being an amiable youth, his father was desirous to have him gain some glory before he disbanded his troops, and therefore gave him the command of an army, which he immediately march'd to *Cusum*. The young Prince, eager to obtain a first victory, ran furiously upon the *Albians*, and routed them; but he was afterwards defeated by a strata-

Fourth
Consulship.

D. H. P.
111.

L. 3. 2.

L. 14.

L. 15.

L. 16.

the sides were well adapted to the use of arms, and that our *Albians*, or best of the country, is an imitation of their *Boians*.

There are two other temples particularly worth our notice: not so much for the magnificence of the structure, as for the customs that depend upon them, and the remarkable use to which they were put. These are the temples of *Satur* and *Janus*.

The first was famous by account of serving for the publick treasury, and the reason of which some fancy to have been, because *Satur* first taught the *Italians* to coin money, or, as *Plinius* conjectures, because in the golden age under *Satur*, all persons were honest and sincere, and the names of *False* and *Counterfeits* unknown in the world (2). But perhaps there might be no more in it, than that this temple was one of the strongest places in the city, and so the fittest for that use. Here were preserved all the publick registers and records, among which were the *Libri Equestrum*, or great ivory tables, containing a list of all the *Tribes*, and the schemes of the publick accounts.

The other was a square piece of building (some say of entire brass) so large as to contain a statue of *Janus* five feet high; with brazen gates of each side, which used always to be kept open in war, and shut in time of peace (3).

But the *Romans* were so continually engaged in quarrels, that we find the last custom but seldom put in practice.

First, all the long reign of *Numa*. Secondly, *A. U. C.* 519, upon the conclusion of the first *Punic* war. Thirdly, by *Augustus*, *A. U. C.* 725, and twice more by the same Emperor, *A. U. C.* 729. And again about the time of our Saviour's birth. Then by *Nero*, *A. U. C.* 811. Afterwards by *Vespasian*, *A. U. C.* 824. And lastly, by *Constantinus*, when, upon *Magnentius's* death, he was left sole possessor of the Empire, *A. U. C.* 1105 (4).

Of this custom *Virgil* gives us a notable description:

*Quædam hæc in porta si memine dicunt.
Pulchra, præterea, præformidine Martis:
Cernitur, et laquei tectis, æternaque feræ
Fides, et, quæ sit, efficitur hinc Janus.
Hæc, quæ sit, efficitur hinc Janus, pugnæ;
Hæc, quæ sit, efficitur hinc Janus, pugnæ;
Hæc, quæ sit, efficitur hinc Janus, pugnæ.
Hæc, quæ sit, efficitur hinc Janus, pugnæ.*

Sacred to Mars, two stately gates appear,
Which stand in the dread of arms and war;
An hundred iron bolts from impious
power,
And everlasting bars the dome secure,
And watchful *Janus* guards his temple
door.
Here, when the fathers have ordain'd to try
The chance of battle by their fix'd decree,
The Consul, rich in his *Gabinian* gown,
And regal pall, leads the procession on;
The sounding hinges gravely turn about,
Reuze the imprison'd God, and let the fu-
ries out.

The superstition of consecrating groves and woods to the honour of the Deities, was a practice very usual with the ancients: For, not to speak of these mentioned in the Holy Scripture, *Plinius* assures us, That trees in old time served for the temples of the Gods. *Tacitus* reports this custom of the old *Germans*; *Q. Curtius* of the *Indians*, and almost all writers of the old *Druids*. The *Romans* too were great admirers of this way of worship, and therefore had their *Luci* in most parts of the city, generally dedicated to some particular Deity.

The most probable reason that can be given for this practice, is taken from the common opinion, That fear was the main principle of devotion among the ignorant Heathens. And therefore such darksome and lonely places, putting them into a sudden horror and dread, made them fancy that there must necessarily something of divinity inhabit them, which could produce in them such an awe and reverence at their entrance. *Ken. 16.*

(2) *Plinius Hist. Rom. Lib. 15. cap. 3.* (3) *Plinius Lib. 15. cap. 3.* (4) *Vid. Marrian. Topog. Rom. Annot. Lib. 3. cap. 2.* (x) *Vid. Cassiodor. Not. ad Theod. A. 250. cap. 22.* (y) *Virg. Æn. 7.*

gem of the *Cumans* *, their allies, commanded by more experienced officers. He lost his life; and his scattered troops took refuge in the villages about *Rome*. The Consuls invited them to the city, sent carriages for the wounded, made provision for their cure at the publick expence, and allotted a quarter in the city for those of them who were willing to settle in it. It was afterwards called the *Tuscan* or *Hetrurian Street*.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLVII.
Ref. J. C.
DV.

Fourth
Consulship.
• From
Campania.

C H A P. III.

§. I. *The Romans, in the Consulship of M. Valerius, (brother of Poplicola,) and P. Posthumius, make war against the Sabines, and twice defeat them.*

§. II. *The Sabines unite in a national body against Rome, where Poplicola is chosen Consul a fourth time. Appius Claudius leaves the Sabines and comes over to the Romans, with all his followers and dependants. The Sabines are again defeated.*

§. III. *Poplicola dies. The Sabines upon his death take courage, and renew the war, in the Consulship of P. Posthumius and Menenius Agrippa, who obtain a signal victory over them.*

§. IV. *An OVATION only is decreed to Posthumius, but a Triumph to Menenius.*

§. V. *The Sabines are subdued in the succeeding Consulship of Sp. Cassius and Opiter Virginus.*

§. I. **R**OME, since the new modelling of her government, being, as we have already seen, utterly destitute of allies, and always apprehensive lest the ill-extinguished fire of the royalist party should break out into a new flame, the *Sabines*, who knew her weak condition, thought this a favourable opportunity to put it out of the power of that imperious city to give law any more to her neighbours. They began the war by incursions and depredations on the *Roman* lands. *M. Valerius* (brother of *Poplicola*) and *P. Posthumius* were now Consuls; and before they would have recourse to arms, they sent envoys in an amicable way to demand satisfaction of the *Sabines* for the injuries the Republick had suffered; but receiving only a contemptuous answer, they both took the field. The *Roman* forces were divided into two bodies. *Posthumius* with one of them encamped near *Rome*, to prevent a surprize from the *Tarquins*, who had many friends in the city. *Valerius*, with the other, posted himself at *Tibur* upon the *Anio*, the enemy being encamped on the opposite shore. That part of the river, near which they lay, being by an accident found fordable, *Valerius* made all his troops pass, and drew them up in battalia on the same side with the enemy. A general engagement quickly ensued. *Valerius*, assisted by the counsels of his brother, gained some advantage with his right wing, but his left lost ground; it was almost pushed into the river, when *Posthumius* having notice of the action, came seasonably to the relief of the *Romans*, charged the enemy in flank, and recovered the day. The *Sabine* troops would have been entirely cut off, or made prisoners,

Year of
R O M E
CCXLVIII.
Ref. J. C.
DIV.

Fifth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
5. p. 305,
306, 307.
Liv. B. 2.
c. 16.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLVIII.
Bet. J. C.
DIV.

First
Consulship.
Plut. Popl.
p. 107.

Plut. B. 36.
c. 15.

Cic. de
Leg. B. 2.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLIX.
Bet. J. C.
DIII.

Sixth
Consulship.

Plut. Vit.
Popl. 108.

D Hal. B.
Livy, B. 2.
c. 16.
Plut. Vit.
Popl. p.
108.

soners, if the night coming on had not given them an opportunity to escape. They left their camp to be plundered, and in separate parties returned home. This was the first considerable advantage *Rome* gained over her enemies after she became a Republick, and it revived the old *Roman* confidence. The two Generals were decreed a triumph; but they both entered *Rome* in the same chariot. As a further reward for *Valerius*, (who is said by *Plutarch* to have gained in this same year a second victory over the *Sabines*, in which he slew 13000 of them without the loss of one *Roman*), the Republick built him a house, the door opening outwards to the street; whereas the doors of all other houses opened inwards. The design of this distinction was not only to do him honour, but to put him in mind, as often as he went in or out, that he was indebted to the publick for his house. As for *Postumius*, he was honoured with a privilege, never before granted to any, which was, to have a burial place for himself and his family, within the walls of *Rome*. Thus did the first *Romans* keep up an emulation among their Generals, rather by distinguishing marks of honour, than substantial rewards. They did not heap wealth upon them, but taught them to prefer the glory, which attends great actions, to exorbitant riches, which often give umbrage, and are always odious in a Republick.

§. II. THE *Sabines* the next year having formed the design of uniting in a national body against *Rome*, and of engaging the *Latines* to assist them, the *Romans* thought it adviseable to chuse *Poplicola* Consul a fourth time, and they once more joined *T. Lucretius* with him. But it happening at this time, that some women were delivered of monstrous or imperfect births, the people gave way to superstition, and were unwilling to enter upon action, imagining by these presages, that it must prove a fatal year. Upon this, *Poplicola* caused the *Sybil's* books to be consulted, and he interpreted the answers in the sense that best suited his purpose; he likewise ordered sacrifices to be offered to *Pluto*, the festivals and sports to be revived, and in a word, by artful management removed the publick fears.

In the mean while, the storm continued to gather on the side of the *Sabines*. One of the *Tarquins* had, by his intrigues, put in motion the turbulent and factious members in their assemblies. *Poplicola* endeavoured therefore to bear down the interest of the banished King, by negotiation; and he so far succeeded as to gain over *ACTIVUS CLAUSUS*, (the most considerable man in *Sabinia*, and of the greatest talents and merit) to oppose the design of renewing the war. He spoke in all the *Sabine* diets against it; and his opposition had its due weight. But those who envied him for his wealth and power, took occasion from this proceeding to put a bad construction on the good understanding he had with the *Romans*; and they spread by degrees such a jealousy and distrust of him through the nation, that at length nothing less was talked of than citing him as a traitor to appear before their great Council. *Clausus* provoked by this unjust treatment, his first thought was to arm his friends and clients, and begin a civil war. No measure could have been more advantageous to *Rome*: But *Poplicola* dissuaded him from polluting his hands with the blood

blood of his countrymen: He represented to him, that the most honourable and most effectual way to be revenged upon them, would be to leave them; that a man of his consequence, abilities, and virtues, would soon be missed; and that *Rome* offered him a retreat and protection both for himself and followers. *Clausus* remained a while in suspense; but at length chose rather to act a proud, than an angry part, and removed to *Rome*. There he changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, was immediately declared a Patrician, and took his place in the Senate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city assigned for his friends and followers, amounting to five thousand families; to each of which were granted two acres of ground, with the rights of Citizenship. And these donations were made irrevocable by a decree of the Senate, confirmed by the suffrages of the people.

The *Sabines*, enraged at the retreat of *Clausus* to *Rome*, deferred no longer to take the field. Their army they divided into two bodies, one of which encamped near *Fidenæ*, the other shut itself up in that town, which was but five miles from *Rome*. *Poplicola* and *Lucretius* made a like division of the *Roman* troops, and encamped advantageously near each other. The *Romans* having no opportunity for stratagems, were eager to engage: But the *Sabines* durst not come to a battle by day-light. Their General (who is said to have been one of *Tarquin's* sons) formed a design to attack *Poplicola's* camp in the dead of the night, while the troops of *Fidenæ*, light-armed, were to march out, and fetching a large compass, come behind, and surprize *Lucretius's* camp, as soon as he should leave it to go to the succour of his colleague; and then those same troops were to charge *Lucretius* in the rear, or at least terrify him by their shouts. *Poplicola* had timely intelligence of these designs, and took proper measures to make them fatal to the enemy. He gave *Lucretius* notice of the intended night-expedition; and it was agreed between them to shew no marks of suspecting the enemy's intention; in the beginning of the night all fires were put out in both the *Roman* camps. The *Sabines* before midnight marched silently towards *Poplicola's* entrenchments, filled up the ditch with fascines, and passed over to scale the rampart; but as fast as they drew near to it, they were stabbed by the *Roman* troops, who, unseen, were posted on the outside of it, in the space between it and the ditch. They suffered a great slaughter, before the moon rising discovered their error. Then a fright seized them, they all fled, and the *Romans* pursued them with loud shouts, which were heard in *Lucretius's* camp; who immediately detached his horse against those of the enemy, who lay in ambush behind him, while he with his infantry hastened to complete the destruction of those whom *Poplicola* had routed. In this bloody action 13000 *Sabines* were killed upon the spot, and 4200 made prisoners.

What now remained, was to reduce *Fidenæ*, which had been often subdued, and had as often rebelled. *Poplicola* undertook to scale the walls in person, on that side where the city was thought most impregnable. Having carried the place by assault, he put to death the heads of the revolt,

Year of
R O M E
CCXLIX.
B. C. J. C.
DIII.

Sixth
Consulship.

D. H. I. R.
5. p. 308,
329.

p. 316

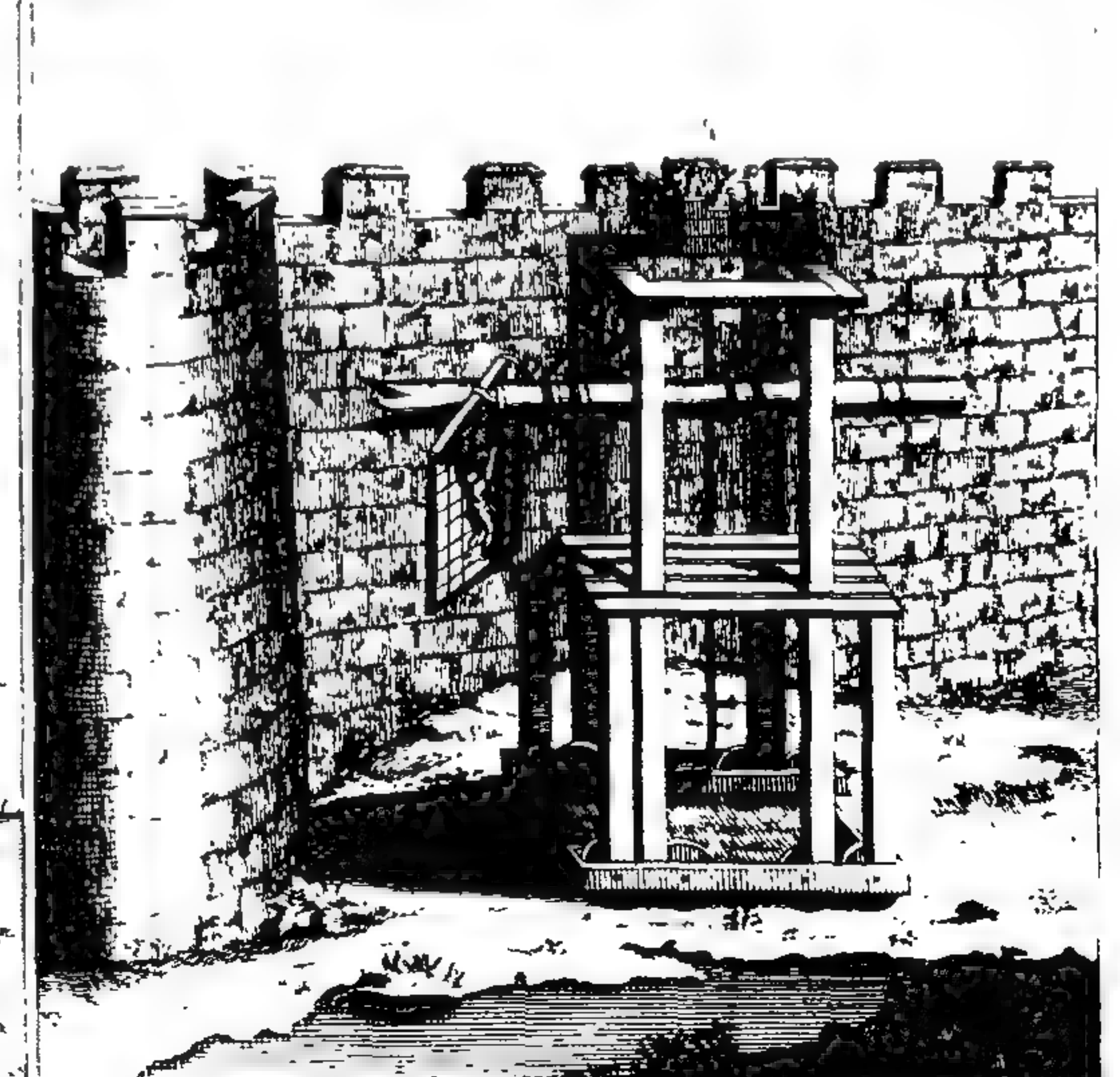
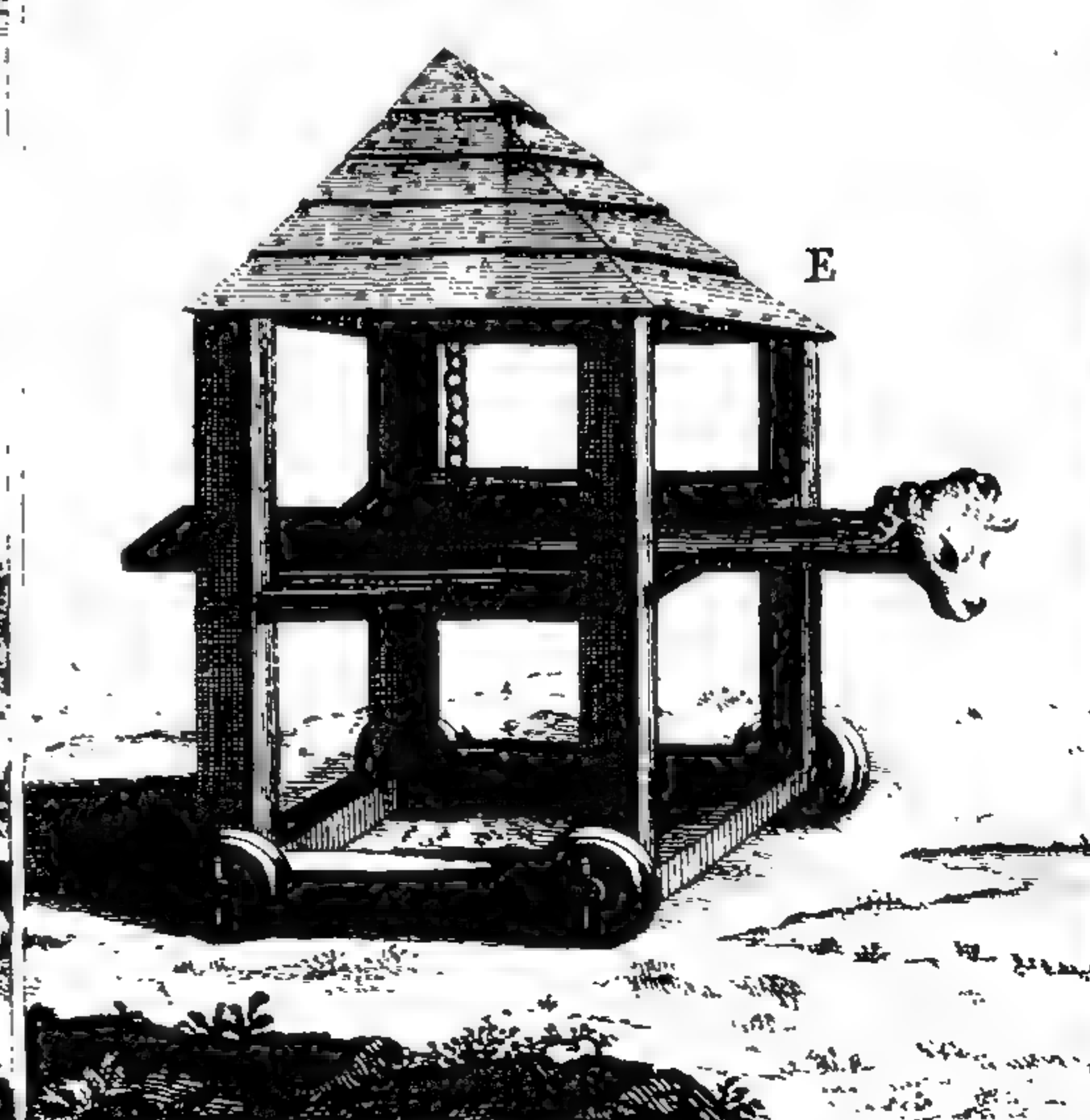
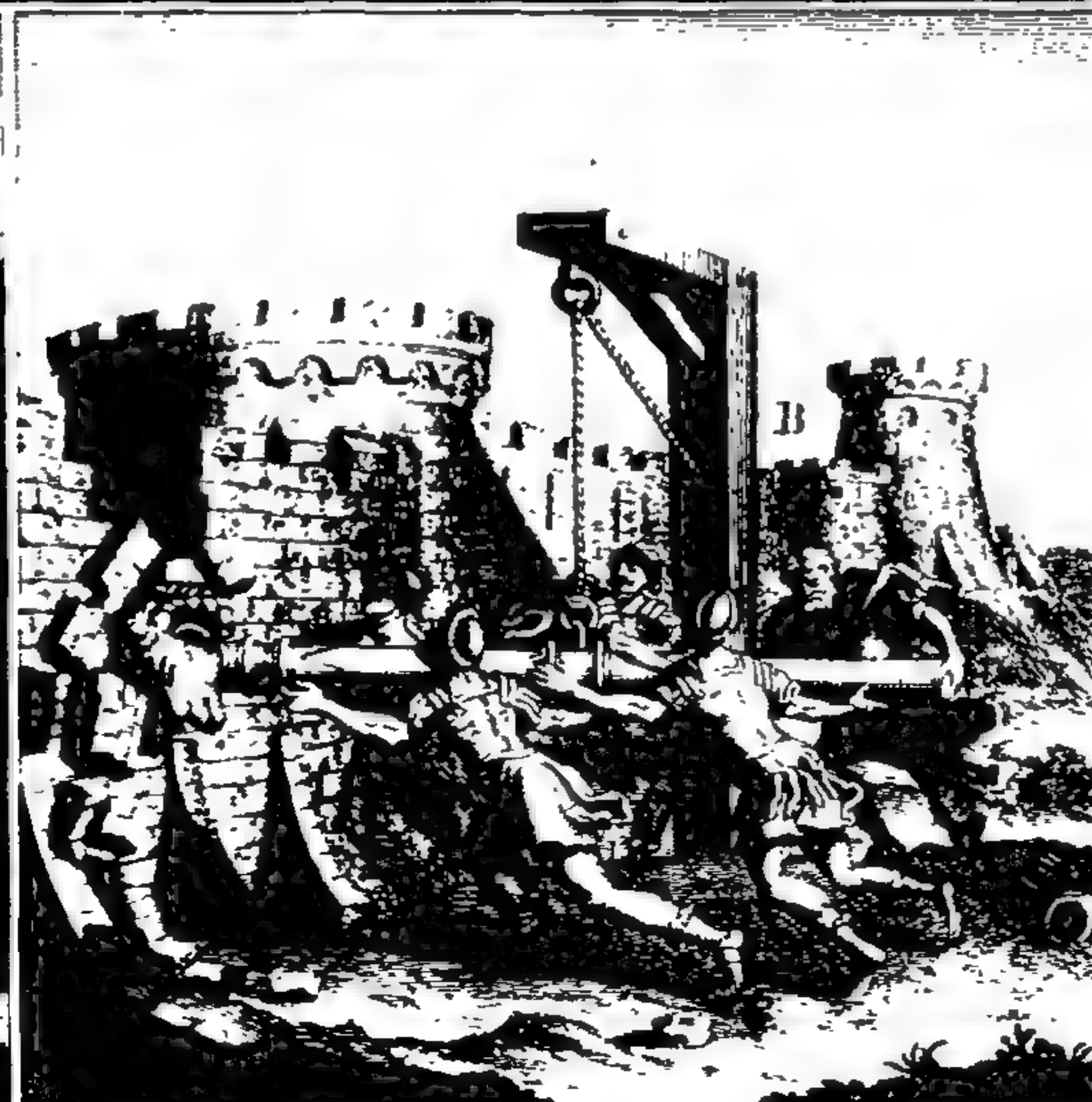
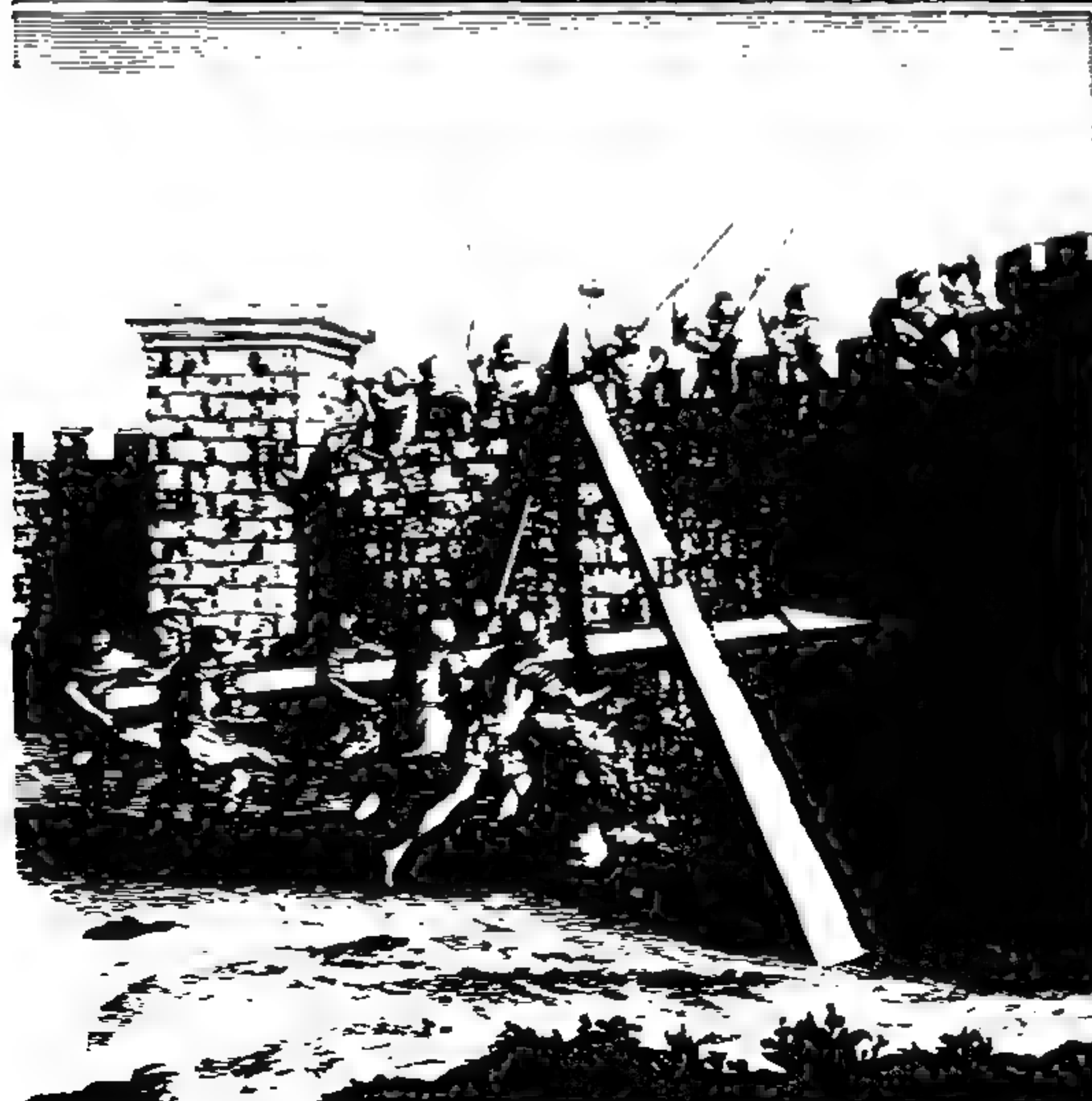
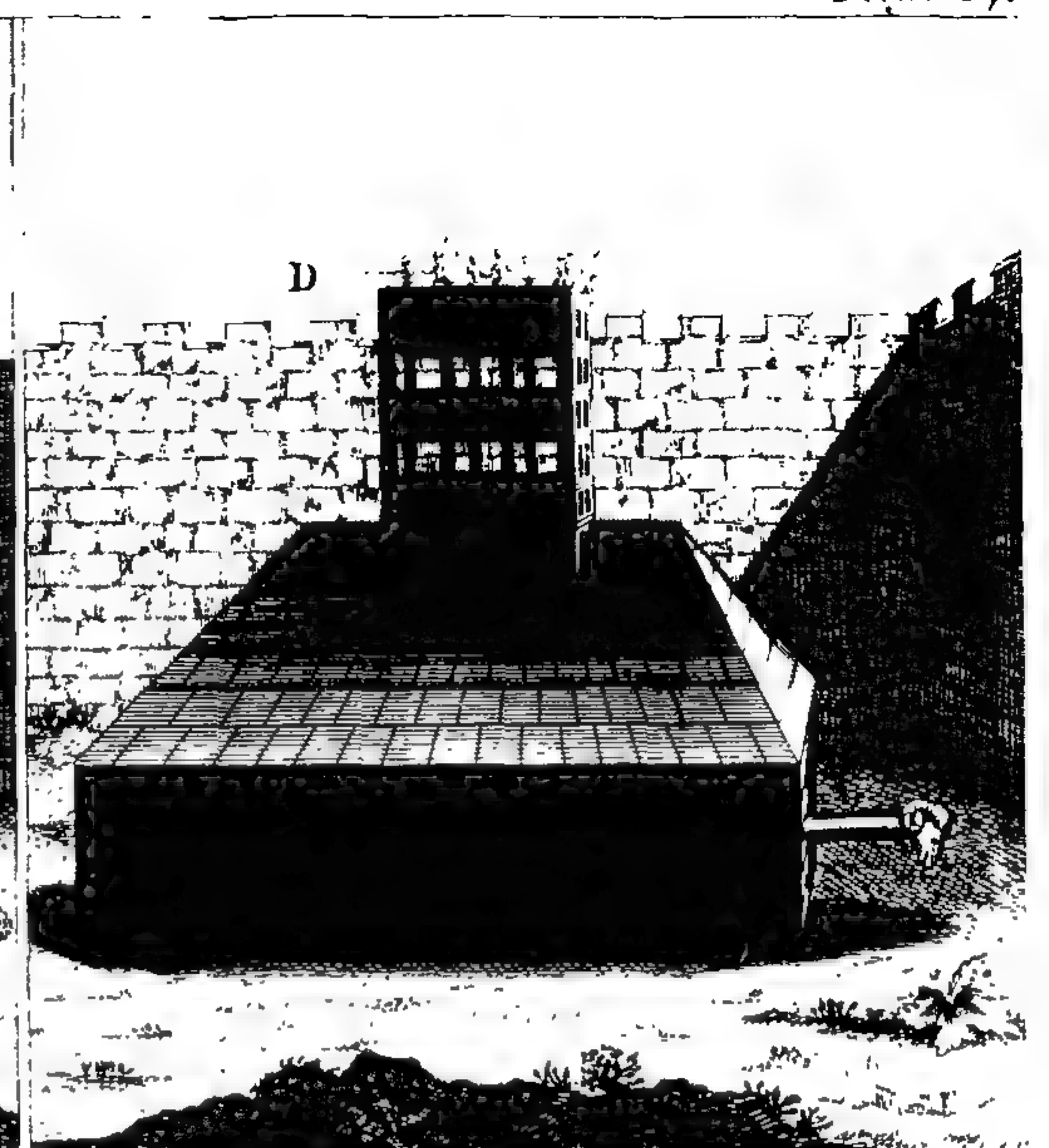
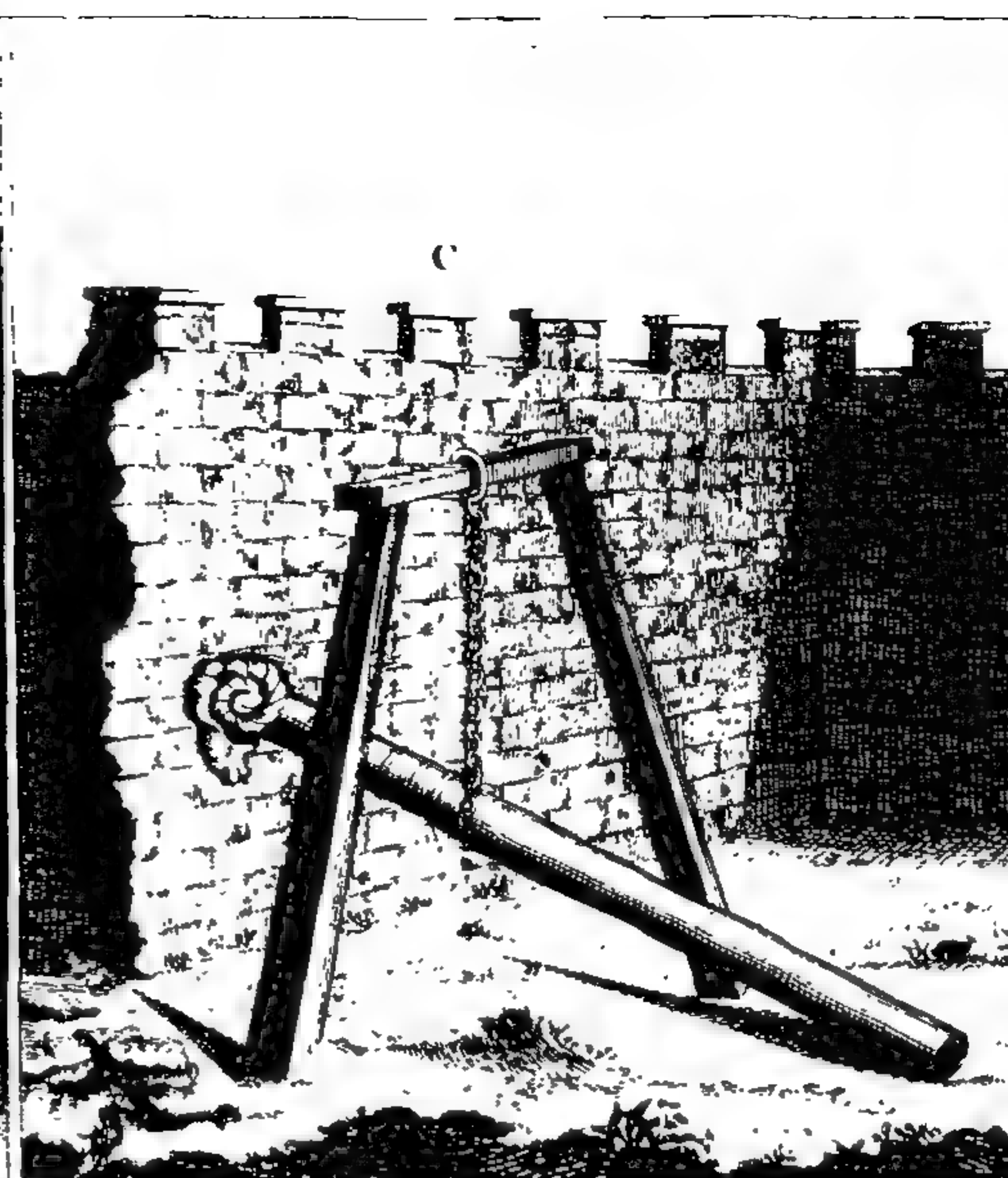
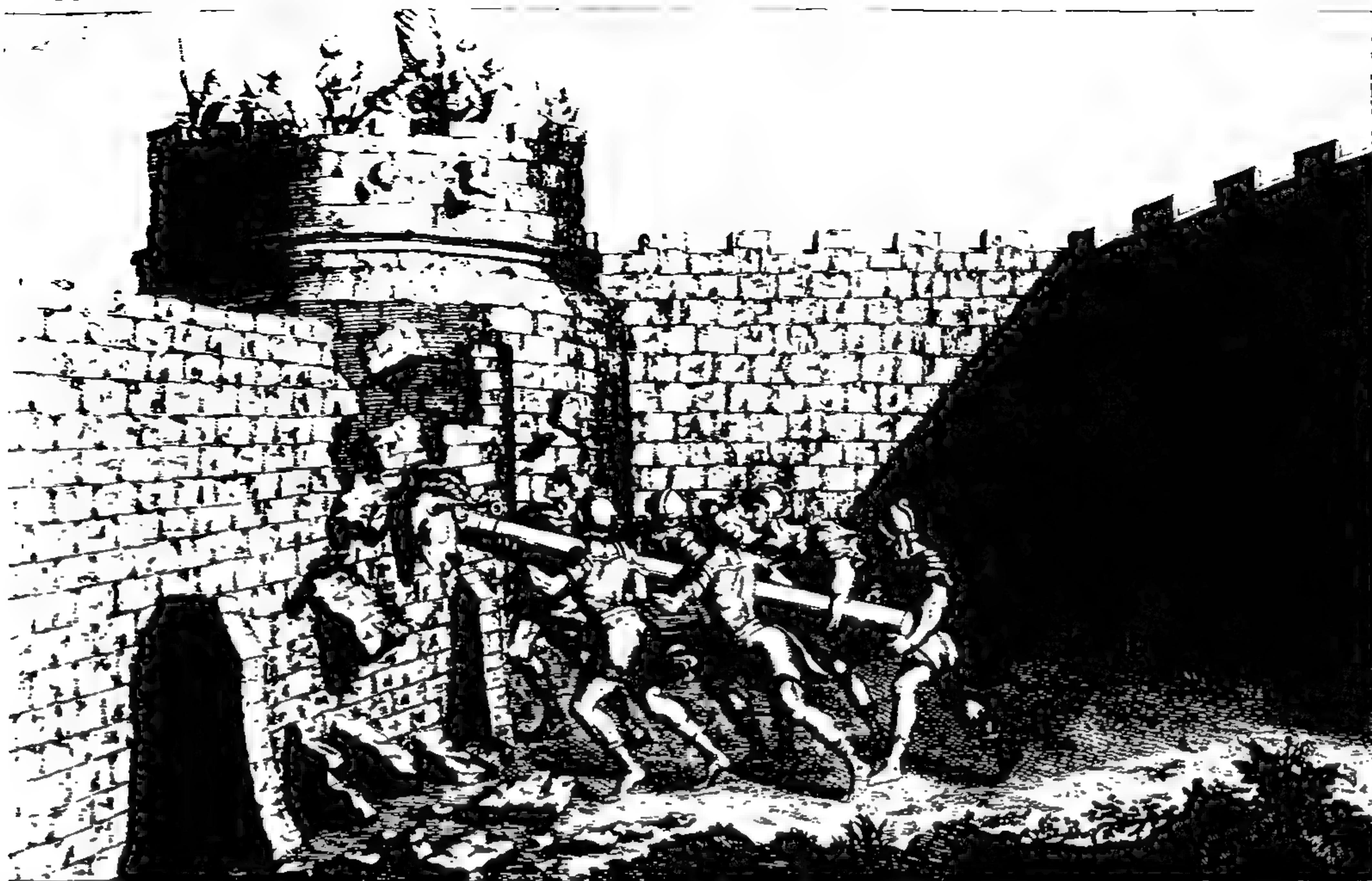
Year of ROME CCL. but spared the rest of the inhabitants, obliging them only to surrender to the garrison, which he placed with them, a part of their lands for its support. He then returned to *Rome*, and was honoured with a triumph.

§. III. *POPPLICOLA* had scarce resigned the *Fasces* into the hands of *P. Posthumius*, (now chosen to the Consulate a second time) and *Menenius Agrippa*, when he was seized with a distemper, and died, as destitute of the goods of fortune, as full of glory. His chief care had been to transmit his virtues to his children, not to enrich them. Though he had been four times Consul, and had enjoyed two triumphs, he left little more to his posterity than a noble model for their imitation: So that he was buried at the publick expence, not so much by way of distinction, as on account of his poverty. The *Romans* erected a tomb for him near the *Ferum*, and gave his family a right of interment in the same place: But as the *Valerii* always affected popularity, they never made use of this privilege. The bodies of those who died in *Rome* were first carried to that sepulchre, but afterwards conveyed without the walls, and there burnt; and the bones were deposited in a tomb without the city. As *Poplicola* had been one of those who stood up in defence of the chastity of the *Roman Ladies*, they went into a year's mourning for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*.

D. Hal. B. 5. p. 311. The death of *Poplicola* revived the courage of the *Sabines*; they took the field again that same year, and made so sudden an incursion upon the *Roman* territory, (which they pillaged and laid waste) that one part of their army was advanced to the very gates of *Rome*, before the *Romans* had any notice of their approach. *Posthumius* the Consul sallying out with a good number of men hastily assembled, and chasing those advanced Troops of the enemy to a forest, where the rest of the *Sabine* forces lay in ambush, was there surprized and defeated, losing many of his *Romans*, and narrowly escaping himself. He took refuge with the remains of the rout on the top of a steep hill, where he passed the night, invested by the enemy. But the next day his Colleague *Menenius* coming to his relief with the best part of the *Roman* youth, the *Sabines* retired. Nevertheless the advantage they had gained raised their confidence to such a height, that they sent a summons, requiring the *Romans* to receive the *Tarquins*, and submit to be governed by their conquerors. They were answered, that *Rome* commanded the *Sabines* to lay down their arms, and return to their duty; and that when they had made their submission they should come and ask pardon for their irruptions into her territory, if they expected any indulgence, or had no mind to see the war speedily carried into the heart of their country.

p. 312. These mutual bravadoes were followed by a serious war, in which both nations brought all their strength into the field, and encamped near *Eretum*, a *Sabine* city about ten miles from *Rome*. In the battle which ensued *Menenius* commanded the right wing, and *Posthumius* the left. The latter to repair his honour, threw himself, like a man in despair, among the thickest of the enemy, and did prodigious acts of valour; and, as

Menenius



A. A Ram worked by the Soldiers, by mere Strength of Arm
B. Two different sorts of Rams, hung different Ways.

J. B. 1740 sculp

C. Another way of hanging the Ram. D. The Ram Tortoise invented by Polidus of Thessaly. E. A Ram covered with a Shed, and running upon Wheels. F. A Ram which might be raised or sunk, as there was Occasion, either by Springs, or Ropes, and pulleys, according to Hero's Description of it.

Menenius likewise, urged by his example, exerted himself in an extraordinary manner, the *Romans*, animated by two such Leaders, obtained a complete victory.

Year of
R O M E
CCL.
Bel. J. C.
DII.

§. IV. BUT notwithstanding the equal bravery of the Consuls on this occasion, the Senate, having deliberated on the reception to be given them at their return, thought it necessary to make a distinction in their rewards.

Seventh
Consulship.

Posthumius's gallant behaviour in the late action had not sufficiently atoned for his miscarriage, in suffering himself to be surprized in the former.

They invented therefore a new kind of triumph, less honourable than that in use: The person rewarded with it was to enter *Rome* on foot, or at

Licinus
apud
D. Hal. p.
314.
Pliny, B.
15. c. 29.

best on horseback, attended only by the Senate; his crown was to be of myrtle, and his robe the *Prætexta*, or common habit of magistrates: and

this imperfect triumph, called *OVARIO*^a, they decreed to *Posthumius*.

The modest Consul accepted of it, and entered *Rome* two days before his Colleague, who was honoured with a compleat triumph in all its magnificence and pomp.

§. V. *SPURIUS CASSIUS* and *Opiter Virginius*, the succeeding Consuls, divided the *Roman* forces between them; and *Cassius* had commission

Year of
R O M E
CCLI.
Bel. J. C.
DI.

to give the *Sabines* the finishing blow. He defeated them in a pitched battle in the heart of their country, slew 10300, and took 4000 prisoners; after which they humbly sued for peace, and were forced to purchase it with corn, money, and a part of their lands.

Eighth
Consulship.
D. Hal. p.
315, 316.

In the mean time *Virginius* marched with his army and surprized *Camerium*, a town of *Latium* which had revolted from the *Romans*. Having beat down the wall with his battering^b rams, he took the place by assault, beheaded

^a The Ovation some fancy to have derived its name from shouting *Evan!* or *Evoe!* to *Bacchus*; but the true original is *Ovis*, the sheep, which was usually offered in this procession, as an *ox* in the triumph. The show generally began at the *Albanian* mountain, whence the General, with his retinue, made his entry into the city: he went on foot, with many flutes, or pipes, sounding in concert as he passed along, wearing a garland of myrtle as a token of peace, with an aspect rather raising love and respect, than fear. *A. Gellius* informs us, that this honour was then conferr'd on the victor, when either the war had not been proclaimed in due method, or not undertaken against a lawful enemy, and on a just account; or when the enemy was but mean and inconsiderable^{*}. But *Plutarch* has delivered his judgment in a different manner: he believes that heretofore the difference betwixt the *Ovation* and the *Triumph* was not taken from the greatness of the at-

chievements, but from the manner of performing them: for they who having fought a set battle, and slain a great number of the enemy, returned victors, led that martial and (as it were) cruel procession of the triumph. But those who without force, by benevolence and civil behaviour, had done the business, and prevented the shedding of human blood, to these commanders custom gave the honour of this peaceable *Ovation*. For a pipe is the ensign or badge of peace, and myrtle the tree of *Venus*, who beyond any of the other Deities, has an extream aversion to violence and war †. *Ken. Antiq.* Part II. B. 4. c. 16.

^b The *Battering Ram* was a great wooden beam, bound about with iron at the end, or armed with a head of iron, representing that of a *Ram*. The ancients used it, to beat down the walls of a city. *Vitruvius* ascribes the invention of the *Battering Ram* to the *Carthaginians*. They made use, says he, of this sort of battery at the siege of *Cadix*. At

* *Nob. Att.* lib. 5. cap. 6.

† *Plat.* in *Marcel.*

first,

Year of
R O M E
CCLII.
Ber. J. C.
DI.

Eight
Consulship.

beheaded the most guilty of the inhabitants, sold the rest, and razed the city.

first, it was only a mere beam, or kind of lever, which the besiegers drove against the walls, with repeated blows, by strength of arm. *Peribolus*, a carpenter of Tyre, taking the hint from the first trial which was made of this machine, fixed up a mast of a ship, to which he hung cross-ways, by cables and iron chains, a huge piece of timber. This heavy, unweildy mass, poised and pushed with violence, threw down the walls of the city besieged. After this manner, as *Josephus* tells us, B. 3. the Romans set their Ram against Jerusalem. To guard the machine, and those who worked it, from the attacks of the enemy, *Cetras* of Chaldeen was the first who made a sort of pent-house, or gallery, covered over with skins soaked in water, to preserve it from fire. It went upon wheels, that the Ram, which was hung up within, upon one or two rollers, might be brought forward with greater ease. This was afterwards called the *Ram-Tortoise*, either because its motion was slow, according to *Vitruvius*; or, as *Vegetius* has observed, because the machine resembled the figure of a *Tortoise*, who puts his head out of his shell, and draws it in again, in like manner as the head of the Ram moved out and in, as there was occasion. Above the *Tortoise*, there was sometimes raised a centry-box, in the form of a turret, where two soldiers were posted,

to observe the motions of the besieged. *Vitruvius* assures us, that *Polydus* of Thessaly perfected the *Tortoise* at the siege which *Philip* of Macedon, son of *Amyntas*, laid to *Byzantium*. The make and disposition of the machine was in this manner. He made a covered gallery, thirty cubits wide, and fifteen high, without reckoning the roof, which itself was seven from the platform to the ridge. Over the roof he raised a little tower, at least twelve cubits wide. It contained four stories, in the uppermost of which were put the *Scorpions*, and the *Catapults*. In the lower stories was placed a great quantity of water, to extinguish the fire which might be thrown from the top of the ramparts. *Vitruvius* makes the length of the Ram a hundred and six feet; *Plutarch*, eighty only. The *Ram-Tortoise* is described in these verses of *Propertius*:

*Dumque Arics cornu murum pulsabat alieno
Vineaque inducunt longa tegebat opus. l. 4.*

Vitruvius, *Vegetius*, and *Justus Lipsius* have expatiated upon the different forms of this antient engine of war; but they all amount to the same thing. Those which are here represented, will enable the reader to form a judgment of the rest. C. & R.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. The Latines declare for King Tarquin against the new Republick; but, before they take the field, send an Embassy to Rome with proposals for an accommodation. §. II. A conspiracy is there formed by some of Tarquin's Emissaries, who accompany the Latine Ambassadors. The plot is discover'd and prevented, and the Ambassadors dismiss'd with a refusal of their demands. §. III. The Latines dispatch a second Embassy to Rome with offers of peace, upon new conditions; these are also rejected by the Senate. The Romans prepare for war: but when the Consuls would make the necessary levies, the poorer citizens refuse to serve. §. IV. The cruelty of their creditors is the cause of this mutiny. The debtors demand an absolute remission of their debts. Great disputes arise in the Senate on this occasion. In so dangerous a situation of affairs they judge it necessary to create a DICTATOR, (a sovereign uncontrollable Magistrate) and to this they get the People's consent. §. V. Titus Lartius is appointed to that supreme dignity.

nity. The levies for the war are now carried on without difficulty. After very little action in the field, a truce is made with the Latines for a year; during which the Roman women married into Latium, and the Latine women married at Rome, have leave to return to their respective countries. §. VI. The truce being expired, Posthumius one of the Consuls is named Dictator, and has the sole conduct of the war. He gives the Latines an entire overthrow in the battle of Regillus; after which the whole Nation submits. Tarquin being obliged to quit Latium, retires to Cumæ in Campania, and there in a few months after, dies.

THE next year, when *Posthumius Cominius* and *T. Lartius* were Consuls, a very important event gave a new alarm to the rising Republick. The *Latine* Nation, which had hitherto stood neuter in the quarrel between *Rome* and her banished King, came at length to a resolution openly to espouse the King's cause. It was *Mamilius*, Tarquin's son-in-law, who by his pressing instances had brought his countrymen to this determination. *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Poplicola*, had just been deputed by the *Romans* to those of the *Latine* cities that were nearest *Rome*, to complain of some of their people, who (by secret direction of the chief men among them) had made inroads and depredations in the territory of the Republick. Hearing that the *Latines* were assembled in a national council at *Ferentinum* to deliberate on a war with the *Romans*, *Valerius* hastened thither, tho' not invited, and there demanded, as a Deputy from *Rome*, the chief seat in the Council; a right due to him by the treaties subsisting between the two nations. To this, it was answered, That those treaties had been shamefully violated by the *Romans*; at whose instigation, as the Deputies from *Aricia* alledged, *Porfena's* troops had made that attack upon the *Aricians*, in which his son *Aruns* was slain. Some exiles also from *Fidenæ* and *Camerium* complained loudly of the cruelty of the *Romans*. And it was farther added by the Partisans of *Tarquin*, That the *Latine* confederacy having been concluded with the King, and not with the Republick of *Rome*, the latter could claim no benefit from that transaction. The Deputies however, came to no determination that day; it was wholly spent in accusations and replies: but the very day following, when they met again, they refused to admit *Valerius* into their Assembly; and it was signified to him, that the *Latines*, thinking themselves, in many instances, greatly injured by the *Romans*, had resolved to consider at leisure of proper revenge.

It was at this time, and upon the news of the danger that threatened *Rome* from the *Latines*, that (according to *Livy*) the Senate first thought of creating a Dictator; tho' they did not put that project in execution till a more difficult conjuncture. During the present alarm from abroad, they happily discovered a conspiracy formed at home by a number of slaves, who had combined together to seize the capitol, and set fire to the city in several quarters at the same time. The offenders were all crucified.

Year of
R O M E
CCLII.
Bef. J. C.
D.

Ninth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
5. p. 316.

p. 327.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 12.
D. Hal. p.
317.

Y. 4 of
R O M E
CCLIII.
Ber. I. C.
F. 319.
Tenth
Consulship.
D. Hal. p.
42.

In the following Consulship of *Serv. Sulpitius* and *Manius Tullius*, the *Tarquins*, in concert with some of the inhabitants of *Fidenæ*, found means to possess themselves of that City by surprize. Tho' the *Roman* Senate had good reason to suspect that many of the chiefs of *Latium* were concerned in this affair, yet were they in no haste to declare war against the *Latine* people, being well assured that the lower order of men among them were not in the same dispositions with the Nobles, but rather averſe from any rupture with *Rome*. But as to the *Fidenates*, the Consul *Manius* marching with a numerous army, closely invested their City, and reduced them to great extremities. The besieged in their distress implored the assistance of the *Latines*; and this occasioned a new meeting of the Deputies from the several Cities of *Latium*.

Here the question was debated, whether a war should be absolutely declared against *Rome* in favour of *Fidenæ* and the *Tarquins*, or whether the *Latines* should adhere to the ancient treaties between the two States. Those of the Council who hoped for great employments in case of a rupture were very warm for this side of the question, but the richest and the moderate men of the Assembly were of the contrary sentiment, and this was also the most agreeable to the Nation in general. The first however so far prevailed, as to obtain a decree, that an Embassy should be sent to the *Romans* to exhort them to raise the siege of *Fidenæ*, and recall their banished King, who on that condition was to engage by oath to grant a general amnesty; the Ambassadors were to allow the *Romans* a year to consider of these overtures, and to threaten them with a war in case of non-compliance.

The party who carried this point in the Assembly very well knew that the Republick would never listen to such proposals; but they were willing to have some plausible pretext for a breach, as also time to make due preparations for war; and they likewise hoped, that before the year was expired they should find means to gain over to them those of their Countrymen, who now opposed their measures.

§. II. IN the mean time, *Tarquin* and his sons seeing how averſe the people of *Latium* were from a war with the *Romans*, and having little hopes of any advantage from the Embassy proposed, turned their thoughts to a more promising scheme. In the train of the *Latine* Ambassadors they sent to *Rome* some Emissaries of their own, who by the help of large sums of money were to kindle an intestine war in the City. It was believed, and with good reason, that two sorts of men would be there found very ready to enter into this design; the slaves and the meaner citizens overwhelmed with debt. The first knew themselves mistrusted by their masters, and wanted only an opportunity to revenge the severe treatment which their fellows had lately suffered; and as for the poor debtors, the cruel usage they daily received from their creditors made them easily believe there could be no change in the government but to their advantage. *Tarquin's* agents having secretly engaged a multitude of these unhappy men of both sorts to attempt a revolution, the parts they gave them to act were.

were these: The poor Citizens were at an appointed hour to possess themselves of the ramparts and gates of the City, and then to raise a great shout, which was to be the signal for the slaves who lay round their masters to rise and massacre them: The gates of the City were then to be opened, and the exiles were to enter *Rome* while it was yet streaming with the blood of the Senators.

Year of
R O M E
CCLIII.
Ref. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-nine.

It is almost incredible that of so great a number of vile and mercenary wretches, not one should be tempted by the prospect of rich rewards to betray the secret. *Dionysius* ascribes the preservation of *Rome* to a particular providence of God, who had taken this City under his protection. He tells us, that *Tarquin's* two principal agents, *Publius* and *Marcus* (both of his own name and family) were so terrified with nightly visions and frightful dreams, that they durst not proceed in their design, till they had consulted a Diviner; that having asked him in general terms whether it was a proper time to execute a project they had formed, he advised them, *By all means to lay aside their project, whatever it was, for that otherwise it would assuredly prove fatal to them*; and that upon this, they fearing to be prevented by some of the other Conspirators, went strait to *Sulpitius*, the only Consul then at *Rome*, and discovered the whole matter to him. *Sulpitius* commended them highly, promised them ample recompence, and detained them in his own house, without imparting the secret to any body. Instantly he assembled the Senate, when the first thing done was to call in the *Latine* Ambassadors, and give them their audience of leave, with an answer to their proposals. The answer was very short. The Consul addressing them by the appellation of *Friends* and *Kinsmen*, told them, *The surprize the Senate were under, that the Latines, who had been witnesses of the constancy of the Roman People when attacked by all the forces of Portena, should threaten them with a war, unless they would submit to Tyrants, and raise the siege of Fidenæ: And he concluded with a sort of defiance. The Ambassadors being thus dismissed, were conducted out of the City.*

Tenth
Consulship.
D. Hal. E.
S. P. 320.

Then *Sulpitius* laid open to the *Fathers* the horrible conspiracy of which he had just got information. The truth of the fact seemed not to admit of a dispute; the only question was in what manner to apprehend and punish the guilty; and this was a nice point. To take the conspirators by force from their families and carry them to execution might raise a flame in every quarter of the City, and be attended with fatal consequences: Nor was it by any means expedient to cite them in legal form before the Judges; because should the accused be obstinate in denying the fact, the evidence of the two informers, who were the only witnesses, might be thought insufficient for a capital conviction of *Roman* Citizens. *Sulpitius* therefore, to whom the Senate left the whole conduct of this critical affair, took a method which he thought would equally serve to prove the guilt, and secure the punishment. He directed the Senators to get together their friends and clients, and upon a signal to be given, to seize all the strong places of the City, each Senator in that quarter where he lived. The

p. 321.

p. 322.

Year of *Roman* Knights also were commanded to hold themselves ready in the
 R O M E houses adjoining to the Forum, to execute the orders they should receive.
 CCLIII. And lest, upon the apprehending of the criminals, their relations or friends
 Bet. J. C. should raise a sedition, and occasion a bloody conflict between fellow citi-
 Four hun- zens, he sent to his Collegue, who was besieging *Fidenæ*, to come away
 dred nine- as soon as it was dark, with a chosen body of his troops, and post them
 ty-nine. near the ramparts of *Rome*. These precautions taken, the two informers,
 Tenth by the Consul's direction, gave notice to the most active and leading men
 Consulship. of the conspiracy to meet them exactly at midnight in the *Forum*, un-
 der pretence of settling the last measures for the execution of their enter-
 prize. Every thing succeeded according to the Consul's scheme. The
 Conspirators met at the time and place appointed; the Senators, upon re-
 ceiving the signal, possessed themselves of the strongest posts in all parts
 of the City; the Knights invested the *Forum*, so closely blocking up all
 the avenues of it, that no-body could possibly escape from thence; and
 at the same time the Consul *Marcius* being arrived from before *Fidenæ*,
 drew up his troops in the *Campus Martius*. The next morning, as soon
 as it was light, both the Consuls, strongly guarded, appeared upon their
 tribunal, and, having convened the People, discovered to them the con-
 spiracy which had been formed against the common liberty, and produ-
 ced the witnesses. Leave was given to the accused to make their defence,
 if they had any thing to say against the evidence; but not one of them
 had the boldness to deny the fact. Hereupon the Consuls instantly re-
 pair'd to the Senate, whence they soon after returned, bringing with them
 a decree of the *Fathers*, whereby the right of Citizenship was granted to
 the two Informers, together with a large pecuniary reward; and the
 conspirators were condemn'd to death, in case the People approved it.
 This decree being confirmed by the Assembly, the multitude were then
 ordered to retire, and the criminals were deliver'd up to the soldiers, and
 put to the sword. And now, as the peace of *Rome* was thought sufficiently
 secured by this stroke of severity, the Consuls would receive no accusation
 against any other accomplices of the treason, but published an Amnesty
 for all those who had escaped punishment. They also ordered that the
Romans should purify themselves by expiations, because they had been
 constrained to dip their hands in the blood of their Countrymen; after
 which they appointed sacrifices and thanksgiving to the Gods, and three
 festival days for the celebration of publick games. A melancholy accident
 disturbed the general joy on this occasion; the Consul *Manius* fell from
 his chariot in the middle of the *Circus*, and was so grievously hurt that
 he died a few days after. As the year was near expiring, *Sulpitius* re-
 mained sole Consul to the end of it, the *Romans* not thinking it worth
 while to chuse him a new Collegue.

Y. of R.
 352.
 P. 324.
 325.
 Y. of R.
 355.

§. III. *FIDENÆ* continued to be invested, but was not taken
 during the following Consulship of *T. Æbutius* and *P. Veturius*. But the
 next year, when *T. Lartius* and *Q. Clælius* were raised to that dignity,
 the former having the conduct of the siege, carried on the attacks with

so much skill and vigour, that he at length forced the *Fidenates* to surrender at discretion.

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R O M E
CCLV,
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-seven.

The reduction of *Fidene* struck a terror into the *Latines*, who had neglected to succour it as they might, and now repented of that neglect. *Tarquin*, *Mamilius*, and the *Aricians* seized the opportunity furnish'd by their present fears, to unite them against the *Roman* Republick. The Deputies from the *Latine* Cities^a being assembled at *Ferentinum*, entered into a confederacy, and bound themselves by oaths never to violate their engagements. However, before they began hostilities, they judged it proper to send to *Rome* a second Embassy, consisting of some of the principal men of each City in the alliance. These being admitted to an audience of the Senate, complained of the injustice of the Romans, who, they said, had formerly put the *Hetrurians* upon attacking *Aricia*; and they added, that the only way for the Republick to avoid the war which threatened her from the *Latines*, was to submit her quarrel with the *Aricians* to the decision of the *Latine* Council. Tho' the *Fathers* had never been in greater perplexity than at this time, because of the vastly superior strength of the *Latine* nation, yet they haughtily rejected the proposal; and the war being now looked upon as unavoidable, they turned their thoughts wholly to fortify themselves by alliances, and get assistance from their neighbours. To this end they sent about to the several States with which they were surrounded; but their negotiations proved every-where unsuccessful: The *Hernici* required time to examine the rights of the two parties; the *Rutuli* declared for the *Latines*; the *Volsi* insulted the *Roman* Ambassadors; and as for the *Hetrurians*, they resolved to stand neuter for a while, and then chuse their side, as the events of the war should guide them. These disappointments, how great soever, did not discourage the Senate; but what was worse than all these, the Republick had in her own bosom rebellious children, who refused to lend their aid for the defence of their country.

Twelfth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
5. p. 326.

p. 327

§. IV. IN order to a right understanding of the true source of this intestine evil, it will be necessary to call to mind some particulars in the manners, customs, and policy of the *Romans*, during these early ages of their State.

p. 328.

* Of all the means which the necessities of nature have put men upon inventing for subsistence, the *Romans* practised only tillage and war. They

M. l'Abbé
Vertot.

^a *Livy* only says, that 30 Cities of *Latium* were in the Confederacy against *Rome*. But *D. H.* gives us a list of them, by which it appears, that they were not all Cities of the *Latines*: *Ardea*, *Aricia*, *Bovilla*, *Bubentum*, *Cora*, *Corventum*, *Circæum*, *Corioli*, *Corbintum*, *Cabanum*, *Fortinæum*, *Gabii*, *Laurentum*, *Lanuvium*, *Lavinium*, *Lavicum*, *Numiculum*, *Norba*, *Prænestæ*, *Pedum*, *Corcotulum* or *Querquetulum*, *Satricum*, *Scapeia*, *Setia*, *Tellenium*, *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, *Tusculum*, *Toleria*, *Tricrinum* and *Velitræ*.

* *N. B.* In what follows in the Text, to the year of *Rome* 371, frequent use has been made of *Monsieur Vertot's History of the Revolutions which happened in the Government of the Roman Commonwealth*. Care, however, has been taken to avoid many things, in that work, which were found to be the pure product of his imagination, as also many errors or misrepresentations; and to make such Additions to his Accounts as were necessary to the nature of this more general History of *Rome*.

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Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-seven.

Twelfth
Consulship.

D. Hal. &
Varr. de
Re Rust.
L. 2.

lived upon their own harvests, or upon those which they reaped sword in hand in the territories of their enemies. All the mechanick arts, not subservient to these two professions, were unknown at *Rome*, or left to slaves and strangers. The *Romans*, generally speaking, from the Senator to the meanest Plebeian, were all husbandmen, and the husbandmen all soldiers: And we shall see in the course of this History, that some of their most renowned Captains were called from the plough to command their armies. The very greatest men in the Republick insured their children to a hard and laborious way of life, to make them the more robust, and the more capable of sustaining the fatigues of war.

This domestick discipline had its rise from the poverty of the first *Romans*: They afterwards made a virtue of what was the mere effect of necessity; and men of noble minds considered this equal poverty of all the citizens, as the means to preserve their liberty from usurpation. Each citizen had at first, for his subsistence, but two acres of land. *Rome* afterwards extended her territory by acquisitions from her neighbours. The *Romans* usually sold one moiety of the lands they conquered, to reimburse the State for the charges of the war, and added to the publick domain the other moiety, which was afterwards either given or let at a small rent to the poorer sort: Such was the ancient custom of *Rome*, under her Kings. But, after the extinction of the regal power, the Nobles and *Patricians*, who looked upon themselves to be the only Sovereigns of the Republick, did, under various pretences, appropriate to themselves the best part of those conquered lands, if they lay near their own estates, or were any other ways convenient for them; thus insensibly enlarging their own revenues to the diminution of those of the Republick: Or else, under borrowed names, they caused those portions which were allotted for the subsistence of the poor citizens, to be adjudged to themselves at inconsiderable rates. They afterwards laid them to their other lands, without distinction; and a few years possession and their own great power covered these usurpations. The State lost its revenue; and the soldier, who had spent his blood to enlarge the bounds of the Republick, saw himself deprived of the small portion of land that ought to have been at once his pay and his reward.

The covetousness of some *Patricians* was not confined to these usurpations only; but when the harvest fell short by the badness of the year, or by the irruptions of enemies, they knew how, by an ill-meant relief, to make themselves a title to their neighbour's field. The soldier, being then entirely destitute, for he had no pay, was forced, for his subsistence, to have recourse to the rich. They lent him no money but at usury; which, in those days, if we may believe *Tacitus*, was arbitrary. The debtor must engage his small estate; and the cruel assistance he received often cost him his liberty: For the laws allowed the creditor, upon default of payment, to seize his debtor, carry him to his own house, and there treat him like a slave. Both principal and interest were often exacted with stripes and torments; his land was taken from him by accumulated

Tac. Ann.
l. 6. ad
Ann. -53.

cumulated usury; and, under pretence of the observation of the laws and strict justice, the people daily suffered the utmost wrong.

A Government so severe, in a new Republick, quickly raised a general discontent. Those of the *Plebeians* who were oppressed with debts, and afraid of being arrested by their creditors, applying themselves to their Patrons and the most disinterested among the Senators, represented to them their extream want, the difficulty they had to bring up their children, and how hard a case it was, that after fighting successfully against the *Tarquins* in defence of the publick liberty, they should be exposed to become the slaves of their fellow-citizens.

These complaints were followed by secret menaces; and the *Plebeians*, finding no redress of their grievances, at length broke out into open sedition, under the Consulate of *T. Lartius* and *Q. Clælius*, on occasion of the powerful confederacy formed against the Commonwealth, by the *Latines* and their allies. As *Rome* had no soldiers but her own citizens, it was necessary to make the people take arms; but the poorer sort, and especially such as were plunged in debt, declared, that it was the business of those who enjoyed the dignities and riches of the Republick, to defend it; that, for their own parts, they were weary of exposing their lives every day for Masters so cruel and insatiable. Accordingly, they refused to give their names^a in, to be listed for the service. The hottest of them said boldly, that they were no more tied to their native country, where

^a It was the province of the Consuls to direct the levying of men for the war. The two Consular armies, generally speaking, consisted at this time of four legions, each containing at least four thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The manner of making the levies was as follows.

After the Consuls had chosen twenty-four Tribunes, (or Colonels) fourteen from among the *Roman* Knights, and ten from among the *Plebeian* families, six of these Tribunes were appointed to every legion, to command and lead it: And it was the business of all the Tribunes to chuse their soldiers in the following manner. Every tribe of the *Roman* people was brought into the area before the capitol, one tribe after another, according to the order in which it was their lot to be summoned. The first tribe called was divided according to the order of the classes, regard being had to their superiority, *i. e.* their riches. After this, four persons, who were of age to serve, were called out of these classes; and the Tribunes of each legion chose one of the four into their legion. The Tribunes of the first legion chose the first man, the Tribunes of the second legion the second man, and so on.

When these four were thus distributed, four others were called; and then the Tribunes of the second legion had their turn of chusing the first man: So that the Tribunes of each legion had the first choice, one after another, according to the order of their legion; and every legion was very near equally furnished with good men. After a certain number of soldiers were chosen out of one tribe, another was called in; and the same number was chosen out of that, in the same manner, till the legions were sufficiently full.

Here we must observe, that the *Roman* Knights, as being higher in rank, came sooner to the Tribuneship than the *Plebeians*. But neither of them could be chosen Legi-
nary Tribunes, till they had served half of the time the laws prescribed them. Thus the Knights who were obliged to ten years service, might be promoted to the Tribuneship after five campaigns, whereas the *Plebeians* could not come to it till after ten years service in the Army, because they were obliged to serve twenty complete. The latter were called *Seniores Tribuni*; and the former, *Juniores Tribuni*. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
CCLV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-seven.
Twelfth
Consulship.

Y. of not an inch of land was left them in property, than to any other Country
 1. O M E though never so remote; that at least there they should have no debts to
 CCLV. pay; that the only way to free themselves from the tyranny of their cre-
 Ber. J. C. ditors was to leave *Rome*: and they loudly threatened to abandon the
 Four hun- City, unless all debts were abolished by a *Senatus-consultum*.
 dred nine-
 ty-seven.

Twelfth The Senators, much disturbed at a disobedience so little different from
 Consulship. a barefaced rebellion, immediately assembled: Various opinions were
 D. Hal. B. given. *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Poplicola*, and who after his example
 c. p. 328, affected popularity, represented to *the Fathers*, That most of the poor *Ple-*
 329. *beians* had been forced to contract debts only by the misfortunes of war;
 that if in such a conjuncture as this, when a great part of *Italy* had espoused
 the cause of *Tarquin*, they did not redress the grievances of the people, it
 was to be feared, despair might drive them into the Tyrant's party; and
 the Senate, by stretching their authority too far, might lose it all in the
 re-establishment of the Royalty. Several of the Senators, and especially
 those who had no debtors, declared themselves of the same opinion; but
 it was rejected with indignation by the rich usurers. *Appius Claudius* also
 opposed it, but from different motives. Austere in his manners, and a
 severe observer of the laws, he maintained, that no alteration could be
 made in these, without endangering the Republick. Though he commise-
 rated the condition of the poor, (many of whom were daily relieved by
 his bounty) he nevertheless declared in full Senate, that they could not
 with justice refuse the authority of the laws to such creditors as would pro-
 secute their debtors with rigour; that justice was the surest support of a
 State; that there was no abolishing the debts of particular persons with-
 out ruining the publick faith, the only bond of society; that the people
 themselves, in whose favour this unjust decree was proposed, would be the
 first sufferers by it; that in any new necessity they would get no Succour
 from the rich; that the discontent of the great was no less to be feared
 than that of the people, and that perhaps the former would not easily bear
 to be stript of that wealth, which had been left them by their ancestors,
 or was the fruit of their own temperance and œconomy. He added, that
Rome, at the beginning, assigned no greater portions of land to the *Pa-*
tricians than to the *Plebeians*; that these latter had but lately shared the
 estate of the *Tarquins*; that they had often got considerable booty in war,
 and that if they had squandered it all away in extravagant living, there
 was no reason why they should be reimburs'd at the expence of those who
 had lived with more prudence and good management: That it should be
 further considered, that those of the mutineers who made the most noise,
 were *Plebeians* of the very lowest classes, and who in battle were usually
 placed only in the wings or in the rear of the legions; that most of them
 were armed with nothing but slings; that there was neither great service
 to be expected, nor great danger to be feared from such soldiers; that the
 Republick in losing them, would suffer but a very inconsiderable loss;
 and that to despise the sedition was sufficient to quell it, and make the
 authors of it submit themselves to the clemency of the Senate.

Some

Some of *the Fathers* who were for finding a medium between two opinions so extremely opposite, proposed, that, without cancelling the debts, they should take away the creditors power over the persons of their debtors. Others were for remitting the debts of those only who were notoriously unable to pay. Some again, to save the publick faith, and at the same time satisfy the creditors, proposed to pay them out of the publick treasury. And lastly, it was the judgment of others, that such of the citizens as had been ^a sold, or were in danger of being sold, to satisfy their debts, should be redeemed from slavery, by giving the creditors other slaves in their room.

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CCLV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-seven.

Twelfth
Consulship.
D. Hal. p.
333.

The Senate adopted none of these schemes; but, in order to pacify the people, and engage them to take arms in defence of the state, they decreed a suspension of all prosecutions for debt till the end of the war.

This condescension of the *Fathers* was owing to the fear of the foreign enemy. But a great many of the *Plebeians*, grown bolder for the same reason, declared, that they would either have an absolute remission of all debts, or leave it to the rich and great to take care of the war, and defend a city, in whose safety they thought themselves no longer concerned, and which indeed they were ready to leave. The number of the mal-contents increased daily; for, among the people, many who had no debts of their own, could not help complaining of the severity of the Senate, either through compassion for the debtors of their own order, or out of that secret aversion which every man naturally has to behold, in others, a spirit of domination.

Though the richest of the *Plebeians*, and especially the clients of the Nobles, had no part in the sedition; yet the separation which the mal-con-

^a When the debtor was insolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to sell him as a slave. Sometimes he was cruel enough to whip him unmercifully. After a certain number of summons's, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace, to give him time to raise the sum for which he was accountable. These are the words of the law: *Æris confessi, rebusque jure judicatis triginta dies justi sunt. Post dein manum endo jacito—Vincito aut nervo aut compedibus*—After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not discharged the debt, he was led to the *Prætor*, who delivered him up to the mercy of his creditors. These bound him and kept him in chains, for the space of sixty days. Afterwards, for three market-days successively, this debtor was brought to the tribunal of the *Prætor*. Then a publick Crier proclaimed, in the *Forum*, the debt for which the prisoner was detained. Oftentimes there were found rich persons who redeemed the prisoners, by paying their debts. But if no-body appeared in behalf

of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to sell him, or to imprison and make him a slave in his own house; which was called *Coercition*. Such imprisoned slaves were styled *Nexi*, and not *Servi*, because their slavery lasted no longer than till their debts were paid. This *Coercition* was afterwards changed into publick imprisonments, which was a less rigorous punishment than the slavery the debtors underwent in their creditors houses. *Cat. & Rouillé.*

It has been thought, that, by one of the *Decemviral* laws, expressed in these terms, *Si plures sint, quibus reus sit addictus, tertius nundinis partes secanto; si plus minusve secuerint, sine fraude esto*, if an insolvent debtor had several creditors, they could cut his body into as many parts, and so share him among them. But it is not probable that the law had any such meaning. Doubtless by cutting or dividing the debtor, we ought to understand dividing the price of his body sold. *Bynkershoek. L. 1. C. 1.*

tents.

Year of
R O M E
CCLV.
B.C. 51.
Fourth
Consulship.

Twelfth
Consulship.
D. Hal. p.
314

tents threatened, and their obstinate refusal of taking arms, were of dangerous example, especially at a time when the Republick was going to be attacked by the greater part of the *Latine* forces, commanded by the sons and son-in-law of *Tarquin*. The Senate might indeed have prosecuted the most active in the mutiny; but then the *Lex Valeria*, which allowed appeals to the assembly of the people, was a shelter for the guilty, who were sure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their sedition. To elude the effect of a privilege that put such a restraint upon their power, the *Fathers* resolved to create one supreme Magistrate, who, with the title of *Dictator*^a, should be equally above the Senate and assembly of the People, and be invested with absolute authority. And in order to obtain the people's consent, it was represented to them in a publick assembly, that in so difficult a conjuncture, when they had their domestick quarrels to decide, and the enemy to repulse at the same time, it would be expedient to put the Commonwealth under a single Governor, who, superior to the Consuls themselves, should be arbiter of the laws, and as it were the father of his country: That, nevertheless, lest he should abuse his uncontrollable authority, by making himself a Tyrant, they ought not to trust him with it above six months.

P. 335.

P. 336.

§. V. THE people^b not foreseeing the consequences of this change, agreed to it; and then the only thing that remained, was to pitch upon a man duly qualified for so great and important a trust. *Titus Lartius*, one of the present Consuls, appeared to the Senate to be of all men the most unexceptionable; yet they were unwilling to offend his Colleague by an invidious preference. The expedient they fell upon was to give the two Consuls the power of naming the new Magistrate, but with this limitation, that he should be one of the two, not doubting but *Clælius* would readily yield to the superior talents of *Lartius*. Nor were they disappointed in this expectation. But then *Lartius*, no way behind his Colleague in modesty or generosity, with the same readiness remitted the high honour in question to him; and a contest arose between them, which of the two should advance the other to sovereign authority. The dispute did not end the first day; but the day following, when the Senate met again upon this weighty affair, *Clælius* finding that he could no otherways prevail, started up on a sudden, and after the manner of an *INTERREX* proclaimed *Titus Lartius* *Dictator*, instantly abdicated the Consulship, and descended from the tribunal.

This

^a This Magistrate was also called, *Magister Populi* and *Prætor Maximus*.

^b It seems not improbable, that the people were induced to consent to this change, partly from the flattering hopes which persons in distress usually conceive from all unexperienced changes in the Government; and partly from the knowledge their leaders

had of the temper and character of the person destined to the High Office in question: For we shall find that *Lartius* was a friend to the poor *Plebeians*.

^c It became the custom for this Magistrate to be chosen only in the night *viwa voce*, by one of the Consuls; and this choice was to be confirmed by the divination from birds.

This new kind of Government erected at *Rome*, might be called an absolute Monarchy in a Republick, tho' not durable. The moment the Dictator was named, he had power of life and death over all the Citizens of every degree, and without any appeal^a. The authority and the functions of all other Magistrates ceased, or were subordinate to his. He had the naming of the *General of the Horse*, who served as his Lieutenant-General, and was wholly at his command. Twenty-four lictors, armed with axes, (as those of the Kings had used to be) attended him. He might raise troops or disband them at his pleasure. Whenever war was declared, he commanded the armies, without being obliged to consult either the People or the Senate concerning his Enterprizes; nor, when his authority expired, was he obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his administration.

Year of
R O M E
CCLV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-seven.

Twelfth
Consulship.
First Dic-
tatorship.
D. Hal. B.
s. p. 336.
Livy, B. 2.
c. 18.

T. Lartius being invested with this great dignity, named, without the participation either of Senate or People, *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus* for *General of the Horse*; and in all his proceedings, tho' he was indeed one of the most moderate of the whole Senate, he outwardly affected a stately reserve, and a peremptory manner, to awe the People into their duty. They found that under so resolute a master, who would not fail to make an example of the first that should rebel, submission was the only course they had to take.

D. Hal. p.
338.

All mutiny and murmurings being thus silenced, the Dictator commanded a *Census* to be taken of the people according to the institution of King *Servius Tullius*; and there appeared to be in *Rome* 150700 men who were past the age of puberty. Out of these he formed four armies. The first he allotted to himself, the second to *Clælius*, his late Collegue, the third to *Cassius*; his General of the Horse; and these three were to take the field against the *Latines*; the fourth, under the command of the Dictator's brother, *Spurius Lartius*, was to stay in *Rome* and guard the City.

The *Latines* were not so forward in their preparations for the war as their menaces had given cause to fear they would be; so that there was little action this campaign. The Dictator having intercepted a detachment which they had sent to ravage the *Roman* territory, treated the prisoners more like allies than enemies. He caused particular care to be had of the wounded, and set all at liberty ransom free. By this humane and skilful conduct, he disposed the *Latines*, to listen the more readily to the overtures which he at the same time made them for a suspension of arms. Notwithstanding all that *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* could do to hinder it, a truce was soon after agreed to for a year. And then *Lartius* seeing

p. 339.

His power was confined in two other respects besides that of time. He was not allowed to march out of *Italy*, lest he should take advantage of the distance of the place to attempt something against the common liberty; and he was always to march on foot, except in case of a tedious or sudden expedi-

tion, and then he formally asked leave of the people to ride.

^a This was doubtless the intention of the Senate at the time when a Dictator was first created: But we shall hereafter find an appeal from the sentence of a Dictator to the assembly of the people.

the Republick in tranquillity, resigned the Dictatorship, tho' the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired; and, what is remarkable, no citizen had been punished with death or banishment, or in any manner severely treated during the whole continuance of his uncontrollable power.

Year of
R O M E
CCLVI.
Bet. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-six.

The following Consulship of *Sempronius Atratinus* and *Minutius Augurens*, produced nothing memorable relating to war or conquest. The Senate seem to have been chiefly taken up with a compassionate concern for the *Roman* women married to *Latine* husbands. It was feared they might suffer by the rupture between the two nations. A decree therefore was passed by *the Fathers*, and confirmed by the People, (in consequence doubtless of an agreement made with the *Latines*) that the *Latine* women who were willing to leave *Rome* and return to *Latium*, and the *Roman* women who were willing to come back from *Latium* to *Rome*, should have liberty to quit their husbands and return to the respective countries of their nativity; and it was ordered, with regard to their children, that the boys should remain with their fathers and the girls follow their mothers. How agreeable a place *Rome* was to wives most remarkably appeared on this occasion. For out of the great number of *Latine* women who had married *Roman* husbands, only two went back to *Latium*; but almost all the *Roman* women, married to *Latines*, left their husbands and returned to their native City.

Year of
R O M E
CCLVII.
Bet. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-five.

§. VI. THE year of truce with the *Latines* was expired, when *Aulus Posthumius* and *T. Virginius* took possession of the Consulship. The Nobles of *Latium*, who were in the interest of *Tarquin*, carried all before them in the assemblies of the States, contrary to the inclination of the people, many of whom came with their families to *Rome*, where they were well received. It was necessary therefore to prepare for war; and tho' there were no dissensions at this time between the Senate and People, it was judged proper to put the conduct of it into the hands of a Dictator: The Consuls had the power given them, as before, to name one of themselves to that dignity; whereupon *Virginius*, tho' the elder of the two, readily yielded it to his Colleague as the more able Commander.

Year of
R O M E
CCLVIII.
Bet. J. C.
Four hun-
dred ninety-four.

Posthumius having named *Æbutius Elva* to be his *General of the Horse*, divided the *Roman* forces, as the former Dictator had done, into four bodies; one he commanded himself, put another under the conduct of his late Colleague *Virginius*, the third under *Æbutius*, and committed the fourth to *Sempronius*, with the Government of the City. News was presently brought, that the *Latines* had forced the castle of *Corbio*, a strong hold belonging to the Republick, and put the garrison to the sword; and that this small advantage gained by the enemy had determin'd the *Volsi* of *Antium* to join them. *Posthumius* immediately marched from *Rome* with 5000 men, and encamped in the night near the lake *Regillus**, upon a steep hill which was inaccessible on every side. *Virginius* following soon after with his troops, posted them on another hill over against the Dictator; the *Latine* army, which consisted of 40000 foot and 3000 horse, under the command of *Sextus Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, lying

lying between them. As *Posthumius* had no intention to fight, but only to observe and tire out the enemy, he sent word to *Æbutius* to march secretly in the night with the cavalry and light-armed infantry, and take possession of a third hill, upon the only road by which provisions could come to the *Latines*. The General of the Horse obey'd his order; but before he could fortify his camp, he was briskly attack'd by a body of the enemy under *Sextus Tarquinius*, who endeavoured to dislodge him: However, the Dictator sending him a timely reinforcement, the *Latines* were repulsed with loss, and retired. After this *Æbutius* intercepted two couriers who were carrying letters from the *Volsi* to the *Latine* Generals, importing that a considerable body of that people would join the *Latine* forces in three days. *Posthumius* hereupon drew his three bodies of *Romans* together; for tho' they amounted to no more than 23700 foot and 1000 horse, necessity constrained him now to hazard an engagement without delay.

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R O M E
CCLVII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-five.
Fourteenth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
6. p. 344,
345.

It was the custom for Generals to harangue their troops, before they led them to battle; and the Dictator may be said to have had at this time the better part of the *Roman* Nation for his auditors. The Senate almost to a man were come to serve as volunteers. Indeed there was no way of rising to offices of dignity and power but by long and painful service in the troops; but now even the oldest Senators had taken arms in defence of their country. *Posthumius* in his speech to the soldiers, (after he had put them in mind of the miseries they must expect from the return of the *Tarquins*, and had encouraged them not to fear the superior numbers of a faithless enemy whom their fathers had so often vanquished) took particular notice of this, that in the present exigence, *the most ancient and venerable had covered their grey hairs with the helmet*. He added: *And shall the young, the healthy and strong be unactive and fearful? Shall they be so shameless to turn their backs upon the enemy, when the old and the infirm are resolved either to conquer or die? I declare, that whoever shall this day be guilty of so base a cowardice, shall be put to death by my order, and his dead carcase deprived of the rites of burial: But he that shall bring me witnesses of his having signalized his courage in the battle, shall, beside the usual honours decreed to men of distinguished bravery, receive from the publick an estate in land, as an additional recompence of his merit.*

Having thus spoken, the Dictator drew up his army in order of battle; Liv. B. 2. and the *Latines*, depending on their numbers, and beginning to want provisions, did not decline the fight. *Titus Tarquinius* was in the center of their army at the head of the exiles and deserters from *Rome*; *Mamilius*^a commanded the right wing, and *Sextus Tarquinius* the left. In the *Roman* army the Dictator led the main body, *Æbutius* the left wing, and *Virginus* the right.

In this battle, which proved very obstinate and bloody, the Generals of the two armies did not confine themselves to giving orders, but exposed

^a *Dionysius* leaves it uncertain, whether this *Mamilius* was the son-in-law of *Tarquin the Proud*, or the son of that son-in-law.

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R O M E
CCLVII.
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Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-five.

Fourteenth
Consulship.
D. Hal. p.
349.

Liv. B. 2.
c. 19.

q. 20.

D. Hal. p.
350.

their persons in the hottest of the conflict, and mutually charged one another. *Titus* ^a *Tarquinius*, coming out from the center of the *Latines*, ran full speed at the Dictator *Posthumius* to encounter him singly; but receiving a wound in his right side, fell from his horse, and was carried by his own men out of the field. The battalions of the main body having now lost their Leader, (who was mortally wounded) made but a faint resistance, when pressed by the troops of the Dictator. They were already losing ground and beginning to break, when *Sextus Tarquinius* coming up with the choice of the *Latine* cavalry and supported by the exiles, took the place of his brother. Encouraged by the presence and valour of this new Commander, the disheartened *Latines* recovered their ranks, renewed the fight, and made the success of the day in the center doubtful.

In the wings where *Mamilius* and *Æbutius* commanded, the fury of the battle was equal. After a long and bloody conflict, the two Commanders defy'd each other to single combat; *Æbutius* with his lance wounded *Mamilius* in the breast through his cuirass; and *Mamilius* ran his sword through *Æbutius*'s right arm. Neither of the wounds was mortal, but both Generals fell from their horses and were carried out of the throng. *Æbutius*'s place was then supply'd by his Lieutenant *Marcus Valerius*, (the brother of *Poplicola*.) He put himself at the head of the *Roman* horse, and with them endeavoured to break the enemy's battalions; but the cavalry of the *Roman* Royalists, advancing to their succour, quickly repulsed the cavalry of the Republick; and *Mamilius*, not disabled by the hurt he had received, appeared again in the van with a considerable body of horse and light-armed infantry. In this action *Valerius* receiving a wound in his side fell dead from his horse; which occasioned the battle to be renewed with more fierceness than ever. The two nephews of the deceased (the sons of *Poplicola*) fought with inexpressible courage to hinder the dead body from being stript; and having recovered it from the enemy, they delivered it to *Valerius*'s servants to be conveyed to the *Roman* camp: But throwing themselves afterwards into the midst of the enemy, they were both killed upon the spot.

The loss of *Valerius* and his two nephews, and especially the absence of *Æbutius*, greatly disheartened the left wing of the *Romans*. *Posthumius* perceiving that the soldiers began to give ground, hastened to their assistance with a body of *Roman* Knights who attended him as his guard. He gave orders at the same time to *Titus Herminius*, one of his Lieutenants, to repair to the rear of the army, command those who fled to stop, and put all to the sword who would not obey. And now the Dictator himself with his Knights giving the reins to their horses, drove with the utmost fury upon the Royalists, broke them, slew many of them, and put the rest to flight. *Herminius* in the mean while rallied the run-aways, and returning presently to the charge, fell upon some close bat-

^a *Livy* (B. 2. c. 19.) makes King *Tarquin* himself to be the person who attacked *Posthumius*; which is very strange, considering, that he supposes him to be the Son of *Tarquinus Priscus*. See *Remarks on the Hist. of the Rom. Kings*, Article *Tarquinus Priscus*.

talions of the enemy's right wing which still kept their ground. His chief aim was at the person of *Mamilius* who commanded them, and who was easily known by his tall stature, and the richness of his habit and armour. The *Roman*, to come at him, beat down all that stood in his way; he then attacked him, and with his first blow laid him dead upon the ground: Nevertheless he lost his own life by a wound from an unknown hand, while he was busy in stripping the Body of his enemy.

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Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-five.

During all this time *Sextus Tarquinius*, who had returned from the center of the *Latines*, and put himself again at the head of the left wing, maintained the fight with great bravery against the Consul *Virginus*. He had even broke the right wing of the *Roman Army*, when *Posthumus* appeared on a sudden with his victorious squadrons, to support it. This unexpected turn of affairs made *Sextus* lose at once all hopes of victory. Rushing therefore among the thickest ranks of the *Roman Knights*, he there sunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had sold his life dear.

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Consulship.
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350.

The death of *Sextus Tarquinius* was followed by the entire rout of the *Latines*, who had before lost their two other Generals. Their camp was taken the same day, and the plunder abandoned to the *Roman Soldiers*. No victory, hitherto gained by the *Romans*, had been either more necessary or more compleat. Scarce 10000 of the 43000 *Latines* who had come into the field, returned home. The whole Nation, for a long time after, felt this severe stroke; nay, it may be truly said, they never recovered of the blow which they received in the battle of *Regillus*.

Posthumus, the next morning, distributed the usual rewards to those who had behaved themselves well in the action, and returned thanks to the Gods by sacrifices. Scarce were these ceremonies ended, when the scouts brought intelligence, that a great body of troops covered the plain, and was marching in order of battle. It was the *Volsi* come to the assistance of the *Latines*. Finding at their arrival how matters had gone, some of them were for falling upon the *Romans* before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but another party, willing rather to ingratiate themselves with the Conquerors, prevailed to send messengers to the Dictator, to tell him, they came to his assistance. *Posthumus* convicted them of falshood by their letters which he had intercepted; and giving leave to the messengers to return, whom the multitude would have torn to pieces, he resolved to attack the *Volsian* army the next day: but in the night they broke up their camp and fled.

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p. 352

The Dictator at his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph: and to his other names was added that of *Regillensis*, from the place of the late action. He allotted a tenth part of the spoils to defray the expences of the publick Games, and to build some temples in honour of the Gods; particularly one to *Castor* and *Pollux*, who were said to have appeared during the battle of *Regillus* upon white Horses, and to have fought for the *Romans*.

The

* *Dion. Hal.* relates a fabulous story of two young horsemen, of an extraordinary and majestick stature, who during the action appeared to *Posthumus* and his party. They marched

Var. 1. The *Latins* having now no remedy, but in an absolute submission, chose
 8. 10. 11. deputies out of the cities which had opposed the war, to be mediators at
 8. 11. 12. Rome, in favour of the whole Nation. These appeared in the Senate,
 8. 12. 13. bearing in their hands olive branches bound round with wool, the usual
 8. 13. 14. marks of suppliants. They laid the blame of the rupture wholly upon the
 8. 14. 15. Nobility of the country under the influence of the *Tarquins*. They repre-
 8. 15. 16. sented in a moving strain the loss they had sustained of all the flower of
 8. 16. 17. their youth; that scarce a family in *Latium* was out of mourning. They
 8. 17. 18. conjured the *Romans* to have regard to consanguinity, and the zeal which
 8. 18. 19. the *Latins* had formerly shewn for the interests of *Rome*; and in conclu-
 8. 19. 20. sion, they yielded themselves wholly to the judgment of the *Fathers*, laying
 8. 20. 21. at the feet of the Dictator the badges which they bore of suitors and
 8. 21. 22. suppliants.

Rome, had long since made it a maxim, to spare the Nations which
 submitted; and *Titus Lartius*, the late Dictator, declared himself for ob-
 serving it in the present case. He advised a total oblivion of the fault
 committed by the *Latins*, and a renewal of the ancient treaties with them.
 Nevertheless the Senate was not without some severe men, who were for
 razing all the cities of *Latium*, seizing their territories, and reducing the
 inhabitants to slavery. Among these was *Spurius Cassius*. Others were
 for depriving them of half their lands, by way of punishment; and, in
 consideration of kindred and blood, for leaving them in possession of their
 liberty. But the opinion of *Lartius* being approved by *Posthumius*, there
 was no further opposition to it; and a Decree was accordingly passed for
 renewing the old League; on condition however, that the *Latins* re-
 stored the prisoners they had taken, delivered up the deserters, and drove
 the *Roman* exiles out of *Latium*.

Such was the end of the last war which the *Romans* had with their
 D. Hall. P. neighbours on account of their banished King. As for *Tarquin* himself,
 353. the only person now left of his family, being abandoned by the *Latins*,
Utrurians, *Sabines*, and all the other free States about *Rome*, he retired
 marched at the head of the cavalry, striking terror among the *Latins*, whom they wound-
 ed with darts and lances. In the evening, after the victory, the same horsemen appear-
 ed at *Rome* in the *Forum*. Their fierce and threatening countenances, and their horses
 all dropping with sweat, made people con-
 clude that they were returned from the bat-
 tle. When they had dismounted, they wash-
 ed themselves in the water of a spring that
 rose near the temple of *Vesta*; and they
 told the crowd of citizens, who surrounded
 them, the first news of the victory gained by
 the *Romans*; after which, they disappeared.
 The next morning the Magistrates receiving
 letters from the Dictator, which among the
 other circumstances of the battle mentioned
 the sudden appearance of the two young
 horsemen, who fought for the *Romans*, it
 was concluded they were the same who had
 brought the news to *Rome*, and that they
 could be no other than *Castor* and *Pollux*.
Plutarch in his life of *Paulus Æmilius*, adds
 to this relation, that *Lucius Domitius* was the
 first who was informed by *Castor* and *Pollux*,
 of the entire defeat of the *Latins*: and to
 make the fable still more wonderful, the
 same author affirms, that, *Domitius* having
 appeared surprized at the account, the two
 horsemen took him gently by the beard, and
 it immediately changed its colour from black
 to red; which miracle confirmed the rela-
 tion, and got *Domitius* the surname of *Æno-*
barbus Brazen-beard: and this story, fabu-
 lous as it is, was believed among the *Romans*.
 They transmitted it to posterity by publick
 monuments, which were still subsisting in
 the time of *Dionysius*.

into *Campania* to *Aristodemus*, Tyrant of *Cumæ*. Here he shortly after ended his days, at about 90 years of age, and after 14 years exile, which he had made remarkable, by almost as many wars.

It must be granted, that *Tarquin* had several of those endowments and qualifications which enter into the character of a Hero; intrepid courage; experience in arms; an excellent capacity for negotiations; an address whereby, even in banishment, and when divested of all power, he could alienate from the *Romans* their ancient Allies, and unite those Allies against his enemies; an invention fruitful in expedients; and a steady resolution never to quit his claim to Empire but with life. All these made an assemblage of qualities not to be despised. But with these he had also in his nature such a strange composition of the most extravagant vices, as could not but prove fatal to his usurped tyranny. And as a judicious * writer has observed, had not the death of the unfortunate *Lucretia* administered to the *Roman* people an opportunity of liberty, yet a far slighter matter would have served them for a specious reason to endeavour the assertion of their rights.

The freedom which the *Romans* recovered by the expulsion of *Tarquin the Proud* was now secured to them by his death; a freedom that was indisputably the source of all their future grandeur. Nevertheless it is the opinion of *Livy*, that this very freedom, had they assumed it more early, and wrested the Royal Power from any of their former Princes, would have proved the ruin of the rising state. For what, says he, would have been the consequence, if that commonalty, made up of herdsmen and outlaws from other countries, who found refuge and impunity at *Rome*, if they, being set free by some *Brutus* from the dread of Majesty, had begun to be ruffled and agitated by the storms of *Tribunician* fury, and, in a strange City, to engage in quarrels with the Nobles, before the pledges of wives and children, and an affection (not quickly entertained) for the very place and soil, had associated their hearts, and linked them together in one common interest. Certainly the State not yet come to maturity, would through discord have faded and perished; whereas a peaceable and gentle government fostered and cherished it, and by a proper nourishment brought it to such strength and perfection as to be able to produce the wholesome fruits of liberty.

How just this reflection of the *Latine* historian is, will sufficiently appear by the events which come next to be related.

C H A P. V.

§. I. *Domestick broils at Rome.* §. II. *The Volsci encouraged thereby, prepare to fall upon the Romans. The Plebeians refuse to list themselves for the war. Servilius, one of the Consuls, with an army of volunteers, who follow him out of personal affection, terrifies the enemy into a submission for the present; but he has no sooner led back his army, when they renew their preparations to attack the Republic.* §. III. *While the Senate are*

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dred nine-
ty-five.

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Consulship

* Kenn:
Antiq.

Liv. B. 2.
c. 1.

consulting about the levies to be made on this occasion, a sudden accident occasions an insurrection at Rome. Servilius appeases the tumult. News comes that the Volsci are approaching. Servilius by fair promises in relation to the debts engages the people to lift themselves. §. IV. He defeats the enemy, and, tho' the Senate refuse him a triumph at his return, on account of his indulgence to the soldiers, he triumphs in spite of their opposition. §. V. After this he takes the field again, and defeats the AURUNCI. §. VI. The debtors at his return from the war claim the performance of his promises. Servilius, not having power to make them good, is treated by the people with contempt. He thereupon becomes their enemy, and the sedition increases.

D. Hal. B.
6. p. 338,
& seq.

Year of
R O M E
CCLVIII.
Ref. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-four.

Fifteenth
Consulship.

§. I. **S**CARCE was the dangerous war with the *Latines* over, and the Dictatorship of *Posthumius* expired, when the domestick feuds and dissensions at *Rome* revived. The Senate, who thought it needless any longer to court the people, or even to shew them any condescension, revoked, by a decree, that suspension of the suits for debt, which nothing but necessity had before induced them to grant. The creditors began to prosecute their debtors with more rigour than ever; and these of course renewed their murmurs and complaints. To prevent the mischiefs which this grand affair might occasion, the Senate procured the Consulship for *Appius Claudius*, whose resolution they were well acquainted with. But lest he should carry it too far, they gave him, for his Colleague, *P. Servilius*, a man of a gentle, humane character, and agreeable to the poor and the multitude. These two Magistrates were sure to be of contrary opinions. *Servilius*, out of goodness and compassion to the unfortunate, inclined to the remission of the debts, or at least of those exorbitant and accumulated interests which considerably exceeded the principal. He exhorted the Senate to make some regulation in this matter, that might ease the people, and settle the tranquillity of the State upon a lasting foundation.

But *Appius*, a severe observer of the laws, maintained, with his usual constancy, that it was a manifest injustice to relieve the debtors at the expence of their creditors; that this project tended to the very ruin of the subordination necessary in a well governed State; that the condescension which *Servilius* was for shewing to the necessities of the people, would be looked upon by the seditious, only as a disguised weakness, and so breed new pretensions; whereas nothing would be a better proof of the power of the Government, than a just severity shewed to those who by their disobedience and cabals had violated the Majesty of the Senate.

This diversity of opinion produced nothing but bitterness of speech and personal reflections. The Senate assembled daily, and as often broke up without coming to any conclusion. In the mean time the people continued to be oppressed and to complain. Being informed of what passed in the Senate, and of the different inclinations of the two Consuls, they showered many praises upon *Servilius*, and heaped as many imprecations upon *Appius*. The most seditious among the multitude flocked together: They

They held secret assemblies in the night and in by-places; and, in a word, the discontent and disorder in the City were such as seemed to presage nothing less than a civil war.

§. II. THE news of these disturbances at *Rome* having reached the *Volsci*, they immediately began to draw their forces together, in order to march and besiege it; believing they could never have a more favourable opportunity to crush the new Republick, which they hated, and had always looked upon with a jealous eye. Had the authority of the Senate been regarded, an alarm of this kind would have been the luckiest thing that could have happened for their views, because it furnished a pretext to send away the most mutinous of the people from the City: But the *Roman* youth, being summoned as usual to be listed for the service, absolutely refused to appear; and this disobedience occasioned another dispute between the Consuls. *Appius* was for punishing the refractory with rigour, and *Servilius* for more indulgence.

As it was necessary to take the field against the enemy, the Senate without coming to any determination about the affair of the debts, decreed that *Servilius* should conduct the war, and *Claudius* govern the City. They made this regulation, in hopes that *Servilius*, being a popular man, would have less difficulty than the other to levy an army. Nevertheless the people still refused to list themselves in the accustomed manner. What troops he could raise were only volunteers who offered to serve, out of personal affection to the General. They were indeed the more formidable on this account; and the Consul marched them strait into the enemies territory. The *Volsci*, depending on the civil broils at *Rome*, and little expecting that they should so soon have occasion to act upon the defensive, had not made such expedition in their preparations for the war, as to be in a condition to face the *Romans* in the field. They were forced therefore to have recourse to supplications and intreaties; and by these they wrought upon the easy Consul to favour them. He required of them only subsistence and cloaths for his troops, and 300 hostages of the best families.

Not long after the return of *Servilius* to *Rome*, and when the rich Patricians, believing the state to be in no danger from any quarter, were pursuing their poor debtors with the usual severity, some Envoys from the *Latines* arrived in the City, bringing with them by force certain Deputies who had been sent by the *Volsci* to the *Latine* Nation. Those Deputies had been commissioned to engage the *Latines*, if possible, to join with the *Volsci*, the *Hernici* and *Sabinas* in a league against *Rome*: But the *Latines* quite humbled by their defeat in the battle of *Regillus*, would listen to no proposal for a new rupture with the Republick; and the *Romans*, to reward their fidelity, and the zeal they shewed on this occasion, restored them 6000 prisoners taken in the last war; these captives they also new clothed before they sent them home, in order to make the favour yet more obliging.

§. III. THE discovery made by the *Latine* Envoys of the secret negotiations of the *Volsci*, was more than sufficient to determine the Senate to a

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dred nine-
ty-four.

Fifty-seventh
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C. 2.
D. H. 1. P.
351.

declaration of war against them: But the *Fathers* had now the same difficulties as before, in relation to the levies. They were assembled to debate this matter, and likewise what number of soldiers it would be proper to raise in the present exigence, when a sudden accident suspended their deliberations; and the calamity of a private citizen occasioned a general insurrection of the people.

A *Plebeian*, loaded with chains, threw himself into the publick place as into an *Asylum*. He was a man in years, tall of stature, meagre, pale, and his eyes sunk into his head; his cloaths dirty and ragged, his beard bushy, his hair matted, and his appearance all together a shocking spectacle. Nevertheless he was very well known; and some remembered to have been with him in the wars, and to have seen him fight with great valour. He himself named the Consuls and the Tribunes under whom he had served, and, addressing his speech to a multitude of people that surrounded him, and earnestly enquired the cause of his deplorable condition; he told them, that while he bore arms in the last war against the *Sabines*, he had not only been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incursion, had plundered and burnt his house. That the necessities of life, and the tributes which, notwithstanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that the interest being by degrees grown to an excessive sum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to discharge part of it. But that the interest's creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to prison, with two of his children; that to oblige him to hasten the payment of the residue, he had delivered him over to his slaves, who by his order, had torn his body with whips. At the same time throwing off his garment, he shewed a back still bloody with lashes, suffered from his creditor; and a breast covered with the scars of wounds he had received in battle.

The people already ripe for sedition, and justly provoked at so barbarous an action, uttered a thousand cries of indignation against the *Patricians*. The noise ran in a moment over the whole City, and the people flocked from all parts into the *Forum*. Those whom the like misfortunes had thrown into the fetters of their creditors, made their escape; and sedition quickly found leaders and abettors, and the authority of the Magistrate was no longer regarded. The Consuls, who came in hopes of putting a stop to the disorder by their presence, being surrounded by the people hot with fury, found neither respect nor obedience in the citizens.

Appius, abhorred by the multitude, was just going to be insulted, if he had not escaped under favour of the tumult. *Servilius*, though more agreeable to the people, was forced to throw off his consular robe, and without any mark of his dignity, to run into the thickest of the crowd. He caressed and embraced the most mutinous, and with tears in his eyes conjured them to appease this disorder. He gave them his word that he would immediately call the Senate, and take as much care of the people's interests in it, as any *Plebeian* could do; and as a proof of his sincerity, he

he proclaimed by a herald, that no citizen should be arrested for debt, till the Senate had made some new regulation in this affair.

The people upon his word dispersed themselves; and the Senate immediately assembled. *Servilius* laid before them the disposition of men's minds, and the necessity, in such a conjuncture, of abating somewhat of the severity of the laws. *Appius*, always faithful to his first opinion, firmly opposed this measure, and as he could never help tincturing his counsels with the austerity of his character, and the harshness of his manners, he publicly upbraided his Collegue with being a flatterer and a slave of the people. *Servilius*, in his turn, reproached him with the obstinacy of his temper, his pride, and the animosity he shewed against the *Plebeians*. Each Consul had his party. The warm contention, occasioned by this opposition of sentiments, had begun to raise a great noise in the assembly, when some horsemen came full speed with an account, that an army of *Volsi* were upon their march to *Rome*.

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Fifteenth
Consulship.

Livy, B. 21
c. 24.

This alarming news had not the same effect on all. The Senators, their Clients, and the richer sort of *Plebeians* took arms: But those who were oppressed with debts, shewing their chains, asked with a bitter smile, whether it was worth their while to expose their lives to preserve such ornaments? And all these *Plebeians* obstinately refused to give their names to be inrolled.

Rome was at this time in such an agitation as usually precedes the greatest revolutions; the Consuls divided; the people disobedient to their Magistrates; an enemy at the gates. The Senate, who were almost equally afraid of the citizens and the *Volsi*, engaged *Appius* to take upon him the defence of the city; because they hoped the people would more willingly follow his Collegue into the field. *Servilius*, being appointed to march against the enemy, conjured the people not to abandon him in this expedition; and, to prevail upon them to take arms, he published a new prohibition against detaining in prison any *Roman* Citizen who was willing to go with him to the war, or seizing his children or his goods: And by the same edict he engaged himself, in the name of the Senate, to give the people, at his return, all reasonable satisfaction, with relation to their debts.

This declaration was no sooner published, but the people crowded to list themselves, some out of affection to the Consul, whom they knew to be their friend, and others that they might not stay in *Rome* under the severe and imperious government of *Appius*. But of all the *Plebeians*, none enrolled themselves more chearfully, than those very persons who had been most active in the last tumult.

§. IV. AS soon as the levies were compleated, *Servilius* marched to meet the enemy, and, when he was come within a small distance of them, encamped, a little before night, near the *Pentine* * lake. The *Volsi* insulted him the very next morning in his camp. The Consul was in no haste to leave his entrenchments, not being yet sufficiently assured of the good will of his troops; but when he overheard his men accuse him of inactivity, and by their shouts was convinced of their eagerness to fight,

D. Hal. p.
363.

6. P. 374.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 25.

* In Liv.
21. 25.

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Fourth
century
before
Christ.

he immediately ordered all the gates of his camp to be opened, and a general rally to be made. The *Volsi* could not stand the attack of the *Romans*, but were entirely defeated; and the Consul, to reward his soldiers, gave them all the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was very rich, to enable them to pay their debts.

He then marched to *Sutrin*, a considerable city of the *Volsi*, took it by assault, and put all to the sword who were past the age of puberty; an act of barbarity which seemed contrary to his natural temper. (*Scipio* at the same time beheaded the 300 *Volsian* hostages at *Rome*.) As to the spoil of *Sutrin*, *Servilius* abandoned that likewise to his soldiers, without reserving any part of it for the publick treasury.

This profuseness of the Consul to his troops highly displeased his Colleague. *Servilius* in his return to *Rome*, where he doubted not to obtain a triumph, received intelligence that *Scipio* had persuaded the Senate to refuse him that honour, under pretence, that he was a seditious man, who aimed at popularity by an excessive indulgence to his soldiers. The conqueror, touched to the quick with so undeserved a treatment, no sooner came before *Rome*, but he caused the People to be called together in a field without the walls, and there complained to them of the jealousy of his Colleague, and the injustice of the Senate. He presently found by the disposition of the audience, that he might attempt whatever he pleased. Without regard therefore to the Senate's decision, he immediately decreed himself a triumph, and marched with the usual pomp to the capitol, attended by his army and all the people.

D.H.C.B.
100.
100.
100.

§. V. BEFORE the expiration of this Consulship, a new enemy started up against the Republick. *Eccetra* a *Volsian* town had lately submitted to the *Romans*; and there had sent thither a garrison to defend it. The *Aurunci*, a small community that possessed a part of *Campania*, not far from the *Volturnus*, took umbrage at the neighbourhood of that garrison; they sent to *Rome* a haughty demand to have it instantly removed; and they added threatenings in case of a refusal. The Senate in answer, bid the Envoys go tell their Masters, That it was a dangerous thing to attack those who very neighbourhood was formidable to them. A war presently ensued. The *Aurunci* entered *Latium* and advanced as far as *Aricia*: There the *Romans* came up with them, and, at first sight of these new ene-

* *Servilius* made an halt, as soon as he came before *Rome*, because the Laws did not permit him who demanded a triumph to enter into the city. He was obliged to keep without the walls with his army, and there wait for the consent of the Senate; to which he, according to custom, sent a letter wrapped up in laurel. Upon the receipt of this, the Senators assembled in the temple of *Bona*, which stood in one of the suburbs of *Rome*. Here the General gave them an account of his expedition, after which they made a decree, whereby they granted the conqueror the

honours of a triumph. This decree was reported to the people, who confirmed it, and fixed the day for the ceremony, unless the *Tribunes of the People* opposed it; which sometimes happened. And this Law was a great instance of the policy of the *Romans*. An ambitious General at the head of a victorious army, might have caused great disorders in *Rome*, if he had been permitted to enter it with his army; and might by force have obtained a triumph, which he had not merited. C. & R.

^b This triumph is not marked in the *Capitoline Tables*.

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mies, were a little daunted at their gigantick stature, those fierce looks, and that martial air which distinguished them from all the other Nations of Italy: However, calling to mind the great abilities of their own Generals, *Servilius* and *Posthumius Regillensis* (which latter commanded the cavalry) this restored their confidence. In the beginning of the action the *Romans* had much the disadvantage, being very unequal in strength to the enemy, and unable to sustain the fury of their first charge; and, to their further discouragement, they quickly found that their horse could be of no service to them, because the field of battle was extremely uneven and full of rocks. *Posthumius* nevertheless recovered the day by his able conduct. Making his cavalry dismount, he led them to the assistance of those battalions that were giving ground, and by his words and example in a short time brought them again into order; after which the enemy were soon routed and their camp taken. The *Aurunci* entirely disappearing, *Servilius* marched his army back to *Rome*.

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§. VI. AND now after so many victories obtained, chiefly by the bravery of those who were most in debt, the people thought they might confidently demand the performance of *Servilius's* promises; and indeed for his part, he left no means untried to make good his word. He employed his utmost efforts to prevail with the Senate to grant the debtors a general release. But *Appius*, who looked upon the least change in the laws to be dangerous, strongly opposed his Colleague's desire. He gave the creditors fresh power to drag the debtors to prison; and the applauses he thereby got from the rich, and the curses from the poor, equally concurred to the confirming this Magistrate in his severity.

Liv. B. 2.
c. 27.

Those who were arrested, appealed to *Servilius*; they urged upon him the promises he had made to the people before the campaign, and the services they had done in the war. They cried aloud before his tribunal, that either in quality of Consul he should undertake the defence of his fellow-citizens, or, as General, not desert the interest of his soldiers. But *Servilius*, who was naturally timorous and averse to strife, durst not declare openly against the whole body of Patricians; and by endeavouring to manage both parties, he disoblged both, so that he got the hatred of the one, and the contempt of the other.

How low he was sunk in the esteem of the people most remarkably appeared, when the time came to consecrate a temple which had been erected to *Mercury*. The consecrator was to have considerable powers and privileges. He was to be the Head and Founder of a society of ^a Merchants in *Rome*; to have the charge of furnishing the city with provisions, and to inspect them; and he was to have all the honours, and perform all the functions of a *Pontifex Maximus* within the verge of this temple. *Appius* and *Servilius* standing in competition for this office, the Senate were unwilling to decide any thing in the matter, and therefore referred it wholly to the people. This would some time ago have been in

c. 27.

^a *Mercury* was thought by the *Pagans* to be the God of Commerce, whence *Cicero* calls Merchants *Mercuriales*.

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effect to decree in *Servilius's* favour; but at present the people were so much dissatisfied with both their Consuls, that they would not bestow the honour in question upon either of them; they chose one *M. Latorius*, who was only a centurion, to perform the consecration. Hereupon the two Magistrates, equally enraged, joined with the Senate in putting the laws in execution against the debtors with the utmost rigour; a vain effort of revenge; for the multitude paid no regard to their authority. When any *Plebeian* was prosecuted for debt, the populace came in crowds into court, and made such a noise, that the sentence, pronounced by the Judges, could not be heard. The debtors no longer endeavoured to appease their creditors and mollify the Senate by entreaties, they insulted both; and instead of the *Plebeians*, the *Patricians* were now in danger of imprisonment and slavery. Nothing prevailed in the City but tumult and violence.

C H A P. VI.

- §. I. *The people refuse to obey the summons of the new Consuls (A. Virginius and T. Veturius,) to lift themselves for a war against the Sabines, Æquians, and Volsci. Manius Valerius, a brother of Poplicola, is created Dictator.*
 §. II. *Valerius prevails with the people to serve, by promising them full satisfaction in relation to their complaints when the war shall be over, and by suspending in the mean time all prosecutions for debt. Three armies are raised, to be commanded by the Dictator and the two Consuls. The enemy are defeated on all sides.*
 §. III. *The Dictator at his return home demands of the Senate to discharge his engagements to the debtors. His demand is rejected. He excuses himself to the people and resigns the Dictatorship.*

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Liv. B. 2.
c. 28.

- §. I. **S**UCH was the state of Rome when *A. Virginius* and *T. Veturius*, men of little steadiness, took possession of the Consulate. The most considerable of the discontented *Plebeians* held private assemblies by night to consult the proper measures for a redress of their grievances, and for preventing their being drawn by surprize into any thing disadvantageous to them, when they should be called together in legal *Comitia*. Notice being brought to the Consuls of these secret meetings, they inform the Senate of them, submitting it to the wisdom of that venerable body to prescribe a remedy for the growing evil; a deference that was by no means agreeable to the Conscript Fathers, who saw through the policy of their Magistrates, that were unwilling to draw the odium of punishing the offenders upon themselves. The Senate having severely reproved them for their timid conduct, ordered them immediately to raise an army in legal form, for a war which threatened the Republick. It seems the *Sabines*, encouraged by the intestine broils at Rome, had revolted, and they had engaged the *Roman* colony of *Medulia* to enter with them into a league confirmed by oaths. The Consuls according to their instructions summoned the tribes, but it was to no purpose, the people being obstinately determined not to lift themselves till such time as all debts should be abolished. *Virginius* and *Veturius* finding that no-body regarded their sum-

mons, laid all the blame of the disobedience upon the Senate. They even accused the *Fathers* to the *Fathers* themselves, and they added, *Let those of you who are the boldest within doors at making severe decrees, now shew their heads without doors, and face the fury of the multitude. You will then see whether it be to our want of courage, or to your false measures, that the untractableness of the people is owing.* These words so provoked the younger Senators, that, leaving their seats, they surrounded the Consuls, called them cowards, and bid them come down from their thrones and discharge themselves of a burthen that was too heavy for their weakness.

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Liv. B. 2.
c. 29.

After some time spent in these mutual reproaches, the Consuls returned once more to the *Forum*, guarded by a good number of the Senators, to add the more weight to their authority. They ascended their tribunal, and called upon one of the most factious by name to come and be enrolled. The man did not answer; and his silence being taken for disobedience, he was instantly seized: but the populace quite furious, tore him out of the lictors hands; and the Consuls experienced on this occasion how little respect is paid to Majesty without strength; they had enough to do to defend the Senators, who attended them, from blows.

D. Hal. B.
6. p. 368.

While the people were thus enraged against the Senate, the Senate against the people, and the Consuls regarded by neither people nor Senate, Envoys came from the *Latines* and *Crustumini* (allies of Rome) complaining of the hostilities of the *Æqui* and *Sabines*; and an Embassy from the *Volsci* arrived at the same time, demanding restitution of the lands conquered by the Romans from them. Upon this new alarm the Senate assembled extraordinarily. *Titus Lartius*, that venerable Senator, who had been formerly Dictator, gave his opinion first. He said, *That the only way to put an end to these alarms from abroad, was to establish peace at home,* and he proposed, that the assembly might meet again the next day to deliberate about the methods necessary to procure that happiness. That in the mean time the *Volscian* Ambassadors should be answered, *That it was not consistent with the honour of the Republick to comply with their demands.* And as to the allies, he advised, that assurances should be given them, *that Rome would never leave them exposed to the insults of their enemies.* This advice was approved and followed.

p. 369.

The next day the Senate sat again. The Consul *Virginus* spoke first, and proposed a medium between the severity of *Appius* and the general release of debts. He was for having those soldiers, who had fought so successfully the last year, protected by the Senate against their creditors; but for leaving the other debtors to the severity of the law.

Liv. B. 2.
c. 29.
D. Hal. p.
370.

Lartius stood up next and said, That he saw, with abundance of grief, Rome split as it were into two Cities: That one was full of nothing but riches and pride, and the other of misery and rebellion; That there was no appearance in either of justice or of honour, or even of common decency; that the haughtiness of the great was no less odious than the disobedience of the lower sort; that he could not but foresee, the extreme poverty of the people would always keep up dissension; and that he did

not

Year of not think it possible to restore peace and union between the two orders, ROME by any other means than a general abolition of the debts.

CCLIX. *Appius*, when it came to his turn to speak, was equally against both
 Ben. C. these proposals: He affirmed, That the frequent mutinies among the
 Four C. people did not proceed so much from their want, as from an unbridled
 licentiousness, which seditious men were pleased to call by the name of
 liberty; and from the abuse which they made of the *Lex Valeria*. "They
 Sixteenth violate, *said he*, the Majesty of the Consuls with impunity, because they
 Consulship know they can appeal from the condemnation of their crime to the very
 "accomplices of it: and what order can we ever hope to establish in a
 "State, where the decrees of the Magistrates are subject to the revilal and
 "judgment of a rabble guided wholly by their fury and caprice? Let us
 "create a Dictator, whose judgments are without appeal; and then we
 "need not fear, that even the most daring of the *Plebeians* will be so in-
 "solent as to repulse the lictors of a Magistrate, who has the sovereign
 "disposal of their lives and fortunes."

D. Hal. p. The younger Senators, and those especially whose interest was concerned
 371. in the abolition of the debts, declared for *Appius's* opinion; and were even
 L. B. 1. for conferring the Dictatorship upon him: They said, that a supreme Ma-
 6. 30. gistrate of his firmness and intrepidity was absolutely necessary to reduce
 the people to their duty. But the more experienced and the more moderate
 of the Senate thought the Dictatorial power, always formidable, would be
 very improperly placed in the hands of a man naturally severe and inflexi-
 ble. By their advice one of the Consuls named to that office *Manius Va-*
lerius, a man of above 70 years of age, brother to the famous *Poplicola*.
 This nomination was indeed contrary to law, which required that the Dic-
 tator should always be chosen out of such as had been, or were actual Con-
 suls; but as no person was judged so proper for that station at this time,
 the necessity of the case made the Senate overlook rules.

D. Hal. B. §. II. *VALERIUS*, *Plebeian* in his inclination, named, for General of
 6. p. 371. the Horse, *Quintius Servilius*, the brother of the last year's Consul, and who
 thought, as the Dictator himself did, that there was a great deal of justice
 in the people's complaints. Then having convened a general assembly
 of the Citizens, he told them, That they need not have any apprehensions,
 that either their liberty, or the *Lex Valeria*, which was its chief support,
 would be in danger under a Dictator of the family of *Valerius Poplicola*.
 That he did not ascend his tribunal to cheat them with false promises:
 that indeed there was a necessity of their marching against the enemies
 who were advancing towards *Rome*; but that he would engage in his own
 name, and on the part of the Senate, to give them full satisfaction, with
 relation to their complaints, at their return from the campaign: *He add-*
ed, "And in the mean while, by the sovereign authority with which I am
 "invested, I declare your persons, your lands, and your goods, to be per-
 "fectly free: I suspend the effect of all obligations that might be made
 "use of to give you trouble. Come and assist us to conquer new lands
 "from our enemies for your use."

This

This speech filled the people with hopes and with comfort. Every body took arms with pleasure, and ten legions were raised compleat; three were given to each Consul, and the Dictator reserved four to himself. The *Romans* marched against the enemy on different sides. The Dictator gained a notable victory over the *Sabines*, laid waste their country, and enriched his soldiers with spoil: The Consul *Veturius* routed the *Volsci*, after which he took their camp, and then *Velitrae*, into which place he entered sword in hand in pursuit of the vanquished: And *A. Virginus*, the other Consul, obtained over the *Aequi* a victory, which, by reason of their hasty flight, was without much bloodshed. Except the victory at *Regillus*, the *Romans* had never gained a more important one than that of the Dictator over the *Sabines*. Accordingly he was decreed a triumph by both Senate and People; and as a further mark of distinction, they allotted him an honourable place in the Circus, at the celebration of the publick games, and appointed that a curule chair should always be placed there for him; and this honour they made hereditary in his family.

§. III. THE Senate apprehending that the soldiers at their return would challenge of the Dictator the execution of his promise, desired him and the two Consuls to detain them still under their ensigns, upon pretence that the war was not quite finished. The two Consuls obeyed; but the Dictator, whose authority was independent of the Senate, disbanded his army. He declared his soldiers free of the * oath they took when they lifted themselves; and as a new proof of his affection to the *Plebeians*, he chose out of that order four hundred of the most considerable, whom he brought into that of the Knights. He then went to the Senate, and demanded that a decree should be pass'd for the abolition of the debts, pursuant to the promise he had made the people. The oldest Senators and the best men, excepting only *Appius*, were for consenting to this demand. But the faction of the rich got the better, being supported by the young Senators, who thought that nothing could be done for the relief of the people,

* The giving the military oath, which was called *Sacramentum*, was properly speaking, the legal method of forming the *Roman* armies. After the soldiers had been chosen out of each tribe, in the manner elsewhere described, this oath was administered to them. The ceremony was this. The *Tribunes* of each *Legion* assembled the body they commanded. Then one soldier in a *Legion* swore, in the name of all the rest, to obey the Commanders of the *Roman* army. After this, every soldier came, and singly engaged to perform what had been sworn. This custom continued till the 538th year of *Rome*; and then another oath, called by *Livy*, B. 22. *Fusjurandum*, (of which we shall speak in its proper place) was added to the former. By virtue of this engagement, rebels and deserters were punished with death, and no appeal

admitted. There was likewise another way of enlisting men, which was called *Conjuratio*. It took place, in case of unforeseen commotions, and the sudden irruptions of an enemy. Then, that no time might be lost in raising the necessary succours, the soldiers were excused the formalities usually observed in enrolling them. The General only went up to the *Capitol*, and there erected two standards; one red, for the foot; and the other blue, for the horse. After which, he pronounced these words, with a loud voice: *Let those who love the safety of the Republick, make haste and follow me.* A third way of enrolling or enlisting men, then in use, was this. The Consuls committed it to the care of chosen persons, to raise troops in different places, as the Republick had occasion for them; and this was called *Evocatio*. C. & R.

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Liv. B. 2.
c. 31.

but to the diminution of the Senate's authority. There were even several who, presuming upon the Dictator's mildness of temper, reproached him, that he sought by the vilest methods the applauses of a base populace. Not only his demand was rejected, but he was made to understand, that if his dictatorial dignity had not set him above the laws, the Senate would call him to an account for disbanding his army, as an action contrary to the military laws, while the enemies of the Republick were still in arms.

The venerable old man answered, " I plainly perceive that I am not agreeable to you : I am accused of being too popular ; may the Gods grant that all the defenders of the *Roman* people, who shall rise hereafter, may be as moderate as I am ! But expect not that I will deceive my Fellow-Citizens, who took up arms upon my promise, and who at the price of their blood have triumphed over your enemies. A foreign war, and our domestick feuds, were the occasion of the Republick's honouring me with the Dictatorship. We now have peace abroad, and I am hindered from establishing it at home ; thus my office being grown useless, I am resolved to hold it no longer. I had rather behold the sedition as a private person, than with the title of Dictator." Concluding with these words, he left the Senate abruptly and convened an Assembly of the People.

D. Hal. R.
6. p. 374.
375.

When the Assembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the ensigns of his dignity ; he first returned the people thanks for the readiness with which upon his orders they had taken arms, and then he highly praised the valour they had shewn in every action of the war, against the enemies of the Commonwealth. " You, said he, like good Citizens, have performed your duty. It were now my turn to acquit myself of the promise I made you ; but a faction more powerful than the authority of the Dictator himself, hinders the effect of my sincere intentions. I am publicly called an enemy to the Senate ; my conduct is censured ; it is imputed to me as a crime, that I left you the spoils of our enemies, and above all, that I absolved you from the military oath. I know after what manner, in the vigour of my life, I should have answered such injuries ; but they despise an old man of above threescore and ten ; and as I am now past either revenging myself, or doing justice to you, I freely resign a dignity in which I can do you no service. If any one of my Fellow-Citizens condemns me for the non-performance of my word, I willingly put my small remains of life into his hands ; he may deprive me of it, if he pleases, I shall neither murmur nor oppose."

The Multitude heard this discourse with respect and veneration for the man, and they conducted him to his house with as many praises as if he had pronounced the abolition of the debts.

C H A P. VII.

§ I. *The discontent among the people augments. The Consuls, to give the mutineers a diversion, lead their two armies, which they had not yet disbanded,*

banded, again into the field. The soldiers desert their Generals, and, by the advice of Sicinnius Bellutus, retire to a hill three miles from Rome. §. II. The Senate dispatch a deputation to them to persuade them to return; but in vain. Posthumius Cominius, and Spurius Cassius, are chosen Consuls. Warm debates in the Senate. A second deputation is sent to the mutineers in spite of the remonstrances of Appius Claudius. §. III. The artful management of Sicinnius Bellutus, and Junius Brutus, the two heads of the sedition, in their conference with the Deputies. §. IV. Menenius Agrippa, by his famous apologue, overcomes the obstinacy of the mutineers; but when they are just ready to go back to the city, Brutus puts a stop to their march till the Senate have agreed to the creation of some new officers, chosen out of the Plebeians, to be the future protectors of the people. These officers are stiled TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

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dred nine-
ty-three.
Sixteenth
Consulship.

§. I. **A**ND now the Plebeian debtors turned their whole indignation against the Senate, which had so often deceived them: They held assemblies, not by night, but in open day, and seemed determined to keep no longer any measures. The Consuls, who still held their troops engaged by the customary oath they had taken to them, *never to quit their ensigns without leave*, led them by the Senate's advice out of the city under pretence of apprehending a new war from the *Æqui* and *Sabines*. The soldiers, perceiving the artifice, had no sooner entered the field, but the most furious were for murdering the Consuls, in order to free themselves and their fellows at once from the oath that bound them: But the more sober having represented to those madmen how useless, with regard to their purpose such a crime would be, they, by the advice of one *Sicinnius*, took another method. They snatched up the ensigns, which they had sworn not to desert, and marched away with them. The legions instantly, forsaking their officers*, followed; and retired to a hill, (afterwards called *Mons sacer*) three miles from *Rome*, near the river *Anio*. Here they encamped, and here they continued quiet, observing an exact discipline, and attempting no sort of violence whatever.

Livy, B. 2.
C. 32.

§. II. A DESERTION so general, and which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneasiness to the Senate. They immediately set guards at the gates of the city, as well for its security, as

D. Hal. p.
376.

* *Dion. Hal.* gives us the reason why the legions so readily followed their ensigns. The *Romans*, says he, when they are in the field, respect nothing more than their ensigns and standards. They are to them as so many Deities. They swear by their military ensigns, and pay them a sort of religious worship. On certain festivals, they crown them with flowers, and perfume them. *Aquila certe, ac signa illa pulverulenta, & custodiis horrida, inunguntur etiam festis diebus. Utinamque dicere possemus quis primus instituisse!* *Plin.* B. 13. This custom is also attested

by an inscription on an ancient marble; which runs thus, CORONÆ. INLATÆ. SIGNA QVE UNCTA. Animated by this superstitious prejudice, the soldiers braved the greatest dangers, and despised death itself, to secure these precious pledges from being taken by the enemy. It often was treated as a capital crime, a man's suffering his standard to be taken from him: History gives us several instances of those who were condemned to be whipped, and to lose their heads, for having lost the colours committed to their care. C. & R.

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to hinder any more of the *Plebeians* from joining the mal contents. But, notwithstanding this precaution, those who were burthened with debts, and even many others, who, without being in debt, were discontented, escaped to the mutineers; and *Rome* saw at her gates a very formidable army of her own citizens, ready to turn their arms against those that remained in the city.

Sixteenth
Consulship.
The *Patricians* immediately divided themselves into several bodies, to be differently employ'd: Some at the head of their clients, and of such *Plebeians* as would not take part in the *Secession*, secured the most advanced posts; others intrenched themselves at the entrance of the city; the old men undertook the defence of the walls; and all appeared equally vigorous and resolute.

D Hal
3-3.
After these precautions, the Senate dispatched a deputation to the mal contents, to offer them a general pardon, and exhort them to return into the city. But this step, taken before the swell of passion had subsided, produced nothing but a contemptuous and menacing answer from the *Seceders*, *That the Patricians should quickly find what enemies they had to deal with*: which augmented the general consternation and perplexity in *Rome*.

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P. C. I. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-two.
The two Consuls, whose Magistracy was expiring, appointed an assembly for the election of their successors; no-body presented himself candidate for that dignity; several even refused it. At length *Posthumius Cominius*, and *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, both consular persons, were constrained to accept it; and the Senate pitched upon them, because they were equally agreeable to the Nobles and *Plebeians*, and because *Cassius* especially had always behaved himself very prudently between the two parties.

Seventeenth
Consulship.
B. 6. p.
3-9, & seq.
The new Consuls began their administration with assembling the Senate to consider of the best and most speedy methods of restoring peace and union in the State.

Menenius Agrippa, a consular person, and eminent for integrity of manners, being the first called upon to give his opinion, declared, that he thought it adviseable to dispatch a new deputation to the mal contents, and to give the Deputies full power to put an end to this ugly affair, upon whatever conditions they should find necessary for the good of the Republick. Some of the *Fathers* objected, that it would be a derogation to the majesty of the Senate, to send a second deputation to rebels, who had given such an unworthy reception to their first: But *Menenius* answered, that this was no time to insist upon a vain punctilio; that the preservation of the Republick, and even necessity, to which the Gods themselves were submitted, obliged the Senate to court the people. That *Rome*, the terror of her neighbours, was in a manner besieged by her own citizens; that indeed they had as yet committed no act of hostility, but that for this very reason the Senate ought to be the more careful to prevent a war, which, whatever should be the success of it, could not but be fatal to the State.

He added, that the *Sabines*, the *Volsci*, the *Æqui*, and the *Hernici*, all irreconcilable enemies of the *Roman* name, would already have joined

the rebels, if they had not perhaps thought it more proper to let the *Romans* weaken and destroy themselves by their own divisions. That no great assistance was to be expected from the Allies of the Republick; that as for the nations of *Campania* and *Hetruria*, they were always governed by events, and their faith was to be suspected; that even the *Latines* were not much more to be depended on, a people jealous of the superiority of *Rome*, and even fond of novelty. That the *Patricians* deceived themselves, if they hoped, merely with the help of their clients and slaves, to withstand a combination of so many foreign and domestick enemies.

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dred nine-
ty-two.
Seventeenth
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M. Valerius, (the late Dictator) whose mind was embittered against the Senate, added to what *Menenius* had said, that there was reason to apprehend the mal-contents would renounce their country, and think of settling elsewhere: That *Rome* would become a desert; and the Senate, by continuing inflexible, lose its chief strength. That, if they had followed his advice During his Dictatorship, they might by the abolition of the debts have preserved union and peace between the two orders in the state; but must not imagine that the people, who had so often been cheated by the false promises of the Senate, would now be satisfied with that abolition. That he feared the ill treatment they had received would incite them to demand securities for the future enjoyment of their rights and liberties. That the creation of a Dictator, a modern invention of the Senate's, entirely defeated the purpose of the *Lex Valeria*, the People's refuge, and the guardian of their liberty. That it could not be denied, but many of the *Plebeians* had been despoiled of their lands by the exorbitant interests exacted from them for money lent by certain rich usurers; and those poor wretches thrown into chains and slavery as so many criminals: That indeed the more equitable among the *Patricians* had no share in these tyrannical proceedings, but only some haughty spirits, who aimed at an Oligarchy, and had formed themselves into a faction; at the head of which was *Appius Claudius*, the most declared enemy of the People, and who was always endeavouring to perplex and embroil the publick affairs. And he concluded with seconding the motion of *Menenius* for sending a new deputation to the Seceders.

Appius, when it was his turn to speak, rose up, and addressing himself to *M. Valerius*, said, "If you had confined yourself barely to give your opinion upon the affair in question, without falling upon me so unjustly, you had not exposed yourself to hear truths, which may not be very agreeable to you. But before I offer them to this Assembly, it is fit I should answer your calumnies. Tell me, *Valerius*, Where are the *Romans* whom I have prosecuted with the rigour of justice, to oblige them to pay me what they owe me? Name the Citizens whom I have kept in chains; go search among the crowd of mal-contents, and see whether there be one man who will say, he left the City out of fear of being imprisoned by me. Every body knows that I have used my debtors like my clients and friends; that without considering

p. 386, &
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“ the old debts, I have assisted them anew in their necessities; and that,
“ as much as in me lay, the Citizens were always free. Not that I pro-
“ pose my conduct as a rule for others; I will always contend for the
“ authority of the laws in favour of those who have recourse to them. I
“ am even convinced, that, with regard to certain debtors who spend their
“ lives in idle nets and debauchery, it is as reasonable to make them pay,
“ as it is noble and generous to forgive poor Citizens who are peaceable
“ and laborious, but whose misfortunes have reduced them to extream
“ want: such has been my conduct, and such are the *imperious maxims*
“ with which I am charged. But, it seems, I have declared myself a fa-
“ vourer of the great, and it is by my counsels that they have possessed
“ themselves of the Government.—This crime, (*turning toward the chief*
“ *of the Senate*) I am guilty of in common with you. The Government
“ belongs to you, and you are too wise to yield it up to an unbridled rab-
“ ble, to that furious beast which hearkens only to its flatterers, its slaves;
“ slaves that often become its Tyrants: And this is what we ought to ap-
“ prehend from *M. Valerius*; who, tho’ all the credit he has in the Re-
“ publick be owing to the dignities with which we have honoured him,
“ makes use of it now to ruin our laws, change the form of our govern-
“ ment, and by his mean condescensions, pave himself a way to the ty-
“ ranny. You have heard his own words, and must have observed, that,
“ being better informed than we of the pernicious designs of the rebels;
“ he gives us notice to prepare for new pretensions: under colour of de-
“ manding security for the liberty of the people, he seeks nothing but to
“ destroy that of the Senate.

“ But to come to the chief point, upon which we meet this day; I
“ say, that it is striking at the very foundation of a State to change its
“ laws; and that it is impossible to annul the contracts between private
“ persons, without violating the publick faith, the bond of society. Will
“ you now grant to a seditious mob, who are ready to turn their arms
“ against their Country, what you have often prudently refused to quiet
“ Citizens, and to brave soldiers? Consider that you can make no con-
“ cession in this article of the debts, without opening a door at the same
“ time to new pretensions. Before it be long, the Leaders of the sedition,
“ in concert with *M. Valerius*, will want to be admitted into the chief
“ dignities of the State. May the tutelar Gods of *Rome* grant, that the
“ Government do not at last fall wholly into the hands of a base populace,
“ that will punish you for your weakness, and banish you yourselves from
“ your Country!

“ Endeavours are used to terrify you with the arms of the Rebels: But
“ have you not their wives and children in hostage? Will they, with open
“ force, attack a City which incloses all that they hold most dear? But
“ I shall grant, that they have no more regard to the ties of Blood, than
“ to the laws of the Government: Have they the Generals, the Provi-
“ sions, the Money necessary to maintain themselves in such an enter-
“ prize? What will become of them during winter, which is now approach-

“ ing,

“ ing, without bread, without shelter, and without daring to straggle for
 “ fear of falling into our hands? If they take refuge among our neigh-
 “ bours, will they not find the Government there, as well as at *Rome*, in
 “ the hands of the great? Can rebels and run-aways expect to be placed
 “ in any other condition, than that of wretched slaves? Perhaps it is fear-
 “ ed, that our neighbours and they will join their forces and besiege *Rome*;
 “ and that the City will not have a sufficient number of inhabitants for its
 “ defence; as if the strength of the Republick lay wholly in the rebels.
 “ But have you not amongst the *Patricians* a flourishing youth, and full
 “ of courage? Our clients, who are the soundest part of the *Plebeian*
 “ body, are they not, like us, immoveably faithful to the interest of the
 “ commonwealth? It appeared by the last numbering of the people,
 “ that we had no less than 130000 men fit to bear arms; there is scarce
 “ the seventh part of these among the mal-contents. But, if occasion
 “ be, let us arm our slaves, let us make of them a new people; these
 “ we shall find obedient. In our service, and from our example, they have
 “ learnt the discipline of war. How courageously will they fight, if liberty
 “ is to be the reward of their valour? If all these helps do not seem suf-
 “ ficient, recal your colonies. Nay, rather than submit to receive law
 “ from the rebels, grant the *Latines* the rights of Citizens of *Rome*, which
 “ they have so long sued for: You will then see them immediately run to
 “ your assistance; and you will want neither soldiers nor Citizens. To
 “ reduce my opinion to a few words, I think we ought not to send De-
 “ puties to the rebels, nor do any thing that can shew the least fear or un-
 “ easiness. If they return to their duty, we ought to use them gently; but,
 “ if they persist in their revolt, fall upon them sword in hand.”

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 —————
 Seventeenth
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This advice was approved, tho' for different reasons, by the faction D. Hal. p.
 of the rich, and by all the young Senators. On the other hand, the two ^{391.}
 Consuls, favourers of the people, and the old men, naturally timorous,
 maintained, that Civil War was the greatest calamity that could befall a
 State. The same was urged, by such of the Senate as regarded only the
 preservation of the publick liberty, and who doubted whether some am-
 bitious and enterprising man might not arise even out of the body of the
 Senate, and by the help of these divisions make himself sole master of
 the Government. But scarce were they so much as heard; the place was
 filled with clamour and threatenings. The youngest Senators, insolent
 upon account of their birth, and jealous of the prerogatives of their rank,
 went even so far as to intimate to the Consuls, that they suspected them.
 They put those magistrates in mind, that being in the place of the Kings,
 it was their duty to maintain, against the invasions of the people, not
 only the regal authority, but that of the Senate; and the more violent
 declared, that if the least insult were offered to the latter, they would
 take arms to preserve to their order an authority which they had received
 from their ancestors.

The Consuls, having conferred together, determined to give these warm
 spirits time to cool; and for that purpose to put off the decision of this
 great-

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great affair to another day: But, before the Assembly broke up, in order to intimidate the young Senators*, who had talked in so audacious a manner, they threatened them, that unless they behaved themselves for the future with more modesty in so venerable an assembly, means would be found to exclude them wholly from it by affixing^a the age necessary for a Senator. As this had not yet been settled, the young men, more afraid of losing their dignity than their point, truckled to the menaces and power of the Consuls, who at the same time made use of another artifice against the older Senators who opposed the abolition of the debts. They told them, they could no longer bear this division in the Senate; and that, if the *Fathers* did not enter into more unanimous measures, they would carry the affair before the People, to whom, as it related to war, they could not without injustice refuse the cognizance of it, according to what had been practised even under the Government of the Kings.

§ 393.

Those of the Senators, who had embraced *Appius's* opinion with most warmth, plainly saw by the turn which the Consuls gave to this affair, that it would slip from them, if they persisted in their first sentiments. The fear of falling into the people's hands staggered them; and the tears and cries of the women and children who embraced their knees, and begged of them their fathers and husbands, gained them over entirely; so that, the Senate being convened again, they declared for coming to an agreement with the mal-contents, *Appius* remained almost alone in his opposition. Addressing himself to the two Consuls, he said, "I find, it will be to no purpose for me to offer any thing further upon this matter; you seem resolved to treat with the rebels upon their own conditions; however, you will give me leave to declare once more, that this shall never be with my consent. I repeat it, that I think we cannot indeed have too much regard to the miseries of those debtors who have continued faithful and obedient to the government; but I affirm, that all manner of negotiation with rebels is dangerous, so long as they continue in arms."

§ 394.

As the *Fathers* had already taken their resolution, they gave no longer any heed to the opposition of this inflexible Senator; but named ten Commissioners to treat with the mal-contents; and chose them out of those of their own body who had always declared in favour of the people. At the head of this deputation were *T. Lartius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius*, all three in great esteem, and of whom two had governed

^a That there was a certain age, in after times required, is plain from the frequent use of *Ætas Senatoria* in Authors. *Dic Casfius* positively limits it to five and twenty, which was the soonest time any one could have discharged the Quæstorship, the first office of any considerable note: Yet we meet with very many persons promoted to this order without any consideration had to their years, as it usually happened in all other honours whatever. *Kenz. Antiq.* p. 102.

Pompey established among the *Bithynians*, a law by which no one could become a Member of their Senate till he was thirty complete. It is probable that he followed the custom of the *Roman* Republic in this regulation; and the more so, because *Pliny the younger* tells us, in one of his letters to the Emperor *Trajan*, that the *Bithynians* made the *Romans* their pattern, especially in what related to their Magistracy and Senate. C. & R.

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the Republick, in quality of Dictators: They set forward with their Collegues towards the camp. This great news got thither before them; and the soldiers ran out in crowds to receive them.

§. III. AMONG the *Seceders* was a certain *Plebeian*, named *Lucius Junius*, and who, out of a ridiculous vanity, had assumed the surname of *Brutus*, that he might have the greater resemblance to the illustrious deliverer of his country from the *Tarquins*. Notwithstanding this affectation, for which many of his companions laughed at him, he was a man of singular penetration and foresight, and wanted not the talents of speaking readily and to the purpose. He advised *Sicinnius*, the Leader of the mutineers, to cross the negotiation at first, and to start new objections against a re union, in order to find out what advantage they might get from it, and at what price the other party would purchase it. “The Senate, *said he*, betray their fear: We are masters, if we know how to improve this opportunity: Let those grave Senators deliver their errand: I undertake to answer them in the name of our companions; and I hope to do it in a manner that will not be unserviceable to the common cause.”

These two heads of the Secession having agreed upon the different parts they were to act, *Sicinnius* introduced the Deputies into the camp, who, when they had placed themselves where they could be heard by the multitude, which flocked about them, were told, that they might give an account of their commission. *Manius Valerius* then said, That he brought them joyful news; that the Senate had not only decreed an *amnesty* of all their past faults, but had impowered him and his Collegues to grant them all the favours that were compatible with the honour of the *Patrician* body; and that there was nothing now to hinder them from returning to the city. To this he added some pressing exhortations to the *Seceders*, not to neglect the present favourable opportunity, which the Senate's great condescension and goodness gave them, of putting a happy period to all their discontents.

When *Valerius* had ended, *Sicinnius* observed to the audience, That, in affairs of importance, prudent men never came to a determination, upon hearing only what could be said on one side of a question: And he declared, That whoever was willing to answer *Valerius*, might speak his objections without shame or fear, or reserve; the necessity of the case not admitting of ceremony or human respects. Nevertheless a profound silence reigned in the assembly; the soldiers stood looking at one another, each expecting that some other would make himself advocate for the common cause. Then *Brutus*, pursuant to his agreement with *Sicinnius*, stepped forward, and, addressing himself to his comrades, said: “From this deep silence, fellow-soldiers, one would imagine, you are still awed by that servile fear in which the *Patricians* and your creditors kept you so long. Every man consults the eyes of the rest to discover, whether there be more resolution in others than he finds in himself; and not one of you has the courage to speak, in publick, that which is the con-

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stant subject of your private conversations. Know you not that you
are free? This camp, these arms, have they not convinced you, that
you are no longer under your Tyrants? Or, if any doubt remained,
this step which the Senate has now taken, is not this sufficient to sa-
tisfy you? Those *Patricians*, so haughty and imperious, now send to
court us; they no longer make use either of proud commands, or of
cruel threats; they invite us as their fellow-citizens to return into our
common city; nay some of our Sovereigns, you see, are so gracious as
to come to our very camp, to offer us a general pardon. Whence then
can proceed this obstinate silence, after such singular condescensions?
If you doubt the sincerity of their promises; if you fear, that, under
the veil of a few fine words, they conceal your former chains, why do
you not speak?—All silent?—Hear then a *Roman*, who has the cou-
rage to declare his thoughts freely to these ambassadors, and to dis-
semble nothing.”

Then turning to *Valerius*, “ You invite us to go back to *Rome*; but
you do not tell us upon what terms we are to be there: Can *Plebeians*
poor, tho’ free, think of being united with *Patricians* so rich, and so
ambitious? And, should we agree to the conditions you have to of-
fer, what security will the *Patricians* give us for the performance?
Those haughty *Patricians*, who make it a merit among themselves to
have deceived the people? You talk to us of nothing but condescen-
sion and forgiveness, as if we were your subjects, and subjects in re-
bellion; but that is the point to be discussed. Is it the People or the
Senate who are in fault? Which of the two orders was it, that first
violated those laws of society, which ought to reign among the mem-
bers of one and the same Republick? This is the question.

“ In order to judge of this without prejudice, give me leave barely to
relate a certain number of facts, for the truth of which I will appeal
to no other but yourself and your Collegues.

“ Our government was originally monarchick; we had seven Kings in
succession; and none of them ever did the people the least wrong,
Tarquin himself, the last of those princes, *Tarquin*, so odious to the Se-
nate and the Nobility, favour’d our interests as much as he opposed
yours. He loved the soldiers, he had an esteem for valour, he was
always for rewarding it; and every body knows, that having found
immense riches in *Sæssa*, a town of the *Volsci*, which he had taken, he
chose rather to leave the booty to his army, than to appropriate it to
himself; so that beside the slaves, the horses, the corn, and the hous-
hold-stuff, there remained over and above to each soldier five *Minae* of
silver.

351. Ar-
buthnot.

“ Nevertheless, to revenge your wrongs, we drove that Prince from
Rome; nor were all his repeated solicitations, and rich offers sufficient
to move us, to forsake your interests and return to his obedience. We
afterwards cut to pieces the armies of *Veii*, and *Tarquinius*, which en-
deavoured

“ deavoured to restore him to the throne. The formidable power of
 “ *Porfena*, the famine we underwent during a long siege, the fierce as-
 “ faults, the continual battles—Were all these, or, in short, was any
 “ thing capable of shaking the faith which we had given you? Thirty
 “ *Latine* Cities united to restore the banished King. What would you
 “ have done, if we had then abandoned you, and joined your enemies?
 “ We might have had any rewards from *Tarquin*, while the Senate and
 “ Nobles would have been the victims of his resentment. Who disper-
 “ sed that dangerous combination? To whom are you obliged for the
 “ defeat of the *Latines*? Is it not to this people? To them you owe
 “ that very power which you have since turned against them. What
 “ recompence have we had for the assistance we gave you? Is the con-
 “ dition of the *Roman* people one jot the better? Have you associated
 “ them in your offices and dignities? Have our poor Citizens found so
 “ much as the smallest relief in their necessities? No, our bravest sol-
 “ diers, oppressed with the weight of usury, have been groaning in the
 “ chains of their merciless creditors. All those fine promises of abolish-
 “ ing in time of peace the debts which the extortions of the great had
 “ forced us to contract, What is become of them? Scarce was the war
 “ finished, but you forgot both our services, and your oaths. With
 “ what design then do you come hither? Is it to seduce this people by
 “ the enchantment of words? The most solemn *oaths* have not strength
 “ enough to bind your faith. And after all, what would you get by a
 “ union effected by artifice, never free from mutual distrust, and which
 “ must end at last in a Civil War? Let us on both sides avoid such hea-
 “ vy misfortunes; send to us our wives and children; suffer us to depart
 “ from *this land of our nativity*, where we are loaded with chains like so
 “ many slaves; or, at best, are only farmers of our own inheritances,
 “ and constrained to cultivate them for the profit of Tyrants. So long
 “ as we have our swords in our hands, we shall be able to open ourselves
 “ a way into more fortunate climates; and where-ever the Gods shall
 “ grant us to live in LIBERTY, *there* we shall find OUR COUNTRY.”

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This bold discourse renewed in the assembly the melancholy remem-
 brance of all those miseries whereof the people had so frequently com-
 plained; every man was eager to quote examples of the rigour of the *Pa-*
tricians; some had lost their inheritances; others had suffered in the pri-
 sons of their creditors; several shewed the marks of the stripes they had
 received; and there was not one who, beside the general cause, had not a
 particular injury to revenge.

The venerable *T. Lartius*, undertaking to answer *Brutus*, began with the
 article of the debts. He said, that to hinder men, who had fairly lent their
 money, from exacting the payment of it, had been a thing impracticable;
 and that it was without example in any well regulated State, that the Ma-
 gistrate should refuse the aid of the laws to those who demanded it, so long
 as those laws and customs served for a rule in the Government. That

D. Hal. p.
403.

p. 404.

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nevertheless, as the creditors had doubtless been cruel to their debtors, the Senate was willing to look into the necessities of the people, and to provide a remedy for them by new regulations; but that it became the Senate's justice at the same time to distinguish men, who, tho' not fortunate, had been ever sober and industrious, from such as were fallen into poverty, only thro' their own sloth and intemperance: that it was highly unjust in the *Patricians* to extort by force of arms, an abolition of the debts, when they might obtain it by fair means; and *to complain of the Senate as refusing what they demanded, when they ought only to complain of those who threw obstacles in the way of the Senate's good intentions.*

Lartius, continuing his discourse, was beginning to say something of the rashness of their enterprize, when *Sicinnius*, provoked at what he had thrown out against him and *Brutus*, and addressing himself to his companions: "You now see, by the haughty speech of this *Patrician*, what you are to expect from his negotiation, and what treatment is preparing for you at *Rome*, if the Senate can once draw you into their power:" And then, turning immediately to the Deputies: "Propose directly the conditions you are impowered to offer us; or this instant leave our camp, where we are not disposed to bear with you any longer."

D. Hal. p.
475, A. 107.

§. IV. THESE words were highly applauded by the multitude. But then *Menenius*, in the midst of their acclamations, made a sign to them, that he had something to say. His known character of integrity, and of being a friend to the people, easily gained him attention. Silence being made, he told them, that the Commissioners were not come to the camp, only to justify to them the Senate's conduct, but also to inform them of what the Senate had resolved in their favour. That *the Fathers*, studious of the publick good, had carefully enquired into the causes of the unhappy divisions, and had found, that the severity of the creditors to their debtors was the true source of them. That, in order to remedy these evils, they had determined a remission of all debts due from insolvents; liberty to all debtors, whether actually in arrest, or in danger of being so, in consequence of any sentence given against them: And that as to debts which might be contracted hereafter, a new regulation should be made by the People and the Senate in concert, and should become an established law: And that all the Commissioners in the Assembly engaged their lives to the people, and devoted themselves and their children to the infernal Gods, if they failed in their promise.

Plut. in
Cornel.

This prudent Senator finding the minds of the people softened by the promise he had made them, and desiring to extinguish, as much as possible, their jealousy and hatred of the Senate, by convincing them, *that subordination in the State was necessary, and that the higher orders of men were as useful to the lower, as the lower to the higher.* He, to make this truth the more palpable to them, employed the famous *apologue of a conspiracy of all the members of the human body against the stomach, under pretence, that this alone, without working, enjoyed the fruit of all their labours.* Having applied it

it to the people and the Senate, he desired them to consider, that this august body, like the stomach, convey'd into the several members joined to it the same nourishment that it received itself, but much better prepared; and that to it alone they owed their life and strength. He added, "Cease then, *Romans*, unjustly to accuse the Senate of having driven you from your Country, and reduced you to the condition of indigent vagabonds. The *Fathers* have never indeed done you any injury, nor have they any disposition to hurt you: Far otherwise; they call to you, they intreat you to return; they have opened to you the gates of *Rome*, and with open arms are ready to receive you."

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D. Hal. p.
407, 408.

While *Menenius* was speaking, it was visible that his words made a considerable impression on the *Seceders*; but when, in the close of his discourse, he fell to a pathetick bewailing the calamities of his Country, the impending miseries that threatened *all* his fellow-citizens, as well those *within* the city, as those *without*,—the whole multitude broke into tears; and they all cried out to him, as with one voice, to lead them back, without delay, to *Rome*. The artful *Brutus*, however, put a stop to this sudden motion. He told the people, that in truth they ought to be very thankful for the favour shew'd them at present, in the abolition of the debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know, he was very anxious about the future, much fearing, that the Senate would one day revenge themselves for the just concessions they had been forced to make, unless means were found to secure the rights and liberties of the People against the enterprizes of so ambitious a body.

"What better security, said *Menenius*, can you ask, than what our laws and the constitution of the Republick already afford?" Grant us, answered *Brutus*, "the privilege of creating annually, out of the body of the *Plebeians*, some magistrates, who shall have no other power but that of succouring the *Plebeians*, when injustice or violence is done to them, and of defending their rights both publick and private. We desire, we earnestly intreat you not to refuse us this request; but generously to add this to the other favours which, of your own motion, you have already granted us. If you came hither with a sincere intention of peace, you cannot reject so equitable a proposal."

The people highly applauded this answer. On the other hand the Deputies, extremely surprized at the new demand, made by *Brutus*, retired a little apart from the assembly to confer together; but soon returned. *Menenius* then said, That though he and his colleagues had full powers to treat, they did not think it would become them to make use of those powers in the present instance: That the thing asked was very extraordinary, and what, he feared, might one day prove a source of much dissension: That, nevertheless, the deputies would not oppose the people's request, and did not doubt but the *Fathers* would comply with it: That he himself with one part of his colleagues would stay in the camp, while *Valerius*, with the other, would go and report the matter to the

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the *Senate*; whose answer they would doubtless bring in a very short time.

These Commissioners repaired with all expedition to *Rome*, and laid before the *Senate* the new pretensions of the *Seceders*. *Valerius* made himself their advocate. *Appius* heard him with indignation. He called the Gods to witness the innumerable mischiefs, which he pretended to foresee from such an innovation in the Government. But the angry Senator could not prevail; the majority being inclined to peace, a *Senatus Consultum* was passed to permit the creation of new Magistrates, who were to be called **TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE**.

This Decree (which included also the abolition of the debts) the Deputies carried to the camp as the seal of peace. The *Seceders* (in pursuance of advice given them by *Menenius*) sent *L. Junius Brutus* with *M. Decius* and *Spurius Icilius* to finish, in form, the accommodation with the Senate; which was accordingly done by the ministry of the *Feciales*. *Brutus* and his Collegues returned the next day to the camp: And then was held an assembly by *Curia*; where they chose, for the first *Tribunes of the People*, (according to *Dionysius*) *L. Junius Brutus*, and *C. Sicinnius Bellutus*, the Leaders in the Secession, with whom they joined *C. and P. Licinius*, and *Sp. Icilius Ranga* in the same dignity.

The election over, the Deputies imagined that all business was finished. But *Brutus* not yet content, having convened the people, advised them, to make a Law, (before they left the camp) declaring the persons of their **TRIBUNES sacred**. The motion was universally approved: He and his Collegues drew up the Law in writing, and the Assembly pass'd it. By this Law, whoever offered the least violence to a *Tribune*, was declared accursed; and his effects confiscated to the Goddess *Ceres*: He might with impunity be slain without any previous form of process. And all the *Romans* were to engage themselves by oath, and under the most dreadful imprecations, in their own name, and in that of their posterity, never to repeal this law. The people, after these regulations, erected an altar to *Jupiter the Terrible*, upon the top of the hill where their camp stood, and when they had offered sacrifices to the God, and consecrated the place of their retreat, they returned to *Rome* led by their **TRIBUNES** and the Deputies of the Senate.

* The Tribunes were elected the 10th of *December*, which continued ever after to be the day when these Magistrates entered on their office. *Livy* says, that *C. Licinius* and *Lucius Albius* were the first Tribunes, and

that they chose themselves three Collegues, among whom *Sicinnius Bellutus* was one, and the same Historian adds, that, according to some Authors, there were but two Tribunes created upon the *Mons Sacer*.

C H A P. VIII.

§. I. *The TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE obtain of the Senate, that two Officers be annually elected (out of the Plebeians) to be their Ministers and Assistants; who are afterwards called ÆDILES.* §. II. *The war is renewed against the Volsci. Caius Marcius Coriolanus signalizes his courage in this war.* §. III. *A famine at Rome revives the civil dissensions. The Senate send away great numbers of the people to plant two Colonies.* §. IV. *The Tribunes give out, that the dearth of provisions is owing to the malice of the Senate. The Consuls convene the People to undeceive them. The Tribunes dispute with the Consuls for the right of speaking in the assembly. The contrivance of Brutus to engage the People to make A LAW, Tribuno rogante. The Senate will not admit this Law to be valid. The Tribunes refuse the Senate levies regularly made to act against the Antiates. Coriolanus at the head of some Volunteers ravages the enemy's territory, sharing all the spoil among his soldiers.*

§. I. **R**OME, by the establishment of the Tribuneship, made a great advance towards a new change in the form of her Government. It had passed before, as we have already seen, from the Monarchick State, to a kind of Aristocracy; for upon the expulsion of *Tarquin*, the whole authority did really and in fact devolve upon the Senate and the Great: But, now, by the creation of the Tribunes, a Democracy began to take place; and the people by insensible degrees, and under different pretences, got possession of the much greater share in the Government.

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The Senate indeed had no reason at first to apprehend so fatal a mischief to their authority from the Tribunes. These officers, at their original institution, had neither the quality of Senators, nor a particular tribunal, nor any jurisdiction over their fellow-citizens; they could not properly be called Magistrates. Habited like mere private men, and attended by only one servant, called *Viator*, who was little different from a footman, they sat upon a bench without the Senate, and were never admitted into it but when the Consuls called them in to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interests of the *Plebeians*. Their sole functions were to defend the *Plebeians*; to interpose in all grievances and impositions offered them by their superiors. This *interposing* in matters decreed, or going to be decreed by the Senate, or the Magistrates, was called *Intercessio*, and was performed by pronouncing only one word, *VETO*, (*I forbid it.*) But this power was confined within the walls of *Rome*, or extended at most to a mile round it. And that the people might always have protectors at hand, the Tribunes were not allowed to be absent from the city any one whole day, except in the *Feria Latina*. For the same

Liv. B. 3.
c. 20.
D. Hal. B.
8. p. 554.
A. Gell.
L. 3. c. 2.
Macrob.
Sat. L. 14.
reason

c. 3.

Y^{et} of reason they were obliged to keep their doors open day and night to receive the complaints of such citizens as should stand in need of their protection.

These officers, immediately after their establishment, obtained permission of the Senate, that two persons should be their Substitutes and Assistants in the multitude of their affairs, might be annually chosen out of the *Plbeians*: And such was the origin of the *PLEBEIAN ÆDILES*. They were at first called *Minor* and *Assistants* of the Tribunes; and, in the beginning, were indeed doing more than the Tribunes Agents; but they had, in after-times, the inspection of the publick edifices, the care of the temples, baths, aqueducts, and the cognizance of a great many affairs of the like nature, which before belonged to the Consuls: and then they were stiled * *Ædiles*.

§. II. ALL opposition to the making of regular levies being now at an end, the Consul *Cominius* led an army against the *Volsci*. He defeated them in battle, and took from them *Longano* and *Polucia*; after which he besieged *Corio*, a city strongly fortified, and which might be called their Capital. He carried this place, and gained a victory over the *Antiates* the same day: but *CAIUS MARCIUS*, an eminent *Patrician*, had all the glory of both actions. The troops detached by the Consul to scale the walls of *Corio* being repulsed in their first assault, *Marcus* rallied the runaways, led them on afresh to the charge, drove back the enemy within their walls, and, entering the city with them, made himself master of it. This exploit achieved, he with all expedition put himself in the foremost ranks of the Consul's main army, that was just going to engage with the *Antiates*, who were come to the relief of the place; and there he behaved himself with equal bravery, and had equal success.

The next day the Consul, having erected his Tribunal before his tent, called the soldiers together. His whole speech to them was little more than a panegyrick upon *Marcus*. He put a crown upon his head, assigned him a tenth part of all the spoil, and, in the name of the Republick, made him a present of a fine horse with stately furniture, giving him leave at the same time to chuse out any ten of the prisoners for himself; and lastly, he allotted him as much money as he could carry away. Of all these offers *Marcus* accepted only the horse and one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, that he might give him his liberty. So generous and disinterested a conduct left no room for jealousy or envy: and, to add to the glory of the brave warrior, the Consul bestowed on him the surname of *CORIOLANUS*, transferring thereby from himself to *Marcus* all the honour of the conquest of *Corio*.

Cominius, at his return to *Rome*, disbanded his army; and war was succeeded by works of religion, publick games, and treaties of peace. The *Latines* having of late deserved well of the Republick, a new treaty of peace and alliance was made with them and confirmed by oaths: And in memory of the happy reconciliation between the Senate and People, a third day was at this time added to the *Ferie Latine*.

During

During this festival *Menenius Agrippa* died, and in great poverty like *Poplicola*. His relations thought to bury him privately and without ceremony; but the people being informed of it, they agreed to pay a *Sex-tans* (or two ounces of brass) *per* head, in order to have magnificent obsequies for him. Upon this the Senate entered into an emulation with the Commons, and would by no means suffer an illustrious *Patrician* to be buried at the expence of the *Plebeians*. They allotted a sum out of the publick treasury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the *Quæstors*. Nevertheless the People refused to receive back their money, and ordered it to be given to *Menenius's* children, to comfort them in their indigence, and excite them to the pursuit of virtue.

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D. Hal. p.
416.

A *Census* and a *Lustrum* closed the events of this memorable Consulship; there appeared to be in *Rome* at this time no more than 110000 men fit to bear arms, a number by many thousands * less than at the last enrollment.

§. III. UNDER the following administration of *T. Geganius* and *P. Minucius*, *Rome* was terribly afflicted by a famine, occasioned chiefly by the neglect of ploughing and sowing during the late troubles: For the *Secession* had happened after the autumnal equinox, about sowing-time; and the accommodation was not made till just before the winter solstice. The Senate dispatched Agents into *Hetruria*, *Campania*, the country of the *Volsci*, and even into *Sicily*, to buy corn. Those who embarked for *Sicily* met with a tempest which retarded their arrival at *Syracuse*; where they were constrained to pass the winter. At *Cumæ*, the Tyrant *Aristodemus* seized the money brought by the Commissaries; and they themselves with difficulty saved their lives by flight. The *Volsci*, far from being disposed to succour the *Romans*, would have marched against them, if a sudden and most destructive pestilence had not defeated their purpose. In *Hetruria* alone the *Roman* Commissaries met with success. They sent a considerable quantity of grain from thence to *Rome* in barks: But this was in a short time consumed; and the misery became excessive: The people were reduced to eat any thing they could get; and nature in so great extremity loathed nothing.

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dred nine-
ty-one.
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Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
7. P. 417.
Livy. B. 2.
... 12.
D. Hal. p.
418, & 427.

During this distress a Deputation came from *Velitræ* a *Volscian* City, where the *Romans* had formerly planted a colony, representing, that nine parts in ten of its inhabitants had been swept away by a plague, and praying the *Romans* to send a new colony to repeople it. The *Conscript Fathers*, without much hesitation, granted the request: For they considered that *Velitræ* might be an excellent barrier against those of the *Volsci* who should be disposed to invade the *Roman* territory; and that by discharging *Rome* of a great number of the Citizens, the famine would be lessened. But what more than any thing else determined them to this measure, were the murmurings of the people against the *Patricians*, for not having foreseen and prevented, by timely precautions, the present calamity. Some went so far as to accuse the Nobles of designedly bringing the famine

Plut. in
Coriol. p.
219.
D. Hal. p.
428.

* Doubtless great numbers had run away to avoid being slaves to their creditors.

Year of ROME CCLXI. B.C. 443. upon the *Plebeians*, by way of revenge for the *Secession*. The Senate therefore pressed the departure of the colony, and without delay named three Leaders to conduct it.

Four hundred ninety-one. The people at first were very well pleased with the proposal, as it gave them a prospect of relief in their hunger: but when they reflected on the terrible havoc the plague had made among the old inhabitants of *Velitrae*, they began to fear that the place might be still infected; and this apprehension became so universal, that not one of them would consent to go thither. Nevertheless the Senate at length publishing a decree that all the citizens should draw lots, and that those to whose lot it fell to be of the colony should instantly march for *Velitrae*, or suffer the severest punishments for their disobedience, fear and hunger made the people comply; and the *Fathers*, a few days after, sent away a second colony to *Norba*, a considerable city of *Latium*. But the *Patricians* were disappointed as to the benefit they expected from these measures. The *Plebeians* who remained in *Rome*, being more and more pressed by hunger and want, grew daily more angry with the Senate. At first they assembled in small companies to vent their wrath in abusive complaints; and at length, in one great body, rushed all together into the *Forum*, calling out upon their *TRIBUNES* for succour.

p. 229. §. IV. THE *Tribunes* made it their business to heighten the general discontent. Having convened the people, *SPURIUS ICILIUS*, chief of the College, inveighed most bitterly against the Senate, and when he had ended his harangue, exhorted others to speak freely their thoughts; particularly, and by name, calling upon *Brutus* and *Sicinnius*, now *Ædiles*. These men, far from attempting to extinguish the fire, added fresh fuel to it. In set speeches, which they had purposely prepared, they insinuated, that the dearth of provisions was wholly owing to the resentment and revenge of the rich *Patricians*, touched to the quick at the liberty the people had recovered by their *Secession*: That having corn hid in their granaries, and money to buy what provisions were brought from foreign countries, (while the *Plebeians* had had neither the one nor the other) they little troubled themselves about the famine: And that the sending away such a numerous colony of *Roman* citizens into an infected air, could be with no very good design*. And the more to inflame the spirits of the multitude, they enumerated all the past insults which the people had suffered from the Nobles. *Brutus* concluded his harangue with loudly threatening, that, if the *Plebeians* would follow his advice, he

* The *Plebeians* and their Leaders were doubtless, in some respects, very unjust towards the Senate, on this occasion: Yet the latter seem blameable for not having taken more early measures to prevent the scarcity of provisions, which the want of a year's crop must naturally occasion. And by the speeches which *Dionysius* and *Livy*

(as we shall see hereafter) put into the mouth of *Cornelius*, and which are represented as heard with applause by a great part of the Senate, it appears, that there were many in that body, who meant to take advantage of the people's hunger to get the *Tribuneship* abolished.

would soon oblige those men, who had caused the present calamity, to find a remedy for it: After which the assembly was dismissed.

The next day, the Consuls, greatly alarmed at this commotion, and apprehending, from the menaces of *Brutus*, some very mischievous event, thought it adviseable to convene the Senators, that they might consider of the best means to avert the impending evil. The *Fathers* could not agree in opinion. Some were for employing soft words and fair promises to quiet and gain over the most turbulent. But *Appius's* advice prevailed, which was, That the Consuls should call the people together, assure them that the *Patricians* had not brought upon them the miseries they suffered, and promise, on the part of the Senate, all possible care to provide for their necessities; but, at the same time, should reprove the disturbers of the publick peace, and threaten them with the severest punishments, if they did not amend their behaviour.

When the Consuls, towards the close of the day, having assembled the people, would have signified to them the disposition and intention of the Senate, they were interrupted by the Tribunes. A dispute ensued, in which no order or decency was observed on either side. Several speaking at the same time, and with great vociferation, no one could be well understood by the audience. The Consuls judged, that being the superior Magistrates, their authority extended to all assemblies of the Citizens. On the other side, it was pretended, that the *assemblies of the people* were the province of the Tribunes, as the *Senate* was that of the Consuls. The dispute grew warm, and the hottest, in each party, were just ready to come to blows, when *Brutus* advancing into the midst of the assembly, and addressing himself to the Consuls promised them that he would quiet the tumult, if they would give him leave to speak. The Consuls hearing a *Plebeian* orator ask of *them* permission to speak, instead of asking it of his Tribunes; and imagining from hence, that he yielded the point in dispute, readily consented to his request. Silence being made, *Brutus*, without any preamble, fell at once to interrogating the Consuls: "Don't you remember (said he) that in our treaty of accommodation, this right was granted by you to us, That when the Tribunes should convene the people, on any affair whatever, the *Patricians* should neither be present in the assembly, nor disturb it?—I remember it very well, answered *Geganius*.—Wherefore then (added *Brutus*) do you disturb us now, and hinder our Tribunes from saying what they think fit?—Because (replied *Geganius*) the people are not now assembled by the Tribunes orders, but by ours. If the Tribunes had convoked this assembly, they would have met with no molestation from us, nor would even our curiosity have brought us hither to hear what pass. Nor, though we convened the present assembly, do we object to their speaking: But we think it highly unjust that they should hinder us from exercising that Prerogative."

Brutus hereupon cried out, "Plebeians, the victory is ours, our adversaries have yielded all we desired. Cease disputing to day; to-morrow I will shew you what is the extent of your power. And, you Tribunes,

" give place to the Consuls for the present ; you will not do it for ever,
 " when you shall know the prerogatives of your dignity : And these you
 " shall soon learn. I promise you to make the thing clear to demon-
 " stration, and to humble, in some measure, the haughtiness of these
 " *Patricians*. If I deceive you, inflict upon me what punishment you
 " please."

No body offering to answer *Brutus*, the assembly broke up ; and the
 two parties retired with very different thoughts. The indigent *Plebeians*
 went home, persuaded that *Brutus* had hit upon some excellent scheme,
 and would not be so bold in promising, if he had not the means of per-
 forming. On the other hand, the *Patricians* despised him as an idle boaster,
 and considered his promises as mere empty air ; knowing very well, that
 the only power, granted by the Senate to the Tribunes, was that of suc-
 couring the *Plebeians* in case of oppression. Not all the nobles, how-
 ever, made so light of the matter. The oldest Senators, especially, ap-
 prehended some great and incurable mischief from the fury of that enter-
 prizing *Plebeian*.

Brutus spent the following night with the Tribunes, imparting to them
 his project, and consulting with them on the best measures for its execu-
 tion. Escorted by a considerable body of *Plebeians*, they, by break of
 day, repaired to the *Forum*, took possession of the temple of *Vulcan*,
 (where it was usual for those to place themselves who intended to ha-
 rangue,) and presently gave orders to call the people together. The
Forum was quickly crowded ; never was a greater confluence of the citi-
 zens. Then the Tribune *Itilius*, stepping forward, entered into a long
 invective against the *Patricians*, summing up all the hardships and op-
 pressions which the people had formerly suffered from them. He add-
 ed,—“ And no longer ago than yesterday, they even hindered me
 “ from *speaking*, thereby depriving me of all power belonging to my
 “ office. For what power can we hereafter have to *do* any thing, if the
 “ liberty of *speaking* be not allowed us ? How shall we be able to give
 “ you any assistance when oppressed by them, if we be *deprived* of the
 “ power of calling you together, [and conferring with you ?] For all
 “ business is begun by *words* ; and certain it is, that they who have not
 “ the privilege to speak what they think, will never be able to execute
 “ what they desire. Take back therefore the Authority you have given
 “ us, if you will not so *confirm* it to us, that we may have the *free and*
 “ *undisturbed exercise* of it ; or, if you are willing to confirm it, *make a*
 “ Law, prohibiting all persons from giving us hereafter any molesta-
 “ tion.”

This discourse being received with great applause, and the people
 crying out to him to propose the Law, he immediately read it aloud to
 them, (for he had prepared it the night before) and then, without de-
 lay, proceeded to take their suffrages ; the affair requiring the utmost
 dispatch, lest the Consuls should come and oppose it. The law was in
 terms to this effect : “ When a Tribune is speaking to an *assembly* of
 “ *the*

“ the people, let no one contradict or interrupt him. If any one violate
 “ this Law, let him give security to the Tribunes, to pay the fine to
 “ which, after trial, they shall condemn him. If he refuse, he shall be
 “ put to death, and his goods confiscated. If there happen any dispute
 “ concerning the fine, the people shall decide it*.”

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 dred nine-
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* Mr. Vertot and Mr. Rollin seem to have wholly misunderstood this passage of *Dionysius's* History. To conform their Narrations to their own Ideas of his meaning, they have altered the words, which he puts into the mouth of *Brutus*, interrogating the Consuls. They make *Brutus's* Question relate only to the Negotiations on foot at the time of the *Secession*, “ Whether it was not granted to
 “ the People, that during those negotiations,
 “ the managers for the People should have
 “ liberty to confer with them, without be-
 “ ing molested by the *Patricians*?” And the latter part of *Geganus's* answer, where he says, ‘That if the Tribunes had convened the Assembly then present, he would not have interrupted it, nor have come to hear what passed, they impute to the Consul’s hastiness, and his not foreseeing the Consequences; (of which inconsiderateness *Dionysius* says nothing.) And they suppose that, by the new law, of which *Brutus* was the projector, the Tribunes acquired the power of convening the people, and presiding in the assemblies by them convened, and that this was the great point now gained. * *La nouvelle loi dont il s’agit donne beaucoup plus d’étendue à la fonction des Tribuns que la voie de simple opposition.— Cette loi leur donne expressément le pouvoir de convoquer les assemblées du peuple et d’y présider.*

Mons. Rollin, that the law may the better square with his notion, makes it run thus, *In the assemblies of the people, HELD BY THE TRIBUNES, let no one contradict them, &c.* Now the words *held by the Tribunes*, are not in the law; and we may observe, that the pretence for making the law was the Tribunes having been hindered the day before from speaking in an assembly, HELD BY THE CONSULS. And there is not, in the law, one word of *convening* or *presiding*. And it appears, I think, very plainly, from the concession, made by the Consul *Geganus* to *Brutus*, in their dispute, that the Tribunes, by the treaty of reunion on the *Mons Sacer*, were to have the privilege of *convening* the people as often as they pleased, and confer-

ring with them, without being exposed to any molestation from the *Patricians*. And the Tribune *Isilius* speaks of this as a right belonging to them, and of which the *Patricians* intended to *deprive* them: And what he urges upon the people is, To secure to the Tribunes, by a new law, the *undisturbed exercise* of their undoubted right of speaking to the people assembled. It is probable, that when this right was first granted, there was no penalty laid on those who contradicted or interrupted the Tribunes when speaking to the people; and in this respect therefore the present Law had something new; and it seems likewise to extend the privilege of the Tribunes to ALL assemblies of the people by whomsoever called. But I should think, that the principal point gained by *Brutus*, on this occasion, was not any thing contained in the new law, but was rather his engaging THE PEOPLE to assume the power of making laws. TRIBUNO ROGANTE (at the motion of a Tribune.) The people were not accustomed to pass any thing into a law but what was proposed to them by the Senate, or the *Patrician* Magistrates. *Brutus* had promised, not only to shew the TRIBUNES the prerogatives of their office, but likewise to shew the PEOPLE the extent of their power; and this meaning could not be that he would shew them they had a title to powers which no-body disputed. In pursuance of this promise, he persuaded them (as appears by the event) that they had a right to enact laws, without any previous recommendation or approbation of them by the Senate or Consuls, and at the sole request of the Tribunes. The Tribunes had hitherto held only *Cencia*, councils, for conferring with the *Plebeians*, but they now turned these *Cencia* into *Comitia*, for making Laws. This was a matter of great importance, extremely diminishing the authority of the Senate, and augmenting that of the people and their *Plebeian* Magistrates.

It would seem that *Brutus* and the Tribunes raised that quarrel, which they had, the day before, with the Consuls, on purpose

to.

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As soon as the Tribunes had got the law passed, they dismissed the assembly.

This transaction was followed by many disputes and altercations between the Consuls and the Tribunes, on various matters. The Senate would not approve the *Placita* of the Commons, nor would the Commons confirm the Decrees of the Senate. Each party kept itself upon its guard against the other. But these mutual jealousies and oppositions produced none of those mischievous effects, which are the usual consequences of civil dissension. The indigent *Plebeians* (pacified probably by the late enlargement of their own authority and that of their Tribunes) did not break open the houses of the rich *Patricians* to search for hidden provisions; nor did they seize by violence what was brought from abroad to the markets; but contentedly purchased very small matters at high prices; and, when their money failed, feeding on roots and herbs, gathered in the fields, bore the famine with patience. Nor did the rich *Patricians*, on the other hand, take advantage of the superior strength they had, by means of their numerous clients and domesticks, to fall upon the poor, enfeebled by hunger, slaying one part of them, and driving the other out of the city; but endured their offences (says *Dionysius*) with that gentleness and benevolence of mind, which prudent and indulgent fathers exercise towards their children.

During this distress of the *Roman* People, several of the neighbouring states invited them to come, as many as pleased, and settle in their territories, where they should be admitted to all the privileges of the natives. These invitations were made by some from good-will and commiseration; by others from jealousy of the former prosperity of the Republick. Many *Roman* Citizens accepted the offer, and

to bring about this design. They rudely interrupted the Consuls when speaking, that they themselves might be interrupted, and so have a pretext for complaining of ill treatment; and might by that complaint engage the people to make a law in favour of their Tribunes, at the motion of their Tribunes. And *Brutus* in this proceeding seems to have had a particular view to the affair of supplying the city with provisions; which was the great business then in hand, what the people were most intent upon, and in which the confident promises of *Brutus* had made the poor citizens hope some *instable* assistance from him. One of *Brutus's* views, I say, in engaging the people to act independently of the Senate, was, that in case the Senate did not take such measures with regard to provisions, as the necessities of the people required, and the Tribunes approved, the people and their Tribunes might, by their own authority, regulate that matter according to their own desire. And we shall

presently find them threatening the Senate to exercise this authority.

It may be proper to observe, that though the new law, above-mentioned, is here considered as the first *PLEBISCITUM*, or law made by the people, *Tribuno rogante*, yet we have seen, that *Brutus*, as soon as he was created Tribune, acted the *Legislator* in form, when, on the *Mons Sacre*, that law was made, which declared the persons of the Tribunes *Sacrosanct*. He is represented as convening the people, and proposing the law to the assembly. But perhaps, as, at this time, all transactions were irregular, this was not looked upon as a *precedent* which could authorize an imitation of it, when things were settled; and this might be the motive to *Brutus* and the Tribunes to take such precautions for preventing opposition from the Consuls in the affair of the new law; in the very making of which the prerogative of *law-making*, independently of the Senate, was assumed by the people and their Tribunes.

removed from *Rome* with their families; and of these one part never returned, but the rest came back when the Republick had recovered its tranquillity.

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The Consuls observing these Migrations, resolved, with the approbation of the Senate, to raise an army, and lead it into the field. Some incursions, which the *Volsi* had made on the *Roman* territories, furnished a fair pretext for this measure. And it was hoped, that the unanimity, which generally reigns among fellow-soldiers in the same camp, would take place of that animosity between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, which was not yet extinguished; and, at least, one advantage was sure to follow from the expedition, that the troops, destined for the campaign, would find bread in the enemy's country, and thereby lessen the distress in their own.

Nevertheless, the people, insensible to all these reasons, and dissuaded by their Tribunes, would not give their names to be inrolled; and the Consuls thought it not adviseable to put the Laws in force, to constrain them. An army of volunteers was formed of *Patricians* only with their clients, strengthened by some few of the *Plebeians*, who joined them just before their marching from *Rome*. These were allured to the service by the perfect confidence they had of success; a confidence founded on the experienced bravery and abilities of *Caius Marcius Coriolanus*, whom they were to have for their commander. The army advanced to the very gates of *Antium*, ravaged all the country about it, and brought from thence slaves, cattle, and corn, in great abundance. *Coriolanus* reserved no part of the booty for himself, but shared it all among the soldiers, who returned to *Rome* loaded with provisions. And then those of the people who had refused to serve, murmured at their Tribunes for having diverted them from following so successful a Leader.

D. Hal. p.

433.

Plut. in

Coriol. p.

219.

C H A P. IX.

§. I. Plenty of corn being brought to *Rome* from *Sicily*, fresh disputes arise in the Senate about the distribution of it. *Coriolanus* is for taking advantage of the people's distress to get the Tribuneship abolished. The younger Senators applaud the motion. §. II. The Tribunes who had been present at this debate go away in a fury, and stir up the people to revenge. They cite *Coriolanus* to appear before them. He refuses. They endeavour to seize him as he comes out of the Senate-house, but are repulsed by those who attend him. The Consuls appease the tumult. §. III. Early the next morning the Tribunes hold an Assembly of the People on this affair. *Minucius* the Consul, by gentle words, disposes the multitude to peace; but *Coriolanus* spoils all by a fresh declaration of the same sentiments which had before offended them. The Tribunes condemn him to death. The *Patricians* oppose the execution of this rash sentence, and the people seem

not

not to approve it. The Tribunes therefore resolve to prosecute Coriolanus in a legal way, and to convene the people by Tribes for his trial. The Assembly is adjourned.

§. I. **I**N the following Consulship of *M. Minucius* and *A. Sempronius*, plenty succeeding to the famine gave birth to new commotions at Rome.

These Magistrates took effectual care to store the publick magazines with provisions, both from the maritime towns of *Italy*, and from the inland countries. About the same time the commissioners, whom the Senate had employed to go into *Sicily*, returned with a great number of ships laden with corn. *Cato*, Tyrant of *Syracuse*, had made a present of one half of it, and the commissioners had bought the other very cheap with the publick money: The question now arose in the Senate, what price to set upon it; and the Tribunes were called into the Assembly, to give their opinion. Those of the Senators who had no views, but to restore a perfect intelligence between the People and the Senate, were for distributing gratis, among the poor, that corn which they owed to the liberality of the publick treasure. But when it came to *Coriolanus's* turn to speak, this Senator, to whom the institution of the Tribuneship was odious, maintained, that such a condescension in the Senate to the People would only encourage them in their insolence; that there was no keeping them to their duty any longer than they were in indigence, and that the time was now come to avenge the majesty of the Senate, violated by a seditious rabble, whose Leaders, by an additional crime, had extorted dignities for themselves, as a reward for their rebellion. It was thus that he declared himself in the very presence of the Tribunes.

But before we proceed to the consequences of this affair, it will be proper to give some further knowledge of a man, who is to act so great a part in this period of our History.

Plut. Life of Coriol. *Caius Marcius Coriolanus* was descended from one of the most illustrious *Patrician* families in *Rome*: He received the surname of *Coriolanus*, as was before observed, for having taken, sword in hand, *Corioli*, one of the chief towns of the *Volsci*. Having, in his infancy, lost his father, he was educated by his mother, *Velutia*; for whom (as *Plutarch* tells us) he conceived so high a respect, and so tender a regard, that though no man was ever more ardent in the pursuit of glory, yet glory itself, the ultimate end of other men in their noblest actions, was by him coveted chiefly as a means to create delight and satisfaction to his mother. Happily disposed by nature, and virtuously educated, he kept himself master of those passions by which young men are usually enslaved; and to great an abhorrence he had of vice, that to be innocent, or to avoid injustice from the necessity which the laws imposed, or from fear of punishment, he reckoned not as virtue. He was frugal, disinterested, a contemner of riches, patient of hardships and fatigue; and never were these excel-

lent qualities accompanied with a more exalted courage, or a greater capacity for the art of war; he seemed to have been born a General; but he was harsh and imperious in command; as severe to other men as to himself; a generous friend, an implacable enemy; too haughty for a Republick. Though ambitious of the highest dignities, he neglected those arts of management and insinuation so necessary to obtain them in a State founded upon equality and freedom. He had stood for the Consulship at the last elections, and most of the Senators, with a crowd of other *Patricians*, had appeared for him. But this very recommendation of him by the Great proved the hindrance to his promotion. For the Tribunes, who dreaded the extraordinary courage and firmness of *Coriolanus*, represented the earnest solicitations of so many Nobles as a kind of conspiracy against the *Plebeians*, and thereby engaged the latter, tho' they had come to the assembly well disposed in his favour, to refuse him their voices. Of this refusal he conceived the sharpest resentment, as he evidently shewed, on the present occasion. He said in full Senate, "If the people expect to have provisions at a low price, let them restore to the Senate its ancient rights. Why must I behold *Plebeian* Magistrates in *Rome*? I, who could not endure *Tarquin* upon the throne, shall I suffer a *Sicinnius* to reign? Let him *secede* once more with his *Plebeians*. The way is open to the *Mons Sacer*, and to the other hills. Let them pillage our fields as they did three years ago, and live upon the crops they find there, the rich harvests their madness has occasioned. When tamed by hunger, they will be more disposed (if I mistake not) to cultivate the lands, than, by a new secession in arms, to hinder them from being cultivated."

The popular and pacifick men of the Senate extremely disliked this passionate and haughty speech; and declared, that it was more like the ravings of a madman, than the counsel of a wise politician. On the other hand, almost all the young Senators, with the rich and the ambitious of the elder, gave it the highest commendations. The majority of the assembly were for abolishing the Tribuneship, and re-establishing the Government upon its ancient foundations.

§. II. THE Tribunes, who (as was said before) had been called into the Senate, broke out into the extremest passion of rage, when they saw how things went. To loud complaints and reproaches, they added the sharpest invectives against *Corollanus*, whom they stiled an incendiary, and the pest of the Republick; and they threatened, that if the Senate did not condemn him to death or banishment, they would do it themselves. *Corollanus*, on the other hand, threatened them, that if they did not cease their insolence, he would find means, more effectual than words, to repress it. Most of the Senate taking part with *Coriolanus*, the Tribunes went out in the greatest fury, invoking the Gods, the revengers of perjury, to witness the solemn oaths by which the Senate had authorized the establishment of the Tribuneship. They assembled the

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people tumultuously, and cried aloud to them, that the *Patricians* had made a league to destroy them, their wives and children, unless they delivered their Tribunes chained into the hands of *Coriolanus*, a new Tyrant rising up in the Republick; and they sent him a summons to come and answer for his behaviour before the Assembly of the People.

Coriolanus, naturally haughty and resolute, having contemptuously sent back their Officer, the Tribunes immediately went with a strong party of the most daring of the *Plebeians*, and waited for him at the door of the Senate, in order to seize him when he should come out. They met him, attended as usual with a crowd of his clients, and a great number of young Senators, who had a respect for his person, and who thought it an honour to follow his opinion in the Senate, and his example in war. The Tribunes no sooner saw him, but they ordered *Brutus* and *Iulius*, who this year performed the office of *Ædiles*, to lay hold of him and lead him to prison. But it was not easy to execute such a commission. The *Patricians*, who thought it a most extravagant enterprize of the Tribunes, to offer violence to a Senator, against whom no process was commenced, resolutely put themselves before him to defend him. They beat back the *Ædiles* with their fists: No other arms were used in those days, in the city, the inhabitants never putting on the sword, but when they marched out against the enemy. The Tribunes, enraged at this resistance, called the people to their aid; the *Patricians* received fresh succours from their own party, and the tumult increased. But the Consuls at length arrived, and, more by intreaties than authority, prevailed upon both parties to retire.

§. III. BUT the Tribunes did not stop here; they convened the people early the next morning, inveighed, as usual, against the whole order of the *Patricians*; and then in particular against *Coriolanus*, enumerating his crimes; the words he had spoken in the Senate relating to the corn; his refusal, when summoned, to appear before the people; and his driving away with blows the *Ædiles*, who were sent to arrest him. In conclusion they added, That if the *Patricians* would speak in their own defence, they were at full liberty to do it; and they kept the people together, waiting till the Senate should break up. For the *Fathers* were at the same time deliberating, whether they should justify themselves to the people, or silently let things take their course. The former was at length resolved; and the Consuls, having dismissed the assembly, repaired to the Comitium, to clear the *Patricians* from the charge against them, and to beg the people not to proceed to any harsh resolution against *Coriolanus*.

D. Hal. P.
439, & 440.

Minucius the first Consul spoke to the following effect. He first complained in general, and with abundance of moderation, of those who caught at the least pretence to raise new disturbances in the Republick; and then remonstrated to the people, how very unreasonable it was to accuse the

the Senate and *Patricians* of having caused the dearth, when every body knew it to have been wholly occasioned by the desertion of the people, and their neglecting to cultivate and sow their lands. He told them, that the other calumnies they so often heard, of the Senate's designing to abolish the Tribuneship, and to make the whole *Roman People* perish by famine, were no less extravagant and monstrous. That to put a stop at once to reports so false and injurious, he declared to them, that the Senate did again confirm the power of the Tribunes; and that as to the corn, they left it entirely to the People to fix what price upon it they themselves thought fit.

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The Consul, after a preamble so well adapted to soften the minds, and gain the good-will of the People, added, by way of a mild reproach, that he could not help blaming them for the precipitation with which they suffered themselves to be carried away by the first reports spread abroad by some particular incendiaries. That it was a strange thing to hear the Senate accused as criminal in relation to a matter wherein it had neither done, nor determined any thing, and only because in the debates about it, the members had delivered different opinions. “Remember, *said he*, that
“at the time of your secession on the *Mons Sacer*, all your intreaties,
“and even your utmost wishes at first were only to obtain the abolition
“of the debts. Scarce had you received so great a favour, but you made
“yourselves a kind of new right, founded on the easiness of the Senate,
“to demand the creation of two *Plebeian* Magistrates, whose whole au-
“thority, according to your own proposal, was to be confined to the
“hindering a *Patrician* from oppressing a *Plebeian*: a new grant, for
“which you returned us the greatest thanks, and which seemed to give
“you full content. In those times of trouble, even when the sedition
“was at the highest, you never thought of requiring a diminution of
“the Senate's authority, or an alteration in the form of our Govern-
“ment. By what right then do your Tribunes now pretend to carry
“their inspection, and give their censure upon what passes in our delibe-
“rations? When till now was a Senator ever treated as a criminal, for
“having spoke his mind freely in the Senate? What laws give you au-
“thority to demand his banishment or his death? Let us suppose, since
“you will have it so, that *Coriolanus* has let slip some words too harsh in
“delivering his opinion, and that he is accountable to you for this; are
“you not obliged in equity to forget a few random words that were
“lost in air, for the sake of his real services, of which you yourselves
“have reaped all the fruit? Preserve the life of so excellent a Citizen,
“preserve to your Country so great a Captain; and if you will not ac-
“quit him as innocent, at least grant him as criminal to the whole Senate,
“who intreat this favour of you by my mouth. This will be a bond to
“unite us more closely than ever, and will be a new motive to the Senate
“to continue their goodness towards you: whereas if you persist in your
“resolution of destroying this Senator, perhaps the opposition you

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" may meet with from the *Patricians* may produce calamities that will
 " make you repent of having pushed your resentment too far."
 This discourse made an impression upon the multitude, and brought them to an inclination for peace and union. *Sicinnius* was surprized and confounded at it, but, dissembling his uneasiness, gave great praises to *Minucius* and all the Senators, for having been pleased to condescend so far as to account to the People for their conduct, and for not having disdained to interpose their prayers and good offices in favour of *Coriolanus*. Then, turning to that Senator, *he added in an ironical tone*, " And you, excellent Citizen, will you not defend to-day before the People that advice so useful to the publick, and which you so boldly gave in the Senate? Or rather, why have you not recourse to the clemency of the *Roman* People? For I would not advise you to deny a fact, of which there are so many witnesses, nor impudently attempt to justify it. *Coriolanus*, I suppose, thinks it below him, in person to ask pardon of the people, though not below the Consuls and *Patricians* to ask pardon for him."

Part. in Consul. p. 221.

The artful Tribune spoke in this manner, because he was persuaded that *Coriolanus*, a man of too lofty a spirit to retract what he had said, or to stoop to supplications, would provoke the People afresh by the haughtiness of his answers. Nor was he deceived in his hopes; for *Coriolanus* was so far from owning himself guilty, or endeavouring to pacify the people, as *Minucius* had done, that he quite destroyed the effect of that Consul's speech, by an ill-timed resoluteness, and by the harshness of his expressions. He inveighed more violently than ever against the Tribunes, and declared boldly that the People had no right to judge a Senator: that, if any man was offended at what he had said in the Senate, he might summon him before the Consuls, whom he acknowledged for his legal judges, and before whom he should be always ready to give an account of his conduct. That if he now appeared before an *Assembly of Plebeians*, on their citation, it was not to submit himself to their judgment, but to reproach them for their wicked behaviour at the time of the *Secession*, and ever since; and to exhort them to amend their manners.

D. Hal. p. 444.

The young Senators, charmed with his intrepidity, and overjoyed to have a man who durst speak openly what they all thought, cried out, that he had advanced nothing but what was conformable to the laws: but the People, who saw themselves despised, resolved to make him feel their power. Some were even for killing him instantly; and the Tribunes gave the reins to this fury. *Sicinnius*, without collecting the voices of the Assembly, pronounced sentence of death against him, declaring that it was the sentence of the whole College of Tribunes, as a punishment for his insult upon them the day before, in the persons of their *Ædiles*; and he ordered him to be thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock. The *Ædiles* immediately drew near to lay hold of him; but then all the *Patricians* in the Assembly running to his assistance, they placed him in the midst of them, resolutely determined to oppose force with force.

force. The tumult rose to a great height, and the two parties, from mutual reproaches, came even to blows. At length the Consuls throwing themselves into the crowd, and ordering their Lictors to disperse it, the tumult and scuffle presently ceased; so great a reverence, says *Dionysius*, had the multitude in those days for that royal authority which resided in the Consuls.

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While *Sicinnius*, much disconcerted at this event, and yet very unwilling to quit his enterprize, was considering what new step to take, *Brutus*, that able counsellor, ever fruitful in expedients, taking him aside, represented to him, That he must never think of destroying *Coriolanus* so long as he was guarded by the whole body of the Nobility; that even the People had begun to murmur at his pretending to be both Judge and Party at the same time; that the multitude, who turn in an instant from the most violent fury to sentiments of compassion, looked upon the sentence of death as too rigorous; that in the present disposition of mens minds he would not succeed by ways of violence; and that the most reasonable and unexceptionable method was, to cite *Coriolanus* to appear in judgment before the people; and he advised him by all means to have their suffrages taken by *Tribes*, where the great and the rich would be mingled with the poor, and every man's voice would be of equal value; whereas in an Assembly by *Centuries*, the rich *Patricians* might carry their point against a majority of the Citizens.

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D. Hal. p.
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Sicinnius seeing no better way to extricate himself out of his perplexity, resolved to follow his friend's advice. Addressing himself to the people, "You see, *Romans*, that no thanks are due to the *Patricians*, if much blood is not shed this day, and that they are ready to come to the greatest extremities to rescue the declared enemy of the *Roman* People out of the hands of justice. Let us set them an example of more moderation. Some, to screen the delinquent, have cited the law which forbids the putting any man to death, before a formal trial and condemnation. Let us admit this plea, though they act not legally towards us. Return home now, and wait a more favourable opportunity to do yourselves right. You will not wait long. As for us, when we have regulated some affairs more pressing, we shall appoint a day for *Marcus* to appear before you. In the mean time, as to what regards the price and distribution of the corn, if the Senate do not take proper care of that matter, the Tribunes will give directions about it themselves." Having thus spoken, he dismissed the Assembly.

C H A P. X.

- §. I. *The Consuls endeavour by remonstrances to allay the heat of the Tribunes, and bring them to conform to the ancient usages, which did not allow the People to take cognizance of any affair till it was referred to them by a decree of the Senate. The Tribunes consent to observe this rule, and desire they may be heard by the Fathers in relation to their charge against Coriolanus.*

Coriolanus. §. II. *The Tribune Decius makes a long speech in the Senate, inveighing bitterly against the accused, and contending for the People's right to judge him.* §. III. *Appius Claudius in very strong terms opposes this pretension.* §. IV. *But Valerius in terms no less strong urges the expediency of the Senate's compliance. He exhorts Coriolanus in the most pathetick manner to submit himself to the People's judgment; and he adds a discourse in behalf of a balance of power between the Patricians and Plebeians.* §. V. *It is carried by a majority of votes that Coriolanus shall be tried by the People. Coriolanus having assurances given him, that the accusers charge shall be confined to the single crime of Tyranny, consents to the drawing up of the decree. A day for the trial is appointed.*

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§. I. **T**HE CONSULS having, soon after, assembled the Senate, to deliberate on means for appeasing the present troubles, it was resolved, that they should endeavour to soothe the *Plebeians*, by selling the corn to them at the lowest price it had ever been at before the secession; and likewise to engage the Tribunes, for the Senate's sake, either to drop the prosecution against *Coriolanus* entirely, or at least to defer it for a considerable time, during which, the passions of the people might happily subside. The decree about the corn, when published, was universally well received and ratified; But the Tribunes could not be prevailed upon, with regard to the trial, to grant any thing more than the delay requested. A farther delay was occasioned by some acts of hostility committed by the *Astivates* which called the *Romans* into the field. But those enemies readily submitting, the troops in a short time returned home: And as soon as they were disbanded, *Sicinnius* called an assembly of the people, and named to them a day for *Coriolanus's* trial. He invited all the inhabitants of the city to be present at it, and ordered those who dwelt in the country to quit their work, and punctually repair to the Assembly, that they might give their votes in an affair which concerned the liberty and safety of the whole State. And he likewise sent notice to *Coriolanus* to appear there and answer for his conduct; assuring him, that he should have justice done him in all its forms.

P. 447.

Great was the solicitude of the Senate, to put a stop, if possible, to this proceeding. The Consuls, not desparing to overcome the obstinacy of the Tribunes, entered into conference with them upon the affair of the accused. *Minucius* put them in mind, that it was contrary to established custom, to refer any affair to the People, before it had passed the judgment of the Senate: that the Kings themselves had always had this deference for that august body. He exhorted them to conform to the usage of their ancestors, and, if they had any considerable grievances to lay to the charge of *Coriolanus*, to apply themselves to the Senate, who, according to the nature of the crime, and the solidity of the proofs, would refer it by a *Senatus-consultum* to the judgment of the People; who then, and not till then, would have a right to try a Citizen.

Sicinnius clamoured against this proposal, declaring that he would never suffer the authority of the *Roman* People to be restrained and directed by a *Senatus-consultum*. His Collegues, however, were more tractable. By the advice of *Decius*, they consented that the Senate should first make a decree upon the affair; a complaisance, that with regard to the present case, was of little moment, because they had doubtless taken a firm resolution, if the *Senatus-consultum* were not such as they desired, to appeal from it to the Assembly of the People, and for so doing to make the *Lex Valeria* their foundation of right; so that in reality the only question was, whether the affair should be carried before the People in the first or second instance.

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When the Tribunes consented to let the *Conscript Fathers* decree (as usual) whether the commons should take cognizance of the matter depending, they demanded, in return, that not only they themselves, who by their office were Protectors of the People, might be heard in the Senate, but any citizen, who would support the reasons of the Tribunes, or oppose them; and they farther insisted, that the Senators should be all sworn, as judges used to be, to give their sentence according to truth and equity; and that a decree should be made conformable to the opinion of the plurality. To these conditions the Consuls agreed.

§. II. THE Tribunes were the next day introduced into the Senate.

Decius, though a young man, was their speaker, an honour yielded to him, doubtless, because of his eloquence, and the readiness with which he expressed himself in publick: "You are not ignorant, *Conscript Fa-*

"*thers*, of what might happen to us, if a certain Collegue of ours, who
"disapproves our coming hither to ask from you, as a favour, that pow-
"er, to which by the Laws we have a right, should bring us into judg-
"ment before the People for this proceeding: We should doubtless be
"condemned, as deserters and betrayers of our trust, to the most ig-
"nominous punishments. Nevertheless, confiding in the justice of our
"cause, and the sincerity of your oaths, we have ventured to come.
"And though we are inconsiderable men, little qualified to speak in a
"manner suitable to the importance of the subject, yet as the subject is
"so highly important, we doubt not but this will be sufficient to engage
"your attention to our words. And if that which we are going to demand,
"shall appear to you to be just and useful to the Republick, and even
"necessary to its welfare, we hope that you will readily, and without he-
"sitation, comply with our request.

D. Hal. p.
448, & seq.

"When you, *Conscript Fathers*, having, by our assistance, expelled
"Kings, and established the present form of government (of which we
"do not complain) came to remark, that the *Plebeians*, in all contro-
"versies which they afterwards had with *Patricians*, were constantly
"worsted, you, by the advice of *Valerius Poplicola*, made a Law, that
"any *Plebeian*, who suffered violence and injustice from the *Patricians*,
"might bring his cause before the People. And nothing contributed

"more,

Yet, more, than this Law, to the maintaining that union among the citi-
 zens, which enabled them to defeat the many attempts of *Tarquin* to
 reascend the Throne. It is in virtue of this Law that we, the Tri-
 bunes, now cite *Caius Marcius* before the Tribunal of the People, to
 answer for the violence and injuries we have all suffered from him.
 And what need can there be of a previous *Senatus-consultum* for this
 prosecution? In matters concerning which there are no Laws enacted,
 you have a power to make Decrees, which the People, if they please,
 may confirm by their suffrages. But in cases provided for by an in-
 violable Law, actually subsisting, we may certainly make use of this
 Law, without waiting for a previous Decree of consent from you. Will
 any one say, that every private citizen has the privilege of appealing
 to the People from an unjust sentence, but that we, the Tribunes, have
 not the same privilege?

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With regard to natural rights, the unwritten Laws of Nature, we
 think it just, that the *Plebeians* should be upon an equal foot with you.
 The honours, dignities, magistracies of the State, we readily yield to
 those of your order, who are most eminent for merit and riches. But
 not to suffer injuries, and, if any person do them, to bring him to con-
 dign punishment, we judge these to be rights common to all the citi-
 zens. And, in this respect, we will not suffer the equality between the
 two orders to be destroyed. So much for the question of Right.

If it be asked, whether the granting what we now demand, will
 be for the interest of the Republick, there is surely no man, who
 considers, that discord is the greatest evil that can happen to a State,
 but must answer in the affirmative. I will suppose that it was against
 your inclination, and was neither for the honour, nor the parti-
 cular advantage of your order, to make us those concessions, which
 we obtained from you on the *Mons Sacer*. Yet as you have made
 them, and are bound by the most solemn oaths, never to violate the ar-
 ticles of our treaty, what consequences can you expect from your in-
 fraction of them, but a new revolt, and a civil war? And what hope
 can there be of preserving that domestick peace which was then effect-
 ed, if you refuse the People, *assembled by Tribes*, the power of judg-
 ing a private citizen, who not only has himself violated our conven-
 tion, by insulting the Tribunes in the persons of their officers, but
 has had the insolence to exhort you in full Senate, entirely to abolish
 the Tribuneship, the strongest bulwark of our liberty, and principal
 bond of our reunion? Nor is this the worst of his crimes. You re-
 member it well, *Conscript Fathers*, he audaciously told you, that the
 fortunate moment was come for revenging yourselves upon the peo-
 ple: He would have you keep up the high price of provisions,
 that you might thereby force one part of the poor *Plebeians* to fly
 their country, and reduce the other, miserably to perish by hunger.
 Cruel and unthinking man! did he not consider that this people, whom
 he meant to exterminate with so much inhumanity, and who are more

numerous

“ numerous and powerful than he could wish, being reduced to despair,
 “ would have broken into the houses of the rich, forced open those gra-
 “ naries and secret repositories which conceal so much wealth, and either
 “ have fallen under the power of the *Patricians*, or effectually rooted out
 “ that whole order? Could he imagine that an enraged populace would
 “ in such a case have hearkened to any law but what was dictated by
 “ necessity and resentment?

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“ For, that you may not be ignorant of the truth, we would not have
 “ perished by a famine brought upon us by our enemies; but, having
 “ first invoked the Gods, Revengers of injustice, filled *Rome* with blood
 “ and slaughter. Such had been the fatal consequence of the counsels
 “ of that perfidious Citizen, if some Senators, better friends to their
 “ country, had not hindered them from taking effect. To you, *Con-*
 “ *script Fathers*, we address our just complaints. To your aid, and to
 “ the wisdom of your decrees, we have recourse, to oblige this publick
 “ enemy to appear before the whole *Roman* People, and answer for his
 “ conduct. It is there, *Coriolanus*, that thou must defend thy counsels,
 “ if thou darest so to do, or excuse them as proceeding from want of
 “ thought: Take my advice; leave thy haughty and tyrannical max-
 “ ims; make thyself less; become like us: Nay, put on a habit of
 “ mourning, suit thyself to thy present fortune, implore the pity of thy
 “ fellow-citizens; perhaps thou mayest obtain their favour, and the for-
 “ giveness of thy faults.”

When *Decius* and his colleagues had said all they thought proper to say, the Consuls asked the opinion of the Assembly: They began with the Consulars and the oldest Senators; for in those days, says *Dionysius*, the young Senators were not so presumptuous as to think themselves capable of instructing their seniors. Modest and reserved, and not daring to speak, they only gave their opinion by some sign, or by walking over to that side which they thought to be most in the right. It was from this respectful way of declaring their minds, that they were called *Senatores Pedarii*, (from the Latin *pes*, a foot:) Thus it was a common saying, that a *Pedarian* opinion was like a head without a tongue.

D. Hal. B.
7. P. 453.

§. III. *APPIUS CLAUDIUS*, when called upon for his opinion, spoke to this effect: “ You know, *Conscrip* *Fathers*, that I have long opposed, and
 “ frequently alone, that too great easiness with which you grant the Peo-
 “ ple whatever they demand. Perhaps I made myself troublesome,
 “ when I so frankly laid before you the misfortunes which I presaged
 “ would follow from our re-union with the deserters from the Common-
 “ wealth. The event however has but too well justified my apprehen-
 “ sions. The People take advantage of your favours to ruin your au-
 “ thority; you cannot but see that there is a design to change the form
 “ of our Government. At first the only demand was *the abolition of*
 “ *the debts*; and this People, who are now so haughty, and who en-
 “ deavour to make themselves the sole Judges of the Senators, then

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“ thought they stood in need of a pardon, for the disrespectful manner
 “ in which they sued for that first concession.
 “ Your easiness gave occasion to new pretensions; the *Plebeians* would
 “ have their particular Magistrates. You know how earnestly I opposed
 “ this innovation; but you assented in this point also; you allowed the
 “ annual creation of Tribunes, that is to say, ringleaders of sedition.
 “ Not content with this, the People would have the persons of their
 “ Tribunes declared sacred and inviolable, made secure by the most so-
 “ lemn oaths; privileges never granted even to the Consuls: Yet you,
 “ *Censcript Fathers*, suffered this usurpation too, and swore upon the al-
 “ tars the destruction of yourselves and your posterity. What has been
 “ the fruit of all these favours? They have only served to encourage the
 “ People to further encroachments upon your authority. They *make*
 “ *laws without previously consulting you*, and even contrary to your will.
 “ They despise the Decrees of the Senate, accuse the Consuls of male-
 “ administration, and, if any extraordinary adversity happens, which
 “ human prudence could not foresee, they impute it, not to fortune, but
 “ to our malice. They pretend, that we form plots to deprive them of
 “ their liberty, or drive them out of their country: and under this pre-
 “ text they are ever conspiring against us, as if they knew no way of
 “ preserving themselves, but by our destruction. Too many of their
 “ actions, which are fresh in your minds, evidently discover this design;
 “ but especially their late attempt, without any the least form of justice,
 “ to take away the life of that great captain, and most worthy citizen,
 “ *Caius Marcius*, on pretence that he gave bad counsels in our Assembly.
 “ If the Consuls and most respectable Senators had not united to stop
 “ their fury, we had all in one day been deprived of our dignities, our
 “ power, and our liberty.
 “ The resolution and courage, which you shewed upon this last occa-
 “ sion, in some measure awakened these mad-men from their drunken
 “ fit. They seem now to be ashamed of a crime which they could not
 “ accomplish; they desist from violent methods, because they have found
 “ them unsuccessful; and they seemingly have recourse to justice, and the
 “ rules of law.
 “ But what is this justice, immortal Gods! which these men would
 “ introduce? they endeavour, by appearances of submission, to obtain
 “ from you a *Senatus-consultum*, which may give them power, not to *try*,
 “ but, in truth, to drag to execution the best Citizen of *Rome*. They
 “ alledge the *Lex Valeria* as the rule of your conduct: But does not
 “ every body know, that this law, which allows of appeals to the Assem-
 “ bly of the People, was not a law made *against* the *Patricians*, but only
 “ for the relief of such poor *Plebeians* as might happen to be oppressed
 “ by the Great? And when you afterwards consented to the creation
 “ of the Tribunes, neither you, nor even the People themselves, in-
 “ tended any thing more in the establishment of those new Magistrates,
 “ than

“ than that this law might have protectors, and the poor be provided
 “ with advocates. The treaty of re-union gave no power to the *People*
 “ to try *Patricians* at their Tribunal. No, the *Valerian Law* is what
 “ they insist upon. Well then, during eighteen years that it has been
 “ in force, let *Decius* give me one single instance of a *Patrician* called
 “ in judgment before the *People* by virtue of that law, and our dispute
 “ will be at an end. There is no such precedent. If *Marcus* or any
 “ other *Patrician* has so offended the people, as to be thought worthy
 “ of death or banishment, let him be try’d; not in an *Assembly of Ple-*
 “ *beians*, but *here*, in *this Assembly*; and let him be punished as the laws
 “ direct. For can it be supposed that the *Plebeians* will be impartial
 “ in their own cause, and, when they come to give their votes, be un-
 “ der no influence from prejudice against a *Patrician* whom they con-
 “ sider as their enemy? It is my advice, *Conscript Fathers*, that, before
 “ you come to any determination, you maturely consider, that in this
 “ affair your interests are inseparable from those of *Coriolanus*: As for
 “ the favours you have already granted the *People*, I am not for revok-
 “ ing them, by whatever means they were obtained; but I cannot for-
 “ bear exhorting you to refuse resolutely what they now demand, or may
 “ hereafter demand, inconsistent with your own authority, and the pre-
 “ sent form of our Government.”

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§. IV. MANIUS VALERIUS, that popular Senator who had been so service-
 able in the treaty upon the *Mons Sacer*, spoke next after *Appius*, and, in
 a studied harangue, took the part of the people. Having first said some-
 thing in general, in the stile of invective, against those who fomented
 discord between the two orders in the state, he proceeded to the affair
 of *Coriolanus*, and declared himself for granting to the people what they
 desired. He said, that nothing was more likely to disarm the *People's*
 rage against the illustrious *Patrician* accused, than to leave him to their
 judgment: that the multitude calling to mind his personal merit, and
 full of gratitude for the Senate's ready compliance with their desires, would
 certainly absolve him: That, nevertheless, to appease them entirely he
 would have all the Senators disperse themselves in the Assembly, and each
 endeavour, by a gentle and popular behaviour, to win over those of the
Plebeians with whom he was acquainted.

D. Hal. B.
 7. P. 459:
 & seq.

Valerius then turning to *Coriolanus*, conjured him in the most affecting
 manner to give peace to the Republick: “ Go, *Coriolanus*, offer yourself
 “ generously to the *People's* judgment; this is the only way of justify-
 “ ing yourself, that is worthy of you; this is the surest means to silence
 “ those who accuse you of aiming at the tyranny. If you persist in
 “ shewing a contempt for that Tribunal, and in disowning its jurif-
 “ diction, to you alone will be imputed all the evils that shall be con-
 “ sequent to such an obstinate and proud behaviour. Are you desirous
 “ that the Senate, your zealous friends, should, for your sake alone, en-
 “ gage in a contest with the *People*, where a defeat must be fatal to
 “ them,

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“ them, and even a victory would be shameful? Set before your eyes
“ the frightful image of a Civil War; the laws without force; the Ma-
“ gistrates without power; fury and violence reigning universally; fire
“ and sword gleaming on all sides; your fellow-citizens murdering each
“ other; *Rome* sinking under the rage of the two parties, and buried be-
“ neath its own ruins.”

Valerius, who sincerely loved his country and was softened by the idea
of these great calamities, could not restrain his tears; and the tears of so
venerable a Consular, more eloquent than even his discourse, touched the
greater part of the Senators, and disposed their minds to peace.

Then *Valerius*, finding that he was master of the assembly, raised his
voice, and, as if he had got fresh strength, or were become another man,
shewed himself undisguised, and spoke to them with that authority which
his age and long experience in affairs gave him: “ We are made to fear,
“ that the publick liberty will be in danger, if we grant so much power
“ to the People, and allow them to try those of our order who shall be
“ accused by the Tribunes. I am persuaded, on the contrary, that no-
“ thing is more likely to preserve it. The Republick consists of two or-
“ ders, *Patricians* and *Plebeians*: The question is, which of these two
“ orders may more safely be trusted with the guardianship of that sacred
“ depositum, our liberty. I maintain that it will be more secure in the
“ hands of the People, who desire only not to be oppressed, than in those
“ of the Nobles, who all have a violent thirst of dominion. The No-
“ bles, invested with the prime Magistracies, distinguished by their
“ birth, their wealth, and their honours, will always be powerful
“ enough to hold the People to their duty: And the People, when they
“ have the authority of the laws, being naturally haters and jealous of
“ all enormous power, will watch over the actions of the Great, and,
“ by the dread of a popular enquiry and judgment, keep a check up-
“ on the ambition of such *Patricians* as might be tempted to aspire
“ to the tyranny. You abolished the Royalty, *Conscript Fathers*, because
“ the power of a single man grew exorbitant. Not satisfied with di-
“ viding the regal authority between two annual Magistrates, you gave
“ them a Council of three hundred Senators to be inspectors over their
“ conduct, and moderators of their Empire. But this very Senate, so
“ formidable to the Kings and to the Consuls, has nothing in the Re-
“ publick to balance its power. I know very well, that hitherto there
“ is all the reason in the world to applaud its moderation. But who
“ can say, whether we are not obliged for this to our fear of enemies
“ abroad, and to those continual wars which we have been forced to
“ maintain? Who will be answerable, that our successors, growing
“ more haughty and more potent by a long peace, shall not make at-
“ tempts upon the liberty of their country, and that in the Senate there
“ shall not arise some strong faction, whose Leader will find means to
“ become the Tyrant of *Rome*, if there be not at the same time, some
“ other

“ other power, out of the Senate, to withstand such ambitious enter-
 “ prizes. by impeaching the authors and abettors of them before the
 “ People ?

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“ Perhaps it will be said, that the like inconvenience is to be appre-
 “ hended from the People, and that it is impossible, by any provision,
 “ to assure ourselves, that there shall not arise, among the *Plebeians*, some
 “ popular man, who will abuse his influence over the minds of the mul-
 “ titude, and, under the pretence of defending the People’s interests,
 “ in the end invade both their liberty and that of the Senate. But you
 “ well know, that upon the least danger which the Republick may seem
 “ to be in, from that quarter, our Consuls have the privilege to name a
 “ Dictator, whom they will never chuse but from among your own body ;
 “ and that this supreme Magistrate, absolute Master of the lives of his fel-
 “ low-citizens, is able, by his sole authority, to dissipate a popular fac-
 “ tion. The wisdom of our laws has allowed him that formidable power
 “ but for six months, for fear he should abuse it, and employ, in the
 “ establishment of his own Tyranny, an authority intrusted with him on-
 “ ly to prevent the usurpations of other men.

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“ Thus with a mutual inspection the Senate will be watchful over the
 “ behaviour of the Consuls the People over that of the Senate ; and the
 “ Dictator, when the State of Affairs requires the intervention of such a
 “ Magistrate, will curb the ambition of all.

“ If, *Conscript Fathers*, what I have said, concerning a balance of
 “ power, be reasonable, refuse not to the People their present demand.
 “ They annually create the Magistrates of the Commonwealth ; they
 “ enact Laws, they abrogate Laws ; they make peace ; they declare
 “ war : The Senate has never pretended to be absolute master in these
 “ points ; which, nevertheless are, of all, the most important to the
 “ State. While you recognize in the People those high prerogatives I
 “ have mentioned, how can you think of denying them the permission
 “ to try a private citizen, who is accused of exciting sedition, and aspir-
 “ ing to the Tyranny ? The more you intimidate the violators of our
 “ laws, and the corrupters of our manners, by the many inspectors you
 “ establish to watch the conduct of covetous and ambitious men, the
 “ more secure will be our liberty, and the more perfect our consti-
 “ tution.”

Almost all the Senators, who spoke after *Valerius*, agreed with him in
 opinion ; and, in conclusion, it was carried by a great majority to refer the
 cause in question to the judgment of the People. D. Hal. B.
7. p. 462.

§. V. BEFORE the Decree was drawn-up, *Coriolanus*, who found the
 Senate were deserting him, desired leave to speak ; and having obtained
 it, he said, “ You know, *Conscript Fathers*, what the whole course of
 “ my life has hitherto been. You know that this unjust persecution
 “ which I now suffer from the People, is occasioned only by the steady
 “ and unalterable zeal which I have always shewn for your interests. I
 “ shall say nothing of the return I now meet with ; the event will shew
 “ the

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“ the weakness, and perhaps the malice of the counsels given you in this affair. But since *Valerius's* opinion has at length prevailed, let me know at least what is the crime I am charged with, and upon what conditions I am delivered over to the fury of my adversaries.”

Coriolanus said this, in order to draw the Tribunes into a confession, that they had no crime to accuse him of, but the speech he had made in the Senate. That speech was doubtless the sole or principal cause of their rage against him. However, that they might not be obliged to confine their charge to one fact only, and a fact, which, to treat as a crime, must naturally engage the whole body of the Senate in his defence, they, after conferring together, declared in general, that they would accuse him of aspiring to the Tyranny.

Nineteenth Consulship. D. Hal. R. 7. p. 462. p. 463.

Plut. p. 223.

Coriolanus instantly replied, “ If that be the charge I am to answer to, I freely submit myself to the judgment of the People; let the Senate’s Decree be put in writing.”

The Senate, for two reasons, were very well pleased, that the affair took this turn: First, because no attack was to be made on the freedom of speaking in their Assemblies; and, in the second place, because *Coriolanus*, having always observed an irreproachable conduct, with regard to the crime undertaken to be proved upon him, they doubted not but he would easily clear himself at his trial.

All the parties being thus far agreed, and the Decree drawn up, the cause (as custom required) was appointed to be heard on the day after the third market-day; that is to say, twenty-seven days were allowed to the accused to prepare his defence: For these markets were held every ninth day, when the country people came to the City, to vend their commodities, and make up their differences with one another. The Tribunes, having assembled the People, read the Senate’s Decree to them, notified the trial, and exhorted all the Citizens of the Republick, as well as those who dwelt in the country, as the inhabitants of *Rome*, to be at the *Forum* on the day appointed for hearing and judging so important a cause. There needed not much eloquence on this occasion. Most of the *Plebeians* waited impatiently for the favourable opportunity to signalize their hatred to *Coriolanus*; and were as zealous against him, as if the preservation of the Commonwealth had depended on his destruction.

C H A P. XI.

§. I. The day being come for *Coriolanus's* trial, a dispute arises between the Consuls and Tribunes, whether the people shall give their Suffrages by CENTURIES, according to the ancient custom, or by TRIBES, which had never yet been practised. The Tribunes who are for the latter prevail,

§. II. *Coriolanus's cause is heard. He is condemned to banishment, and
leaves Rome.*

§. I. **W**HEN the day came, that the great affair of *Coriolanus* was to be decided, an innumerable multitude crowded the *Forum* betimes in the morning. The Tribunes separated them by Tribes in order to their voting in this cause; whereas, from the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the voices had always been gathered by Centuries. The Consuls being come to the Assembly, were for keeping up the ancient custom, not doubting but they could save *Coriolanus*, if the voices were reckoned by Centuries, of which the *Patricians* themselves and the richest Citizens made the majority*. But the Tribunes, no less artful, and more resolute, alledged, that in an affair which concerned the rights of the People and the publick Liberty, it was but just that the vote of every the poorest and meanest Citizen should be of equal weight and value with that of the richest and most noble; and, after a warm struggle, the Tribunes carried their point.

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7. p. 464.

Just before they entered upon the cause, *Minucius*, the first Consul, made an harangue to the Assembly. He opened his discourse with reminding the people of the affection which the Senate had for them, and the favours it had heaped upon them at different times; and he declared, that all the return *the Fathers* asked was *Coriolanus's* discharge. He exhorted the *Plebeians* not to consider so much a few words which had escaped him in the heat of his discourse, as the important services which he had done the Commonwealth; and to be satisfied with his submission to their censure. He intimated to them, that if they acquitted *Coriolanus* by a plurality of voices, it would be said, they had found him innocent; whereas, if they discharged him without proceeding any farther in the prosecution, it would be considered as an act of favour to those who interceded for him. In answer to this, *Sicinnius* loudly protested, that he would neither betray the liberties of the People, nor suffer any other man to betray them. But that, if the Senate did, *bona fide*, submit the accused to the judgment of the People, he should have a fair and impartial trial.

“ Well then, (replied *Minucius*) since, notwithstanding our intreaties,
“ you obstinately insist that *Coriolanus* shall be tried by this Assembly, I
“ demand that, pursuant to your agreement with the Senate, you con-
“ fine your accusation to the single article of aiming at the Tyranny,
“ and that you pretend not to mention any thing, by him said against
“ the People in our Assemblies: For you are barred from that, by the
“ conditions expressed in the very Decree which refers his cause to the

* See this matter fully explained, B. 1. c. 7.

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“Judgment of the People.” To prove what he alledged, he read aloud to them the *Senatus-consultum*; after which he descended from the

§. II. *SICINNIUS* then began the accusation with a laboured speech, which consisted however of only general invectives, importing, that the accused, by the whole tenour of his words and actions against the People, had manifestly discovered an intention to invade their Liberties, and become the Tyrant of his Country.

As soon as the Tribune had done speaking, *Coriolanus*, with a courage deserving a better fortune, presented himself in the Assembly, and answered the calumnies thrown upon his conduct, by a bare recital of his services. He began with his first campaigns, he gave an account of all the engagements in which he had fought, the wounds he had received, the military honours which his Generals had bestowed upon him, and the several commands in the army to which he had been gradually promoted. He exposed to the view of the whole People a great many different crowns which he had received, either for mounting the breach first in assaults, or for having first broke into the enemies camp; or lastly, for having in various battles saved the lives of a great number of Citizens. He called them aloud, each by his name, and cited them as witnesses of what he advanced. These men immediately stood forth, and gave publick testimony of the obligations they lay under to him. Stretching out their hands as supplicants, they conjured the Assembly not to destroy a man, to whom they owed their lives, and all that was dear to them; and they offered to undergo, in his stead, any punishment to which he should be condemned. As these *Romans* were mostly *Plebeians*, and men known to have deserved well of their Country, the multitude could not resist their pressing solicitations nor even refrain from tears. Then *Coriolanus*, tearing away his robe, shewed his breast all covered with the scars of a great number of wounds which he had received: “It was to save these worthy men, said he, it was to rescue
“these good Citizens out of the hands of our enemies, that I have a
“thousand times ventured my life. Let the Tribunes shew, if they can,
“how such actions are consistent with the treacherous designs they lay
“to my charge. Is it easy to believe, that an enemy of the People,
“a man who intended to destroy them in a time of peace, would ex-
“pose himself to so many dangers in war, only to preserve their
“lives?”

This discourse, supported by a noble air, and that confidence which flows from innocence and truth, made the *Plebeians* quite alarmed of the prosecution. The best men of that order cried out, that they ought to

* Liberty is taken to use this word for speaking to the People; though the word the *juggeram* (or pulpit) or any eminent *rostra* was not introduced till many years place, whence we find the Magistrates after this time.

acquit so good a Citizen. But then the Tribune *Decius*, alarmed at this change, stood forth and said, “ Though the Senate does not allow us to prove the ill designs of *Coriolanus*, by the speech he made in their Assembly, and by his violent proceedings that followed it, we do not want other proofs equally strong and cogent, of his pride, and that spirit of tyranny of which we accuse him. You know that according to our laws, the spoils of the enemy belong to the *Roman* People; that neither the soldiers, nor their General himself has power to dispose of them; but that all ought to be sold, and the money, thence arising, carried by a *Quæstor* into the publick treasury; such is the usage and constitution of our Government. Nevertheless, contrary to these laws, which are as ancient as *Rome* itself, *Coriolanus*, having got a considerable booty in the territories of the *Antiates*, divided it all, by his private authority, among his friends, giving them what was the People’s due. This I call a proof of Tyranny. For indeed what was this, but with the publick money to make to himself creatures, and provide guards, and supporters of his intended usurpation? He must either deny a notorious fact, and say, that he did not dispose of that booty, or must shew that, in disposing of it, he did not violate the laws. Without dazzling us with the splendid show of his crowns and scars, or using any other arts to blind the Assembly, let him answer directly to this one article which I urge against him.”

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7. p. 468.

It was true, *Coriolanus* had, by his private authority, disposed of the plunder which the Tribune spoke of: but it was not true, that he had divided it among his friends and creatures only, as was objected to him, but among all his soldiers: nor had he done this with a view to the Tyranny, or with any evil intention; but to engage his soldiers to follow him the more readily another time, and in hopes, that the example of their success would incite the *Plebeians* at *Rome* voluntarily to take the field, and seek provisions in the enemy’s country, at a time when the City was grievously distressed by a famine, and the Tribunes opposed all regular levies of Soldiers. This was the real fact. But it is probable, that many of the people, who had had no share in that expedition, were envious of the good fortune of *Coriolanus*’s soldiers; and *Decius*, perhaps, having observed this, took the present occasion of awakening their envy, and of seducing them thereby to condemn *Coriolanus* for a generous action, by which they themselves had received no benefit.

As neither *Coriolanus*, nor any of his friends had expected this last accusation, they were wholly unprepared with an answer. The Tribunes laid hold of this opportunity to collect the suffrages; and *Coriolanus* was condemned to perpetual banishment. Of the twenty-one tribes, but nine voted for him, and twelve against him.

Plut. in
Coriol. p.
223.

Most of the Nobles and *Patricians* thought themselves in a manner condemned to banishment with this great man, who had always been

Year of the defender and support of their order. At first it was only a general
 R O M E CCLXII. consternation; but this was quickly succeeded by indignation and rage:
 Bef. J. C. Some reproached *Valerius*, that he had misled the Senate by his artful dis-
 Four hun- courses; others reproached themselves for their excess of condescension to
 dred nine- the People; all repented that they had not rather endured the last ex-
 ty. tremities, than abandoned so illustrious a Citizen to the insolence of the
 Nineteenth multitude.
 Consulship. *Coriolanus* was the only person among the *Patricians* who seemed un-
 D. Hal. B. concerned at his disgrace; he left the Assembly with the same tranquil-
 7. P. 472. lity, in appearance, as if he had been acquitted. He went immediately to
 Plut. in his own house, where he found his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife,
 Coriol. p. all drowned in tears, and in the first transports of their grief. He exhort-
 223. ed them in few words to bear this reverse of fortune with courage and
 constancy; and having recommended to them the care of his children,
 which were yet but infants, he instantly took his leave, not suffering any
 body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A
 great number of the Senators and other *Patricians* accompanied him to
 the gates of the city, but he said not one word to them by the way, and
 he parted from them in the same reproachful silence, neither thanking
 them for any good offices past, nor requesting any future favour*.

* *Coriolanus* was probably about 35 years of age at the time of his banishment. He had stood for the Consulship the year before, and, (according to *Phuarch*, p. 220.) had then served 17 years. He began to serve as soon as he was of an age to bear arms, that is at 17.

C H A P. XII.

§. I. *The Plebeians exult upon the victory they have gained over the Patricians in the affair of Coriolanus. The Romans having now no war abroad, nor squabble at home to employ them, turn their minds wholly to superstition, during the Consulate of Q. Sulpicius and Sp. Lartius.* §. II. *The Tribunes, from a political view, persuade the People, at the next election of Consuls, to chuse men of little spirit, and mean abilities for war. Their choice falls upon C. Julius and P. Pinarius Rufus.* §. III. *In the mean time, Coriolanus retires privately to Antium, one of the principal cities of the Volsci, discovers himself to Attius Tullus, General of that Nation, offers him his service against Rome, and is nobly received by him.* §. IV. *These two Generals concert a stratagem to stir up the Volsci to renew the war with the Romans. Coriolanus is introduced by Tullus into the Assembly of the Volscian States, and there makes a speech, which is highly applauded. They resolve upon war, and to commit the conduct of it to Tullus and Coriolanus; but first, by the advice of the latter, send an embassy*

bassy to Rome, to make such demands of the Republick, as they are sure will be rejected. The Volscian Ambassadors are dismissed by the Roman Senate with a baughty answer.

§. I. **N**EVER did the People testify more joy, not even upon vanquishing the most formidable enemies of *Rome*, than they did now for the advantage they had just gained over the Senate and the whole body of the *Patricians*. By the proceedings in the affair of *Coriolanus*, the PEOPLE had got a precedent for citing before their Tribunal, and judging the most illustrious of the Nobles; a precedent which the Tribunes failed not to improve into an established custom. And how much soever the ancient dignity of the *Patrician* order was diminished by this innovation, *Dionysius* is of opinion, that it was a proper curb upon the ambition of the Great, and not only salutary to the Republick, but even necessary to its preservation: And though some hot-headed Tribunes, animated by views of self-interest, or private pique, might now and then abuse their power, by commencing unjust prosecutions, yet those of the Nobles, who took upon them the management of publick affairs, with honest and patriot intentions, would be in little danger of suffering any disgrace by a sentence of the People.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty.
Nineteenth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
7. p. 470.

The same Historian, in the close of his relation of what happened at *Rome*, from the time of the *Secession*, to the trial of *Coriolanus*, very justly remarks, as more worthy to be admired, than the most shining exploits of the *Romans*, the rare temper and moderation which appeared in both parties, in their late contentions: That such important changes should be brought about, merely by conferences and arguments, and without any of those inhuman and fatal acts of violence, which, on the like occasions, were so common in the States of *Greece* and *Sicily*.

During the following Consulship of *Q. Sulpicius* and *Sp. Lartius* *, superstition alone filled the minds of the *Romans*. Nothing now was talked of but visions, spectres, miraculous voices, monsters, and prodigies of all sorts. *Titus Latinus*, or, according to *Livy*, *Tib. Atinius*, an old man, and bed-ridden, made himself be conveyed in a litter, from the country to *Rome*, where he related to the *Conscript Fathers* a dream, in which he said, *Jupiter Capitolinus* had appeared to him, and commanded him to tell the Senate, "That they must repeat the celebration of the Publick Games, because, in the last performance, a bad Dancer had led up the dances. He added, That he having neglected the admonition, *Jupiter* in revenge had thrown him into the condition he then was, having first killed one of his sons." As fast as the man discharged his commission, so fast he recovered the use of his limbs; and this put the Senate into a terrible fright. Strict inquiries were made after the bad Dancer, and he was at length found to be a Slave, whom his Master, a substan-

Year of
R O M E
CCLXIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-nine.
Twentieth
Consulship.
* A 2d time
Consul.
D. Hal. B.
7. p. 472,
473.
Livy, B. 2.
c. 36.
Plut. in
Coriol. p.
225.

Year of ROME CCLXIII. Def. J. C. Four hundred eighty-nine. Tenth Consularship. D. Hal. B. 7. P. 480. tial Citizen, had, just before the religious procession that preceded the sports, caused to be whipped through the *Crossways*, the *Forum*, and the *Circus*, through all which places the procession was to pass. The poor wretch, from the violence of his pain, had uttered imprecations, and had screwed himself into an hundred odd postures at every stroke; an improper and indecent prelude to so solemn a ceremony. And this it seems had offended *Jupiter*. The Citizen was fined, and a decree passed for renewing the Games in a more sumptuous and expensive manner than before. The Senate however deferred the celebration of them to the next Consulate.

§. II. THE Consular Power being now the only thing which kept the Tribunes in awe, we may well suppose, that they employed their efforts to hinder its falling into any hands, but of *Patricians* devoted to their interests, or too little esteemed to be much feared: And, perhaps, they insinuated to the People, that the greatest Captains were not the most fit to govern a Commonwealth: That men of their high courage, and accustomed to an absolute power in the armies, brought home with their victories a spirit of pride, ever dangerous in a free State. As the Consuls were always chosen in the *Comitia* by Centuries, of which those of the first and richest class made the majority, the Senators and *Patricians* had usually disposed of that dignity as they pleased. But now, even in that kind of Assembly, the *Plebeian* party carried their point by the artful management of their Tribunes. C. *Julius* and P. *Pinarius Rufus*, men known to be but indifferent soldiers, were, by the votes of the People, raised to the Consulship, and chiefly, (says *Diomysius*) for that reason *.

D. Hal. B. 8. P. 481. Year of ROME CCLXIV. Def. J. C. Four hundred eighty-eight.

Twenty-first Consularship.

* M. *Vertot* observes upon this occasion, that the Senate and the People acted both of them contrary to their real interests, and seemed to aim at joining two things incompatible. All the *Romans*, says he, as well *Patricians* as *Plebeians*, aspired to the conquest of *Italy*; the command of the armies was reserved to the *Patricians*, who indeed possessed all the dignities of the State; they had no soldiers but the *Plebeians*, whom they would reduce to that timid submission, and that servile dependence, which they could scarce have expected in mean artificers, and a populace bred up in obscurity. The People, on the other hand, powerful, numerous, and full of that ferocity growing from a continual exercise of arms, in order to lessen the authority of the Government, were for having Consuls and Generals who would be easy, indulgent, complacent to the multitude, and would behave themselves towards their sol-

diers rather with the modest manners of equality, than with that lofty and imperious air which the command of armies naturally gives a General. It was necessary for putting an end to the misunderstanding between those two orders in the Republick, that they should either jointly have resolved to content themselves with the narrow limits of their State, and lay aside the ambition of making conquests; or that the *Patricians* should have allowed a greater share in the Government to a warlike People, Citizens during winter, but Soldiers all the summer; and the People, on their side, have named to the command none but the best Generals in the Republick.

Mr. *Vertot* adds, that he owes this reflection to the events that follow; it not being long before the People repented their having intrusted the government of the State, and the command of the Armies, to two men equally incapable of those functions.

§. III.

§. III. IN the mean time, *Coriolanus*, that exiled Hero, who had appeared so unmoved by his disgrace, was meditating, with all the force of his mind, the most effectual means to revenge his wrongs; his silence and seeming insensibility having been the pure effect of an indignation and resentment too deep for superficial expression. He spent the first days of his banishment at a country-seat of his own, his thoughts wholly employed how to compass the destruction of his enemies; a design, which his vengeful heart would not forego, though the execution of it should involve the ruin of his country. At length, when he had cast his eyes upon the several nations that were neighbours and enemies to *Rome*, *Sabines*, *Æqui*, *Tuscans*, *Volsci*, and *Hernici*, he found none that seemed more exasperated against the *Romans*, or in a better condition to undertake a war, than the *Volsci*.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXIV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-eight.
Twenty-
first
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
8. p. 481.
Plut. in
Coriol. p.
224.

They were a Republick or Community, consisting of several small cantons, united, by a league, and governed by an Assembly of Deputies from each of them. This Nation bordering upon *Rome*, and jealous of her rising greatness, had always opposed it with remarkable courage, though with little success. The *Romans* had taken from them some of their towns, and part of their territory; and, during the time that *Coriolanus's* affair was depending, had, by threatening them with a new war (on occasion of some violence they had offered to certain *Sicilian* Ambassadors sent to *Rome* upon the corn traffick) terrified them into the submission of suppliants for peace. The *Volsci* obtained of the Republick a truce for two years. But this did not lessen the animosity in their hearts; they fought all over *Italy* to stir up new enemies against the *Romans*; and it was upon the knowledge of this *Coriolanus* built his hopes of engaging them to renew the war. But he was the most unfit man in the world for such an undertaking; he had done them more mischief than all the other *Roman* Generals; more than once he had cut to pieces their troops, ravaged their country, taken and plundered their towns: the name of *Coriolanus* was no less odious than formidable throughout the whole community of the *Volsci*.

Besides, they had at this time, for their General, *Attius Tullus*, whom *Coriolanus*, in many actions, where they fought against each other, had constantly vanquished; a disgrace which few Commanders have magnanimity enough to forgive. Nothing could be more dangerous for the *Roman*, than to put himself into the hands of such an enemy: Nevertheless, immoderate thirst of vengeance being now the prevailing passion in his soul, that was unused to fear, he resolved to apply himself immediately to *Tullus*.

He departed from his retreat in disguise; and in the evening, entered *Antium*, one of the chief Cities of the *Volsci*. It was here that *Tullus* resided, and to his house *Coriolanus* went directly. With his face covered, and without speaking one word, he walked in, and seated himself by the hearth of the domestick Gods, a place sacred in all the houses of the ancient *Pagans*. A behaviour so extraordinary, and a certain air of autho-

Liv. B. 2.
c. 35.
Plut. in
Coriol. p.
224.
D. Hal. B.
8. p. 481.
Val. Max.
B. 5.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXIV.
Bet. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-eight.

Twenty-
first
Consulship.

rity that never abandons great men, surprized the servants; they ran to tell their master. *Tullus* came, and demanded of him who he was, and what he required.

Coriolanus then discovering himself: "If thou dost not yet know me, I am *Caius Marcius*, my surname is *Coriolanus*; the only reward left me of all my services. I am banished from *Rome* through the hatred of the People, and the pusillanimity of the Great: I seek revenge; it lies in thy power to employ my sword against our common enemies. If thy Republick will not accept of my service, I give my life into thy hands; destroy an old enemy, who otherwise may do more mischief to thy country."

Tullus, amazed at the greatness of his courage, gave him his hand: "Fear nothing, *Marcius*, thy confidence is thy security. By giving us thyself, thou makest us an inestimable present; we shall know how to value thy services better than thy fellow-citizens: So great a Captain may justly expect the highest honours from the *Volsci*." He then led him into his apartment, where they privately conferred about the means of renewing the war.

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 452,
483.
Liv. B. 2.
c. 37.
Plut. in
Coriol. p.
226.

§. IV. IT has been already observed, that there was at this time a truce between the *Volsci* and the *Romans*; the business was to bring the former to a resolution of breaking it; a point not easy to be carried, because of the losses which the *Volsci* had suffered in the last war. However, the two Generals found means to compass what they desired. The *Romans* were preparing for their publick sports (a part of the religion of those times) pursuant to the admonition, before mentioned, of *Jupiter* by the old man. From the several Nations about *Rome*, there flocked to the show great numbers, and particularly of the *Volsci*. They crowded every quarter of the City; nay many, not being able to find hosts to receive them, lay under tents in the publick places. So unusual a multitude of strangers gave uneasiness to the Consuls; and, to add to it, *Tullus* contrived to raise a false alarm, that the *Volsci* intended to set fire to the Town. The known animosity of that People against the Republick made the report easily credited; so that the Magistrates caused an order to be published, injoining all the *Volsci* to depart before night, and even prescribing the gate through which they should pass: And accordingly all of that Nation were instantly driven out of *Rome*. As they were returning home, each man bearing in his heart the shame of this ill usage, and a strong desire of revenge, *Tullus* met them in the way as by chance; and, when he had heard them relate the unworthy manner in which they had been treated, "Is it possible, *he cried*, they could drive you from a publick festival, like the profanest wretches and outlaws? After so vile a treatment, you can no longer hide from yourselves the implacable hatred which the *Romans* bear you. And will you patiently wait till, without regard to the truce which has disarmed you, they suddenly invade us again, and lay waste our territories?"

An

An Assembly of the States was called without delay; and the more violent were for immediately carrying fire and sword into the territory of *Rome*, in revenge for the insult they had received. But *Tullus*, who conducted this affair, advised them, before they broke out, to send for *Coriolanus* into their Assembly: “That Captain, *said he*, whose valour we have so often experienced, and who now bears more enmity to the *Romans*, than even we ourselves, seems to have been brought hither by the Gods to restore our affairs; and he will give us no counsels, whereof he will not share the dangers of the execution.”

Year of
R O M E
CCLXIV.
Bet. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-eight.
Twenty-
first
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
8. p. 484,
& seq.

The *Roman*, being introduced into the Assembly, appeared there with a countenance sad, but resolute; all present fixed their eyes attentively upon the man, whose name had been so dreadful to them; and they listened to him with that respect which is always paid to merit under persecution. When he had first related to them his story, and represented the ingratitude and injustice, with which he had been condemned by his fellow-citizens to perpetual banishment, he proceeded in words to this effect:

“If I had sought only a place of refuge, I might have retired either among the *Latines* our allies, or to some *Roman* colony. But a life so obscure had been to me insupportable; for I always thought it better for a man to die, than be reduced to such a condition, as to be unable either to serve his friends, or to revenge himself upon his enemies. This is my temper: I would deserve by my sword the *Asylum* I ask of you: let us join our common resentments. Those ungrateful *Romans*, who have banished me so unjustly, are your most inveterate enemies; you are sensible of it; with pleasure I perceive, you are all disposed to renew the war; and indeed it is much your interest to stop the progress, and diminish the strength of so incroaching a neighbour. But, in order to render this war successful, the motive you shall assign for taking arms, must be just in the sight of the Gods, and such as will engage the several States about *Rome* to espouse your cause. You are not ignorant of how small an extent, at the founding of that City, the *Roman* territory was, which is now stretched into a wide dominion, by the conquests they have made, or, to speak more justly, by their usurpations. There is not, in all their neighbourhood, a Nation from which they have not wrested some of its towns, and a considerable part of its lands. The *Sabines*, *Albans*, *Æqui*, *Hetrurians*, and others have suffered from them like injuries to yours. Make it the common interest of those States to join you in your enterprize. Let Ambassadors be sent to demand of the *Romans*, *A restitution of the lands and cities which they have taken from you, whether by hostile invasions, or by compulsive treaties.*

“If the *Romans*, intimidated by your menaces of a war, consent to restore to you the towns and the lands which they have deprived you of, then, after your example, the other Nations of *Italy* will demand back what has been taken from them; which, if submitted to, will

as

Year of " at one stroke reduce that proud People to their original weakness. Or,
 R O M E " if they resolve, as I doubt not but they will, to retain their usurpations,
 CCLXIV. " and bid you defiance, then, in a war so equitable, you will have both
 Bef. J. C. " Gods and men your friends. As for me, in whatever post you place
 Four hun- " me, you may rely upon my zeal for your service, and my punctual exe-
 dred eigh- " cution of your General's orders. If heretofore, when your enemy, I
 ty-eight. " was very hurtful to you, I may perhaps be found equally useful, when
 Twenty- " fighting in your cause."
 first
 Consulship.
 D. Hal. B. Loud and universal applause was given by the Assembly to this dis-
 8. P. 487. course; and, to bind *Coriolanus* more strictly to them, they instantly con-
 ferred on him the quality of Senator. At the same time, pursuant to his
 advice, Ambassadors were dispatched to *Rome*; where being admitted to

p. 488.

audience, they represented to the Senate, " That the *Volsci* were very de-
 " sired to terminate amicably all their differences with the *Roman* Re-
 " publick; but that, in order thereto, it was necessary *Rome* should re-
 " store to them the towns and lands of which she had deprived them:
 " That without this, there could be no solid and lasting peace between
 " the two States: and they therefore hoped, the Senate would not, by
 " a refusal of justice, put them under the necessity of commencing a
 " war."

Plut. in
 Coriol. p.
 226.

The Ambassadors being withdrawn, the Senate did not spend much
 time in deliberation: At *Rome* to yield to menaces was a thing unknown,
 or to submit to an enemy, even though victorious; so that the Ambassa-
 dors were soon called in again. The first Consul told them in few words,
 that fear would never make the *Romans* give up what they had conquered
 by their valour; and that, if the *Volsci* were the first to take arms, the
Romans would be the last to lay them down. And with this answer they
 were dismissed.

C H A P. XIII.

§. I. *Coriolanus* at the head of a *Volscian* army recovers from the *Romans*
 all the towns they had taken from the *Volsci*; carries several cities in *La-*
tium by assault, and then leads his troops within five miles of *Rome*; where
 new Consuls are chosen, *Sp. Nautius* and *Sex. Furius*. §. II. The People
 terrified at his approach, cry out to have the sentence of his banishment re-
 versed. The Patricians oppose it. He marches to *Rome* and invests the
 place. The Senate and People agree to sue to him for peace. Three De-
 putations are sent to him successively, to persuade him to desist from his de-
 mands in favour of the *Volsci*; but all in vain. §. III. The Mother and
 Wife of *Coriolanus* go attended by all the *Roman Ladies* of distinction to
 make a fourth attempt upon his resolution. §. IV. The interview and con-
 ference between *Coriolanus* and his Mother, who prevails upon him to raise
 the siege of *Rome*; after which he is assassinated by the *Volsci*.

§. I.

§. I. **T**HE report of the Ambassadors, at their return, was followed by a declaration of war. *Tullus* and *Coriolanus*, foreseeing the Senate's answer, had held their troops in readiness to enter upon action. The first, with a part of the forces, made an incursion into the country of the *Latines*, in order to hinder them from sending any assistance to the *Romans*: At the same time *Coriolanus*, with the remainder, threw himself into the territory of *Rome*, where he made a prodigious capture of freemen, slaves, corn and cattle, no measures having been taken to oppose him. Both parties returned from their expeditions enriched with booty; which proved an effectual means to augment the army: For the people henceforward, big with the hopes of conquest and plunder, came in crowds to enlist themselves. And now it was agreed that *Tullus* with a body of reserve should stay in the country to defend the entrance of it against the enemy, while *Coriolanus* at the head of the main army marched to give the Consuls battle, in case they appeared in the field. According to *Livy*, he first drove from *Circaum* a colony of *Romans* that were established there; but *Dionysius* says, that the inhabitants, intimidated by the approach of the enemy, opened their gates, and that *Coriolanus* only obliged them to furnish him with provisions and cloaths for his soldiers. He then took from the *Romans* *Satricum*, *Longulum*, *Polusca*, and *Corioli*, towns which they had won but a little before; he also made himself Master of *Corbio*, *Vitellia*, *Trebia*, *Toleria*, *Bola*, *Labicum*, and *Pedum*, all in *Latium*, or upon the confines of it. The *Latines* had sent to *Rome* for aid, but the Senate had excused themselves, the distress of the Republick being extreme. For the *Æqui* and other allies had revolted; and divisions and animosities reigned at home in the City.

Coriolanus, in his first expedition, had spared the houses and estates of the *Patricians*, either out of some remains of regard for those of his own order; or, which is more probable, to make them suspected by the People, and to increase the dissensions between them. Whatever was the motive, this was the effect of his conduct. The People failed not to accuse the Senate publickly of an understanding with *Coriolanus*, and of having engaged him to come at the head of an army, to abolish the Tribunitian power. The *Patricians*, on their side, reproached the People, with having forced so great a Captain to throw himself in despair into the party of the enemy. Suspicion, distrust, hatred actuated both orders; and in this time of danger they thought less of repulsing the *Volsci*, than of defaming each other. The two Consuls, hid behind the walls of *Rome*, made levies but slowly. *Spurius Nautius* and *Sex-tus Furius*, who succeeded them, used diligence in raising an army, but did not shew more courage and resolution than their predecessors: It was visible, they durst not encounter so able a General. The People themselves were in no haste to give their names to be inrolled: nobody cared for stirring out of *Rome*, whether it was that they had no great opinion of the capacity of their Leaders, or that they saw

Year of
R O M E
CCLXIV.Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-eight.Twenty-
first

Consulship.

D. Hal. B.

8. p. 489.

Plut. p.

226.

D. Hal. B.

8. p. 490.

Livy, B. 2.

c. 39.

D. Hal. B.

8. p. 491.

p. 492.

P. 489.

Plut. p.

226.

P. 491.

Year of

R O M E

CCLXV.

Bef. J. C.

Four hun-

dred eigh-

ty-seven.

Twenty-

second

Consulship.

Year of ROME CCLXV. Feb. J. C. Four hundred and eighty-seven. themselves assisted by their allies, who had readily espoused the cause which they were engaged in. *Coriolanus*, leading his army in the field to oppose his designs, advanced straight on, took *Latium*, and at length encamped at the *Cluilian* trenches five miles distant from *Rome*.

Twenty-second Consulship. D. Hal. B. 493. P. 493. 227. §. II. UPON the fame of this great run of success, multitudes of the *Volsi* flock'd to *Coriolanus's* army. The very soldiers of *Tullus* himself, drawn by the hopes of the plunder of *Rome*, left their General, and declared, they acknowledged no other but the *Roman*; a fresh victory, of a new kind, which *Coriolanus* gained over his old adversary, and of which *Tullus* retained a sharp resentment in his breast. The eyes of all *Italy* were turned upon the *Romans* and *Volsi*, who, by only one man's changing sides, had experienced a surprizing change in their fortunes: So true it is, that the strength of a state consists not so much in the number and bravery of its troops, as in the abilities of him who commands them.

D. Hal. B. 496. The consternation was general at *Rome*. The People, who from the tops of the walls beheld the enemies spread all over the country, came into the *Forum*, and with clamorous voices demanded a peace, and to have the sentence against *Coriolanus* reversed. That very people who, with so much fury, had hurried him into banishment, with equal violence now pressed to have him recalled. The Senate being assembled to consider of this proposal, absolutely rejected it; which they did, either to remove the suspicion of their having intelligence with him, or perhaps from that high spirit so common among the great men of the Republick, never more averse from peace than after ill success.

Plut. p. 227. D. H. ibid. *Coriolanus* no sooner heard of the Senate's resolution, but he broke up his camp, marched directly to *Rome*, and invested the place, as if he meant to besiege it. A design so daring threw both the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians* into an equal consternation; all courage and resolution failed them, and hatred gave place to fear. The Senate and People with one accord determined now to sue for peace. Five Senators, who had been zealous friends of *Coriolanus*, were chosen to be sent to him upon this negotiation. These were *M. Minucius*, *Posthumius Cominius*, *Sp. Lartius*, *P. Pinarius*, and *Q. Sulpicius*, who had all five been Consuls.

Plut. p. 228. The *Volsi* made these Deputies pass thro' two ranks of soldiers standing to their arms; and *Coriolanus*, surrounded by his chief officers, received them seated in his Tribunal, with the state of an enemy who is resolved to prescribe the law.

D. H. ibid. & seq. *Minucius* exhorted him in modest and pathetick terms to give peace to the two Nations; and conjured him not to push too far the advantages, which his superior courage and abilities had given the *Volsi*; but to remember the regard he owed to his Country. He put him in mind of the friendship the *Patricians* had always shewn him; and even excused in some measure the People, of whom nine tribes had voted for him. He represented to him the unreasonableness of carrying his resentments to such an unbounded excess, and the remorse that must follow so criminal an enter-

enterprize as he was engaged in, how successful soever it might prove. He then reminded him of the instability of fortune, tho' it had hitherto favoured him; and, in conclusion, invited him to return into the bosom of his native City, which now, as a tender mother, stretched out her arms to receive him.

To all these remonstrances *Coriolanus* gave this severe answer: That *Rome* might obtain a peace, if she would restore to the *Volsci* the Country she had taken from them, grant them the same rights of Citizenship which she had granted to the *Latines*, and recal the *Roman* colonies from those towns she had got possession of unjustly; but that he could abate nothing of these demands.

That as to the liberty offered him of going back to *Rome*, it was not worth his acceptance. "With what satisfaction, said he, can I return to a City where injustice reigns, and vice enjoys the honours which are due to virtue? Consider the men who govern there, and the man you have driven thence. What was my crime? I could not bear to see the whole authority of the Government fall into the hands of factious Tribunes and a senseless Populace. This was the offence for which the Senate delivered me up to the fury of the People. Yes, the Senators are they whom I accuse as the Authors of my misfortunes. The injustice of the people indeed condemned me, but it was the weakness of the Senate which put me within the reach of their power: so that baseness and iniquity are become universal in the Republick. — What a shameful life should I be forced to drag on, in *Rome*? Flatter the insolent multitude? not dare to speak my opinion with freedom? — And who will promise me, that I shall not meet with a *Sicinnius* or a *Decius* to arm the Populace once more against me? How can I be assured that the devastations made on your lands, the conquest of your cities, and the slavery of your allies will not be laid as fresh crimes to his charge, who was deemed worthy of death for bare words? — You accuse me of impiety. Have I been guilty of any towards *Rome*, that cruel mother, whom no services could oblige, and who has cast out of her bosom a son that was useful to her, and zealous for her glory? I owe her no longer any duty. The Nation of the *Volsci* is now my mother. She forgot the mischiefs I did her; she received me when a fugitive, a wanderer and poor. She has been profuse in bestowing upon me her honours, her magistracy, and the command of her armies. You think it impious to abandon professed enemies; and you would have me betray the most affectionate friends, when they place all their confidence in me. No, *Romans*, I am not like you. I know how to acknowledge obligations, and to adhere to those who have done me honour. The remorse you speak of is for *Rome* herself to feel; let her dread the rage of those avenging furies which torment the guilty. As for me, the Gods have sufficiently shewn that they approve of my resentments; and victory proclaims aloud whose cause it is that they espouse."

Year of
R O M E
CCLXV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-seven.

Twenty-
second
Consulship.
Plat. ibid.
D. Hal. B.
8. p. 502,
& seq.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXV.
P. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-seven.

Twenty-
second
Consulship.

Coriolanus having spoke in this haughty strain as to what concerned the interests of the *Volsi*, and the injuries he had suffered from the *Romans*, came to a more gentle behaviour towards the Deputies. He assured them that he had not forgot the good-will they had formerly expressed for him; nor could ever lose the sense of his obligations to them for their generous protection of his mother, wife and children, since his banishment. That he was ready to do them any personal good office in his power, and for their sakes would even grant the *Romans* a truce for thirty days with regard to the proper territory of *Rome*; but, that after the expiration of that term, he should expect from them a decisive answer. He then dismissed the Deputies.

D. Hal. B. The thirty days, which he allowed the *Romans* to consider of his de-
8. p. 509. mand, he employed in taking other towns of *Latium*; and then appear-
Plut. p. ed once more with his whole army in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. The
228. Senate had spent the time in deliberations, and had come to a resolution never to receive law from their enemies, nor even to treat of an alliance with the *Volsi*, till they had withdrawn their troops from the territory of *Rome*, and from those of her allies. Ten other Senators, who had all been Consuls, were dispatched to *Coriolanus* to signify to him this determination of the *Fathers*. These Deputies conjured him to moderate his displeasure, and demand nothing that was unbecoming the dignity of the *Roman* name to grant. They bid him remember, that the *Romans* were not men whom threats could terrify; but they added, that, if in his opinion the *Volsi* deserved favour, they might, upon laying down their arms, obtain by treaty whatever they could reasonably desire.

D. Hal. B. His answer was short, *That the Romans had no choice but restitution or*
8. p. 510. *war; and that he would allow them but three days to come to a final determination.* The Deputies would have replied; but he refused to hear them, commanded them instantly to leave his camp, and threatened to punish them as spies if they did not obey.

The Senate, though extremely piqued, when, from the report of their Deputies, they understood with what a haughty arrogance *Coriolanus* had treated them, were yet in no haste to send an army into the field against him; not thinking it adviseable to trust an affair of so great importance to the management of two Consuls, who had neither vigour, courage, nor military skill. It was resolved to keep close within the fortifications of *Rome*, and apply the whole strength of the Republick to the defence of the City; which they had much reason to fear would speedily be attacked. Some hope, however, still remained to the *Fathers* of preventing the calamity of a siege, by a new deputation to *Coriolanus*. As if the Republick (says *Plutarch*) had been beaten by a tempest, and were just ready to perish, they (according to the Proverb) *threw out the Holy Anchor*. For they ordered the Pontiffs, Priests, Augurs, all the Ministers of Religion, vested in their ceremonial habits, to go in solemn procession to his camp, and with most pressing instances, conjure him to comply with the proposals, which had been twice made to him for finishing the war.

In Cor. p.
228.

To these Sacred Ambassadors *Coriolanus* did not refuse an audience ; yet they found him as inexorable to them as he had been to the prophane. He would abate nothing of his former demands.

§. III. ALL hope of pacifying the injured exile being now extinguished, the sole business at *Rome* was to prepare with the utmost diligence for sustaining a siege. The young and able-bodied men had instantly the guard of the gates and trenches assigned to them ; while those of the veterans, who, though exempt by their age from bearing arms, were yet capable of service, undertook the defence of the ramparts. The women in the mean while, scared by these movements and the impending danger into a neglect of their wonted decorum, ran tumultuously from their houses to the temples. Every sanctuary, and especially the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, resounded with the wailings and loud supplications of women, prostrate before the statues of the Gods. In this general consternation and distress *Valeria*, (sister of the famous *Valerius Poplicola*) as if moved by a divine impulse, suddenly took her stand upon the top of the steps of the temple of *Jupiter*, assembled the women about her, and having first exhorted them not to be terrified by the greatness of the present danger, confidently declared, “ That there was yet
“ hope for the Republick ; that its preservation depended upon *them*,
“ and upon *their* performance of the duty they owed their country.”—
“ Alas ! cried out one of the Company, what resource can there be in the
“ weakness of wretched women, when our bravest men, our ablest warriors themselves despair ?—It is not by the sword, nor by strength of
“ arm (replied *Valeria*) that we are to prevail ; these belong not to our
“ Sex. Soft, moving words must be our weapons and our force. Let
“ us all, in our mourning attire, and accompanied by our children, go
“ beg and intreat *Veturia*, the mother of *Coriolanus*, to intercede with her
“ son for our common country. *Veturia*’s prayers will bend his soul to
“ pity. Haughty and implacable as he has hitherto appeared, he has
“ not a heart so cruel and obdurate, as not to relent, when he shall see
“ his mother, his revered, his beloved mother, a weeping suppliant at
“ his feet.”

This motion being universally applauded, the whole train of women took their way to *Veturia*’s house. Her son’s wife, *Volumnia*, who was sitting with her when they arrived, and was greatly surprized at their coming, hastily asked them the meaning of so extraordinary an appearance. *What is it, she said ? What can be the motive that has brought such a*

Valeria, addressing herself to the mother, “ It is to you, *Veturia*, that
“ these women have recourse in the extreme peril, with which they and
“ their children are threatened. They intreat, implore, conjure you to
“ compassionate their distress, and the distress of our common country.
“ Suffer not *Rome* to become a prey to the *Volsci*, and our enemies to
“ triumph over our liberty. Go to the camp of *Coriolanus* : Take
“ with you *Volumnia* and her two sons : Let that excellent wife join

“ her :

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R O M E
CCLXV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred eight-
ty-seven.
Twenty-
second
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
8. p. 511.
Plut. p.
229.

D. Hal. B.
8. p. 512.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-seven.
Twenty-
second
Consulship.

“ her intercession to yours : Permit these women with their children to
“ accompany you ; they will all cast themselves at his feet. O *Veturia*,
“ conjure him to grant peace to his fellow-citizens : Cease not to beg till
“ you have obtained : So good a man can never withstand your tears :
“ Our only hope is in you. Come then, *Veturia* ; the danger presses ;
“ you have no time for deliberation ; the enterprize is worthy of your
“ virtue ; the Gods will crown it with success : *Rome* shall once more
“ owe its preservation to our sex : You will justly acquire to yourself an
“ immortal fame, and have the pleasure to make every one of us a sharer
“ in your glory.”

Veturia, after a short silence, with tears in her eyes, answered, “ Weak
“ indeed is the foundation of your hope, *Valeria*, when you place it in
“ the aid of two miserable women. We are not wanting in affection to
“ our country, nor need we any remonstrance or intreaties to excite our
“ zeal for its preservation. It is the power only of being serviceable
“ that fails us. Ever since that unfortunate hour, when the People in
D. Hal. B. “ their madness so unjustly banished *Coriolanus*, his heart has been no
8. p. 513. “ less estranged from his family than from his country. You will be
“ convinced of this sad truth by his own words to us at parting. When
“ he returned home from the Assembly, where he had been condemned,
“ he found us in the extremest depth of affliction, bewailing the miseries
“ that were sure to follow our being deprived of so dear a son, and so
“ excellent a husband. (We had his children upon our knees.) He kept
“ himself at a distance from us ; and when he had a while stood silent,
“ motionless as a rock, his eyes fixed, and without shedding a tear, 'Tis
“ done, *be said*.—O mother, and thou *Volumnia*, the best of wives, to
“ you *Marcus* is no more. I am banished hence for my affection to my
“ country, and the services I have done it. I go this instant ; and I
“ leave for ever a city, where all good men are proscribed. Support
“ this blow of fortune with the magnanimity that becomes women of
“ your high rank and virtue. I commend my children to your care.
“ Educate them in a manner worthy of you, and of the race from which
“ they come. The Gods grant they may be more fortunate than their
“ father, and never fall short of him in virtue ; and may you in them
“ find your consolation ! Farewel.

“ We started up at the sound of this word, and with loud cries of la-
“ mentation ran to him to receive his last embraces. I led his elder son
“ by the hand, *Volumnia* had the younger in her arms. He turned his
“ eyes from us, and putting us back with his hand, Mother, *said he*,
“ from this moment you have no son : Our country has taken from you
“ the stay of your old age.—Nor to you, *Volumnia*, will *Marcus* be
“ henceforth a husband ; may'st thou be happy with another, more for-
“ tunate !—My dear children you have lost your father.

“ He said no more, but instantly broke away from us. He departed
“ from *Rome* without settling his domestick affairs, or leaving any orders
“ about them ; without money, without servants, and even without
“ letting

“ letting us know, to what part of the world he would direct his steps. Year of
 “ It is now the fourth year since he went away; and he has never en R O M E
 “ quired after his family, nor, by letter or messenger, given us the least CCLXV.
 “ account of himself; so that it seems as if his mother and his wife Bef. J. C.
 “ were the chief objects of that general hatred which he shews to his Four hun-
 “ Country. dred eigh-
 “ Country. ty-seven.

“ What success then can you expect from our intreaties to a man so Twenty-
 “ implacable? Can two women bend that stubborn heart, which even second
 “ all the ministers of religion were not able to soften? And indeed what Consulship.
 “ shall I say to him? What can I reasonably desire of him? That he
 “ would pardon ungrateful Citizens, who have treated him as the vilest
 “ criminal? That he would take compassion upon a furious, unjust Po-
 “ pulace which had no regard for his innocence? And that he would
 “ betray a Nation, which has not only opened him an *Asylum*, but has
 “ even preferred him to her most illustrious Citizens in the command of
 “ her armies? With what face can I ask him to abandon such generous
 “ protectors, and deliver himself again into the hands of his most bitter
 “ enemies? Can a *Roman* mother, and a *Roman* wife, with decency,
 “ exact, from a son and a husband, compliances which must dishonour
 “ him before both Gods and men? Mournful circumstance, in which
 “ we have not power to hate the most formidable enemy of our Coun-
 “ try! Leave us therefore to our unhappy destiny; and do not desire us
 “ to make it more unhappy by an action that may cast a blemish upon
 “ our virtue.”

The Ladies made no answer but by their tears and intreaties: Some D. Hal. B.
 embraced her knees; others beseeched *Volumnia* to join her prayers to 8. p. 514.
 theirs; all conjured *Veturia* not to refuse her Country this last assistance.
 Overcome at length by their urgent solicitations, she promised to do as
 they desired, if the Senate agreed to it. *Valeria* gave advice to the
 Consuls, of what the women had projected. The matter was proposed
 to the Senate, and was long debated. Some feared lest *Coriolanus* should
 detain all those Ladies, who were of the best families in *Rome*, and by
 that means make the gates be opened to him, without so much as draw-
 ing his sword: Others were even for securing his mother, wife and chil- P. 515.
 dren, as so many hostages that might bring him to a better temper: But
 the majority approved of the new deputation, saying, that the Gods,
 who had inspired *Valeria* with this pious design, would give it success;
 and that no treachery was to be apprehended from a man of *Coriolanus*'s
 character, proud indeed, severe and inflexible, but not capable of violat-
 ing the law of Nations.

This opinion having prevailed, the very next day all the most illustrious
 of the *Roman* Ladies repaired to *Veturia*'s house. There they presently
 mounted a number of chariots, which the Consuls had ordered to be made
 ready for them, and, without any guard, took the way to the enemy's
 camp.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXV.
Bel. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-seven.

Twenty-
second
Consulship.
Plut. p.
230.

D. Hal. B.
8. p. 516.

p. 517.

p. 518, &
seq.

§. IV. *CORIO LANUS*, perceiving from afar that long train of chariots, sent out some horsemen to learn the meaning of it. They quickly brought him word, that it was his mother, his wife, and a great number of other women, and their children, coming to the camp. He doubtless divined what views the *Romans* had in so extraordinary a deputation; that this was the last expedient of the Senate; and, in his own mind, he determined, not to let himself be moved. But he reckoned upon a savage inflexibility that was not in his nature: For, going out with a few attendants to receive the Ladies, he no sooner beheld *Veturia* attired in mourning, her eyes bathed in tears, and with a countenance and motion that spoke her sinking under a load of sorrow, but he ran hastily to her, and, not only calling her, *Mother*, but adding to that word the most tender epithets, embraced her, wept over her, and held her in his arms to prevent her falling. The like tenderness he presently after expressed to his wife, highly commending her discretion in having constantly staid with his mother, since his departure from *Rome*: And then, with the warmest paternal affection, he caressed his children.

When some time had been allowed to those silent tears of joy, which usually flow in abundance at the sudden and unexpected meeting of persons so dear to each other, *Veturia* entered upon the business for which she came. To avoid giving umbrage to the *Volsi*, *Coriolanus* had called the principal officers to be witnesses of what passed between his mother and him. That she might engage her son to have the more regard to her request, she began with telling him, that all those women, whom he knew to be of the best families in *Rome*, had, during his absence, done every thing in their power, to give comfort to her, and *Volumnia* his wife; she added, that, touched with the calamities of the war, and apprehending the fatal consequences of the siege of *Rome*, they were come, with united supplications to beg a peace at his hands: and she conjured him in the name of the Gods not to refuse that favour to his Country.

Coriolanus answered, that he should offend those Gods, whom he had invoked to be witnesses of his faith given the *Volsi*, if he granted her so unjust a demand. That he could not think of betraying the interests of a people who had not only honoured him with a place in their Senate, but had also trusted him with the command of their army: That he had found at *Antium* more honours and wealth than he had lost at *Rome* by the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens; and that nothing would be wanting to his happiness, if she would only prevail with herself to forsake *Rome*, and, in the country of the *Volsi*, share with him all the advantages of his glorious fortune.

The officers, present at this conference, testified, by a murmur of applause, that they were highly pleased with his answer. *Veturia*, in her reply to it, assured him, that she would never require any thing of him, that could bring a blemish upon his honour; but added, that without acting

acting inconsistently with his Obligations to the *Volsci*, he might mediate a peace between the *Romans* and them.—“ No, my son, I do not ask of thee to betray a people who have given thee so generous a reception, and even confided their arms to thy conduct. Nor do I wish that thou shouldst make a separate peace for thyself without the consent of the whole nation. *Veturia* is incapable of urging her son to any base action. Grant us only a truce for a year, that in this interval, a solid peace may be negotiated, an alliance that shall be firm and durable, and equally advantageous to both Nations. You, who are versed in publick affairs, can have no difficulty to persuade the *Volsci*, that a peace upon such fair conditions as they may now be certain to obtain, is preferable to a war, the final event of which is still uncertain. But if, elated by the success they have had under your guidance, and imagining that fortune must always favour them, they refuse to listen to your remonstrances, what hinders you from publickly resigning your commission of General? Let all be open: No disguise, no breach of trust, no treachery to your new friends: But then, beware, my son, of impiously continuing an enemy to those, with whom you have a yet more near relation.—Nor let the apprehension of appearing ungrateful to your benefactors restrain you from complying with my request. Have not the *Volsci* been sufficiently recompensed by the many signal and important services you have done them? Liberty was their sole ambition; you have not only procured them liberty, but have raised them to so high a pitch of prosperity, that they are now considering whether it will be more adviseable totally to suppress the *Roman* power, or to live with us upon a foot of equality, the two Nations under one and the same government. Can you imagine, that thus benefited, thus exalted by your aid, they will resent, as an injury, your not sacrificing to them your own country, your not imbruing your hands in the blood of your fellow Citizens?—You will tell me, perhaps, that you *bate* your country. But are you not unreasonable in so doing? When the *Romans* unjustly condemned you to banishment, was *Rome* in its natural state? Was it governed by the laws of our forefathers? Was not the Republick agitated by a violent storm? Were not the members of it distempered? Not all indeed; for they were not all of one mind. It was only the baser and more corrupt part of the Citizens that voted against you, and these incited by the pernicious counsels of their Leaders, those enemies to all good men. But had it been otherwise, had all the Citizens unanimously combined to banish you, as a man dangerous to the State on account of his mischievous politicks, would it be therefore allowable for you to revenge yourself in this manner? Many others, whose intentions, in the administration of publick affairs, were no less upright than yours, have been as unjustly and hardly treated as you; (you will find few good Magistrates whose shining merit has not excited envy;) and yet those worthy men suffered their disgraces with temper, considered them as

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R O M E
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B.C. J. C.
Four hundred
eighty-seven.

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second
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Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-seven.

Twenty-
second
Consulship.

“ in the number of those evils to which, by the condition of humanity,
“ they were inevitably exposed; and removing into foreign countries,
“ carried thither no resentment, no malice against their own. Who was
“ ever more injuriously treated than *Tarquinius Collatinus*? When with
“ an honest zeal, and with all his power, he had assisted in delivering
“ *Rome* from the tyranny of the *Tarquins*, he was himself banished
“ thence, upon a false accusation of plotting to re-establish that tyranny.
“ He retired to *Lavinium*, and there passed the remainder of his days in
“ tranquillity, without ever attempting any thing that could give credit
“ to the calumnies so maliciously vented against him.

“ But, if you will have it so, I shall suppose that every man who suf-
“ fers an injury, be it from friends or enemies, his countrymen or stran-
“ gers, has a right to revenge himself. Those, who by their unjust
“ usage of you provoked your anger, have you not sufficiently punish-
“ ed them? Our colonies expelled from their settlements by your arms;
“ the cities of our allies forced and plundered; the *Roman* lands pillaged
“ and laid waste; *Rome* itself invested, terrified with the apprehension
“ of famine, and of the whole variety of miseries incident to a City be-
“ sieged: How is it, that all this has not been sufficient to assuage thy
“ thirst of vengeance? O *Marcus*, at thy first entering the *Roman* ter-
“ ritory, did it not come into thy mind, *This is the country that gave me*
“ *birth; here I was nourished in my infancy; here I was brought up?*
“ And couldst thou have the heart so lay it waste? When thou sawest
“ the walls of *Rome* from afar, was it possible to forget, that within those
“ walls were thy household Gods, thy mother, thy wife, thy children?
“ Yet none of these reflections had any power to move thee. The most
“ amicable offers, repeated offers from the Senate, by Ambassadors,
“ men of the highest worth and chosen from among thy friends, have
“ been rejected by thee with scorn. The intercession, the earnest in-
“ treaties, of the whole body of the Priesthood, those sacred ministers of
“ Religion, have had no power to move thy compassion. No; to sa-
“ tisfy thy boundless revenge, *Rome*, thy native City, must be sacked,
“ and its inhabitants reduced to slavery. A frenzy, a madness of anger
“ that transports thee! Offended Gods are appeased by supplications,
“ vows and sacrifices: Shall mortals be implacable? Will *Marcus* set
“ no bounds to his resentment?—But, be it, that thy enmity to thy
“ country is too violent to let thee listen to *her* petition for peace, yet
“ be not deaf, my son, be not inexorable to the prayers and tears of
“ thy mother. Thou darest the very appearance of ingratitude to-
“ wards the *Volsi*; and shall thy mother have reason to accuse thee of
“ being ungrateful? Call to mind the tender care I took of thy in-
“ fancy and earliest youth; the alarms, the anxiety, I suffered on thy
“ account, when, entered into the state of manhood, thy life was almost
“ daily exposed in foreign wars; the apprehensions, the terrors, I under-
“ went when I saw thee so warmly engaged in our domestick Quarrels,
“ and with heroic courage, opposing the unjust pretensions of the fu-
“ rious

" rious *Plebeians*, My sad forebodings of the event have been but too
 " well verified. Consider the wretched life I have endured, if it may be
 " called life, the time that has passed since I was deprived of thee. O
 " *Marcus*, refuse me not the only request I ever made thee; I will never
 " importune thee with any other. Cease thy immoderate anger, be re-
 " conciled to thy country, this is all I ask; grant me but this and we
 " shall both be happy. Freed from these tempestuous passions which
 " now agitate thy soul, and from all the torments of self-reproach, thy
 " days will flow smoothly on in the sweet serenity of conscious virtue:
 " And, as for me, if I carry back with me to *Rome* the hopes of an
 " approaching peace, an assurance of thy being reconciled to thy coun-
 " try, with what transports of joy shall I be received! In what honour,
 " in what delightful repose, shall I pass the remainder of my life! What
 " immortal glory shall I have acquired! And, if it be true, that there
 " are different places for our souls; after death, I shall be in no danger
 " of descending to those subterraneous and gloomy caverns where the
 " wicked are confined. Nay, the Elysian fields, that delicious abode
 " allotted for the virtuous, will not be the place of my habitation, but
 " the pure and sublime region of the air, which is said to be inhabited
 " by the children of the Gods. My soul shall there publish the praises
 " of thy piety and affection to me, and never cease importuning the Gods
 " to grant thee a full recompence of all thy merit.

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 Four hun-
 dred eigh-
 ty-seven.

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 second
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" But I give myself up too much to these pleasing views. What will
 " become of me, if thou continuest implacable? Dost thou believe,
 " that, covered with the shame of a contemptuous denial, I will live
 " till thy arms have decided our doom? That I will wait that dismal
 " day, when I shall see my son either led in triumph by his country-
 " men, or erecting trophies on the ruins of that City where he was born?
 " No, *Marcus*, be assured, that if I cannot move thee to compliance, I
 " will here put an end to my life in thy presence: Thou shalt not march
 " to *Rome*, without treading over the body of her who bore thee. And if
 " this has not power to stop thy fury, yet consider at least, that, by thy
 " bringing slavery on thy country, thy wife and thy children must inevita-
 " bly fall under the same calamity, or avoid it by a speedy death."

Carionius made no attempt to interrupt *Veturia* while she was speak-
 ing; and when she had ceased, he still continued in a deep silence. Anger,
 hatred, and desire of revenge, balanced in his heart those softer
 passions which the sight and discourse of his mother had awakened in his
 breast. She perceiving his irresolution, and fearing the event, thus re-
 newed her expostulation:

" Why dost thou not answer me, my son? Is there then such a great-
 " ness of mind in giving *all* to resentment? Art thou ashamed to grant
 " any thing to a mother who thus intreats thee, thus humbles herself to
 " thee? If it be so, to what purpose should I longer endure a wretched
 " life?" As she uttered these last words, interrupted by sighs, she

Plut. p.
 31.

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dred eigh-
ty-seven.
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D. Hal. B.
S. p. 523.
Plut. p.
231.
D. Hal. B.
S. p. 524.

threw herself prostrate at his feet; his wife and children did the same; and all the other women, with united voices of doleful accent, begged and implored his pity.

The *Volscian* officers, not able unmoved to behold this scene, turned away their eyes: But *Coriolanus*, almost beside himself to see *Veturia* at his feet, passionately cried out: *Ab! mother, what is it you do?* And, tenderly pressing her hand in raising her up, he added, in a low voice, *Rome is saved, but your son is lost.*

And now, taking his mother and his wife aside to a private conference, it was agreed between them, that he should immediately retire with his army out of the *Roman* territory; that nothing should be done by the Senate or People in favour of his return to *Rome* till a peace was concluded; that he should employ all his credit to bring the *Volsci* to reasonable terms of accommodation; and that, in case their past success made them obstinate, he should then lay down the command of their armies, which would probably be a means to bring them to a better temper. After this the women took their leave of him, and he turned his thoughts wholly to obtain an honourable peace for his country.

Fame carried to *Rome* the news of the Ladies success, before they could arrive there themselves; so that crowds of people came out and met them with grateful acclamations. A decree, allowing them to chuse their own reward, was presently passed with the unanimous consent of both orders. The Ladies, when they had consulted together, agreed to ask nothing but permission to erect, at their own expence, in the place where they had overcome the obstinacy of *Coriolanus*, a Temple to *Women's Fortune*. The Senate highly applauded their disinterested nobleness of spirit, but would not suffer them to pay either for the Temple or the Statue that was to be worshipped in it. These were erected at the publick charge; and *Valeria*, who had counselled so fortunate a deputation, was the first Priestess of this sanctuary.

Early the next morning after *Coriolanus's* conference with his mother, he broke up his camp, and peaceably marched his army homewards. No-body had the boldness to contradict his orders, though many were exceedingly dissatisfied with his conduct, while others excused it, being more affected with his filial respect to his mother than with their own interests. As soon as he was arrived in the territory of the *Volsci*, he made a present to the soldiers of all the spoil that had fallen to his share during the whole campaign, and then dismissed them. This liberality increased their affection to him, so that they made his apology wherever they went.

But *Tullus*, who had long been jealous of the esteem and credit which his rival had gained with the soldiery, no sooner saw him returned to *Antium*, than he laid hold of the fair occasion which that return afforded to work his destruction; accusing him, in a full assembly of the Citizens, of having basely betrayed the *Volsci*; and commanding him to deliver up his communion, and give an account of his conduct in the war.

Coria-

Coriolanus did not refuse a trial, but insisted upon being tried by the General Council of the Nation, and not by the *Antiates* alone, among whom his enemy had too many dependants devoted to his will. This contest was a while obstinately carried on, till at length the *Volscian*, impatient to compass his design, and having suborned some Assassins, sent a summons to the *Roman* to appear in judgment on a certain day to clear himself of treason. On the day appointed, *Tullus* mounted his tribunal, and, having first charged his adversary with various crimes against the State, exhorted the people to employ violence, if the accused did not instantly abdicate his office. *Coriolanus* would have answered to the charge, and many of the assembly were disposed to hear him candidly; but when he began to speak, his voice was immediately drowned by clamours from *Tullus's* faction; and the most audacious of them crying out, Down with him, kill him, kill him, the furious rabble in a few moments stoned him to death.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-seven.
Twenty-
second
Consulship.

D. Hal. B.
8. P. 528.

Such was the end of this great man, according to *Dionysius* and *Plutarch*, who likewise agree in telling us, that the nation of the *Volsci* in general were not pleased with the murder of the hero, but much regretted the loss of him, and, after a pompous funeral, erected a stately tomb to his memory. *Dionysius* adds, that the *Romans* themselves, both men and women, on the first news of his death, went into mourning for him; but *Plutarch* will have it, that the men did nothing that expressed either honour for his memory, or resentment against him, yet suffered the women, at their own request, to wear mourning ten months, the longest mourning allowed by the laws of *Numa*.

Plut. p.
233.
D. Hal. B.
8. P. 530.

Livy says nothing of the mourning of men or women at *Rome*, for their countryman. He seems to give no credit to the story of the murder, but rather to believe the report of *Fabius* (whom he styles *By far the most ancient of the Latine Historians*) that *Coriolanus* lived long, and in his last years was frequently heard to say, *That exile, always grievous, was much more so in old age* *.

B. 2. c. 40.

* *FABIUS's* report is not incredible. *Coriolanus* had rejected all the offers of advantage to himself made him by the Senate, had been deaf to all the solicitations of his best friends, and had only yielded to his mother; and filial piety, in those days, was a high point of virtue. And accordingly both *Dionysius* and *Plutarch* tell us, that those of the army who disliked his retreat from before *Rome*, did not look upon him as treacherous, but thought his action pardonable; he being pressed to it by such affecting motives. Add to this, that the hearts of the soldiers

were gained to him by his liberality; and the whole nation indebted to him for extraordinary services. It may therefore easily be supposed, that they did not refuse him a quiet retreat in their country; and if we consider his haughty and unforgiving temper, and his inextinguishable hatred to the *Roman* Tribunes and the popular party, these will sufficiently account for his not seeking, or even desiring to return to *Rome*.

According to *CICERO* (in *Lat.*) *CORIO- LANUS* killed himself.

It may be proper, in the close of the history of this famous Roman, to mention, that, though DIONYSIUS (whom PLUTARCH copies) has been followed, in the text, in what he says of CORIOLANUS's *Consent* to be *tried* by the *People*, and of his *Defence*, at his *Trial*, against the accusations of the *Tribunes*; yet from the character of this *Patrician*, so haughty, obstinate, and untractable, LIVY's account seems more credible. Not a word in the *Latine* Historian of any such *Consent*, or *Defence*, or even *Trial*. He affirms, that CORIOLANUS did not appear on the day appointed for his *Trial*, and was condemned in his absence.

Dr. Madaison, in his *Treatise on the Roman Senate*, (p. 21.) prefers the authority of DIONYSIUS to that of LIVY. "Where these (says he) happen to differ, it cannot be difficult to decide, which of them ought to have the preference; nay, it is already decided by the *Judgment of all the best Criticks*; who, upon the comparison, have universally preferred the *diligence and accuracy* of DIONYSIUS to the *haste and negligence* of LIVY."

To call in question the *Judgment of all the best Criticks* must be an extreme presumption. I shall therefore only say, that if so mighty an authority had not decided in favour of DIONYSIUS, I should, in many instances, prefer (with regard to the history of the earliest times of Rome) the *brevity* of LIVY to the *ample and circumstantial* accounts, and *seeming accuracy* of DIONYSIUS: because I should suspect, that the *abundance* of the *Greek* Historian was in no measure owing to his *Diligence*, but to his *Baldness* in supplying from himself what he could not find elsewhere to make out his story. Several passages, I think, might be produced from his *Roman Antiquities* to justify this suspicion. We shall see by and by, whether his account of CORIOLANUS's affair will not alone be sufficient. At present I shall proceed to observe, that LIVY not only differs from DIONYSIUS, with relation to the facts above mentioned, but seems to have known nothing of that *Assembly of the People by Tribes* (the first assembly of the kind) which the *Greek* Historian reports to have passed sentence of banishment against CORIOLANUS. PLUTARCH makes the same report, and doubtless on his countryman's authority; and, I believe, that, on the same authority, and on that alone, all the learned moderns, who have treated of the *Roman Comitia*, have, without scruple, admitted the fact. Nevertheless, there are some considerations which make it difficult to believe, that the *Roman People* voted by *Tribes*, when CORIOLANUS was condemned to banishment.

I. First, The SILENCE of LIVY, who says not one word of *Comitia Tributa*, on occasion of CORIOLANUS's affair, nor till he comes to VOLERO's Bill (which was twenty years after) for chusing the *TRIBUNES* in those Assemblies. He speaks particularly, and fully enough of the trials of *Menenius* and *Servilius* before the *People*, the one fifteen, the other sixteen years posterior to the banishment of CORIOLANUS; but on neither of these occasions does he say the least word of *Tribes*: yet one would think, he could hardly have forbore mentioning, if it were true, what DIONYSIUS relates; namely, That those *Consuls* were tried in *Comitia Tributa*, and that every one of the *Tribes* gave sentence against *Menenius*, the son of their greatest benefactor; and not one *Tribe* voted against *Servilius*.

It is almost incredible that LIVY, in writing of the times, when so important a change is pretended to have been made in the constitution of the Republick, should pass it over, without the least notice, if History did really afford any proof of that change being then made.

Whether COMITIA TRIBUTA, *Assemblies of the People*, upon which the SENATE was to have no controul, should be introduced for the *Trial* of SENATORS, in *Capital Causes*, was surely a question of much greater moment to the SENATE, than whether the *Plebeians* should be suffered to chuse, in such assemblies, their own proper advocates, and legal protectors, the *TRIBUNES*: yet we find LIVY very ample upon

upon the dispute and struggle occasioned by VOLERO's Bill, and wholly silent as to any contest about *Comitia Tributa*, in the affair of CORIOLANUS.

Is it in any degree probable, that the Senators would have struggled with the Tribunes and the People, almost to a civil war, (as both *Livy* and *Dionysius* report) to hinder the TRIBUNES from being elected in *Comitia by Tribes*, if they had already consented to let *Senators* and *Consulars* be tried for their lives in such assemblies?

II. NOT only the SILENCE of LIVY concerning *Comitia Tributa* before VOLERO's time, but likewise what he SAYS, in speaking of VOLERO's Bill, seems to furnish good reasons to question the truth of *Dionysius's* date of the introduction of those *Comitia*. In Book II. chap. lx. *Livy* has these words:—"Thus with various fortune in war, and furious discord both at home and abroad, passed this year^a, made memorable chiefly by the COMITIA TRIBUTA. The affair was more considerable for the victory itself, than for the benefit got by it. For neither the *Plebeians* acquired, nor the *Senators* lost so much strength, as the COMITIA themselves lost Dignity, by the exclusion of the *Senators* from the Council." [*Varia fortuna belli, atroci discordia domi forisque ANNVM exactum INSIGNEM MAXIME COMITIA TRIBUTA EFFICIUNT. Res major victoria suscepti certaminis quam usu. Plus enim dignitatis Comitibus ipsis detractum est, Patribus ex concilio subinovendis, quam virium aut Plebi additum aut ademptum Patribus.*]

M. Crevier * thinks it difficult to reconcile this passage of the historian with another, where he makes the first mention of VOLERO's BILL, for choosing the TRIBUNES in *Comitia Tributa*: "No trivial thing, under a plausible pretext and a harmless appearance at first, was proposed; but which would deprive the Patricians of all power of creating, by the votes of their Clients, such TRIBUNES as they liked." [*Haud parva res, sub titulo primâ specie minimè atroci, ferebatur; sed quæ Patriciis omnem potestatem per Clientium suffragia creandi quos vellent Tribunos auferret.*]

* See n. 2.
on Liv. l.
ii. c. 56.

If it were a duty incumbent on every reader of an ancient author to make him always consistent with himself, I should, on this occasion, say, That when *Livy* calls VOLERO's Bill *no trivial matter*, and a few lines after, *a thing weighty in itself*, [*Res suo molimine gravis*,] it is not with reference to its depriving the Patricians of their Influence in the Elections of TRIBUNES: for it appears plainly, that, though they were busy enough in those elections, they had no great influence on the voters; and were far from being able to create such Tribunes as they approved: otherwise, they certainly would not have suffered VOLERO to be two years successively in the Tribuneship. But they neither could hinder his election, nor get into the college any one man who would oppose his measures: By the power therefore of the Patricians, by the votes of their Clients, to create Tribunes, *Livy* can only mean to intimate, that this was pretended by VOLERO, and offered as the reason for preferring his Bill; the avowed aim of which (whatever might be the secret one) was to put an end to undue influence in the election of Tribunes. And *Livy* seems to allow this pretence to be specious, and no way unreasonable. For what else can be the meaning of those words, *sub titulo primâ specie minimè atroci*?

And when the Historian, after saying, *annum insignem maxime Comitia Tributa efficiunt*, adds, *Res major victoria quam usu, plus enim dignitatis, &c.* I apprehend his meaning to be, that the difference was really very inconsiderable as to the influence of the Patricians in the People's choice of Tribunes. M. Crevier seems to Loc. cit. doubt, whether there was any difference. *Quomodo per Clientium suffragia minus*

valerent Paucis Tributis Comitiiis, quàm Curitiis, quibus antea Tribuni creabantur, haud satis liquet. And this makes it the harder for him to reconcile *Res major victoria quàm usu*, with *Haud parva res*. But M. C. Cæsar, to increase the difficulty, has taken into consideration not only what *Livy* intimates, but what *Dionysius* tells us of the difference between *Comitia Curiata* and *Comitia Tributa*. The Senators were excluded the *Comitia Tributa*, according to *Livy*: and, according to *Dionysius* (when he speaks of *VOLERO's* Bill) no previous *Senatus Consultum*, nor Sacrifices, nor *Auspicia* (of which the *Patricians* had the sole management) were necessary to the holding these *Comitia*, and to the making valid what was determined there; all which were necessary in the other.

Haud parva res.] Hæc non facile conciliari posse videntur cum iis quæ infra de hac eadem re habet *Livius* in fine c. 60. ubi *plis dignitatis Comitiiis* per hanc actionem detractum ait, *quam virum aut Plebi additum, aut ademptum Patribus*. Nec vero mediocriter imminuta videtur hac lege *Patrum Potentia*. Primo enim *Patres* ex *Comitiis Tributis* submovebantur, quod docet noster in illa c. 60. loco quem jam attulimus. Inde est, quòd *Comitia* hæc habebantur *Plebi* propria, & leges in iis latæ *Plebiscita* nuncupabantur. 2º. *Dionysius* hac ip[s]a de lege agens l. ix. docet iisdem *Comitiis* necessarium non fuisse ut *Senatus* auctor fieret. 3º. Nihil in iis opus fuisse sacris aut auspiciis quorum arbitri *Patres* erant. *Græc. Liv. p. 146.*

Now, supposing that these were, from the beginning, the distinguishing privileges of the *Comitia Tributa*, and that *Livy* had these in his mind, it will not be difficult to see, why he calls *VOLERO's* Bill *haud parva res*, and *res suo molimine gravis*. For the very introduction (under any pretence whatsoever) by full and undisputed authority, of *Comitia Tributa*, (a new sort of general Assemblies of the People, from which the *SENATORS* were to be, in all senses, excluded) was doubtless a matter of great moment; tho' the mere transferring the elections of the *Tribunes* from the *Curie* to the *Tribes* was not so. This latter might be *res major victoria quàm usu*.

Dionysius tells us, that *VOLERO*, in his second Tribuneship, before the bill was passed, added to it these clauses, That the *Ædiles* should be elected in *Comitia* by *Tribes*, and that these ASSEMBLIES should have power of concluding all matters, the cognizance and determination of which belonged to the PEOPLE. [*πάντα τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ἐκτελεῖσθαι δεῖται, τὰς ἐκκλησίαις ἀποδοῦναι.* Et quicquid aliud apud POPULUM agi decernerique oporteret.] An addition, says the Historian, which imported nothing less than an abrogation of the power of the Senate, and a transfer of it to the People.

D. Hal. L. ix. p. 600.

7 505.

The very learned author of a late work, intitled, *ELEMENTS OF THE ROMAN LAW*, p. 203. speaks, as if he thought, that the clause *Quicquid aliud, &c.* had passed with the rest of the Bill into a Law. But *Dionysius* does not expressly say this: he seems rather, in the close of his story, to confine the matter of the Law to the Election of *Tribunes* and *Ædiles* in *Comitia Tributa*. And, had he expressly said, that the Bill was passed with that clause, yet the thing would be absolutely incredible; because, in that case, the electing of *Consuls*, and of all the *Curule Magistrates*; and the determination of all matters cognizable by the *Comitia Censuriata* would have been transferred to the *Comitia Tributa*; which no-body has ever imagined.

But to return to *Livy's* words, *ANNUM INSIGNEM MAXIME COMITIA TRIBUTA EFFICIUNT*, I shall leave it to the readers consideration, whether, as the Historian never mentions *Comitia Tributa*, till he comes to the year when *VOLERO* preferred his Bill, those words do not import, that the use of *Comitia Tributa* was first introduced into the Republick in that year. If the leading men of the *Plebeians* had formed the project of bringing *Comitia by Tribes* into use, for various sorts of business, they could not have thought of a more easy and natural way of introducing such *Comitia*, than by demanding them at first, only for the electing of *Tribunes*; nothing having a greater appearance of reason, than that the *Plebeians* should be

quite free in the choice of their own proper advocates and protectors. And this I take to have been the real fact :

COMITIA TRIBUTA were introduced, under that pretence, by the Tribune VOLERO, to revenge himself amply on the *Patricians* for the affront he had received from them; and not twenty years before, by the Tribune *Suinnius*, for the trial of CORIOLANUS, as *Dionysius* reports.

III. The many *improbabilities* and *inconsistencies*, and the *long elaborate speeches* in DIONYSIUS's account of the first introduction of *Comitia by Tribes*, furnish ground to suspect, that his principal aim in that account was to get an opportunity of displaying his own talent of oratory; and not to instruct his readers by a true relation of facts. Whoever peruses attentively what he has written of the dispute between the SENATE and the TRIBUNES, concerning CORIOLANUS, will, I think, observe, that there were three points in question.

1. WHETHER an *Assembly of the People* could legally take cognizance of a criminal accusation, brought against a *Senator*, or any *Patrician*?

CORIOLANUS at first declares, that he is accountable to the CONSULS *only*, and D. H. l. I. that he will in no instance, in nothing, [*πρὸ ὅδινος πρᾶγματος*] submit himself to the ^{vii. p. 443.} judgment of the People. Yet, when he finds that the majority of the Senate are of a different opinion, he consents to be tried by the People; provided he be accused of nothing but the greatest of all crimes, *aiming at the TYRANNY*. Nay, in the end, he consents (according to *Dionysius*) to be tried on this article in an ^{p. 463.} *Assembly of the People*, where the *Tribunes*, whom he had just before reviled and insulted, are to be Lords President; [and where the *Consuls* and *Senators* (according to some learned writers) could not be present.] ^{p. 467.}

APPIUS CLAUDIUS pretends, that the SENATE is the only court where a *Patrician* can legally be brought into judgment: and, to support this opinion, he is furnished by the historian with the most senseless arguments that can be imagined. ^{p. 453, & seq.}

THE CONSULS, and *Valerius*, and the majority of the Senate, have more reason ^{p. 460, &} and temper. They do not deny, that a *Patrician* may be brought into judgment before the People: they only insist on the necessity of a previous Decree of the Senate, ^{seq.} authorizing the *Assembly of the People* to try and judge the accused.

2. THIS therefore was the second Point, *Whether, granting the people to have the prerogative of judging Patricians, they could legally exercise it in any particular cause without a previous SENATUS CONSULTUM, authorizing them to hear and judge that Cause.* The Consuls say, *no*: the Tribunes say, *yes*; founding their claim on the VALERIAN LAW for appeals to the People, in case of oppression by the Nobles; which law would be rendered vain if the oppressors had the power of hindering, by the refusal of a *Senatus Consultum*, the complaint from being brought by appeal before the People.

Nevertheless, the Tribunes do at length, with regard to the particular cause of CORIOLANUS, consent to ask a *Senatus Consultum*, authorizing the People to try him. This being obtained,

3. THE third point in question was, concerning the *Form* of the *Assembly*, in which the accused should be tried. But it is to be remarked, that (according to our historian) this question does not come into dispute, till the very hour when the people are assembled to hear the cause.

The *Consuls* and *Patricians*, perceiving the purpose of the Tribunes to have the people vote by *Tribes*, remonstrate against it, and make a mighty clamour. They urge the established custom of the People's voting by *Centuries*, on all affairs, referred to them by the Senate. Nevertheless, after some time spent in altercation, they yield the point to the Tribunes; a point of greater moment than any they had before disputed.

THE unlikelihood of these facts (not to say the falsity of the relation) would have appeared in a stronger light, if our *diligent* and *accurate* Historian had, on occasion of this his pretended Introduction of *Comitia Tributa*, declared the distinguishing privileges and properties of these *Assemblies*. But, instead of instructing us fully in those Points, he gives us a description of the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, which he had already given in his IVth Book; and of the *Comitia Tributa* says nothing but,

1. THAT in these *Assemblies* the vote of a poor man was equal in value to the vote of a rich man. And,

2. THAT *all* [the Citizens] had votes. (For this is intimated in the *Reason* he gives for thinking that in this dispute the Tribunes were more in the right than their opponents, viz. That the cognizance of crimes against the publick equally belonged to *all*.)

Now the *first* of these does in no wise distinguish the *Comitia Tributa* from the *Comitia Curiata*.

And the *second* seems not to be true.

Taylor's
Elem. of
Civ. Law,
p. 198. Indeed the learned Writer, just now mentioned, speaking of a TRIBUNE's right to summon the People to the COMITIA TRIBUTA, adds, in a parenthesis, (*where the Patricians also might be present and vote, if they pleased; but could not be compelled, nor were they SUMMONED.*) And it is expressly asserted by Lælius (apud A. Gell. xv. 27.) That the *Patricians* were not summoned to the Councils called by the Tribunes. [Is qui non universum populum sed partem aliquam adesse jubet, non Comitia sed Concilium edicere debet. Tribuni autem neque ADVOCANT Patricios, neque ad eos referre ulla de re possunt: ita ne Leges quidem propriè, sed Plebiscita appellantur, quæ Tribuni Plebis ferentibus accepta sunt.] But this same Lælius (whoever he was) does not say, that the *Patricians might be present and vote if they pleased*. And it would seem from Livy's words, above cited, [Patribus ex concilio submovendis] that the *Senators* at least, if not *all* the *Patricians*, were absolutely excluded from the *Comitia Tributa*, when held for the election of Tribunes. Manutius, as to this point, speaks confidently, in his comment on the following words from Livy, L. I. c. 17. Patres decreverunt ut cum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent: hodieque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem jus, vi adempta. Priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum Comitiorum eventum Patres auctores fiunt.

On this passage Manutius (cap. ix.) writes thus: Non iis Comitiiis quæ Plebeius magistratus habebat, quæ Tributa dicebantur, sed iis quæ Patricius, hoc est Centuriatis & Curiatis, patres auctores fiebant. Qui enim credibile est, auctoritate patrum Comitia Tributa confirmari oportuisse, cum PATRES (ut Lib. II. Livius docet) iis Comitiiis quibus Plebeii magistratus crearentur VOLERONTIS, (Tribuni Plebis) LEGE SUMMOTI SINT? Vero igitur similis est, non de omnibus Comitiiis, sed tantum de centuriatis & curiatis, quibus adesse Patriciis licebat, Livium intellexisse.

We see here that Manutius not only is clear, as to the exclusion of the *Senators* from the *Assemblies* where the Tribunes were chosen; but, by the words *quibus adesse Patriciis licebat*, intimates, that there were *Comitia* quibus adesse Patriciis non licebat, and that *all* the *Patricians* were excluded from the *Assemblies* held by the *Plebeian Magistrates*, i. e. by the Tribunes and *Ædiles*.

And this is agreeable to the Definitions given of *Plebiscitum* and *Plebs* in the *Institutes*.

L. i. T. 2.
§. 4. PLEBISCITUM est, quod Plebs, Plebeio magistratu interrogante (veluti Tribuno) constituebat. PLEBS autem à POPULO eo differt quo species à genere: nam appellatione POPULI universi cives significantur, connumeratis etiam Patriciis & Senatoribus. PLEBIS autem appellatione sine Patriciis & Senatoribus cæteri cives significantur.

BUT,

But to return to *Dionysius*. Though he gives us little instruction concerning the *Comitia Tributa*, when he first speaks of them; yet when we come to *VOLERO*'s Law for chusing the *Tribunes* in those Assemblies, he mentions two or three particulars in which *Comitia Tributa* differed from *Comitia Curiata*. A previous *Senatus Consultum* was requisite, before the latter could enter upon business; and, when they had done, their determinations could not be ratified, till, after due enquiry, it was found that neither the Gods, nor the Birds had any thing to object. But in the *Comitia Tributa*, no Decree of the Senate, no Sacrifices, no approving Birds, were necessary; and all business was dispatched in one day.

Legem promulgavit [Volero] de Electione Tribunorum, eam quidem ex Curiatis, quæ eo nomine a Romanis appellantur, in Comitia Tributa mutans. Quodnam autem sit horum Comitiorum discrimen, ego declarabo. Curiata Comitia oportebat, præcedente S. Cto, & suffragiis a Plebe curiatim latis, atque post hoc utrumque signis divinis avibusque non adversantibus, tunc demum rata esse: Tributa vero Comitia sine S. Cto, atque sine sacrificiis, nullisque avibus addicentibus, uno die a Tribulibus peragi. D. Hal. Lib. ix. p. 598. D. Tayl. Trans.

It is to be remarked, that *Dionysius*, on the present occasion, omits mentioning, not only what *Livy* intimates — the Exclusion of the SENATORS from the COMITIA TRIBUTA, — but several properties of those *Comitia*, which the Learned have enumerated, and which (if they really belonged to those Assemblies, from the time of their first institution) so diligent and accurate an Historian ought not to have passed over in silence.

Perhaps it will be agreeable to the reader, if I here insert some Extracts, from the valuable *Work* abovementioned, concerning the Roman *Comitia*, and the difference between *LEX* and *PLEBISCITUM*. For though the matters are; most of them, treated in the foregoing sheets, and particularly in a long Extract, from Mr. KENNET's *Roman Antiquities*, which is given in B. I. chap. vii. yet the reader will, by a repetition, here, of such particulars as I shall have occasion for, in what I have further to say on the present Question, be spared the trouble of turning back to find them: and there are, in what I shall transcribe from the valuable *Work*, some excellent hints and observations not mentioned any where before in this History.

- “ A FAIR account of the several sorts of Roman Law will give us a competent view of the Roman constitution. Dr. Taylor's Elem. of the Civil Law, p. 178. J. 1. 2. 4.
- “ *LEX* is, quod *Populus Romanus*, *senatorio magistratu interrogante, constituit*:
- “ *PLEBISCITUM*, quod *PLEBS*, *plebeio magistratu*.
- “ The three essential differences between *Lex* and *Plebiscitum* are,
- “ 1. The enacting Parties; *POPULUS* on the one hand, and *PLEBS* on the other.
- “ 2. The Legislator, or person proposing; a member of the Senate in that instance, and a Tribune in this. And,
- “ 3. (What is not expressed above) the difference of the *Comitia*, or Assembly in either case. [Of each of these in their order.]

I.

“ *POPULUS ROMANUS* — *PLEBS*.

- “ The people of Rome, taken collectively, was called *POPULUS*. From which *PLEBS* differed, as *species a genere*, says *Justinian*, rather as *pars a toto*. p. 179. J. 1. 2. 4.
- “ Every Roman was by birth either a *Patrician* or a *Plebeian*. The former are generally supposed to descend from the better class of citizens at the first establishment of the constitution; the sons and lineage of those whom *Romulus* called to his Council, and whom he named *Patres*, either *ab ætate*, or *ab auctoritate*.

“ *ritate*. The descendents of the rest, the *Plebeii*, were for some time—excluded
 “ from all honours.—They came by degrees to share in most parts of the admini-
 “ stration, but still continued a different class of people, with different rights and
 “ distinction of character. So that the best way of conceiving this division would
 “ be, to consider the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* as two factions in the state, blended
 “ indeed very frequently in regard to honours, rank and condition, but still sepa-
 “ rated by descent and family interests. For instance: the distribution of the Ro-
 “ mans into *Senatores Equites & Plebem*, was not a distribution of species, or sort,
 “ but rank, order or degree. It was a verse of *Ausonius*, I think,

“ *Martia Roma triplex, Equitatu, Plebe, Senatu.*

“ where *Plebeians* are not such as lately were opposed to *Patricians* (for the *Equites*
 “ were *Patricians* or *Plebeians* indifferently, and so were the Senators) but those,
 “ whose *Census* or estate was below the the *Census* required for *Equites*:

Hor. 1.

“ *Si quadringentis jex septem millia desint,*

Epist. 1.

“ *Plebs eris* —————

58.

“ So again, when the *Romans* were divided into *Nobiles* and *Novi*, this is also a
 “ distinction of rank, not nativity, and affects not the distinction of *Patricians* and
 “ *Plebeians*. *Nobiles* were such whose ancestors had borne particular offices, whe-
 “ ther they were *Patricians* or *Plebeians*. So that many *Plebeians* were *Nobiles*,
 “ and many *Patricians* not so. —————

P. 180.

“ If it be asked, whether this distinction of *Populus* and *Plebs* be uniformly
 “ maintained, I answer, that neither in this nor in any other instance were the
 “ *Romans* such slaves to language as not to depart from some settled rules upon
 “ may occasions. Thus *Populus* (properly the whole people of *Rome* universally)
 “ is yet, in the following instance, opposed to *Plebs*, or a part of itself:

Cic. x.

“ *LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX. SENAT. POP. PL. Q. R. S. D.*

Fam. 35.

“ And, on the contrary, *Populus* sometimes stands for *Plebs*, as distinguished
 “ from the other division of the Roman people:

Hor. 2.

“ *Primores Populi arripuit, Populumque tributum.*

Sat. 1. 69.

I.

“ The second difference, was the officer who made the proposal. It was a
 “ Magistrate who proposed the *Lex*: the *Plebiscitum*, a Tribune only. And as
 “ magistracies and offices among the *Romans* were pretty numerous, be it remem-
 “ bered, that it was one of the *Magistratus Majores*, or the Magistrates of a high-
 “ er order only, such, namely, *penes quos erant majora Reip. auspicia*.

“ These were either ORDINARY, as *Consul, Prætor, Censor*, or EXTRAORDI-
 “ NARY, as *Interrex, Dictator, Decemviri Legibus Scribendis, Trib. Mil. Cos. Pot.*
 “ *Triumviri R. P. C.* —————

III.

P. 185.

“ The third difference between *Lex* and *Plebiscitum*, though not commonly
 “ expressed in the definitions of them, is the difference of that court or assembly,
 “ at which each of these were enacted.

“ The Assemblies or *Comitia* of the *Romans*, were *Curiata, Centuriata, Tributa*.
 “ In the two former were the *Leges* enacted, in the latter the *Plebiscita*.

“ COMITIA CURIATA.

“ It is sufficient to understand in general, that *Romulus* divided his people into
 “ Three Tribes; and each Tribe into *Ten Curie*. During the reign of the five
 “ first Kings, the *Comitia Curiata* were the only Assemblies of the R. P. Here
 “ they chose Magistrates, enacted Laws, determined upon Peace and War, &c.

COMITIA CENTURIATA.

“ Under the former distribution, the vote of the meanest man was as effective
 “ as that of the best. *Servius* the sixth king desirous to throw the balance into
 “ the scale of the more valuable part of the people, cajoled the lower sort, by
 “ telling them, that, to ease their burden of being taxed to the exigencies of the
 “ publick in the same proportion with the rich, he desired them to bring in a true
 “ state of their condition, family, age, &c. upon oath. Having got this know-
 “ ledge of his subjects, he distributes them afresh according to their substance and
 “ condition. He divides them therefore into six classes, which consisted of 193
 “ Centuries.

“ Class I. Consisted only of Senators, Patricians, and men distinguished by
 “ their worth and riches. In this class were 18 Centuries of horse, and 80 Cen-
 “ turies of Foot; in all 98, &c.—

“ In both Assemblies, whether *Curia* or *Centuriata*, the question was not car- p. 185.
 “ ried by a majority of single voices, but by a majority of *Curia* or *Centuries*.
 “ [Whatever was voted by a majority of the *Curia*, was referred to the SENATE.]

“ Ο, τι ταῖς πλείοσι δόξαι φράτριας, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Βουλῇ ἀνέφερον. *D. Hal.* 11. 14.

“ (This *Senate* was composed of a few, and those of the better sort.—The
 “ *Comitia* was the popular Assembly of all the *Roman* citizens universally.)—
 “ I descend from generals and come to consider minutely the matter of *Tribes*,
 “ of *Curia*, and of *Centuries*.

“ The three *Tribes*, into which I observed *Romulus* had divided the original
 “ people of *Rome*, were either *Rhamnenses*, such as came with him from *Alba*: *Ta-*
 “ *tiones* such as came in, under *Tatius* the king of the *Sabines*: or lastly, *Luceres*,
 “ possibly that multitude that flocked in from all quarters, upon *Romulus*'s invi-
 “ tation.

“ But this division of the *Romans* into *Tribus* Πρῶται, as *D. Hal.* calls them (for
 “ it regarded the original, the stock, the descent of the constituents) did not pre-
 “ vail long: there ensued under *Servius* another, which was a *Local* Distribution,
 “ and which the same author accordingly calls Τοπικῆν. He divided, for instance,
 “ the city into four *Wards*, or *Regions*, which he called *Tribes* also: *Suburana*,
 “ *Esquilina*, *Collina*, *Palatina*; and denominated his people thus digested, not from
 “ the race they sprang from antiently, but the place they inhabited now. And
 “ this was also a more equal division. For the *Luceres*, besides being the more
 “ numerous, were daily increasing by a conflux of adventitious people, which
 “ the other were not.

“ The division of the *Romans* into *Tribes* and *Curia* resembles much the Athe- Vid. supr.
 “ nian distribution into ΦΥΛΑΙ or *Tribes*, which were again made up of several P. 25, 29,
 “ distinct Fraternities, called by them ΦΑΤΡΙΑΙ. 90.

“ I would have it denoted that the subdivision of the Athenian *Tribes* was two- p. 186.
 “ fold; the one a civil and political one, namely δῆμος: whereas the other of
 “ φάτριάι partakes more of a religious nature, as there was a temple, a place of
 “ worship (φράτριον) and also rites and sacrifices appropriated to each fraternity.—
 “ By what we can guess at this distance, the former (δῆμος) might resemble the
 “ wards of a city in a local consideration: the latter a separation into parishes,
 “ or, perhaps, companies or fraternities, distinct in place and habitation, but
 “ united in one common interest.

“ The *Roman* disposition was much of the same nature, but more simple;
 “ where the distribution into *Curia* seems to answer both the purposes last men-
 “ tioned.—

“ —When we are asked, what became of the *Comitia Curia* after the institution
 “ of the *Centuriata*, namely, when the votes of the people came to be collected
 “ not by fraternities or companies, but by a new distribution of the same people
 “ according.

p. 187. " according to their rank, consequence, and substance.—I answer in general, they
 II. A. 21. " were still retained, as we say, *dicis causâ*, or for form's sake, possibly, *quod in iis*
 § 11. " *maior esset sacrorum auctoritas*. So CICERO. *Prima illa comitia tenetis, centuriata*
 " *et tributa: curiata tantum auspiciis causâ remanserunt*.

" The conclusions of the *Comitia Centuriata* were still ratified here in shew,
 " this being the older and more constitutional Assembly of the two; and it was
 " easily conducted, thirty lictors or publick officers representing the thirty *Curia*.
 " And so Cicero seems to distinguish between the *vera Comitia Curjata*, and those
 II. 21. " *ad speciem atque ad usurpationem vetustatis per triginta lictores auspiciis causâ*
 § 12. " *adumbrata*.—

" It must not be forgot moreover, that in process of time the number of the
 " Tribes grew up from four to five and thirty, (the first being called *Urbanæ*, the
 " additional ones *Rusticæ*) without a correspondent enlargement of the *Curia*.
 " So that there was not a *Roman* who did not belong to some Tribe, and some
 " Century, but not necessarily to some one of the *Curia*.—

" For some time the Tribes², with their *Curia*, comprehended the People of
 " *Rome* in one manner of distribution, and the six Classes, with their Centuries
 " in another, without any mixture or relation: but, as Sigonius gathers from
 " Livy, afterwards these two distributions were united or blended together. Which
 " may be thus comprehended, viz. by conceiving the *Roman* people distributed
 " (as they were) into xxxv Tribes, each Tribe into six Classes, and every Class
 " into the appointed number of Centuries. Every class, which before took in
 " all the people of *Rome*, of that lot, or distinction, was now broke into xxxv
 " shares according to the number of the Tribes.——

p. 188. " It may be useful to take a short review of the manner of passing Laws at
 " *Rome*.——

" The person, who had a Law to propose, first wrote it over at home, and
 " shewed it his friends, before he proposed it, that there might be nothing in it
 " contrary to the form and necessary ingredients of such a proposal.

" Next followed a proclamation appointing a day to meet upon. There was
 " always a necessary interval of *Tres Nundinae*, or twenty-seven days, between this
 " proclamation, and the day of Assembly: That the *Tribus Rusticæ*, which came
 " from *Rome* to market, might be acquainted with the contents of the Law.——

p. 189. " It was not lawful to hold this court upon the very day of the *Nundinae*; but
 " it was held commonly, upon the day after. For the *Nundinae* were *Dies nefasti*.
 " —The same number of days was observed in summoning those *Comitia*, which
 " were held for the election of magistrates: that the candidates might have time to
 " apply, and the people to form their judgment.——

² By the Tribes, here spoken of, are meant, he says, that, " after the institution of the
 I presume, the four City-Tribes; that these " *Comitia Centuriata*—the votes of the peo-
 comprehended, (not all the *Roman* People, " ple come to be collected, not by fraterni-
 as the six classes with their centuries did, but) " ties or companies, but by a new distribu-
 the people who inhabited *Rome*, or belonged " tion of the *same People* according to their
 to the *Curia*; for the learned Writer has just " rank, consequence, and substance," the
 observed, that it was not necessary that every " like distinction is to be remembered; be-
Roman should belong to some one of the *Curia*, " cause the people of whom the fraternities or
 as it was, that he should belong to some " companies were composed, made but a part
 Tribe or Century. And so when in p. 186, " of the *Assembly by Centuries*.

" The

“ The same rule was observed in all causes that were heard by the People.—

“ If the proposer was of the *Magistratus Majores*, he commonly laid it before the Senate for their approbation: The Tribunes laid their *Plebiscita* before the People, without consulting the Senate.

“ When they were assembled, a crier proclaimed the Law after a clerk, that read it to him:

“ Then the proposal was supported or opposed, either by the magistrates, who had this right inherent in their office, or by private people, who had first obtained this leave from the magistrate.—

“ If any private man spoke, it was done before the magistrate spoke, that the latter might have no influence in swaying the former.

“ This was called *Legem suadere* or *dissuadere*.—

p. 190.

“ It was now the proper time for the interposition of the TRIBUNE, who by his VETO had a power of putting a stop to all business, which was called *Legi intercedere*. If nothing of this kind interfered, after some religious ceremonies, they proceeded to what was called *Sortitio*, which was thus: After the establishment of the classes and centuries, it prevailed for some time, that the centuries of the first class, which was a balance for all the rest, were called to give their votes first, which frequently determined the whole process. For, if they concurred in opinion, it was needless to take the sense of the rest.—If there was a necessity, the others were called in their order, till a majority of the centuries was obtained. This method after some continuance was altered, and the centuries not called out by any pre-eminence, but by lot. A box (*urna* or *stella*) was produced, and the names of the xxxv Tribes, upon billets or tickets, thrown in; and, the box being shaken, each tribe voted in the order, in which they were drawn out. And not only the Tribe, but the Century under that Tribe, was determined in the same method^b. For we have lately seen the centuries thrown in the Tribes, and involved in that distribution. The Tribe which was first drawn was called the *Prerogative Tribe*, and the Century in that Tribe, the *Prerogative Century*. And the person first called, *Honoris causa*, in that century, was called *Primus*.—

p. 191.

“ The lots being drawn for the Tribes and Centuries, the proposer of the law directed every man to repair to his Tribe or Century by these solemn words: SI VOBIS VIDETUR, DISCEDITE QUIRITES.

“ The votes were given for some time by word of mouth.—But about the year 614, A. *Gabinus* carried a question—That every man should vote in the election of officers, not by word of mouth, but by ballot. Two of these were given to every voter, the one inscribed A. i. e. ANTIQVO, the other U. R. i. e. UTI ROGAS. Two years afterwards, L. *Cassius* Trib. Pl.—proposed a law that such ballots should be used also in the courts of Judicature, inscribed A. i. e. ABSOLVO; C. CONDEMNO; N. L. NON LIQUET.—

p. 192.

“ Next to this A. 621, C. *Papirius Carbo* introduced them into the Comitia for the purpose we are now considering:—

“ —After the receipt of their billets, [from the *Distributores*, called also *Diribitores* and *Divisores*] they [the voters] were to proceed over an extempore stage of planks, raised on purpose, and called, from their likeness, *Pontes*; in number thirty-five, or 193, according as the Comitia were *Tributa* or *Centuriata*. From the straightness of the way I should conclude, they voted *viritim*.—

^b Mr. Kennet seems to differ from Dr. Taylor in this particular, making the *Prerogative Tribe* and the *Prerogative Century* only to be determined by lot, the rest to be *jure vocatae*, because they were called out according to their proper places. *Fide sup.* p. 94, 95.

“ A.

p. 193. " As at one end of the bridge they received their billets from the hands of the
 " *Dirigentes*, so at the other they returned them to the officers called *Rogatores*,
 " who were placed there with boxes or urns to receive them. But as both these
 " offices lay open to corruption,—they were sometimes chequed by inspectors,
 " *Custodes*, placed over them; sometimes people of the first character, to prevent
 " collusion, would execute these offices in their own person.—

" The people [the voters] after they had given their votes were immediately in-
 " closed behind rails or *Cancelli*, set up for that purpose (to prevent confusion in
 " the Assembly, or any foul play) and called with great simplicity, from their
 " likeness to sheep-pens, *OVILIA*.—

" After each Tribe (or Century) had passed by, the suffrages or votes of that
 " Tribe (or Century) which had been marked with dots or points, were cast up :—
 " Hence in *Horace* :—*Omne tulit punctum*.—

p. 198. " The power of this officer [the Tribune of the Commons] consisted in two
 " things, in *prohibendo* and in *rogando*. In virtue of the former, he had a place in
 " the Senate, but no vote, and by his single negative, or *Veto*, by the single *Veto*
 " of any one of the number, all proceedings were stopt.
 " In virtue of the other, viz. *Rogando*, he had a right to summon the people
 " to the *Comitia Tributa* (where the *Patricians* also might be present and vote, if
 " they pleased, but could not be compelled, nor were they summoned) and there
 " propose a question, which, if it passed into a Law, was therefore called *Plebiscitum*,
 " i. e. *Scitum Plebis*.

Festus in V. " *Scite Plebis appellantur ea, quæ Plebs suo suffragio sine Patribus jussit, Plebis*
 " *magistratus rogante.*

" For *sciscere*, *scire* &c. like *νομίζω* of the *Greeks*, is the same with *statuere*.—

p. 199. " These Laws at first bound only themselves, not the *Patricians*, and were not
 " properly Laws, but owed their strength chiefly to compact and connivance,
 " rather than proper authority, which they had not, *ob defectum majestatis*.
 " Afterwards—they bound the whole People.——

The learned Writer gives " the history of these proceedings as they are related
 " by some who seem [he says] to have considered them most accurately" [and
 he refers to *Functus de senect. L. L. pag. 445*, as if he borrowed the history
 from him.]

" *A. U. C. 260. Secessio in Montem Sacrum.* The constitution of the Tribunitial
 " Power, and a Decree. *Ut id ratum esset, quod Plebs ad se per Trib. Pleb. latum*
 " *jussisset, Livy 11. 33.*

" *A. U. C. 306. A second secession in Montem Aventinum M. HORATIUS Bar-*
 " *batius, and L. Valerius Potitus Coss.* the year of the abdication of the *Decemviri*.
 " *LEX HORATIA, ut quod Tributum Plebs jussisset, Populum teneret. Qua Lege*
 " *Tribunicis Rogationibus telum accerrimum datum est, Liv. 111. 55.*

" *A. U. C. 415. Publius Philo Dictator.* A law to explain and amend the act
 " of 306, where the word was *Populum*; viz. that the *Plebiscita* should oblige all
 " the *Quirites*. *Liv. viii. 12.* This Dictator is sometimes call'd *Publius*, and this
 " Law *LEX PUBLILIA*.

* [There seems to be some mistake here; for *Livy* does not mention in 11. 33. nor, I
 believe, any where else, a Decree made *A. U. C. 260. Ut id ratum esset, &c.*

A.

- “ A. U. C. 467. **LEX HORTENSIA.** *Hortensius Dictator; Secessio in Janiculum.*
 “ [Epit. Liv. lib. xi.] The *Patricians* had attempted to frustrate the *Lex Horatia*.
 “ And now the people were pacified with the ratification of it, by the *Lex Hortensia*.
 “ *Tribuni neque advocant Patricios, neque ad eos referre ulla de re possunt: ita ne*
 “ *Leges quidem proprie, sed Plebiscita appellantur, quæ Tribunis Pl. ferentibus accepta*
 “ *sunt.* **QUIBUS ROGATIONIBUS ANTE PARTICIUM NON TENEBANTUR, DONEC**
 “ **Q. HORTENSIVS DICTATOR EAM LEGEM TULIT, ut eo jure, quod Plebes sta-**
 “ *tuisset omnes Quirites tenerentur,* Gell. xv. 27.
 “ *Q. Hortensius Dictator, cum Plebs secessisset in Janiculum, legem in Esqueto tulit,*
 “ *ut quod ea jussisset, omnes Quirites teneret,* Plin. xvi. 10.
 “ This history is, in some parts of it, controverted by other writers.
 “ Thus *Plebiscita* became Laws.—

p. 200.

“ To close with the

“ **COMITIA TRIBUTA.**

“ We have seen the distinction between the *Comitia Curiata*, and the *Comitia Centuriata* of the Romans:—it is proper to consider the third sort, the *Comitia Tributa*.
 “ The account given of each of these by a writer in *A. Gellius* stands thus:

“ *Quam ex generibus Hominum suffragium feratur, Curiata Comititia esse; quum ex*
 “ *Censu & Ætate, Centuriata; quum ex regionibus & locis, Tributa,* xv. 27.

“ Forgetting therefore, that there ever were such Assemblies as the *Curiata*, we
 “ find the sense of the Roman People ordinarily taken in that Council, which
 “ *Servius* established by a digestion of his subjects according to age, quality, and
 “ condition, and called it the *Comitia Centuriata*. It was in this they held the
 “ elections of magistrates, the trials of offences, the deliberations about peace and
 “ war; and here were all matters adjusted relating to legislation, to adoptions, and
 “ to last wills and testaments. In a word, it was the only Assembly for transacting
 “ publick business.

“ Upon this account it was never called but by the officers of the first distinction,
 “ and held with very extraordinary rites and solemnities, viz. with those kinds of
 “ religious services, which were appropriated to the *Patricians*, to the exclusion
 “ of the other part of the subjects.

“ *Penes quos igitur sunt auspicia more majorum? nempe penes Patres. Nam plebeius*
 “ *quidem Magistratus nullus auspicio creatur. Nobis adeo propria sunt auspicia, ut*
 “ *non solum quos populus creat Patricios Magistratus, non aliter, quam auspicio, creet:*
 “ *sed nos quoque ipsi sine suffragio populi auspicio interregem prodamus, & privatim au-*
 “ *spicia habeamus, quæ isti ne in Magistratibus quidem habent,* Liv. vi. 41.

“ 1. This was therefore one great and essential difference between the two As-
 “ semblies [the *Centuriata* and the *Tributa*.]—

“ Hence it was, that the *Patricians* being seized of the auspices, and many reli- p. 201.
 “ gious rites, would frequently disappoint the commons (who had an interest in
 “ a bill, or a point to carry) under a pretence of religion; and make an adjourn-
 “ ment, in order to gain time for canvassing. It was called *Obnunciare* when
 “ they reported the auspices to be unfavourable.—

“ But the *Comitia by Tribes* had nothing of all this, were opened with little or
 “ no ceremony, were not disturbed by the report of any bad omens, and did not
 “ admit of adjournment.

“ But other differences we find many and material.

“ 2. In the one case the *Senate* was to be consulted, in the other it needed not.—

“ 3. Besides the difference between *Lex* and *Plebiscitum*, CAPITAL CRIMES,
 “ and those of a higher nature, were cognizable in the *Comitia Centuriata* ONLY;
 “ in the other [the *Tributa*] the punishments never extended beyond fine and
 “ banishment.—

“ 4. The general sense of the people (universally) was better had, when the suffrages of every individual were equally valid. When *Rome* voted by her Centuries, the balance was with the better sort: and that multitude which composed her lowest Century was very rarely consulted.—

§ 222.

“ The thought of this Assembly [the *Comitia Tributa*] was first struck off by the people in the case of *CORIOLANUS*, *A. U. C.* 262. The *Roman* Comitia we have seen to be held principally upon these three occasions.

“ 1. For the trial of *Roman* citizens.

“ 2. For the election of magistrates and officers.

“ 3. For the establishment of new laws, and the abrogation of old ones.

“ When the cause therefore of *CORIOLANUS* came on, who was *the idol of the better sort*, and the aversion of the lower, *it was impossible to convict him upon the plan of Judicature which then prevailed.* But *Dionysius* will speak for me.”

This brings us about again to the question which gave occasion to the making these Extracts, from the learned Writer's Treatise.)

Well, what says *Dionysius*?

He tells us in the passages * referred to by the learned Writer, “ That early in the morning of the day appointed for the trial, a more numerous crowd of people from the country appeared in the Forum, than had ever been seen there before: That the Tribunes called them to an Assembly by Tribes, and divided the Comitium, or place of Assembly into portions by extended cords, in order to range the Tribes distinct and separate one from another: and that THEN for the first time the *Roman* people gave their suffrages by Tribes, the *Patricians* opposing it, and declaring that Comitia by Centuries ought to be held according to the ancient custom.”

* Επειδὴ οἱ τῆς τρίτης ἀρχῆς, ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ὄχλος, ὡς καὶ πρὶν, συναλεθὼν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος, ἵκντο ἐπὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον, οἱ δὲ δέμαρχοι συναλύνοντες τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ Φυλετικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἡρώδης τῆς ἀρχῆς προσχωροῦσαν, ἐπὶ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αἱ φυλαὶ συνέσταντο κατ' αὐτὰς. Καὶ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ἰσχυρὸν Ῥωμαίων ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ κατ' ἀρχαῖον [omnino cum Lapo & Gelenio κατ' ἀρχαῖον] ψήφισαν ἐ ΦΥΛΕΤΙΚῇ· πλὴν οἱ ἐκκλησιασμένοι τῶν Πατρικίων, ὥστε μὴ τότε γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀξίωμα συνάγει ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς πρὶν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

Quum autem dies trigundini instaret, turba ex agris, quanta nunquam ante, in urbem conflavit, & summo mane forum occupavit, Tribuni vero plebem ad Tributa Comitia vocarunt, & Comitii loca funibus undique clauserunt, in quibus singulae Tribus distinguere, & alie ab aliis separatæ erant futuræ. Et tunc primam P. R. Tributis Comitiiis vicinæ suffragia tulit, multum recitantibus Patribus, & impedire volentibus ne hoc fieret, atque Centuriata Comitia more patrio habenda censentibus.

And a little below :

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ συναγωνιζομένων Μαρτίου — ἔξαιον κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Τριακονταίων ἐκκλησίαν, ἵππο-λαρχοῦντες τὰ ἴχνα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης κλίσεως

ἐπὶ τῇ ὁρτῇ καὶ ἐπιπύκνιστά Λόχων ἀπολαύσειναι τὸν ἀνδρα, οἱ δὲ μῆτις, ἐπὶ τῆς διυτέρας ἢ τρίτης. Οἱ δὲ δέμαρχοι ταῦτα ὑπορώμενοι, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Φυλετικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὄντες οὕτως συναλύνοντες, καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐκείνῃ ποιῆσαι κυριότητα, ὥστε μὴ οἱ πατέρες τῶν πλεόντων μειονεκτῶσι, μὴ οἱ Φυλετικοὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀτιμωτέρων ἔχοντες χάρας, μὴ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας κλήσεις τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος ἀποκλείνται τῶν ἰσῶν ψήφου, ἰσὺς τε οἱ καὶ ἐκκλησιασμένοι πάντες ἀλλήλους γινώσκουσιν, μὴ κλίσου τὸν ψήφου ἰσογυνῶσι κατὰ φυλὰς.

Mercii igitur Coriolani propugnatores—poscebant [Centuriata] Comitia, quæ ex censu fiebant; sperantes fore ut fortasse æ primæ classis nonaginta & octo Centuriis, firminus, a secunda saltem, aut tertia, absolveretur. At Tribuni hoc suspicati, & ipsi Tributa Comitia habenda esse putarunt, & id iudicium illis committendum, ut neque pauperes deteriore essent conditione, quam divites, neque Tribules minus honoratum locum quam milites graviter armati, haberent; neque Plebs in ultimas rejecta Classēs a suffragiorum æqualitate excluderetur, sed æquo suffragiorum & honorum jure omnes inter se fruerentur, & pariter vocati suffragia Tributum ferrent.

Then

Then he tells us the old story: that in the *Comitia Centuriata* the Centuries of the first class, which were the majority of the whole, and which consisted of the richest citizens, always voted first, and then the Centuries of the second class, and then the Centuries of the third class, and so on; and that the lowest classes seldom voted. And that, for these reasons, the friends of *Coriolanus* were for *Comitia Centuriata*, hoping that he would be absolved by the Centuries of the first class alone, or, at least, by those of the second and third. But the Tribunes suspecting the same, were therefore for *Comitia Tributa*; an Assembly where every citizen had a vote, and all votes were of equal value.

It is this representation of the case by *Dionysius* which has led the learned Writer to say (as above) that *Coriolanus* was the idol of the better sort—and that it was impossible to convict him upon the plan of *Judicature* which then prevailed. But surely no *Motive* could be more unluckily invented by the Historian than what he has given the Tribunes for desiring *Comitia Tributa* at this time; namely, the apprehension that *Coriolanus* would be acquitted, if he were tried by the Centuries. This motive, I say, was invented without any wit, and probably for want of memory. He forgot that he had told us, in the beginning of the story, that the flaming anger of *Coriolanus* against the *Plebeians* had a particular cause, over and above the causes of anger that were common to the *Patricians* in general; that the *Plebeians* had put a personal affront upon him, when he stood candidate [not many months, perhaps not many weeks before] at the last election of Consuls. The people, that is, the *CENTURIES*, had rejected him, because of his daring enterprising spirit, and the apprehension they had of his attempting the destruction of the *Tribunitian Power*; and especially because they were terrified with the multitude of *Patricians* that appeared in his favour, and shewed more zeal for his promotion, than they had ever shewn in behalf of any candidate*. And this affront was before he had provoked the people by his project of starving them into a surrendry of their newly-acquired privileges.

It is plain therefore, that he was not the idol of the better (i. e. the richer) sort, of which the majority of the Centuries consisted; and that it was very possible to convict him upon the plan of *Judicature* which then prevailed.

The learned Writer has remarked, that “The *Patricians* and *Plebeians* were p. 179. “two factions in the state, blended indeed very frequently, with regard to *honour*, “*rank* and *condition*, but still separated by *descent* and *family-interests*.” *Coriolanus* was probably the idol of the younger *Patricians*, and perhaps of some of the elder; but, if he had been the idol of all the *Patricians*, these would have been overpowered by

* Εἶχε γὰρ τῆς ἐξ τῶν κοινῶν ἰσχυροτάτης, καὶ ἰσχυρῆς κατὰ γένεσιν, ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῆς δημοτικῆς ἰσχυροτάτης γὰρ αὐτῶν μετῴντι ταῖς ἰσχυρῆς καὶ ἀρχαῖς, καὶ τῆς πατρικῆς ἰσχυροτάτης συνεπιβουλίας, ἰσχυροτάτης δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς, τῆς τε λαμπρότητος τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς τόλμης δι' ἐλαφρείας ἔχων, μὴ τι διὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτίσιον περὶ τῶν δημόρων κατέλυτον, καὶ μάλιστα διότι συνελάμβανεν αὐτῶν πάντη προθυμία τὸ τῶν πατρικῶν πλῆθος, ὡς ἔστιν τῶν πρώτων, ταύτης τε ὡς τῆς ὑβριδος ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον ἀποκαταστήσει προθυμότερος, &c.

Nam præter publicas criminationes, quandam etiam privatam ac novam causam habe-

bat, ob quam plebeios meritò odisse videbatur, illam videlicet injuriam recens acceptam. Proximis enim comitiis illi consulatum petenti, & patricios suffragantes habenti, Plebs adversata magistratum illum dari non est passa, quod illius viri claritatem, & audaciam suspectam haberet, ne forte propterea aliquid rerum novarum moliretur, & tribunitiam potestatem everteret; præcipue vero quod timeret Patriciorum multitudinem, quæ nulli candidato tanta animi alacritate unquam antè fecerat, quantam erga ipsum tunc demonstrarat. Ille igitur ob hanc contumeliam irâ percitus, & mutatam rei publicæ formam in pristinum statum restitueret cupiens, &c.

the *Placitum* ^a in the COMITIA CENTURIATA. For we may observe, that the great points which the *Commons* carried against the *Nobles*, in the early days of the Republic, were carried in *Comitia* by *Centuries*: As, particularly, The LAW for electing the TRIBUNES in COMITIA TRIBUTA. And the LEX HORATIA which gave the PLEBISCITA, made in COMITIA TRIBUTA, the Force of LAWS binding the whole Roman People.

And doubtless it was in *Comitia Centuriata* that *Coriolanus* (in his absence) and *Menenius* (after trial) were condemned, and *Servilius*, (after trial) acquitted.

The learned Writer tells us (as we see above) that "CAPITAL CRIMES were cognizable in the *Comitia Centuriata* ONLY: in the other [the *Tributa*] the punishments never extended beyond fine and banishment." Yet, according to

Dionysius, the *Comitia Tributa*, in the first years after their introduction, were employed in nothing, that appears, but trying CAPITAL CAUSES. For though CORIOLANUS was only banished, the Historian intimates ^b, that it was not for want of power in the Assembly, or want of inclination in the Tribunes, to take away his life, but because these Magistrates feared that the people would acquit him rather than come into a sentence of death against him. (And to this may be added, that perpetual banishment was a capital punishment.)

And so likewise, by the Greek Historian's account, both *Menenius* and *Servilius* were, in *Comitia Tributa*, tried for their lives: though one was only fined and the other acquitted. And *Livy* says expressly, that *Menenius* was tried ^c for his life, and condemned, though the sentence was afterwards changed to a fine.

Now, if *Livy's* report be true, we must agree, either that *Menenius* was not tried in *Comitia Tributa*, as *Dionysius* pretends; or that those *Comitia* took cognizance of Capital Crimes, which is generally denied.

BUT that the reader may the better judge what dependence is to be had on the authority of the Greek Historian, with regard to the point in question, I shall give a short summary of his account of *Coriolanus's* affair, as far as it concerns *Comitia* by Tribes.

THE thought of trying CORIOLANUS in *Comitia Tributa* is first started by BAUTUS (now *Edile*) in a private conference between him and the Tribune SICINIUS; and we may suppose the intention of proceeding in that method to be, for some time, a secret known only to the Tribunes and *Ediles*.

But this secret is seemingly betrayed by *Decius*, one of the Tribunes chosen by the rest to be their speaker, in their conference with the Senate. The Tribunes had in a private meeting with the *Consuls* yielded so far to their pressing instances, as to consent to ASK a *Senatus Consultum*, authorizing the people to bring *Coriolanus* into judgment before them. *Decius's* task, therefore, is to convince the *Fathers* of the reasonableness of what is demanded. In the close of his argumentation he is made to speak of "summoning the accused to a just and legal trial, where the whole People, divided by Tribes, may give their votes, after being sworn ^d."

^a — Ἐγνωσαν [οἱ δῆμοι] ὅτι ἐν τῇ ψήφῳ τῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν, ἢ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὴν αἰσῶν ἐμὴν ὄντις.

— Cognoverunt [Tribuni] totam reipublice potentiam in suffragiis positam esse, quam facile obtinebunt, quod numero nos vincant. *D. Hal.* puts these words into the mouth of *Coriolanus*, L. vii. p. 436.

D. Hal. L. ^b Ἀνδρες ὁ δῆμος τῶν ψήφῳ τῶν φυλάδων, τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράφει τῇ δυνάμει αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ οὐκ αὐτοὺς, τὸ μὴ αὐτοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν.

Tribuni litem exilio perpetuo aestimant, & tribus in suffragia miserunt, quia (ut existimo) verebantur ne is absolveretur, si eum morte multandum proposuissent.

^c In multa temperarunt Tribuni: quom capitis anquississent, duo millia æris damnato multam edixerunt. *Liv.* L. ii. c. 52.

^d Ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ὅτι καὶ νόμιμον, ἐπικατέμνηται, ὡς τὴν ἀπασαν ἢ πολλὰς μισθώσας κατὰ φυλάς, ἵκεται ἐπὶ τὴν ψήφον.

Not to dwell on the *legal Trial*, authorized by neither *Law* nor *Custom*, the *secret*, I say, *seems* to be betrayed by *Decius*: but that it was only whispered or muttered to himself, and *not really discovered*, is plain.

1. First, Because in the debate, no notice is taken of it, though a much more material point, than what they dispute about.

2. Because the arguments, used on both sides, necessarily imply, That the *Trial* of the accused *before the people*, which the *Tribunes* demanded, could mean nothing but a *Trial in Comitia by Centuries*.

For with what propriety could *Decius* plead the *Law of Valerius Poplicola* for appeals to the People, if by the *People* was to be understood an *Assembly of the People by Tribes*? *Poplicola's Law* could regard such *Assemblies of the People* only, as were, at that time, constitutional and in use; at which time neither *Comitia Tributa*, nor even *Tribunes* had ever been heard of.

And when *Valerius* (brother of *Poplicola*) makes himself advocate for the popular *D. Hal. L.* cause, and is represented reasoning thus:—*As the people create the supreme annual magistrates, enact laws, abrogate laws, decree peace and war (and these are the most important affairs of the Republic)—why not suffer them also to be judges in criminal causes, and especially, when a citizen is accused of aiming at the destruction of the publick liberty? What sense or truth is there in this discourse, if Valerius, by the People, did not mean the People in Comitia by Centuries? For to these Assemblies, and to these only, belonged the prerogatives which he mentions.* vii. p. 462.

And when *Appius Claudius* challenges *Decius* to name an instance, since the *Valerian Law* was enacted, of a *Patrician* brought into judgment before the People: How extremely foolish would this challenge have been, if by the *People* he had meant *Comitia Tributa*, a tribunal which hitherto had not existed? p. 457.

3. Because by the peculiar privilege of *Comitia Tributa*, the *Senatus Consultum*, which the *Tribunes* with so much ardor solicit for, was not necessary to the holding an *Assembly* of that sort; as *Dionysius* himself declares, in speaking of *Volero's Law*; and as the learned *Writer* observes, in what has been cited from him.

4. Because we find that the *Consuls* and *Patricians* were surprized and disconcerted, when, on the day of trial, they perceived the intention of the *Tribunes* to make the people vote by *Tribes*. They are represented as warmly contesting the matter with the *Tribunes*, and yielding at last with great reluctance. And this is a clear proof, that the *Senatus Consultum*, which the *Fathers* had granted, (and which the *Consuls* are said to have read to the *Assembly* just before entering on the *Trial*) did not authorize the People to try *Coriolanus* in *Comitia Tributa*, a *Plebeio Magistratu habita*. And if so, and if *Dionysius* is to be credited, what will follow? That a most important change in the constitution of the Republick was effected, not only without a *Law*, or a *Plebiscitum*, but without so much as a *Senatus Consultum* to authorize it. Is this credible? Would the *Consuls* have dared to consent to such an innovation, without authority from the Senate, at least? Or is it probable that the Senate would have taken upon them to authorize it, without the approbation of the established legislature, the *Comitia Centuriata*?

BUT in *Dionysius's* relation there are other particulars which destroy its credit.

1. First his representing *CORIOLANUS* and his friends, as *struck dumb*, quite at a loss for an *answer* to a charge, known by the whole *Assembly* to be false. I mean the charge of his sharing the spoil which he got in the territory of *Antium*, among

τὰς μὲν φρατρίδας ὑπερφροσύας ἰδοὺ, περι-
ελευσάμεναι τῆς βουλῆς, &c.

τὰς δὲ φιλιππίας, μὴτι περὶ τοῦ μακτοῦ γινώ-
μιθ, &c. D. Hal. L.
ix. p. 598.

his dependants and creatures *only*; whereas he distributed it among *all* his soldiers, and those soldiers were present to testify it.

2. After citing, in his fourth book, the authorities of *Fabius*, and *Cato*, and *Vennonius* (whom he calls *an author worthy of credit*) in proof, that there were thirty Tribes at least, in the time of K. *Servius Tullius*, he now speaks of twenty-one only, as voting at the trial of *Coriolanus*. This is not like a *diligent* and *accurate* historian; and it has puzzled the commentators. The Jesuits are fully persuaded that there were but twenty-one Tribes at this time; which they think evident from the story of the trial. *Sigisnius* is of the same opinion. But *Manutius* having faith in *Fabius*, *Cato*, and *Vennonius*, and supposing *Dionysius* to have the same, declares for thirty-one: but then he is at a loss to guess, why only twenty-one voted at the trial, and is angry with *Dionysius* for not clearing up the matter. To save the historian's credit, he is willing to believe, that ten of the Tribes were hindered from coming, by the *Tribunes*, who suspected them of being inclined to favour the accused. M. *Dacier* speaks as if he were sure, that this was the case. Nevertheless, from what *Dionysius* himself says, no such solution of the difficulty can be admitted. For he tells us expressly that *all* the citizens were summoned to hear the cause. And one of the reasons which he gives, why the Tribunes would have the people vote by Tribes, is, that from those *Comitia* no citizen was excluded, and the vote of every the meanest *Roman* was of equal value with that of the most noble. And he adds, "That, in *this*, the Tribunes had more reason on their side, than the opponents; for that the cognizance of state-crimes belonged equally to every citizen; and that a cause, referred to the judgment of the People, ought not to be determined by a faction of the *Patricians*." [Nor, for the same reason, by a *faction* of the *Plebeians*, which it would manifestly be, if ten Tribes were excluded from voting, because suspected of differing in opinion from the Tribunes.]

And methinks it is time lost to seek a solution of this difficulty, unless some very zealous and able friend of the historian could find a way to make sense of what he says, after telling us, that twelve Tribes voted against *Coriolanus*, and only nine for him. He adds, "So that if two Tribes had acceded to the nine, the accused would have been absolved by the EQUALITY of votes, according to the law in that case provided." It is unlucky here, that no *supposable* different reading can reduce this passage to be an object of human understanding. What has been offered by some commentators in defence of the historian's singular manner of expressing himself, it would be inexcusable to repeat.

But now, to crown all, these *Comitia Tributa*, of which the historian has said so much, prove, at last, to be *Comitia Curiata*, if we may regard what he tells us (L. ix. p. 603.) in speaking of the contest about *Valerius's* bill. He represents the Tribune *Laelius* or (*Laelorius*) putting the *Patricians* in mind of the articles of accommodation on the *Mons Sacer*; and then of "two laws, enacted, not a great while ago, by the people; one whereby the Senate were to authorize the people to try any *Patrician* they pleased, at their Tribunal; the other that the people's votes [at such trials] should no longer be taken in *Comitia Centuriata*, but in *Comitia Curiata*."

It

D. H. L. — Γενέσθω [εἰ ἐπιτρέχει] ἡμέραν ἢ ἑπτά τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὅταν πολλοὶ ἱσχυροὶ ἢ τὸ ἈΠΑΝΤΑΣ ἔχουσιν τοὺς ΠΟΛΙΤΑΣ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀπορροαμάτων.

Diem dixerunt [Tribuni] quæ die ænem hoc iudicio imponituri erant, OMNESQUE CIVES rogarunt ut ad eam diem adessent,

quod de rebus maximis essent cognituri.

Ἐξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα τῷ νόμῳ ἐπαδεδίωκετο, ὡς ὁ δῆμος ἐπικύρῃσι ἔσθ' αὐτῶν, τὸν τι περὶ τῶν ἀπορροαμάτων τῆς μεταγωγῆς, ὡς ἰδὼκεν ἡ βουλὴ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν κρῖναι. ὅς ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐξῆναι τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπορροατικῆς.

It is this passage, I believe, (for I can observe no other of the sort) which occasions *Manutius* to say, (*Cap. 2. de Com. Rom.*) *Torquet me non leviter & illud in ejusdem Dionysii libro vii. [ix.] quod Curiata Comitia non distinguit a Tributis*; nam in judicio *Coriolani* in quo *Tribus* suffragium tulisse, & ipse & *Plutarchus* tradunt, *Curias* tamen & *Curiatam Concionem* nominat:—qua ratione *Curias* admisceat, non intelligo, aliud enim esse populum *Curiatim*, aliud *Tributim* citare, &c.

Whether *Manutius* refers to the passage which I have cited from *Lib. ix.* or not; it is plain that he has been teized and tormented by some inconsistencies of our historian, in relation to his *Comitia by Tribes*. And, I think, it is as plain, that *Manutius* was indiscreet, to let his repose be disturbed by so light a cause.

φρίας, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι τὴν λαχίτην ἐκλήσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν
κuriatim ἐπὶ τῶν ψηφῶν κυρίαν. *D. Hal. L. ix.*
p. 603.

His autem commemoratis, leges ostendit
quas populus non multo ante tulorant, alteram

de judiciis translatis, ut scilicet senatus pote-
statem populi dedisset judicandi quoscunque
de patriciis vellet; alteram de suffragiis fe-
rendis, ut non amplius penes *Centuriata*, sed
penes *Curiata Comitia* suffragia esse voluerit.

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *The Romans gain some victories over the Volsci and Hernici.* §. II. *Sp. Cassius (now a third time Consul) concludes an alliance with the Hernici upon terms which displease the Senate.* §. III. *He proposes the AGRARIAN LAW.* §. IV. *The opposition of the Nobles to the passing of this law. The Consul Virginius and even the Tribunes oppose it.* §. V. *The artful conduct of the Tribune Rabuleius to draw an advantage to the People from the dispute between the Consuls.* §. VI. *Cassius to get his law passed brings great numbers of Latines and Hernici to Rome to vote for it. His Colleague orders them to leave the City.* §. VII. *The Senate, to quiet the contention, decree a Partition of the conquered lands, but defer the execution of their decree.* §. VIII. *Cassius is arraigned before the People for treason.*

§. I. **T**HE Volsci soon experienced a great change in their affairs by the want of *Coriolanus* to command their troops. In conjunction with the *Æqui* they made a new incursion into the Roman territories, but the latter refusing to submit to *Attius Tullius* as their General, there ensued between these confederates a quarrel that was followed by a bloody engagement, in which, says *Livy*, the good fortune of the Romans destroyed two hostile armies. The Consuls had notice of this event, and were posted but four miles from the field of battle, yet their cowardice was such, that they made no advantage of the accident, but marched back to Rome, where they were received by the People with shoutings and reproaches.

Sensible of the disadvantage of wanting skilful and courageous Captains at their head, the Romans chose two Consuls, for the next year, of known bravery and ability in war, *Aquilius Tuscus* and *Sicinnius Sabinus*: *Aqui-
lius*

Plut. p.
233.

B. 2. c. 40.

D. Hal. L.
viii. p. 531.

Year of R.
266. Bet.
J. C. 486.
23d Cen-
tury.

D. Hal. L. lius gained a victory over the *Hernici*: and the *Volsci* were totally routed *
 vin. p. 532,
 & 534.

Year of §. II. TO these Consuls succeeded *Spurius Cassius* (who had been twice
 R O M E before in the same station, and had obtained a triumph) and *Proculus Vir-*
 CCLXVII ginus, a man of approved courage. It fell to *Virginus's* lot to make
 Bet. J. C. war with the *Æqui*; but these, not being prepared for fighting, retired
 Four hun- with their effects into their Towns; so that the Consul (who probably was
 dred eigh- not in a condition to undertake sieges) when he had a while ravaged the
 ty-five. open country returned with his army to *Rome*.

Twenty- fourth Consulship. *Cassius* marched against the *Volsci* and *Hernici*, both which nations took
 D. Hal. L. the same measures as the *Æqui*, to avoid a battle: but growing impatient
 vin. p. 536. of the devastations made on their lands by the Consul, they successively
 sent Ambassadors to him to ask peace. The *Volsci* were the first suitors.
Dionysius tells us, that *Cassius* readily granted their request on their paying
 a certain sum of money and furnishing his soldiers with such cloaths and
 provisions as they stood in need of.

And he adds, that, laying aside the presumptuous thought of being on
 a foot of equality with the *Roman Republick*, they, by the treaty of peace,
 agreed to become her subjects.

The *Hernici*, thus abandon'd by their allies, sued to the Consul not
 only for peace, but an *alliance* with *Rome*, offering to submit to such *just*
and reasonable conditions as he should prescribe. *Cassius*, after exacting a
 month's pay for his troops and some provisions, referr'd the Ambassadors
 to the Senate for the treaty of peace. The Senate decreed to admit the
Hernici into the friendship of the *Roman People*, but left it absolutely to
 the Consul to adjust the conditions.

The treaty * made by *Cassius* with these neighbours was, *mutatis mu-*
tandis, a transcript of that concluded in his second Consulship with the
Latines, which, that the reader may better understand the passage of the
 History we are upon, it may be proper here to insert.

* *Livy* says, that in the war with the *Vol-*
sci there was no advantage gained on either
 side, *non Volscis æquo Marte discessum est*.

† This has not the least degree of proba-
 bility, as will hereafter be shewn; it is more
 likely that the *Volsci* disdained an alliance
 with the *Romans*; unless by the *Volsci* the
 Historian means only two cantons of them
 which had formerly been in alliance with
 the Republick.

‡ The record of this treaty seems to have
 been preserved to the time of *Augustus*. For
Livy, B. 2. c. 33. speaking of the bravery of
Coriolanus in the war against the *Volsci*, the
 same year that this treaty was made with the
Latines, says, that the glory of the Consul
Cominius, who commanded in this war, was
 so much eclipsed by the gallant behaviour of
Coriolanus, that if the treaty concluded with

the *Latines* by *Sp. Cassius*, in the absence of
 his colleague, and engraven on a pillar of
 brass, had not been a lasting proof that *Co-*
minius conducted the war against the *Volsci*,
 his share in that expedition would have been
 totally forgotten.

As to the treaty of friendship and alliance
 now made with the *Hernici*, (according to *D.*
Hal.) in the third Consulship of *Cassius*, *Livy*
 says nothing of it, but tells us that *Cassius*
 took from the *Hernici* two thirds of their
 lands, and that it was afterwards objected to
Cassius as a crime, that he had left them one
 third, when he might have taken all, which
 is totally incredible, the *Hernici*, according
 to his own account, not being reduced to
 that degree of subjection till one hundred
 and ninety years after this time.

“ Let

“ Let there be peace between the *Romans* and all the *Latine* States, while Heaven and Earth endure. They shall neither make war themselves, nor raise foreign enemies against each other, nor shall either of the contracting parties suffer such enemies to pass through their territories to attack the other. Each shall with all its forces defend the other when attack’d from abroad; and when a war is carried on at their joint expence, they shall *equally share* the spoils of the enemy between them. All disputes about private contracts shall be judged and decided in ten days, in the courts of that nation, where the contracts shall have been made. Nothing shall be added to, or rescinded from this treaty but with the consent of all the *Romans* and all the *Latines*.”

Year of
R O M E
CCLXVII.
Ref. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-five.
Twenty-
fourth
Consulship

Though a treaty in this form did not import an admission of the People with whom such treaty was made, to the right of *Roman Citizenship*; yet, that by some act this right was granted to the *Latines* and *Hernici*, we learn from *Dionysius*; but it ought to be observed, that the *Jus Civitatis* was little more than an honorary title, except to those who removed to *Rome*, settled there, and conform’d to the laws and religion of the *Romans*. Such only had the right of suffrage and the other substantial privileges of the proper Citizens.

Cassius, at his return to *Rome*, demanded a triumph; and, tho’ he had no spoils nor prisoners of war to adorn it, had taken no town by assault, nor had fought any pitched battle, his demand was readily granted by the Senate; who nevertheless, *Dionysius* would have us believe, inwardly accused him of arrogance for making the request. And the same Historian represents the most ancient and most considerable of the Fathers, as suspecting the Consul of some mischievous design when they learnt from him, that by his treaty with the *Hernici* he had put them upon the same foot with the *Latines*, though they had not the same title to the favour of the Republick. Yet it seems, what piqued them most was his pride, in that, after the Senate, declining to settle the conditions of the treaty themselves, (as he desired they would do) had refer’d that matter wholly to him, he did not shew the Senate the like respect, by a second application to them, but finished the affair without their farther participation. But all these objections to the conduct of *Cassius*, if they were ever made before *Dionysius* made them, seem to have had no place at the time. The Greek Historian having resolved to adopt the improbable and ill supported tale of *Cassius’s* aspiring to be King of *Rome*, prepares his reader to give credit to it, by previously blasting the Consul’s character with the charge of inordinate pride and ambition, discovered in the instances abovementioned. But, to proceed in our story, (which, in substance, is thus related by *Dionysius*.)

D. Hal. 6
p. 517.

§. III. THE very next day after his triumph, *Cassius*, according to custom convened the People to give them an account of his conduct in the war: and on this occasion he enumerated the services he had done the Republick in his former Consulships. He reminded the assembly that during his first he had in battle vanquished the *Sabines*, those rivals of

p. 538.

to pass the Law in question, were yet very unwilling that they should be obliged for it to a *Patrician*; and *Cassius* himself, by one part of his project, furnish'd the Tribunes with a plausible pretext for opposition. *Dionysius* is of opinion, that had his law imported no more than that the lands should be divided among the native *Romans* only, he would probably have succeeded in his enterprize; but that, to secure to himself creatures and adherents abroad as well as at home, for promoting the views of his ambition (this is the construction put upon it by the Historian) he was for admitting the *Latines* and *Hernici*, lately made Citizens of *Rome*, to a share in the distribution; and that, to make the *Roman* People relish this part of his scheme, he insinuated to them, that it would be a means more effectually to secure them in the possession of their portion of the lands; for that those two nations being united with them in one common interest, would be a support to them in case of any after-attempt to dispossess them; and though their estates would not then be so considerable, yet it was better to have smaller estates with secure possession, than greater with uncertainty of holding them.

It was this article in favour of the *Latines* and *Hernici* which the Tribunes laid hold of, to defeat the whole design of *Cassius*, or rather to get the management of the affair out of his hands.

§. V. ONE day when he and *Virginus* were disputing before the People, *Rabuleus*, an artful Tribune, stepping forth, told the Assembly he had something to offer which he believed would put an end to the contest. Silence being presently made, he thus addressed himself to the two Consuls, "The law in question, does it not consist of these two articles, A distribution of the publick lands in favour of the *Roman* Citizens, and the admission of the *Latines* and *Hernici* to share with them in that distribution?" The Consuls answered in the affirmative. And you *Cassius*, continued the Tribune, are for having the People confirm both these articles, is not this your desire? It is, said *Cassius*. *Rabuleus* then asked *Virginus* whether he had any objection to the first article. *Virginus* answered that he had not, and that he only opposed the second. Hereupon the Tribune turning to the People, "You see, said he, that our Consuls are agreed as to the main point, which concerns your interests: let us be content with this, and leave the other article to be considered of hereafter."

§. VI. THE Assembly highly applauded this motion, so that *Cassius* not knowing what to say, and being quite ashamed of his ill success, dismissed the Assembly. He went home, and pretending sickness, stirred no more abroad for some days. He spent this time in contriving new expedients to compass his point. Finding that his party grew daily weaker, he, in order to strengthen it, sent privately for a great number of *Latines* and *Hernici* to come and give their suffrages for the ratification of the law proposed in their favour. Crowds of those new Citizens immediately flocked to *Rome*; which *Virginus* observing published an edict, commanding all persons who were not settled inhabitants to de-

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ROMAN
CCLXVII.
Bet. J. C.
Four hundred
eighty-five.
Twenty-
fourth
Consulship.

D. Hal. B.
S. p. 270.

Year of ROME CCLXVII. Part J. C. Four hundred and eighty-seven. Twenty-fourth Consulship. part from the city without delay. *Cassius* opposed this edict by another, which required all persons, who were enrolled Citizens, to remain in *Rome* till the question of *the Law* was decided.

§. VII. THE Senate apprehensive lest the competition between the two factions should grow into a civil war, [and doubtless perceiving that the opposition of the Tribunes to *Cassius's* proposal was not from any dislike to it, but from their jealousy of his popularity] assembled extraordinarily to consult measures, both to quiet the present contention, and to prevent any future attempts of the Tribunes to obtain a division of the publick lands among the People.

D. Hal. B. 3 P. 541. *Appius Claudius*, who was the first called upon to give his opinion, declared himself loudly against the partition proposed. He said, that if the *Plebeians* were suffered to live in idleness at the expence of the State they would become not only useless but burthensome to it: that the State would in a short time have neither land nor money; that it would be shameful for the *Patricians*, after having accused *Cassius* of male-administration, and of endeavouring to corrupt the people by a pernicious proposal, to give a sanction to that proposal by their consenting to it, as to a thing just and beneficial to the Republick; and he begged them to consider, that should they grant the distribution demanded, the People would not hold themselves obliged to the Senate, but to *Cassius* only, who would seem to have forced the Senate to such compliance: and he then moved, that some of the most considerable members of the House might be appointed commissioners to take an exact account of such lands as belong'd to the publick; and that whatever part of them should be found to have been usurped by private persons either by force or fraud should be instantly resumed: That when the commissioners had measured these lands and mark'd them by proper boundaries, one part of them should be sold, and especially those lands about which there was any contest between private men, that the purchasers might have an unquestionable title to produce against whoever should thereafter lay claim to them: That of the remainder of those lands leases should be granted for five years, and the rents employ'd in providing corn and pay for the soldiers in time of war. He added, "It is no wonder, indeed, if the *Plebeians* had rather the publick lands should be divided among all the Citizens, than possess'd by a few, and these the most impudent of men. But the regulation which I have now proposed will hinder the People from thinking any more of the partition proposed by *Cassius*; for they will undoubtedly find it more eligible to receive corn and pay from the publick, during the campaign, than to have the property of a slip of land, which they must cultivate with the sweat of their brow, subject at the same time to pay taxes out of the produce of it, for the support of the war."

Anius Sempronius Atratinus, who spoke next, highly applauded what *Appius* had said; adding however, that the worthy Senator had omitted some things which seem'd very proper to be consider'd. "I perceive" (said *Sempronius*) he thinks as I do, that the *Latines* and *Hernicks* have

“ have no just pretence to a share in those lands which *Rome* had con-
 “ quer’d before her alliance with them ; and that each nation has an ex-
 “ clusive right to dispose of its own proper territory and conquests : But
 “ when this reasonable answer is given to the demand of those new Citi-
 “ zens, it should, in my opinion, be at the same time signified to them,
 “ that they shall have their just portion of whatever lands shall be here-
 “ after conquer’d by our joint forces. The appointment of commission-
 “ ers to take account of the publick lands, and fix their boundaries, I
 “ much approve ; and I doubt not but the *Plebeians*, when they shall see
 “ the revenue of those lands applied to the necessities of the State, will
 “ become more quiet and tractable. Yet I think there is one thing more
 “ which ought to be put into our decree, in order perfectly to conciliate
 “ the People to us. You remember, that when the Consul *Virginus*
 “ was asked by *Rabuleius* the Tribune, whether he had any objection to
 “ a division of the publick lands among our native citizens, he answer-
 “ ed, *No ; that his sole objection to the proposed Law was the admission of*
 “ *the allies to a share in the distribution.* And you know that it was this
 “ answer, which drew the Tribunes over entirely to our side, and brought
 “ the People to a temper of more moderation. How then can it suit
 “ with the honour and prudence of the Senate wholly to recede from
 “ that concession ? Must we not suppose that the People will be much
 “ more enraged by our breach of promise, than they would have been
 “ by a flat refusal at first of their request ? My opinion therefore is, that
 “ it should be given in charge to the persons, whom you shall appoint
 “ to survey the lands, to examine what portion of them it may be pro-
 “ per to leave out for the uses of the publick, and what portion it may
 “ be advisable to distribute among the *Plebeians*. When the commission-
 “ ers have made their report, you yourselves will judge, whether the
 “ lands allotted to the People shall be divided among *all* the *Plebeians*,
 “ or only among those who have at present no land or very little. But
 “ with regard to these several regulations, as the magistracy of the pre-
 “ sent Consuls is near expiring, I think they should all be referred to the
 “ care of their Successors, to act therein, as they shall judge best for the
 “ good of the State. An affair of this importance is not to be adjusted
 “ in a short time. Our present Consuls, being at variance, cannot be sup-
 “ posed so proper judges of what is fit to be done, as those who shall
 “ come after them will be, provided (according to our hope) they live in
 “ concord.

“ I might add, that, *in many affairs, procrastination is beneficial, far*
 “ *from being dangerous ; a single day may produce notable changes ; nothing is*
 “ *more conducive to the welfare of a state than a good understanding between its*
 “ *Magistrates.* You have my advice : if any one has a better to offer, let
 “ him speak.”

The Senate unanimously approved these amendments to *Appius's* mo-
 tion, a decree was drawn up to this effect : “ That ten of the oldest
 “ *Consulars* should be named to measure the lands, and determine what
 “ part

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"part of them should be left in the hands of the People, and that part should be distributed among the People: with regard to the allies and the new conquests, if any future conquest of Land should be made in a war, where they served in conjunction with the forces of the Republick, they should have their proportion according to the terms of the treaty concluded with them: and the ten *Comites*, who should be chosen at the next elections, should name the ten *Comitiastrors*, be charged with the care of distributing the lands, and make all the other necessary regulations."

It is pretty evident from this *Senatus Consultum*, as well as from the close of *Cicero's* speech, that the Senators had not the least intention to do any thing in favour of the People, with regard to the lands in question. It served however to still for the present the clamours of the poor, and put a stop to any further proceedings for passing *Cicero's* proposal into a Law.

§. VIII. AND no sooner had *Quintus Fabius* and *Servius Cornelius*, the *Comites* for the new year, entered upon their magistracy, than *Cicero Fabius* son of *Quintus*, and *L. Valerius* (nephew of the famous *Poplicola's*) two very young men, but both at that time *Quæstors*, brought in accusation of high crimes and misdemeanours, and even of high treason against *Cicero*, before an assembly of the People.

1. The first article of their charge was, That in his second Consulship he had granted to the *Latins*, not only the right of citizenship, which was enough in reason, and what would have been sufficient to content them, but a third part of the booty which should be taken in any war where their forces acted in conjunction with those of the Republick.

2. That whereas it would have been a sufficient indulgence to the *Hernici*, seduced by the Roman Army, to take no part of their Lands from them, he had chose to put them upon the foot of Friends rather than Subjects, Citizens rather than Tributaries; and these two were to have a third of the spoils and land acquired in any military expedition: So that if the Romans should be desirous to reward the services of any other of their neighbours, as honourably as they did those of the *Latins* and *Hernici*, they could not possibly do it, without relinquishing to them their own third, reserving nothing for themselves.

3. That, when he had formed a scheme for disposing of the publick lands, without the consent of the Senate or his Collegue, he attempted by force to get his *Agrian Law* passed; a Law mischievous and unjust in a double respect: for, whereas it should have been preceded by a *Senatus Consultum*, so that the Largess (if the Senate approved it) might have been the common act of all the Fathers, he had made it the act of his sole bounty; and (which was worst of all) his law itself, by which he pretended to divide gratis the publick Lands among the Citizens, would in reality deprive the Romans of their acquisitions to give them to strangers; who, though they had no title to any part of them, were to have two thirds.

4. That

4. That when the Tribunes would have rescinded this article, he was as deaf to their remonstrances, as he had been to the advice of his Collegue, the Senate, and all the best Citizens of *Rome*.

The Quæstors having appealed to the knowledge of the assembly for the truth of these allegations, proceeded next to their proofs of his secretly aspiring to *the Tyranny*.

THEY set forth, that the *Latins* and *Hernici* had furnished him with money, and prepared arms; and that the most audacious of their youth, flocking to *Rome*, had put themselves into his train; assisted at his dark counsels; and been his instruments and agents in many particulars.

These things being proved by the testimony of a great number not only of *Roman* Citizens, but of men well born and of fair characters from the Cities of the *Albans*; and the People being fully convinced that *Cassius* was guilty, they had no regard to any thing he said in his elaborate *Defence*. In vain did his three sons, with his other relations and friends, by the most humble supplications intercede with the assembly in his behalf: Nor had the remembrance of his noble exploits, for which he had been justly raised to the highest dignities, any effect to procure his pardon.

Nay such a hatred they had to the very name of King, that they observed no moderation in their sentence against him, but would have his punishment capital. And to this they were likewise carried by another motive; for as he was the ablest General of his time, they feared lest, if they only banished him, he should prove a second *Cinæus*.

The Quæstors, after sentence pronounced, led him away to execution. This eminent Senator, who had been thrice Consul, and honoured with two triumphs, was cast headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian* Rock; and the *Patricians* had the satisfaction of destroying by the hands of the *Plebeians* a determined champion for the *Patrician* cause.

SUCH is the account which *Dionysius* has transmitted to us of the treasonable design of *Cassius*, his measures to accomplish that design, the defeating of those measures by the joint Powers of the Senate and the Tribunes; and the arraignment, trial, condemnation, and execution of the delinquent presently after the expiration of his Magistracy. One would hardly expect, that after such a detail of the articles of impeachment, the accusers, the witnesses, the matter of their evidence, the irresistible force of it, the intercession of *Cassius's* relations in his favour, and the manner of his execution, the Reader should at last leave his Reader at liberty to reject the whole of this detail as a mere fiction. Yet this he does. He informs us, that, according to some Authors, to whom many give credit, and who were worthy to be believed, *Cassius* was neither try'd by the People, nor executed by their order: That no-body knew any thing of his treasonable designs, till his own father, moved by a suspicion he had entertained of him, made a strict enquiry into his conduct; that the father by his industry having discovered the whole truth, repaired to the Senate-house; that presently after, when the Son by his command was come thither, he accused him before the Senators: and that when these

had condemned him, he took him to his own house, and there put him to death.

This tradition being as well authorized as the other, and the matter of it, as our Historian observes, suiting very well with the manners of the Romans in those days, he thinks it ought not to be rejected as improbable; however he is of opinion, that the other is more credible, and he gives his reasons.

1. *Cassius's* house was demolished [presently after his death:] Which fact the Historian thinks well supported by another fact, namely, that, in his time, there was no house standing in the Place, where *Cassius's* house was said to have stood five hundred years before.

2. *Cassius's* goods were confiscated, and sold for the use of the publick; and part of the money so raised was employed to erect statues of brass to *Ceres*: and these facts *Dionysius* believes to be true, because, by the inscriptions upon certain statues of *Ceres*, it appeared, out of whose estate the money came that paid for them.

Now, says our Historian, if *Cassius's* father had been living, *Cassius* would have had no property. The property of the son's house and goods would have been in the father; and the People would never have confiscated the estate of the Father for the crime of the son, especially if the father had been the accuser and punisher of his son.

“ For these reasons, says he, I am more inclined to adhere to the other tradition, but I have related both, that my readers may chuse as they like.”

NOW with my readers' leave, I shall conclude this chapter with some arguments which perhaps may induce them to think, that *Cassius* was neither publicly nor privately convicted of aiming at the Tyranny, but was murdered by the Nobles either secretly, or by a mob which they excited to do it, in revenge for his honest attempt to strip them of their usurpations. And I am the more inclined to examine this matter, because I conceive that many readers must naturally carry along with them a prejudice against the *Agrarian Law* (so often the great subject of dispute between the two orders at Rome) if they have first been made to believe, that the original author of it contrived it as a means to raise himself to the Tyranny.

AND first I shall observe, that the two traditions being equally authorized, and destroying one another, we have no reason from authority alone to believe either. Nor indeed does either *Dionysius* or *Livy* seem to

* *Pliny* L. 34. c. 4. and *Florus* L. 1. c. 26. follow the tradition of *Cassius's* being condemned and put to death by his own father; and *Livy* L. 2. c. 41. speaks of it as well authorized, but thinks it more credible that he was tried and sentenced by the People. As to what *Dionysius* says of the father's accusing his son to the Senate, the *Latine* histo-

rian is wholly silent: Nor does he mention any particulars of the supposed trial of *Cassius* before the People. He seems to consider nothing as certain in this matter, but that *Cassius* was condemned by somebody in the Consulship of *Q. Fabius* and *S. Cornelius*; that is to say, that he was then killed.

prefer

prefer that which they adhere to before the other, on any account but the greater credibility of the fact.

And it unluckily happens, that the only reasons which *Dionysius* produces for thinking the publick trial more credible than the private one, are mentioned by *Livy* as arguments used in favour of the private trial, by those who adopt this tradition: For the demolition of *Cassius's* house, the sale of his goods, and the employing part of the money to erect a statue or statues to *Ceres*, are common to both traditions: And those who believe *Cassius* to have been privately put to death by his own father, cite the inscription on a statue of *Ceres* as a proof, that it was the father himself who demolished his son's house, consecrated his goods to *Ceres*, and applied a part of the money to erect a statue to that Goddess: For, as *Livy* informs us, the inscription was this, *Given by the Cassian family**. And indeed a statue with such an inscription seems much less absurdly employed to prove that the father gave the statue, than that the *Cassian* family was plundered by the People of the money which paid for it.

It is remarkable that *Dionysius* avoids telling us expressly what the inscription was, and only says, it shewed plainly at whose expence the statue was erected.

But as to this statue, or these statues of *Ceres*, most ridiculously referred to by both sides, as proofs of what they contend for, there is a very easy way of accounting for the inscriptions upon them; and it is amazing that it should never come into the mind of *Dionysius*, that the family of *Cassius* might probably give these statues in his second Consulship, when he performed the ceremony of dedicating the Temple of *CERES*, *Bacchus*, and *Proserpine*, which the Dictator *Posthumius* had vowed, during the *Latine* war: for that *Cassius* had this honour is related by the *Greek* historian himself in his 6th book.

We see then, that the very demolition of *Cassius's* house, and the sale of his goods, in consequence of his being convicted of treason, are factually wholly destitute of proof: For I presume that neither the void piece of ground, nor the inscriptions on the statues of *Ceres* (the only vouchers produced) afford even the smallest degree of evidence.

COME we now to the probability of the trial and condemnation of *Cassius* by the People, as represented by *Dionysius*. And, on this occasion, I cannot forbear saying, that the *Greek* Historian seems to delight in publick trials, as giving him an opportunity to make speeches for the parties concerned, and to furnish evidence in the cause. He has related at large the trial of *Coriolanus*, described his behaviour in the assembly of the Tribes, and given us the discourse he made in his defence, as things certain: Yet *Livy* (as has been before observed in the end of Chap. xiii.) without any hesitation asserts, that *Coriolanus* did not appear upon the summons from the Tribunes, and was condemned in his absence for default. And certainly this seems more probable, than that he should speak and act so much out of character, as he is represented to do by *Dionysius*: And the whole trial,

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B. 2. c. 41.
* Ex Cassia
familia da-
tum.

D. Hal. p.
415.

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R O M E
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as he has given it, is but a very lame story. Nor has he discovered any great skill in forming *Articles of impeachment* against *Cassius*.

It there be nothing to engage us to believe the facts of his publick trial and condemnation but the probability of them; and if these facts be no more probable, than that the charge brought against him by the *Quæstors*, consisted of the article mentioned by *Dionysius*; the whole is doubtless a mere invention to blacken the author of the *Agrarian Law*. For,

1. The first article of the impeachment is, That in the treaty concluded with the *Latines*, in his second Consulship, he had been too favourable to them, in granting them, besides the right of citizenship, a *Third* of the spoils that should be taken in any war made by the joint forces of the two states. Now, whatever fault was committed in making this treaty, the Senate were as guilty of it as he; for the treaty was not made by *Cassius* alone, but by him and the Senate together. He was detained at *Rome* by the Senate, purposely to be their minister for negotiating the alliance which, at that time they were very willing to make with the *Latines*, who had lately obliged them by many extraordinary services and marks of affection, as we learn not only from *Livy* but from *Dionysius* himself.

* See p.
245.

Nor in the treaty * is there any mention of a *Third* of the spoils. The *Latines* were to have an *equal* share. Their share did not come to be only a *Third*, till after the treaty of *Rome* with the *Hernici*; and then only in case of a war carried on by the united armies of the three nations.

2. And this shews the impertinence of the argumentation which *Dionysius* puts into the Mouths of the *Quæstors* under the *second article*, which regards the *Hernici*, concerning the future inability of the Republick to reward the services of any new friends. For it is evident from the tenor of the two Treaties with the *Latines* and *Hernici*, that in all wars in which *Rome* was aided by her allies were they more or fewer, the practice then was, that each should have their share of the booty in proportion to the number of troops they furnished for the campaign.

And whereas the *Quæstors* are represented speaking of the *Hernici* as of a people *subdued*, it appears by their overtures to the Consul, as well as by the long wars they afterwards maintained against the Republick, that this was far from being their case. What they proposed to *Cassius* were peace and an alliance with *Rome* upon just and reasonable conditions.

Nor is there the least reason to believe that *Cassius*, who would enter into no treaty of peace or alliance with them, of his own outhority, but referred them to the Senate, did, presently after, in virtue of his full powers, grant them the conditions complained of, without the privity and approbation of the Senate. Add to this, that the treaty was in reality a very advantageous one for *Rome*, and by which the Senate thought fit to abide. So that this second article is as ill contrived as the first.

3. The third article, which accuses *Cassius* of originally designing to exclude the other Magistrates and the Senate from any share in the glory of conferring a benefit on the people, is invented with no more wit than the foregoing. For, by the *Greek Historian's* own account, the Consul, before

before he mentioned the matter to the people, moved it in the Senate: So that if the Senate and the Magistrates would have concurred with him, they might have had their share in that glory.

And it was surely a very ill judged accusation to bring against *Cassius* before the People, that he had dared to propose, in their favour, a law which the Nobles had not approved.

And as to his designing to give, by his *Agrarian* Law, two thirds of the publick lands to the new Citizens, it is a senseless charge, unless we can suppose, that those of the *Latines* and *Hernici* who came to settle at Rome were twice the number of the old Citizens.

4. And if it were true, that *Cassius*, against the remonstrances of the Senate and the Tribunes, was steady in insisting, that the new Citizens should have a share in the division of the publick lands; he, in this, did but follow the constant policy and practice of Rome, from the foundation of the state; and to exclude those new Citizens from a share of the publick lands, in case of a distribution, would in effect have been a violation of the treaty of alliance.

CONCERNING the secret machinations of *Cassius* to attain to the Royalty, the reader sees, that from the facts pretended to be proved, supposing them true, it will not follow that the *Latines*, the *Hernici*, and the *Roman Plebeians* desired a King, or that the Consul aspired to make himself a King; and the Historian himself seems to think the evidence of the treason defective, when he represents the People as immoderately severe in sentencing *Cassius* to death.

But, is it not surprizing, that *Dionysius*, or those from whom he took his accounts, should be so well informed of the crimes whereof *Cassius* was accused, at his supposed trial, and yet know nothing, or wholly suppress what they knew of his *elaborate Defence*? The total silence of the ancient writers upon this head, when, from what has been observed concerning the weakness of the pretended charge, it is plain that *Cassius* had much to say, and much to the purpose, furnishes an additional argument to those that have been offered, for believing that the whole process is a mere invention, a legend, a fable, (composed by some aristocratical writer) of which the moral intended to be inculcated on the *Roman* readers is obvious.

AS to the other tradition of *Cassius's* treason being discovered by his own father, when no-body else suspected any thing of the matter, and his being executed privately by his father at home, we have already observed that, in the time of *Dionysius* and *Livy* it was a tale which (like that of the publick trial) wanted the necessary support from History or Monuments to give it a claim to credit: But as neither the *Greek* nor the *Latin* Historian have mentioned any particulars of the discovery, said to be made by the father, of his son's treasonable practices, we cannot, as in the other case, draw arguments from the pretended process itself to disprove its reality. However, I shall finish this digression with offering some reasons, why, supposing *Cassius* to have been formally accused before the People or before his

Nor indeed does it appear that any one *Roman* ever aimed at being (under any name or title whatsoever) sovereign and perpetual Lord over his fellow Citizens, before the times of *Marius* and *Sylla*, when luxury, avarice, and corruption, having got the ascendant in *Rome*, opened the way for inordinate ambition to execute the most detestable schemes against the publick liberty.

fed the Capitol) to raise themselves to the Tyranny. (B. 6. c. 14, & seq.) These imputations seem to have been invented merely to destroy two men, who by their compassion for the poor, and their great liberality to them, had made themselves more popular, than perhaps wise politicians thought it convenient that any man should be in a free State. It is not pretended that *Mælius* was tried and convicted. A Dictator was created on purpose to destroy him by a stroke of power. The plenty of corn which he had provided, and with which he fed the hungry Citizens *gratis*, during a famine, was a reproach on the senators and on *Milonius* their superintendant of provisions, for neglect of duty: and, by cutting him off as a traitor, they made to themselves a pretext for seizing his stores, and thereby shunning the trouble and expence of purchasing corn from abroad. And the People were so easily persuaded of *Mælius*'s treason, that they afterwards banished *Alula*, the Dictator's General of the Horse, as guilty of murder in slaying their benefactor.

As to *Manlius*, *Livy* tells us, that he could not, from any writings, satisfactorily learn who were his accomplices, nor how far his schemes went; nor could find, that, at his trial before the People, his accusers objected to him any thing that indicated a design to raise himself to the Royalty, except some seditious words, his largesses, and his false charge against the Senate of secreting the gold, which they had collected to redeem the Capitol, when *Brennus* besieged it. Nay, *Livy* is not sure that *Manlius* was tried and condemned by the People. Some Authors, he says, report that *Quintus* were appointed to judge him. And perhaps neither of these accounts deserve credit. *Manlius* was zealous to have the debts remitted to the insolvent poor; and that was sufficient to engage the usurious *Patricians* to contrive his murder. I conclude these observations with remarking, that the Tribunes are represented as consenting and instrumental to the destruction of *Cassius* and *Manlius*, both eminent *Patricians*, but not to that of *Mælius*, who was a *Publianus*.

Twenty-
four
Consuls.

CHAP. XV.

§. I. The People regret the death of *Cassius*. The Senate find means to divert them a while from the pursuit of the AGRARIAN LAW. §. II. The war with the *Volsci* breaking out afresh, the Tribune *Mænius* protests against any levies for the service, till something effectual be done in that affair. The Consuls, by a stratagem, get the better of his opposition. §. III. The Senate endeavour to obtain the Consulship for *Appius Claudius*. The Tribunes, to hinder it, excite such a tumult, that there is no possibility of proceeding in the election. The Republick falls into an Interregnum. *Sp. Lartius*, being Inter-rex, quiets the contention between the two parties. §. IV. *Leilius*, one of the Tribunes, opposes the necessary levies for a war with the *Æqui* and *Veientes*. *Appius Claudius* suggests a stratagem to the Senate, by which they carry their point against *Leilius*.

§. I. **B**Y whatever means the destruction of *Cassius* was effected, certain it is, that the People very soon regretted the loss of him, and not without sufficient reason. For notwithstanding the late Decree of the Senate for the nomination of Decemvirs, to take account of the lands

Livy, B. 2.
c. 42.
D. H. B.
p. 343.

Year of ROME CCLXVIII. B.C. 100. Four hundred and eighty-eight. Year of ROME CCLXIX. B.C. 99. Four hundred and eighty-nine. Year of ROME CCLXX. B.C. 98. Four hundred and ninety. Year of ROME CCLXXI. B.C. 97. Four hundred and ninety-one. Year of ROME CCLXXII. B.C. 96. Four hundred and ninety-two. Year of ROME CCLXXIII. B.C. 95. Four hundred and ninety-three. Year of ROME CCLXXIV. B.C. 94. Four hundred and ninety-four. Year of ROME CCLXXV. B.C. 93. Four hundred and ninety-five. Year of ROME CCLXXVI. B.C. 92. Four hundred and ninety-six. Year of ROME CCLXXVII. B.C. 91. Four hundred and ninety-seven. Year of ROME CCLXXVIII. B.C. 90. Four hundred and ninety-eight. Year of ROME CCLXXIX. B.C. 89. Four hundred and ninety-nine. Year of ROME CCLXXX. B.C. 88. Five hundred. Year of ROME CCLXXXI. B.C. 87. Five hundred and one. Year of ROME CCLXXXII. B.C. 86. Five hundred and two. Year of ROME CCLXXXIII. B.C. 85. Five hundred and three. Year of ROME CCLXXXIV. B.C. 84. Five hundred and four. Year of ROME CCLXXXV. B.C. 83. Five hundred and five. Year of ROME CCLXXXVI. B.C. 82. Five hundred and six. Year of ROME CCLXXXVII. B.C. 81. Five hundred and seven. Year of ROME CCLXXXVIII. B.C. 80. Five hundred and eight. Year of ROME CCLXXXIX. B.C. 79. Five hundred and nine. Year of ROME CC. B.C. 78. Six hundred. Year of ROME CC I. B.C. 77. Six hundred and one. Year of ROME CC II. B.C. 76. Six hundred and two. Year of ROME CC III. B.C. 75. Six hundred and three. Year of ROME CC IV. B.C. 74. Six hundred and four. Year of ROME CC V. B.C. 73. Six hundred and five. Year of ROME CC VI. B.C. 72. Six hundred and six. Year of ROME CC VII. B.C. 71. Six hundred and seven. Year of ROME CC VIII. B.C. 70. Six hundred and eight. Year of ROME CC IX. B.C. 69. Six hundred and nine. Year of ROME CC X. B.C. 68. Seven hundred. Year of ROME CC XI. B.C. 67. Seven hundred and one. Year of ROME CC XII. B.C. 66. Seven hundred and two. Year of ROME CC XIII. B.C. 65. Seven hundred and three. Year of ROME CC XIV. B.C. 64. Seven hundred and four. Year of ROME CC XV. B.C. 63. Seven hundred and five. Year of ROME CC XVI. B.C. 62. Seven hundred and six. Year of ROME CC XVII. B.C. 61. Seven hundred and seven. Year of ROME CC XVIII. B.C. 60. Seven hundred and eight. Year of ROME CC XIX. B.C. 59. Seven hundred and nine. Year of ROME CC XX. B.C. 58. Eight hundred. Year of ROME CC XXI. B.C. 57. Eight hundred and one. Year of ROME CC XXII. B.C. 56. Eight hundred and two. Year of ROME CC XXIII. B.C. 55. Eight hundred and three. Year of ROME CC XXIV. B.C. 54. Eight hundred and four. Year of ROME CC XXV. B.C. 53. Eight hundred and five. Year of ROME CC XXVI. B.C. 52. Eight hundred and six. Year of ROME CC XXVII. B.C. 51. Eight hundred and seven. Year of ROME CC XXVIII. B.C. 50. Eight hundred and eight. Year of ROME CC XXIX. B.C. 49. Eight hundred and nine. Year of ROME CC XXX. B.C. 48. Nine hundred. Year of ROME CC XXXI. B.C. 47. Nine hundred and one. Year of ROME CC XXXII. B.C. 46. 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Nine thousand and three. Year of ROME CC LXIV. B.C. -46. Nine thousand and four. Year of ROME CC LXV. B.C. -47. Nine thousand and five. Year of ROME CC LXVI. B.C. -48. Nine thousand and six. Year of ROME CC LXVII. B.C. -49. Nine thousand and seven. Year of ROME CC LXVIII. B.C. -50. Nine thousand and eight. Year of ROME CC LXIX. B.C. -51. Nine thousand and nine. Year of ROME CC LXX. B.C. -52. Ten thousand. Year of ROME CC LXXI. B.C. -53. Ten thousand and one. Year of ROME CC LXXII. B.C. -54. Ten thousand and two. Year of ROME CC LXXIII. B.C. -55. Ten thousand and three. Year of ROME CC LXXIV. B.C. -56. Ten thousand and four. Year of ROME CC LXXV. B.C. -57. Ten thousand and five. Year of ROME CC LXXVI. B.C. -58. Ten thousand and six. Year of ROME CC LXXVII. B.C. -59. Ten thousand and seven. Year of ROME CC LXXVIII. B.C. -60. Ten thousand and eight. Year of ROME CC LXXIX. B.C. -61. Ten thousand and nine. Year of ROME CC LXXX. B.C. -62. Eleven thousand. Year of ROME CC LXXXI. B.C. -63. 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B.C. -80. Twelve thousand and eight. Year of ROME CC XXXIX. B.C. -81. Twelve thousand and nine. Year of ROME CC XL. B.C. -82. Thirteen thousand. Year of ROME CC XLI. B.C. -83. Thirteen thousand and one. Year of ROME CC XLII. B.C. -84. Thirteen thousand and two. Year of ROME CC XLIII. B.C. -85. Thirteen thousand and three. Year of ROME CC XLIV. B.C. -86. Thirteen thousand and four. Year of ROME CC XLV. B.C. -87. Thirteen thousand and five. Year of ROME CC XLVI. B.C. -88. Thirteen thousand and six. Year of ROME CC XLVII. B.C. -89. Thirteen thousand and seven. Year of ROME CC XLVIII. B.C. -90. Thirteen thousand and eight. Year of ROME CC XLIX. B.C. -91. Thirteen thousand and nine. Year of ROME CC L. B.C. -92. Fourteen thousand. Year of ROME CC LI. B.C. -93. Fourteen thousand and one. Year of ROME CC LII. B.C. -94. Fourteen thousand and two. Year of ROME CC LIII. B.C. -95. Fourteen thousand and three. Year of ROME CC LIV. B.C. -96. Fourteen thousand and four. Year of ROME CC LV. B.C. -97. Fourteen thousand and five. Year of ROME CC LVI. B.C. -98. Fourteen thousand and six. Year of ROME CC LVII. B.C. -99. Fourteen thousand and seven. Year of ROME CC LXX. B.C. -100. Fifteen thousand.

§. II. THO' the *Fabian* family was at this time odious to the Commons, on account of the late behaviour of the Consul *Quintus*, and his brother *Cassius*, who when *Quæstor* had been very instrumental in the destruction of *Cassius*, yet the Senate had influence enough, at the new elections, to get that same *Cassius* chosen to the Consulship, with *Lucius Æmilius*, a man entirely devoted to their faction. During the year of these Magistrates the attention of the publick was wholly employed on the war with the *Volsci* of *Antium*, from whom *Æmilius* suffered a terrible defeat with great slaughter of his men. Strengthened afterwards by a chosen body of troops which his Collegue sent to his assistance, he gained some advantage over the enemy: but as in the former action he had lost the better part of his army, he was ashamed to return to the city at the end of the Campaign, and therefore staid in his Camp till the expiration of his Magistracy. *Cassius*, who had been employed to defend the territories of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, came to *Rome* and held the Assembly for the new elections, where his younger brother *M. Fabius*, with *Lucius Valerius* (late Collegue of *Cassius*) were raised to the Consulship by the influence of the Senate, who had engaged them to stand for it. The People would have named to that Magistracy certain Consulars who did not seek it; but the President refused to receive suffrages for any but candidates.

The new Consuls having asked some recruits to supply the place of those which had been slain, the last year, in the battle against the *Volsci* of *Antium*, the Senate passed a decree for it: nevertheless, the poor *Plebeians* refused obedience, complained of the cheat put upon them in relation to the *Agrarian Law*, and implored the protection of their Tribunes

bunes against the oppression of the Nobles. Four of the *Plebeian* Magistrates, either gained by the Senate, or, for prudential reasons, unwilling to foment contention at home, while the State was distressed by the present war, gave no heed to the clamours of the multitude: but the fifth, named *Caius Menius*, loudly protested, that he would never betray the *Plebeians*, nor suffer the Consuls to levy troops, till they had first brought the Senate's decree, for the partition of the lands, into an Assembly of the People, and had named commissioners for putting it in execution. The Consuls, to surmount this difficulty, erected their tribunal without the City, in some field near it, where the Tribune, whose power and functions were confined within the walls of *Rome*, could give them no opposition. From thence they summoned those of the Citizens whom they judged fit for the service, to come and enlist themselves. If any *Plebeian* so summoned refused to appear, orders were immediately given to demolish his farm-house and cut down his trees.

This unexpected exercise of the consular power had the designed effect upon the People. They now eagerly ran and presented themselves before the Consuls to receive their commands. Two armies were presently formed, one to march against the *Veientes*, the other against the *Volsci*. The Consuls, dissident of the good-will of their troops, agreed to act only upon the defensive; and *M. Fabius*, who had to do with the *Veientes*, observed the agreement: but *Valerius* came to a desperate and bloody battle with the *Volsci*, without much advantage to either side. The friends of *Valerius* at *Rome* gave out, that it was through want of affection in the soldiers to their General, he had not gained a compleat victory; the soldiers in all their letters laid the fault upon the incapacity of their Leader.

In the mean time *Rome* was alarmed with spectres and prodigies of all sorts, and these, together with the little success of the *Roman* arms, were found by the *Pontifices* to be owing to the anger of the Gods, who had been served by impure hands. *Opimia*, an unfortunate Vestal, was buried alive for incontinence, and the Gods made propitious by expiatory sacrifices.

§. III. WHEN, after the return of the Consuls to *Rome*, the *Comitia* were held for electing new Magistrates, a warm contest arose between the two orders. The *Patricians* were for placing at the helm certain brisk active young men, who were the most unpopular, and particularly they engaged *Appius Claudius*, (the son of that *Appius* who was looked upon as the bitterest enemy of the People) a man bold and arrogant, and very powerful by means of his numerous friends and clients, to stand one of the candidates. On the other hand, the *Plebeians* called out for some of the elder Senators, whose probity the publick had experienced, and who they believed would have no views, but the welfare of the state. Each party remained obstinate in its purpose. Whenever the Consuls convened the centuries for the election, the Tribunes, in virtue of their prerogative, by the word *Veto* dissolved the Assembly: and when the Tribunes called the People together for the same end (the first instance of their assuming this power) the Consuls, as having the sole right to preside at the election of Magistrates,

Year of
R O M E
CCLXX.

Bel. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty-two.

Twenty-
seventh
Consulship

D. Hal. B.
8. P. 555.

p. 556.
Liv. B. 2.
c. 42.

D. Hal. B.
8. P. 557.

Year of ROME CCLXX. P. 549. B. 2. c. 41. *strates*, withstood and hindered the proceeding. The *Patrician* and *Plebeian* Magistrates mutually reviled each other, and being surrounded with throngs of botheaded fellows, they grew so furious in their disputes as not to abstain from blows; nay they seemed to be just upon the point of having recourse to arms, and beginning a civil war.

The Senate, who had neither the will to yield to the People, nor the power to force them to submission, held long debates about the proper measures to be taken. Some Senators declared for naming a Dictator who, vested with sovereign and absolute authority, should expel the factions from the City, and, in case the Consuls had taken any wrong step, correct the error; and that, having restored order in the commonwealth, he should hold the Comitia, and propose the worthiest men for the Magistracy: But others (fearing, perhaps, that the People in their present temper would not submit even to the dictatorial authority, but rather run into open rebellion) thought a gentler course the more advisable, namely, to create Inter-Kings, as was practised during the regal State upon any vacancy of the Throne. The greater number of the Fathers coming into this opinion, the short lived Magistracy was given to *M. Sempronius Atratinus*, and the powers of all the other Magistrates ceased. *Sp. Lartius*, who succeeded *Sempronius*, held the Comitia for the appointment of Consuls. It would seem that the two parties had compromised their differences, agreed upon the men who should have the saces, and proceeded to an election, only for form sake; for they unanimously concurred in

Year of ROME CCLXXI. P. 550. B. 2. c. 42. *naming to the consular dignity C. Julius Iulus*, a known favourer of the *Plebeians*, and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, a warm partizan of the Nobles. *Fabius* had been Consul three years before, and had * defrauded his soldiers of the spoil taken from the enemy; yet the People acquiesced in this his second promotion through the extreme joy they had in keeping *Appius Claudius* out of the Magistracy.

Twenty-eighth Consulship. D. Hal. B. 2. p. 558. L. Hal. B. 2. c. 43. The new Consuls, after surmounting some opposition, from the discontented *Plebeians*, to the Levies, marched against the *Vientes* who had pillaged the territory of *Rome*: and this expedition, which terminated in making reprisals, was the sole exploit of their year.

These petty wars were the ordinary expedients used by the Consuls, to divert the People from their complaints, and to give them at the enemy's cost, a subsistence that might make them forget their old claims. But this same People, by thus living almost continually in arms, became still more fierce and untractable, and the first interval of peace abroad was sure to revive discord at home.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 559. §. IV. THE civil feuds broke out afresh at the next election of

* *Dionysius* says, that *Fabius* had not by any act disabled the Commons in his former Consulship; but in this he makes a blunder; for he himself had told us, that *Fabius* sold the spoils, the Prisoners, every thing that he took from the *Volsi*, and put

all the money into the hands of the Quæstor, to be sent to *Rome*. And *Livy* is very express upon this part of *Fabius's* conduct, as what made him extremely odious to the People. B. 2. c. 42.

chief Magistrates. After much struggling the two parties came to an accommodation upon the same foot as the year before; each named its Consul. The People chose *Sp. Furius*; and the Senate *Cæso Fabius* *, the man, who, when Quæstor, is said to have destroyed *Cassius*.

The *Æqui* and *Veientes* having renewed their incursions on the lands of the Republick, the Consuls summoned the People to take arms; a Tribune, named *Sp. Icilius*, warmly opposed the enrollments; and he loudly declared that he would make the like opposition to all the decrees that should issue from the Senate, let the matter of them be what it would, till the *Senatus-consultum*, relating to the publick lands, was put in execution; that it was just the same thing to him whether the country was possessed by foreign enemies, or by domestick usurpers. In the mean while, the *Veientes* and *Æqui* continued with impunity to ravage the territory of *Rome*. In this perplexity, *Appius Claudius* represented to the Fathers, that the Tribunitian power was formidable only by the union of the Tribunes; that as the opposition of a single Tribune, which could suspend the execution of the Senate's decrees, had the same force with regard to the resolutions of his Collegues, endeavours should be used to create a division among the Tribunes, and privately to engage some one of them to enter into the Senate's interest. This advice was approved and followed; the Senators applied themselves to gain the friendship of *Icilius's* Collegues, and they succeeded with all the four. These, when they had first attempted in vain to dissuade him from pursuing the affair of the *Agrarian Law*, interposed their *Veto*; and, by their assistance, the Consuls compleated the *Levies* *.

* We must suppose that *Icilius* ceased his opposition to the *Levies*; otherwise his Collegues betrayed the prerogative of their own office.

C H A P. XVI.

§. I. The Troops commanded by *Cæso Fabius*, not liking their General, will not suffer him to gain any honour in the campaign. §. II. *M. Fabius* (a second time) and *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus* are elected to the Consulate. They obtain a signal victory over the *Hetrurians*, chiefly by the bravery of the *Fabii*, who, from this time, become popular. §. III. *Cæso Fabius* (a third time) and *T. Virginus* are chosen Consuls. *Cæso* defeats the *Æqui* and *Veientes*. §. IV. The *Fabian* family undertake alone to guard the frontiers against the *Veientes*. *Cæso*, as soon as he has resigned the *fasces* (to *L. Æmilius* and *C. Servilius*) joins the rest of his family in quality of *Pro-consul*, a new invented dignity. §. V. The Romans carry on the war against the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, and *Veientes*. *Æmilius*, after a successful campaign against the last, is refused a triumph. He seeks to revenge himself on the Senate. §. VI. In the succeeding Consulship (of *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius*) all *Hetruria* declares war against *Rome*. The miserable fate of the *Fabii*. The *Hetrurian Arms* prevail. But the next year's Consuls (*A. Virginus* and *P. Servilius*) give the enemy an entire overthrow.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXII.

Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred eigh-
ty.

Twenty-
ninth
Consulship.

* The Ve-
ientes, ac-
cording to
Livy, B. 2.
c. 43.

D. Hal. B.
9. p. 560,
561.

§. I. **F**URIUS, who conducted the war against the * *Æqui*, as he had the good-will of his soldiers, made a successful Campaign: But the troops of *Fabius*, who warred against the *Veientes*, (strengthened by great numbers of volunteers from the other *Hetrurian* States) chose rather to lose their own honour than gain him any glory. After a battle, in which they behaved themselves bravely (so long as their lives were in danger) and even routed the enemy, they refused to pursue them and take their camp, lest by making the victory compleat they should procure *Fabius* a triumph at his return to *Rome*; and, not content with this, they struck their tents the following night, and began their march towards the City. The Consul, finding it impossible to govern them, put the best face he could upon the matter, sounded a retreat, and returned with them.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXIII.

Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred seven-
ty-nine.

Thirtieth
Consulship.

p. 562.
* A second
time.

§. II. NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme hatred which the soldiers had thus shewed to *Cæso Fabius*, the Senators had influence enough to continue the Consulship in the *Fabian* family. *Marcus Fabius*, brother of *Cæso*, was elected to that dignity * with *Cn. Manlius*. Much depended on the wisdom and unanimity of these two Magistrates; for the Republick was now threatened by a prodigious army of *Hetrurians*, who were encouraged to the war by the divisions in *Rome*, and the spirit of mutiny that had appeared among the *Roman* soldiers in the Field.

Penitificius, one of the Tribunes, would, on this occasion, have renewed the old complaint, and hindered the necessary Levies: But the *Fathers* successively repeated the artifice of *Claudius*; and forces were raised to the number of 20000, which were equally divided between the two Consuls. They both passed the *Tiber*, and incamped near *Veii* at a small distance from each other, keeping quiet within their intrenchments. This inaction was owing to their distrust of their own soldiers, whose behaviour, the last year, was not forgotten.

p. 563.

At this time happened an accident which employed the divination of the *Augurs* who attended the Consul *Manlius*. Lightning fell upon his tent, overturned the sacred *Heartb*, damaged his arms, killed his war horse, and some of his servants. Those Diviners declared that his camp would be taken by the enemy; upon which prediction he quitted it the same night, and joined his army to that of *Fabius*. The *Hetrurians* seized the deserted camp, and, concluding that *Manlius* had carried ill fortune along with him, did not doubt but they should soon be masters of the other. They came confidently, therefore, and insulted the united armies in their intrenchments, calling them women and cowards, and daring them to come out and fight. Hereupon those very soldiers, who but a little before had plotted together not to fight upon any account, now gathering in crowds about their Generals tents, murmur'd, clamour'd, and almost mutiny'd, because they were not instantly led to battle. *Fabius* laid hold of this opportunity to reproach them with their former behaviour, and, to increase their ardour, by expressing a diffidence of

p. 564.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 45.

D. Hal. B.
9. p. 565.

their

their courage and honour. He added, "I am determined, not to give Year of
the signal for battle before you have all sworn that you will return Con- R O M E
querors to Rome; you once deceived your General, but you will never cclxxiii.
be able to deceive the Gods." He had hardly ended, when a certain Bel. J. C.
Plebeian named *Flavoleus*, now Tribune of a Legion, and a man in great Four hun-
esteem among the Troops, stepping forth, *Do you suspect us, Consuls?* dred seven-
Hear then the oath which I am going to take! And you, fellow-soldiers, do you ty-nine.
follow my example! Then, lifting up his sword, he swore by his *Falx* (the Thirtieth
most solemn oath then used by the *Romans*) that he would never return Consulship.
to Rome till the enemy was vanquished. Officers and soldiers, every man Liv. B. 2.
in the army took the same oath; after which, the Generals no longer c. 45.
distrusting them, gave the signal for marching, and led them out of the D. Hal. B.
Camp. 9. p. 567.

The *Hebrurians* did not decline a battle: it was fought with great ob. p. 568.
stinacy on both sides. *Manlius*, who led the right wing of the *Roman* ar-
my, and his Colleague's brother, *Quintus Fabius*, who commanded the left,
were both killed; nevertheless the victory fell to the *Romans*. And it Liv. B. 2.
was chiefly owing to the signal bravery of the Consul *Marcus Fabius*, and c. 46, 47.
his brother *Cæso*.

Marcus, at his return to Rome, declined the honours of a triumph, D. Hal. B.
which had been decreed him by the Senate; so deeply he was affected 9. p. 570.
with the death of his brother *Quintus*, and his Colleague *Manlius*. He
solemnized their obsequies, made funeral orations on both, and, by giv-
ing to them the great praises which they deserved, secured to himself
much greater; and, in pursuance of the resolution he had formed, from
the beginning of his Consulship, to conciliate to his family the affections
of the People, he divided the wounded soldiers among the Senators to
be taken care of, assigning the greater number of them to the *Fabii*, who
did not fail, on this occasion, to distinguish themselves by their humanity.
From this time (says *Livy*) the *Fabii* became popular, yet not by any arts B. 2. c. 47.
but what tended to the good of the Republick.

§. III. *CÆSO FABIVS* (that very General who the year before last Year of
had been so grossly affronted) being now, with the hearty good-will of R O M E
the Commons as well as of the Nobles, raised to the Consulship (with cclxxiv.
T. Virginius) postponed all other business, to attempt a speedy and per Bel. J. C.
fect restoration of concord between the Nobles and the *Plebeians*, towards Four hun-
which there seemed already to be some advances. He was hardly en- dred seven-
tered on this Magistracy, when, in that view, he declared it to be his ty-eight.
opinion, that the conquered lands rightfully belonged to those men Thirtieth
whose sweat and blood they were the purchase, and earnestly exhorted his Consulship.
Senate to prevent any new endeavours of the Tribunes to obtain the c. 48.
passing of the *Agrarian Law*, by freely making an equal distribution themselves of
those lands, among the poor *Plebeians*. But the *Conscript Fathers* rejected

* This was *Cæso's* third Consulship, and, ver been out of the hands of one or other of
for six years past, the consular fasces had ne- the three brothers.

Year of
R O M E
cclxxiv.
Bel. J. C.
Four hun-
dred seven-
ty-eight.

Thirty-
first
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
9. P. 573.

p. 573.
Liv., B. 2.
c. 42, 49.

D. Hal. B.
9. P. 573.

Year of.
R O M E
cclxxv.
Bel. J. C.
Four hun-
dred seven-
ty-seven.

Thirty-
second
Consulship.
* A second
time.
p. 574.

his motion with scorn; and some of them went even so far as to say, that, intoxicated with too much praise, that active genius, and those quick parts, which had once distinguished him, were dulled and impaired.

He had better success in his military expeditions. He marched an army against the *Æqui*, and by the terror of his presence dispersed them without fighting. After this he hastened to the relief of the Consul *Virginus*, who, with the troops under his command, was surrounded by the *Veientes*, and, without timely assistance, must have surrendered at discretion. He delivered his Colleague out of danger, and made the enemy retire.

§. IV. NOR was this the only remarkable service that *Cæso Fabius* did the Republick in his third Consulship. The *Romans* being infested by the *Veientes* and other *Hetrurians*, who made frequent and mischievous incursions into the territory of *Rome*; and the Senate being greatly at a loss how to put a stop to them; *Cæso*, to remedy this evil, formed a project worthy of his affection for his Country. He assembled all the men of his own name and family, and proposed to them, that the *Fabii* should alone, at their proper expence and hazard, take upon them to secure the frontiers against the *Veientes*. Those generous *Patricians* gladly consented to the motion, and the affair being communicated to the Senate, was there approved and applauded. Early the next morning all the *Fabii* appeared under arms before *Cæso Fabius's* door. They were 306 in number, of different branches, but all originally sprung from the same stock. The whole City, men, women, and children, ran in crowds to see them, and made vows to Heaven for their preservation. *Marcus Fabius*, who had last year gained the battle of *Veii*, put himself at the head of the band, which was followed by about 4000 clients and vassals of the family: and he led them all to the banks of the *Cremera*, a little river which runs into the *Tiber*. There they built a fort in a steep place, surrounded it with a double ditch, and erected towers at certain distances. Their manner of making war was this: they divided their forces into four parts, of which one staid to guard the fort, while the other three marched into three several parts of the enemy's Country and pilaged it; and nothing could be more successful than their first expeditions.

In the mean time *L. Æmilius* * and *C. Servilius* were chosen Consuls at *Rome*. *Cæso Fabius* had no sooner resigned the *Falces* to them, but he desired permission of the Senate to join his family. The *Conscrip't Fathers* readily consented; and to gain him the more respect created for him a new office. He was made *PRO-CONSUL*, a title which gave the person honoured with it a power over the troops he commanded, equal to that of a Consul; but no other authority.

§. V. THE Republick being threatened with a war on the side of *Hetruria*, and the *Æqui* and *Volsci* beginning to ravage the Country of the *Latines*, the Consuls raised three armies. *Æmilius* led one against the

the *Veientes*, who were strengthened by other *Hetrurians*; *Servilius* another against the *Volsci*; and *S. Furius* (with the title of Pro-consul) the third against the *Æqui*. The *Æqui* fled at the approach of *Furius*. The *Volsci* repulsed *Servilius*, and forced him to keep within his camp. The *Veientes* were defeated by *Æmilius*, and sent a deputation to him to beg peace. *Æmilius* referred the Deputies to the Senate, and the Senate in return left it to him to settle the conditions of the treaty. Hereupon the Consul shewed the *Veientes* great indulgence. He granted them peace without taking any part of their lands from them, or exacting any money, or even demanding hostages. This proceeding highly offended the Senate, insomuch that they rejected his request for a triumph. Nevertheless, as he was a man of merit, he was invited to employ his troops and skill in succouring his Colleague, who was embarrassed with the *Volscian* war; and, upon this condition, the *Fathers* promised to receive him again into favour. But *Æmilius*, exceedingly piqued at the refusal he had met with, instead of marching to assist *Servilius*, returned to *Rome*, disbanded his own army, and recalled that which *Furius* conducted against the *Æqui*. He then complained to the People of the proceedings of the Senate, who, he said, was dissatisfied with his having expedited the peace, for no other reason, but their desire to stave off the execution of the *Cassian* law. Thus the angry Consul conveyed his own resentment into the minds of the People; and from that time the Tribunes renewed their invectives against the Senate, and their demand of the partition of the conquered lands.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxv.
Bel. J. C.
Four hun-
dred seven-
ty-seven.

Thirty-
second
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
p. 575
576.

§. VI. SUCH was the situation of affairs at *Rome*, when *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* entered upon the Consulship. The *Fabii* still kept their post upon the *Cremera*, though after the peace with the *Veientes*, they had, for some time, but little opportunity of exercising their courage. But at length it was put to a fatal trial. It has been already observed, that *Veii* was one of the twelve *Lucumonies*, or petty States of *Hetruria*. All the other *Lucumonies* being much dissatisfied with that treaty, which the *Veientes* had made with *Rome*, gave them to understand, that they must either break with the Republick, or sustain a war against the rest of the *Hetrurian* powers united. The *Veientes*, in this dilemma, chose the former, and, in pursuance of that resolution, sent to the *Fabii* to require them to demolish their fort, and quit the frontiers. Hereupon hostilities were immediately renewed, and all *Hetruria* took arms against the *Romans*.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxvi.
Bel. J. C.
Four hun-
dred seven-
ty-six.

Thirty-
third
Consulship.
p. 577.

The *Fabii* had their usual success in every expedition and in every engagement, till one day they were unfortunately surprized in an ambush, out of which the most intrepid courage could not secure them a safe retreat. The *Veientes* lodged a whole army of *Hetrurians* in covered places, and posted centinels on all the eminences, to give notice, when they should sally out of their Ambush. Then they drove some herds of cattle into a plain at a good distance from the *Cremera*, as it were to feed them, under a guard that appeared to be inconsiderable. This was enough

p. 578.
Livy, B. 2.
c. 50.

YET enough to tempt the *Isuri*; who marched out of their fort in a great
 ROME body, and left no more men in it than were necessary to defend it from a
 surprise. They advanced in good order; and, upon their approach, the
 herdsman and their guard fled. Whilst some of the *Fabii* pursued the
 runaways to take them prisoners, others seized the booty; and a small
 number of them continued drawn up in order of battle. Immediately
 the *Hetrurians* came out of their ambush, surrounded and cut in pieces
 all those who were busied in driving together the cattle, dispersed about
 the plain. As for those of the *Romans* who kept their ranks, and formed
 a regular body, they used all their efforts to gain some eminence, where,
 having the advantage of the ground, they might at least sell their lives
 dear. But in this attempt they fell into another ambush, and were
 quite encompassed with enemies. Nevertheless, they did not lose their
 courage. Drawing themselves up into a close compact body which faced
 every way, they renewed the fight with more vigour than ever, still bearing
 forwards towards a hill which they had in view. They slew many of
 the *Hetrurians*, disengaged themselves from the rest, and gained the top
 of the hill. Here they passed the night without any provisions, and still
 beset by an army of enemies. The next morning, those of the *Fabii*
 who had been left to guard the fort, being informed of the danger their
 relations were in, flew to their relief, leaving but a very small number be-
 hind them. As soon as the *Hetrurians* perceived them advancing in the
 plain, they detached against them some strong parties, which cut them all
 off to a man. Not long after, those who were on the top of the hill,
 being more pressed by hunger and thirst, than by any thing else, came
 down with the rapidity of a torrent, to break their way through the ene-
 my, of whom they made a dreadful slaughter. The *Hetrurians*, astonish-
 ed at their losses, ceased the fight for some hours, and offered these brave
 men to let them pass, if they would throw down their arms, and give their
 words that they would abandon the fort. But these conditions were deem-
 ed shameful by the *Fabii*; they chose rather to run the hazard of dying all
 together with glory, than to secure their lives by an action which the
 thought would reflect dishonour on their family. The *Hetrurians*, finding
 them obstinate, avoided a close engagement; and, for some time, only
 showered darts and stones upon them. But, at length, perceiving that
 their swords were most of them broken, and their bucklers split, they
 then, and not till then, ventured to attack them, man to man. The *Fabii*
 now desperate threw themselves with fury into the midst of the *Hetrurian*
 battalions, and, to arm themselves anew, snatched away the weapons of
 their enemies. Nay some, who lay upon the ground half dead, rose up,
 and came to yield their last breath in the midst of the battle. In conclu-
 sion they were all slain. The *Hetrurians* cut off their heads, and, carry-
 ing them in triumph upon the tops of their lances, shewed them to those
 few of the *Fabii* who had staid in the fort. The latter, at this sad sight,
 gave themselves up to despair. They did not stay to fight from the ram-
 parts; but aiming only to sell their lives dear, sallied out upon the enemy,
 with-

without observing any order. These likewise were all cut to pieces; so that of the 306 *Fabii*, not ^a one escaped. The *Romans* gave the name of *Porta Scelerata*, or, the *Accursed Gate*, to the *Gate Carmentalis*, through which the *Fabii* had passed when they went out of the City; and the day of their defeat was ever after reckoned among the unlucky days, whereon it was forbidden to begin an important enterprize.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXVI.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred seven-
ty-six.

The Consul *Menenius*, who had received orders to march against the *Hetrurians*, might, if he had used dispatch, have delivered the *Fabii* in their distress. He was but thirty furlongs from the field of battle when they were cut in pieces. But, perhaps, (as it was believed by many at *Rome*) he designedly, and out of envy and jealousy, gave them up to destruction. He had incamped his army on the side of a hill, without securing the top of it. The victorious *Hetrurians*, seizing the favourable opportunity, which his want of skill afforded them, got above him, attacked him from the higher ground, gave him an entire defeat, and took his camp. Thence they advanced as far as the *Janiculum*, which overlooked *Rome*, and pitched their camp on the top of it. They then passed the *Tiber*, and in a manner blocked up the City. But then the Consul *Horatius*, who had been commissioned to act against the *Volsci*, being called home, came to a battle with the *Hetrurians* near the Temple of *Hope*, about a mile from *Rome*. The success of this action was pretty equal on both sides; but in a second, near the gate *Collina*, the Consul gained some small advantage, which revived the *Roman* courage. Nevertheless the enemy did not decamp from the *Janiculum*, and the lands having been left unsown the last year on account of the enemies irruptions, a famine began to be felt in the City. The meaner sort got together in companies, threatening to plunder the granaries of the rich; and the Tribunes encouraged their clamours and mutinies, by laying the present scarcity to the chief of the Senate. The *Conscript Fathers* did every thing possible for the relief of the poor; but the case was such, that the People must either starve, or drive the enemy farther off.

Thirty-
third
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 581.

p. 582.

p. 583.

They marched out, therefore, under the conduct of their new Consuls, *A. Virginius* and *P. Servilius*, and gave the *Hetrurians* an entire overthrow; nevertheless when, by the dead bodies which were brought to *Rome* to be burnt, the Senate saw what numbers of *Romans* had perished in the action, they refused the Consuls the honour of a triumph.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXVII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred seven-
ty-five.

^a *Livy*, following some more ancient Historians, says, that only one of the name was left at *Rome*, a youth not fourteen years of age, who afterwards repaired the family, and perpetuated it; a mere fiction, according to *Dionysius*, and without any shadow of probability: for it is not to be imagined, that of so considerable a number of men one

only had children; and we shall find, ten years after this time, that is, in 286 of *Rome*, a *Fabius* in the Consulship.

N. B. According to *Dionysius* there was a different account of the destruction of the *Fabii*, but he rejects it with contempt as wholly incredible.

Thirty-
fourth
Consulship.
p. 584.
585.

C H A P. XVII.

§ I. *Menenius, one of the last year's Cen's, is cited by the Tribunes to appear before the People, and answer for his conduct in relation to the Fabii. He is condemned in a fine. §. II. His successor Servilius is prosecuted as soon as he has resigned the fasces, but is honourably acquitted. War is carried on with success against several of the neighbouring States. §. III. The Censors, L. Æmilius and Vopiscus Julius, are publicly called upon by the Tribune Genucius, to name the Commissioners for the Partition of the Lands. Finding that the Censors shun meddling in that affair, he begins a criminal process against their predecessors Manlius and Furius, for having neglected the naming of those Commissioners. The trial is prevented by the sudden death of Genucius.*

Year of
R O M E
ccxxxviii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
seventy-five.

Thirty-
fourth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 586.
Liv. B. 2.
c. 52.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 587.

§. I. **P**EACE abroad, and plenty in the City, being restored, the civil feuds, in relation to the *Agrarian Law*, presently revived. The Tribunes, not able to carry their point against the body of the Senate, turned their rage against some particular Senators, who had opposed their pretensions. Thus *Menenius* (the son of *Menenius Agrippa*) was accused before the People, by the Tribunes, *Q. Corfidius* and *T. Genucius*, of having connived at the destruction of the *Fabii* when he might have prevented it. He was tried for his life; and neither the earnest solicitations of the *Patricians*, nor his own merit, nor the remembrance of his Father's, could save him from being condemned by the People almost unanimous. The Tribunes, however, changed the penalty to a fine of 2000 Askes in money, [about six pounds sterling] a very exorbitant sum (says *Dionysius*) if we consider, that in those times men [of the first rank] earned the necessities of life by the labour of their hands; and that *Menenius's* sole patrimony was his Father's poverty. His friends would have paid the fine for him, but he would not suffer it. Unable to support his disgrace, he shut himself up in his house, where grief and vexation threw him into a distemper that soon put an end to his life.

Liv. B. 2.
c. 52.

Year of
R O M E
ccxxxviii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
seventy-four.

Thirty-
fifth
Consulship.

§. II. **T**HE Tribunes fell next upon *Spurius Servilius*, who had succeeded *Menenius* in the Consulship, and had gained the late victory over the *Hetrurians*. Scarce had he resigned the fasces to *P. Valerius* and *C. Nautius*, when a criminal process was commenced against him by the Tribunes *Cedicius* and *Statius*, for having lost the flower of his army in that action, by pursuing the enemy too far, and *rashly* attacking their intrenchments; and they produced both officers and common soldiers to witness the temerity of the General, and the fatal consequences of it. This was the crime pretended by the Tribunes. Perhaps the real and only crime both of him and of *Menenius* was the having omitted, during their

their Consulships, to name Commissioners for making the desired partition of the lands.

Servilius did not endeavour, like *Menenius*, to ward the stroke by deprecations, or by employing the intercession of the *Fathers*, but, when he came to his trial, relying on his innocence and the good-will of the People, he thus addressed them: "If, *Romans*, I am summoned to this tribunal, to give an account of my conduct in the late war, I am willing and prepared to do it. But, if you have already pronounced Sentence against me, and I am brought hither only to be delivered up to the executioner, to what purpose should I say any thing in defence of my actions? Here is my body; do with it what you please." He said no more; and for a few moments there reigned a perfect silence in the Assembly: but the multitude calling out to him, to take courage and say what he pleased, he then proceeded to a justification of his conduct in all its parts, exposed the unreasonableness of expecting great and important victories over powerful enemies without considerable loss of men to the Conquerors; and in conclusion bitterly reproached both the Tribunes and the People with their condemnation of *Menenius*, and with his death, the destruction of a man, whose father had procured them those very Magistracies and laws by which they were enabled to be so wantonly cruel.

The noble confidence of the accused, together with the testimony of his Collegue *Virginus*, who highly extolled his conduct in the battle, and ascribed to him all the glory of the success, dispersed the storm that threatened him; and this the more easily, as the People were now heartily ashamed of the sentence they had passed against *Menenius*. *Servilius* was unanimously acquitted; and he soon after not only cleared his character from all blemish, but added a new lustre to it. A notable victory which the Consul *Valerius*, in this same year, obtained over the *Hetrurians* and *Sabines*, was imputed chiefly to the bravery and conduct of *Servilius*, who had served in quality of his Lieutenant.

A. Manlius, who, with *L. Furius*, was raised to the Consulate for the new year, led the victorious army against the *Veientes*. But these enemies durst no longer appear in the field. They shut themselves up in *Ves*, where, being soon straitened for provisions, they sued for peace. The Senate, to whom the Consuls referred their Deputies, granted them a truce of forty years, and, in reward of *Manlius's* successful, but unbloody expedition, they decreed him the honour of an ovation.

And now the Tribunes with much warmth renewed their pursuit of the great affair; nor did the condemnation of *Menenius*, nor the danger of *Servilius* deter *Manlius* and *Furius* from opposing with all their might the measures of the *Plebeian* Magistrates, for which opposition they were impeached very soon after they had resigned the fasces to *L. Aemilius** and *Vopiscus Julius*.

Year of
R O M E

CCLXXXVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
seventy-four.

Thirty-
fifth Con-
sulship.
D Hal. B.
9. p. 587.
& seq.

Livy. B. 2.
c. 52.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 591.
& seq.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXXIX.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
seventy-three.

Thirty-
sixth
Consul-
ship. p.
594. Li-
vy, B. 2.
c. 53.
* A third
time Con-
sul.

Year of ROME CCLXXX. Ref. J. C. Four hundred seventy-two. Thirty-seventh Consulship. D. Hal. B. 9. p. 395. § III. *CN. GENUCIUS*, one of the Tribunes, a daring enterprising Man, and no bad speaker, called upon the new Consuls to name Commissioners for executing the Senate's decree, in relation to the publick lands. *Æmilius* and *Julius*, to elude this demand, alledged, that the *Senatus-consultum* in question did not regard them; that they had not been charged with the distribution of the lands; that the decree regarded those Consuls only to whom it was addressed, the immediate successors of *Cassius* and *Virginus*; that the *Senatus-consulta* were not permanent laws, nor of force any longer than during the Magistracies of those to whom their execution was committed.

The Tribune, enraged at this evasive answer, would gladly have attacked the Consuls directly; but as he foresaw it would be no easy matter to ruin them, while actually invested with the Sovereign Power, he turned his resentment upon *Manlius* and *Furius*, whose offices were but just expired. He cited them before the assembly of the People, to answer for their injustice in having neglected to name Commissioners for distributing the conquered lands pursuant to the Senate's decree: he said, the only way to engage the present Consuls to execute that decree was the letting them foresee, by the punishment of their predecessors, what would be their own fate if they neglected their duty: and having sworn by all that was most sacred, that he would not desist from the prosecution, he named a day for the trial.

Manlius and *Furius*, though they went about humbly soliciting the favour of the *Plebeians*, yet, by artful discourses to the younger Senators, endeavoured to engage these to defend them against the *Plebeians* by ways of violence. They exhorted the young men "never to aspire to the Consul's Fasces, the Robe of Magistracy, or the Curule Chair; which, they said, would be only the decorations of their funeral: That a Consul was now but a Serjeant of the Tribunes to execute their will; and in case any Consul found himself inclined to exercise his proper authority, or to assert that of the Senate, he would do well to set before his eyes the banishment of *Coriolanus*, and the death of *Menenius*."

The Senators, inflamed by these speeches, no longer held publick but private Councils; in which it was determined absolutely to rescue the accused; and, of many wicked expedients proposed, the most audacious and most wicked was the most approved.

When the day for the trial came, *Genucius* did not appear in the Forum. It was imagined at first, that the *Patricians* had found means to deter him from his purpose, and that he had deserted the cause: but presently some, who had been waiting at his door, brought word that he was found dead in his bed. The *Plebeians* on this report, like soldiers whose General is slain, immediately dispersed themselves; and the Tribunes were of all the most terrified; finding by the example of their Colleague, that the law, which made their persons sacred, gave them no security. On the other hand, the *Patricians* exulted in a most extravagant manner. None of them seemed sorry for what had happened. Nay, those

those who had not been even accomplices in the murder, affected to be thought principals; and it was openly said, that the Tribunician Power ought by such methods to be kept down^a.

^a This is *Livy's* account. *Dionysius* (B. 9. p. 596.) makes the death of *Genucius* to have happened the day before that which was appointed for the trial. He adds, that the Tribune's body being exposed to public view in the Forum, and there being on it no marks of poison or other violence, a notion prevailed universally, that his death was a stroke from the Gods, who disapproved his enterprise: whereupon the prosecution was dropped; and the Tribunes became quiet with regard to the *Agrarian Law*.

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Four
hundred
seventy-
two.
Thirty-
seventh
Consul-
ship.

C H A P. XVIII.

§. I. *The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the Consuls after the Death of Genucius, in relation to P. VOLERO. The People rise; and the Consuls hide themselves.* §. II. *VOLERO is chosen a Tribune of the People. He proposes a Law for electing the Tribunes in Comitia by Tribes. The Disputes on this Head are interrupted by a Plague.* §. III. *The Senate get the Consulship for Appius Claudius and T. Quinctius. These differ about the means to defeat VOLERO's project.* §. IV. *VOLERO renews the proposal of his Law in an Assembly of the People. Quinctius, by soft words, disposes the People to reject it: But Appius, by a Speech, full of pride and heat, ruins the effect of what his Colleague had said. The Tribune Lætorius orders Appius to be led to prison. A scuffle ensues. Night puts an end to the Disorder.* §. V. *The tumult is renewed the next morning. Quinctius by prudent management quiets it, and prevails with the Senate to let VOLERO's Law pass.*

§. I. **T**HE Consuls, flushed with this ill-gotten victory, and resolving to make the People feel their power, began now to use an extreme and (at this time) most imprudent rigour in raising soldiers for the war. Whatever Citizen did not appear, upon the summons, to give in his name, was sure to be severely punished, right or wrong, and some they even caused to be whipped by the lictors. Nor in all these proceedings did they meet with any Opposition from the Tribunes, confounded and struck mute by what had happened to *Genucius*.

Wrathful murmurings (the prelude to revolt) presently arose among the *Plebeians*, more provoked by the silence of their own Magistrates, than the tyranny exercised by the Consuls, “That their liberty was gone: That the Tribunician authority had expired and been buried with *Genucius*: That the Commons, deprived of all assistance, must now themselves provide for their defence against the Nobles; and that this was not very difficult to do: That, though the Consuls were attended by 24 Lictors, these Lictors were all *Plebeians*: That imagination only made the consular Power formidable: That nothing was in reality weaker or more contemptible, if men would but learn to despise it.”

N n 2

While

D. Hal. B.
9. p. 596.
Livy, B.
2. c. 55.

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ship.
Livy, B.
2. c. 55.
D. Hal. B.
9. P. 597.

While with such speeches the People were exciting one another to resistance, the Consuls summoned a certain *Plebeian* named *Publius Volero*, who had been a Centurion, and was esteemed a good officer, to enlist himself for a common soldier. The young man, full of spirit, boldly refused. Instantly the Consuls sent a Lictor to seize him.---*Help me, TRIBUNES!* cried out *Volero*.---The Consuls, seeing no-body come to his aid, bid the Lictor dispatch, tear off his cloaths, and scourge him. *Volero* checked the haite of this officer by a blow on his face that knocked him down: and then, turning to the Consuls, he said, *Since our Tribunes had rather see a Roman Citizen scourged in their presence, than be themselves murdered in their beds by you, I APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.* All the Lictors were now commanded to fall upon him at once; but, he getting into the thickest of the crowd, and calling out aloud, *I appeal to the People; I implore your aid; assist me. Citizens! assist me, fellow-soldiers! no protection is to be expected from the Tribunes; they themselves have need of your protection;* the multitude with a desperate fury attacked the Lictors, beat them, broke the fasces, and made the Consuls experience, that authority without strength is a vain thing: They were forced to fly for refuge to the Senate-house. Hither they summoned the *Fathers*, and complained to them of the audaciousness of *Volero*, and the insolent violence of the People. On the other hand, the Tribunes, who had hitherto been quiet, began now to make a mighty noise; they demanded justice upon the Consuls, for that, in contempt of the *Lex Valeria*, and of an appeal to the People, they had offered to scourge a Citizen, a *Roman* of free condition, as if he had been the vilest slave: A new subject of fierce dispute between the two orders in the Republick: But the elder and wiser men of the Senate, not thinking it prudent to contend with the head-strong rashness of the Commons, prevailed with the rest of the *Fathers* to drop their resentments; and so the tempest subsided for the present.

§. II. *VOLERO*, fearing the Power of the Consuls, and knowing that the Tribuneship, if he could get it, would be his best Security against their fury, stood for the office of Tribune. To engage the voices of the People in his favour, he boasted publicly, that, if ever he were invested with that Magistracy, he would take such methods, that the *Plebeians* should never more be oppressed by the Nobles. The multitude readily granted him their Votes; and he entered upon the exercise of his office in the Consulship of *L. Pinarus* and *P. Furius*. It was universally expected, that, to revenge himself on the last year's Consuls, who had treated him so ill, he would immediately commence a prosecution against them before the People; but he soon discovered, that, though a man of mean birth and education, he was capable of views far more extensive and important to the interest of his Party, than a mere personal revenge. Without letting fall so much as one disrespectful word against the late Magistrates, he turned his force against the whole body of the *Patricians*, and undertook to deprive them of the influence they had in the election of the Tribunes of the People.

Livy, B.
2. c. 56.
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four
hundred
seventy-
one.
Thirty-
eighth
Consul-
ship.

The

The Tribunes had hitherto been chosen in *Comitia* by * *Curia*. As those Assemblies consisted only of such Citizens as resided in *Rome*, or belonged to the thirty *Curia*, *Volero* thought (or pretended to think) that the Senators, by the multitude of their friends, clients, and immediate dependents, had a greater influence there, than was consistent with the people's intire liberty of chusing their own protectors. Moreover, it was the prerogative of the Senate to give a previous consent, before those Assemblies could be held, and none but *Patricians* could preside in them. Nor was this all; for the Augurs, before any thing could be validly done, were to declare that the Auspices were favourable. Now it often happened, that these ministers of religion, *Patricians* by birth, did, to serve the interest of their order, either put off the holding of the *Comitia*, or annul the election of such Tribunes as were very obnoxious to the Nobility, under pretence that the omens were inauspicious.

Volero moved, therefore, that for the future the election of the Tribunes should no longer be in *Comitia Curiata*^b, but in *Comitia Tributa*; Assemblies

^a In what Mr. *Vertot* says on this occasion, and on some others, of the difference between the several sorts of *Comitia*, he seems to be defective in the manner of expressing himself. He commonly tells us, that in the *Comitia* by *Tribes* and by *Curia* every man's vote was taken singly (*qu'on recueilloit les voix par tête*) but that in the *Centuriate Comitia* the voices were counted by Centuries. From which way of speaking one would be apt to imagine, that in the two first named sorts of *Comitia* all affairs were decided by the majority of the Citizens assembled. But this was not the case. No question whatsoever was decided in any of the three sorts of Assembly by the plurality of single votes. The opinion of the plurality of the Citizens in each *Curia*, *Tribu*, and *Century*, determined the sense of that *Curia*, *Tribu*, and *Century*. But it was the majority of the *Centuries*, of the *Tribes*, or of the *Curia*, that decided the question in debate. And though, perhaps, it never happened, it was very possible to happen, that in the *Comitia* by *Tribes*, and by *Curia*, as well as in those by *Centuries*, a great majority of single voices should lose their point. For example; in the affair of *Coriolanus*, nine *Tribes* only voted for him, and twelve against him; he was therefore cast. Nevertheless, it does not hence follow, that the majority of the *Roman* Citizens were against him. For, if in each of those nine *Tribes* which voted for him, the Citizens were unanimous, and if in each of those twelve which

voted against him, the Citizens were divided, and only a bare majority against him, it will hence follow that he must have had a very great majority of single voices in his favour, notwithstanding his being condemned.

^b The words of *Dionysius* are—*τυναξαγὰν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, νόμον εἰσφέρει περὶ τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων, μετὰ τὸν αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς φρατρίακῆς ψηφοφορίας, ἣν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν καλῆσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν φυλετικὴν.* Lib. ix. p. 598.

And, ten years after this time, when the law for creating *DECENVIRS* to form a body of Laws, &c. is in agitation, the Consuls and other eminent *Patricians* reproach the Tribunes with their unhallowed Magistracy, because elected in *COMITIA TRIBUTA*, and not, as formerly, in *COMITIA CURIATA*, preceded by religious ceremonies. “The Power, which you extorted from the Senate [at the treaty of re-union] have you not lost it by the change of the *Comitia*? For you enter on this Magistracy, without any previous *Senatus-consultum*; you are not chosen by the *CURIAE*; no sacrifices precede the holding of your *Comitia*; there is nothing of piety towards the Gods, or justice towards men in this Magistracy of yours. And yet you will pretend to law-making; which is one of those things, to the due performance whereof, sacrifices and religious worship were always held to be necessary.”

Εἰ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πρότερον ἦν τις ὑμῖν δύναμις, ἣν ἐκ τῆς δικαίας βιασάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἐλάβετε, ὑποκατακλινόμενης ἐκείνης πλεονεκτήματι τῆς βουλῆς, ἔχει καὶ

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dred se-
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eighth
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ship.
D. Hal B.
9 p. 598.

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dred se-
venty-
one.

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eighth
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ship.

*Apud
Hudf.
Dionys.

blies where the People's own Magistrates might preside; where all the Citizens of the country Tribes, as well as the inhabitants of *Rome*, would have a right of voting; and which would not be subject to any decrees of the Senate, or the influence of the Augurs.

καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπαλλέκτε τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν ἀρχαρχεσιῶν; οὐτε γὰρ βούλη; βούμα ὅμω; ἀ-
ποδοκίμωσι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ, οὐτε αἱ φράτριάων
ψῆφον ὑπὲρ ὅμων ἐπὶ φέρουσιν, οὐτε ἱερὰ προ-
βουτε τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαρχεσιῶν; αἱ λατ-
ριαι; ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ ἀλλοτρίοις, οὐτε ὅλλο τῶν πρὸς
τοῖς θεοῖς εὐσεβίαν, ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων; οὐδὲν οὐδὲν
ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ; τῶν ὁμετέρων γίνεται; τίς οὐκ ἂν
ἐπὶ μέτεσι τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ σεβασμῶν δευμένη; [ἐπὶ
[ἐπὶ, Cod. Vat.] καὶ ὁ νόμος ἦ, ἐξ ἀπαιτίας
ταύτων ἀπαίτων. Lib. x. p. 630.

It is manifest that the words of these several passages, as they stand in *Dionysius*, do import, that the Tribunes, till this time, were chosen in *Comitia* by *Centuries*. Nevertheless the fact is disputed. For,

In the former of these passages, *Glarian* reads κενταριάων; instead of ἀρχαρχεσιῶν, and, in the latter, reads λαοὶ instead of φράτριάων; being of opinion, that the Tribunes, until *Volero's* Law, were chosen in *Comitia Centuriata*. And Dr. *Hudson* conforms his translation of the latter passage to *Glarian's* reading. *Mantius* likewise is of opinion, that the Tribunes were, at first, elected in *Comitia* by *Centuries*.

—“ Non modo Consules, qui de patribus primo creabantur, sed et TRIBUNOS PLEBIS CENTURIATIS COMITIIS ESSE FACTOS ex *Livii*, Lib. ii. et *Dionysii*, Lib. ix. plane constat; tametsi Tribunorum creationem post annos xvii a centuriatis ad Tributa, *Voleronis* lege esse translatam iidem *Livius* & *Dionysius* narrant. Cap. x. de Com. Rom.”

Though *Mantius* cites here the authorities of *Liv.* Lib. ii. and *Dionys.* Lib. ix. in support of his opinion, there is nothing in the Books referred to, nor I believe in any other books of those Historians, that can support it. Whatever good reasons the learned Critics abovenamed might have to believe that the *Centuries*, and not the *Curiae*, chose the Tribunes till *Volero's* Law, it seems demonstrable, that *Dionysius* did not mean to say so. For,

1. He relates (in *Lib. vi. p. 410.*) that the φράτριάων which were called *Curiae*, elected the first Tribunes after the treaty of accommodation on the *Mons Sacer*.

Νεμπείας δὲ ὁ δῆμος εἰς τὰς τότε ἔσας φρα-

τριάς, ἢ ὅπως βέλεται τις αὐτὰς προσαγορεύειν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι καλεῖται *Curiae*, ἀρχόντας ἐνιαυσιαίως ἀποδοκίμωσι, &c.

Plebs vero divisa, in φρατριάς, quæ tunc erant, five quocunque alio nomine velit quis eas appellare, quas illi *curias* vocant, annuos magistratus creavit, &c.

2. If *Dionysius* thought that the *Centuries* had chosen, to the Tribuneship, the *Prosecutors* of *Coriolanus* (men so angrily zealous against the Senate and all the *Patricians*) with what appearance of reason could he impute to those *Prosecutors* an apprehension, that the *Comitia Centuriata* would absolve him, should he be tried at that Tribunal; an apprehension so strong as to put them on devising a new sort of *Comitia* for the Trial? This argument, I confess, is not decisive; because *Dionysius* does not always give himself the trouble to seek an appearance of reason.

3 But what leaves no room to doubt of the Historian's meaning is this, That, but a few lines before his first mention of *Volero's* Bill, he tells us, that the contempt, which this man had shewn of the consular authority, was “ the principal cause which induced the Poor, the lowest of the People, to abuse him to be one of their leaders, [*i. e.* one of the Tribunes] he himself being of mean birth, and educated in great poverty,” ἢ δὲ ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πεινῶν δῆμον προάτης [ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν πεινῶν τῶν δῆμον προάτης *Sylb. & Port.*] γένος τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἦν, καὶ τεθραμμένος ἐν πολλῇ ταπεινότητι καὶ ἀπορίᾳ. Lib. x. p. 597-8. Hac potissimum de causa ab infima plebe tribunus est creatus (nam erat ignobili genere natus, et in magna humilitate ac egestate educatus.) *Hudson*.

Now the Poor, the lowest of the people, (the sixth Class) had but one vote, of 193, in the *Comitia Centuriata*; and, should we extend the meaning of the words τῶν πεινῶν δῆμον to the *Centuries* of the fourth and fifth Classes, this will not remove the difficulty, because (as has been often mentioned) the *Centuries* of the first Class, consisting of the richest Citizens, made the majority of the whole: consequently the Tribunes were not chosen in *Comitia Centuriata*, if *Dionysius's* Authority is to decide the Question.

The *Plebeians* in general were highly pleased with this proposal, and warmly declared for passing it into a Law. The Consuls, on the other hand, the Senate, and the whole order of *Patricians*, opposed it with all their might. It became the common, and the only subject of dispute between the two parties; so that the affair of the *Agrarian Law* was for a while intirely dropt.

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dred se-
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one.

A dreadful pestilence which raged both in the city and in the country, interrupted the course of this furious contest. Each man being taken up with his particular losses and his own preservation, less attention was given to the business of the publick. But, this calamity proving as short as it was violent, the Tribunes quickly resumed the prosecution of the law proposed by *Volero*; and the People, believing they could not succeed without his assistance, continued him in the Tribuneship for the following year, in spite of the opposition of the Senate and of the whole *Patrician* party.

Thirty-
eighth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 599.

§. III. THE Senate finding how strongly bent the *Plebeians* were upon carrying their point, and how necessary it would be to set up against *Volero* some man of intrepid resolution, and who was not to be terrified by the clamours and menaces of the multitude, pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, and raised him to the Consulate without his participation. He had been so far from making interest for that high post, that he had not so much as appeared in the Assembly on the day of election; he was proud, but without ambition, not less zealous than his father had been for the interest of the Senate, and more obstinate and inflexible. The Senate gave him for a Colleague *T. Quinctius*, a man naturally mild and insinuating, and who had found means to get the love of the People, though he was looked upon to be one of the principal Leaders of the other party.

Livy B. 2.
c. 56.
D. Hal.
ibid.

The new Consuls, as they were of different characters, so were they of different opinions. *Appius* hoping for no peace in the City, but by leading the *Plebeians* into the field, advised, that upon some pretence (not difficult to find while *Rome* was so hated by her neighbours) a new war should be immediately undertaken.

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Fourhun-
dred se-
venty.

Quinctius was against commencing any war without necessity. He said, it was to be feared, that the force which must be employed to compel those *Plebeians* who refused to serve, would exasperate the multitude to a desperate fury (as in the preceding Consulships :) in which case either the fire must be extinguished by the blood of *Roman* Citizens, or the Consuls must debase themselves to the ignominious task of courting and soothing the very lowest of the People. As *Quinctius* was this month in possession of the chief authority, his Colleague could do nothing without him.

Thirty-
ninth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 600.

In the mean time *Volero* proposed his Law anew, and, in concert with his Colleagues, added these articles to it: *That the Aediles should likewise be chosen in Comitia by Tribes, and that these Assemblies should have cognizance of all affairs which the People had a right to determine*; an addition * (says *Dionysius*) which tended directly to destroy the authority of the Senate, and

* Vid.
supr. p.
10 232.

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to establish that of the People upon its ruins. The Consuls, upon this new alarm, convened the *Fathers*. *Appius* declared for arming all those Citizens, who wished the preservation of the ancient form of Government, and for treating as enemies to the state all opponents. *Quintilius* advised the gentler methods of reasoning and persuasion to bring the People to a sense of their true interest: The majority of the Senate coming into his opinion, the Consuls repaired to the *Comitium*, and desired of the Tribunes, that they would permit them to speak to *the Plebeians assembled*, and would name a day. With some difficulty they obtained both requests. When the day came, and the Forum was filled with a promiscuous crowd of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, whom the Magistrates of the different orders had brought thither to support them respectively, *Quintilius* (leave to speak first asked and granted) made so artful, so pleasing, so engaging an harangue to the multitude, against the proposed law, that it is probable they would have rejected it, if *Appius* had not spoken after him.

D. Hal. B. 9. p. 601. But this Consul, who understood no way of treating men but with a high hand, instead of taking advantage of the impression which his Colleague's discourse had made in the minds of his audience, fell into invectives, which had the very same effect as the harangues of the Tribunes. He upbraided the People in the most harsh and offensive terms with their *secession* upon the *Mons Sacer*, deserting their Generals, to whom they had sworn obedience; carrying away the military standards; employing against their country those very arms, which were put into their hands for its defence: *He added*, that it was no wonder, if fugitive bankrupts and perjured soldiers, after being re-admitted into the city, ran every day into new disorders and excesses. That the most sacred Laws were infringed, the Consular power despised, and the dignity of the Senate debased; and that no remedy to these evils could be hoped so long as the Tribuneship, the root of all, subsisted.

And he concluded with telling them, that, as to the present affair, it was his firm determination for ever to withstand the passing of so iniquitous a Law as was then proposed, and of any Law whatsoever which had not first passed the examination and approbation of the Senate; and that he hoped to make them know during his Magistracy, if they were yet ignorant of it, what was the extent of the power of a Consul.

Livy, B. 2. c. 56. *Valero*, notwithstanding this provocation, still confined his discourse to the matter and merits of the Law in question, forbearing all personal attacks. But *Lætorius*, another of the Tribunes, fell ^a at once to railing against the *Claudian* family, which he termed *the most haughty and most cruel enemies of the Plebeians*; and he added, that the *Patricians* had given

^a *Dionysius* represents *Lætorius* as a long-winded Orator, who answers what *Appius* had said against the Commons with an ample panegyrick upon them, then makes an

investive against *Appius* and his family, and then closes all with swearing, that he will carry his point or die.

them,

them, in *Appius*, not a Consul, but an executioner to rend and torture them. Words failing the rough soldier to keep pace with his angry and impetuous thoughts, he said, "*Romans*, I am not so ready at *speaking* as at *doing*. Come hither to-morrow. I will get the Law passed, or die upon the spot before you."

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dred fe-
venty.

The next day the Tribunes possessed themselves of the Temple [the capitol, according to *Dionysius*.] The Consuls and *Patricians* repaired to the Assembly to hinder the passing of the Law. *Lætorius* bids his *Viator* clear the place of all who have not the right of voting: The young Nobles keep their ground: He gives orders to lay hold on some of them: *Appius* cries out, "A Tribune has no authority but over the *Plebeians*: He is not a Magistrate of the *People*, but of the *Commons*": I myself, though Consul, have no power, by the custom of our ancestors, to remove any Citizen from a publick Assembly; the form of dismissing it having always been, *Depart, Romans, if you please.*" Si vobis videtur, discedite Quirites.

Thirty-
ninth
Consul-
ship.

The Tribune, no match for the Consul at points of Law, instead of answering, sends a *Viator* to arrest him; *Appius* sends a *Liçtor* to seize the Tribune, crying aloud to him, at the same time, that *he is but a private man, without any authority, or real magistracy.* The sacrosanct person of the Tribune was just going to be insulted, when the enraged *Plebeians* all united at once against the Consul. *Appius* nevertheless stood the storm; and, as fresh crouds of Citizens flocked to the Forum from all quarters, the commotion would probably not have ended without bloodshed, if *Quinctius*, the other Consul, had not exerted all his soothing arts to quiet the tumult. Requesting some Consulars to force *Appius* out of the Assembly (if they could not persuade him to go) he endeavoured by intreaties to assuage the fury of the *Plebeians*, and begged of the Tribunes to dismiss the Assembly, and allow their own anger some leisure to cool. Time (he said) would not diminish their strength, but add wisdom to it. That the Senate would certainly yield to the People, and the Consul to the Senate.

Quinctius found it difficult to appease the multitude; the Consulars much more difficult to appease *Appius*. At length the Assembly of the Commons was dismissed; and the Consuls convened the Senate. Anger and fear, for a while, alternately dictated different counsels; but, in proportion as those passions subsiding gave place to reflection and reason, the *Fathers* became more and more averse from all further strife; and *Quinctius* had the thanks of the House for having quieted the tumultuary contest. They intreated *Appius* not to insist on retaining to the consular dignity any higher prerogatives than were compatible with concord in the State. He, unconvinced by all their remonstrances, "called Gods and Men to witness, that the Republick was betrayed through cowardice; that a Consul was not wanting to the Senate, but a Senate to the Consul:

B.2.c.57-

* Non POPULI sed PLEBIS eum magistratum esse. *Livy*, B. 2. c. 56.

Year of " That they were going to submit to Laws more destructive than even
 R O M E " those enacted on the *Mons Sacer*." Overcome, however, by the una-
 cclxxxiii.
 Bef. J. C. nimity of the *Fathers*, he acquiesced. The Law was quietly passed. *Lex*
 Fourhun- *silentio perferitur*^a.

dred se-
 venty.

Thirty-
 ninth
 Consul-
 ship.

Liv. B.
 c. c. 53.

And now the Tribunes were chosen, for the first time, in *Comitia by Tribes*; and, according to *Piso* the Historian (quoted by *Livy*) the Com-
 mons, from the same time, began^b to have five Tribunes, and not before. The names of the five now elected were C. *Sicinius*, L. *Lumitorius*, M. *Duilius*, Sp. *Idilius*, and L. *Mecilius*.

^a The Greek Historian (B. 9. p. 603, 604, 605.) is somewhat more circumstantial than the *Latins* with regard to the commotion. He represents it as lasting many days. He says, that after the fray between *Appius* and *Laetorius*, in which the latter received a hurt, the Tribunes and People possessed themselves of the Capitol, and kept guard there night and day to the great terror of the *Fathers*. And he adds, that *Quinctius*, at length, prevailed with the Tribunes to refer the matter in dispute wholly to the judgment of the Senate. That there (the Tribunes present) *Valerius*, being called upon the first to declare his opinion, began with advising a mutual forgiveness and oblivion of all injuries done in the late scuffle; and then said, That since the Consul *Appius* would not permit the Law in question to be proposed to the People,

without a previous decree of the Senate, he thought the Senate should take it into consideration, and make a decree thereupon. This advice was approved. *Quinctius* put the question: *Appius* spoke warmly against the Law: The Tribunes answered him: the majority of the Senate declared for the Law; and a decree was made conformable to the Sense of the House; which decree the People joyfully received; and by their suffrages the Law was enacted. Καὶ ὁ ὄντως ἀγαπῶν δειξάμενος τὸ συγχώρημα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπέψησεν τὸν νόμον.

^b If *Piso's* report be true, many particulars, related by *Dionysius* and *Livy* concerning the Tribunes, must be fabulous: It may be observed, that *Pighius* has in no year, preceding this, inserted more than two in his Calendars.

C H A P. XIX.

- §. I. The Consuls lead two armies into the field against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*. *Appius's* Troops, that he may have no claim to a TRIUMPH, refuse to fight the enemy. He punishes them with the utmost severity, and returns to Rome. §. II. The affair of the Agrarian Law being revived the next year, he opposes the Tribunes with more heat than ever. They cite him before the People as an enemy to the publick liberty. He kills himself. §. III. The Tribunes resume the affair of the Conquered Lands, but drop it again till the close of the next Consulship, when no Plebeian appears in the *Comitia*, where T. *Quinctius* and Q. *Servilius* are chosen to that dignity. These Consuls, to keep things quiet at home, busy the People in various wars. §. IV. The domestick dissensions begin afresh in the Consulship of T. *Æmilius* and Q. *Fabius*. *Æmilius* favours the People in relation to the Agrarian Law. *Fabius*, without promoting that affair, falls upon an expedient to stop their complaints. §. V. He then takes the field, and reduces the *Æqui* to ask peace. The war is renewed to the advantage of the Romans. §. VI. A most dreadful Plague rages in the City. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* appear before Rome, but soon retire; and the Romans, the next year, give them an intire overthrow.

§. I.

§. I. **T**HE *Æqui* and *Volsci*, during these divisions at *Rome*, had, according to their old custom, made inroads upon the territories of the Republick. The Legions raised to take revenge upon those enemies were divided between the two Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXXII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred se-
venty.
Thirty-
ninth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 605,
606.
Livy, B.
2. c. 58.

Appius marched against the *Volsci*, and carried with him into the field the same cruel and tyrannical spirit which had actuated him in the City, and to which he now abandoned himself the more absolutely as he had no Tribunes to controul him. The victory which the Commons had gained over him made his hatred to them exceed even that of his father. Though singled out by the *Patricians*, as the only man qualified to withstand the Tribunes, yet in his Consulship they had passed their Law, which his predecessors, with less vigorous efforts than his, had obstructed. Stung with these reflections, anger and indignation incited him to exercise towards the soldiers a rigour that had more the appearance of revenge, than of necessary discipline. Yet so obstinate a spirit of opposition to him had they imbibed, that no acts of severity could make them submissive. They did every thing slowly, lazily, negligently, contumaciously. Neither fear nor shame had any power with them. If he bade them march faster, instantly they took care to slacken their pace; if, when they were employed in any work, he urged them to dispatch, they presently became languid, though of their own accord they had been active before; their arms grew stiff. Whenever he was near, they kept their eyes on the ground, muttering curses as he passed by; insomuch that, though unconquered by the hatred of the *Placians*, it sometimes staggered him. Finding that no examples of punishment had any influence on the soldiers, he forbore speaking to them any more; but charged the centurions with having corrupted his army, and scoffingly called them *Tribunes of the Commons*, and sometimes *Voleros*.

The *Volsci*, having intelligence of all this, pressed the closer upon the *Romans*, in hopes of their acting the same part towards *Appius*, as formerly towards *Cæso Fabius*. And in truth they were disposed to act a worse, as they hated *Appius* much more than they had done the other. They did not only resolve, like *Fabius's* army, not to conquer, but they resolved to be conquered. The Consul had no sooner drawn them up for battle, than they turned their backs to the enemy, fled shamefully to their intrenchments, nor made any resistance till they beheld the slaughter of their rear, and the *Volsci* approaching to break into their Camp. Then exerting their strength courageously they repulsed the victorious *Volsci*; yet would do no more. They would only save the Camp, and shew their General, that they could have conquered if they had pleased. Some even exulted in the loss and disgrace they had suffered. The haughty and fierce spirit of *Appius* not broken by all this, but eagerly bent to punish it with rigour, he gave orders for the soldiers to assemble before his tribunal. His Lieutenants and military Tribunes, who dreaded the consequence, ran to him, begged of him not to

Year of hazard his authority by putting it to such a trial, since its whole force
 R O M E lay in the consent of those who were to obey; they represented to him,
 E. C. 221. that the soldiers in general declared, they would not assemble; that many
 E. C. J. C. called out aloud to decamp and quit the territory of the *Volsci*; and that
 Fourhun- certain appearances gave great reason to apprehend some dreadful blow
 ded se- from the victorious enemy, who had already been once at the foot of the
 venty. rampart. *Appius*, yielding at length to their remonstrances, (though the
 guilty got nothing by it but a delay of punishment) put off the Assem-
 bly, and issued orders to decamp the next morning. At break of day
 the signal for marching was given by sound of trumpet. The *Volsci*, as
 if roused by the same signal, fell upon the hindmost ranks of the army,
 as soon as it was in march: the terror and confusion, hereby caused,
 spread to the foremost; no orders could be heard, no troops formed for
 fighting; soldiers threw away their arms, Ensigns their colours; the on-
 ly thought of every one was to escape by flight; the *Volsci* ceased to pur-
 sue, before the *Romans* ceased to run; nor did these rally till they came
 upon the lands of the Republick.

Thirty-
 ninth
 Consul-
 ship.

Then *Appius*, who during the rout had in vain called upon his men to face about, pitching his Camp where he could not be molested by the enemy, once more summoned the army to attend him. Seated in his Tribunal he upbraided them (and not without reason) with their breach of discipline and shameful behaviour; asked the Ensigns, who appeared without their colours, what they had done with them? the unarmed soldiers, what they had done with their arms? Giving full scope to his natural severity, he caused the guilty Centurions, Ensigns, and those of the private soldiers who had double allowance of provisions, to be first scourged and then beheaded; and the rest of the soldiers he *decimated*, that is, put every tenth man of them to death, lots determining, who should be the sufferers.

The time for electing new Consuls drawing near, *Appius*, universally hated by the multitude, and inwardly vexed, because he had acquired no glory, led back the wreck of his army to *Rome*.

In the other army, commanded by *Quintius* against the *Æqui*, the scene
 Liv. B. had been far different; an amiable competition between the General and
 •. 60. his soldiers; the strife, which should give the other the greater proofs of
 good-will and affection? *Quintius*, naturally mild and gentle, had yielded
 to his disposition with the more pleasure, as he observed the bad effects
 of his Collegue's cruel severity. The *Æqui*, apprised of this concord be-
 tween the Consul and his troops, durst not shew themselves. Without
 opposition they suffered their lands to be plundered and ravaged. A
 richer booty had never been brought from that country; and *Quintius*
 gave all to his men. To this liberality he added praises, not less pleasing
 to soldiers, than rewards. They returned home in perfect good humour
 with their General, and, on his account, even softened towards the *Patri-
 cians*: the Senate (they said) had to them given a Father, to the other
 army a Master.

“ Thus,

“ Thus, with various fortune in war, and furious discord both at home and abroad, passed this year, chiefly memorable for the *Comitia* by Tribes. The affair was more considerable on account of the victory itself, than any real benefit, got by the victory. For neither the *Plebeians* acquired, nor the *Patricians* lost so much strength, as the *Comitia* themselves lost dignity, by the exclusion of the *Patricians* from the council.”

Year of ROME
CCLXXXII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred seventy.

§. II. L. VALERIUS and Tib. Æmilius (chosen to succeed Quintus and Appius in the Consulship) had scarce entered upon their office when the *Tribunes of the Commons* revived the affair of the conquered lands.

Thirty-ninth Consulship.

Addressing themselves to both the new Magistrates, they conjured them to make good the promises given by the Senate in the Consulship of Cassius and Virginus; and they succeeded with both. Æmilius favoured them (says Dionysius) from a spirit of revenge against the Senate, who had formerly refused a triumph to his father, when he returned victorious from a war with the *Æqui*. And, as for Valerius, he was glad of the present opportunity to soothe the People, who could not easily forgive him the part he had acted, when Quæstor, in the destruction of Cassius, the ablest Statesman, and greatest Captain^b of his time, and the first author of the *Agrarian Law*.

Y. of R.
283. Bef.
J. C. 496.
40th Consulship.
B. 9. P.
607.

Secure

^a *Varia fortuna belli, atroci discordia domi forisque annum exactum, insignem maxime Comitum Tributa efficiunt. Res major victoria suscepti certaminis quam usu. Plus enim dignitatis Comitibus ipsis detractum est, Patribus ex Concilio submovendis, quam virum aut Plebi additum, aut ademptum Patribus.* What is said here of the Exclusion of the *Patricians* from the Assemblies by Tribes, is not to be understood generally of all such Assemblies; for the *Patrician* Magistrates held Assemblies by Tribes as well as the *Plebeian*. However, it appears by this passage of *Livy*, that to the Assemblies by Tribes for the election of *Tribunes* the *Patricians* were not to be admitted. *Manutius* cites the passage as decisive for this.

^b Perhaps the reader, when he calls to mind *Coriolanus*, will wonder why the Historian makes *Cassius* the greatest General of his time; and I cannot resolve the difficulty, otherwise than by supposing, that he speaks only of the time when *Cassius* was killed; that he was then the ablest General in the Republick. By the way, it is somewhat surprising, that, when the *Romans* were so grievously distressed by *Coriolanus*, they made no use of the abilities of *Cassius*: we hear nothing of him during all that war. Why did not they raise him to the Consulship when they most wanted such a General?

And this naturally leads me to mention another difficulty which frequently occurs in the Roman story. The Consuls were always chosen in *Comitia* by Centuries; and the *Patricians* are often represented as having all power there. Thus, for instance, *Livy*, on occasion of the contest about *Volero's* bill:—*Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit. Patres ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, App. Claudium, Appii filium, jam inde à paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt.* *Liv. L. 2. c. 56.*

One would imagine, from these words, that the creation of the Consuls was as much in the power of the Senate and *Patricians*, as the creation of the *Tribunes* was in the power of the Commons. Yet we find, that in the *Comitia Centuriata* the *Plebeians* often prevailed to have those Candidates promoted, whom they liked best, and who were known to favour the popular cause. May we not resolve this difficulty, by saying, that the Commons were always masters in the *Comitia Centuriata*, when they pleased to exert their strength; but that, generally speaking, they had so much respect for the old *Patrician* families, as to leave to them the Nomination of persons to fill those Magistracies, to which no *Plebeian* could lawfully be admitted? That nevertheless, when any matter, which greatly concerned

Year of ROME 507. Ref. J. C. Four hundred forty-nine. Fortieth Consulship. D. Hal. B. 9. p. 607. Secure of the two Consuls, the Tribunes brought the affair before the Senate, and in gentle, but pressing terms, urged the *Conscripſt Fathers* to suffer the nomination of Decemvirs for regulating the partition of the lands. The Consul said nothing upon the subject, but asked the opinions of the rest of the Senate, beginning with *Æmilius's* Father. This ancient Consular declared, he thought nothing could be more unjust, than that a few private men should possess the publick estate; that those usurpers ought to be very well content with having held the lands several years without molestation. That, not to speak of the natural right which all the Citizens of a state have to share in what belongs to the publick, the Senate was particularly engaged by their own decree, made 17^e years ago, to divide the conquered lands among the People. He added, That the poor *Plebeians* dreaded the thoughts of having children, to whom they could leave nothing but their own wretchedness for an inheritance; instead of cultivating each the portion of land

concerned the interest of the whole *Plebs* and body, was depending, they then took advantage of their superiority to have one popular *Patrician*, at least, in the Consulship. The Tribunes with their insolent *Veto*, and the Senate, with their *Knawish Augurs*, could throw obstructions in the way of each other's purposes at these Elections. And it seems, as if they therefore frequently compromised the matter. *Let us have one Consul (said the Tribunes) such as we like, and you shall name whom you please for the other.* Thus, in the instance just mentioned, the Colleague given to *Appius* was *T. Quinctius*, a popular man: otherwise, it is highly probable, that the *Plebeians* would have opposed and hindered the Election of the other, their known and avowed enemy.

Nothing, here said, will account for the neglect shewn of the abilities of *Cassius* when they were most wanted; because he is represented as a man agreeable to both parties, till his proposal of the *Agrarian Law*. But doubtless, with regard to the Consuls of the year 263, the case was, that the *Plebeians* departed from their usual complaisance for the Senate, as thinking the interest of the *Plebeian* order particularly concerned at that time in the choice of the governing Magistrates. (See p. 212.) And the same was doubtless the case, when Consuls were chosen for the present year. For I apprehend that both *Valerius* and *Æmilius* were known to be favourers of the people before their election to the magistracy; and that the reasons, assigned by *Dionysius*, why they sided with the Tribunes in relation to the *Agrarian Law*, are mere conjectures of his own. To believe that *Valerius* took part with the People

from the motive mentioned in the text, we must first believe the story of *Cassius's* being impeached before the People by *Valerius* and his brother *Quaſtor*, which, I think, has been shewn to be a groundless tale. It does not appear that *Valerius* had any hand in the death of *Cassius*.

And as to *Æmilius's* resenting the refusal, his father had received eight years before, (in his second Consulship 275) from the Senate, of a *Triumph*, I conceive the refusal itself to be fabulous, as likewise all that *Dionysius* says of the petitioner's anger, and his immediately revenging himself by declaring for the *Agrarian Law*: I conclude, I say, the whole to be fabulous, not only because *Livy* says nothing of these things, but because we find *Æmilius* the father raised a third time to the Consulship in 280, and as warm against the pretensions of the People, as the Senate could wish him. And it seems very probable that both father and son (in imitation of the *Fabii*, (see p. 250.) now sided with the Tribunes in order to recover to the family the good-will of the *Plebeians*, which they must have lost in the former part of the Father's third Consulship; during which the Tribune *Genucius* was murdered, and the *Plebeians* insulted in the person of *Volero*. That *Æmilius* the father presently repented of what he had done in relation to *Volero* and made his peace with the Tribunes, there seems good ground to believe, since we find that stormy affair hushed at once, each party dropping their complaints.

i. e. The year 267, when the decree was made, and the present year 283, inclusive.

that

that belonged to him, they were obliged to work for subsistence, like slaves, on the estates of the *Patricians*; and that this servile way of life was not very proper to form the courage of a *Roman*. “My opinion therefore is, that our Consuls do now execute the Senate’s decree, the execution of which has been hitherto delayed on account of the unquietness of the times, and that they name Decemvirs, to make the partition of the conquered lands.”

Appius opposed this advice. He said, that the People could lay the blame of their misery upon nothing but their own intemperance and prodigality; that the Consuls had frequently divided among them the booty got in the territories of their enemies, and, upon a thorough inquiry, it would appear, that those who had received the greatest share of it were the poorest. That till their manners were mended no largesses could free them from poverty. That it would be very monstrous if the Senate should grant rewards to men who had behaved themselves so shamefully in the field, as they had done the last year when under his command. That it never was the intention of the Senate to divide the lands among the People; that their sole view in granting the *Senatus-consultum*, which *Æmilius* spoke of, was to put off the affair, in order more easily to quiet the commotion, raised by the Consul *Cassius*: That his immediate successors in the magistracy, to whom the decree was directed, had taken no notice of it, as thinking the partition in question would be mischievous to the Republick. That afterwards, during fifteen years successive, the Consuls of none of those years, though in continual danger from the resentment of the People, had thought themselves authorized to name Decemvirs in virtue of a decree directed only to the immediate successors of *Cassius* and *Virginus*. He added, “Nor have you therefore, *Valerius*, nor you, *Æmilius*, any authority to name Decemvirs for the partition in question, the Senate having given you no commission to do it. As to those who have usurped the publick lands, whether by force or fraud, if such men there be, let them be summoned to appear before the Consuls, and let their titles be legally tried and determined. There is no want of new Laws for this, we have Laws already written; and they are not obsolete; time has formed no prescription against them.”

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxxiii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
sixty-nine.

Fortieth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 608.

The

^a It should be 14 years, the year of *Cassius*, the year of his immediate successors, and the present year being excluded by the context.

^e Mr. *Vertot*, I know not why, always speaks of the *resumption* of the lands either as a thing *impracticable*; or as not to be executed without ruining the Senate and all the great men; objections never made by those who opposed the AGRARIAN LAW. *Appius Claudius* himself, tho’ against the partition, declares for the *resumption*; and

so did his Father in *Cassius*’s time, as likewise *Sempronius*, who are the only persons mentioned by *Dionysius*, as then speaking on the subject in the Senate.

Tho’ the younger *Appius* now declares for the *resumption*, as Mr. *Vertot* himself (following *Dionysius*) relates, yet Mr. *Vertot* represents this *Appius* saying, that the *Senatus-consultum* was granted only to give the People time to see the injustice, and even impossibility of what they demanded, *pour donner le tems au peuple de reconnoître l’injustice & même l’impossibi-*

Year of
R O M E
ccxxxviii
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred
sixty-
nine.

The majority of the Senate came into the opinion of *Appius*; so that the request of the Tribunes was rejected; who thereupon, enraged at their disappointment, turned their thoughts wholly to revenge themselves on the author of it; and they agreed to bring him to trial^a for his life before the People. They named a day for it, and exhorted all the

Fortieth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 610.

possibilité de leurs prétentions. This im-
possibility can relate only to the *resumption*; the
partition admitted of no difficulty. And
what made the *resumption* so difficult? We
have the Abbot's reasons, where he speaks
of this affair in the time of *Cassius*: *Quelque*
apparence d'équité qu'eut la proposition de Cas-
sius, on ne pouvoit en faire une loi sans ruin-er
tout d'un coup le Senat & la pro. ci. de l'Etat,
& sans exciter une infinité de procès en garantte
parmi toutes les familles de Rome. Why? Les
Patriciens qui s'en étoient emparés [par les es-
conquises] les avoient enfermées de murailles: on
avoit élevé au dessus des bâtiments des troupees d'é-
claves faits des prisonniers de guerre les culti-
voient pour le comte des Grands de Rome, &
déjà une longue Prescription couvroit ces
Usurpations. Les Sénateurs & les Patriciens
n'avoient gueres d'autres biens que ces terres du
public, qui étoient passées successivement en dis-
ferentes familles par succession, par partage, ou
par ventes. Tom. 1. p. 268. 3d Ed.

I cannot find any authority Mr. *Veret* has
for saying that the Senators and *Patricians*
had hardly any estates but what they had
got by usurping the lands belonging to the
publick. But, when he speaks of their usur-
pations being covered by *long prescription*, he
seems totally to forget the time of which he
is writing, the year 267 of *Rome*. By his
own account (p. 64.) these usurpations did
not begin till after the *Regifuge* (in 244 of
Rome) 23 years before *Cassius* proposed the
Agrarian Law. And there is no reason to
believe that these usurpations began till af-
ter the year 257, when *Tarquin* died; which
Livy makes the date whence the Aristocra-
tical domination commenced, and which was
just ten years before *Cassius* proposed the *A-*
grarian Law. The Republick was reduced
to a very low condition after the banishment
of *Tarquin*, by the desertion of all her Al-
lies; nor, till the defeat of the *Latines* in
257, had the quiet possession of land enough
for the *Patricians* to form out of it such con-
siderable estates for themselves, as Mr. *Ver-*
et supposes them to have. So that his dif-
ficulties arising from sales, and conveyan-
ces, and inheritances, and *long prescription*,
are all a dream.

^a Ἐπειδὴ ἔχοντο πολλὰ βουλευσάμενοι, δὴ καὶ
τοὺς Ἀππίου ἐπαγαγόντες ἅπαντες ἐχόντες τὸ τιμή-
μα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς ἑκατὸν τὴν ἡμέραν
κατήγεσσαντες, παρεκαλοῦντες ἅπαντας εἰς
τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς δὲ τότε τὰς ἀγορὰς
αὐτὸν ἦν. D. H. L. ix. p. 610.

When any Magistrate designed to impeach
a person of a crime before the whole people,
he ascended the *Rostra*, and, calling the peo-
ple together by a crier, signified to them,
That upon such a day he intended to accuse
such a person of such a crime: This they
termed *Reclamare*: The suspected party
was obliged immediately to give sureties for
his appearance on the day prefixed, and, in
default of bail, was committed to prison.

On the appointed day, the Magistrate a-
gain ascended the *Rostra*, and cited the party
by the crier; who, unless some other Magis-
trate of equal authority interposed, or a suf-
ficient excuse was offered, was obliged to
appear, or might be punished at the pleasure
of the Magistrate who accused him. If he
appeared, the accuser began his charge, and
carried it on every other day, for six days
together, at the end of the indictment men-
tioning the particular punishment specified
in the Law for such an offence. This inti-
mation they termed *Inquisitio*. The same
was immediately after expressed in writing,
and then took the name of *Rogatio*, in respect
of the people, who were to be asked or con-
sulted about it; and *Irrogatio*, in respect
of the criminal, as it imported the mulct or pu-
nishment assigned him by the accuser. This
Rogatio was publicly exposed three *Nundinae*
or market-days together, for the informa-
tion of the people. On the third market-
day, the accuser again ascended the *Rostra*,
and the people being called together under-
took the fourth turn of his charge, and, hav-
ing concluded, gave the other party leave
to enter upon his defence, either in his own
person, or by his advocates.

At the same time as the accuser finished
his fourth charge, he gave notice what day
he would have the *Comitia* meet to receive
the bill; the *Comitia Tributa* to consider of
mulcts, and the *Centuriata* for capital pu-
nishments.

But

the Citizens to be present. The articles of the impeachment, according to *Dionysius*, were to be, 'That he had given pernicious advice against the People; raised sedition in the State; offered violence to the sacred persons of the Tribunes; and, when commander of the army, had suffered an ignominious defeat and a terrible slaughter of his soldiers. Never, says *Livy*, was a man, whom the *Commons* so much hated, summon'd to appear in judgment before the *People*: Nunquam antè tam inivisus PLEBI reus ad iudicium vocatus POPULI est; nor did ever the *Patricians* exert themselves so much in behalf of any man as of *Appius*, the defender of the Senate, the asserter of its dignity, its support, its bulwark against all Tribunician and *Plebeian* tumults, and now exposed to the rage of the *Commons*, only for having been too warm in the contention.

Appius himself was, of all the *Patricians*, the only man who despised the Tribunes, and the *Commons*, and the impeachment. Neither the menaces of the *Plebeians*, nor the intreaties of the Nobles, could move him to depart from his accustomed manner of speaking, and soften the asperity of his style. Once he pleaded his cause, but more like an accuser, than a person accused; the same resolute, haughty, disdainful look he was wont to have; the same spirit in his discourse, full of reproaches and invectives: insomuch that many of the *Plebeians* feared him no less now when arraigned at the Bar, than they had done when he was Consul. His intrepidity and steadiness so astonished and disconcerted the Tribunes, and the *Commons*, that, of their own motion, they adjourned the cause to another day. Before this came, *Appius* * put an end to his own life. When his son, who brought the dead body into the Forum, was beginning to pronounce a funeral oration on the deceased, the Tribunes endeavoured to silence him; but the people more moderate and equitable interposed, and would not suffer that so great a man should be hindered from receiving that customary honour; and *Livy* adds, that they heard him praised, when dead, with as willing an ear, as they had heard

But, in the mean time, there were several ways, by which the accused party might be relieved; as first, if the *Tribunes* of the *Commons* interposed in his behalf; or if he excused himself by voluntary Exile, Sickness, or upon account of providing for a Funeral; or if he prevailed with the accuser to relinquish his charge, and let the cause fall; or if upon the day appointed for the *Comitia* the *Augurs* discovered any ill omens, and so forbad the Assembly. *Kennet*, Part II B. III. chap. XIX.

Vobismet ipsis, Pontifices, et vestris liberis, ceterisque civibus, pro vestra auctoritate, et sapientia consulere debetis. Nam, cum tam moderata judicia populi sint à maioribus constituta: primùm ut ne pœna capitis cum pecunia conjungatur; deinde ne, nisi pro dicta die, quis accusetur: ut ter antè

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magistratus accuset, intermissa die, quam multam irroget, aut judicet: quarta sit accusatio trinùm nundinùm pro dicta die, qua die iudicium sit futurum: tam multa etiam ad placandum, atque ad misericordiam reis concessa sunt: deinde exorabilis populus, facilis suffragatio pro salute: denique etiam, si qua res illum diem aut auspiciis, aut executione sustulit: tota causa iudiciumque sublatum est. Hæc cum ita sint in re, ubi crimen est? ubi accusator? &c. Cic. pro Dom. 17.

* *Livy* reports that he died of some distemper, and *Dionysius* says, that it was so given out by his friends, but that in truth he killed himself.

The *Greek* Historian does not admit that *Appius* ever pleaded his cause before the People.

P p

him

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxviii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
sixty-nine.

Fortieth
Consul
ship.

Livy, B.
2. c. 61.

Ibid. &
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 611.

Year of R O M E him accused, when living; and that a numerous crowd of them attended his obsequies.

ccxxiv. §. III. THE Romans, during the remainder of this year, were employed in revenging themselves on the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, who, taking advantage of the civil feuds at Rome, had made incursions on the territory of the Republick.

Forty-first Consulship. D. Hal. B. 3. p. 611. Liv. B. 2. c. 52. Liv. B. 2. c. 53. In the following Consulship of *Aulus Virginus* and *T. Numicius*, the business of the *Agrian Law* was resumed. An alarm from the *Volsci* suspended the prosecution of it, but, in the end of the year, it was again set on foot. And the multitude, who looked upon themselves as oppressed by the great, to shew their resentment, absented themselves from the Assembly, where *T. Quinctius* * and *Q. Servilius* were chosen Consuls for the next year. They were raised to that dignity by the sole voices of the *Patricians* and their clients, who, notwithstanding all these divisions, constantly adhered to the party of their Patrons.

To prevent the breach from growing wider, the new Consuls, during all their year, busied the people in various wars. *Servilius* had great success against the *Sabines*; yet his glory was not equal to what *Quinctius* gained by his victories over the united forces of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*. In the heat of a battle, and when he was like to be worsted through the enemies superiority in numbers, to encourage his left wing to exert themselves, he told them that his right wing was victorious, and by that means he made his left really so. He then hastened to the right wing, and informed them of the advantages which his left had gained, and, by this artful conduct, he put the enemy intirely to the rout. He defeated them a second time, and then took from the *Volsci* the City of *Antium*, with its whole Territory.

time Conf. Liv. B. 3. c. 1. D. Hal. B. 3. p. 613. §. IV. THE complaints of the Commons and the dissensions at Rome began afresh in the Consulship of *Tib. Æmilius* and *Q. Fabius*. (The latter was son of one of those three famous brothers who had commanded in the Fort upon the *Cremera*.) We have already seen that *Æmilius* in his first Consulship had declared for the Partition of the Lands: the affair was now again debated in the Senate: *Æmilius* persisted in his former opinion. But the majority of the Senators, and especially those who were in possession of the publick lands, complained much of the liberality of *Æmilius*, whom they reproached with making his Court to the People at the expence of others. His Colleague *Fabius*, to quiet the dispute, proposed an expedient which at first displeased neither Party. It was to send a considerable number of the poorest *Plebeians* to people the City of *Antium*, which had been almost depopulated by the last war; and to divide among them some adjacent lands, taken from the *Volsci*. This advice being received with applause, *T. Quinctius*, *A. Virginus*, and *P. Furius*, were without delay commissioned to settle the colony. But, when the poor Citizens were to give in their names to those Triumvirs to be inrolled, few of them appeared. To send them to such distant habitations (they said) was banishing them from their country.

And

And they chose rather to live at *Rome* in indigence, with the hopes of one day getting a share of the publick lands, than to be actually in possession of land elsewhere; so that the Triumvirs, to make up the number appointed for the colony, were forced to receive a mixed crowd of *Latines*, *Hernici*, and *Volsci*.

§. V. AND now *Fabius* marched an army against the *Æqui*, and *Æmilius* another against the *Sabines*. The expedition of the latter had nothing remarkable in it; but the *Æqui* submitted to *Fabius*, first bought a truce very dear, and then obtained a peace, on the condition of being subject to the Republick.

Nevertheless, the next year in the Consulship of *Sp. Posthumius* and *Q. Servilius**, some of the *Æqui* joined the old inhabitants of *Antium* (who being deprived of their lands had taken refuge among them) and ravaged the Territory of the *Latines*. These faithful Allies of *Rome* were not allowed to arm in their own defence, nor would the *Romans* send their troops to defend them. The Senate chose rather to appoint a deputation to the Council of the *Æqui*; and *Fabius*, who had made the peace with them, was at the head of the embassy. He perceived by the indirect answers they made to his demands, that they had no intention to give the Republick satisfaction, but only to amuse him. Under pretence therefore of visiting their temples and publick buildings, he examined their magazines of arms and provisions, some of which he found full, and others filling. The report he made at his return of the preparations for war, which the *Æqui* in conjunction with the fugitive *Antiates* were carrying on, induced the Republick to chuse two Consuls for the next year, whose names were formidable to those two Nations, *T. Quinctius** who had conquered *Antium* in his second Consulship, and *Q. Fabius*, who had forced the *Æqui* to sue for peace in his first. *Fabius*, who was ordered to march against the *Æqui*, tried first in vain to reduce them by negotiation. The two Consuls then joined their forces, and came to a bloody battle with the enemy, near *Algidum*, fifteen miles from *Rome*, but with little advantage to either side.

In the following Consulship of *A. Posthumius* and *Sp. Furius*, men little skilled in the business of war, the latter commanded the army against the *Æqui*, while the former staid behind to cover the Country. *Furius* incamped imprudently, engaged rashly with the enemy, and was defeated; after which he was so closely besieged by them in his camp, that not a man could go out to give notice at *Rome* of his danger. However, the Senate had advice of it, and, in so great a distress, resolved upon an expedient, never used but in cases of extreme peril. They gave up the *Roman* Government absolutely into the other Consul's hands, by these words: *Let the Consul take care that the Republick suffer no detriment. Vi-deret Consul nequid Respublica detrimenti caperet.* *Posthumius*, who received this commission, made all take arms who were able, and gave *T. Quinctius* the command of the army, with the title of Proconsul. As soon as *Quinctius* came within sight of the invested camp, the

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXXVI.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred six-
ty-six.

Forty.
third
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.

3. c. 1.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 616.
Y. of R.
287. Bef.
J. C. 465.
44th Con-
sulship.

* A second
time
Conf.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 617.

Y. of R.
288. Bef.
J. C. 464.
45th Con-
sulship.

* A third
time
Conf.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 618.

Liv. ibid.
c. 2.
Y. of R.
289. Bef.
J. C. 463.

46th Con-
sulship.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 619.
& seq.

Livy, B.
3. c. 4.

Year of *Æqui* left the attack, and retired in haste; but *Furius* had before made
 ROM E a sally, in which his brother *L. Furius* and two Cohorts, consisting of
 cccxxxix. a thousand men, had been surrounded by the enemy and all slain, having
 Def. J. C. chosen rather to die fighting, than surrender their arms. The Consul, be-
 Four hundred ing now equal in numbers to the enemy, acted upon the offensive, and
 five- obliged them to retire into their own Country. *Posthumus* likewise at-
 three. tacked a considerable body of their pillagers loaded with spoil, and made
 a great slaughter of them: And by these successes *Rome* was again in
 tranquillity.

§. VI. BUT the next year, when *P. Servilius Priscus* and *L. Æbu-*
 Consal- *tius Eius* held the Consulship, a dreadful Plague swept away a multi-
 Livy, B. tude of the *Roman* Citizens of both orders. The dead were so nume-
 3. c. 5. rous, that the living threw them into the *Tyber*, without burial. Upon
 Year of the news of this mortality, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* entered into a league
 ROM E against *Rome*, which they proposed to besiege. They began the war
 cccxc. with committing hostilities in the territories of the *Latines* and *Hernici*.
 Def. J. C. Their allies applied to the *Roman* Senate for succour; but their de-
 Four hun- puties found *Æbutius* breathing his last, and *Servilius* not far from
 dred- death. However the latter made himself be carried to the Senate-
 sixty- House, whither some of the Senators likewise, half dead, were carried
 two. in litters: but all they could do, was to give leave to the Allies to arm
 and defend themselves, and to promise them assistance in better times.
 Forty-se- The *Latines* and *Hernici*, not in a condition to take the field, shut them-
 venta selves up in their towns, and left their country open to the ravages of
 Consal- the enemy, who at length appeared before *Rome*. Both the Consuls were
 Livy, B. now dead, and the greater part of the Tribunes; the Plague had carried
 9. p. 623. off one fourth part of the Senators, and the rest with the other Nobles
 Livy, B. were most of them sick. The care of the Republick had devolved upon
 3. c. 6. the *Ædiles*.

D. Hal. B. Notwithstanding so many calamities, the *Romans* seemed to have lost
 9. p. 624. nothing of their wonted steadiness. They crept to the ramparts, and put
 a good face upon their affairs. Those of the Senators who were able
 mounted the guard and stood Centinels; and the City was strong on every
 side. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* at length abandoned their ^b project of a siege,
 and marched their forces towards *Tusculum*.

Livy, B. In the mean time, the Plague still raging, the People turned their
 3. c. 7. thoughts to divine assistance; all made their vows upon the altars; the
 women swept the Temples with their hair, and continued prostrate in the

^a It is not absolutely certain in what month of the year the Consuls entered upon their Office, from *Brutus* to this time. *Livy* tells us that *Servilius* and *Æbutius* entered upon the Consulship the first of *August*. It will appear in the sequel of this History, that, down to the 600th year of *Rome*, the Consular years began in different months, sometimes

in *July*, sometimes in *December*, and sometimes in *March*. Afterwards they began the first of *January*, and continued so to do as long as the Republick lasted. *Reuillé*.

^b *Livy* represents the enemy as quitting the enterprise through fear of the infection; *D. Hal.* as repulsed by the *Romans*.

presence of the Gods. From this time (says *Livy*) the pestilence gradually abated; and the Citizens recovering health and strength began to apply themselves to affairs. Several Inter-Kings were successively appointed to govern the State. *Valerius*, the third day of his administration as Inter-Rex, named *Lucretius Tricipitinus* and *T. Veturius Geminus* Consuls. They entered on their Magistracy before the middle of *August*.

Year of
R O M E
ccxci.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun.
dred
sixty-one.

Dionysius reports, that one of the Tribunes would have immediately revived the affair of the *conquered lands*; but that the People chose to defer it to a more convenient season, being now intirely bent to revenge the insults they had suffered from the *Æqui* and *Volsci* the last year. Even those Citizens, whom the Laws exempted from going to war, neglected their privileges, and voluntarily enlisted themselves for the service; so that the Consular Armies were presently formed. It was *Lucretius's* fortune to engage with the confederates, and give them a dreadful overthrow; they lost 13460 men in the battle and in their flight after it; and they were soon after defeated again by the forces of the two Consuls united. And thus the Republick was restored to her former flourishing condition.

Forty-
eighth
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
3. c. 8.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 625.

C H A P. XX.

§. I. *During the absence of the Consuls from Rome, Terentius Arsa, one of the Tribunes, proposes to the People, that there should be an establishment of FIXED LAWS to be the RULE to the Magistrates in deciding causes between man and man. §. II. Q. Fabius, Governor of the City, warmly opposes it. Terentius suspends the pursuit of his design, and, after the arrival of the Consuls at Rome, drops it intirely. §. III. But the affair is revived in the succeeding Consulate of P. Volumnius and S. Sulpitius. Great contests about it. A stop put to the dispute by prodigies and ill omens. §. IV. The Law is again proposed. The contending parties come to blows. Quinctius Cæso, the son of Quinctius Cincinnatus, is cited before the Commons for the violent part he had acted in those scuffles. §. V. His uncle T. Quinctius and his father L. Quinctius plead for him. He is falsely accused of murder. The decision of the cause is deferred to another day; before the coming of which, Cæso banishes himself.*

§. I. **W**HILE *Veturius* and *Lucretius* were in the field, pursuing the advantages they had gained over the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, a certain Tribune of the Commons, named *C. Terentius^a Arsa*, took the favourable opportunity of the absence of those Magistrates to propose a new Law of great importance to the People, and tending much to diminish the power of the Nobles.

During the Regal State of *Rome* the sole will of the King had been instead of Law in all private causes. As the Consuls succeeded to the regal power, they likewise succeeded to the prerogative of distributing justice,

D. Hal. B.
10 p. 627.

^a *Livy* calls him *Terentillus*.

Year of by themselves or their *Patrician* Substitutes. A few, and but few, Rules
 R O M E of Law were written; and these were in the sacred books to which *Patri-*
 ccxcxi. *cians* only had access. The People in general, wholly occupied in culti-
 Ref. J. C. vating the lands, and rarely coming to town but on market-days about
 P. 2. 2. 2. their domestick concerns, or to be present at the *Comitia* and other pub-
 and lick Assemblies, holden only on those days, were intirely ignorant of the
 5. 6. 9. science of Law.

Terentius, in his harangue to the People, urged with great vehemence
 that the Consular Authority was excessive, and insupportable in a free
 City. That the Consuls, independent and uncontrolled themselves, turn-
 ed all the terror and penalties of the Laws against the *Plebeians*. That
 the State, by the erection of the *Consular* Magistracy in the place of the
Regal, had only got two Kings instead of one. "But, (he added) to put
 " an end to this despotick sway of the Consuls, he would prefer a bill for
 " empowering five of the best men in the Republick to form a body of
 " Laws, whereby those Magistrates should themselves be governed, so
 " that for the future they should not give their will for Law, nor exer-
 " cise any authority over their fellow Citizens, but what those very Citi-
 " zens should intrust them with."

§. II. THE Nobles (says *Dionysius*) were terribly alarmed with the
 danger of being constrained to have regard to Laws in their administra-
 tion of the publick affairs. Q. *Fabius*,^a who had been twice Consul,
 was at this time Governor of the City. He convened the Senate, and
 inveighed in such terms against both the bill and its Author, that the
 Consuls themselves, had they been present, could not have fallen upon
 the Tribune with greater fury, or employed more dreadful menaces.
 He charged *Terentius* with taking advantage of the absence of the Con-
 suls to strike at the very being of the Republick; adding, "That if,
 " the year before, while the Plague made such havoc in the City, and
 " foreign enemies laid waste the territory of *Rome*, the Gods, in their
 " wrath, had permitted a man, like him, to be in the Tribuneship, the
 " commonwealth must have sunk under her heavy calamities: That,
 " doubtless, after the death of the Consuls he would have preferred bills
 " for abolishing the Consular Government, and, in case of failure in that
 " enterprise, have come at the head of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* to besiege
 " and assault the City."—Then, addressing himself to the other Tri-
 bunes, and softening his style, he earnestly intreated them to engage
 their Collegue to suspend the prosecution of his design, till the arrival
 of the Consuls. The Tribunes complied, and even did more than was
 asked; for they prevailed with *Terentius* (as we shall presently see) to drop
 the business in reality, though in appearance it was only deferred. The
 Consuls were sent for home.

Lucretius brought with him to *Rome* a prodigious booty; and the

1. 1. 1.
 ibid.
 6. 10.

^a Mr. *Vertot* calls this *Fabius* a man in-
 vincible attached to the Laws and Constitution
 of the Republick. We shall find him, by and

by, one of the Decemvirs who attempt to
 establish themselves in a perpetual Tyranny.

whole

whole was exposed, during three days, in the *Campus Martius*, that every man who had been plundered by the enemy might take back his own. This procedure gained the Consul much good-will, and all agreed that he deserved a triumph for his successful Campaign. The triumph was however postponed, he himself judging the affair of *Terentius's* bill (then depending) to be of more importance. Several days was this debated in the Senate and before the People. At length (says *Livy*) the Tribune yielded to the Majesty of the Consul and desisted; and then *Lucretius* and his army received their due honours. (*Veturius* had only an ovation.)

§. III. TRANQUILLITY continued not long. For no sooner were the Consuls elect, *P. Volturnus* and *S. Sulpicius*, entered upon their office, than all the five new Tribunes (of whom *Virginus* was the warmest) exerted their utmost efforts to get *Terentius's* bill passed. Superstition put some stop to the progress of this important affair. Earthquakes gave the alarm; and then fiery meteors, and other phænomena, purely natural, the vulgar considered as forerunners of greater calamities. And when fear had once taken possession of their minds, spectres were seen by some, supernatural voices heard by others. That a Cow had spoke was a tale which had found no credit the last year, but now it was believed; and the more easily on account of a new prodigy (which no-body questioned, and which had no example on record) a shower of raw flesh, of which, as it fell, some greedy flocks of birds caught a part, and the rest lay long on the ground without corrupting, or having any ill smell.

Recourse was presently had to the Sybilline books; and the Duumvirs (two *Patricians*) who had the care of them, and perfectly understood them, discovered there, that *Rome* was by these prodigies threatened with an invasion from strangers, and that the *Romans* would do well to avoid civil discord. To support the prediction, hasty tidings came from the *Hernici*, that the *Æqui* and *Volscei*, in concert with the new colony of *Antium*, were preparing to attack the Republick. The Tribunes laughed both at the prediction, and at the important news; and accused the Senators (not without reason) of inventing both, to stave off the affair of *Terentius's* bill. And when the Senate had ordered^b Levies to be made for the war, and the Consuls, erecting their Tribunal in the Forum, would have

^a Mr. *Vertot* understands *Terentius's* bill to have consisted of two distinct articles, the first for a limitation of the Consular Authority, which article he supposes to have been dropped intirely; the second, for introducing and establishing a body of written Laws. I cannot perceive that any other limitation of the Consular Prerogatives was intended by *Terentius*, than what that body of fixed Laws, proposed by him, would necessarily

put to it, and what the Decemviral Laws of the 12 Tables did actually put to it a few years after.

^b *Dionysius* says nothing of the intelligence from the *Hernici*, or the consequent order for Levies of soldiers. He represents (B. 10. p. 629.) the Senate and Tribunes as gravely conferring about the measures proper to be taken for guarding the State against the unknown dangers threatened by the bad omens. He

Year of
R O M E
CCXCII.
Ref. J. C.
four
hundred
sixty.
Forty-
ninth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 628.
Livy, B.
3. c. 10.

Year of have performed their Commission, the Tribunes interposed. If the Lic-
 ROM. tors laid hold of any Citizen, who refused to give his name, the Tri-
 bunes, aided by the multitude, set him free.

§. IV. NOR did these *Plebeian* Magistrates use more violence to
 hinder the Levies, than the Nobles did to hinder the passing of the Law;
 which was constantly proposed every *comitia* day, and was now couched
 in words to this effect: "That the People, in lawful *Comitia*, should
 " depute ten persons venerable for their age and prudence, and whose
 " sole ambition was true glory, to form a body of Laws for regulating
 " both publick and private affairs; that these Laws, when compiled,
 " should be proposed to an assembly of the People; and, when approved
 " and enacted by the People, should be fixed up in the Forum, to the
 " end that every man might know what were his own rights, and what
 " the rights of the annual Magistrates."

As, in these assemblies, headstrong temerity and violence prevailed,
 and there was no room for sober and deliberate counsel, the elder Sena-
 tors seldom appeared there; and the Consuls for the most part kept
 away for fear of exposing the dignity of their office to affronts. The
 conduct of the opposition to the Tribunes they generally left to the
 young, rash, audacious Nobles. Conspicuous among these was *Quinctius*

He adds, that the assembly agreed upon the expediency of concord in the administration of the publick affairs; but could not agree upon the means to effect that concord. Must the Nobles yield to the Tribunes, or the Tribunes to the Nobles? The Consuls and the chief Senators alledged that the Tribunes, by attempting innovations in the Government, ought to be deemed the authors of all the civil feuds. On the other hand the Tribunes charged the Consuls and the *Patricians* with being the sole causes of the disturbances, by their unreasonable opposition to a wholesome bill, which tended only to establish a just equality among the Citizens. Finding their remonstrances ineffectual, they had recourse to the People.

The same Historian reports, that, in the assembly to which the Tribunes proposed the Law, there were many of the elder Senators as well as of the younger, who delivered studied speeches against it, and that the debate lasted several days; till the Tribunes, vexed at the loss of so much time, refused to hear any more remonstrances, and appointed a day for coming to a final determination upon the question, and, when they had exhorted all the *Plebeians* to be then present, in order to give their suffrages by TRIBES,

they dismissed the assembly. That, after this, the Consuls and most considerable men of the *Patricians* inveighed in very sharp terms against the Tribunes, and protested that they would never suffer the introduction of new Laws, which had not first passed the approbation of the Senate. They said, (p. 630.) "that Laws were a sort of compact
 " between all the members of a State, and
 " not rules dictated by one part of it only.
 " That when a part, the ignoble and worse
 " part, took upon them to prescribe Laws
 " to the noble and better, destruction must
 " inevitably be the consequence. What
 " right (said they) have you Tribunes to
 " enact Laws or to abrogate Laws? your
 " authority is but an emanation from that
 " of the Senate. The purpose of your insti-
 " tution was only to succour the poor Ci-
 " tizens when oppressed; and this privi-
 " lege was granted conditionally that you
 " should attempt nothing farther, and you
 " have forfeited this privilege by the
 " changes you have made with regard to
 " the *Comitia* held for your elections, &c." *Vid. sup.* p. 277. The Historian adds, that after these expostulations they had recourse to violence, and that *Cæso* was their chief instrument, &c.

Cæso,

Cæso, a person of high birth (being the son of *Quintius Cincinnatus*) approved courage in war, and of an extraordinary size and strength of body. With these advantages he had the talent of oratory. The Republic could not boast of a braver soldier, or a readier speaker. This youth, when incircled with his band of Nobles, as if his strength and eloquence had invested him with all consular, and even dictatorial power, stood forth the bulwark of the Senate; and not only sustained the most stormy efforts of the Tribunes, but frequently drove them and all their *Plebeians* out of the Forum. Whoever offered to resist did not fail to be severely treated, stripped of his cloaths and sent away naked: so that the Tribunes plainly saw their bill was lost, if *Cæso* were suffered to go on at this rate. Four of them he had quite disheartened by his overbearing violences; but *Virginus*, who had a spirit not easy to be daunted, cited him to trial before the People, on a capital accusation. *Cæso*, rather enraged than terrified by this affront, became more insolent and audacious than ever in the war he made upon the *Plebeians* and their Tribunes. His accuser, during the interval between the summons and the day for trial, gave him free scope to hurt himself, and frequently proposed the Bill, not in hopes of passing it, but to provoke the young man to furnish, by new misdemeanors, more matter for his impeachment, which he failed not to do; and every odious thing, done or said by any of the other young *Patricians*, was imputed to *Cæso*; who, nevertheless, continued forcibly to hinder the passing of the Bill into a Law. At length *Virginus*, addressing himself to the *Plebeians* assembled, “ You see, *Romans*, that it is impossible for you to obtain the Law you so much desire, while *Cæso* continues a Citizen of *Rome*. But why do I speak of that Law? He stands in the way of your *liberty*; and, in pride, surpasses all the *Tarquins* that ever lived. This youth, so audacious and violent while only a private Citizen, must doubtless make an excellent Magistrate. What think you? shall we patiently wait till we see him Consul or Dictator?”

At these words, many from among the multitude, and especially those who had been roughly treated by *Cæso*, vehemently called out to the Tribune to persist in the prosecution of the delinquent, and to do his utmost to bring him to condign punishment.

§. V. THE day for the trial came; and the *Plebeians* in general, by their warmth and earnestness, seemed to think that their liberty depended on the condemnation of *Cæso*. Urged therefore by necessity he, with much inward indignation, went about soliciting the favour even of the

Year of
R O M E
CCXCII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
sixty.
Forty-
ninth
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
3. c. 11.
D. Hal. B.
9. p. 630.

^a This is *Livy's* account.

Dionysius, p. 631, says nothing of the timorous and submissive behaviour of *Cæso*; but, on the contrary, that, when he was called upon to plead, he refused to own the jurisdiction of the Assembly, offering at the same time to submit himself to the judgment of

the Consuls, whom he regarded as his only lawful Judges.

And this Historian introduces no other advocate pleading for *Cæso*, but his own father *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, into whose mouth he puts the substance of all that *Livy* imputes to other speakers.

Year of meanest among them. His relations and friends made themselves his
 R O M E advocates to the Assembly; yet they did not attempt to clear him of the
 CCXCII. violences laid to his charge, but answered the invectives of the Tribunes
 Def. J. C. against him by expatiating on his real merit. His uncle *T. Quinctius*, af-
 Four hun- ter recounting the honours which he himself and others of the *Quintian*
 dred Ex- name had acquired by their exploits, affirmed, that neither his family nor
 27. even the *Roman* State had ever produced a finer genius, or a warrior of
 Forty- more consummate bravery than *Cæso*; whom, when he served under him,
 ninth he had often seen behave himself so gallantly in fight, that he had mar-
 Consul- ked him for the prime soldier in the army. *Sp. Furius* (who had been
 ship. Consul in 289) bore testimony to the successful valour which *Cæso* had
 exerted, when sent by his uncle *Titus* to rescue him and his army out
 of imminent danger. *Lucretius*, one of the last year's Consuls, covered
 with fresh laurels, shared his glory with *Cæso*, enumerating his many va-
 liant deeds both in expeditions and in pitched battles; and he admonish-
 ed the assembly to make it their choice, that a young man of so excellent
 natural endowments, and who could not but be a valuable possession to
 any State to which he should belong, might rather be a Citizen of *Rome*
 than of any other City. He added, that increase of years would gradu-
 ally diminish in him that indiscreet ardour and too forward boldness which
 gave offence, and that experience would teach him the only thing he
 wanted, prudence. And he pressed them therefore that they would suf-
 fer to grow old among them so great a genius, whose faults were decay-
 ing and virtues ripening.

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus pleaded likewise for his son, not by extolling
 his merit (for he feared lest that would serve only to exasperate his ene-
 mies) but by humbly intreating the Assembly to impute his errors to his
 youth, and to forgive them for the sake of his father, whom no man could
 accuse of having injured them in any instance by word or deed.

D. Hal. B. *Virginus*, perceiving that the multitude were softened towards the ac-
 2 P 231. cused by these intercessions, and the merit of the intercessors, and fearing
 that, if *Cæso* escaped with impunity, the young Nobles would become
 more insolent than ever, answered *Cincinnatus*, "That his son was the
 " more inexcusable, for his having had the example of so good a father,
 " whereby to regulate his conduct, and having totally neglected to fol-
 " low it." He added, "You, *Lucius Quinctius*, are doubtless in a great
 " measure ignorant of the crimes and misdemeanors of this unworthy
 " son, who is no less a reproach to you, than a plague to his Country:
 " but, that you may be better acquainted with his character, please to
 " hear a relation of one of his noble deeds, and compare it with those
 " his exploits in war that have gained him so much glory; and let the As-
 " sembly judge whether it be adviseable to shew indulgence to such a
 " Citizen."

Then calling upon one *Volscius* (who stood prepared to act a part
 which had been concerted between them) he bid him recount what he
 knew

Def. P.
 122.
 123, P.
 3 C. 123.

knew of *Cæso's* behaviour. *Volscius*,^a directing his speech to the People, said, "I could have wished it had been in my power sooner to bring my complaints for the death of a most dear brother whom *Cæso* murdered. It was in the Consulship of *L. Æbutius* and *P. Servilius*, when *Rome* was afflicted with the Plague. Returning home one evening, my brother and I, from a friend's house, where we had supped, we met *Cæso* with some of his libertine companions, who together had been making a debauch. They at first attacked us with abusive language, such as young men full of wine are wont to employ when they would insult poor Citizens whom they despise. My brother answering one of them as a man of spirit would do, *Cæso* instantly knocked him down, and with his fists and his feet so bruised him, that he (not perfectly recovered of the epidemick sickness with which he had been seized) remained half dead upon the ground. I had him conveyed home in mens arms, he died presently after, and it was judged that he died of the blows he had received. I could not carry my complaints to the Consuls, they dying the same year of the Plague. Their successors *L. Lucretius* and *T. Veturius* were a long time in the field. At their return I cited *Cæso* several times to appear before them: but instead of justice I got nothing from him but blows."

Year of
R O M E.
CCXCII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
sixty.
Forty-
ninth
Consul-
ship.

This story blew the People up to such a rage, that some of them seemed disposed, without examining into the truth of the fact, to kill *Cæso* upon the spot. The Consuls, and even the Tribunes themselves, gave a check to this extravagance. But *Virginius* commanded to lay hold on *Cæso* and carry him to prison, there to be detained, till he should be brought to trial for his life on *Volscius's* accusation. The *Patricians* forcibly opposed the execution of this order, and *Tit. Quinctius* remonstrated to the Assembly, that it was utterly illegal to do violence to the person of any Citizen unheard and uncondemned, though he were accused of a capital crime. *Virginius* answered, that he had no intention to punish *Cæso* before condemnation, but that his person ought to be secured in prison to the day of trial, that the *Roman* People might have it in their power to inflict due punishment on a murderer. The other Tribunes, being appealed to, took a middle way; they agreed that *Cæso* should not be imprisoned, but should give security to appear in judgment on the day appointed. It was referred to the Senate to name the sum in which each surety shall be bound; and *Cæso* was held in arrest in the Forum, during the deliberation of the fathers on this matter; they fixed the sum at 3000^b Asses. It being left to the Tribunes to determine the number of the sureties, they demanded ten; and accordingly ten were bound for

D. Hal. E.
9. p. 633.
Livy, B. 3.
c. 13.

^a *Dionysius* makes this *Volscius* to be one of the present Tribunes. *Livy* says he had some years before been Tribune. According to *Pigbius* there was a *Volscius* among the Tri-

bunes in the Consulship of *Æbutius* and *Servilius*, when the pretended quarrel is said to have happened.

^b About 9l. 13s. 9d. *Arbutnot.*

Year of *Cæso's* appearance, and he released. This was the first instance of security
 R O M E given to the *Publick* for appearance. *Cæso* that very night left *Rome* and
 CCXCII. retired into *Hetruria*.
 Ref. J. C.

Four hundred six- When the day, fixed for the trial, came, it was urged, that, *Cæso* having
 17. banished himself, all proceedings ought to be stopped; *Virginus* nevertheless held the *Comitia*: but the other *Tribunes*, being appealed to, dismissed the Assembly. The surety-money was however rigorously exacted.

Forty- *Quintilius Cincinnatus* would not permit the other sureties to be sufferers; and, to satisfy the whole demand, sold the better part of his estate, retiring
 ninth to a poor cottage on the further side of the *Tiber*, where with his own hands
 Consul- he cultivated a few acres of land, which, from his name, were afterwards
 ship. called the *Quintian Meadows*.
 D. Hal. B. 10. p. 633.
 Livy, B. 3. c. 13.

C H A P. XXI.

§. I. *The Patricians continue steady in their opposition to the Bill, and conduct themselves in that opposition with more art than they had hitherto done. The Tribunes, not able to carry their point, spread false reports, injurious to the Senate and the whole body of the Nobles.*

D. Hal. B. 10. p. 634.
 Livy, B. 3. c. 14.
 §. I. **T**HE *Tribunes*, elated by their new victory, believed themselves now secure of getting *Terentius's* Bill passed. They imagined, that the *Patricians*, intimidated by the banishment of *Cæso*, would infallibly stoop to them; and they flattered themselves the more readily with this hope, because the elder *Senators* (who kept pretty much out of sight) seemed to yield to them the possession of the Government. Vain was their hope; they were totally disappointed. For the younger *Nobles*, and especially the late companions of *Cæso*, had lost nothing of their boldness; their anger against the *Commons* was augmented, and they had learnt to guide its fury more artfully than before. Whenever the Law was proposed, and the *Tribunes*, by attempting to remove them from the Assembly, had furnished them with a pretext for violence, they attacked those *Plebeian Magistrates* in such a manner, that no one of the assailants could be singled out as more guilty than any other. The People complained, that, instead of one *Cæso*, they had now to do with a thousand. In the intermediate days, when the Law was not in question, no men more peaceable and gracious than these young *Nobles*; they courteously saluted the *Plebeians*, accosted them familiarly, invited them to their houses, frequented the Forum to assist them in their causes, and even permitted the *Tribunes* unmolested to hold Councils of the *Commons*, and do any business they pleased, that of the Law only excepted: nay, without so much as throwing out a word of contradiction, they suffered those *Plebeian Magistrates* to be rechosen, for the coming year, to the same office; condescensions and compliances by which they gradually softened the multitude and blunted the edge of their zeal for the

the Law : and by this various management they effectually defeated every attempt to get it passed, throughout the whole year of *Volumnius* and *Sulpicius*.

These Consuls gave place to *P. Valerius* and *C. Claudius* (brother of *Appius* who killed himself) but the Bill continued to be the sole object of the publick attention. The more the young Nobles insinuated themselves into the affections of the *Plebeians*, the more did the Tribunes endeavour to instil into the minds of the same *Plebeians* suspicions of those Nobles, by loading them with calumnies. They gave out, " That there was a conspiracy on foot ; that *Cæso Quintilius* was actually in *Rome* ; that measures were concerted to murder the Tribunes and massacre the Commons. That the elder Nobles had commissioned the younger to suppress the Tribunician Power, that so the Republick might be restored to the same form of Government in which it was before the *Secession*."

This is *Livy's* account (and it is all that he says) of the management of the Tribunes to render ineffectual the artifices of the young *Patricians* with regard to the *Plebeians* ; and there is nothing incredible or extraordinary in this account. When discord prevails, and faction runs high in a City or a State, such slanderous reports, *lies of a day*, are common*. But *Dionysius* (incited perhaps by his passion for speech-making, or a desire to please the *Claudian* family) has expatiated on this matter, and given us a long tale, the most material circumstance of which seems equally incredible and ridiculous ; and the introduction to his tale is very well suited to it. *Rome*, says he, was threatened with a more terrible war from the neighbouring powers, than it had ever yet sustained. And this danger it was brought into by its intestine divisions, conformable to the prediction of the Sybilline oracles, and the forewarnings of heaven by the last year's prodigies, the spectres, miraculous voices, shower of raw flesh, &c. [What the Cow said was spoken the year before.]

The Tribunes, perceiving that the Consul *Claudius* had inherited the implacable hatred of his family to the Commons, and was prepared to oppose their demands with all his power ; and finding the faction of the young Nobles too strong to be quelled by force, especially since these, by their caresses and soothing arts, had conciliated to them many of the *Plebeians*, and cooled their ardour for passing the Law ; they, in order to strike a terror into the *Plebeians* [so gained] and to get the better of *Claudius*, impudently contrived the following stratagem. Having first alarmed the multitude, by spreading abroad various rumours, all importing mischief that hung over the State, the five Tribunes, sitting in the Forum from morning to night, and seeming full of anxious care,

* Mr. Rollin thinks it not improbable that the Tribunes had received some imperfect information of the conspiracy which presently after broke out, and of which *Herdonius* the Sabine was the conductor ; and that, by their

hatred to the *Patricians*, they were carried to suspect these, their domestick adversaries, of the mischievous designs formed by a foreign enemy.

Year of held consultations, to which they admitted no other person. This part
 ROME acted for some days, they forged a letter, and caused it to be delivered to
 CCXIII. them in the sight of all the People, by a person unknown. On reading
 Bef. J. C. the contents they start from their seats, strike their foreheads with their
 F. J. J. hands, put on looks of extreme surprise and sorrow, and, when by all
 this they have drawn about them a numerous crowd (earnest to know
 what the letter contained). "*Romans*, says *Virginus*, the Commons of
 "*Rome* are in the utmost peril. If the Gods, protectors of innocence,
 "*had not interposed, we had been inevitably undone. Be pleased to*
 "*remain here till we have acquainted the Senate with our intelligence,*
 "*that so all may unite in taking measures for the preservation of the Re-*
 "*publick.*" This said, away they went to the Consuls. While the Con-
 suls assembled the Senators, various were the discourses and imaginations
 of the People in the Forum, concerning the contents of the letter. The
 Emissaries of the Tribunes, following their instructions, put about reports
 expressly contrived for the occasion. The rest believed and spoke each
 man according to his fears. Some said, the letter doubtless imported
 that *Cæjo Quinctius* had been chosen General of the *Æqui* and *Volsi*,
 and was coming with a numerous army to attack *Rome*. Others knew
 for certain, that *Cæjo's* business was only to crush the Commons of *Rome*,
 deprive them of their privileges, and abolish the Tribuneship; and that
 with the universal consent of the *Patricians* he had undertaken to do this
 by the means of a foreign army. No (said others) not all the *Patricians*
 are in the conspiracy, but the younger of them only; and many affirmed
 that *Cæjo* was not coming, but was already in the City, though conceal-
 ed, and was actually contriving with his associates to seize the fortresses
 and all the advantageous posts.

The Senate being assembled, *Virginus*, in the name of the whole Col-
 lege of Tribunes, delivered himself in words to this effect:

"Many rumours, *Conscript Fathers* have of late prevailed in the City
 "concerning some great evil with which we are threatened; but, as they
 "were uncertain and devoid of proof, we durst not report them to you,
 "lest our so doing should raise a commotion, and you should think us
 "more hasty and rash than prudent. We did not however neglect these
 "rumours, but used our best endeavours to discover the ground of them.
 "At length the Divine Providence, perpetual Guardian of this Repub-
 "lick, has brought to light the hidden counsels of impious men. We
 "have just received a letter from strangers, who have shewed, that they
 "have a true affection for us, and whom we shall hereafter name to you.
 "Our foreign intelligence agrees exactly with the rumours at home.
 "The danger presses; measures to ward it must be immediately taken;
 "but we resolved (as was fitting) to lay the matter open to you, before we
 "informed the People of it.

"Know then, that there is a conspiracy formed against the Commons
 "of *Rome*, by persons of distinction; among whom, it is said, there are
 "some, not many, of the elder Senators; that the greater number of
 "the

“ the conspirators are Knights not yet received into the Senate, and
 “ whom it is not yet time to mention by name. They have resolved
 “ (so were are informed) to take the opportunity of some dark night to
 “ attack us in our sleep. Breaking into our houses, they are to cut the
 “ throats of the Tribunes, and of all those *Plebeians* who have distinguish-
 “ themselves by a zeal for the liberty of the People. And, when we
 “ are once taken off, they think they shall easily prevail with you to re-
 “ voke, by an unanimous decree, all the concessions you have made to
 “ the Commons. And, as they saw, that a considerable number of so-
 “ reign soldiers would be necessary for the execution of this design, they
 “ have associated in their enterprise one of your exiles, *Cæso Quinilius*,
 “ and have made him the chief conductor of it, a man whom, though
 “ convicted of sedition and murder, some, here present, rescued from
 “ punishment by contriving his escape from *Rome*. To him the con-
 “ spirators have promised magistracies and honours, and other rewards, of
 “ his noble exploits. He, on his part, has engaged to bring to their as-
 “ sistance, of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, such a force as they want. In a short
 “ time he is to be here with some of the most daring of them, whom
 “ he is to introduce into the City, not all together, but secretly one by
 “ one, or in small numbers successively. The rest are soon to follow,
 “ and, when we the Tribunes are slain, fall without mercy upon every
 “ poor *Plebeian*, who shall offer to defend his liberty.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
fifty-
nine.
Fiftieth
Consul-
ship.

“ In this extremity of danger we have recourse to you, *Conscript Fa-*
 “ *thers*, and conjure you, by all that is most sacred, not to abandon us
 “ to the rage and cruelty of these our wicked enemies; but to aid us
 “ in taking due vengeance on the authors of so detestable an enterprise.
 “ The first thing we humbly intreat of you is (and nothing can be more
 “ reasonable) that by a Decree you authorise us Tribunes to take infor-
 “ mations against the conspirators. It is surely fitting, that, in such an
 “ inquisition, the persons whose lives are threatened by the plot, should
 “ be the inquisitors. If there be any man here, who shall oppose this
 “ demand, he must either be out of his wits, or deeply engaged in the
 “ conspiracy.”

The Senators were greatly astonished at this relation, and no less per-
 plexed by the Tribunes request: They laid their heads together, but
 could not resolve what answer to make. They feared to grant what the
 Tribunes demanded, and they feared to refuse it. *Claudius*, the Consul,
 suspecting some deceit, delivered them out of their Dilemma. Rising up,
 he thus answered, “ You are extremely mistaken, *Virginus*, if you ima-
 “ gine that any member of this house is so foolish, or such an enemy to
 “ the People, as to be against an inquiry into the Plot you speak of (if
 “ any such plot their be) or against admitting the Tribunes into the
 “ number of the inquisitors. But, to tell you my mind freely (and I
 “ have no apprehension of being thought one of the conspirators) I look
 “ upon this whole matter as a pure invention and stratagem of your
 “ own, to revenge yourselves on us for our opposition to your Bill. If
 “ there

D. Hal. E.
10. P.
637. &
169.

Year of R O M E CCXCIII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred fifty-nine
 Fiftieth Consulship.

“ there be any plot on foot, you are the plotters. The result of those
 “ long and close consultations you held in the Forum was this notable
 “ scheme. You were first to alarm the People with rumours of impend-
 “ ing danger, and by this prepare their minds to receive implicitly any
 “ dreadful story you should afterwards please to give out. Then a per-
 “ son unknown was to deliver to you, in publick, a letter, containing
 “ intelligence of a conspiracy against the Commons of *Rome*. Thus fur-
 “ nished with matter of complaint, you were to come to Senate, be
 “ very angry, and demand a Decree empowering you to sit inquisitors
 “ on this important affair. Thought you, *If the Patricians reject our*
 “ *request, we can take occasion from thence to make them very criminal in the*
 “ *eyes of the People, who, exasperated to the pitch of fury, will be ready to*
 “ *execute whatever we shall prompt them to; on the other hand, if the Pa-*
 “ *tricians grant our request, we will then charge with treason all those of*
 “ *them, old and young, who have shewn the most resolution in opposing our*
 “ *measures. The fear of a condemnation will either make them promise never*
 “ *more, to oppose us, or compel them to leave the City. And thus we shall re-*
 “ *duce our adversaries to a very inconsiderable number.*

“ Such, *Conscript Fathers*, was the stratagem formed against the most
 “ worthy of our Senators, such the snares laid for the innocent Knights.
 “ And that what I say is true a few words will evince.—Tell us, *Virgi-*
 “ *nus*, and you, the rest of the Tribunes, all in such imminent peril,
 “ Who are those strangers from whom you received your intelligence?
 “ Where do they dwell? How came you acquainted with them? And
 “ how came they to be so well acquainted with our councils and designs?
 “ Why delay to tell us who they are? Why promise to name them here-
 “ after? You ought to have done it already. And where is that man,
 “ who brought you the letter you talk of? Why don't you produce
 “ him, that we may examine him, and thereby know whether what you
 “ say have any foundation of truth, or be only (as I suspect) a tale of
 “ your own forging? And then as to your *domestick* intelligence, which
 “ agrees so perfectly well with your *foreign*, what was it? Who gave it
 “ you? What makes you conceal your proofs, and not rather display them
 “ before us? But, in truth, it is not easy to prove what never was, nor
 “ is, nor will be.

“ *Conscript Fathers*, the thing speaks itself. The Tribunes have for-
 “ med a plot against us, and they would cover their fraud, by pretending
 “ that we have formed one against them. You may thank yourselves
 “ for this. You encouraged them to it, by arming those frantick Ma-
 “ gistrates with such power, as you suffered them to assume, when they
 “ condemned *Cæjo Quintius*, the brave defender of the Nobles, upon a
 “ false accusation. Since that time they keep no measures. They no
 “ longer point their wrath at this or that particular Senator, but at the
 “ whole body of the *Patricians*; they are for driving every honest man
 “ out of *Rome*. My advice is, that you keep a very watchful eye upon
 “ these Tribunes, as upon seditious men, the contrivers of mischief. And

“ I

“ I shall make no difficulty to warn the People, as I warn you. I shall freely tell them, that they have nothing to fear, but from the malicious devices of their own deceitful Magistrates, who, under the cloak of friendship, are their greatest enemies.”

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fif-
ty-nine.

The whole Senate highly applauded this discourse of *Claudius*; they would listen no more to the Tribunes; and the Assembly broke up. *Virginius* with his Collegues hastened back to the People (who in the Forum waited their return) and inveighed most bitterly against the Consuls and Senators. *Claudius* presently appeared, and, by repeating what he had just said in the Senate-house, convinced all the sober-minded, sensible men of his audience that the pretended plot was a mere forgery. The weaker sort however continued to believe it true; and as for the profligate and ill-intentioned part of the multitude, men greedy of novelties, they did not care whether it were true or not: all they wanted was a pretext for sedition.

Fiftieth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. E.
10. p.
639.

SUCH is the story, *Dionysius* has given us, of the deep-laid scheme, the wonderful contrivance of the Tribunes to prevent any farther opposition to their Bill. They gravely and pathetically request of the Senate to erect them into a court of inquisition for examining into the treasonable practices, and disposing of the liberties and lives of the *Roman* Senators and Knights. And the ground of this modest demand is a letter which they pretend to have received from some strangers, advising them of a plot formed by the Nobles of *Rome* against the Commons. The Senators, though they lay their heads together, are embarrassed, and much at a loss for an answer. But, the Consul *Claudius* being a man of deep penetration, and a ready wit, it comes into his mind to ask the Tribunes, *Who sent the letter?* and *who brought it?* and they won't tell; and so there's an end of the matter.*

* Mr. *Vertot* is so fond of this story, that he has given himself the pleasure to improve it. *Dionysius* imputes to the Tribunes no other aim in their device, but to terrify the *Plebeians*, and make them entertain a suspicion of those young Nobles who affected popularity. And, when he introduces *Claudius* as an Orator displaying the malice of the Tribunes, the worst charge he puts into his mouth against them is a design to compel, by fear of condemnation, the most vigorous opponents of their bill, either to desist from their opposition or to leave the city. But Mr. *Vertot* roundly asserts, that the Tribunes secretly formed the dreadful design of cutting off at one stroke the better part of the Senate, and of involving in the same ruin all the *Patricians*, who on account of their credit or riches were odious to them and suspected by them: *Ils formerent secretement l'affreux dessein de faire perir tout d'un*

coup la meilleur partie du Senat, & d'envelopper dans leur ruine tous les Patriciens qui leur étoient odieux & suspects par leur credit ou par leurs richesses. The Abbé forgets that in those days the *Romans* were not so thirsty of civil blood. They could be very angry with one another, and belie one another, and box and kick, but were not disposed to murder in their quarrels. And it is not a whit more probable that the Tribunes projected such a terrible slaughter of the Nobles, than that the Nobles projected a massacre of the Tribunes and the other principal men of the *Plebeians*. Nay, if we may judge of the honesty of the parties, by the cause in dispute, the Tribunes will have the advantage. For their bill, which the *Patricians* opposed by illegal violences, was a very good bill, and tending much to the benefit of the commonwealth.

C H A P. XXII.

§. I. *The Capitol is surpris'd by a foreign enemy, the Plebeians refuse to arm in order to retake it. Valerius the Consul overcomes their obduracy, and the Capitol is recovered.*

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fif-
ty-nine.
Fiftieth
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B. 3.
c. 15.

§. I. **I**N the midst of these intestine quarrels and commotions, the Capitol and the Fortrefs adjoining to it were one night surpris'd and seized by 4500 men, outlaws and slaves, under the conduct of a certain Sabine named *Appius Herdonius*. He put to the sword all the Romans he could find there, who refused to join him in his enterprize. Those who escap'd ran down into the Forum with the utmost speed of fear, crying out, *To arms! to arms! The enemy is in the City.* The Consuls, not knowing, whether this sudden evil came from foreign or domestick foes, from the discontent and enmity of the Commons, or a plot of the slaves, were both afraid to arm the *Plebeians*, and afraid to leave them unarmed; nor could they bring the multitude, struck with consternation and affright, under any Government; sometimes their endeavours to appease the tumult made it more stormy. They gave out arms, but not to all indifferently, to such only as they could most confide in, a number sufficient for defence, till it could be known what enemies they had to deal with; and, full of anxiety, they pass'd the remainder of the night in posting guards at all the proper places. Day-light discover'd both whence the war came, and who was the conductor of it. *Herdonius* from the Capitol cried out, *Liberty to all slaves! I have undertaken the cause of the miserable, to restore the exiles to their country, and to remove the heavy yoke of servitude from the necks of those who bear it. It would be my choice, that the Roman People should themselves do this. But, if they refuse, I will bring hither the Æqui and Volsci, and leave nothing unattempted to accomplish my purpose.* The mystery being now somewhat explained, the Consuls and Senators became very uneasy with the apprehension lest the enterprize should have been concerted with the *Sabines* and *Veientes*, whose forces would presently appear to support it; and lest the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, eternal enemies of *Rome*, should now come, not to plunder the frontiers as formerly, but to assault the City. But their greatest dread was of their slaves at home, no man knowing but he had an enemy in his own house. It was dangerous to trust them, and dangerous to shew a distrust of their fidelity. Affairs seem'd in so desperate a condition, that even concord among the Citizens would scarce be sufficient to preserve the State; and, while such heavy calamities hung over it, no-body fear'd any thing from the Tribunes or the *Plebeians*. The evils of which these were wont to be the authors were of a gentle kind, and ever occasioned by the absence of all other evils; and the terror of a foreign enemy seem'd now to have laid asleep the animosity of the Commons. Nevertheless,
it

it was this that bore heaviest upon the Republick when thus inclining to a fall. For, as the Consuls had at first doubted whether the alarm from the Capitol were not some stratagem of the Tribunes in favour of their Bill, so the Tribunes suspected the same alarm to be a contrivance of the Nobles to defeat the Bill. They bawled out, *No invasion! An imaginary war! A trick to make us forget the Bill! The Bill once passed, those clients and guests of the Patricians will steal away more silently than they came!* Instantly they send to the People to quit their arms and assemble upon the affair of the Law. In the mean time the Consuls convene the Senate; and *the Fathers* are now struck with more fear by the Tribunes than they had been by the nightly invasion of the enemy. Word is brought that the soldiers have laid down their arms and quitted their posts. The Consul *Valerius* rushes out of the Senate-house, hastens to the Forum, expostulates with the Tribunes “on their madness in calling the People from their arms to attend to Law-making, while the enemy is over their heads. *Are you then in confederacy with Herdonius? He who could not intice our slaves to join him, has he drawn you to his party?*” Then, turning to the People, he urges them with motives from Religion, “their reverence for *Jupiter, Juno, Minerva*, all the Gods and Goddesses now prisoners to a foreign enemy, nay in captivity to slaves. *O Father Romulus, inspire thy People with the same spirit which animated thee, when thou didst bravely recover the Citadel from the Sabines! Move them to march in the same path, by which thou didst conduct thy army! lead them on! As far as a mortal can follow a God, I will be the first to follow thee and tread in thy steps.*” He concluded, with declaring, “that he then called every Roman to arms; and that, without regard to the bounds of the Consular Authority, or the extent of the Tribunician, or the *Leges sacratae*, he would treat every Citizen who disobeyed his orders, as an open enemy to his country. That the Tribunes, who had forbid them to fight against *Herdonius*, might, if they pleased, command them to take arms against *Valerius* the Consul: but that he should make no scruple to do by those Magistrates as the founder of his family had done by the *Tarquins*.”

All this was of no effect. The Bill! The Bill! Let us pass the Bill! Yet the Tribunes were not able to proceed in this affair; nor could the Consul prevail with the People to march to the Capitol. Night put a stop to the contention. During the night, fear of the armed Citizens, whom the Consuls had at their devotion, kept the Tribunes quiet. These out of the way, the Senators went diligently about among the *Plebeians*, admonishing and intreating them to consider “into what extremity of danger they brought the Republick. That the contest was not now between the Nobles and the Commons; that both Nobles and Commons, the Citadel, the Temples of the Gods, the tutelary Gods of the State, the domestick Gods of every private Citizen were just upon the point of being yielded into the power of foreign enemies.” While

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
fifty-
nine.
Fiftieth
Consul-
ship.

Livy, B.
3. c. 17.

Year of the Senators were employed in these attempts to bring the multitude to
 R O M E reason, the Consuls, lest the *Sabines* and *Volscians* should come suddenly
 CCXCIII. and attack the City, busied themselves in posting guards to defend the
 Bef. J. C. gates and walls. At day-break a body of men appeared in the field ad-
 Four hun- vancing towards *Rome*. These at first could be no other than enemies,
 dred they must be the *Æqui* and *Volsci*: However, to the great joy of the City,
 fifty- they were soon discovered to be *Tusculans*, coming to the assistance of the
 nine. *Romans* their allies.

Fiftieth
 Consul-
 ship.
 Livy, B.
 3. c. 19.

+ Popli-
 cula.

The news of the Capitol's being surpris'd, and of the dissensions in
Rome, having the night before reached *Tusculum*, *Mamilius*, the chief Ma-
 gistrate of the place, had represented to the Council, that they could ne-
 ver hope from the Gods so fair an opportunity of obli-
 ving a powerful and
 neighbouring State, and had persuaded them to prevent all application
 from the *Roman* Senate for succour. These forces, admitted within the
 walls, marched straight to the Forum, where *Valerius* (having left his Col-
 league to defend the gates) was drawing up his men in order, for battle.
 He had prevailed with the *Plebeians* (in spite of all the clamours and
 remonstrances of their Tribunes) to insist themselves, and take the mi-
 litary oath, by giving them his solemn promise, "that, the Capitol once
 recovered, and the City restored to quiet, if they would then suffer
 themselves to be informed of the deceitfulness of the Tribunes, and
 the mischiefs concealed under their specious Law, he, for his part,
 calling to mind his ancestors, and that surname, † together with which
 they had transmitted to him an hereditary concern for the interests of
 the People, would give no disturbance to the Councils held by the
 Commons."

And now the *Romans* and their auxiliaries, rivals for the glory of re-
 taking the Capitol, briskly advanced, and forced their way up the hill,
 notwithstanding the enemy's advantage of the ground. They had reach-
 ed the Portico of the Temple, when *Valerius*, fighting in the foremost
 rank, received a mortal wound. *Volumnius*, a consular person, who saw
 him fall, instantly covered his body, took his place and his charge, and
 kept the men so warmly and intently engaged in the attack, that
 they gained the victory before they perceived, that they had lost their
 General. Great was the slaughter of the invaders, the temple polluted
 with their blood, *Herdonius* * himself slain, the prisoners punished suit-
 ably

* *Livy's* relation (brief as it is) of this ad-
 venture has been followed in the text. He
 calls *Herdonius* a *Sabine*, but says nothing of
 his character, his rank, or the situation of life
 he was in, when he undertook to seize the
 Capitol; or of the ultimate end he proposed
 to himself in that enterprise: nor does he in-
 form us how, or from whence *Herdonius* col-
 lected such a number of exiles and slaves, or
 what made it so easy for him to possess him-
 self in the night of the Temple and Citadel.

Probably the *Latine* Historian had not suffici-
 ent light into these particulars. But *Diony-
 sius*, who is rarely ignorant of any thing
 knowable or unknowable, tells us, 640, that
 the *Sabine Herdonius* was a man of distinction
 in his own country for his birth and riches;
 that those who followed him in his underta-
 king were his own clients and domesticks,
 to the number of about 4000, and that he
 purposed to destroy the *Roman* Power. How-
 ever, the Historian cannot say, whether by
 this

ably to their respective ranks of freemen or slaves. The *Tusculans* received the publick thanks. The Temple was purified: and the People are said to have cast farthings into the house of *Valerius*, in order to his more pompous funeral.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fifty-
nine.

this destruction *Herdonius* meant to make himself tyrant of *Rome*, or to subject *Rome* to the *Sabines*, or only to acquire a great name by his exploits. When he had prepared a sufficient quantity of arms, provisions, and all things necessary for the expedition, he embarked his 4000 men on some river-boats, which gliding down the *Stream* of the *Tiber*, he arrived at *Rome* about midnight, when all was quiet; landed on the bank of the river next the Capitol, and not above a furlong from it. That, the gate *Comentalis*, at the foot of the hill, being always, by the express command of an oracle, left open, he there entered, and, silently mounting the steep ascent, seized the Temple and Fortrefs. That he hoped, when possessed of this strong place, to be joined by the exiles, the slaves, the insolvent debtors, and all the worst part of the *Roman* populace, whose wretchedness, he thought, held them ready for any change that could be proposed: He placed great confidence in the discord reigning at *Rome*, imagining that the *Plebeians* would not unite with the *Patricians* to oppose him. And, in case these hopes failed, he resolved to invite to his assistance a numerous army of *Sabines* and *Volsci*, and other neighbouring nations, who would be glad of an opportunity to shake off the insupportable yoke of the *Roman* Government. *Herdonius* was disappointed in every expectation. Neither the exiles, nor the slaves, nor the debtors, nor the indigent populace of *Rome*, repaired to him. Nor had the strangers, on whose aid he so much depended, the time necessary to prepare for the war: for the whole affair was over in three or four days.

Upon this relation, given by *Dionysius*, I shall only observe, that his well born, wealthy, and powerful *Sabine*, so much at ease at home, must have been somewhat mad to embark in such an enterprise without a previous approbation of it by the Governors of his own nation; any preparation on their

part to assist him in it, or even any promise of assistance from them, or from any other of the neighbouring States; and without having any intelligence with the discontented in *Rome*. And then, for his collecting so many boats on the *Tiber* as would hold 4000 men, with the provisions necessary for their subsistence, and his stealing down the stream with his fleet, from *Sabinia* into the middle of *Rome*, without being discovered in his passage, or till he reached the Capitol, these things are absolutely wonderful.

As to what passed in *Rome*, while *Herdonius* possessed the Capitol, the *Greek* Historian reports, p. 641, that, when the *Plebeians*, at the instigation of their Tribunes, refused to arm, unless the *Terentian* Law were first enacted, the Consul *Claudius* declared, there was no need of their assistance; and exhorted the *Patricians* to march with their clients against the enemy; and, if more strength were wanted, call to their aid the *Latines* and *Hernici*, or even promise liberty to the slaves and employ them, rather than solicit succour from unworthy Citizens, who, when the State was in such calamitous circumstances, revived old quarrels: But that his advice was not approved by his Collegue or the Senators, who thought it expedient to yield to the times.

That *Valerius*, to gain the multitude, swore to them, that if they behaved themselves well in the present exigence, so as to restore quiet to the City, he would suffer the Tribunes to propose the Law, and would take care, that what the People determined should be put in execution before his Consulship expired.

The *Plebeians* hereupon enlist themselves readily for the war, and march with alacrity under *Valerius* to the attack of the Citadel; in describing which attack the Historian is as particular and circumstantial as if he had been there, but by his detail makes that appear impracticable, which he says was effected. See p. 642.

Fiftieth
Consul-
ship.

C H A P. XXIII.

§ I. *The Consul Claudius shows little regard to the promise given by Valerius to the Plebeians.* § II. *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, elected to succeed Valerius, by various arts makes the Tribunes desist from the pursuit of their Bill.* § III. *Virginus and his Collegues are rechosen to the Tribuneship. The Senate are for continuing Quinctius in the Consulship; but he rejects the motion with indignation.*

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
Erf. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fifty-
nine.

Fiftieth
Consul-
ship.

Livy, B.
3. c. 19.

§ I. **T**HE enterprize of *Herdonius* thus defeated, and peace restored, the Tribunes without delay called upon the Senators to perform what *Valerius* had promised; and they pressed *Claudius* to free the manes of his Collegue from the guilt of treachery, by suffering the People without molestation to proceed on the affair of the Law. *Claudius*, to elude this demand, insisted on the necessity of a new Consul in the place of *Valerius*, before that business could regularly be brought into debate. The time passed in disputes on this head till the month of *December*, when, the *Centuriate Comitia* being held for the election, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, through the indefatigable industry of the Nobles, was appointed to the consular fasces². It was a thunderstroke to the *Plebeians* to see themselves fallen under the government of a Magistrate of great personal merit, great credit, and highly provoked against them by their banishment of his son *Cæso*, and who had three other sons in magnanimity nor inferior to *Cæso*, in prudence surpassing him.

Cincinnatus had no sooner entered on his office, than he began to bluster like a man angry with every body, and determined to be a severe reformer of manners. He sharply reproved the Senators for their meanness of spirit, and want of resolution, in suffering the same men to be continued in the Tribuneship from year to year, men who with noise and foul language lorded it over the State, as if it were some disorderly house which they kept. “Courage, constancy, every virtue civil and military was driven from *Rome* with my son *Cæso*. Bablers, sowers of sedition, reign here like Kings with perpetual and absolute sway. What? Did you march your Troops, (with reverence for *Caius Claudius* and the dead *Valerius* be it spoken) did you march up to the Capitol, before you had cleared the Forum of those enemies, *Virginus* and his Collegues? Did *Virginus* deserve less punishment for not being in

² According to *Dionysius*, (p. 641) *Quinctius* was at his farm, actually following the plough, and much astonished, when his election to the Consulship was notified to him. But it is not probable that so worthy a Patriot, living so near the City, should be less forward to assist in recovering the Capitol from *Herdonius*, than the *Tusculans*. Nor is

it likely, if he came to *Rome* on that occasion, that he should be ignorant of the universal combination of the Nobles to raise him to the Consulship, or that he left the City before his election.

Livy says nothing of the plough till *Cincinnatus* is chosen Dictator.

“ the Capitol, than *Herdonius* for having seized it? By *Hercules*, he de- Year of
 “ served greater. *Herdonius* declared himself your enemy; he put you R O M E
 “ upon your guard. *Virginus*, by denying there was any war, would CCXCIII.
 “ have dishonoured you, exposed you naked and defenceless to your ^a slaves Bef. J. C.
 “ and exiles. What a shame in the sight of Gods and Men, that the Four hun-
 “ *Tatians* should be before us in arming for our defence; that it should nine.
 “ be doubtful whether *Mamilius* the *Tatian* General, or our Consuls, Fiftieth
 “ recovered the Capitol! And this is what you, Tribunes, call *succour*- Consul-
 “ *ing the Plebeians*, exposing them to be slaughtered by the enemy! ship.
 “ *Jupiter*, the most High, the All-good, was not worthy to be rescued,
 “ when beset by slaves and exiles; but your persons are sacred and in-
 “ violable! And do you flatter yourselves, that, thus covered over with
 “ crimes against Gods and Men, you shall pass your Bill this year?
 “ Unfortunate was the day, when I was chosen Consul, more unfortu-
 “ nate than that in which *Valerius* was slain, if you even offer to prefer
 “ your Bill. But no more of that at present, I now give you notice,
 “ that my Colleague and I intend to march the Legions against the *Æqui*
 “ and *Volsci*. I know not by what fatality it so comes to pass, but the
 “ Gods are ever more favourable to us in war, than in peace.”

The Consul quite stunned the multitude by this menacing speech. A winter campaign was a dreadful thought. The *Patricians* began to lift up their heads; their affairs seemed to be upon the recovery. *Claudius*, who had spirit enough to join in a bold enterprise, but not the sort Livy, B. of courage necessary to form one, readily suffered his Colleague to take 3. c. 20. the lead on this occasion, yet he talked as big as if he had been the author of the measure; he would do wonderful things, yes, he would shew himself to be a Consul. The Tribunes scoffed at them both. *And where* (said they) *will you get the army, which you are to lead into the field? We shall suffer no levies to be made.* “ We need none (answered *Quintius*.) “ The troops which *Valerius* enlisted for retaking the Capitol, all swore “ to rendezvous at the Consul’s command, and not to disband them- “ selves without his permission; and we strictly injoin every soldier, “ who took that oath, to appear in arms to-morrow at the Lake *Regillus*.” To which the Tribunes replied, “ That the oath did not “ bind the soldiers to his obedience, who was then only a private man.” However, this evasion did not satisfy the consciences of the People. *That contempt for the Gods, so prevalent in our age, says Livy, had not in those days began to make its appearance. Men did not by interpretations contrive to make oaths and laws suit their private desires, but suited their manners to their oaths and to the laws.*

The Tribunes, finding their cavil about the oath would not do, turned their thoughts to prevent, by some other means, the march of the troops from the City: For *Quintius* talked of the expediency of passing the

^a From this expression it would seem that some who had run away from their *Roman* the slaves, whom *Herdonius* commanded, were Masters.

Year of whole winter in the field. And, the more to terrify both the Commons
 R O M E and their Magistrates, he declared, and often repeated, " that [at his
 CCXCIII. " return from the war] he would hold no Comitia for electing Consuls :
 Bef. J. C. " that the State was too much distempered to be cured by ordinary re-
 Four hun- " medies : that it needed a Dictator, who would make all Disturbers
 d ed ery- " of the peace feel the weight of an authority from which there lay no
 nico. " appeal."

Fiftieth
 Consul-
 ship.
 Livy, B.
 3. c. 23.
 B. 3. c.
 21.

The Senate were at this time assembled in the Capitol. Thither ran the Tribunes, with the *Plebeians*, all in a consternation, at their heels. The multitude with loud voices called out sometimes upon the Fathers, sometimes upon the Consuls to compassionate their case. *Quintius* would listen to no intreaties, till the Tribunes had promised to abide by what the Senate should judge fit to be done. Then he reported their petition to the Fathers, who thereupon made a Decree, " That the Tribunes " should no more prefer their Bill this year, and that the Consuls should " not lead an army from the City : " and the Decree declared farther, " that, in the judgment of the Senate, to continue the superior Magi- " strates in their office after the expiration of their year, and to re-elect " the same Tribunes, were both contrary to the welfare of the Repub- " lick."

D.Hal.B. Thus were all commotions calmed for the present ; and *Quintius*, du-
 10.p.645. ring the remainder of his Consulship, kept things quiet by a patient, can- did, and equitable conduct in hearing and deciding causes between man and man, to which business he chiefly applied himself.

Livy, B. But, notwithstanding the Senate's Decree before-mentioned, and the
 3. c. 21. warm remonstrances of the Consuls, *Virginus* and his Collegues pre- vailed to get themselves re-chosen by the People to the Tribuneship. The Senate, to be even with them, were for continuing *Quintius* in the Consulship [not doubting to carry his re-election in the *Comitia by Cen- turies*.] Never did *Quintius*, during his whole administration, exert more spirit, or express a more vehement anger than on this occasion.

* *Livy* tells us, that what contributed to frighten the *Plebeians* into submission was a rumour spread, " That the augurs had been " directed to repair to the Lake *Regillus*, in " order to consecrate a place for holding " *Comitia*, where every article which had " been carried at *Rome* in favour of the " Commons by Tribunician violence would " be abrogated : since the Consuls would " there be masters, and the Tribunes, whose " right of opposition did not extend beyond " a mile from the City, would, if they came " there, be upon the foot of private men."

Dionysius says nothing of this ; nor does it seem probable that the People should be alarmed with the apprehension of a design

which certainly could never take place. For, had it been practicable to any purpose, it would long before have been put in execu- tion.

The only struggle in the minds of the Peo- ple, at this time, seems to have been between the military oath and the winter campaign ; and, to the honour of the soldiers, the oath carried it ; they had recourse to intreaties for avoiding the cold. Perhaps the character of *Quintius*, and his manner of life, had no small share in bringing the *Plebeians* to sub- mission, for the present. It is observable how much more tamely they could suffer themselves to be hector'd by this plough- man Consul, than by an *Appius Claudius*.

“ Little cause to wonder, *Conscript Fathers*, that the *Plebeians* make light
 “ of your authority ! You trifle with your own Decrees. What ? Are
 “ you in competition with the multitude, to try which shall surpass
 “ the other in levity and inconstancy ? Is this the contest in which vic-
 “ tory is to give the Victors the chief power in the Republic ? The
 “ headstrong multitude have broken through your Decree, and there-
 “ fore you will do the same ! An excellent example truly you have
 “ chosen to follow ! For my part, I shall not imitate the Tribunes ; I
 “ will not suffer myself to be re-elected to my office. And I exhort
 “ you, *Caius Claudius*, to restrain the *Roman People* from such licentious
 “ proceedings.” The Fathers, hereupon, issued an edict, “ forbidding
 “ all persons to name *Lucius Quinctius* at the next elections, for one of
 “ the Consuls ; and declaring, that, if any one did, his vote should not
 “ be admitted.”

The Comitia being held, they gave the consular fasces to *Q. Fabius* * ^{3d time.}
Vibulanus and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*. ^{Year of}

Upon advice that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were making great preparations
 for war, the new Consuls summoned the allies to furnish their contin- ^{R O M E}
 gents of troops for the service. An army was formed, one third *Romans*, ^{CCXCIV.}
 two thirds *Latines* and *Hernici*. *Fabius* had the conduct of it, and intirely ^{Bef. J. C.}
 routed the enemy near *Antium*. ^{Four hundred fifty-eight.}

In the mean time a body of the *Æqui* surprized the Citadel of *Tus-*
culum in the night. This news, which was carried first to *Rome*, and ^{Fifty-first}
 thence to the camp before *Antium*, affected the *Romans* as much as if ^{Consul-}
 the Capitol had been again seized. Mindful of the friendly part which ^{ship.}
 the *Tusculans* had lately acted in the affair of *Herdonius*, *Fabius* with all ^{Livy, B.}
 expedition marched to their relief. The enemy, to hinder succours from ^{3. c. 22,}
 coming to the City, had incamped an army not far from the walls.
Fabius with only a part of his forces kept that army in play, sending
 the remainder to assist the *Tusculans* to recover their Citadel. This
 war lasted several months. Famine compelled the *Æqui* to submit ;
 and the *Tusculans* made them pass unarmed and naked under the
 yoke. After which the Consul pursued them in their return homeward,
 and cut them all off to a man. * *Cornelius*, who had staid at *Rome*
 to guard it from any sudden attack, now marched the troops under
 his command from the City ; and the two Consuls, taking different
 roads, invaded, plundered, and laid waste the lands of the *Æqui* and
Volsci.

At *Rome* the Tribunes complained that these wars were protracted
 merely to keep off the affair of the Law ; and they loudly declared
 that nothing should hinder them from going through with what they
 had undertaken. Nevertheless *Lucretius*, præfect of the City, prevailed

* According to *Dionysius*. p. 648, *Antium* ber of authors report this ; but that he does
 revolted this year, and was subdued by *Cor-* not find it in any of the earliest.
nilius. And *Livy* says, that the greater num-

Year of with them to defer the business till the arrival of the Consuls. ^a The
 ROME Consuls returned from the war, and entered the City with their armies
 CCXCIV. in
 B.c. J. C.

Four
 hundred
 fifty-
 eight.

Fifty-first
 Consul-
 ship.

^a *Livy* tells us, B. 3. c. 24, that, at this time, a new source of civil contention arose in the Republick: that the Quæstors cited *M. Velsius Fictor* to trial before the People, on the charge of his having given false testimony against *Cæso*: that the Tribunes put a stop to the prosecution, refusing to let the *Comitia* be held for that trial, unless they were first held for enacting their Law, and that both these affairs were put off to the return of the Consuls: that no steps were taken with regard to either before the Consuls of the new year had entered on their office: that then *Cæso's* uncle, *Titus Quinctius* (who had been thrice Consul) and *Marcus Valerius*, men of more weight than their predecessors, were the Quæstors: that, because *Cæso*, the glory of the Roman youth, could not be restored either to his family or to his country, *Quinctius*, from a spirit of justice, and from an affection for his kinsman, made war upon the false witness, who had deprived him, tho' innocent, of the liberty of pleading in his own defence. *Is quoniam neque Quintiæ familiæ Cæso, neque reipublicæ maximus juvenis restitui posset, falsum testem, qui dicendæ causæ innoxio potestatem ademisset, justo ac pio bello persequetur.* C. 25.

What *Livy* means to say by this I know not. For, by his own account, *Cæso* ran away to avoid a trial on *Volsius's* accusation: and, as to the crimes and misdemeanors with which the Tribunes had charged him, neither his uncle nor his own father had pretended that he was innocent. And, according to *Dionysius*, *Cæso* would not own the jurisdiction of the Court.

Notwithstanding the great weight of these Quæstors, the opposition of the Tribunes stop'd the prosecution once more. But the next year, when the father of *Cæso* was Dictator, the Tribunes, intimidated by his absolute power, durst not oppose the bringing *Velsius* to trial; and he was convicted, condemned, and banished to *Lanuvium*, Liv. c. 29.

Dionysius says nothing of all this, nor indeed has it any shadow of probability, if, as the Greek Historian relates, *Velsius* was all the time one of the Tribunes; which, according to *Livy*, he was not.

Mr. *Verræ* has followed *Dionysius* in making the accuser of *Cæso* one of the Tribunes, and yet has followed *Livy* in representing

the accuser of *Cæso* as tried, convicted, and banished in that very year, when, according to *Dionysius*, p. 648, he was in his fourth Tribuneship.

Both Mr. *Verræ* and Mr. *Rollin*, founding themselves wholly on a passage in *Cicero's* Oration *pro domo sua*, relate, that in the short Dictatorship of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, (when *Velsius* is said to have been banished) *Cæso* was recalled from banishment. *Cicero's* words are these: *At verò, ut annales populi Romani, & monumenta vetustatis loquuntur, Cæso ille Quintius, & M. Furius Cætilius, & M. Servilius Ahala, cum essent optime de Republica meriti, tamen populi incitati vim, iracundiamque subierunt, damna- tique Comitibus Centuriatis, cum in exilium profugissent, rursus ab eodem populo placato sunt in suam pristinam dignitatem restituti.* One would imagine from the total silence of *Livy* and *Dionysius*, as to the recalling of *Cæso*, that those *Annales* and *Monumenta*, of which *Cicero* speaks, were wholly unknown to them, or that they considered them as of no authority. Nor perhaps is the Orator much to be regarded, when, to serve a present turn and his own private interest, he brings precedents from ancient history of cases like his own. It is plain that neither the Latin nor the Greek Historian have taken him for their guide. But what seems decisive against the authority of *Cicero*, in this instance, is his saying, that *Cæso* was condemned in *Comitia by Centuries*, which is expressly contradicted by the whole History of those times. The Tribunes did not pretend to hold *Comitia by Centuries*, and yet they held the assembly for the trial of *Cæso*. If *Cicero* be right, and *Cæso*, a young *Patrician*, was condemned by the *Centuries*, it will afford a strong presumption, that all the Trials of CONSULARS in the COMITIA- RY TRIBES, which *Dionysius* has recorded, are mere fables.

Father *Catrou*, not finding that *Cæso* was recalled, or that any motion was made for recalling him, either when his uncle was Quæstor, or when his father was Dictator, concludes, that he was dead; or perhaps he gathers this from these words of *Livy*, *Quoniam neque Quintiæ familiæ Cæso, neque Reipublicæ restitui posset.* But there seems no need to have recourse to the supposition of *Cæso's* death, to account for his not being

in triumph; and, because the Tribunes now said nothing of the Law, it was generally believed, that they were deterred from that pursuit: But in truth, a far different reason occasioned their silence. As the year drew towards a close, they had their thoughts wholly intent on getting themselves elected a fourth time to the Tribuneship; and, in spite of the most vigorous opposition from the Consuls, they carried their point.

Towards the end of this year the *Æqui* sued for peace, and the Senate made a treaty with them, importing, that they should keep possession of the towns and lands they then held, and be exempt from paying tribute to the Republick, but, like the other allies, furnish her with as many auxiliary troops as she occasionally should require.

ing recalled: for the same Tribunes who had prosecuted him were still in office, and the Bill, which had given occasion to *Cæso's* violences and misdemeanors, was still depending; and it is not to be imagined that the Tribunes would suffer his return to *Rome*, before that affair was determined. If I might have leave to conjecture, I should say, that *Cæso* was never recalled, that he was guilty

not only of the misdemeanors with which the Tribunes charged him, but likewise of the murder of which *Volsius* accused him, and that this *Volsius* did not get the surname of *Fictor* from his having given false evidence, but that false evidence was in after times imputed to him by the Historians, merely on account of his surname, which meant nothing worse than *The Potter*.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred fifty-eight.
Fifty-first
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
3. c. 24.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 648.

C H A P. XXIV.

§. I. *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus is named to the Dictatorship; he rescues the Roman army out of extreme danger; and the 16th day after his promotion resigns his office.* §. II. *The Tribunes oppose the necessary levies for a war with the Æqui. They are at length induced to wave their opposition, but do it conditionally, that the Commons may be permitted to augment the number of their Tribunes to TEN.*

§. I. **I**N the beginning of the new administration of *L. Minucius* and *C. Nautius, Virginus* and his Collegues pressed forward the affair of the Law, to bring it to a conclusion. Yet they allowed the Consuls two months time to consider of it, and expose to the People the mischiefs latent under it, if any such there were; after which it was to be proposed in Comitia and put to the vote. This concession made all quiet in the City. But the tranquillity did not last long; for the *Æqui*, breaking the treaty they had made the year before, invaded and plundered the territory of the *Tusculans*, allies of the *Roman Republick*, and, loaded with spoil, retired with it to the hill *Algidus* (about 12 miles from *Rome*) where they incamped. The Senate dispatched three Ambassadors thither to complain of the injury, and demand restitution. *Gracchus Cluilius*, General of the *Æqui*, had pitched his tent under a large oak for the sake of the shade. *There!* said he to the Ambassadors, *deliver your errand to that tree! I have other business to mind.* They returned to *Rome* and reported the reception they had met with. Instantly

Year of
R O M E
CCXCV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred fifty-seven.
Fifty-second
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
3. c. 25.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 648.
& seq.

Year of the Senate ordered one of the Consuls to march against *Gracchus*, and
 R O M F. commissioned the other to enter the frontiers of the *Æqui* and lay the
 CCCCV. country waste. The Tribunes at first obstructed the Levies, and per-
 Bef. J. C. haps would have continued so to do, but for a second invasion. A nume-
 Four rous army of *Sabines* advanced almost to the very walls of *Rome*; and
 hundred the devastations they made could not patiently be endured by the People.
 fifty-se- Regardless of the dissuasions of their Tribunes, they now readily offered
 ven. themselves for the service. Two armies were presently raised. The *Sa-*
 Fifty- bines retired; *Nautius* marched into *Sabinia*, and did more than make
 second reprisals on the enemy. *Minnius*, who led his forces against the *Æqui*,
 Consul- had neither the success nor the courage of his Colleague. He pitched
 ship. his camp not far from the enemy, but kept close within it through fear.^a
 Livy, B. When the *Æqui* perceived his cowardice, it gave them the boldness to
 3. c. 26. attack his camp in the night; but they found it too strong to be forced.
 The next day therefore they drew lines about it, in order to starve their
 enemies into a surrender at discretion. Before the *Romans* were quite
 inclosed, five horsemen found means to make their way through the
 quarters of the *Æqui*, and carried the news to *Rome*. *Quintus Fabius*,
 Governor of the City, immediately dispatched a messenger to the Consul
Nautius, to inform him of the distress his Colleague was in. *Nautius* leav-
 ing his army to the care of his Lieutenants repaired to *Rome* in all haste.
 He arrived there in the night, and without delay had a conference with
 the chief of the Senate, who all agreed to have recourse to the usual ex-
 pedient in great exigencies, a Dictator: whereupon the Consul, with uni-
 versal approbation, named *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus* to that important dig-
 nity, and then returned to his army.

Ibid. The persons, deputed to give *Quinctius* notice of his nomination to the
 Dictatorship, found him busily employed about his farm, either follow-
 ing the plough, or digging a ditch. After the common mutual saluta-
 tions they desired him to put on his gown, and hear their commission to
 him from the Senate. *What is the business*, said *Quinctius* in surprize;
Is all well? Then, turning to his wife who was in the field with him,
RACILIA, *Go fetch my gown. Make haste.* The dust and sweat wiped
 from his face, and the gown put on, the deputies straight saluted him DIC-
 TATOR, invited him to *Rome*, and informed him of the perillous condition
 of the army. A barge belonging to the publick was ready to convey
 him to the City. His three sons, his other relations and friends, and the
 greatest part of the Senate received him at his landing. With this atten-
 dance, and with four and twenty Lictors walking before him, he was
 conducted to his house. Crowds of *Plebeians* likewise put themselves in
 his train, but they were not very glad to see him; for they thought him
 cloathed with too much power, and feared the use he might make of it.
 They kept watch all that night.

^a *Dionysius* says nothing of the cowardice of *Minnius*, but represents him as rashly pursuing the enemy, who, by artfully re- treating before him, drew him into a disad- vantageous situation, and then blocked him up in his camp.

Quintius the next morning, before day-break, went to the Forum, and there named, for his *General of the Horse*, *L. Tarquinius*, a *Patrician* of distinguished bravery, but who, being too poor to keep a horse, had till then never served but in the infantry. Thus all the hopes of the Republic lay in an old man, called from the plough to command in chief, and a foot soldier, raised to be *General of the Horse*.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCV.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
fifty-se-
ven.
Fifty-se-
cond
Consul-
ship.

The Dictator, by proclamation, ordered a suspension of all process in the courts of justice, the shops to be shut up, and all the Citizens, able to bear arms, to be before sun-set in the *field of Mars*, each with five days provisions, and twelve stakes for a palisade. Whoever through age was disqualified for the service, was to dress the provisions for the soldier who lived nearest him, while he furnished himself with the stakes and got ready his arms.

All these commands punctually executed, and the forces drawn up in good order, not only for marching, but fighting, if need should require, the Dictator, at the head of the Infantry, and *Tarquinius*, at the head of the Cavalry, led forth the army. No alacrity was wanting either in the commanders, or their men. *Quicken your pace, soldiers, said the leaders, let us come up with them this very night. Expedition! a Roman Consul and his army besieged! three days invested! who knows what may happen in a day or a night? A single moment often decides in great events.* The Generals had the pleasure to hear the soldiers, and those who bore the colours, mutually call upon each other, *Faster, Ensigns! Soldiers, keep up!* And thus by midnight they reached the *Algidus*.

Quintius made a halt, as soon as he perceived he was near the enemy. And when, by riding about, he had taken such a view of their camp as the obscurity of the night would permit, he ordered his men to heap all the baggage together in one place, and then return into their ranks with their stakes they had brought from *Rome*. This done, he extended his forces and invested the camp on his side of it: after which, on an appointed signal given, the soldiers all together gave a shout, and then fell every man to work to cut a trench before him and plant his stakes. The shout reached beyond the camp of the *Æqui* to that of the Consul. Sudden terror seized the one, universal joy the other. Nothing among the *Roman* soldiers but mutual congratulations on the arrival of succour. *No time to be lost!* cried *Minucius*. *Not only succour is come, but our fellow Citizens are actually in conflict with the enemy. I know it by the shout. To arms, to arms, I'll lead me, soldiers.* Out sallied the legions to action, and by their shouts gave notice of it to the Dictator. The *Æqui* were just going to make an effort to interrupt the works the Dictator had begun, when the alarm from the other side obliged them to turn their chief strength that way, lest the Consul should break through their camp. His attack kept them in play till the morning, so that *Quintius* had the rest of the night free to go on with his fortification. Having finished it by day-break, he straight led out his forces to assault that of the enemy. A new conflict began; the former continued. The

Æqui,

Year of *Æqui*, now pressed on both sides, hopeless of defending themselves, ROME hopeless of relief, ceased the fight, and had recourse to supplications. CCXCV. They begged of the Dictator, they begged of the Consul, not to place *Æqui* victory in slaughter, but to suffer them to go off disarmed. The Consul referred them to the Dictator. *Quintius* contemptuously answered them, that *he did not want their blood, he would let them go; but that, by passing under the yoke, they should at length make confession, that the Æqui were a conquered People.* But first, said he, send me hither in chains your General Gracchus, and ten other of your principal officers [with these he meant to adorn his triumph] and you shall evacuate the City of Corbio. All was submitted to.

Liv. B. 3. The Dictator gave the ^a plunder of the enemy's camp to the soldiers c. 29. & he had brought with him from *Rome*, not suffering those of the Consul to D. Hal. B. take any part of it. "You soldiers, said he, who were just going to 10. p. 652. "fall a prey to our enemies, you shall have no share of their spoils." Then, turning to the Consul, "And you, *Minucius*, till you begin to "have the spirit of a Consul, shall command these legions in quality "only of a Lieutenant General." *Minucius* abdicated the Consulship, and, in obedience to order, continued ^b with the army. Such respect, such ready submission to superior merit, and superior authority, were paid in those days, that the consular troops, less affected with the disgrace they suffered, than with the benefit they had received, decreed to the Dictator a golden crown of a pound weight, and at his departure saluted him by the title of *their Patron*.

Quintius returned to *Rome* and had there a magnificent triumph; after which, tho' he might have retained his High Office six months, he resigned it the sixteenth ^c day from his promotion to it.

Livy, In the end of the year the Tribunes began to stir again in the affair ibid. of *the Law*: but as two armies were absent (for the Consul *Nautius* made war against the *Sabines*) the Senate carried it, that no Bill should be preferred to the people; nevertheless, in the election of Tribunes, the Commons prevailed to have the same men, who had held the Tribuneship four years successively, appointed a fifth time to that office.

D. Hal. B. §. II. THE consular fasces were transferred to C. *Horatius* and Q. 10. p. 652. *Minucius*. In the beginning of their administration, they had nothing to & seq. do abroad; but the Tribunes, with their Bill, found them sufficient Liv. B. 3. c. 30.

^a *Dionysius* reports (p. 652.) that *Quintius*, after plundering *Corbio*, caused the most valuable part of the enemies spoils to be conveyed to *Rome*, giving the remainder only to his soldiers, and that the Senate would have enriched him out of the booty; but that he declined the offer, and chose rather to owe his subsistence to the labour of his hands.

^b According to *Livy*, *Quintus Fabius* was soon after sent from *Rome* to succeed *Minucius* in the command of the army.

^c The reader will observe that *Quintius* defeated the *Æqui*, and took their camp the third day from his nomination to the Dictatorship. The greater part of the remainder of the 16 days, we may suppose, was spent in taking possession of *Corbio*, plundering it, and placing a garrison there. This, according to *Dionysius*, p. 651, was done by way of revenging the ill treatment which the *Tusculans* had suffered from the *Æqui*.

employment

employment at home; yet it was not long before the dispute on this head gave place to another: for news came, that the *Æqui* had in the night surpris'd the *Roman* garrison of *Corbio*, and taken the place by assault. The Senate without delay ordered an army to be rais'd, and led to the *Algidus*. *No Levies!* said the Tribunes; *the Bill is the important point, the business that must be first settled.* Neither Consuls nor Senate would hear of the Bill. Both sides continued obstinate, till a second alarm was given from abroad. The *Sabines* made an incursion into the *Roman* territory, and advanced almost to the city walls. The Tribunes then, seeing a necessity of arming, began to treat with the Senate. As they had been constantly baffled, though in office five years successively, they judg'd, that it was for want of a sufficient number in their college, and therefore resolv'd to seize the present occasion to get it augmented. "On one condition, said they, we shall consent to your raising troops. The thing will be of little consequence to you, and will please the Commons very much; perhaps make them easy as to all their other demands. Allow them to have, for the future, TEN Tribunes instead of only five."

In the debates of the Senate on this motion, *Caius Claudius* oppos'd it with great warmth. He said, "that to grant the Commons more Tribunes would have no good effect upon them, it would only make them more untractable and insolent. The partition of the lands, *Terentius's* Bill, and every project for diminishing the authority of the Senate, and increasing the power of the People, would presently be revived: and, in short, that an augmentation of the number of Tribunes would have the worst consequences imaginable." But *Quintilius Cincinnatus*, whose judgment had greater weight with the Senate than that of *Claudius*, consider'd the matter in a different light, and was of opinion, that what the *Plebeians* sued for, as a favour, would turn to their disadvantage when obtained; because it would be easier to sow division among Ten Tribunes than among five, and he therefore exhorted the *Fathers* to a concession. His advice prevail'd. The request was granted, but conditionally, that the Tribunes then in office should not be rechosen. To this the petitioners agreed, and held the *Comitia* immediately for

^a *Dionysius*, p. 654, reports, that, when the Tribunes were obstinate in opposing the Levies, all the Senators, by the advice of *Quintilius Cincinnatus*, took arms and repaired to the Forum, determined to march out (supported only by their clients and adherents) against the enemy; that even the oldest of the *Fathers* appear'd in armour, but wept and look'd so pitifully, that the spectacle drew tears in abundance from the multitude, and a most ridiculous scene of affliction the Historian, p. 655, most piteously makes of it. He adds, that the Tribunes, seeing the People so melted, and fearing that they should not be

able to hinder the [weeping] *Plebeians* from following the [weeping] *Patricians* to the war, began then to covenant for an augmentation of the College, &c.

^b *Livy's* words seem to make the condition general, that the Commons should never, for the future, chuse the same men twice to the Tribuneship, *ne postea eosdem Tribunos juberent*. If this was the condition, the People did not observe it, as we shall presently see.

The increase of the number of Tribunes to ten was 36 years after the erection of Tribuneship.

the

Year of
R O M E
CCXCVI.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fif-
ty-six.
Fifty-
third
Consul-
ship.

D.Hal.B.
10.p.656.

p. 657.

Year of the nomination of *Ten Tribunes*, as having learnt by experience, that they might meet with a disappointment, should they put off the election to the end of the war. Two out of each of the five first Classes were chosen; a method observed ever after.

The commotion thus quieted, troops were raised. *Minucius* marched to attack the *Sabines*, but found no enemy in the field. *Horatius* defeated the *Æqui*, and retook *Corbio*.

Fifty-third
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 657.
Livy, B.
3. c. 30.

C H A P. XXV.

§. I. *The Tribunes make a new demand in favour of the People; and the Senate, after some struggle, comply.* §. II. *The Consuls, by an imprudent severity in letting soldiers, give occasion to an unprecedented insult upon their dignity from the Tribunes.* §. III. *The Agrarian and Terentian Laws are proposed anew.* *Sicinius Dentatus*, an old soldier, makes a notable speech in relation to the former. *The Patricians* by violence hinder the suffrages from being collected. §. IV. *The Consuls lead an army into the field against the Æqui.* They order *Sicinius Dentatus*, at the head of 800 Veterans, upon a desperate enterprise. He remonstrates against it, but obeys, and succeeds so well, as to occasion the total defeat of the enemy by the Consuls. At his return to Rome he prevails with the People to refuse them a triumph; and they are condemned the next year in a fine for misconduct.

Year of §. I. **I**N the Consulship of *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius*, the Tribunes demanded that mount *Aventine* should be granted to the People, or at least those parts of it which were not occupied by lawful purchasers. *L. Icilius*, the head of the college, set forth, that the land of that hill belonged to the Republick; that some *Patricians* had indeed purchased certain parcels of it, but others had got possession of what they enjoyed by mere usurpation, and that the remaining part of it was uncultivated and uninhabited. He proposed therefore, that those *Patricians*, who could shew good claims to what they possessed, should be confirmed in their possessions; but that those, who had built houses upon the hill, without lawful title to the ground, should be outed; previously reimbursed however what they had expended in building those houses; and, lastly, that all the land uncultivated, or unoccupied by rightful owners, should be given *gratis* to the Commons, who growing daily more numerous began to want habitations.

There could be no plausible objection to this proposal, and it was a matter of small importance to the Nobles; yet the Consuls, apprehending, perhaps, that, from such a partition of mount *Aventine*, the *Plebeians* might take occasion to renew their old pretensions upon the conquered lands, deferred convening the *Fathers*, whom the Tribunes had desired to consider of the matter, and then refer it to the People. *Icilius* impatient

patient of this delay, sent a command to the Consuls by an apparitor, Year of
to assemble the Senate forthwith. The apparitor met with a rough re- R O M E
ception. A Licitor by the Consuls orders gave him some blows, and CCXCVII.
drove him away ignominiously. A mighty uproar ensued. *Icilius* Bef. J. C.
caused the Licitor to be seized, and was for having him thrown head- Four hun-
long from the *Tarpeian* rock. The Consuls, not daring to employ vio- dred fifty-
lence to rescue him out of the hands of the sacrosanct Tribunes, endea- five.
voured to gain over some one of them, who might put a stop to the Fifty-
fury of his colleague: But *Icilius* had before taken measures to defeat fourth
that artifice. He had so warmly represented to his Brethren, that the Consul-
strength of their College lay wholly in their union, that they had agreed, ship.
no one among them should oppose what was determined by plurality of
voices. Thus the poor Licitor saw himself just upon the point of losing
his life, for having obeyed the orders of the Consuls too punctually.
To save him, *the Conscrip Fathers* had recourse to intreaties; and they
seem to have been constrained to a composition with the Tribunes: These
released the Licitor, and the Senate, by a Decree, yielded mount *Aven-*
tine to the people; a concession of small importance, as was before ob-
served; yet the measures, used to obtain it, made a very great breach in
the consular authority: for the Tribunes kept themselves ever after in
possession of the new prerogative, assumed by *Icilius* and his Colleagues,
of convening the Senate.

§. II. THE next year *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius* were Consuls. Year of
These Magistrates, apprehending that the present quiet in the City would R O M E
soon be disturbed, unless the Republick had a war abroad, resolved to CCXCVIII.
lead out an army against the *Æqui*. * But this their policy they them- Bef. J. C.
selves defeated, by the unseasonable rigour with which they proceeded in Four
the inrollments. They admitted of no excuses, how allowable soever, hundred
and condemned to heavy fines and imprisonment all those who refused fifty-
to enlist themselves for the war. *Icilius* and his Colleagues (who had been four.
continued in the Tribuneship at the new elections) did not fail to take Fifty-
the part of the complainants, and, when they found that words were in- fifth Con-
effectual, endeavoured by force to rescue the prisoners out of the hands sulship.
of the Licitors; they even went so far in their fury as to bid the *Ædiles* D. Hal. B.
lay hold on the Consuls, and lead them to prison. The *Patricians* all 10. p. 660.
united as one man to defend the supreme Magistrates; blows ensued;
and, for this time, the Consuls got the better in the scuffle; the Tribunes
were routed, and roughly treated. But the triumph of the Nobles was
of short duration. The next day, and the following, great numbers of
Plebeians flocked from the Country to the City; and the Tribunes then,
finding themselves in a condition to deal with their adversaries, held fre-
quent councils, to which they complained most heavily of the insults they

* According to *Livy*, B. 2. c. 31. it was
to succour those affectionate friends of *Rome*,
the *Tusculans* (whose territory the *Æqui* had
invaded) that the Consuls began to raise an
VOL. I.

army. And this accounts for the Tribunes
not opposing the *Levies*, but only the un-
reasonable severity of the Consuls in mak-
ing them.
T t had

Year of had suffered; protesting at the same time, that they would lay down their
 R O M E office, if they could not be supported in the exercise of it. And now,
 ccxcviii. encouraged by the Commons, who with great warmth entered into their
 Bef. J. C. Magistrates resentments, they made no scruple to send a summons to the
 Four hun- Consuls to appear before an *Assembly of the People*, and answer for their
 dred fifty- conduct; the first instance of citing the superior Magistrates to trial,
 four. during their Magistracy.

Fifty fifth The Consuls refusing to listen to the summons, away went the Tri-
 Consul- bunes to the Senate, then sitting in debate on these matters, and having
 slip. first in a plaintive tone set forth "the violence which had been done
 "to their sacred persons, by the Consuls or their adherents," demanded
 preremptorily, "that those Magistrates might either clear themselves by
 "oath from having had any hand in that violence, or, if they scrupled
 "to take such oath, appear in judgment before the people;" and they
 added, "that, for their parts, they would take the votes of the Tribes
 "upon the affair."

In answer to all this, the Consuls reproached the Tribunes "with hav-
 "ing been the aggressors, and with having carried their insolence to such
 "excess, as first to attempt imprisoning the sovereign Magistrates of the
 "State, and afterwards, when they failed in that, to cite them to appear
 "in judgment before an *Assembly of the People*; though by Law they
 "had no right to summon thither even the most inconsiderable of the
 "Patricians, without a previous *Senatus Consultum* for that purpose."
 D.Hal.B. And they declared, "that, if the Tribunes were so audacious as to pro-
 10.p.661. ceed towards collecting the votes of the people, they would arm the
 "whole body of the *Patricians*."

These mutual reproaches and menaces lasted the whole day; and the
 Senate, thinking it equally dangerous to declare either for the Consuls, or
 the Tribunes, came to no resolution.

§. III. THE Tribunes, finding that nothing was to be expected from
 the Fathers, called the People together, to deliberate on the proper mea-
 sures to be taken.

The most turbulent and hot-headed were for retiring in arms a second
 time to the *Mons Sacer*, and thence declaring open war against the *Patri-
 cians*, for having broken the treaty which had there been made.

Others, more in number, judged it not adviseable to leave the City, nor
 equitable to impute to the whole body of the Nobles the violences which
 some particulars had acted against the sacred persons of the Tribunes;
 provided that strict justice were done upon the guilty, who had incurred
 the penalty of death or exile, [and might be punished according to Law,
 without any previous process.]

Others, again, more moderate, declared against putting any Citizen to
 death, before trial and condemnation in legal form, and especially, when
 the question was concerning the Consuls, the supreme Magistrates of the
 Republick: but they counselled the assembly to discharge their wrath on
 those who had aided the Consuls, and to punish them according to the
 utmost rigour of the Laws.

As

As nothing could be immediately agreed upon, a little time diminished the fury of the Tribunes, and at length the conclusion was, that the third market-day they would hold an assembly, to condemn the Consuls in a pecuniary fine. However, before the 27 days were quite expired, they changed their mind; and, having assembled the People, declared, that at the intreaty of several worthy men, to whom it was not easy to refuse any thing, they were willing to forgive the personal injuries they themselves had suffered, but could never pardon those which had been done to the People, and would therefore instantly renew the prosecution of those two important affairs, the *Agrarian* and *Terentian* Laws, the publication of which had been so long postponed by the artifices of the *Patricians*. This said, they fixed a day for a new Assembly to deliberate and decide upon those matters.

Year of
R O M E
ccxcviii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred fifty-four.

Fifty-fifth
Consulship.

The People being met at the time appointed, *Icilius* began with proposing the *Agrarian* Law; and, when he had himself made a long harangue on the reasonableness of it, notified, that any *Plebeian* present might speak his mind freely. Upon this several stood forth successively, pleaded the right their services gave them to a share of the conquered lands, and were all heard with pleasure. But nothing so much quickened the zeal of the Assembly in behalf of the Law, as the discourse of * *Sicinius Dentatus*, a *Plebeian*, who had served long, and distinguished himself by his exploits in the Wars. He was a man of noble aspect, and, though now 58 years of age, in his full strength of body as well as mind. With a soldierly eloquence he spoke to this effect: "It is now forty years
" that I have borne arms, and for the thirty last I have been always in
" some command or other. I have been in an hundred and twenty
" engagements. I have received forty-five wounds, and all before,
" twelve of them in that single action against *Herdennius*, the *Sabine*.
" Fourteen * civick crowns I obtained for having saved the lives of so
" many

D. Hal. B.
10. p. 662.

* Siccus
according to
Livy.

p. 663. &
seq.

* Of the military rewards in use among the *Romans*, Mr. Kennet [Part 2. Book 4. Chap. 16.] speaks thus:

The encouragements of valour and industry were much more considerable than the proceedings against the contrary vices. The most considerable (not to speak of the promotion from one station to another, nor of the occasional *donatives* in money, distinguished by this name from the largesses bestowed on the common people, and termed *Congiararia*) were first the *dona imperatoria*, such as

The *hasta pura*, a fine spear of wood without any iron on it; such a one as *Virgil* has given *Sylvius* in the sixth of the *Æneids*:

Ille, vides? purâ juvenis qui nititur hastâ.

This present was usually bestowed on him,

who in some little skirmish had killed an enemy, engaging him hand to hand. They were reckoned very honourable gifts, and the Gods are commonly represented with such spears, on the old coins. Mr. *Walker* derives hence the custom of our great Officers carrying white rods or staves, as ensigns of their places.

The *armillæ*, a sort of bracelets, given upon account of some eminent service, only to such as were born *Romans*.

The *torques*, golden and silver collars, wreathed with curious art and beauty. *Pliny* attributes the golden collars to the auxiliaries, and the silver to the *Roman* soldiers; but this is supposed to be a mistake.

The *phalæxæ*, commonly thought to be a suit of rich trappings for a horse; but because we find them bestowed on the foot, as well as the cavalry, we may rather suppose them

Year of " many citizens in battle; three mural crowns for having been the first
 ROME " that mounted the breach in towns taken by assault; one obsidional
 ccxcviii. " crown; eight other crowns for different exploits; eighty-three golden
 Bef. J. C. " collars, sixty golden bracelets, eighteen lances (*hasta pura*) twenty-
 Fourhun- " dred fif-
 ty-four.

them to have been golden chains, of like nature with the *torques*, only that they seem to have hung down to the breast; whereas the others only went round the neck. The hopes of these two last are particularly urged, among the advantages of a military life by *Juvenal*, *Sat.* xvi. 60.

Ut lati phaleris omnes, & torquibus omnes.

The *venilla*, a sort of banners of different colours, worked in silk or other curious materials, such as *Augustus* bestowed on *Agrippa*, after he had won the sea-fight at *Actium*.

Next to these were the several coronets received on various occasions. As,

Corona civica, given to any soldier who had saved the life of a *Roman* citizen in an engagement. This was reckoned more honourable than any other crown, tho' composed of no better materials than oaken boughs. *Virgil* calls it *civilis quercus*, *Æn.* vi. 772.

Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.

Plutarch has guessed very happily at the reason why the branches of this tree should be made use of before all others. For, the oaken wreath, says he, being otherwise sacred to *Jupiter*, the great guardian of their city, they might therefore think it the most proper ornament for him who had preserved a citizen. Besides, the oak may very well claim the preference in this case, because, in the primitive times, that tree alone was thought almost sufficient for the preserving of man's life: Its acorns were the principal diet of the old mortals, and the honey which was commonly found there, presented them with a very pleasant * liquor.

It was a particular honour conferred on the persons who had merited this crown, that, when they came to any of the publick shows, the whole company, as well Senate as People, should signify their respect, by rising up when they saw them enter; and that they should take their seat on these occasions among the Senators; being also excused from all troublesome duties and ser-

vices in their own persons, and procuring the same immunity for their father and grandfather by his † side.

Corona muralis, given to him who first scaled the walls of a city in a general assault; and therefore in the shape of it there was some allusion made to the figure of a wall.

Corona castrensis, or *vallaris*, the reward of him who had first forced the enemies into trenchments.

Corona navalis, bestowed on such as had signalled their valour in an engagement at sea; being set round with figures like the beaks of ships.

— *Cui belli insigne superbum
 Tempora navali fulgent rostrata Coronâ.*
Virg. Æn. viii. 684.

Lipfius fancies the *corona navalis*, and the *rostrata*, to have been two distinct species, though they are generally believed to be the same kind of crown.

Corona obsidionalis: This was not, like the rest, given by the General to the soldiers, but presented by the common consent of the soldiers to the General, when he had delivered the *Romans* or their allies from a siege. It was composed of the grass growing in the besieged places.

Corona triumphalis, made with wreaths of lawrel, and proper only to such Generals as had the honour of a triumph. In after-ages this was changed for ‡ gold, and not only retrained to those that actually triumphed, but presented on several other accounts, as commonly by the foreign states and provinces to their patrons and benefactors. Several of the other crowns too are thought to have been of gold, as the *castrensis*, the *mural*, and the *naval*.

Besides these, we meet with the *coronæ aureæ*, often bestowed on soldiers without any other additional term. And *Dion Cassius* mentions a particular sort of coronet made of olive boughs, and bestowed, like the rest, in consideration of some signal act of valour. *Lipfius* believes these to have succeeded in the room of the golden crowns, after they were laid aside.

* Vide *Plutarch*, in *Coriolano*. † Vide *Plin.* lib. 16. cap. 4. ‡ *Aurum Coronarium*.

" five

“ five sets of furniture for horses, nine of which I won from so many
 “ enemies conquered in single combat.—And now, *Romans*, you know
 “ my services, and you have heard what have been the rewards of them,
 “ rewards that sufficiently prove my courage, but make little addition
 “ to my fortune. No land, no share in conquered countries. Nei-
 “ ther *Sicinius*, nor any of you *Plebeians*, the companions of my la-
 “ bours and my glory, are to reap the least benefit from those acqui-
 “ sitions. The *Patricians*, it seems, by their noble birth, have an inherent
 “ right to all the publick demesnes. No matter whether they have
 “ any merit or not. But is this to be endured? Shall they alone enjoy
 “ the fruits of our conquests? The purchase of our blood? No, *Plebeians*,
 “ let us delay no longer to do ourselves justice. Without so much as hear-
 “ ing what the usurpers have to say against it, let us this very day pass
 “ the Law proposed by *Idilius*. If the young *Patricians* have the Boldness
 “ to oppose by violence the collecting of the votes, let our Tribunes make
 “ them feel what is the extent of their authority.”

Year of
R O M E
ccxcviii.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred fif-
ty-four.
Fifty-
fifth
Consul-
ship.

Sicinius having thus closed, *Idilius* highly commended both the speak-
 er and his speech, yet added, that in one thing he must differ from him;
 for that the People could neither in justice nor in prudence refuse to hear
 what the *Patricians* had to say against the Law; and so he adjourned the
 Assembly to the day following.

§. IV. THE Consuls during great part of the night held conference
 with the chief men of the Senate, on measures to frustrate the designs of
 the Tribune. No expedient offered itself, but the old method; which was
 forcibly to hinder the People from proceeding to vote.

D. Hal. B.
10. p. 666.

The next morning, the Assembly being formed, the Tribunes caused
 proclamation to be made, that whosoever had any solid reasons to offer
 against the Law, might, if they pleased, lay them before the People.
 Divers Senators presented themselves one after another; but, the moment
 they began to speak, such a noise arose from all parts of the *Comitium*,
 some applauding, others hooting, as made it impossible to hear what was
 said. The Consuls, full of indignation, protested warmly against all that
 should be done in so tumultuous an Assembly: To which the Tribunes
 answered, that it was no wonder the People should be tired with hearing the
 same trite and frivolous objections so often repeated. When a great part
 of the day had been spent in such altercations, the Multitude, quite weary
 of them, called out, *To the Vote*. In that instant the *Patricians*, who, in
 small companies, had posted themselves in almost all parts of the *Comi-
 tium*, fell all at once upon the *Plebeians*, and by blows and main force
 hindered them, from gathering into their respective tribes. The Tribunes
 exclaim, break through the press, hasten to assist the *Plebeians*, and rectify
 the disorder. Vain are their efforts; their own sacred persons are suf-
 fered safely to pass whithersoever they please; but, their followers being
 stopped by the *Patricians*, they can do nothing, their measures are discon-
 certed, they are forced to retire.

They

Year of
R O M E
643.
Bel. J. C.
Four hun-
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ty-four.

fifth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 667.

They convened the people again the next day, and made their complaints. Most of the young *Patricians* had been concerned in raising the tumult; but, as it was impracticable to punish all the guilty, only the youth of the *Postumian*, *Sempronian*, and *Clelian* families were singled out for prosecution; and cited to appear before an *Assembly of the People*.

The best heads in the Senate having consulted together on this occasion, and knowing that the Tribunes had determined to inflict no severer punishment on the criminals than the confiscation of their effects, thought it advisable to acquiesce, not only because they could easily repair the loss to the sufferers, but because they hoped that the multitude, satisfied with this revenge, would drop the pursuit of the Law. When the day came for the trial, the persons accused, not appearing, were condemned for default; their goods were afterwards sold publicly; and the produce consecrated to *Ceres*. The Senate caused those goods to be bought up with their money by private Hands, and shortly after restored them to the former Proprietors.

p. 668. §. V. IT was not very long before the Tribunes brought on again the affair of the Law for a *Partition of the Lands*. But their proceedings were now interrupted by sudden advice, that the *Æqui* had invaded the territory of *Tusculum*, and threatened the town. The Senate without delay ordered an army to the relief of those dear Allies, the *Tusculans*; nor could the Tribunes divert the *Pebeians* from offering themselves to serve in this war. Even *Sicinius Dentatus*, that zealous advocate for the *Agrarian Law*, presented himself a volunteer with 800 veterans, who, like himself, had compleated the years of service prescribed by Law, but yet were willing to make another campaign under the particular command of *Sicinius*, to whom they had, most of them, personal obligations.

p. 669. The army marched from *Rome*, and advanced towards the * *Algidus*, the usual haunt of the *Æqui*, and whither they had retired on the news of the Consuls approach. These Generals, having found the enemy intrenched on the hill, pitched their camp not far from them, fortified it well, and kept close within it, to conceal their strength, which was very considerable. The *Æqui* took these precautions for a sign of fear, and, imagining the number of the *Romans* to be small, made several attempts to bring them to an engagement. One day when *Romilius* commanded in chief, and the *Æqui* descending from their hill offered him battle, he resolved to accept the challenge. With this view he sent for *Sicinius Dentatus*, and said to him, “My Colleague and I intend to march against the enemy in the plain, and in the mean time I would have you, with the cohort under your command, ascend by yon narrow winding way to the top of the hill, and attack their intrenchments. They have undoubtedly left but a weak garrison there, and your brave

* According to *Dionysius* the scene of action was near the city of *Antium*. But there is probably an error in the Copy; it should be the city of *Algidum*, which stood upon

mount *Algidus*. *Livy* says, the *Æqui* were posted on the *Algidus*; and this was in the neighbourhood of the *Tusculans*.

“ veterans

“ veterans will easily make themselves masters of the camp. If the
 “ *Æqui* here below, to preserve it, quit the plain, we shall then fall upon
 “ their rear, and their destruction will be inevitable.” *Sicinius* answered,
 “ I am always ready to obey orders. But give me leave to say, that the
 “ execution of what you now command is not so easy as you seem to
 “ imagine it. The hill is very high and steep, and I see but one way up
 “ to it. We shall no sooner be engaged in that narrow pass, but the
 “ enemy will infallibly pour down upon us; and how shall I be able,
 “ with my body of veterans alone, to sustain their charge from the
 “ higher ground? You are willing to suppose that the guard of the camp
 “ is weak. There is no probability of this; and, even granting it certain,
 “ their very situation alone gives them such an advantage over us, that we
 “ shall never be able to force them.”

Year of
R O M E
ccxcviii.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
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Fifty-
fifth
Consul-
ship.

Sicinius was going on with his remonstrance, when the Consul in great
 anger cut him short; bidding him not pretend to act the General, but
 remember his only business was to obey. He added, “ but, if you think
 “ there is too much danger in the enterprise, I shall employ some other
 “ Officer, who, less conceited of his own abilities, may succeed better.
 “ And you, mighty Captain, you that have followed the wars forty years,
 “ that have been in an hundred and twenty battles, and whose whole
 “ body is covered over with wounds, do you return to *Rome* without
 “ having dared to face the enemy, and carry back to the *Forum* that elo-
 “ quent tongue, which is more formidable to your fellow-citizens than
 “ your sword is to the *Æqui*, and the enemies of your country.”

D. Hal. B.
10. p. 670.

Sicinius, irritated by the General's reproaches, answered him boldly,
 that he found he was resolved either to destroy an old soldier, or to shame
 him, and for no other reason but his honest zeal for the publick liberty;
 but that one was much easier to do than the other; that he would march
 up to the enemy's camp, and win it, or fall in the attempt with all his
 cohort. These veterans then took their leave of the rest of the soldiers,
 who looked after them, with weeping eyes, as after men sent to the
 slaughter. Happily for them they were under the conduct of an old
 Officer who understood his trade. *Sicinius* went round about a tedious
 way, and at length entered a great wood, that seemed to stretch along
 the hills quite to the enemy's camp. Here having halted a moment,
 “ Cheer up, my lads; either I am much mistaken, or I shall find
 “ some path that will lead us more safely to the enemy's camp, than
 “ that which our General pointed out, and by which we could not
 “ have approached it without being seen.” He then continued his
 march, and soon after met with a peasant, who, serving him for a guide,
 conducted him at length to an eminence, that overlooked the camp, and
 was not far from it.

During this march the two armies came to an engagement in the
 plain. They fought a great while with equal courage, and victory did
 not declare for either side. The soldiers in the camp of the *Æqui*, not
 apprehending any danger from behind, were all got to the side next the
 plain.

P. 671-

Year of
R O M E
ccxcviii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fif-
ty-four.
Fifty-
fifth
Consul-
ship.

plain to see the fight. In this juncture *Sicinius* arrived on the other side, and finding it without Centinels, and quite defenceless, entered the camp at once. Then the veterans giving a loud shout fell upon the *Æqui*, whose eyes were turned another way. The sudden fright which seized the latter made them imagine their enemies to be much more numerous than they were; so that, without staying to gather up their arms, all that could fled out of the camp, and ran precipitately down to the main body of their army, carrying fear and confusion along with them. *Sicinius* followed them close, and came thundering upon the rear of that main body, engaged in battle with the *Roman* army. The *Æqui*, broken and put to flight, lost 7000 men, the Consuls not giving over the pursuit 'till night.

As soon as it was dark, and the action quite over, *Sicinius* retired with his veterans to the camp he had before taken. He had not lost one man, nor of the whole number was there one who had received a wound. With mutual embraces they congratulated each other on their good fortune, and all joined in heaping praises on their commander. About midnight *Sicinius*, full of resentment against the Consuls, formed a resolution to hinder them, if possible, from having the honours of a triumph, at their return to *Rome*. His companions, to whom he imparted his design, having unanimously approved it, they cut the Throats of the prisoners, killed the horses, set fire to the tents, the arms, and all the baggage, (including the rich plunder which the *Æqui* had got in the territory of *Tusculum*) leaving none of those marks of victory which were required from a General when he demanded the TRIUMPH. He then marched away with extreme diligence, arrived at *Rome* with his cohort, and there gave an account to the people of what had passed, complaining of the inhumanity of the Consuls, who, he said, had maliciously exposed eight hundred veterans to death, in all likelihood, unavoidable, and claiming the whole honour of the victory to himself and his cohort. Not only the People, but the Senate entered with warmth into his resentments, and absolutely refused the Consuls a triumph at their return^a.

And

^a The reader will give what credit he pleases to this account, from *Dionysius*, of what passed in the Consulship of *Romilius* and *Veturius*. *Livy* makes no mention of the disputes about the *Agrarian Law*, or of *Sicinius*'s notable speech, or of the decree against the three *Patricians*, or of *Sicinius*'s exploit in the war against the *Æqui*. All that the *Latin Historian* says of the events of this year is to the following effect: That the ten Tribunes revived the affair of the Bill [for an establishment of Laws:] That their pursuit of it was interrupted by news from the *Tusculans*, of the *Æqui* having invaded their territory: That the *Romans* could not refuse assistance to such affectionate allies: That

the Consuls defeated the enemy in battle near the *Algidus*, slew 7000 of them, and got a great booty, which they sold, because money was wanting in the treasury: That this angered the soldiers, and furnished the Tribunes with matter for accusing the Consuls. *Liv. B. 3. c. 31.*

FATHER *Rouillé* observes, that *the learned, and Glarean in particular, have charged Livy with a faulty negligence, in passing over the dispute about the AGRARIAN Law, Sicinius's speech, and the condemnation of the three families.*

As to the *Agrarian Law*, it seems not improbable that the Tribunes at this time brought it again into agitation in order to terrify

And they had no sooner resigned the Fasces (to *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*) but they were cited to appear before an Assembly of the People on a day fixed. *Sicinius* (whom the People had raised to the Tribuneship) charged *Romilius*; one of the Ediles charged *Veturius*. The accusations^a ran upon certain insults, which, during their Consulship, they had offered to the Tribunes; and upon the affair of *Sicinius* and his veterans; and the People fined them both, *Romilius* in ten thousand *Ases*, and *Veturius* in fifteen thousand. History does not inform us of the reason of the difference which the People made in their fines: It was perhaps because *Veturius* had the greater hand in the ill treatment of *Icilius's* apparitor. What favours this conjecture is, that at the same time a Law passed with the consent of both orders in the State, That any Magistrate should have power to lay fines upon such persons as failed of due respect to his dignity: A prerogative reserved before to the Consuls only. But, to prevent any particular Magistrate from abusing and stretching his authority in this point, it was provided by the same Law, that the highest fines for such offences should never exceed the value of two oxen and thirty sheep.

Year of
R O M E.
CCXCIX.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
fifty-three.
Fifty-
sixth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 673.
Vertot.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 674.

terrify the Nobles, and thereby facilitate the passing of *Terentius's* Bill concerning Laws. And perhaps it was this alarm which occasioned the Senate's so readily consenting presently after to let *Terentius's* proposal take place as to the substance of it. For this sudden compliance is not well accounted for by the Historians. There seems to have been a compromise. Cease your pursuit of the *Partition of the Lands*, and you shall have a Body of Laws established.

But, as to *Sicinius's* Speech, the Writers who are most fond of it do themselves, by their disagreement, furnish reasons to doubt. *Dionysius*, as we have seen, gives this hero 25 sets of furniture, for so many victories in single combats. *Pliny*, B. 7. *Val. Max.* B. 3. and *Solinus* c. 6. allow him only 8. But then, to make him amends, (as Father *Rouillé* observes) *Val. Max.* gives him 180 collars instead of only 88, and *Pliny* above 160 bracelets instead of only 60.

THE REASON why *Livy* says nothing of *Sicinius's* exploit in the war, which *Veturius* and *Romilius* conducted against the *Æqui*, is evident: He did not believe one word of it. What he relates is contradictory to *Dionysius's* account. For, according to the *Latine* Historian, the Consuls sold all the plenteous spoil of the enemy, and sent the produce to the Treasury; whereas, according to the

Greek Historian, *Sicinius* burnt and destroyed every thing, to the end that the Consuls, having no marks of victory to shew, might be refused a Triumph.

If one considers the singular negligence of the Consuls after the victory, with regard to the enemy's camp, which contained such a rich booty; the monstrous breaches of discipline imputed to that old soldier *Sicinius*; the injustice which, in burning the spoil, he is guilty of towards the Consuls troops, who expected to share it among them, and with whom he was in terms of affection; and lastly the Senate's approving all this conduct, and taking part with him against the Consuls: I say, if one considers these things, it may incline one to believe, that *Dionysius* borrowed his account from some Memoirs as authentick as the History of *Guy Earl of Warwick*.

^a When *Livy* (B. 3. c. 31.) tells us, that the Consuls by selling the booty for the use of the Treasury [instead of giving it to the soldiers] furnished the Tribunes with matter for accusing them to the Plebeians, he probably means no more, but that the Tribunes took advantage of the anger which this proceeding raised in the minds of the soldiers, to forward a prosecution of the Consuls on another accusation, namely, their violences in the dispute about the Law.

C H A P. XXVI.

§. I. *The Senate and People agree to send Deputies to Athens to copy out the Laws of Solon and of the other Lawgivers of Greece, in order to form thereby a body of Roman Law.* §. II. *In the Consulate of P. Sestius and T. Menenius, the Deputies return from Greece. The People press the nomination of ten Commissioners or Decemvirs, who are to compile the new Laws. The Consuls, to avoid proceeding in this affair, have recourse to various pretences. It is carried in the Senate by a majority, to create Decemvirs; and the Tribunes, after some struggle, consent to let them be all Patricians.* §. III. *The election is made in Comitia by Centuries. The Decemvirs compose TEN TABLES OF LAWS, which are approved by the whole Roman People.*

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIX.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fifty-
three.
Fifty-
sixth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
10 p. 674.
675.

§. I. **T**HE Law before mentioned, concerning fines for disrespect to Magistrates, had (according to *Dionysius*) been proposed by the present Consuls, *Tarpeius* and *Æternius*, to make their court to the People. For these Consuls were * *terrified* by the ill treatment of their predecessors, whose cause the Senate had but weakly defended, after giving them encouragement to hope an effectual Protection. And by the same *terror* they were induced to side with the Tribunes in the project for an establishment of Laws, and move it in the Senate. The house was now divided in opinion, and, to the great surprise of every body, *Romilius*, whom the People had so lately fined, declared for granting to the People the Laws they so much desired. He assigned for the reason of his change the experienced want of resolution in the Senate, to support the Consuls in their opposition to the Tribunes. And, as to forming a body of Laws, he advised the *Fathers* to send Deputies into *Greece*, who should copy the celebrated Laws of *Solon* at *Athens*, and likewise inform themselves of the Laws and Customs of the other *Græcian* States; after whose return the Consuls and Senate should appoint Commissioners to make choice of such of the *Græcian* Laws as were most suitable to the present constitution of the *Roman* Republick.

This advice of *Romilius* both prevailed in the Senate, and pleased

* *Livy*, on the contrary, represents *Tarpeius* and *Æternius* as not intimidated in the least by the misfortune of their predecessors, but boldly saying, *The Commons and their Tribunes may fine us likewise, if they please, yet they shall not prevail to get their Bill passed*: That the Tribunes, then dropping their Bill, and assuming a milder manner than hitherto, desired of the *Fathers*, “ that they would put an end to the contention, and, if *Plebeian* Laws were disagreeable

“ to them, would at least suffer Legislators “ to be created, partly out of the Nobles, “ partly out of the Commons, for establish- “ ing Laws of equality in point of Liber- “ ty.” That the Senate expressed no dislike to the substance of the proposal, and objected only to the admission of *Plebeians* into the number of the Legislators: and that, after some struggle, the Tribunes yielded this point. *Liv. B. 3. c. 31.*

the People. *Sicinius*, his late enemy, protested, that for the future he should ever be his friend. Nay he went further, and in the name of the People remitted him the fine he had been condemned to pay. But, as the money had been consecrated to *Ceres*, *Romilius* rejected this favour, as thinking he could not accept it without sacrilege.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIX.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fif-
ty-three.

A Decree conformable to *Romilius's* proposal being passed by the Senate, and confirmed by the People, *Sp. Posthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *S. Sulpitius* were soon after commissioned and sent away to make the collection of *Grecian* Laws. No foreign enemies disturbed the State this year. Nor, in the following Consulship of *P. Horatius* and *Sextus Quintilius*, was there either war abroad, or contention at home: but the Plague afflicted almost all *Italy*. The Consul *Quintilius*, four Tribunes of the People, and great Numbers of Citizens of all ranks and conditions died of it. The People, to avoid it, dispersed themselves about the Country. *Rome* in this general desolation became a desert, and some surprise was to be feared from the *Aequi*, the *Volsci*, and the *Sabines*. But, the pestilence raging among them too with the same fury, their calamity served instead of strength and defence to the Republick.

Fifty-
sixth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 676.
Year of
R O M E
CCC.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fifty-
two.

§. II. THE next year, in the Consulship of *P. Sestius* and *T. Menenius*, the Plague ceased; and the Ambassadors who had been sent into *Greece*, returned to *Rome*. Presently the Tribunes became very urgent for a nomination of Legislators to enter on the great work. The Consuls, unwilling to have their Magistracy the Epoch of an innovation so disadvantageous to the Nobles, put off the business under various pretences. At first, they alledged in excuse of the delay, that, the affair in question being to be settled in the Consulship of their successors, nothing ought to be done in it, till those successors were appointed, nor indeed without their participation. To this the Tribunes made no objection; but it is probable, that their impatience hastened the meeting of the Centuries; for these were assembled before the usual time. They named *Appius Claudius* (grandson of the first of that name) and *T. Genucius* to the Consulship. After this election, *Menenius*, to get rid of the importunity of the Tribunes, pretended sickness, and staid at home. And, as for *Sestius*, he excused himself by saying, that it would not be decent for him to act in so great an affair, without his Colleague; and he referred them to the Consuls elect. To these the Tribunes applied themselves, and by much sollicitation and fine promises intirely gained them. *Appius*, in an Assembly of the People, to which he went at the desire of the Tribunes, made a speech upon the reasonableness of establishing Laws equally favourable to all; an establishment which, he said, would put an end to the contention between the two parties, and make *Rome*, which had been so long divided, as it were, into two States, become one Commonwealth. He added, that, if the election of himself and his Colleague to the Consulship should be offered by any person as an objection to the immediate appointment of Legislators, they were both ready (provided the Senate approved it) to relinquish their pretensions to that dignity.

Fifty-
seventh
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 667.
Year of
R O M E
CCCI.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fifty-
one.
Fifty-
eighth
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
3. c. 32.
33.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 678,
679.

Year of R O M E C C C L. B e f. J. C. F o u r h u n - d r e d f i f t y - o n e .
 Fifty- eighth Consul- ship. D. Hal B. 10. p. 679.
 When the People had first bestowed the highest praise on those two *Patricians* for this disinterested virtue, they ran in crowds to the Senate-house. *Minucius* being still sick, or pretending to be so, *Sestius* alone (whom perhaps the Tribunes had gained by a promise to make him one of the Legislators) convened the Fathers, and proposed the business. After some opposition from the warm advocates for all old customs, the opinion of the Consuls elect prevailed; and, at the motion of *Appius*, it was agreed, That ten persons to be chosen out of the body of the Senate should for one year, commencing from the day of their nomination, be invested, for the government of the State, with an authority from which there should lie no appeal; and that the *Consular*, the *Tribunician*^a, and all the other Magistracies should be suppressed during that space of time.

These Decemvirs were to draw up a Body of Laws extracted from those of Greece, and then communicate the Work to the Senate and People for their approbation and confirmation.

Livy, B. 3. c. 32. The Tribunes contended a while, for the admission of some *Plebeians* into the number of the Legislators, but at length yielded this point, on condition, that the Decemvirs should not abrogate the *Icilian Law* [relating to Mount *Aventine*] nor the Laws regarding the functions and privileges of the Tribunes.

Year of R O M E C C C I I. B e f. J. C. F o u r h u n - d r e d f i f t y .
 Fifty- ninth Consul- ship. D. Hal B. 10. p. 680. Livy B. 3. c. 33.
 §. III. SHORTLY after, a solemn Assembly was held of the whole Roman People convened by Centuries, and when the auspices had been taken, and the other ceremonies of religion performed, they proceeded to the election of the Decemvirs. *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius* were the first named; it was thought they deserved this honourable preference for the generous abdication they made of the Consulship: then *L. Sestius*, the Consul who had brought this matter before the Senate against his Collegue's will: *Sp. Posthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, the three Deputies who had been sent into Greece; *T. Romilius*, who had proposed that deputation; and to these were added *C. Julius*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all Consulars, and men of distinction, but too old, as some say, to oppose with resolution the sentiments of their Collegues. *Appius*, by the favour he had acquired with the People had the modelling of this Magistracy.

The DECENVIRS agreed among themselves that only one of them at a time should have the fasces, assemble the Senate, confirm Decrees, and act in all respects as supreme Magistrate. To this honour they were to succeed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then resigning it to another; and, while one had the badges of sovereign power, the other nine differed not, in their appearance, from private persons, excepting

^a This is the first instance of suspending the Tribuneship. The functions of the Tribunes had hitherto been always preserved, even under the Dictators, and when all other Magistracies ceased. The reason

was, that the Tribunes were not properly Magistrates, but only Protectors of the People against any oppressions by the Magistrates. *Plut. Quæst. Rom. p. 283.*

that each of them was attended by an officer called *Accensus*, who walked before him.

They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their Tribunal in the *Forum*, to dispense justice, which they did with so much impartiality, that the People, charmed with their conduct, seemed to have forgot their Tribunes. Most of them prayed to the Gods for the continuance of a Government so full of moderation; nay, there were many *Plebeians* who declared, that, instead of restoring the Consulate and Tribunate, the best thing they could do would be to find ways to make the Decemvirate perpetual.

The People looked upon themselves as chiefly indebted to *Appius* for the present felicity they enjoyed. And indeed by the good understanding he lived in with his Colleagues, and by his affable behaviour to the People, he acquired universally the reputation of superior merit. From being an austere *Patrician* who crossed the *Plebeians* in all their pretensions, he was changed to a very *Poplicola*: No-body so gracious and condescending as *Appius*: He could call the Citizens he met by their Names: He saluted even the meanest of the populace, giving them all assurances of his goodwill and concern for their interests.

The Decemvirs applied themselves diligently this whole year to their work, which, when compleated, they exposed in TEN TABLES, fixed up in the *Forum*; and then with great modesty represented to the People assembled, “ that they did not know they had omitted any thing necessary to the establishment of that equality which ought to be among the members of a free Republick. That nevertheless they would have their fellow-citizens examine the performance carefully, and declare freely what they conceived ought to be retrenched or added; to the intent that the *Roman* People might, for the future, live under Laws which they might be said to have *proposed* as well as *enacted*.” The Decemvirs for some time sat daily in the *Forum* to receive remonstrances; and whoever had any thing to object against the Laws was readily heard. And when all necessary corrections and amendments had been made, and the People in general seemed to be well satisfied, the TEN TABLES were carried before the Senate, and there approved by an express Decree: Soon after which, the Decemvirs convened an *Assembly of the Centuries*, where the LAWS, being first read over, were confirmed by the unanimous voices of the whole ROMAN PEOPLE.

* It is said [*Plin. B. 34. Cap. 5. Strabo, B. 14.*] that the Laws of *Greece* were explained to the Decemvirs by one *Hermodorus* of *Ephesus*, who happened to be at *Rome*; and that *Heraclitus* the friend of *Hermodorus* wrote him a congratulatory letter on the

share he had in drawing up the *Roman* Laws, adding, that in a dream he had seen all the nations of the earth bowing down before these Laws, and worshipping them in the *Persian* manner.

Year of
R O M E
CCCII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred fifty.
First Decemvirate.

D. Hal. B.
10. p. 681.
Liv. B. 3.
c. 34.

D. Hal. B.
10. p. 681.

C H A P. XXVII.

Fragments of the TEN TABLES of Laws beforementioned, as they have been collected and digested by the learned Jesuits *Catrou* and *Rouilli*, and also of the TWO TABLES of Laws soon after added to the TEN.

TABLE I.

Of LAW-SUITS.

- Year of
R O M E
CCCII.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred & fty.
First De-
cemvi-
- I. LAW. Go immediately with the person who cites you before the Judge.
- II. LAW. If the person you cite refuses to go with you before the Judge, take some that are present to be witnesses of it, and you shall have a right to compel him to appear.
- III. LAW. If the person cited endeavours to escape from you, or puts himself into a posture of resistance, you may seize his body.
- IV. LAW. If the person prosecuted be old, or infirm, let him be carried in a Jumentum, or open carriage. But, if he refuse that, the prosecutor shall not be obliged to provide him an Arcera, or a covered carriage.
- V. LAW. But, if the person cited find a surety, let him go.
- VI. LAW. Only a rich man shall be security for a rich man. But any security shall be sufficient for a poor man.
- VII. LAW. The Judge shall give judgment according to the agreement made between the two parties, by the way.
- VIII. LAW. If the person cited has made no agreement with his adversary, let the Prætor hear the cause from sun-rising till noon; and let both parties be present when it is heard, whether it be in the Forum, or Comitium.
- IX. LAW. Let the same Prætor give judgment in the afternoon, though but one of the parties be present.
- X. LAW. Let no judgments be given after the going down of the sun.
- XI. LAW. When the parties have pitched upon a judge or arbitrator by consent, let them give securities that they will appear. Let him who does not appear in court pay the penalty agreed upon, unless he was hindered by some great fit of sickness, or by the performance of some vow, or by business of state, or by some indispensable engagement with a foreigner. If any one of these impediments happen to the judge or arbitrator, or either of the parties, let the hearing be put off to another day.
- XII. LAW. * Whosoever shall not be able to bring any witnesses to prove his pretensions

* The plaintiff was often disappointed of his demand upon the defendant, and the prosecution declared null, for want of witnesses. In order to remove this inconvenience, the Decem-

pretensions before the Judge, may go and make a clamour for three days together, before his adversary's house.

Year of
R O M E
CCCII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred fifty.

T A B L E II.

O F R O B E R I E S.

First Decemvirate.

I. LAW. *He that is attacked by a robber in the night, let him not be punished if he kills him.*

II. LAW. *If the robbery be committed by day, and, if the robber be taken in the fact, let him be beaten with rods, and become the slave of him whom he robbed. If the robber be a slave already, let him be beaten with rods, and thrown down headlong from the top of the capitol. If he be a child, under the age of puberty, let him be corrected, according to the Prætor's discretion, and let reparation be made to the injured party.*

III. LAW. *When robbers attack any person with arms, if the person attacked has cried out for help, he shall not be punished if he kill the robbers.*

IV. LAW. *When upon a legal search any stolen goods are found in a house, the robbery shall be punished upon the spot, as if openly and publickly committed.*

V. LAW. *For robberies committed privately, the robber shall be condemned to pay double the value of the things stolen.*

VI. LAW. *Whoever shall cut down trees, which don't belong to him, he shall pay 25 Aſſes of braſs, for every tree ſo felled.*

VII. LAW. *If any one comes privately, by night, and treads down another man's field of corn, or reaps his harveſt, let him be hanged up, and put to death, as a victim devoted to Ceres. But if he be a child, under the age of puberty, let the Prætor order him to be corrected as he ſhall think fit, or let double ſatisfaction be made for the damage he has done.*

Decemviri made a Law, which gave the perſon injured leave to go to the door of his houſe whom he intended to proſecute; to repeat the ſubject of his complaint with a loud voice; and even to have recourſe to inveſtives if there was occaſion: and to continue this for three market days together, becauſe the country People came then to Rome, about their buſineſs. Hence came the cuſtom, which continues to this day, of ſending three ſummons, before judgment is given by default. If, after theſe repeated clamours the perſons cited ſtill reſuſed to make reſtitution, the plaintiff had a right to call thoſe in the neighbourhood who heard him, as witneſſes, and go in with them, even by force, into his adverſary's houſe, and there ſeize his own goods wherever he found them. The Law was thus expreſſed: CUI TESTIMONIUM DEI UERIT, IS TERTIIS DIEBUS, OBPORTUM, OBVA-

CULATUM ITO; that is to ſay, *ei qui teſtimoniis deſtituitur, liceat, tertiis mundinis, reum ante ædes, convitiis & clamoribus appetere.* According to *Feflus*, *portus* had anciently the ſame ſignification as *domus*, or *ædes*. The word *obvagulatum* is, ſays *Feflus*, put for *quaſtionem cum convitio*, i. e. a demand made with great outcries and inveſtives. In this ſenſe the *Civilians* interpret the verb *wagulo*, which they derive from the verb *wagio*.

Turneb. B. 2. *adverſ. cap.* 26. and *Salmaſus Obſerv. ad jus Attic. & Ro. cap.* 30. ſtate this Law in a different manner. Their interpretation of it is this: *If the plaintiff cannot produce his witneſſes, let him go to the houſe of him whoſe teſtimony he had a right to expect; and let him require him to bear witneſs for him with great cries, and with injurious reflections, if the witneſs obſtinately perſiſts in the reſuſing it.*

Year of ROME CCCII. *VIII. LAW. If a robber and the person robbed agree together upon terms of restitution, no farther action shall lie against the robber.*

Bef. J. C. *IX. LAW. Prescription shall never be pleaded as a right to stolen goods, nor shall a foreigner have a right to the goods of any Roman citizen, by the longest possession.*

Four hundred fifty. *X. LAW. If any one betrays his trust, with respect to what is deposited in his hands, let him pay double the value of what was so deposited, to him who intrusted him with it.*

First Decemviate.

XI. LAW. If any one finds any of his goods in another man's possession, who became possessed of them by a breach of trust, let the Prætor nominate three arbitrators to judge of it. And let the wrongful possessor pay double the value of what he has gained by detaining them.

XII. LAW. If a slave has committed a robbery, or done any damage, with the privity, and at the instigation of his master, let the master deliver up the slave to the person injured, by way of compensation.

T A B L E III.

OF LOANS, AND THE RIGHT OF CREDITORS OVER THEIR DEBTORS,

I. LAW. Let him who takes more than one per Cent. interest for money be condemned to pay four times the sum lent.

II. LAW. When any person acknowledges a debt, or is condemned to pay it, the creditor shall give his debtor thirty days for the payment of it: After which he shall cause him to be seized, and brought before a Judge.

III. LAW. If the debtor refuses to pay his debt, and can find no security, his creditor may carry him home, and either tie him by the neck, or put irons upon his feet, provided the chain does not weigh above fifteen pounds; but it may be lighter, if he pleases.

IV. LAW. If the captive debtor will live at his own expence, let him; if not, let him who keeps him in chains allow him a pound of meal a day, or more, if he pleases.

V. LAW. The creditor may keep his debtor prisoner for sixty days. If in this time the debtor does not find means to pay him, he that detains him shall bring him out before the people three market-days, and proclaim the sum, of which he has been defrauded.

VI. LAW. If the debtor be insolvent to several creditors, let his body be cut in pieces on the third market-day. It may be cut into more or fewer pieces with impunity: Or, if his creditors consent to it, let him be sold to foreigners beyond the Tiber.

T A B L E IV.

OF THE RIGHT OF FATHERS OF FAMILIES.

I. LAW. Let a father have the power of life and death over his legitimate children, and let him sell them when he pleases.

II. LAW.

II. LAW. *But, if a father has sold his son three times, let the son then be out of his father's power.*

III. LAW. *If a father has a child born, which is monstrously deformed, let him kill him immediately.*

IV. LAW. *Let not a son, whose father has so far neglected his education as not to teach him a trade, be obliged to maintain his father in want; otherwise let all sons be obliged to relieve their fathers.*

V. LAW. *Let not a bastard be obliged to work to maintain his father.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCII.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred.
fifty.
First De-
cemvi-
rate.

T A B L E. V.

OF INHERITANCES AND GUARDIANSHIPS.

I. LAW. *After the death of a father of a family, let the disposition be made of his estate, and his appointment concerning the guardianship of his children be observed.*

II. LAW. *If he dies intestate, and has no children to succeed him, let his nearest relation be his heir; if he has no near relation, let a man of his own name be his heir.*

III. LAW. *When a freed-man dies intestate, and without heirs, if his patron be alive, or has left children, let the effects of the freed-man go to the family of his Patron.*

IV. LAW. *After the death of a debtor, his debts shall be paid by his heirs, in proportion to the share they have in his inheritance. After this they may divide the rest of his effects, if they please, and the Prætor shall appoint three arbitrators to make the division.*

V. LAW. *If a father of a family dies intestate, and leaves an heir under age, let the child's nearest relation be his guardian.*

VI. LAW. *If any one becomes mad, or prodigal, and has no-body to take care of him, let a relation, or, if he has none, a man of his own name, have the care of his person and estate.*

T A B L E. VI.

OF PROPERTY AND POSSESSION.

I. LAW. *When a man conveys his estate to another, let the terms of the conveyance create the right.*

II. LAW. *If a slave, who was made free on condition of paying a certain sum, be afterwards sold, let him be set at liberty, if he pays the person who has bought him the sum agreed upon.*

III. LAW. *Let not any piece of merchandise, though sold and delivered, belong to the buyer, till he has paid for it.*

IV. LAW. *Let two years possession amount to a prescription for lands, and one for moveables.*

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R O M E
CCCCII.
Ref. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred fifty.

First De-
cemvi-
rate.

V. LAW. *In litigated cases the presumption shall always be on the side of the possessor: And, in disputes about liberty or slavery, the presumption shall always be on the side of liberty.*

T A B L E VII.

OF TRESPASSES AND DAMAGES.

I. LAW. *If a beast does any damage in a field, let the master of the beast make satisfaction, or give up his beast.*

II. LAW. *If you find a rafter or a pole which belongs to you, in another man's house or vineyard, and they are made use of, do not pull down the house, or ruin the vineyard; but make the possessor pay double the value of the thing stolen; and when the house is destroyed, or the pole taken out of the vineyard, then seize what is your own.*

III. LAW. *Whoever shall maliciously set fire to another man's house, or an heap of corn near his house, shall be imprisoned, scourged, and burnt to death. If he did it by accident, let him repair the damage: And, if he be a poor man, let him be slightly corrected.*

IV. LAW. *Whoever shall deprive another of the use of a limb shall be punished according to the law of retaliation, if the person injured does not agree to accept some other satisfaction.*

V. LAW. *If he has only dislocated a bone, let him pay three hundred pounds of brass if the sufferer be a freed-man, and a hundred and fifty if he be a slave.*

VI. LAW. *For common blows with the fist, and injurious words, the punishment shall be twenty-five Asses of brass.*

VII. LAW. *Whoever slanders another by words, or defamatory verses, and injures his reputation, shall be beaten with a club.*

VIII. LAW. *Let him who has once been a witness, and refuses to bear witness again, though a publick person, be deemed infamous, and made incapable of bearing witness any more.*

IX. LAW. *Let every false witness be thrown down headlong from the Capitol.*

X. LAW. *Whoever shall wilfully kill a freed-man, or shall make use of magical words to hurt him, or shall have prepared poison for him, or given it to him, shall be punished as an homicide.*

XI. LAW. *Let all Parricides be thrown into the river, sewed up in a leather bag, and with their heads veiled.*

XII. LAW. *The guardian who manages the affairs of his ward ill shall be reprimanded; and, if he be found to have cheated him, he shall restore double.*

XIII. LAW. *A patron who shall have defrauded his client shall be execrable.*

T A B L E

T A B L E VIII.

OF ESTATES IN THE COUNTRY.

- I. LAW. *Let the space of two feet and an half of ground be always left between one house and another.*
- II. LAW. *Societies may make what by-laws they please among themselves, provided they do not interfere with the publick laws.*
- III. LAW. *When two neighbours have any disputes about their bounds, the Prætor shall assign them three arbitrators.*
- IV. LAW. *When a tree planted in a field does injury to an adjoining field by its shade, let its branches be cut off fifteen feet high.*
- V. LAW. *If the fruit of a tree falls into a neighbouring field, the owner so the tree may go and pick it up.*
- VI. LAW. *If a man would make a drain, to carry off the rain-water from his ground to his neighbour's, let the Prætor appoint three arbitrators. to judge of the damage the water may do, and prevent it.*
- VII. LAW. *Roads shall be eight feet wide, where they run straight; and, where they turn, sixteen.*
- VIII. LAW. *If a road between two fields be bad, the traveller may drive through which field he pleases.*
- Year of
R O M E
CCCII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fifty.
First De-
cemvi-
rate.

T A B L E IX.

OF THE COMMON RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

- I. LAW. *Let not privilege be granted to any person.*
- II. LAW. *Let both debtors who are got out of slavery, and strangers who have rebelled, and returned to their duty, be restored to their ancient rights, as if they never offended.*
- III. LAW. *It shall be a capital crime for a judge or arbitrator to take money for passing judgment.*
- IV. LAW. *Let all causes, relating to the life, liberty, or rights of a Roman Citizen, be tried only in Comitia by Centuries.*
- V. LAW. *Let the People appoint Quæstors, to take cognisance of all capital cases.*
- VI. LAW. *Whoever shall hold seditious assemblies in the city by night shall be put to death.*
- VII. LAW. *Let him who shall have solicited a foreigner to declare himself against Rome, or shall have delivered up a Roman citizen to a foreigner, lose his life.*
- VIII. LAW. *Let only the last laws of the people be in force. [i. e.] let the last supersede all former ones, in the same case made and provided.*

TABLE X.

OF FUNERALS AND ALL CEREMONIES RELATING TO THE DEAD.

Year of R O M E CCCII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred fifty. First De- cemvi- rate.	I. LAW. <i>Let no dead body be interred, or burnt, within the city.</i>
	II. LAW. <i>Let all costliness and excessive wailings be banished from funerals.</i>
	III. LAW. <i>Let not the wood, with which funeral-piles are built, be cut with a saw.</i>
	IV. LAW. <i>Let the dead body be covered with no more than three habits, bordered with purple; and let no more than ten players upon the flute be employed in celebrating the obsequies.</i>
	V. LAW. <i>Let not the women tear their faces, or disfigure themselves, or make hideous outcries.</i>
	VI. LAW. <i>Let not any part of a dead body be carried away, in order to perform other obsequies for the deceased, unless he died in war, or out of his own country.</i>

VII. LAW.

= *ROGUM ASCIA NE POLITO* are the Latin words of this Law, which seems to have passed from the *Athenians* to the *Romans*. *Salon*, and after him *Phalerius*, forbade the use of joinery, and the ornaments of sculpture, in the building of sepulchres.

^b It was a Law established by *Salon*, that no more than three robes should be buried or burnt with the corpse; it being customary among the ancients to load the funeral-pile, or fill the sepulchre with rich habits, and all the valuable things the deceased had had in his life-time; agreeable to these lines of *Virgil* in his sixth *Æneid*,

—*Tum membra thoro deficta reponunt
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota
Injiciunt.*

The latter clause of this Law did not hinder the *Romans* from joining trumpets to fires in the funerals of great men.

^c The *Civilians* have given us this Law, after *Tully*, B. 2. *de Legib.* thus, *HOMINI MORTUO OSSA NE LEGITO, QUO POST FUNUS FACIAS, EXTRA QUAM SI BELLUM DOVE HOSTICO, MORTUUS ESCIT.* It often happened at *Rome*, that the friends and relations of the deceased carried off some parts of his body, during the celebration of the obsequies, in order to perform another funeral for him in private. Which multiplied expences, and renewed uselefs grief. The

Decemviri therefore forbade this custom. Nevertheless the practice of interring still continued at *Rome*, even with regard to those bodies which were burnt. The relations and friends of the deceased reserved a small part of his body, a finger for instance, or a bone, and buried it with as much ceremony, as if it had been the whole body. By this means the *Romans* intended to preserve the ancient custom of burial, without which, says *Cicero*, the place where the body had been burnt was not consecrated by religion, nor therefore could any one legally build a sepulchre there: *Nam priusquam in os injecta gleba est, locus ille, ubi crematum est corpus, nihil habet religionis. Injecta gleba, tum si ille humatus est, si sepulchrum vocatur, ac tum denique multa religiosa jura complentur.* The Law makes an exception for those who had died in war, or in a distant country, or who had been devoured by some wild beast, &c. It was lawful to make a funeral pomp for such, in honour of their bravery, and to erect one of those tombs for them, which the ancients called *Cænosa-phiea*. It was a received opinion, according to the superstition of those times, that these empty sepulchres were retreats for the wandering souls of those who had had no burial. This defect was supplied by throwing three handfuls of earth upon the tomb, and calling the deceased by his name three times. *Æneas* paid this tribute to the memory of young *Polydorus*:

Ergo

VII. LAW. *Let no slaves be embalmed after their death; let there be no drinking round a dead body; nor let any perfumed liquors be poured upon it.* Year of
R O M E
CCCII.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
fifty.

VIII. LAW. *Let no crowns, festoons, perfuming-pots, or any kind of perfume, be carried to funerals.*

IX. LAW. *If the deceased has merited a crown in the publick games, by any exploit of his own, or the expertness of his slaves, or the swiftness of his horses, let his panegyrick be made at his funeral, and let his relations have leave to put a crown upon his head, as well during the seven days he remains in the house, as when he is carried to be buried.* First De-
cemvi-
rate.

X. LAW. *Let no man have more than one funeral made for him, or than one bed put under him.*

XI. LAW. *Let no gold be used in any obsequies, unless the jaw of the deceased has been tied up with a gold thread. In that case the corpse may be interred or burnt with the gold thread.*

XII. LAW. *For the future, let no sepulchre be built, or funeral-pile raised, within sixty feet of any house, without the consent of the owner of the house.*

XIII. LAW. *Prescription shall never be pleaded against a man's right to his burial-place, or the entrance to it.*

T A B L E XI.

OF THE WORSHIP OF THE GODS, AND OF RELIGION.

I. LAW. *Let all persons come with purity and piety to the assemblies of religion, and banish all extravagance from thence. If any one does otherwise, may the Gods themselves revenge it.* The Laws
of the
11th and
12th Ta-
bles were
not drawn
up till the
next year
303, nor
passed till
305 of
Rome.

II. LAW. *Let no person have particular Gods of his own; or worship any new and foreign ones in private, unless they are authorized by public authority.*

III. LAW. *Let every one enjoy the temples consecrated by his fore-fathers, the sacred groves in his fields, and the oratories of his Lares. And let every one observe the rites used in his own family, and by his ancestors, in the worship of his domestick Gods.*

IV. LAW. *Honour the Gods of Heaven, not only those who have always been esteemed such, but those likewise whose merit has raised them thither, as Hercules, Bacchus, Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux, and Romulus.*

V. LAW. *Let those commendable qualities, by which heroes obtained Heaven, be ranked among the Gods, as Understanding, Virtue, Piety, Fidelity; and let temples be erected to them. But let no worship ever be paid to any vice.*

VI. LAW. *Let the most authorized ceremonies be observed.*

*Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, & ingens
Aggeritur tumulo tellus. Stant manibus aræ,
Animamque sepulchro
Condimus, & magna supremum voce ciemus.*
Æneid 3.

Ovid speaks of these monuments, which
looked like sepulchres:

Et sæpe in tumulis, sine corpore, nomina ligi.

VII. LAW.

Year of
R O M E
CCCII.
Bef. J C.
Four
hundred
fifty.
First De-
cemvi-
rate.

VII. LAW. Let law-suits be suspended on festivals, and let the slaves have leave to celebrate them after they have done their work. That it may be known on what days they fall, let them be set down in the calendars.

VIII. LAW. Let the Priests offer up in sacrifice to the Gods, on certain days, the fruits of the earth and berries: And on other days abundance of milk and young victims. For fear this ceremony should be omitted, the Priests shall end their year with it. Let them likewise take care to chuse for every God the victim he likes. Let there be priests appointed for some Gods, Flamines for others, and Pontifices to preside over them all.

IX. LAW. Let no woman be present at the sacrifices which are offered up in the night, except at those which are made for the people, with the usual ceremonies. Nor let any one be initiated in any mysteries brought from Greece, but those of Ceres.

X. LAW. If any one steals what belongs, or is devoted to the Gods, let him be punished as a Parricide.

XI. LAW. Leave perjury to be punished with death by the Gods, and let it be punished with perpetual disgrace by men.

XII. LAW. Let the Pontifices punish incest with death.

XIII. LAW. Let every one strictly perform his vows: But let no wicked person dare to make any offerings to the Gods.

XIV. LAW. Let no man dedicate his field to the service of the altar; and let him be discreet in his offerings of gold, silver, or ivory. Let no man dedicate a litigated estate to the Gods: If he does, he shall pay double the value of it to him whose right it shall appear to be.

XV. LAW. Let every man constantly observe his family-festivals.

XVI. LAW. Let him who has been guilty of any of those faults which make men execrable, and are not to be atoned for by expiations, be deemed impious. But let the priests expiate such as are to be expiated^a.

T A B L E XII.

OF MARRIAGES AND THE RIGHTS OF HUSBANDS.

I. LAW. When a woman shall have cohabited with a man for a whole year, without having been three nights absent from him, let her be deemed his wife^c.

II. LAW.

^a SACRUM COMMISSUM QUOD NEQUE EXPIARI POTERIT, IMPIE COMMISSUM ESTO: QUOD EXPIARI POTERIT, PUBLICI SACERDOTES EXPIANTO. That is to say, A premeditated crime could not be expiated by the blood of victims, because it implied a formal contempt of the Gods. It therefore was the guilty person's business to repair the injury he had done religion by repentance and legal satisfaction.

^c This Law is quoted by *Anlus Gellius*, B. 3. c. 2. and by *Macrobius*, *Saturnal.* B. 1. c. 3. The *Civilians* state is as follows: MULIERIS QUÆ ANNUM MATRIMONII ERGO, APUD VIRUM REMANSIT, NI TRI-NOCTIUM AB EO, USURPANDI ERGO, AB-ESCIT, USUS ESTO, i. e. Let a man be absolute master of a woman, who has cohabited with him for the space of one year, provided that, in all this time, she has not been absent from him three

II. LAW. *If a man catches his wife in adultery, or finds her drunk, he may, with the consent of her relations, punish her even with death.*

III. LAW. *When a man will put away his wife, the form of doing it shall be by taking from her the keys of the house, and giving her what she brought. This shall be the manner of a divorce.*

IV. LAW. *A child born of a widow, in the tenth month after the decease of her husband, shall be deemed legitimate.*

V. LAW. *It shall not be lawful for the Patricians to intermarry with the Plebeians¹.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCII.
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Four hun-
dred fifty.
First De-
cemvi-
rate.

three nights. She then became his wife, yet not in such a manner, as to be a sharer in the husband's goods, or to have a right to his inheritance. So that this was being in a condition much below that of a lawful wife: By which we mean one whose marriage was solemnised with the usual ceremonies.

¹ *Cicero declares it as his positive judgment and opinion, That the LAWS of the TWELVE TABLES are justly to be preferred to whole libraries of the Philosophers. Cic. de Orat. B. I.*

These Laws being established, it necessarily followed, that there should be disputations and controversies in the courts, since the interpretation was to be founded on the Authority of the learned. This interpretation they called *jus civile*, though at present we understand by that phrase the whole system of the Roman Laws.

Besides out of all these Laws the learned men of that time composed a scheme of forms and cases, by which the processes in the courts were directed. These were termed *actiones legis*.

We may add to these the Laws preferred at the publick Assemblies of the People; and the *Placita*, made without the authority of the Senate, at the *Comitia Tributa*, which were allowed to be of equal force

with other constitutions, though they were not honoured with the title of *leges*.

And then the *Senatus-consulta*, and edicts of the supreme Magistrates, particularly of the *Prætors*, made up two more sorts of Laws, the last of which they call *jus honorarium*.

And, lastly, when the Government was intrusted in the hands of a single person, whatever he ordained had the authority of a Law, with the name of *principalis constitutio*.

Most of these, daily increasing, gave so much scope to the Lawyers for the compiling of reports and other labours, that in the reign of *Justinian*, there were extant two thousand distinct volumes on this subject. The body of the Law being thus grown unwieldy, and rendered almost useless by its excessive bulk, that excellent Emperor entered on a design to bring it into just dimensions; which was happily accomplished in the constituting those four tomes of the *Civil Law*, which are now extant, and have contributed, in a great measure, to the regulating of all the States in *Christendom*: So that the old fancy of the *Romans*, about the eternity of their command, is not so ridiculous as at first sight it appears, since by their admirable sanctions they are still like to govern for ever. *Kennet's Antiq. part 2. B. 3. chap. 21.*

C H A P. XXVIII.

§. I. *The Senate and People agree to have the same sort of government continued for another year. Appius gets himself rechosen to the Decemvirate, and prevails with the People to elect nine men (of whom three are Plebeians) all devoted to his will, to be his Collegues.* §. II. *The new Decemvirs privately agree to make their authority perpetual. They draw up two new tables of laws.* §. III. *Their year being expired, they continue themselves in office by their own authority. They convene the Senate in order to obtain a levy of troops to oppose the incursions of the Æqui and Sabines. A sharp debate, in which Valerius and Horatius exert themselves in opposing the measures of the Decemvirs; who nevertheless carry their point.* §. IV. *Valerius and Horatius, to secure themselves from being insulted by the Decemvirs, keep guards about their persons. Many of the Senators and other principal citizens retire into the country. Appius confiscates their estates.* §. V. *Fabius with two other of the Decemvirs leads an army against the Sabines. Five other Decemvirs lead five legions against the Æqui. Appius and Oppius stay with a body of troops in Rome. Nothing succeeds in the two camps, the soldiers being resolved not to conquer. Sicinius Dentatus, that old soldier, who had been in 120 battles, publicly gives out at Rome, that the misfortunes of the campaign are owing to the incapacity of the Generals. Appius hereupon contrives, in concert with the Decemvirs, who command against the Sabines, to get him treacherously murdered. The discovery of this murder disposes the soldiers to a revolt.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCII.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
fifty.
First De-
cemvi-
rate.
D. Hal. B.
10 p. 681,
682.
Livy, B.
3. c. 34.
95.

§. I. **T**HOUGH the Laws contained in the TEN TABLES had been approved in all their parts, both by the Nobles and the Plebeians; yet many persons were of opinion, that several regulations, which would fill two other Tables, ought to be added to the former, in order to make a complete body of Roman Laws. This notion prevailing, it occasioned a proposal of continuing the Decemviral government for one year more: The Senate and the People with equal readiness, though for different reasons, consented to the motion. The people were extremely desirous to keep back the restoration of the Consular authority, and at present they found but little want of the protection of their Tribunes, because the Decemvirs admitted, in some sort, of appeals, allowing causes which had been determined by one of them to be reheard by another. And, as for the Senators, they were glad at any rate to be rid of the Tribunes, those Plebeian Magistrates so odious to them, and whose functions they now conceived hopes of intirely abolishing. Before the holding of the Comitia for electing new Decemvirs, the Senate fell into divisions about that dignity. Some aspired to it out of ambition; others, who had been the warmest opposers of its establishment, courted the office now; but it was only in order to exclude those whose behaviour gave cause to suspect them of some ill designs.

Appius

Appius at first pretended to be weary of a charge so difficult and laborious, and to be very averse to burthen himself with it a second time. But his well known and avowed intimacy with the *Dulii* and *Icili*, the leading men among the People; the pains he took to make himself agreeable to the *Plebeians*; his affability and moderation, so contrary to the pride of the *Claudian* family; all this gave great uneasiness to his competitors, and rendered him suspicious to his Collegues. These latter, to make sure of his exclusion, appointed him to preside at the new election; and as it was the custom at every election for the president to give out the names of those who stood for the office in question, they imagined, that *Appius*, after the declarations he had made, could not have the assurance to put his own name in the list of candidates: Besides, excepting an instance or two of some shameless Tribunes of the People, it was a thing unheard of, that he who presided at an election of Magistrates should offer himself for one. *Appius* nevertheless, contrary to all rules of decency, proposed himself for first Decemvir; and the People, who were now intirely devoted to him, readily gave him their suffrages. The other persons chosen to the Government were such as *Appius* had favoured and recommended. The first of the number was *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been three times Consul, a *Patrician* indeed of manners hitherto unblameable. After him were named *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, Senators very little esteemed in their own body, but all devoted to the service of *Appius*, who by his private brigues carried the Decemviral dignity in their favour from the *Quinctii*, and even from his own uncle *Claudius*, as likewise from his Collegues in the first Decemvirate. But what most surprised and alarmed the Senate, was, that *Appius*, forgetting his own glory and that of his ancestors, was not ashamed, out of complaisance to the late Tribunes, to whom he had sold his faith, to propose three *Plebeians* for Decemvirs, pretending it was but just, that there should be some persons in that College to take care of the interests of the People. Thus he brought in *Q. Petilius*, *Cæso Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*, all three *Plebeians*, excluded by their birth from those prime Magistracies.

§. II. AND now *Appius* seeing himself, by means of his dissimulation and cabals, once more at the head of the Decemvirate, turned his thoughts wholly to make his domination perpetual. He immediately assembled his new Collegues, who were all obliged to him for their dignities, and, throwing off the mask of a Republican represented to them, that, being intrusted with a commission wherein the Consular authority and that of the Tribunes were united, nothing was more easy than to retain this sovereign power during their whole lives; that the sure means thereto was to assume to themselves the cognizance of all affairs, not suffering them to be carried before either the Senate or the People; to convene those two bodies as seldom as possible; and above all to keep firmly united among themselves: That they ought to have a mutual complaisance for each other; that the whole College ought to interest itself warmly for the particular affairs of each Decemvir; and he added, that he thought they should all bind

Year of themselves by the most solemn oaths, never to interrupt one another in the execution of their particular designs. As this proposal of *Appius* agreeably flattered the ambition of his Collegues, they readily came into it, and took the oaths that he required. A new conspiracy against the publick liberty.

These Magistrates entered into possession of their dignity on the *Ides of May*; and to strike immediate terror and respect into the People, they appeared in publick each with twelve Lictors bearing axes among their fasces like those that used anciently to go before the Kings of *Rome*, and afterwards before the Dictator; so that the *Forum* was filled with an hundred and twenty Lictors. The People could not see this train and parade of tyranny without indignation. The comparison they made between the moderation of the Consuls, and the haughty behaviour of the *Decemvirs*, soon led them to regret their old Government. They complained in private, that now ten Kings were set up over them instead of two Consuls. But these reflections came too late, and it was not in their power to undo their own work. The *Decemvirs* began to reign imperiously, and with a despotick authority. Beside their Lictors, they had each of them, by way of guard, a band of fellows without house or home, most of them infamous for crimes, or loaded with debts. But, what was still more deplorable, there followed in the train of these new Magistrates a crowd of young *Patricians*, who preferring licentiousness to liberty, made their court in the most abject manner to the dispensers of favours; and, to provide for their own pleasures, did not blush to be Ministers to those of the *Decemvirs*. There was no longer any safe asylum for beauty and virtue. Those unbridled youths, under shelter of the sovereign power, tore the daughter out of the bosom of her mother with impunity. Nor was property in lands or goods any more secure from the invasions of those creatures and supporters of tyranny; upon the most frivolous pretensions they took possession of their neighbours estates that lay convenient for them. In vain was application made to the *Decemvirs* for redress, the complainants were treated with contempt, their complaints rejected, and favour and self-interest sat in the place of law and justice. If any citizen, warmed with a remaining spark of the ancient liberty, was so bold as to express his resentment, he was beaten with iron rods like a slave; others were banished; some were even put to death; and confiscation always followed the execution.

The people groaning under so cruel a tyranny, turned their eyes to the Senate, from whence they hoped for liberty. But most of the Senators, dreading the fury of the *Decemvirs*, were retired into the country. Those who staid in the city were not displeased to find that the severity of the present government made that of the Consuls regretted; and they flattered themselves the People would gladly give up their Tribunes, if they could but be delivered from the domination of the *Decemvirs*.

C. Claudius, a Consular person, and *Appius's* uncle, deeply concerned to see his nephew make himself the tyrant of his country, went several times to his house, with an intention to reprove him, and to put him in mind how

how much he shamed the memory of his ancestors by so odious a conduct: But *Appius* guessing at the design of these visits, constantly eluded them, and the veneral old man found by experience, that tyrants never own either relations or friends.

In the mean time the Decemvirs drew up two tables of Laws to be added to the ten that had been promulgated the year before. Among those additional Laws there was one prohibiting alliances between *Patricians* and *Plebeians* by inter-marriage; a prohibition which *Dionysius* conjectures to have been made with a view to perpetuate the divisions between the two orders in the Republick; the Decemvirs being apprehensive, that if the Nobility and Commonalty should ever unite, they would turn against them all that animosity which they had used to express against each other.

§. III. THE body of *Roman* Law being now completed, and the sole end for which the Decemvirate had been instituted being thereby accomplished, it was reasonably hoped, that the tyranny which the publick groaned under would shortly cease, and the Decemvirs, as soon as their year was expired, be succeeded by Consuls. But the *Ides* of *May* came, and not the least appearance of any *Comitia* for an election of new Magistrates. The Tyrants then shewed themselves bare-faced, and in spite both of Senate and People retained the Government, without any other title but possession and violence. All who gave them the least umbrage were proscribed; and many citizens voluntarily banished themselves from their country, taking refuge among the *Latines* and the *Hernici*.

Every body secretly deplored the loss of liberty, but not one citizen in the whole Republick was so generous as to attempt to break her chains. The *Roman* People seemed to have lost that courage which had formerly made them so much feared and respected by their neighbours. The nations that had submitted to the dominion of the *Romans*, began now to despise them, and they disdained to be subject to a city which had lost her own liberty. The *Sabines*, after several incursions in flying parties upon the territories of the Republick, gathered their forces together into one body, and advancing along the *Tiber* incamped near *Eretrum*, about twelve miles from *Rome*; and the *Aequi*, having first ravaged the lands of *Tusculum*, came and pitched their camp near the *Algidus*. These two armies, which seemed to threaten *Rome* with a siege, much alarmed the Decemvirs. It was absolutely necessary to raise troops; but in what method to proceed in the enrollments, whether in a way of gentleness or severity; and whether they should enlist all indiscriminately or only those who were least disaffected to the Government; these were difficulties which at first perplexed them. Nor were they less unresolved, whether to apply to the Senate, or to the People, for a decree to levy an army in legal form, or whether they should act in this affair by their own sole authority. At length, after many councils held among themselves on this matter, they determined to convene the Senate, believing it easier to engage this body than the other to favour their pretensions; and not doubting but the

Year of
R O M E
ccciii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
forty-nine.

Second
Decem-
virate.
Livy, B.
3. c. 37.
D. Hal. B.
10. p. 684.

Livy, B.
3. c. 38.

Year of
R O M E
ccciv.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
forty-
eight.

Third
Decem-
virate.

D. Hal. B.
11. p.
687.

Year of People, having lost with their Tribunes the privilege of *opposition*, would
 R O M E readily obey a decree of the Magistrates, when it had the sanction of the
 ccciv. Senate's authority.
 Bef. J. C.

Four hundred for-ty-eight. It was a great surprize to the People to hear proclamation made in the
Forum for the Senators to meet. *Thanks to our enemies*, said they, *for this*
single spark of our ancient liberty. But, when the Decemvirs repaired to the

Third—Senate-house, they found no-body there except their own creatures, who
 Decem- came prepared to act the parts which had been assigned them.
 virate.

Livy, B. The other Senators had thrown up all care of the publick affairs; and
 3. c. 38. were retired, as was said before, to their country-houses. The Decemvirs
 sent messengers thither to them, appointing another Assembly for next
 day. Most of them returned to *Rome*, and came to the Senate-house;
 but with views widely different from those of the usurpers.

a. 39. & Appius, in a studied discourse, having laid open the necessity of taking
 seq. arms, to repel the incursions of the *Æqui* and the *Sabines*, *L. Valerius Poti-*
 D. Hal. B. tus, without waiting till it came to his turn to give his opinion, presently
 11. p. 688. stood up. He was the son of that *Valerius* who was slain at the head of
 the *Romans* fighting against *Herdonius*, and grandson of the famous *Val-*
erius, surnamed *Publicola*, one of the chief founders of the publick liberty.
Appius fearing that a man of that family and of the same character with his
 ancestors, would propose something contrary to the interest of the Decem-
 virs, sternly commanded him to sit down and hold his peace, telling him,
 that he ought to wait till Senators older than himself, and more consider-
 able in the Republick, had declared their opinions first. “ You say very
 “ well (replied *Valerius*) had I been going to speak upon the business
 “ which you have proposed; but I have matters of much greater moment
 “ to lay before this Assembly, and what the Senate, if I mistake not, will
 “ think to be much more worthy of its immediate attention. Whence is
 “ it that you have the presumption to impose silence upon me, a Senator,
 “ a *Valerius*, standing up for the liberty of the Commonwealth? And yet
 “ if you persist in this your insolence, your accustomed insolence, to what
 “ *Tribunes* shall I have recourse? You have deprived us of that succour
 “ which the laws had provided for every citizen under oppression. But is
 “ it indeed come to this? And does *Valerius*, to preserve his rights, want
 “ the aid of the *Tribunition* power? Well then, since you and your Col-
 “ leagues have usurped that power, together with the sovereignty, shall I
 “ appeal to you Decemvirs? Shall I implore the assistance of you *all*? To
 “ what purpose, when my design is to lay open that conspiracy which you
 “ have *all* formed against the publick liberty? Yet to you, *Quintus Fa-*
 “ *bius*, who have been honoured with three Consulates, to you alone I
 “ will appeal. Rise, *Fabius*, if you have not lost that spirit which was
 “ once your glory, rise and succour the oppressed! ’Tis on you that
 “ the Senate turns its eyes.”

p. 689. *Fabius*, confounded and overwhelmed with shame, had not power to an-
 swer. But *Appius* and the rest of the Decemvirs, starting up in anger from
 their seats, cried out once more to *Valerius*, commanding him silence, and
 adding

adding threats to their injunctions: So extraordinary a proceeding raised a tumult in the Assembly. Many of the Senators were filled with indignation at the haughty manner of the Decemvirs; but no-body was so highly provoked at it as *M. Horatius Barbatus*. He was grandson of that *Horatius* who had been Consul with *Poplicola*. As he had inherited his grandfather's ardent zeal for liberty, and was an intimate friend of *Valerius*, he could no longer bear the insolence of *Appius* and his Collegues. He stood up and loudly called them the *Tarquins* and tyrants of their country:

" You talk to us of a war begun against us by the *Sabines*, as if the Roman People had greater enemies than yourselves. I would gladly know by what authority you convened this Assembly, and by what right you take upon you to preside in it. Is not the time of your Magistracy expired? Do you not know that the Decemviral power was given you but for one year? We chose you to establish such laws as were fit for a free State to submit to, and you have left no appearance of that equality which was the sole object the *Romans* had in view. You have suppressed the Assemblies both of the People and of the Senate. There is no longer any mention made of elections, either of Consuls, or of Tribunes: All the annual Magistracies are abolished. It is not the name of *King* that makes a tyrant. You *Decemvirs* have totally subverted our Government, to build upon its ruins your own empire and domination. But know, that the blood of *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who formerly drove the *Tarquins* out of *Rome*, yet runs in the veins of their descendants. We have the same courage and the same zeal for the liberty of our country. The Gods, Protectors of this city, will grant us the same success; and I hope the People, no less jealous of their freedom than their ancestors, will never desert us in so just a cause."

Horatius was going on with his discourse, when the Decemvirs with loud clamours all came and surrounded him, threatening to have him thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock if he did not instantly hold his peace. But when they perceived that the Senate in general expressed an uncommon resentment at this tyrannical invasion of the liberty of speech, they presently repented of their rashness. *Appius*, to soothe the minds of the Senators, having first requested and obtained a moment's silence, assured them, that the Decemvirs were far from having the least thought of hindering any one of the *Conscript Fathers* from freely delivering his opinion: That if he had imposed silence upon *Valerius*, it was only to oblige him to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that every man should speak in his turn, unless he was particularly applied to by him who presided in the Senate: That, whatever *Horatius* might imagine to the contrary, the right of the Decemvirs to exercise this authority did still subsist: That their Commission had not been limited by the People to one year, or to any fixed period of time, but was to last till the Tables of Laws were completed and passed in due form; after which they would lay down their Magistracy, and give an account of their administration. Then turning to his uncle *C. Claudius*, he desired him to speak his mind with freedom. He perhaps flattered himself, that *Claudius*, out of affection for a near relation,

Year of ROME CCCIV. Def. J. C. Four hundred forty-eight

lation, or moved by a zeal for the glory and interest of his family, or pleased with the honour of being the first whose opinion was asked, would take upon him to answer the severest parts of *Horatius's* invective. But the Decemvir addressed himself to a true *Roman*, one who would have sacrificed his own children to the preservation of the publick liberty.

Third Decemvirate. D. Hal. B. 11. p. 691. & seq.

Claudius observed to the Assembly, that two affairs of different natures were then to be considered of; a war abroad, and a remedy for the dissensions at home with relation to the Government: That as to the war, the late incursions of the enemies were wholly owing to the encouragement which the intestine divisions in the Republick gave them: That therefore the first thing to be done, was to settle peace and union in the city, after which the very appearance of the standards of the legions would be enough to frighten away the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, over whom the *Romans* had already so often triumphed: But that he doubted whether the People would range themselves under the banners of the Decemvirs, whom they justly looked upon as private men, who had usurped the Sovereign power. Then directing his speech to his nephew: "Know you not, *Appius*, how odious your conduct is to all good men? The voluntary exile to which our most illustrious Senators have condemned themselves, does it not sufficiently shew that they look upon you as a tyrant? The Senate very impatiently bears your robbing them of their authority; the People demand their right of *Appeal*, and that of *Opposition* which you have deprived them of; all our citizens call upon you, some for their estates, which have been made a prey to your ruffians, others for their daughters, whom you have forced away to satisfy your criminal passions. The whole city, the whole nation detest a Magistracy, which has destroyed their liberty, abolished the use of *Comitia*, usurped the legal authority of the Consuls, and suppressed the functions of the Tribunes. Restore to the Commonwealth the power with which she intrusted you but for one year; restore to us our ancient form of Government; restore yourself to yourself. Call to mind your former virtue, and generously quit, together with an unwarrantable power, the very name of Decemvir, which you have made so odious. I conjure you to this by our common ancestors, by the *Manes* of your father, that illustrious citizen, who left you so noble an example of moderation, and of zeal for the publick liberty; I conjure you especially, by your own preservation, and the care of your life, which you must unavoidably lose by some ignominious punishment, if you obstinately persist to hold any longer the unjust Empire which you have usurped over your fellow-citizens."

p. 696. Thus spake *Claudius*, and the Senate at first conceived hopes that the Decemvirs would be induced to lay down their Magistracy. But *Appius* disdained to give his uncle any answer. *M. Cornelius*, one of his Collegues, taking upon him to speak, and applying himself directly to *C. Claudius*, told him proudly, that those who had the Government of the Republick, did not stand in need of his advice to direct their conduct. That if he thought he had a right to give particular counsels to his nephew, he might go to him at his house; that the only affair in question now was the war with the

the

the *Æqui* and *Sabines*: “Tell us, therefore, *said he*, your opinion on this point, for on this only it was asked, and don’t waste our time in digressions that are nothing to the purpose.”

Claudius, yet more provoked at the scornful silence of *Appius*, than at his Colleague’s insolent answer, rose up again, and turning to the Senate: “Since my nephew will not condescend to speak to me, either in his own house, or in full Senate, and I am so unhappy as to see the tyrant of my country arise out of my own family, I declare, *Conscript Fathers*, that I am resolved to retire to *Regillus*. I banish myself from *Rome*, and make an oath never to enter it again but with our liberty. However, to fulfil the obligation I lie under of giving my opinion, with relation to the present business, I don’t think that any levy of troops ought to be made, till Consuls are first chosen to lead them.”

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *L. Lucretius*, all Consular persons, and the principal men in the Senate, declared themselves of the same opinion. *M. Cornelius*, apprehending that the authority of those great men would draw the rest of the Senate after them, interrupted the order of gathering the suffrages, and asked the opinion of his brother * *L. Cornelius*, with whom he had before concerted the speech he should make in case of such an exigence. This Senator then rose up, but made no attempt to justify either the authority or conduct of the Decemvirs. Taking a more artful turn, he only represented to the Assembly, how expedient he thought it would be to defer the election of new Magistrates, till the enemy was driven out of the territory of *Rome*. “Have those, *said he*, who are so warm for the abdication of the Decemvirs, had any promise from the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, that they will put a stop to the progress of their arms, till we have changed the form of our Government? You know, *Conscript Fathers*, the tedious delays which our elections require: First, there must be a *Senatus-consultum* to appoint the *Comitia* by *Centuries*. This Assembly cannot be held till seven and twenty days after notice given. When the new Magistrates are named, and have taken possession of the Government, they must prefer a petition for the levies to another Assembly of the People; and before all these things can be done, and the necessary troops can be raised to repel the enemy, who will warrant us that we shall not see them at the gates of *Rome*, and in a condition to lay siege to the city? And what shall we do in this case? Doubtless we shall say to the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, *A little patience if you please. Suspend your attack till we have chosen other Magistrates. Caius Claudius has persuaded us not to pass any Decree for raising forces, unless new Generals be first elected to command them. Be gone therefore out of our territory, and when you hear that the Roman People have created Consuls, and that we have made all necessary preparations for war, you may then return and sue to us for peace.* Strange infatuation! that such follies should ever enter into the minds of men.”

* He had been Colleague to *Q. Fabius* in the third Consulate of the latter.

“Nor

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
forty-eight.
Third
Decemvirate.

D. Hal. B.
11. p. 698.
& seq.

Year of R O M E CCCCIV. Bef. J. C. Four hundred forty-eight. Third Decemvirate.

" Nor surely less strange is our stupidity, that we can hear these triflers without indignation, as if we were consulting for the safety of our enemies, not the preservation of our country. My opinion, *Conscripse Patres*, is, that our Decemvirs immediately enlist the legions, and march against our enemies. Let us drive them from our frontiers, let us force them, by the terror of our arms, to beseech us to grant them peace; and when we have secured ourselves abroad, then let us employ our thoughts upon our affairs at home: Revoke by your authority that of the Decemvirs, if they will not of their own accord divest themselves of it: Call them to an account for their administration; elect new Magistrates in their room; and let the Republick return again to her ancient constitution: But permit me to tell you, that in matter of Government, we must regulate our proceedings by the times, and never hope to make the times subservient to our desires and projects."

D. Hal. B. 11. p. 700. The creatures of the Decemvirs declared loudly for this opinion, and the greater part of the Senators came into it, some as thinking it necessary in the present conjuncture, and others out of fear of the Tyrants. Nay, some of the oldest Senators took the same side, in hopes that after the war was finished, the abdication of the Decemvirs would quietly follow of course, and so the Government return naturally into the hands of the Consuls; and that prudent Magistrates by their moderation might perhaps gradually accustom the People to do without their Tribunes.

Liv. B. 3. c. 41. Appius, who with a secret pleasure saw that the majority were of the opinion of *Cornelius*, did then only for form-sake desire that of *Valerius*, on whom he had imposed silence at the beginning of the Assembly. *Valerius* rising up, spoke to this effect: " You see, *Conscripse Patres*, the crafty and deceitful management of these Decemvirs. My mouth was stopt so long as they apprehended that what I had to offer might make some impression upon the Assembly to the disadvantage of their pretensions; but now when the majority has declared for the opinion of *Cornelius*, why now truly they condescend to ask me mine, imagining, doubtless, that nothing which I can say, be it ever so reasonable, will be of any effect. I shall nevertheless deliver my thoughts with freedom, and you are still masters to determine as you shall judge to be most for the good of the Republick.

D. Hal. B. 11. p. 700, 701. " I declare then, in the first place, that I heartily subscribe to what *C. Claudius* has so wisely represented to you concerning the expediency of creating new Magistrates before we take the field. But since *L. Cornelius*, the avowed advocate of Tyranny, has endeavoured to turn so judicious a counsel into ridicule, upon pretence that the delays requisite for the election of those Magistrates would waste the time that should be employed in repelling the enemy, I think myself obliged to shew you the weakness and fallacy of this wretched reasoning. To convince you that such it is, do but call to mind the measures which the Republick took about ten years ago, against the same enemies, in the Consulate of *C. Naupius* and *L. Minucius*.

" You

“ You know, that, while *Nautius* was on one side fighting against the
 “ *Sabines*, *Minucius* on the other, suffered himself to be shut up by the
 “ *Æqui* in the narrow passes of some mountains. There was a necessity of
 “ raising a new army to relieve him; the Tribunes (according to custom)
 “ opposed all levies of troops, unless the Senate would admit the Law
 “ concerning the partition of the lands. In this extremity, as neither par-
 “ ty would abate any thing of its pretensions, recourse was had to a Dicta-
 “ tor, a Magistrate superior both to the Senate and the Tribunes of the
 “ People, *L. Quinctius* was chosen; he was sent for out of the country;
 “ he came to *Rome*; he raised a new army, and in a fortnight’s time
 “ brought off that of *Minucius*, and triumphed over the enemy. What
 “ hinders, in the present exigence, to follow so wise and so recent an exam-
 “ ple? Let us chuse an *Inter-rex*, as was the practice upon the demise of
 “ the Kings, and has ever been the practice when the State happened to be
 “ left, as it is now, without legal Magistrates. Let him name a Dictator.
 “ These things may be done in less than a day. The Dictator will raise
 “ troops by the supreme power belonging to his dignity; we shall march
 “ against our enemies without delay; and, at our return from the campaign,
 “ that Magistrate, whose power cannot last longer than six months, will
 “ give us an opportunity to proceed at leisure, and according to the
 “ usual forms, upon the election of Consuls. If on the other hand you in-
 “ trust the command of your armies with the Decemvirs, do you imagine
 “ that these ambitious men who have usurped a tyrannical power, and in
 “ spite of all our laws refuse so obstinately to deliver up the *Falces*, will
 “ easily be brought to lay down their arms? Believe rather they will turn
 “ them against you yourselves, and make use of them to perpetuate their
 “ tyranny. I demand therefore, that, in the extreme danger wherein the
 “ publick liberty now is, the proposal I make to name a Dictator be ex-
 “ amined, and the opinions and votes of the Senate taken thereupon.”

Almost all the Senators who were to speak after *Valerius* declared for D. Hal. B.
 this motion, as did also many of those who had before voted for the con- 11. p. 702.
 tinuation of the Decemvirate. But *Cornelius* cried out, that the affair upon
 which the Senate had met was already decided, and that nothing new
 ought now to be proposed. A warm dispute hereupon arose, with much
 clamour and tumult. *Appius*, taking advantage of the disorder to accom-
 plish his desires, stepped forth into the midst of the Assembly, and spoke
 thus: “ You were called together, *Conscripi Fathers*, to deliberate con-
 “ cerning a war with the *Æqui* and *Sabines*. *Claudius*, *Cornelius*, and
 “ *Valerius*, have given different opinions. The voices of the Assembly
 “ have been all taken, and the opinion of *Cornelius* has prevailed.” He
 added with a contemptuous smile, “ As for *Valerius* and his friends, if ever
 “ they attain to the Consulship, let them, if they please, revise and make
 “ void Decrees, which you in your wisdom have thought fit to pass.”
 This said, he ordered the Secretary to read aloud the *Senatus-consultum*
 (which he had already made him draw up in writing) empowering the
 Decemvirs to raise Troops, and to conduct the war. He then dismissed the
 Assembly, and withdrew.

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rate.
D. Hal. B.
11. p. 703.

p. 704.

Livy, B.
3. c. 41,
42.

§. IV. THE new powers which by this Decree were granted to the Decemvirs, not only in some manner confirmed their authority, but made it more formidable than ever. They employed it to revenge themselves of their personal enemies, and they reckoned as such all those who did not submit to be their slaves. The most timorous among the citizens became as submissive and complying as the tyrants could wish: Others, less fearful, only quitted all attention to publick affairs, and turned their thoughts to live in quiet: But the men of courage and spirit held private Assemblies to concert measures for restoring liberty to the commonwealth. At the head of these were *Valerius* and *Horatius*. They gathered together in their houses a great number of their friends and clients to secure them against the violence of the *Decemvirs*; and they never appeared in the city without a powerful attendance strong enough to repel the insults they had reason to expect. As for *C. Claudius*, he left *Rome*, as he had declared in full Senate he would do, and retired to *Regillus*, the native city of his ancestors. Other Senators and many of the principal Citizens of *Rome*, who could not endure the Tyranny of the *Decemvirs*, and yet found themselves unable to destroy it, sought an asylum in the country, or among the neighbouring nations. *Appius*, enraged to see so convincing a proof given of the aversion which the best men in the Republick had to his Government, placed guards at the city gates: But finding that this precaution only increased the number of the malecontents, and fearing a general revolt, he removed the guard, leaving every body free to retire that would: But, to be revenged of those who withdrew, he confiscated the Effects they had in *Rome*, with which he paid and rewarded his ruffians.

§. V. AND now the Decemvirs began to raise troops for the war. Ten legions, soon completed, were divided into three Bodies. The Decemvirs agreed among themselves, that *Appius* and *Oppius*, invested with an Authority equal to that of All the Decemvirs united, should remain at *Rome*, and keep a garrison, consisting of two legions, in the capitol. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, with whom two other of the Decemvirs, *Q. Petilius* and *M. Rabuleius*, were joined in commission, marched against the *Sabines* at the head of three legions. *M. Cornelius*, *L. Minucius*, *M. Sergius*, *T. Antonius*, and *C. Duilius*, all Decemvirs, led five legions against the *Æqui*. The auxiliary Troops of the *Latines* and other Allies were, according to *Dionysius*, equal in number to the *Romans*. Nevertheless with this mighty force the Generals could effect nothing. The *Romans*, soldiers having a quick sense of their loss of liberty, would not conquer, for fear of increasing the power of the Decemvirs. Both armies suffered themselves to be defeated almost without fighting. The legions appointed against the *Sabines*, after some slight losses near *Eretrum*, made a hasty retreat in the night, and pitched their camp in the territory of *Rome* between *Fidene* and *Crustumeria*. And as for those who were to act against the *Æqui* (posted upon the *Algidus*) they lost their camp and baggage, and fled for refuge to *Tusculum*. The news of these defeats was received

received at *Rome* with the same joy that would at another time have been shewn for a complete victory.

Appius, attentive to all events, sent recruits and provisions to his legues. He exhorted them, by letters, to keep the soldiers in awe by the terror of punishment, unless they judged this method to be dangerous in the present conjuncture. In that case, *he added*, that they would not want opportunities during the campaign to destroy the most mutinous by private ways; and he himself set them an example.

Sicinius Dentatus, that renowned *Plebeian*, who had been in 120 engagements, filled the ears of the multitude with the faults which he affirmed the Decemvirs had committed in the management of this war. *Appius*, to get him out of *Rome*, pretended an earnest desire to consult him upon the operations of the campaign. He sent for him, discoursed with him several times, admired his wisdom, and engaged him to go to the army at *Crustumera*, and assist the Generals with his Counsels. And, the sooner to induce him to make the campaign, he dignified him with the Character of Envoy or Legate, which among the *Romans* (according to *Diomysius*) not only gave him who was honoured with it the authority of a General, but made his Person sacred and inviolable, as that of a Priest.

Sicinius, free from distrust, and with the sincerity of a brave soldier, gladly embraced an opportunity of serving his country. He repaired to the camp with all speed. The Decemvirs, instructed by *Appius*, received him with outward marks of joy, and treated him with distinction. Nothing was undertaken without his advice; but this seeming deference concealed a real design of making away with him. An occasion soon offered. *Sicinius*, with his accustomed frankness, having told the Decemvirs, that he thought they should removed the camp into the enemy's territory, for many good reasons which he laid before them, they commissioned him to go and view the situation of the country, and mark out the ground for a new incampment; and they appointed him a hundred chosen men light-armed to be his guard; but this guard consisted only of the Decemvirs ruffians, who had secret orders to dispatch him. *Sicinius* having led them into the narrow passages of some mountains, they took that opportunity to fall upon him. He no sooner perceived their base design, but setting his back against a rock, that he might not be attacked behind, he received them with a courage that struck terror into the boldest of them. Calling up all his ancient valour, he slew several of the assailants, and wounded others: And now not one of them durst venture near him: They stood at a distance, and threw their darts at him. But, as even this did not effect their purpose, the villains climbed up to the top of the rock, and thence knocked him on the head with stones. They then went back to the camp, and gave out that they had fallen into an ambush, in which they had lost their captain, and part of their comrades. At first they were believed; but when a band of soldiers, who, with the Decemvirs permission, went to fetch the body of *Sicinius* in order to its burial, came to the place of action,

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D. Hal. B.
11. p. 706.

p. 707.

Livy, B.
3. c. 43.

D. Hal. B.
11. p. 708.

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Decemvi-
rate.
D. Hal. B.
11. p. 709.

they perceived that the slain were all *Romans*; that they were all fallen with their faces towards him, and that none of them were stripped either of their arms or cloaths. All these circumstances, laid together, made them suspect that the brave veteran had been murdered by his guard. This suspicion, prevailing throughout the camp, raised loud complaints, and a general discontent. The whole army with great fury demanded that the assassins should be brought to justice. But the Decemvirs helped them to make their escape; and, because the soldiers seemed resolved to have the body of *Sicinius* immediately conveyed to *Rome*, they with all expedition gave it an honourable funeral at the publick expence. These proceedings of the Generals made it but too evident, that *Sicinius* had not been murdered without their privity; and the discontent, which so odious a treachery excited in this army, rose to such a height, that the greater part of the soldiers began to think in earnest of revolting from the Decemviral Government. A new attempt of *Appius*, which was still more hateful, and which filled up the measure of his extravagant enormities, produced, in the city and in the other army, a yet greater detestation of the present tyranny.

C H A P. XXIX.

§. I. *Appius (at Rome) falls in love with Virginia, a beautiful young woman, the daughter of a Plebeian.* §. II. *The wicked stratagems, which he employs to force her from her parents, that he may gratify his passion, occasion the abolition of the Decemvirate, and restoration of the Consulship.* §. III. *Valerius and Horatius are chosen Consuls.* §. IV. *Revenge is taken on the late Decemvirs.*

§. I. **I**T has been already said, that *Appius*, by agreement with his Collegues, staid at *Rome* with a body of Troops to keep the inhabitants in obedience to the Decemvirs. As he was one day going to his Tribunal, he accidentally cast his eyes on a young virgin of uncommon beauty, who was reading her book in one of the publick schools. (In these times it was customary at *Rome* for young persons of that sex, as well as of the other, to pursue their proper studies in schools that were purposely erected for them in the *Forum*.) Her charms, and the blooming graces of youth, immediately drew his attention. He could not help beholding her with a secret pleasure: His curiosity increased the next day; he thought her more lovely than before; and, as he was obliged to pass often by the school, he insensibly conceived a most violent passion for her. Upon inquiry after her family and condition, he learnt, that she was by birth a *Plebeian*; her name *Virginia*; that she had lost her mother, *Numitoria*; that her father, *Virginius*, then served in the post of Centurion in the army employed against the *Æqui*, and that he had promised his daughter to *Isilius*, who had been Tribune of the People, and who was to marry her at the end of the campaign.

This

This account, so unfavourable to *Appius's* passion, served only to increase it. He would gladly have married *Virginia*, but he had a wife already; and, had this not been the case, the last laws of the twelve tables, of which he was the chief framer, prohibited all intermarriages of *Patricians* with *Plebeians*; so that he had no room to hope for the accomplishment of his wishes, but by the scandalous means of debauching the young maid.

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The innocence and modesty of *Virginia* restrained him from opening his dishonest purpose directly to herself. He thought it more proper to begin the work by means of one of those women of intrigue, who make a private market of the beauty and charms of youth. He loaded her with favours, and, having let her into his desires, ordered her not to name him, but to say only, that *Virginia's* lover was a man in power, who could do much good or much hurt to others, according to his pleasure. This woman applied herself to *Virginia's* nurse, made her rich presents, and richer promises; and, having thus paved the way, came at length to the subject of her errand. But the nurse, equally faithful and prudent, not only rejected the proposal with horror, but kept now a more watchful eye upon her charge than ever. *Appius* learned with grief, that it was impossible either to deceive or to corrupt her.

Third
Decemvi-
rate.
D. Hal. B.
11. p. 710.
Livy, B.
3. c. 44.

However, his passion growing still more furious by the difficulties it met with, he had recourse to another stratagem more bold and impudent, and which, if it succeeded, would put *Virginia* wholly in his power. For the execution of this new scheme he employed a client of his, named *M. Claudius*, a man without shame or fear, and one of those who introduce themselves to the ear of the great, by the sole merit of a base complaisance for their pleasures. This Minister of the Decemvir's passion, taking with him a band of fellows like himself, entered the publick school where *VIRGINIA* was, and seizing her by the arm would force her away to his own house, under pretence that she was the daughter of one of his slaves. He was already dragging her all in tears through the *Forum*, when the People, hearing a great cry, flocked about him, and, being moved with so pitious a sight, obliged him to let go his hold. The Villain, perceiving that he could not execute his first design, pretended that he had not meant to use any violence, but to proceed in due course of law; and he cited her to appear immediately before the Decemvir. *Virginia* by the new Laws was obliged to follow the claimant to the tribunal of justice, where *Appius* was that day designedly alone upon the bench. The multitude all attended her, some out of curiosity to see the issue of so strange a business, and others out of affection to *Icilius*, who during his Tribunate had made himself very agreeable to the People. *Claudius* was going instantly to open his claim; but the People full of indignation cried out, that he ought to wait 'till *Virginia's* relations, who had been sent for, were come. To this the Judge consented; and *Numitorius*, the uncle of the young woman, arrived soon after with a great number of his kinsmen and friends.

Silence

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dred for-
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Silence being then made, *Claudius* set forth, that *Virginia* was born in his house; that she was privately stolen away by a slave her mother, who, to conceal her theft, had pretended to be delivered of a dead child: But that it had since been discovered that she had sold this child to *Virginus's* wife, who was barren, and who, being uneasy at having no child, had made *Virginia* pass for her daughter: That he would soon produce undeniable testimonies of what he advanced; that in the mean while it was but just that a slave should go with her master; and that he would give good security for her appearance again, if *Virginus*, at his return, still pretended to be her real father.

D. Hal. B. 11 p. 711. §. II. *NUMITORIUS* presently saw that there was somebody of much greater weight and power than *Claudius* at the bottom of this contrivance; but he prudently concealed his suspicions, and represented to the Decemvir with a great deal of calmness, that his niece's father was absent in the service of his country; that it was highly unjust to dispute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not present to assert it; that *Virginus*, upon notice, would not fail to be at *Rome* in two days, 'till whose return it was but fitting that her uncle should have the care of her. *Numitorius* offered to give any security whatsoever for producing her again, but he said it was not reasonable to trust the daughter of *Virginus* in the house of such a one as *Claudius*, where her honour would be in danger even more than her liberty. He added, that what he demanded was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that during a law-suit, and before a definitive sentence, the plaintiff should not disturb the defendant in his possession.

D. Hal. B. 11 p. 713. The whole Assembly shewed by their applauses, that they thought this request to be perfectly just. *Appius* having caused silence to be proclaimed, and affecting the impartiality becoming a Judge, declared that he should always be the protector of so reasonable a Law, and which he himself had inserted in the Twelve Tables: But that in the present dispute there were some particular circumstances which altered the case; that here were two persons claiming, one as a father, the other as a master; that, if he who pretended to be the father of *Virginia* were present, he indeed ought to be allowed the possession of her 'till the decision of the contest, but that, he being absent, the person who claimed her as his slave ought to have that possession, giving good security, however, to produce her again at the return of him who was called her father. This said, he ordered *VIRGINIA* to be delivered up to *Claudius*.

All the people present exclaimed against so iniquitous a Decree; and nothing was to be heard but cries of indignation, shrieks and lamentations. The women with tears in their eyes gathered round *Virginia*, and placed her in the midst of them, as if they meant to defend her. In this instant *ICILIUS*, to whom she had been promised in marriage, came running into the *Forum* with fury in his eyes, and loudly demanding who he was that durst lay violent hands upon a free woman, and what were his pretensions? *Appius*, who perceived him breaking through the crowd, ordered a Lictor to oppose his passage, and to tell him that the affair was already

Livy, B. 3. c. 45.

already judged. But nothing could stop the enraged lover; he forced his way up to the Tribunal, and taking *Virginia* in his arms, "No *Appius*, Year of ROME CCCIV: Bef. J. C. Four hundred forty eight. *he cried*, nothing but death shall separate me from her. If thou wouldst have thy vile artifices concealed, thou must murder me. Assemble all thy *Lictors*, and, if thou wilt, those of thy *Collegues* too; bid them prepare their rods and axes; but to my last breath I will defend her honour. Have you deprived the *Romans* of the protection of their *Tribunes*, that you may subject their wives and daughters to your lewd-Third Decemvirate. nefs? Go on to exercise your rage in scourging and slaughtering the *Roman Citizens*, but let modesty and chastity escape your tyranny. *Virginia* is mine, she is promised to me, and I expect to marry a virgin pure and unspotted. I will receive her from no man's hands but her father's. If in his absence any attempt be made to do her violence, I will implore the aid of the *Roman People* for my wife; *Virginus* will demand the assistance of his fellow-soldiers for his daughter; and both Gods and Men will be on our side."

The People, equally moved with his misfortune and his courage, fell upon the *Lictors*, who were forcing away *Virginia*, dispersed them, and obliged *Claudius* himself to seek refuge at *Appius's* feet. The Assembly was full of noise and confusion. The tumult increased by the arrival of those who flocked to the *Forum* from all parts of the city. *Appius*, quite stunned at seeing to what a degree the People were incensed against him, was for some time in doubt what measures to take. At length, having caused silence to be made: "It is well known (*said he*) *Icilius* only wants Livy, B. 3. c. 46. an opportunity of restoring the Tribuneship by means of a sedition. But, that he may have no pretence of complaint, I am willing to wait for *Virginus's* return 'till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give him notice. It is not above four hours journey from hence to the camp. I will prevail upon *Claudius* to yield up somewhat of his right for the sake of the publick peace, and to let the girl remain in liberty 'till the return of the man she imagines to be her father. But, in case *Virginus* does not appear to-morrow, I would have *Icilius* know, that I shall not want any assistance from my *Collegues* to put my decree in execution, or to keep in awe such seditious spirits as he."

Claudius, feigning to admit unwillingly of this delay, requested that at least *Icilius* might give security for producing *Virginia* on the morrow. The people all around immediately held up their hands, and every man offered eagerly to be his security. *Icilius*, touched with the affection of his fellow-citizens, broke into tears, while he returned them thanks. "To-morrow, *said he*, if there be occasion, we will make use of your assistance. To-day, I hope they will be satisfied with my security and that of all *Virginia's* Relations."

Appius, though intoxicated with his passion, durst not refuse such Bail: D. Hal. B. 11. p. 714. Livy, ibid. But he privately dispatched a messenger to his *Collegues* who commanded the army, intreating them to arrest *Virginus* upon some pretence or other, and to keep him in close prison. He thought that, the Father
not

Year of not appearing at the time appointed, he might then with a good colour
 R O M E deliver up the daughter into *Claudius's* hands : But his courier arrived at
 CCCIV. the camp too late. *Numitorius's* son and a brother of *Icilius* had been
 Bef. J. C. beforehand with him ; and *Virginus*, upon the first notice of his daugh-
 Four ter's danger, pretending the sudden death of some relation, had obtained
 hundred leave to return to *Rome*, and was already gone. And he had the good
 forty- fortune to escape two parties of horse, one which, upon the receipt of *Ap-*
 eight. *pius's* Letter, the Decemvirs sent after him to stop him, and the other, which
 Third *Appius*, with the same design, had placed in the road that led from the city
 Decemvi- to the camp.
 rate.

Livy, B. 3. c. 47. He appeared the next morning in the *Forum* pierced to the heart with
 grief, and leading by the hand his daughter all drowned in tears : She
 was accompanied by her kinswomen, and by a great number of other
 ladies. *Virginus*, as he passed along, addressed himself to his fellow-
 citizens with an air of dignity, that seemed to demand their assistance,
 rather than to implore it. " To what purpose, said he, do we every day
 " expose our lives in war to defend our wives and children from a foreign
 " enemy, if our Tyrants at *Rome* exercise upon them all the violence that
 " can be suffered in a city taken by assault ?" *Icilius*, quite furious with
 love and resentment, inveighed loudly against *Appius*, without any re-
 serve : But the silent tears of the whole train of women affected the multi-
 tude more than any words or exclamations.

D. Hal. B. §. III. *APPIUS* heard with extreme surprise that *Virginus* was in
 11 P. 715. the *Forum*. Full of rage and vexation he repaired instantly thither, with
 a numerous ^a guard of his dependants and creatures. Having ascended
 his Tribunal, he bid *Claudius* open his demand, and proceed in his action.
Claudius then repeated what he had said the day before, and at the same
 time produced the slave, whom he had suborned, and who, out of fear of
 her master, declared that she had sold *Virginia* to *Virginus's* wife. The

^a Mr *Ferrat*, B. 5. p. 71, quotes *D. Hal.* as saying, B. 11, that *Appius*, to prevent all resistance, ordered down the troops [2 legions] that were in the Capitol, and that they took possession of the *Forum*. And soon after quotes *Livy*, as telling us, that the multitude were attacked by *Appius's* soldiers. There is nothing either in *Dion. Hal.* or *Livy*, from whence it can be gathered, that *Appius* employed any soldiers on this occasion. It is true, *Dion. Hal.* represents him saying to the People, that the troops in the Capitol were not placed there only for defence against a foreign enemy, but also to prevent riots in the city. And *Livy* (c. 48.) makes him insinuate to the People, in order to terrify them, that he has brought down some armed men from the Capitol. But we do not find in either of those two Historians, that these

armed men ever appeared. *D. Hal.* says, p. 714, that *Appius* came to his Tribunal μετὰ πολλῆς τριφῆς, but it was ἐταίρων καὶ πελαγῶν, (a great company of his friends and clients) as appears by the context. And *Livy* (c. 49.) having mentioned the resistance which *Appius's* Lictors met with when they would have seized *Icilius*, adds, *Quum locus accundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse cum agmine Patriciorum juvenum per turbam vadens in vincula duci jubit.* *Appius*, the most despotick Magistrate that had appeared in *Rome* since *Tarquin*, did not venture to exercise so avowed a tyranny, as to employ his armed soldiers to attack unarmed citizens. This is evident, not only from what the Historians say of those who aided and abetted him, but from his being worsted in the conflict with his adversaries.

claimant

claimant added, that he had many other credible witnesses to produce, if there were occasion; and that he humbly hoped his being the Judge's client would not be thought a good reason for refusing him that justice, which every other man would obtain in the like case: And he concluded, with intreating the *Decemvir* not to suffer himself to be influenced by his compassion to the prejudice of truth and right.

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dred for-
ty-eight.

The friends and relations of *Virginia*, to destroy this imposture, represented, that her mother *Numitoria* could have had no temptation to practice such a fraud as was pretended; that she was married very young, and to a man almost as young as herself; that she bore a child in a very few years after her marriage; that if she had proved barren, and had been minded to introduce a stranger into her family, she would never have taken the child of a slave, and certainly not a girl, when she might as easily have had a boy. That, as to those many credible witnesses which *Claudius* talked of producing, it was highly improbable that a transaction which required so much secrecy should be imparted to many persons, when one was sufficient for the purpose. That, granting *Numitoria* to have been guilty of so strange a folly, it was yet stranger that an affair intrusted with so many confidants should remain so long a secret. That it was impossible to account why *Claudius* himself should be so profoundly silent in this affair for fifteen years, and should never declare his pretensions 'till the young woman was become marriageable, and appeared in that wonderful degree of beauty.

Third
Decemvi-
rate,
D. Hal. B.
11. p. 715,
716.

At these words all eyes were turned upon *Virginia*; the modesty of her countenance, her tears, her youth, her innocence, and, above all, her amazing beauty, which, clouded as it was with excessive grief, had yet a surpassing lustre, filled every breast with the most tender compassion. Nor could they help reflecting with extreme concern and terror, that, if the laws of liberty were thus violated in the person of this young maid, there could be no longer any security for wives or daughters against the like dishonour. For every body was already convinced, that the allegations of *Claudius* and his witnesses were mere imposture, and the wicked contrivance of some dignified villain, who thought himself at liberty to do whatever he pleased.

But to those arguments, shewing the improbability of what *Claudius* had alledged, *Virginus* added, that he had witnesses of unquestionable credit ready, (whom he named, and who he desired might be strictly examined) who would testify, some, that they had seen *Numitoria* big with child, others, that they had been present when she was delivered of this daughter, and others, that they had seen her give suck to young *Virginia*, which she could not have done, had she been barren, as *Claudius* pretended.

Virginus was still going on with his plea, when *Appius* perceiving the impression that was made upon the Assembly by those unanswerable reasons which had been offered, and being determined at any rate to accomplish his enterprise, interrupted him, and commanded silence, signifying,

Year of that he himself had something to say. All the People, being curious and
 R O M E anxious to know what it was, were presently still, and listened to him with
 CCCIV. attention.

Bef. J. C.

Four hun-
 dred for-
 ty eight.

Third
 Decem-
 virate.

The Decemvir having first cast his eyes on all sides to observe his strength, and how his friends were posted, "*Virginus*, said he, I must acquaint you, and all who are here present, that this is not the first time I have heard of this affair. I was told of it long before my election to the Decemvirate. *Claudius's* father, at his death, desired me to be guardian to his son; (his ancestors, you know, were always clients of our family.) Intimations were soon after given me, that I ought to claim this young slave in right of my ward. Hereupon I examined into the matter, and found the fact to be exactly as *Claudius* has represented it. However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this nature, but chose rather to leave it for him to manage when he should come of age, when he might either take back the girl, or accept of a sum of money for her from the parties who had bred her up. Our civil feuds, and the hurry of publick business, hindered me afterwards from giving any attention to the concerns of *Claudius*. He has applied himself of late, I suppose, to examine into the state of his affairs, and he finds this girl to belong to him, as part of his inheritance. I can see nothing unjust or unreasonable in the demand he makes; to have the daughter of his slave restored to him. It would have been better indeed if the thing could some way or other have been compromised. But, since a suit has been commenced upon it, I am obliged in conscience to give testimony in his favour; and, upon what I myself know, I do, as judge, pronounce him lawful master of this girl."

Virginus, provoked to the highest pitch at so unjust and cruel a sentence, no longer kept any measures with the Decemvir. Holding up his hand at him, "*Appius*, I promised my daughter to *Scilius*, and not to thee. I educated her for honourable marriage, and not to be a prey to an infamous ravisher. What? Is the lawless lust of savage beasts to prevail among us? How the citizens *here* will bear with these things, I know not; but I trust that those who are *in arms* will not endure them."

The People at these words set up a loud cry full of indignation, and they seemed at first as if they would oppose the execution of *Appius's* decree. But the Decemvir with a threatening voice told them, that he was not unacquainted with the seditious meetings which had been held the night before, nor with the plots there laid to cause an insurrection, but that he wanted neither power nor resolution to chastise those who should dare to disturb the publick peace; that the soldiers in the Capitol had not been placed there only for defence against the foreign enemy: And he advised them therefore to be careful of their behaviour, and to retire quietly to their own houses. "And you, said he, (*speaking to one of his Lictors*) go put aside the crowd, and make room for a master to lay hold of his slave."

The

The multitude terrified at these menaces, and the wrathful manner in which they were uttered, instantly gave back, and left the unhappy *Virginia* standing by herself, a helpless prey to injustice. *Virginus*, who then saw that there was no other remedy, turning towards the Decemvir, in humble manner thus addressed him: "Pardon, *Appius*, the unguarded words which escaped from me in the anguish of a fatherly grief, and allow me, if you please, before *Claudius* takes away the girl, privately to ask, in her presence, some questions of her nurse, that I may be set right in this matter, and, in case *Virginia* be not really my daughter, may return to the camp in less affliction."

Year of
R O M E.
CCCIV.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
forty-
eight.
Third
Decemvi-
rate.

Appius readily granted him this request, upon condition however, that it should be in *Claudius*'s sight, and without stirring out of the Forum. *Virginus*, pierced to the heart with the sharpest sorrow, took his daughter, half dead, in his arms; he wiped away the tears in which her face was all bathed, embraced her, and, drawing her near to some shops which were on the side of the Forum, chance directed him to a butcher's knife: Having instantly seized it, "My dear daughter, this is the only way to save thy honour and thy liberty:" As he said these words he plunged the knife into her heart: Then drawing it out again all smoking with her blood, he turned towards the Tribunal, and with a furious voice cried out, "By this blood, *Appius*, I devote thy head to the infernal Gods."

D. Hal. B.
11. p. 718.
Livy, B.
3. c. 48.

The Decemvir, from his Tribunal, called out, in the greatest fury, to seize him; but he with the knife in his hand made his way through those who would have stopt him, and, being favoured by the Multitude, got out of the city, mounted his horse, and took the road to the camp. In the mean while, *Numitorius* and *Idilius* raised a great commotion in Rome; they staid by the dead body of *Virginia*, shewed it to the eyes of the People, and besought them not to let her death go unrevenge. Crowds flocked to the Forum from all parts; they uttered bitter exclamations against the Decemvirs, and demanded the re-establishment of the ancient government and of the Tribunes. As for *Appius*, he was now returned to his own house. He had waded through an ocean of wickedness, to reach a prize which escaped him for ever, in the very moment he thought to take possession of it. He had been a spectator of the murder of her whom he loved to excess, a murder of which he himself was the cause; and by his last stroke of tyranny had made sure of the extreme hatred and indignation of the Roman People. Stung with these reflections, he seemed to have quite lost his reason. Instead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he sent his Lictors to seize *Idilius* and carry away the dead body from the Forum. The People opposed the execution of his orders, and, being now urged to fury, fell upon his Lictors, broke their fasces, and drove them out of the Forum. *Appius* hereupon getting together, as fast as he could, a great number of his friends and clients, came in person to support his authority. But *Valerius* and *Horatius*, those sworn enemies of the Decemvirs, having had notice of his motion, had put themselves at the head of a band of brave young men, marched them into the Forum, and

c. 49.

Year of placed them round the body of *Virginia*. At first the two parties dis-
 R O M E charged their fury against each other in mutual reproaches and invectives:
 CCCIV. But they soon after came to blows. *Appius* was worsted and repulsed.
 B. C. J. C. In this perplexity not knowing what else to do, he got up into the Temple
 Four hun- of *Vulcan*, and there took upon him to act the part of a Tribune of the
 dred for- People, demanding that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should be thrown head-long
 ty-eight. from the *Tarpeian* rock, as disturbers of the publick peace: But the mul-
 Third titude hissed at so senseless a discourse; and in the mean time *Valerius*, hav-
 Decemvi- ing caused the body of *Virginia* to be carried to the top of a flight of
 rate. steps, where the People might see it, was from the same eminence in-
 D. Hal. B. veighing against *Appius*. Most of the Decemvir's auditors soon left him
 11. P. 719. to go to *Valerius*, who, thereupon assuming the authority of a Magistrate,
 commanded the *Lictors* to pay no more attendance on a private person.
 And now *Appius*, terrified at the desertion of many of his Creatures whom
 he saw changing sides, believing his life to be in danger; hiding therefore
 his face with his robe he fled, and took refuge in a neighbouring house.
 At this juncture *Oppius* the *Plebeian* Decemvir rushed from another side
 into the Forum to succour his Collegue. But he came too late. Force had
 got the better of authority. He judged therefore that the wisest method
 in the present exigence was to assemble the Senate; and this in a great
 measure quieted the People; for they hoped that the Decemvirate would
 speedily be abolished. But those of the Fathers who happened to be in
Rome were most of them friends to the present Government; they only or-
 dered the People to behave themselves peaceably, and commissioned some
 young members of their body to go to the camp near the *Algidus*, to pre-
 vent the sedition which *Virginius* might excite there. In the mean time
Valerius and *Horatius* caused the body of *Virginia* to be laid in an open
 litter, and to be carried in great pomp through all the high-streets, in or-
 der to excite the compassion of the citizens, and increase their detestation
 of the Decemvirs. Men and women, old and young, married and un-
 married, all ran out of their houses to see this funeral procession, and they
 all bewailed her fatal beauty, and her untimely death. The women with
 tears in their eyes threw, some of them flowers upon the litter, others the
 ribbons from their heads to adorn it, others cast their girdles, their fillets,
 wreaths of their hair upon it. The men also contributed, every one, some
 little present.

The whole city would have revolted immediately from the Govern-
 ment, had not the Decemvirs been actually commanding armies, and had
 not *Valerius* and *Horatius* (who managed this business, and who hoped to
 compass their point without effusion of blood) thought it more advise-
 able to wait and see what *Virginius*'s return would produce in the army
 near the *Algidus*.

P. 720.
 & seq.
 Livy, B.
 3. c. 50. §. IV. HE entered the camp, attended by near 400 citizens, and still
 holding in his hand the bloody knife with which he had killed his Daugh-
 ter. The soldiers at this strange sight flocked to him from all quarters.
Virginius got upon a small eminence, from whence he might the more
 easily

easily be heard : His face was drowned in tears, and grief for a while tied his tongue. At length breaking his mournful silence, he related to them the whole tragical story, and then raising his hands to heaven, " I call you to witness, immortal Gods, that *Appius* alone is guilty of the bloody deed I was forced to commit. And you, my fellow-soldiers, I conjure you not to drive me out of your company as a parricide and the murderer of my daughter. I would willingly have sacrificed my own life to have preserved her's, if she could have lived with her honour and her liberty. But finding that the tyrant was determined to make her a slave, that he might have an opportunity to dishonour her, pity alone made me cruel : I rather chose to lose my daughter, than keep her with shame ; but I would not have outlived her one moment, had I not hoped to revenge her death by your assistance."

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred for-
ty-eight.
Third
Decemvi-
rate.

The centurions and soldiers, filled with compassion for his misfortune, and with indignation against the Decemvir, all assured him, that they would not fail him in any thing he should undertake against *Appius*. Nay, they resolved to extend their resentment to all the Decemvirs, and to shake off the yoke of a dominion that was now grown into an avowed tyranny.

The Decemvirs who commanded the army being informed of *Virginius*'s return, and of the disposition of the soldiers, sent for him with design to secure him. No obedience was paid to their orders. The troops were all eager to return to *Rome* ; nothing but the military oath withheld them. They thought they could not leave their Generals without offending the Gods, and dishonouring themselves. *Virginius*, who burnt with impatience to revenge himself of *Appius*, quickly removed their scruple, by assuring them, that a *Roman* could never be under any obligation to obey usurpers and tyrants ; that the Decemvirs were notoriously such, and that therefore to submit to them would not be obedience and piety, but madness and superstition. There needed no more to satisfy the conscience of the soldiers. They immediately flew in a kind of fury to their arms, snatched up their ensigns, and under the conduct of their respective Centurions took the way to *Rome*. The Decemvirs, startled at so general desertion, ran to stop them : But, wherever they turned themselves, they found only exasperated spirits, who breathed nothing but vengeance. If the Decemvirs spoke to them in gentle terms, they received no answer. If they pretended to threaten or command, the soldiers sternly answered, *We are men, we have swords in our hands*.

D. Hal. B.
11. p. 723.
Livy, B.
3. c. 50.

The army entered *Rome* about evening, without making the least disturbance, and without so much as a soldier's stirring out of his rank. As they passed along they assured their friends and relations, that they were returned only to destroy tyranny. All the troops marched quietly thro' the city to mount *Aventine*, fully resolved not to separate 'till they had obtained the desposal of the Decemvirs and the restoration of the Tribuneship.

D. Hal. B.
11. p. 724.

§. V. *APPIUS*, terrified with remorse of conscience, and with the revolt of the army, durst not appear in publick. But *Oppius*, his Colleague, had recourse in this distress to the authority of the Senate, which he convened with all expedition.

The

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred for-
ty-eight.
Third
Decemvi-
rate.
Livy, B.
3. c. 50.
c. 51.

The Senators thought it by no means adviseable to proceed in a way of severity, because they themselves had given occasion to the sedition. The result of their debate was to commission *Sp. Tarpeius*, *C. Julius*, and *P. Sulpitius*, all three Consulars, to go to mount *Aventine* and demand of the soldiers, *By whose orders they had left their camp? what their intent was in possessing themselves of mount Aventine? and why, quitting the war begun against the enemy, they had invaded their own country?*

The soldiers did not want an answer, but they wanted a speaker, for as yet they had not chosen themselves a head; and no one man among them would venture to act as Chief in this revolt. They remained for some time in silence, but at length they all cried out with one voice, *Let Valerius and Horatius be sent to us, we will give an answer to the Senate by them.*

As soon as the three Commissioners were gone, *Virginus* took notice to the soldiers how much they had been puzzled, even in an affair of no great importance, for want of a Head; that the answer they had fallen upon, though pertinent enough, had proceeded rather from casual agreement, than previous and publick counsel; and he advised them therefore to chuse ten persons to be over them, and to manage for them. Instantly they named him the first to that honour, but he excused himself, desiring them to reserve their good opinion of him to happier times. “No honours, *said he*, can give me pleasure while my daughter is unrevengeed, nor is it adviseable for you, in such a season of trouble as this, to chuse those men to be your directors and agents who are most obnoxious to the parties you are to treat with. If you think me capable of being useful to you, I shall not be less so in a private capacity.” The army hereupon appointed ten other Centurions to be their Governors, with the title of Military Tribunes.

The example of this army was followed by that employed in the war against the *Æqui*: for *Numitorius* and *Idilius* had gone thither, and had spirited up the soldiers to desert their Generals. With colours flying they marched straight towards *Rome*, and having advice, by the way, of the steps taken by the troops on mount *Aventine*, they in like manner, at the instigation of *Idilius*, (a man skilful in popular affairs) chose themselves ten Military Tribunes, to govern and conduct them. (What moved *Idilius* to give this counsel was an apprehension, that, without such election, the ten Tribunes of the other camp might be thought to have a kind of right to be appointed the *Ten Tribunes of the Commons* in the next *Comitia* that should be held for naming those Magistrates, and he himself had a view to be one of the College.) These troops entered the City, and marched through it in the same good order, and with the same peaceable behaviour, as had been observed by the other, whom they presently after joined. And then the united armies commissioned their twenty Military Tribunes to elect two out of their number to be supreme over all. The choice fell upon *M. Oppius* and *Sextus Manilius*.

The Senate in the mean while, anxious for the Commonwealth, sat every day to consider of some effectual remedy for the present evil. (Such desertions

sertions were of dangerous example; and the frontiers were left exposed to the invasions of the enemy.) But the time, which should have been employed in sage deliberation, was wasted in strife and wrangling. The Decemvirs were incessantly reproached with the murder of *Sicinius*, the lust of *Appius*, and the miscarriages in the war. At length it was concluded to send *Valerius* and *Horatius* to mount *Aventine*; but then these two Senators, finding that their mediation was become necessary, protested that they would not move a step so long as the Decemvirs, whom they called usurpers, remained Masters of the Government.

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
forty-
eight.
Third
Decemvi-
rate.

The Decemvirs, on the other hand, declared that they would not resign their authority 'till they had proposed to the People the two last Tables of Laws, and had got them passed; and that this was the only term fixed for the expiration of their Magistracy. Nay, *L. Cornelius*, yet a warm partisan of the present Governors, advised against entering into any negotiation with the two armies, 'till they were returned to their former respective camps; upon which condition he was for offering the soldiers a general pardon, with an exception however to the Authors of the desertion.

D. Hal. B.
11. p. 725.

The soldiers on mount *Aventine* receiving accounts from *M. Duilius* (who had been formerly a Tribune) of what passed in the Senate, came to a resolution to remove their camp to the *Mons Sacer*, a place which would put the Senators in mind of the steady resolution of the *Commons*, and make them sensible of the absolute necessity of restoring the Tribuneship, in order to a re-union. Thither they marched, fortified themselves there, and observed the same good discipline for which their ancestors had been so much admired. In this decampment they were followed by such numbers of the Citizens, with their wives and children, that *Rome* was in a manner deserted: "What have we to do, *said they*, in a City where neither chastity nor liberty is safe?" The *Conscript Fathers*, astonished as they passed to the Senate-house to see the streets so thin of people, and that, except a few old men, there was scarce any body in the Forum, came now for the most part into the sentiments of *Horatius* and *Valerius*. They declared that it was madness in the Decemvirs to think of retaining their authority, when they had no subjects to govern. "What! *said they*, "will you administer justice to empty houses and bare walls? Are you not ashamed to see that all the citizens in the Forum scarce equal the number of your *Lictors*? In short, you must resolve either to have no *Commons*, or to allow them *Tribunes*. They extorted from our forefathers that *Plebeian Magistracy*, of which they had not then experienced the benefit; and do you imagine, that, when they have tasted the sweets of it, they will ever consent to part with it, and especially since your Government has not been so moderate and gentle, as to make them feel no want of protection and succour?"

The Decemvirs, finding that there was no remedy, promised at length to be wholly governed by the Senate; they only desired, that they might not be sacrificed to the hatred of their enemies, and reminded the *Fathers*,
that

Year of that it concerned them nearly not to accustom the People to shed the
ROM F. blood of *Patricians*.

CCCIV. §. VI. *VALERIUS* and *Horatius*, having brought this affair to the
Bef. J. C. point they had wished, repaired to the camp, and were received by the
Four hundred soldiers as their protectors. The Army, by the mouth of *Icilius*, de-
forty- manded the restoration of their Tribunes, and of their privilege of ap-
eight. peal, and an amnesty for all who had left the camp without permission
Third from their Generals. But first of all they required, that the Decemvirs
Decemvi- should be delivered into their hands; and they loudly threatened to burn
rate. them all alive.

Livy, B.
3. c. 53.

The two mediators were not more favourable to those Magistrates than the People themselves; but they prosecuted the design of destroying with more art. At the same time that, in general terms, they exhorted the multitude not to be governed by cruel thoughts, (bidding them remember that they had more occasion for a shield than a sword) they insinuated to them, that when they were in possession again of their rights, and when their Tribunes, their Laws and Assemblies, were restored to them, they would then have it in their power to do justice to themselves.

c. 54.

The multitude, fully persuaded that no *Tribunes* whatsoever could have more Zeal for the interest of the Commons than *Valerius* and *Horatius*, trusted every thing to their management; who, returning without delay to the Senate, reported the Demands of the Army; but said nothing of its bloody designs against the Decemvirs. These Magistrates, hearing no mention of their punishment, readily yielded to all that was asked; only *Appius*, cruel by nature, and judging of other men's hatred to him by his to them, said aloud, "I am not ignorant of the fate I am to expect. The attack is only deferred 'till my enemies have got arms in their hands. Nothing but my blood will satisfy their malice. Be it so. I am ready nevertheless to resign the Decemvirate, and I care not how soon I do it." Hereupon the Senate past a Decree, *That the Decemvirs should instantly depose themselves; that the Pontifex Maximus should hold the Comitia for electing Tribunes, and that no notice should be hereafter taken of the desertion of the soldiers from their Generals, or the retreat of the Citizens to the Mons Sacer.* Submitting to this Decree, the Decemvirs immediately repaired to the *Forum*, and there abdicated their Magistracy, to the great joy of the City. The news of their abdication was presently carried by *Valerius* and *Horatius* to the Camp: "Return, soldiers, to your country, your Household-Gods, your wives and children; and may this return be happy to you and to the Commonwealth!" Instantly the army snatched up their ensigns, and exulting with joy returned to *Rome*. But, before they separated, they marched a second time, accompanied by the rest of the Commons, to mount *Acentine*, where they made an election of their Tribunes. *A. Virginus* the father of the hapless *Virginia*, *Numiternus* her uncle, and *Icilius*, to whom she had been betrothed, were

* *Livy* makes this Decree and another to be the acts of the Commons, presently after they had chosen their Tribunes.

the

the first chosen. Then C. Sicinius, M. Duius, M. Titinius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, and C. Oppius. An *Inter-Rex* was afterwards created, who held an assembly by *Centuries*, and, according to the votes of the People, named L. Valerius and M. Horatius to the Consulship.

Year of
ROME
CCCIV.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred
forty-
eight.

§. VII. THE Administration of these Consuls was wholly popular, and the *Plebeians* obtained from them what they could hardly have hoped from their very Tribunes themselves. In the first place: Whereas it was a disputable point of Law, *whether the PLEBISCITA* [the Decrees of the Commons] would bind the SENATORS; the Consuls now passed a LAW in COMITIA CENTURIATA, importing, That what the COMMONS should enact, in COMITIA TRIBUTA, should bind the whole ROMAN PEOPLE. By which Law (says *Livy*) the Bills of the Tribunes were armed with a very dangerous weapon^a.

Sixtieth
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
11. p. 725.
Livy, B.
3. c. 55.

The

^a Omnium primum, quum veluti in controverso jure esset, tenerentur PATRES Plebiscitis, legem CENTURIATIS COMITIIS iulere ut quod TRIBUTIM PLEBES jussisset, POPULUM teneret; qua lege tribunitiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. *Livy*, L. iii. c. 55.

Dionysius (L. xi. p. 726.) writes, "That this LAW put an end to the Disputes which had subsisted between the Patricians and Plebeians, concerning the Plebiscita, made in the COMITIA TRIBUTA, which the Patricians would not submit to, nor allow to be binding on any but Plebeians." The Historian goes on, "It has been already said, that in the Comitia Tributa the Plebeians and the Poor had the better of the Patricians; but that in the Comitia Centuriata the Patricians, though much inferior in number to the Plebeians, were superior to them in strength."

[This last assertion, how often soever he may have repeated it, I apprehend to be a great mistake. He seems here to make the terms Patrician and Plebeian equivalent to Rich and Poor. The richer Citizens had doubtless a superiority of strength in the Comitia by Centuries; but the Patricians had not. The majority of the voters in the majority of the Centuries were unquestionably Plebeians, and the Patricians were overpowered, as well as out-numbered by the Plebeians in the Comitia Centuriata. Had it not been so, had the Patricians, in the Centuriate Comitia, been superior in strength to the Plebeians, how consummately ridiculous would be *Livy's* admiration of the virtue of the Roman People, for their chusing to the Mili-

tary Tribuneship PATRICIANS only (Y. of R. 379.) though the Plebeians were qualified, by law, to be chosen to that Magistracy! *Livy*, B. 4. c. 6.]

As to the memorable LAW (called Lex Horatia) now enacted by the Comitia Centuriata, *Dionysius* would have better satisfied the curiosity of his readers, if he had given them some instances of PLEBISCITA, made in COMITIA by TRIBES, to which the PATRICIANS had refused to submit. In his seventh Book he mentions a Plebiscitum that made it penal to interrupt a Tribune, when speaking to an assembly of the People. And he tells us, that this Plebiscitum was followed by much altercation between the Consuls and the Tribunes. And that the Senate and the Commons mutually refused to ratify each other's Decrees.

Vid. *supr.*
189, 190.

Μετὰ τὸτο πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἐγίνοντο τοῖς δημάρχοις πρὸς τὰς ὑπάτους ἀντιλογίαι, καὶ ἔτε ὁ δῆμος ὁπόσα ἡ βουλὴ φησίσαιτο κύρια ἡγεῖτο, οὔτε ὧν ὁ δῆμος γνοίη τῇ βουλῇ φίλιόν τι ἦν ἀντιπαρεταμένοι δὲ καὶ δι' ὑποψίας ἔχοντες ἀλλήλους διετέλουν. *D. Hal.* L. vii. p. 432.

Deinde multæ variisque de rebus inter Tribunos & Coss. altercationes sunt sequutæ, & neque ipsa Plebs senatus-consulta rata habebat, neque senatus ipse ulla plebiscita approbabat. Sed magna contentione utrique alteris adversabantur, & se invicem suspectos habebant.

But these things passed in the next year after the erection of the Tribuneship, and before the introduction of COMITIA TRIBUTA, even according to the Greek Historian's own account. Here then a question arises. In what Comitia were those Plebiscita made,

B b b

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.
Bef J. C.
Four

hundred
forty-
eight.

Sixtieth
Consul-
ship.
Vid. supr.
p. 235. &
seq.

The *Lex Valeria* touching appeals to the Assembly of the People was confirmed anew, and strengthened with another Law, forbidding the future creation

made, which were anterior to the first Assembly by Tribes? Not in the *Centuriata*: The Tribunes never attempted to hold these assemblies. And, as to the *Curiata*, we are told, that these could not be held but by a *Patrician* Magistrate, nor without a previous Decree of the Senate, nor without Sacrifices and Auspices, the care and management of which were appropriated to the *Patricians*. And we are likewise told, that the Tribunes, when they held Assemblies of the citizens for making Laws, observed none of these ceremonies and formalities. Particularly, with regard to the Senate's authorising their proceedings, *Appius Claudius* (in the debate on the affair of *Coriolanus*) enumerating, to the Fathers, the usurpations of the *Plebeians* and their Tribunes, mentions this among the rest, *They propose laws without consulting you, and they pass them without your approbation*, Νῦν τε ἀπροσέλευτος ἐσφίρει, καὶ τῆτες ἐπιζηροῖται τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης δόξα. D. Hal. L. vii. p. 455. And this, as I before observed, was interior to the introduction of *Comitia Tributa*. Shall we not therefore be obliged to say, that, though the Assemblies of the *Curia* could not, by the original constitution of the State, be legally held, and were not held in the first years of the Commonwealth, nor perhaps, after the introduction of *Comitia Tributa*, without the conditions above specified, yet the Tribunes, soon after the institution of that magistracy, did, without any previous *Senatus Consultum*, convene the *Plebeians* of the *Curia*, and, in those assemblies, did, without Auspices, or any Religious Ceremonies, enact Laws, which were called *Plebiscita*?

By the treaty of Re-union (on the *Mons Sacer*) the Tribunes were authorised to hold *Concilia* of the *Commons*; and they seem to have turned these *Concilia* into *Comitia* by *Curia*, as has been represented above, p. 189, 190. But it does not fully appear, whether the Senators and other *Patricians*, who were excluded the *Concilia* of the *Commons*, were suffered to be present, and vote in their *Comitia*. *Dionysius*, in the passage just referred to, represents the Tribunes as very expeditious in getting their *Plebiscitum* passed lest the Consuls should come and oppose it. But, by *Opposition* here, he may possibly mean

an opposition by Violence, disturbing the Assembly, and hindering it from concluding any thing; for this was no uncommon method with the *Patricians*, when they disliked a Bill, proposed by the Tribunes.

A second difficulty is thrown in our way by what *Dionysius* says of the Disputes concerning the *PLEBISCITA* made in the *COMITIA* by Tribes, and of the *Patricians* refusing to submit to them. I do not recall any one *Plebiscitum*, by him mentioned, as made, before this time, in *Comitia Tributa*, except the judgments of the Tribes in criminal and capital causes. And these judgments did all take place, according to his own account. *Coriolanus* went into exile pursuant to the sentence against him; *Menenius* paid the fine, to which he was condemned; *Servilius* was acquitted; the sureties for the appearance of *Cæso Quinctius*, upon his running away to avoid trial, paid the money they stood bound for to the publick. So that when the Historian says, that the *Patricians* refused to submit to the *PLEBISCITA*, it is hard to guess what he means, unless it be, That (before the *Horatian Law*) the *Patricians* did not recognise the *COMITIA TRIBUTA* held by the Tribunes, as a legal Legislature, tho' they submitted, through necessity, to all their Decrees. In the case of *Cæso Quinctius* (year of Rome 292.) *Dionysius* (L. x. p. 631.) differing from *Livy*, who makes *Cæso* humble himself so far, as to solicit the favour of the multitude, represents him disowning the jurisdiction of the Court, and refusing to plead; yet the Historian introduces *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, the Father of the accused, pleading earnestly for his son to the Assembly.

It may be said, that this was the pure effect of necessity, and ought not to be construed into a recognising the Assembly for a lawful Judicature. For in the year 298 (six years after the affair of *Cæso*) on occasion of the Tribunes citing the Consuls to appear in judgment before the Tribes, the Consuls openly affirm, *That the Tribunes have no power to summon thither, even the most inconsiderable of the Patricians, without a previous Senatus Consultum* for that purpose. D. H. L. x. p. 661. And in the contest about *Volero's* Bill (year of Rome 282.) *Appius Claudius* (then Consul) declared that he would for ever oppose

creation of any Magistrate, from whose judgments an appeal should not lie to that Assembly, and permitting any person to kill the man who should attempt

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oppose the enacting of any law, which had not first passed the examination and approbation of the Senate. And the conclusion of that contest was — The Senate made a Decree, authorising the People to give their suffrages upon the Bill, and then the Bill was by the People passed into a Law. D. Hal. L. ix. p. 602.

It is said above (p. 244.) that this Law was enacted by the *Comitia Centuriata*. Several reasons may be given in support of that opinion. First, the validity of this Law was never disputed; in the next place it underwent the form of a previous *Senatus Consultum*, and then, thirdly, it seems probable, at least, (for the reasons given in the Discourse at the end of Chap. xiii.) that there were no *Comitia Tributa* before *Volero's* Law was enacted.

But let us suppose, on the authority of *Dionysius*, that *Comitia Tributa* were in use from the time of *Coriolanus*; and that all the capital trials, which the Historian speaks of, as between that time and *Volero's* Tribuneship, and all the capital trials from *Volero's* Tribuneship to the Consulship of *Valerius* and *Horatius*, were in *Assemblies of the Tribes*, and that even *Volero's* Law was enacted in one of those Assemblies: What will follow from these facts, compared with the passages just cited from the Historian? Seemingly, at least, the consequence will be, that, before the *Horatian Law*, there were two sorts of *Plebiscita*: Some that were passed in *Comitia* held by the *Tribunes*, without previously consulting the Senate; others, that were preceded by an authorising Decree of the Fathers, as in the case of *Coriolanus*, and in that of *Volero's Bill*. That to the former sort the *Patricians* would not submit, but did submit to the latter. And that this is the reason, why we read of no opposition given to the execution of those sentences, which are said by *Dionysius* to have been passed against certain *Consuls*, and other great men, by the *Comitia Tributa*, held by the *Tribunes*: We may suppose, that these Assemblies had been authorised by *Senatus Consulta* (though not mentioned by the Historian) to try and judge those persons. And then it will seem that the *Horatian Law* was enacted purely to give to the *Plebiscita*, that should be made in *Comitia Tributa*, without previously consult-

ing the Senate, the same force, as was allowed to those which had been made in the like Assemblies, authorised by a Decree of the Fathers.

According to *Livy* (L. 3. c. 54.) the *Commons* had no sooner recovered their *Tribunes* (upon the abdication of the *Decemvirs*) but to *Law-making* they went with all vehemence, even before they returned to their houses (for they were then incamped without the city.) *Tribunatu inito L. Icilius extemplo PLEBEM ROGAVIT, et PLEBS SCRIVIT, ne cui fraudi esset secessio ab Decemviris facta.* *Confestim de Consulibus, creandis cum provocatione M. Duilius rogationem pertulit. Ea omnia in pratis Flaminiis CONCILIO PLEBIS acta.*

If I might here hazard a conjecture, I would say, that these proceedings, which were closely followed by the *Lex Horatia*, were the immediate occasion of this LAW's being enacted. That when *Livy* says, *Ea omnia CONCILIO PLEBIS acta*, the words *Concilio Plebis* are not equivalent to *Comitiis Tributis*. And that the new Law, while it gave the *PLEBISCITA* (the Decrees of the Commons) a force equal to that of LAWS made in the *Comitia Centuriata*, confined this privilege to such *Plebiscita*, as should be made *TRIBUTUM, i. e.* in *Comitia Tributa*, and did not extend it to decrees that might be made, *Concilio Plebis*. *Quum veluti in controverso jure esset, tenerentur patres PLEBISCITIS, legem Centuriatis Comitiis tulere, ut quod TRIBUTUM Plebes jussisset Populum teneret.*

Before the introduction of *Comitia Tributa*, there were unquestionably *CONCILIA PLEBIS*, which assumed the power of Legislation; and I have not observed any cogent reasons for believing that there were no such *Concilia* after the *Assemblies by Tribes* were brought into use.

Should it be asked, what the difference was between *COMITIA TRIBUTA* held by the *Tribunes* and *CONCILIA PLEBIS*, I should say, that, from the former, only the *Senators* were excluded; but that all the *Patricians* were excluded from the latter. The latter therefore was an Assembly of the *Commons*, the former an Assembly of the *People*; which *People* nevertheless is sometimes called *Plebs*. *Plebs est ceteri cives sine senatoribus. Digest, L. 50. T. 16. N. 238.*

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Year of attempt such a creation. To these Laws was added a Regulation im-
 R O M E porting, that the *Senatus Consulta*, which were often suppressed or altered
 CCCIV. by the Consuls, should for the future be transmitted to the *Ædiles*, and
 Bef. J. C. preserved in the Temple of *Ceres*.
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 Livy, B.
 3. c. 56.

§. VIII. THOUGH the *Patricians* in general greatly disliked all these proceedings, yet, because hitherto they saw no particular person of their Party attacked, they made no opposition to them. But the Scene quickly changed. The liberty of the People and the Power of the Tribunes being now firmly re-established, the latter thought the favourable time come for prosecuting the Decemvirs, and all the accomplices of their tyranny. *Appius* was the first accused. Upon a summons from *Virginus* (who was appointed to be the accuser) he came into the *Forum*, attended by a crowd of young Nobles, who had been his Ministers and his Guard during his Decemvirate. Their appearance brought afresh into the People's minds all the instances of his horrible abuse of power.

Then *Virginus* began, "Long speeches, O *Romans*, are for clearing up of doubtful cases. I shall not waste your time in expatiating upon the crimes of a man whose cruelty reduced you to the necessity of

It would seem that the Senators (in these times at least) were not allowed to vote in the *Comitia Tributa*, except when these Assemblies were held by one of the *Magistratus Majores*; and that then they were held with *Auspicia*. *Tributa Comitia si a Plebeis Magistratibus, hoc est, a Tribuno Plebis & Ædile Plebis facta sint, sine Auspiciis* (ut ait Dionysius) esse facta: in a *Patriciis Magistratibus cum Auspiciis*. *Manut. de Com. Rom. cap. ix.*

Dr. Middleton (in his *Treatise on the Roman Senate*, p. 119.) speaks too generally, when he says, that the Tribunes excluded them [the Senate] from any share or influence in the Assemblies of the Tribes. It would have been exact, I believe, if he had said, from THEIR Assemblies of the Tribes, that is, from the *Comitia Tributa* HELD by the TRIBUNES. But we find, in the year 307 (three years only after enacting the *Lex Horatia*) the CONSULS holding the *Comitia Tributa*, on occasion of the dispute between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, who had referred their cause to the arbitration of the Roman People: *Aricini atque Ardeates de ambiguo agro quum sæpe bello certassent—judicem Populum Romanum cepere.—Concilio Populi a Magistratibus dato—quum TRIBUS vocari et populum iurare suffragium oporteret, consurgit P. Scaptius—si licet, inquit, CONSULES de republica dicere, &c. Quum, ut vanum, cum negarent CONSULES audiendum esse, vociferantemque prodi publicam causam summo veri iussu, Tribunos appellat, &c. Liv. E. 4. c. 71.*

I thought to have mentioned some particulars in the History of these first years of the Republick, that do by no means correspond to the rules laid down by the Learned as generally observed in the holding the several sorts of *Comitia*, and doing business therein; but I am glad to retire from these discussions under cover of a passage in the excellent work, before referred to, intitled *ELEMENTS OF CIVIL LAW*. In page 185 the learned, judicious, and candid Author, after speaking of the differences between *LEX* and *PLEBISCITUM*, and between the *Comitia Curiata* and the *Comitia Centuriata*, proceeds thus: "I judged it proper that my reader should snatch, in a short and comprehensive view, this part of the Roman constitution. He will more easily make himself master of particulars, even when they contradict, or vary from, his general System: and I am persuaded, that many things might be taught more successfully, if both writers and readers would sometimes consider that which they set off with, not as a part of the building, but only as so much scaffolding, to be laid aside afterwards, or thrown by as useless and unnecessary. In the Civil History of a People, this doctrine may have fairer play, because the constitution of a country, at its final settlement, is best apprehended by the difference it carries with it, from the same constitution, when it first began to be moulded."

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“ taking arms to rescue yourselves from it : nor will I suffer him to add
 “ to his wicked deeds the impudence of defending them. *Appius*, I shall
 “ pass over the whole series of your flagitious practices during the space
 “ of two years. There is one crime only, from which if you do not in-
 “ stantly clear yourself, I order you to be led to prison.
 “ What have you to say for the sentence you passed against *Virginia* ?
 “ Why did you, contrary to law, refuse a person, whose liberty was
 “ brought into dispute, the possession of that liberty till the suit was de-
 “ termined ?”

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Appius had no hope of assistance either from the Tribunes or the People ; nevertheless he called upon the Tribunes ; and when, none of them interposing, the Officer laid hold on him to drag him away, he cried out, *I appeal*. The sound of these sacred words (the guardians of liberty) tho’ from a man who had so lately violated the laws of liberty, caused an universal silence. He then reminded the People of the merit of his ancestors, and of his own unhappy affection to the *Commons*, when to the great displeasure of the *Senate* he relinquished the Consulship, to make way for the Decemvirate, and the establishment of the new Laws ; Laws which were still in force, while he the Legislator himself, contrary to the tenor of them, was condemned to Prison. He added, that, as to his merits and demerits, it would appear what they were, when his trial should come on ; that at present he pleaded the common rights of a *Roman* Citizen, and only demanded the time necessary for preparing his defence : That if without being heard he was now sentenced to prison, he appealed once more to the Tribunes, and exhorted them not to follow the example of those they hated : That, if the Tribunes confessed they had come to an agreement among themselves to abolish the right of appeal, he appealed from them to the people, and implored the protection of the Laws just made, by joint consent of Consuls and Tribunes, to confirm that privilege. “ What
 “ Citizen can hope for any benefit from those Laws, if *Appius Claudius*
 “ can reap none ? Your conduct with regard to me will make it ap-
 “ pear, whether this right of appeal, of which you seem so jealous, be
 “ only the appearance of a privilege, a thing subject to the cabals and
 “ private views of the Tribunes, or whether it be the real and firm sup-
 “ port of liberty.”

Virginius, in answer, said, that *Appius* was the single man who had no-
 thing to do with laws or any social compact, nor ought to have any benefit
 from them. That, having made himself perpetual Decemvir, his Tribunal
 had been the retreat and strong-hold of all wickedness ; that regardless of
 Gods and men, and always surrounded by hangmen instead of Lictors, he
 had, contrary to all laws and privileges, despoiled, scourged, and mur-
 dered his fellow-citizens ; that then, turning his mind from slaughter to lust,
 he had not been ashamed to tear a *Roman* maid of free condition out of her
 father’s arms, deliver her into the hands of the vile minister of his pleasures,
 and reduce the father to the cruel extremity of killing his daughter, to pre-
 serve her honour : That, when the uncle and the person to whom she was
 betrothed

Livy, B.
3. c. 57.

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trothed were taking up the body of the expiring virgin, he had com-
manded them both to prison, being more vexed at the disappointment of
his intended rape, than touched with concern for the murder. That surely
it was but fitting so infamous a wretch should go to that prison which he
himself had built, and had insolently named the *Habitation of the Commons*
of Rome. Then, turning to *Appius*, "Appeal therefore, as often as you
will; unless you instantly plead, I order you to jail as a criminal con-
demned."

The commitment of a *Patrician* of such high rank seemed to many
persons, even among the Commons, an excessive stretch of *Tribunitian*
power; yet no-body opposed it. *Appius* was that minute led to prison,
and *Virginus* appointed him a day for making his defence.

Liv. B. 3.
c. 53.

His uncle, *C. Claudius*, who had always been against the Decemvirs,
and who had particularly detested the pride and insolence of his nephew,
hastened however to his aid as soon as he heard of his disgrace. It has
been already said, that, to avoid being an eye-witness of the tyrannical Go-
vernment of the Decemvirs, and of the miseries of Rome, he had retired
to *Regillus*. He was no sooner come back to Rome, but he appeared in
the *Forum* in a habit of mourning, and attended by all his relations and
friends. He went from citizen to citizen, and besought each of them in
particular not to fix such an ignominy upon the *Claudian* family, nor to
suffer such a shame to themselves, as that the founder of their laws should
lie in a dungeon with villains and robbers; but rather to forgive one of the
Claudii, for the sake of so many of the name as interceded for him, than,
out of hatred to one, to reject the prayers of so many. He added, that,
the People having fortunately recovered their liberty by their courage,
there was now nothing wanting to the happiness of the Republick, but the
restoring of union between the two orders in the State, and that this would
be best done by clemency.

Many of the citizens were moved to pity by the intreaties and inter-
cessions of *Claudius*. But *Virginus* on the other hand begged them to have
compassion for him and his daughter, and to have regard to the prayers,
not of the *Claudian* family which had tyrannised over them, but of *Virgi-
nia's* relations, three Tribunes, who, being created for the succour of the
People, ought in their necessity to receive succour from them. *Virginus*
prevailed.

D. Hal. B.
11. p. 726.

Appius died in prison before the day came for his trial; and *Dionysius*
tells us, that, tho' the Tribunes gave out that he had strangled himself, it
was much suspected that he had been dispatched by their orders. *Livy*,
without mentioning a word of the Tribunes, barely relates, that *Appius*,
to avoid the infamy of a public punishment, put an end to his own life in
prison.

Livy, B.
3. c. 53.

The trial of *Sp. Oppius*, one of the *Plebeian* Decemvirs, followed next.
Numitorius, *Virginia's* uncle, (who was now a Tribune) prosecuted him,
as an accomplice of *Appius*, whose injustice in her affair he had not opposed,
tho' at that time in Rome. Nor was this the only crime laid to his charge.

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A veteran, who had served 27 years, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, stripping off his robe, exposed his shoulders, which had been torn with rods by the Decemvirs Lictors; and he offered to submit himself to the same treatment again, if *Oppius* could assign any good reason for his cruelty. The accused was condemned by the unanimous suffrages of the People; he was thrown into prison, and *Dionysius* tells us, that he died there the very same day. The other eight Decemvirs sought their safety in flight, and banished themselves. Their effects were confiscated and sold, and the produce carried by the Quæstors into the publick treasury. *Marcus Claudius*, the instrument employed by *Appius* to get *Virginia* into his power, was condemned to death: but, as he laid all the crime upon *Appius*, *Virginus* was contented with his exile, doubtless in consideration that the wretch had acted in compliance with the will of a Magistrate from whom he could have no appeal.

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11 p. 726.

Thus was revenge taken for the innocent blood of the unfortunate *Virginia*, whose death (like that of *Lucretia*) procured liberty to the Roman People.

Tho' the punishment of the Decemvirs was owned to be just; yet the Senate could not help being under some Consternation at the death and exile of so many members of their body. Neither was it possible to foresee what bounds the Tribunes, who were so closely united with the two Consuls, would put to their revenge: They seemed to be so many new Decemvirs, who were going to re-establish the late tyranny. *Duilius*, who was one of the Tribunes, but more moderate than the rest, dispelled the fears of the Senate by this publick declaration: "Enough has been done for the Security of our liberty, and the punishment of our enemies. During the remainder of this year, I will not suffer, that any person be prosecuted or imprisoned for past faults, which, being already expiated, ought therefore no longer to be remembered."

Livy. B.
3. c. 59.

C H A P. XXX.

§. I. *The Consuls take the field. Valerius defeats the Æqui and Volsci, and Horatius the Sabines. Nevertheless the Senate, dissatisfied with their too popular administration, refuse them a Triumph. They obtain it of the People.* §. II. *The Tribunes propose to get themselves perpetuated in the Tribuneship, and Horatius and Valerius in the Consulate. Duilius, one of the College, defeats both these projects. By his influence, joined with the Senate's, five new Tribunes are chosen; after which, finding that he cannot prevail with the Tribes to fill the other five places with new Magistrates, he dismisses the Assembly, referring the completion of the whole number of ten Tribunes to the five already elected. These five, among those they associate with them in their office, name two Patricians. TREBONIUS ASPER, one of the Plebeian Tribunes, shortly after gets a Law passed, forbidding the Tribunes the practice of Co-optation.* §. III. *In the Consulate*

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Consulate of T. Quinctius Capitolinus and Agrippa Furius the old diffi-
sions are renewed; inſomuch that, though the *Æqui* and *Volſci* ravage the
country to the very gates of Rome, the Tribunes oppoſe the neceſſary levies
of troops to repulſe them: But Quinctius gets the better of this oppoſition, by
a ſpeech he makes to the People. The Conſul routs the enemy. §. IV. The
Roman People diſhonour themſelves by a judgment they give in a cauſe re-
ferred to their arbitration by the cities of Ardea and Aricia.

§. I. **A**ND now the main affair of the Republick was to revenge her-
ſelf on her Enemies abroad, who had taken advantage of her
late intestine diviſions and anarchy to invade and pillage the Roman terri-
tory. *Valerius* was appointed to march againſt the united forces of the
Æqui and *Volſci*, and *Horatius* againſt the *Sabines*. But, before the Con-
ſuls left Rome, the two laſt tables of Laws, which had not yet been eſta-
bliſhed in due form, received the proper ſanction, and, being engraven in
braſs, were, fixed up in the *Forum*.

Each Conſul obtained a complete victory. Nevertheleſs the Senate being
diſſatisfied with theſe Magiſtrates, on account of their exceſſive popularity,
and the little regard they had ſhewn for the honour or intereſt of their own
order (even leſs than the Tribunes) decreed only one day's *ſupplications* (or
ſolemn thankſgivings) in the name of both; but the People, of their own
motion, prolonged the ceremony all the next day.

In the mean time, the Generals returned and appeared with their legions
in the *Campus Martius*; and hither they ſummoned the Senators. Of this
ſeveral of the chief among them very much complained, as if the Senate
was held in the miſt of arms, with a view to keep it in awe. The Con-
ſuls hereupon removed the Aſſembly to the *Flaminian Meadows*, and there
preſented their petition for a TRIUMPH. Many of the *Fathers* ſtood up,
and warmly oppoſed their requeſt; but *C. Claudius* eſpecially ſpoke with
great bitterneſs on this occaſion. Directing his ſpeech to the Conſuls,

D.H.L.B. “ Did you not ſolemnly promiſe us, that the abdication of the Decemvirs
11.p.728. “ ſhould be followed by a general pardon? And yet no ſooner had we
“ obliged thoſe Magiſtrates to depoſe themſelves, but ſome of them were
“ murdered, and others conſtrained to baniſh themſelves from their
“ country to ſave their lives. *Appius*, the head of the *Claudian* family,
“ the chief of the Decemvirs, was ſtrangled in priſon, without the leaſt
“ form of juſtice, and without ſo much as being heard in the Aſſembly
“ of the people, leſt, moved to pity by the tears and deſolation of a fa-
“ mily that has deſerved ſo well of the Republick, they ſhould have over-
“ looked his faults. Our Conſuls, the heads and protectors of the Se-
“ nate, they, who ought to have expoſed their very lives for the pre-
“ ſervation of its dignity, have baſely connived at the murder of the
“ unfortunate *Appius*, and proſecuted no-body for it.”

The Senate, exaſperated ſtill more againſt the Conſuls by this diſcourſe
of *C. Claudius*, declared them unworthy of the honours they ſued for, and
they were given to underſtand that they ought to be well content if they
eſcaped

escaped punishment. *Valerius* and *Horatius*, provoked at the intended ignominy, carried their complaints before the Assembly of the People, and there the Tribune *Icilius* demanded the TRIUMPH in their behalf. Many Senators went to the *Forum* to prevent the effects of this cabal, and, among them, *C. Claudius*. Though he had always been averse to the Government of the Decemvirs, yet he could never pardon the two Consuls for having delivered up his nephew to the fury of the Tribunes. With great vehemence he cried out to the People, that it was over the Senate, and not over the enemy that the Consuls desired to triumph; that they sought a reward for a particular favour done to the Tribune, not for any worthy deed, any real merit; that the Commons had no right to bestow the honours of the TRIUMPH; nor had ever before pretended to it; that this was a prerogative which belonged to the Senate only; and that the Republick would never be free and quiet 'till the two Orders in the State forbore to inroach upon the rights and privileges of each other. No regard was had to these remonstrances; the Tribes unanimously decreed the TRIUMPH to the Consuls; and that it was afterwards thought a legal one may be well concluded from its having a place in the Capitoline Fasti.

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Livy, B.
3. c. 63.

Livy,
ibid. and
D. Hal. B.
11. p. 729,
Liv. B. 3.
c. 64.

§. II. THE Tribunes did not stop here. The power they had in the Commonwealth, by their good understanding with the two Consuls, encouraged them to form the design of getting themselves continued in the Tribuneship after the expiration of their year: And, to keep their ambition in countenance, they moved likewise that *Valerius* and *Horatius* might be continued in the Consulship. They pretended that the Senate had entered into a plot against the rights and immunities of the People; and that the new Laws would be in great danger of being annulled, if, before they were solidly established, other Consuls of quite contrary dispositions to those of the present should be chosen to the Government.

Luckily for the Commonwealth, it had fallen to *Duilius* to *preside* in the *Comitia* (the same *Duilius*, who had put a stop to the prosecutions against the adherents of the Decemvirs.) He, foreseeing the mischievous consequences of the measure proposed by his Colleagues, declared, that he would not admit them for candidates, nor make any account of votes given in favour of any one of them: And when, upon their pressing him either to leave the Assembly free, or to resign his Presidentship, a warm dispute arose, he sent for *Valerius* and *Horatius* to his Tribunal, and there asked them privately, *What they intended to do, at the next Comitia for creating Consuls?* They answered, *Create new Consuls.* The President, instantly advancing with them into the Assembly, put this Question to them before the multitude: *If the ROMAN PEOPLE, mindful of the part you acted in recovering the Publick Liberty, and mindful of your other services, both at home and abroad, should, in consideration of your merit, re-elect you to the Consulship, what resolution would you take?* Their answer to this imported the same intention which they had expressed in their answer to the first question. *Duilius* praised them highly for not following the example of the Decemvirs; and then held the *Comitia* for electing Tribunes. After five new ones had

Year of R O M E
CCCCIV.
Ref. J. C.
Four hundred forty-eight.
Sixtieth Consulship.

been chosen, the President perceiving, that the other candidates would not be able to engage a majority for them because of the busy opposition of his nine Collegues, dismissed the Assembly. Nor did he appoint another day for the meeting of the Tribes to complete the number of *ten* Tribunes. He alledged, that he had satisfied the Law; which no where required, that the whole number of Tribunes should be chosen at one and the same time; but, on the contrary, had expressly directed, *That, in case the whole number of ten Tribunes were not chosen on the day of election, those who were chosen should themselves nominate persons to fill the vacant places.*

It was in this manner that *Duilius*, to the satisfaction of both Senate and Commons, defeated the ambitious attempt of his Collegues; and, when he had reminded the last, that there could not be *fifteen* Tribunes in the Republick, he laid down his magistracy.

Livy, B. 3. c. 65.

The five new Tribunes presently discovered, that they were under the influence of the Senate: For among those they *named to be their Collegues in the Tribuneship* (which naming was then called *Co-optation*) were *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Eternius*, old Senators, and who had both possessed the consular dignity in the year 209.

Year of R O M E
CCCCV.
Ref. J. C.
Four hundred forty-seven.
Sixty first Consulship.
• Crabbed.

At the election of Consuls for the year 305, the Fasces were transferred from *Valerius* and *Heratius* to *Lartius Herminius* and *T. Virginius*. These Magistrates being no zealots for either party, their Government was intirely pacifick. But *L. Trebonius*, one of the Tribunes, extremely angry at the management of *Duilius*, (in the late election of Tribunes) which had opened a way for *Patricians* into that College, made heavy complaints of it to the Commons. He gave himself intirely up, during the whole year, to cross the Senate in every thing, whence he acquired the Surname of *Asper* *. And, in order to prevent, for the future, any Tribunes (gained over by the Senate) from doing as *Duilius* had done, he proposed a Law, which he got passed, and which from his name was called *Lex Trebonia*, by which it was ordained, *That whoever should hereafter bold the Comitia for electing Tribunes of the Commons, should not dissolve the Assembly 'till the number of TEN Tribunes was completed by the votes of the Tribes.* This Law put an end to the practice of *Co-optation*.

Year of R O M E
CCCCVI.
Ref. J. C.
Four hundred forty-six.
Sixty second Consulship.

§. III. *M. GEGANIUS* and *C. Icilius* succeeded *Herminius* and *Virginius* in the Consulate. The Plebeians began now to complain, and not without cause, that the young *Patricians* treated them injuriously; and, tho' the graver and wiser part of the Senate did not approve of the haughty and outrageous behaviour of those youths, yet they would not abandon them to the fury of the Tribunes. They thought it better (says *Livy*) if the bounds of equity must be transgressed, and one party must over-bear the other, that their own people should have the ascendant: So difficult a matter is it to act with moderation in the maintenance of liberty, every one, under pretence of *levelling*, exalting himself in proportion as he lowers another. While men are endeavouring to get free from the fear of others, they make themselves be feared; to avoid oppression, they oppress; as if there was a necessity that we must either *do* injustice, or *suffer* it.

The

The Consuls found means to quiet the cabals of the Tribunes on this occasion, without employing invectives against them, or suffering the Majesty of the Senate to be offended. There was neither contention at home, nor war abroad, when they resigned the fasces to * *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Furius*. But this calm did not last long. The young Nobles could not forbear insulting the *Plebeians*, nor these submit to be insulted. The aggressors were cited to appear before the People; fierce contentions and scuffles always followed. The report of these new dissensions was to the *Æqui* and *Volsci* as the signal for taking arms. They assembled their forces, fell first upon the *Latine* territory, and, meeting with no resistance, advanced so near to *Rome*, as to drive off the cattle that were grazing before the *Æsquiline* gate. The Consuls would have raised troops to repulse these invaders, but the Commons, at the instigation of their Tribunes, refused to lift themselves. Hereupon the Consul *Quinctius*, a man illustrious by several victories, respected for the purity of his manners, and the wisdom of his counsels, having convened a general Assembly of the People, spoke to them to this effect:

“ Though I am not conscious, *O Romans*, of any crime by me committed, it is yet with the utmost shame and confusion that I appear in your Assembly. You have seen it—Posterity will know it—In the fourth Consulship of *Titus Quinctius*, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* (scarce a match for the *Hernici* alone) came in arms to the very gates of *Rome*, and went away again unchastised! The course of our manners, indeed, and the state of our Affairs have long been such, that I had no reason to promise myself much good; but could I have imagined, that so great an ignominy would have befallen me this year, I would by death or banishment (if all other means had failed) have avoided the station where I now am. What? Might *Rome* then have been taken, if those men who were at our gates had not wanted courage for the attempt?—*Rome* taken, whilst I was Consul!—Of honours I had sufficient—Of life enough—more than enough—Three Consulships—I should then have died.

“ But who are they whom our dastardly enemies thus despise? the CONSULS? or you, *Romans*? if *we* are criminal, depose us, punish us yet more severely. If *you* are in fault—may neither Gods nor men punish *your* faults! only may *you* repent.

“ No, *Romans*, the confidence of our enemies is not owing to *their* courage, or to their belief of *your* cowardice: They have been too often vanquished not to know both themselves and you. Discord, discord is the ruin of this city. The endless disputes between the Senate and the Commons are the sole cause of our misfortunes. While we will set no bounds to our domination, nor you to your liberty; while you impatiently endure *Patrician* Magistrates, and we *Plebeians*, our enemies take heart, grow elated and presumptuous.

“ In the name of the immortal Gods, what is it, *Romans*, you would have? You desired Tribunes: For the sake of peace we granted them.

Year of
R O M E
CCCVII
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
died for-
ty-five.

Sixty-
third
Consul-
ship.
* 4th time
Consul.
Livy, B.
3. c. 66.

c. 67, 68.

Year of " You were eager to have Decemvirs : We consented to their creation.
 ROME " You grew weary of these Decemvirs : We obliged them to abdicate.
 CCCVII. " Your hatred pursued them when reduced to be private men ; and we
 Bef. J. C. " suffered you to put to death or banish *Patricians* of the first rank in the
 Four hun- " Republick. You insisted upon the restoration of the Tribuneship : We
 dred for- " yielded. We quietly saw Consuls of your own faction elected. You
 ty-five. " have the protection of your Tribunes, and the privilege of *appeal* :
 Sixty- " the *Patricians* are subjected to the decrees of the *Commons* : under pre-
 third " tence of equal and impartial laws, you have invaded our rights ; and
 Consul- " we have suffered it, and we still suffer it. When shall we see an end of
 ship. " discord ? When shall we have one interest, and one common country ?
 " Victorious and triumphant, you shew less temper than we under our
 " defeat. When you are to contend with *us*, you can seize the *Aventine*
 " hill, you can possess yourselves of the *Mons Sacer*. The *enemy* is at our
 " gates, the *Æsquiline* is near being taken, and no-body stirs to hinder it.
 " But against *us* you are valiant, against *us* you can arm with all dili-
 " gence. Come on then, besiege the Senate-House, make a camp of
 " the *Forum*, fill the jails with our prime Nobles ; and, when you have
 " achieved these glorious exploits, *then* at least sally out at the *Æsquiline*
 " gate with the same fierce spirits against the enemy. Does your resolu-
 " tion fail you for this ? Go then, and behold from our walls your lands
 " ravaged, your houses plundered and in flames, the whole country laid
 " waste with fire and sword. Have you any thing here to repair these
 " damages ? Will the Tribunes make up your losses to you ? They will
 " give you words as many as you please ; bring impeachments in abun-
 " dance against the chief men in the State ; heap laws upon laws ; Assem-
 " blies you shall have without end : But will any of you return the richer
 " from those Assemblies ? You imagine, perhaps, that those flatterers,
 " those popular men, who will neither let you live in quiet at home, nor
 " take arms against our foreign enemies, are animated by a zeal for *your*
 " interests. It is honour, it is profit to *themselves* they seek. When do-
 " mestick peace and unanimity reign, they find, they have no business,
 " are of no consideration ; and they had rather be leaders in tumults and
 " seditions, than not bustle about, and make a figure. *Romans*, beware
 " of such friends ; undeceive yourselves. Do but resume your former
 " spirit and manners, and there is no punishment to which I will not
 " submit, if I do not, in a few days, disperse and put to flight the in-
 " vaders of our country, the pillagers of our lands. This terror of war
 " (with which you seem to be so grievously struck) shall quickly be re-
 " moved from *Rome* to their own cities."

Livy, B. Never, says *Livy*, were the Commons more pleased with the flattering
 3. c. 69. speeches of a Tribune, than they were with the reproachful one of this
 generous Consul. The Senate was no less charmed with his conduct ; the
 wisest and most eminent men of that body declared, that other Consuls
 had either betrayed the dignity and rights of the Senate, to win favour
 with the Multitude, or, by the rough imprudent measures they had taken to
 keep

* keep them under, had only exasperated them to a higher pitch : But that *Quinctius*, without forgetting the honour of the Senate, had wisely suited his discourse to the times, and had shewn that he had nothing at heart but the union of the two orders, and the majesty of the *Roman* name.

Year of
R O M E
C C C V I I .
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred for-
ty-five.

Consuls and Tribunes, Senate and People, all concurred unanimously in taking arms. The contention now was, who should appear most forward, so that the levies were quickly made ; each cohort chose its Centurions, and had two Senators placed at the head of it ; and all things were done with so much expedition, that the army, that very day, marched ten miles on its way. The next, the Consuls came in sight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* fought with great courage and resolution, but victory declared for the *Romans*. The first advantage gained was by the *Roman* cavalry under *S. Sulpitius*, one of the Consuls Lieutenants. They put the enemies horse to the rout, and then, falling upon the main body of their infantry, both terrified and disordered it. *Quinctius* (who commanded the right wing of the *Romans*) soon after forced the *Volsci*, who faced him, to give ground. But *Agrippa Furius* in the left wing met with a more obstinate resistance from the *Æqui*. Impatient of being less successful than the other Generals, he snatched some of the ensigns from the officers who bore them, and threw them into the midst of the enemies battalions. By this he turned the scale in his favour. His soldiers, by the vigorous effort they made to recover those ensigns, rendered the victory complete on the side of the *Romans*. The Consuls instantly marched to the enemy's camp, entered it without opposition, and found there, besides other effects which the *Æqui* and *Volsci* had carried off, out of the territory of *Rome*, a very rich booty.

Sixty-
third
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
3. c. 70.

Livy remarks it, as a thing extraordinary, that the Consuls, at their return, did not demand a triumph, nor the Senate make them the offer of one. He conjectures, that *Quinctius* and *Furius* were ashamed to ask, in recompence of one victory, an honour which the Fathers had refused to *Valerius* and *Horatius*, for the reward of two ; lest, if they should obtain their request, it might be thought that more regard was shewed to persons than to merit.

§. IV. THIS would have been a glorious year for the Republick if the *Roman* People had not dishonoured themselves by their manner of deciding a cause, at this time, referred to their arbitration. It was a dispute between the inhabitants of *Ardea* * and those of *Aricia*, concerning a large tract of land, to which each of those cities laid claim. The tribes were assembled, the witnesses were heard, and the votes were just going to be taken, when one *Scaptius*, a very old man of the meanest of the People, (having obtained, by the interposition of the Tribunes, permission to speak, after it had been refused him by the Consuls) pretended to have known the district in question above forty-seven years ; that it formerly belonged to *Corioli*, and consequently now to the *Romans*, who, he said, ought therefore to make no scruple of seizing it. This motion (though, according

* In Latinum.

Year of according to *Livy*, the man spoke truth) gave the Consuls a great deal of concern, when they found it favourably listened to. They sent for the chief men of the Senate, and, jointly with them, used their utmost endeavours to dissuade the People from taking a step, which must cast a blemish on the Roman probity. But they strove in vain; the People adjudged the territory to themselves.

Sixty-
third
Consul-
ship.

C H A P. XXXI.

§. I. *The Commons of Rome (in the Consulate of M. Genucius and C. Curtius) demand that Plebeians may be admitted into the Consulship, and that the law prohibiting Patricians and Plebeians from inter-marrying may be repealed.* §. II. *T. Quinctius and the majority of the Senate think it better to comply than to come to a rupture with the People, which otherwise seems unavoidable. Claudius, to hinder the debasing of the Consulship, makes this new proposal, that, instead of Consuls, a certain number of MILITARY TRIBUNES be chosen partly out of the Senate, and partly from among the Commons; and that these new Magistrates be invested with Consular power. This project is approved by Senate and People; and six MILITARY TRIBUNES (three of each order) are to take the place of two Consuls.* §. III. *But, when the day of election comes, the People will not give their voices to any but Patricians; and only three Military Tribunes are elected. These are obliged soon after to abdicate on account of some defect in their inauguration; and two Consuls are chosen to govern the Republick the remainder of the year.* §. IV. *Under the succeeding administration of T. Quinctius Capitolinus (a fifth time Consul) and M. Geganius (a second time) the CENSORSHIP is established.*

§. I. **B**Y the late victory so suddenly obtained over the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, the Commons became sensible of their own strength, and the need which the Senate had of them. This made them carry their^a pretensions farther than ever. They grew every day more untractable and more enterprising. *C. Canuleius*, one of the Tribunes, proposed that, by a decree of the People, *The Law* (in the twelve tables) which forbade *Patricians* to inter-marry with *Plebeians*, should be repealed: And, soon after, nine of the Tribunes moved, that a new law should be made, qualifying *Plebeians* to stand for the Consulship. *M. Genucius* and *Caius Curtius*, the present Consuls, thought to defeat these projects by leading the Citizens into the field. The *Ardeates* had revolted on account of the unjust proceeding of the People of *Rome* in their affair, and it was said, that the *Veientes* had begun hostilities. There was a rumour also that the *Æqui*

^a According to *Tacitus*, (*Annal.* B. 11. c. 22.) the People obtained this year the right of naming the *Quæstors*, a prerogative which the Consuls had hitherto enjoyed. *Plutarch* attributes the choice of the *Quæstors* to the People, from *Peppicola's* time.

and

and *Volsci* were preparing to renew the war. Countenanced by these alarms, the Senate ordered troops to be raised with the same diligence as the last year. But then *Canuleius* in the most peremptory manner protested, that, while he had breath, no levies should be made, unless the laws proposed by him and his Collegues were first received. This said, he straight went out of the Senate-House and convened the People. The Consuls full of indignation inveighed in the sharpest terms against the Tribunes, whose madness, they said, was no longer to be endured; that they raised a war within the city, more dangerous than that without it; that no domestick peace could be maintained in a State which had Senators and Tribunes; that the *Conscrip*t Fathers must absolutely resolve either to resign their own authority, or abolish that *Plebeian* Magistracy. “What a detestable project is this of *C. Canuleius*? He is for mingling, by shameful marriages, the blood of the Nobles with that of the Commons. If he brings this about, those who are born of such marriages will hardly know, whether they belong to the *Patrician* or *Plebeian* Body, and the Auspices, publick and private, will be confounded. And as if it was not enough to destroy all distinction of birth, and to break thro’ all rights both divine and human, the Collegues of *Canuleius*, those other disturbers of the publick quiet, have the boldness to lift their eyes to the very Consulship itself. We are now just on the point of seeing that great dignity fall a prey to the *Canuleii* and the *Icili*i. But let those *new men* be assured, that the Gods, protectors of this Empire, will never suffer it; and that we ourselves will rather die a thousand deaths, than bear so great an infamy.”

While the Consuls were thus exasperating the Senate against the Tribunes, the Tribunes were exciting the anger of the Plebeians against the Consuls. These left the Senate-House, and repaired to the Forum. “What an insult upon us! cried *Canuleius*. If we are not so rich as the *Patricians*, are we not citizens of *Rome* as well as they? Inhabitants of the same country? Members of the same community? The nations bordering upon *Rome* and even strangers more remote are admitted not only to marriages with us, but to what is of much greater importance, *the freedom of the city*. Are we, because we are Commoners, to be worse treated than strangers? And when we demand that the People may be free to bestow their offices and dignities on whom they please, do we ask any thing unreasonable or new? Any thing more than a restitution of the People’s natural right? What occasion then for all this uproar, as if the universe was falling to ruin? (They were just going to lay violent hands upon me in the Senate-House.) What? must this Empire then be unavoidably overturned, must *Rome* of necessity sink at once, if a *Plebeian*, worthy of the office, should be raised to the Consulship? The *Patricians*, I am persuaded, if they could, would deprive you of the common light. It certainly offend them to see that you breathe, that you speak, that you have the shapes of men.—Nay, but to make a Commoner a Consul would be, say they, a most enormous thing.—*Numa Pompilius*, however, without being

Year of
R O M E
CCCVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred for-
ty-four.
Sixty-
fourth
Consul-
ship.

Livy B.4.
c. 2.

c. 3-

Year of " being so much as a *Roman* citizen, was made King of *Rome*. The elder
 R O M E " *Tarquin*, by birth not even an *Italian*, was nevertheless placed upon the
 CCCVIII. " throne. *Servius Tullius*, the son of a captive woman, (no-body knows
 Bef. J. C. " who his father was) obtained the Kingdom as the reward of his wisdom
 Four hun- " and virtue. In those days no man in whom virtue shined conspicuous
 dred for- " was rejected or despised on account of his birth and descent. And did
 ty-four. " the state prosper the less for that? Were not those strangers the very
 Sixty- " best of all our Kings? And, supposing now that a *Plebeian* should have
 fourth " their talents and merit, must not he be suffered to govern us because he
 Consul- " is a *Plebeian*? Shall we rather have Consuls resembling the *Patrician*
 Ship. " Decemvirs, the most detestable of mortals, than such as resemble the
 " very best of our Kings, who were *New Men*?

" But we find that, upon the abolition of the regal power, no Com-
 " moner was chosen to the Consulate. And what then? Before *Numa's*
 " time there were no Pontifices in *Rome*. Before *Servius Tullius's* days
 " there was no *Census*, no division of the People into Classes and Centuries.
 " Who ever heard of Consuls before the expulsion of *Tarquin the Proud*?
 " Dictators, we all know, are of modern invention; and so are the offi-
 " ces of Tribunes, *Ædiles*, *Quæstors*. Within these ten years we have
 " made Decemvirs, and we have unmade them. Is nothing to be done
 " but what has been done before? That very Law forbidding marriages
 " of *Patricians* with *Plebeians*, is not that a new thing? Was there any
 " such Law before the Decemvirs enacted it? and a most shameful one it
 " is in a free State.

" Such marriages, it seems, will taint the pure blood of the Nobility.
 " Why, if they think so, let them take care to match their sisters and
 " daughters with men of their own sort. No *Plebeian* will do violence
 " to the daughter of a *Patrician*. Those are exploits for our prime No-
 " bles. There is no need to fear that we shall force any body into a con-
 " tract of marriage. But to make an express Law prohibiting marriages
 " of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, what is this, but to shew the utmost con-
 " tempt of us, and to declare one part of the community to be impure
 " and unclean? Why don't they lay their wise heads together to hinder
 " rich folks from matching with poor?

" They talk to us of the confusion there will be of families, if this
 " Statute shall be repealed. I wonder they don't make a Law against
 " a Commoner's living near a Nobleman, or going the same road that he
 " is going, or being present at the same feast, or appearing in the same
 " market-place. They might as well pretend, that these things make
 " confusion of families, as that inter-marriages will do it. Does not every
 " body know that the children will be ranked according to the quality
 " of the father, let him be *Patrician* or *Plebeian*? In short, it is manifest
 " enough, that we have nothing in view but to be treated as men and
 " citizens; nor can they who oppose our demand have any motive to do
 " it but the love of domineering.

“ I would fain know of you Consuls and *Patricians*, Is the sovereign power in the People of *Rome* or in you? I hope you will allow, that the People can at their pleasure either make a Law, or repeal one. And will you then, as soon as any Law is proposed to them, pretend to lift them immediately for the war, and hinder them from giving their suffrages by leading them into the field?

Year of
R O M E
C C C V I I I .
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred for-
ty four.

“ Hear me, Consuls: whether the news of the war you talk of be true, or whether it be only a false rumour spread abroad for nothing but a colour to send the People out of the City; I declare, as Tribune, that this People, who have already so often spilt their blood in our country’s cause, are again ready to arm for its defence and its glory, if they may be restored to their natural rights, and you will no longer treat us like strangers in our own country. But if you account us unworthy of your alliance by inter-marriages, if you will not suffer the entrance to the chief offices in the State to be open to all persons of merit indifferently, but will confine your choice of Magistrates to the Senate alone, Talk of wars as much as ever you please; paint in your ordinary discourses the league and power of our enemies ten times more dreadful than you do now; I declare that this People, whom you so much despise, and to whom you are nevertheless indebted for all your victories, shall never more enlist themselves; not a man of them shall take arms, not a man of them shall expose his life for imperious Lords, with whom he can neither share the dignities of the state, nor in private life have any alliance by marriage.”

Sixty-
fourth
Consul-
ship.

After long speeches made on both sides, the Consuls and Tribunes fell to altercation. *Canuleius* asked the Consuls, what reason could be assigned, why a *Plebeian* might not attain to the Consulship? It was answered, (perhaps with truth, says *Livy*, but to little purpose, on the present occasion) that no *Plebeian* had a right to the auspices; and that the *Decemvirs* had prohibited marriages between persons of different Orders, that, the auspices being taken only by *Patricians*, whose blood was pure and unmix- ed, there might be no prophanation of that religious Rite.” No words can express the indignation of the people at this answer: To hear that they were excluded from taking the auspices as men hateful to the Gods on account of their birth.

Livy, B.
4. c. 6.

The fury of the multitude rose to such a height, that the Senate found it necessary to let *Canuleius*’s law concerning marriages pass. They hoped that this concession would induce the other Tribunes to give over intirely the pursuit of the law relating to the Consulship, or least to suspend it till the conclusion of the war: But their hope proved in vain: Those Tribunes, tho’ the alarm from abroad daily increased, still oppose the musters, and pushed their point with the same zeal as before: Nay, they all publicly swore *by their Faith*, (the most solemn oath then in use among the *Romans*) that they would not be diverted from their purpose by any persuasion whatsoever.

D. Hal. R.
II. p. 731.

Year of
R O M E
CCCVLII.
Esf. J. C.
Four
hundred
forty-
four.

Sixty-
fourth
Consul-
ship.
Liv. B. 4.
c. 6.

§. II. THESE violent proceedings greatly distressed the Consuls. They saw plainly that they must yield the victory either to the Commons at home, or to the enemy abroad. They held private counsels at their own houses, with the Senators of their party. *C. Claudius*, who had received from his ancestors an hereditary hatred, as it were, to the faction of the People, spoke first, and gave it as his opinion, that the Senate should rather have recourse to arms, than yield the dignity of the Consulship to the People; and that without distinction they ought to treat as publick enemies all persons, let them be private men or Magistrates, who should attempt to change the form of the Government. But the two *Quintii*, who abhorred all thoughts of shedding *Roman* blood, put the senate in mind of the solemn engagement they had entered into with the *Commons* to hold the persons of the Tribunes sacred and inviolable, and they advised them rather to yield up part of their prerogatives, than run the hazard of a civil war.

All the rest of the assembly having declared themselves of this opinion, *C. Claudius* rose up again: "I submit; the sentiment of so many wise and worthy men is not to be contradicted: But, since you think it proper to admit *Plebeians* into the Government, let us endeavour to satisfy this restless People, without debasing the Majesty of the Consulship. And, in order to this, I propose, that, instead of Consuls, we elect such a number of *Military Tribunes* as shall be agreed upon, to be chosen one half out of the Senate, the other from among the *Plebeians*, and that these Magistrates be invested with Consular power. The People by this means will be satisfied; and the Consulate in more favourable times may resume its ancient Splendor and Majesty." Great praises were given to *Claudius*, and the whole Assembly agreed to the proposal. Then addressing his speech to *M. Genucius*, first Consul: "In order to succeed in this design, I would advise you to convene the Senate, send for the Tribunes of the People, and, when the Assembly is formed, declare, that you invite all who love their country, to speak their minds freely with relation to the new laws demanded by the People. Then gather the opinions; and, instead of beginning with *T. Quintius*, me, or any other of the ancient Senators, begin with *Valerius* and *Horatius*. When these have delivered their sentiments, then ask ours. For my part I shall declare my thoughts freely, and oppose the pretensions of the Tribunes with all my might, as indeed I think it my duty to do. But, if you are willing to have *Military Tribunes*, let your brother *T. Genucius* make the motion. He is the fittest Person to make it; and I can assure you, it will not be in the least suspected if it comes from him."

All approved of this scheme. The Consuls soon after convened the Senate; and when they had recommended concord and, moderation to the Assembly, invited the Tribunes to give their reasons in behalf of the new laws. *Canuleius*, instead of speaking to the matter in question, ran wholly into bitter complaints against the two Consuls for holding secret Assemblies, from which, *he said*, all the Senators who were friends

to

to the People had been excluded, and particularly *Valerius* and *Horatius*, than whom there were not wiser men, nor men of more merit in the Republick.

The Consul *Genucius* replied, that they had indeed assembled some of the older Senators, but only to consult with them, whether it would be better instantly to propose the new laws to the Senate, or to defer it till the end of the campaign: that, if they did not invite *Valerius* and *Horatius* to that council, it was purely to avoid making the People suspect that these Senators had changed their party. He added, "And to convince you, that my Colleague and I are impartial, we shall give you this proof of it. Though it be the custom for the Consuls to ask the opinions of the oldest Senators first, yet, as you do not believe them to be friends to the People, we will now change that method, and begin with *Valerius* and *Horatius*." Then, addressing himself to *Valerius*, he invited him to declare his opinion.

Valerius made a long preamble, expatiating upon his own services to the Republick, and upon those of his ancestors. He then turned his panegyrick upon the People, and recounted their merit. He added, that no city could be called free, where the citizens were not all upon an equality with regard to rights and privileges; and that he saw no reason why the *Plebeians* should be excluded from the Consulate. However, he at the same time declared, that he thought the consideration of this affair ought to be deferred to the end of the war; and he exhorted the Tribunes of the People to desist from their opposition to the levies which the Consuls demanded. On the other hand, he exhorted the Consuls to make it their first business, as soon as the war should be happily concluded, to procure a *Senatus-consultum*, for empowering the Assembly of the People to decide upon the affair in question; and he was for having the two parties come immediately to a formal written agreement to do as he advised. *Horatius*, whose opinion was asked, next spoke much to the same effect.

This advice raised a murmur in the Assembly, for it was not thoroughly liked either by those who were against the law, or by those who were for it. The first were pleased with the motion for postponing the affair, but they could not digest the proposal of resuming it after the end of the war. On the other hand, the favourers of the People, tho' glad to find that those two eminent Senators held the law to be reasonable, were yet uneasy at the thoughts of any delay in passing the *Senatus-consultum*.

The Consuls then asked the opinion of *C. Claudius*, who was looked upon as the main pillar and support of the *Patrician* faction. He pronounced with great spirit a studied harangue against these new pretensions of the People. He enumerated all their deviations from the excellent manners and institutions of their forefathers, and concluded against suffering the new proposal to be brought into deliberation, either now, or at any time hereafter.

Year of ROME cccviii. B.C. 310. Four hundred forty-four. Sixty-fourth Consulship.

Claudius's speech did not fail to produce a commotion in the Assembly. The Consul *M. Genucius*, to put a stop to it, called upon his brother *Titus* to give his opinion. This Senator declared, that it was with the greatest concern he beheld the Commonwealth afflicted with two scourges at the same time, a foreign war, and domestick feuds; that he found there was no avoiding one of two evils, the strengthening of the enemy by a continuation of the intestine broils in the Republick, or the hurting of the constitution by new concessions to the People: That, the case being so, he was of opinion rather to yield up part of the prerogative of the Nobility to the *Plebeians*, than abandon the territory of *Rome* to be ravaged by strangers. He added, "But, since the ancient Senators are so averse to the thoughts of seeing the Consular dignity in the hands of *Plebeians*, a medium may perhaps be found to satisfy both parties. What if we should suppress for a time that dignity, and create, in the room of two Consuls, six MILITARY TRIBUNES, who shall have the same functions and the same authority? Let three of the number be *Patricians*, and the other three be *Plebeians*. Next year the Senate and People may decide, in a general Assembly, whether they will restore the Consulship, or continue to elect Military Tribunes."

D. Hal. B. 11. P. 736. This proposal (of which *Claudius* was the true author) was approved by plurality of voices. *T. Genucius* had the praises of both the Senate and the People for his happy thought; the Senators were glad to have excluded the *Plebeians* from a dignity which they hoped to re-establish with all its prerogatives in more favourable times; and the People, without disturbing themselves about an empty Name, could not contain their joy at seeing themselves at length admitted to share in the government of the Commonwealth.

Livy, B. 4. c. 6. D. Hal. 12. §. III. SOME days after, an Assembly was held for the election of these new Magistrates. Several of the chief *Plebeians*, and especially those who had been Tribunes, appeared in the *Forum* cloathed in white, and solicited the People for their voices; but the multitude, satisfied with having it in their power to raise *Plebeians* to the Government, would give their votes to none but *Patricians*; so that only three Military Tribunes were chosen, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *T. Cecilius*, or *Clelius*. *Livy* adds, "Where shall we now find, in any one man, that moderation, that equity, that greatness of soul, which were then conspicuous in a whole People?" *Dionysius*, on the contrary, imputes their behaviour, on this occasion, to nothing but that levity so natural to the multitude, in all ages and nations."

But these new Magistrates were obliged to abdicate within three months after their election, upon account that *C. Curtius*, who had presided at it, gave notice, that in taking the *Auspices* (a ceremony which always preceded the elections of the curule Magistrates) the due forms

* *Livy* makes the Military Tribunes to take place in the year 310. The Fast. Cap. in 309.

had not been strictly observed. The *Romans* were very scrupulous in the least circumstances that concerned their religion; but perhaps the *Patricians* created this scruple only with a view to restore the Consular Office. The Military Tribunes had no sooner resigned their authority, but an *Inter-rex* was named, that the Commonwealth might not remain without a head. The main question now was, whether Consuls or Military Tribunes should be appointed to the Government? The Senators failed not to declare for the former; the People at first for the latter: But, as they knew themselves resolved to chuse none but *Patrician* Governors, they soon grew indifferent; and the Tribunes themselves chose rather to proceed to an election where they could not be candidates, than to one where they were sure to suffer the disgrace of being rejected as unworthy. And thus, by the joint consent of the Senate and People, the *Inter-rex* appointed Consuls, for the remaining part of the year. *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, brother to one of those *Patricians* who had abdicated the Military Tribuneship, were the persons named.

Year of
R O M E
CCCIX.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred for-
ty-three.
First Mi-
litary
Tribunes.

Livy, B.
4. c. 7 &
8.

Nothing considerable happened during the Government of the late Military Tribunes, or during the present Consulship. The union between the two orders in the Republic kept the neighbouring powers quiet; and even the *Ardeates* submitted, and renewed their alliance with *Rome*. The Senate gave them good words concerning the restitution of their lands in due time; but they could not reverse a decree of the People.

§. IV. IN the following Consulate of *M. Geganius* and * *T. Quinctius*, the CENSORSHIP was erected, This new dignity, which at first seemed of but small importance, became, in time, by the power annexed to it, the pinnacle of honour, and the most formidable Magistracy in the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
CCCX.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred for-
ty-two.

As the spirit of conquest was what chiefly prevailed in this nation, King *Servius Tullius*, in order to have a sure supply of men and money, decreed, as has been already shewn, that every five years an enumeration should be made of all the *Roman* citizens, with an exact valuation of every man's wealth. The Prince or Magistrate by this means could know immediately how many inhabitants *Rome* had, that were capable of bearing arms, and what contributions might be raised for the expence of war.

Sixty-
sixth
Consul-
ship.
* 5th time
Consul.

But the Consuls (almost continually employed in foreign wars) not having had leisure in more than seventeen years to make that enumeration which was called the *Census*, it was proposed, for the ease of the Consuls, that two Magistrates should be created, who, with the title of CENSORS, should every five years take that general review of the whole *Roman* People.

* *D. Hal.* says, that the Assembly of the People chose these Consuls. And *Livy* the *Inter-rex*, than that the *Inter-rex* presided in the Assembly. *Vid. supr.* p. 27. means no more, by imputing the choice to

Year of
R O M E
CCCX.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred for-
ty-two.

Sixty-
fifth
Consul-
ship.

The Tribunes, though always upon their guard against every thing offered by the Senate, did not oppose the establishment of this new Magistracy. Nay, they did not so much as demand that the *Plebeians* should be allowed a share in it. The reason of this might be, that they thought the powers and prerogatives of the Censorship would be inconsiderable, or that the *Commons* gained a sufficient advantage by the diminution that was made of the Consular authority, the constant object of their envy and emulation.

Papirius and *Sempronius*, the Consuls of the preceding year, were the first Censors; and this dignity was unanimously conferred upon them, to make them amends for the short duration of their Consulship, which they did not enter upon till after the abdication of the *Military Tribunes*.

While the Consuls performed the Censorial functions, their whole business in that article had been to take an exact account of the names, estates, ages, and conditions of all the masters of families, and the names and ages of their children and slaves. But, as men generally study how to enlarge their own authority, the Censorship was no sooner dismembered from the Consulship, and made a distinct Magistracy, than the Censors began to take upon them the reformation of manners. The Senators and Knights in process of time became subject to their censure as much as the meanest of the People.

When the Censors made their general review, their citizens of all ranks trembled at the sight of their tribunal; the Senator, through fear of being expelled the Senate; the Knight, with apprehension of being deprived of the *Horse* which the Republick kept for him; and the Commoner, with dread of being removed from a higher tribe to a lower, or quite disabled from giving his vote in the Assemblies, or condemned to pay a fine. So that this wholesome terror was the support of the sumptuary laws, the bond of concord, and as it were the guardian of modesty and virtue^a.

^a After the second *Punic* war the Censors were always created out of such persons as had been Consuls, though it sometimes happened otherwise before. Their station came in time to be reckoned more honourable than the Consulship, though their authority, in matters of State, was not so considerable: And the badges of the two offices were the same, only that the Censors were not allowed the *Lictors* to walk before them, as the Consuls were.

The Censorship continued no longer than to the time of the Emperors, who performed the same duty at their pleasure: And the *Flavian* family, *i. e.* *Vespasian* and his sons took a pride (as *Mr. Walker* * observes) to be called Censors, and put this among their other titles upon their coin. *Decius*, the Emperor, entered on a design of restoring the honour to a particular Magistrate, as heretofore, but without any success. † *Kenn. Antiq.* P. 2. B. 3. Ch. 7.

* Of Coins and Medals.

† Vide *Trebell. Poll.* in *Decio*.

C H A P. XXXII.

§. I. *The Romans put an end to a civil war among the Ardeates.* §. II. *And the next year make them some amends for the wrongs they had done them, on occasion of their contest with the Aricians.* §. III. *Sp. Mælius, a Roman Knight, and Corn-merchant, aspires to the sovereign power. His designs are discovered by Minucius, Superintendant of provisions, in the Consulate of T. Quinctius Capitolinus (now a sixth time Consul) and Agrippa Menenius. Quinctius, on this occasion, names his brother Quinctius Cincinnatus Dictator, who appoints Servilius Ahala to be his General of the Horse. Mælius is slain by Servilius. Three of the Tribunes, provoked at this action, stir up the People to mutiny; and the Patricians, to pacify them, consent to the creation of Military Tribunes for the next year.*

§. I. **W**HILE the Consuls were thus removing from themselves some part of the burden which had been annexed to their office, a neighbouring city found them new employment abroad. The *Ardeates* were involved in a civil war, occasioned by a dispute between two private citizens of *Ardea*, one of a noble family, the other of a *Plebeian*, who had both fallen in love with the same young woman. She herself was *Plebeian*, and her guardians were for giving her to a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious widow, was fond of matching her with a man nobly born. It became a party quarrel, and rose to such a height, that the *Plebeians* left the City in great numbers, incamped on a hill in the neighbourhood, and from thence sent out parties that pillaged and laid waste the lands of the Nobility. The mutineers were joined by the *Volsci*, and, having chose themselves a Commander, named *Cluilius*, laid siege to *Ardea*. The Nobles applied to the *Romans*. The Senate sent an army to their relief, under the command of the Consul *Geganius*, who invested the besiegers, reduced them to surrender their arms, and made pass under the yoke.

But though *Geganius* returned to *Rome* with all the glory of a Conqueror, his triumph being attended with uncommon pomp and solemnity, yet his Collegue, *Titus Quinctius*, who had continued in *Rome*, was, for his admirable conduct in the civil government, and his impartiality in the administration of justice, more esteemed and respected than he. No-body ever knew better than *Quinctius* how to temper severity with mildness.

The Senators thought him sometimes too severe to the People, and yet the People were perfectly satisfied with his goodness to them. It is easy to imagine, that, during such a wise administration, the People did not think of changing the form of government, and creating Military Tribunes.

§. II.

Year of
ROME
CCCX.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred for-
ty-two.
Sixty-
sixth
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
4. c. 9.

c. 10.

Year of R O M E
CCCXI.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred forty one.
Sixty-seventh Consulship.
Livy, B. 4. c. 11.

§. II. *M. FABIUS* and *Posthumius Æbutius*, being chosen Consuls for the new year, made it their business to bury in oblivion the remains of that infamy which the *Roman* People had brought upon themselves by the unjust judgment formerly passed in relation to the *Ardeates*. They prevailed on the Senate to pass a decree for sending a colony to *Ardea*, to defend and re-people the city, much depopulated by the civil war. It was agreed, but secretly, for fear of the Tribunes, that no lands, except those formerly in dispute, should be divided among the new colony, of which the greater part should not be *Romans*, but *Rutuli* (whose capital city was *Ardea*) and that no Roman should have any portion of the lands, till all the *Rutuli* of the colony were provided for. This was in reality annulling the judgment of the People by an act of power. And accordingly *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Clælius*, and *M. Æbutius*, the Commissioners for making the distribution, were (after a faithful discharge of their trust) cited to appear before the People. But these three *Patricians* avoided the prosecution, by declaring themselves Citizens of *Ardea*, and continuing there.

Year of R O M E
CCCXII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred forty.

The new year of *C. Furius* and *M. Papirius* was as peaceful as the foregoing; not but that some Tribunes of the Commons, always restless, endeavoured to revive the pretensions of the People, relating to the partition of the lands: They even threatened, according to their old custom, to oppose the raising of soldiers: But, as there were no wars then to be carried on, this menace was fruitless and despised.

Sixty-eighth Consulship.
c. 12.

§. III. ALL was quiet, when the next year, in the Consulate of *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Menenius*, there happened a dreadful famine, which occasioned seditions, by means whereof a private man (if we may credit *Livy*) was near getting possession of the sovereign power. The Senate imputed this scarcity of corn to the laziness and negligence of the *Plebeians*, who, intoxicated with the seditious harangues of the Tribunes, were always sauntering in the Forum, and, instead of cultivating their lands, wasted their time in idle reasonings about state affairs. On the other hand, the multitude (who always grumble at those who are at the helm) imputed the dearth intirely to the want of care in the Consuls. At length the People, with the Senate's approbation, appointed *L. Minucius*, an active, prudent man, to be principal purveyor and superintendant of provisions. *Minucius* sent his agents into the neighbouring countries all round to buy corn; but with little success. A *Roman* Knight, whose name was *Sp. Melius*, one of the richest private men in the Commonwealth, had been beforehand with him at the markets in *Hebruria*, and had bought up, in that Province, so much corn, at his private expence, as hindered the agent of the publick from making the necessary Provision at a reasonable price. *Melius* with a liberal hand distributed, among the necessitous, the corn he had amassed. It is said that the popularity he acquired by this means gave him good ground to hope being one day raised to the *Consulship*. But this, it seems, was not enough to satisfy his ambition. Nothing less than *regal* Power would content him.

During

During the publick calamity new Consuls were chosen, * *T. Quintilius* Year of R O M E CCCXIV. Bef. J. C. Four hundred thirty-eight. *Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Menenius*; but *Minucius* was continued in his office. His commission frequently obliging him, either by himself or his agents, to have intercourse with the same sort of men, with whom *Mælius* trafficked in his private capacity, the purveyor, by their means, learnt that this ambitious Knight, under cover of that liberality, which drew crowds of People to his gate, formed Assemblies in his house; nay, he got information, that great quantities of arms were often carried thither by night.

He afterwards learnt that there was a conspiracy laid to change the form of the Government; that *Mælius* aspired to the Royalty; that the People were to take arms in his favour; and that the Tribunes had consented to sell the publick liberty.

Minucius, having discovered the whole secret of this conspiracy, immediately gave an account of it to the Senate. Heavy reproaches were thrown upon the Consuls of the preceding year, and on those of the present, for that so important a discovery should be first made by the Purveyor General; whereas the Consuls ought not only to have been acquainted with *Mælius's* wicked designs more early, but before this time to have punished him. *Quintilius* replied, that, as to the latter, the Consuls were unjustly blamed; that they wanted neither courage nor resolution to punish so horrid an attempt; but that the consular Authority was too much restrained by the Laws of *Appeal*; that, if ever the business should be brought before a general Assembly, *Mælius* would infallibly escape from justice, by the favour of the multitude, who were devoted to him; that, in the present danger, the Republick stood in need of a Magistrate, not only firm and resolute, but above the laws; and that therefore he would name to the Dictatorship his brother *L. Quintilius Cincinnatus*, a man whose prudence and steady courage were answerable to that supreme authority. *Cincinnatus* would have declined the office, on account of his great age, being now past fourscore; but the Consuls and the whole Senate declaring that no man was so fit for it as he, and insisting upon his charging himself with the care of the Commonwealth in this critical juncture, he at length acquiesced, praying to the Gods, that the publick weal might not suffer through his infirmities.

He named *Servilius Ahala* to be his General of the Horse, and the next day placed guards in all parts of the city, as if some foreign enemy had been at the gates of *Rome*. This precaution surprised all who knew nothing of the conspiracy; every body inquired the reason of so strange a novelty, and why a Dictator should be named in the midst of peace. But *Mælius* plainly saw, that the power of that supreme Magistrate was wholly bent against him; and therefore, to strengthen himself by the assistance of the multitude, he was now more liberal and bountiful than ever.

The Dictator, finding that nothing but a stroke of authority could crush so dangerous a plot, caused his Tribunal to be carried into the Forum, and ascended it guarded by his Lictors armed with their axes. He then

Year of sent *Servilius*, his Master of the Horse, to cite *Mælius* to appear before
 R O M E him. *Mælius*, surprised, and in doubt what course to take, delayed to
 CCCXIV. obey, and sought to make his escape. *Servilius* commanded a Lictor to
 Bef. J. C. arrest him; which the Lictor having done, *Mælius* cried out, that the
 Four Senate wanted to destroy him only out of jealousy, and because he had con-
 hundred sacred his estate to the relief of the poor; he implored the assistance of
 thirty- the multitude, and conjured his friends not to suffer him to be murdered
 eight. in their presence. The People hereupon, encouraging one another, res-
 cued him out of the Lictor's hands. *Mælius* threw himself into the crowd,
 to escape; but *Servilius* pursued him, overtook him, and with a stroke of
 his sword killed him out-right. Then, all sprinkled with the blood of
 the slain, he presented himself before the Dictator; "*Mælius* (said he)
 "refused to obey your summons, and endeavoured to raise a rebellion;
 "he has by this hand received his due punishment." 'Twas greatly done,
 (replied the old man) *you have saved the liberty of the Commonwealth*.

He then convened a general Assembly of the People, laid before them
 the crimes of *Mælius*, and pronounced that he was justly slain^a. The
 Livy, B. Knight's house, by the Dictator's order, was razed to the ground. Pro-
 4. c. 15; digious quantities of corn were found there, which *Minucius* selling to the
 & 16. People at low rates, they made no opposition to a Decree which ordered a
 statue to be erected to his honour, as the reward of his vigilance.

But three of the *Tribunes*, who were doubtless the confidents and accom-
 plices of *Mælius*, could never forgive either *Minucius* or *Servilius* the death
 of that ambitious Corn-merchant; they made loud complaints of the
 murder; and the *Tribunes* in general were so much provoked against the
 Senate, that they absolutely opposed the election of Consuls: The *Patri-*
cians, to avoid a tumult, were forced to consent that *Military Tribunes* should
 be chosen to the Government, for the next year.

Some *Tribunes of the Commons* flattered themselves, that they should
 have a great sway in this election; but, notwithstanding all their cabals,
 the People, contented with being allowed to stand candidates, gave their
 votes to *Patricians* only. *Mamercus Æmilius*, *Julius Iulus*, and *L. Quinc-*
 R O M E *tius* (the son of the Dictator who had just taken off *Mælius*) were the per-
 CCCXV. sons elected.

Year of
 R O M E
 CCCXV.
 Bef. J. C.
 Four hun-
 dred thir-
 ty-seven.

^a See what is said on this Matter, in the note at the end of chap. xiv.

Second
 Mil. Trib

C H A P. XXXIII.

§. I. *Fidenæ* revolts from the Romans, and puts itself under the protection
 of *Tolumnius*, King of the *Veientes*. The Romans name a Dictator,
Mamercius Æmilius, who defeats the enemy in a pitched battle, wherein
Cornelius Collus, a *legionary Tribune*, kills *Tolumnius* and strips him of
 his armour. §. II. *Sp. Mælius*, a *Tribune of the Commons*, commences
 a prosecution against *Servilius* and *Minucius*, for the death of *Mælius* the
 corn-merchant. §. III. The *Veientes* and *Fidenates* renew the war.
 Fidenæ

Fidenæ is taken by the Romans. A law is passed restraining the office of Censor to eighteen months duration. §. IV. The Senate is obliged to humour the People, by suffering Military Tribunes to be created. However none but Patricians are chosen. The rich Plebeians complain of the poorer sort, for their having constantly refused to elect any of them to that Magistracy. The Senate, fearing lest some of the chief Plebeians should get into the Military Tribuneship, contrive, on occasion of a war with the Æqui, to get two Consuls chosen to the Government; but these disagreeing, through jealousy, the Senate judge it necessary to have a Dictator. The Consuls refuse to name one. The Senators rashly apply to the Tribunes to interpose in the affair. The Tribunes threaten the Consuls. Posthumius Tubertus is named Dictator. He defeats the enemy. §. V. The Æqui obtain a truce for eight years. Rome being afflicted with a famine and a plague, the People have recourse to foreign superstitions; which are soon prohibited. §. VI. The Veientes make incursions on the Roman lands. Disputes arising between the Senate and People about the prerogative of proclaiming war, the Romans do not take the field 'till the next year, when the People prevail to have Military Tribunes in the Government, but they chuse only Patricians. These not acting in concert are defeated by the enemy. Mamercus Æmilius, raised to the Dictatorship, gives the Veientes a total overthrow, and takes their camp, as also Fidenæ, which had again revolted from the Romans.

§. I. **T**HE tranquillity of the new administration was disturbed by the defection of *Fidenæ*, a city about five miles distant from Rome, on the side of *Sabinia*. It had been a Roman colony ever since *Romulus's* time. The *Fidenates* had frequently revolted; and now again, throwing off the yoke, they put themselves under the protection of *Tolumnius*, King of the *Veientes*. Nor did the *Fidenates* stop at rebellion only, but murdered four Ambassadors whom the Romans sent to them to ask the reason of their conduct. *Livy* relates, that they did this enormous deed by order of the King, whose aim (he supposes) was to extinguish in them all hope of a reconciliation with Rome. The prospect of coming soon to a bloody battle (for the war was already begun) determined the Republick to chuse Consuls, rather than Military Tribunes, for the ensuing year.

M. Geganius (a third time) and *L. Sergius* were elected. It fell to the latter to conduct the war. But, though he gained some advantage over the enemy, it cost the Romans dear, and they did not think fit to continue at the head of the army a General, who was so prodigal of Roman blood. The Senate ordered a Dictator to be created, and *Mamercus Æmilius* was nominated by the Consuls. The very report of the election of a General whose merit was equal to his employment abated the confidence of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*, who durst not appear in the field; 'till they were joined by the *Falisci*. The Dictator defeated these confederates in a pitched battle. *Tolumnius* was slain in the action by *Cornelius Cossus*, a legionary Tribune, who stripped him of his Armour and royal Robes. And these

Year of
R O M E
CCCXV.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
thirty-
seven.
Second
Mil. Trib.
Liv. B. 4.
c. 17.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXVI.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
thirty-six.
Seventy-
first Con-
sulship.
Liv. B. 4.
c. 18, 19,
20.

Year of ROME cccxvi. Bef. J. C. Four hundred thirty-six. spoils, called *opima spolia*, *Cornelius* afterwards carried on his shoulders in the Dictator's triumph, and then deposited them in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. They were the second of the sort known in *Rome*. The first were borne by *Romulus*, who killed King *Acron* in single combat.

§. II. IN the following year (of the Consuls, *M. Cornelius* and *L. Papirius*) one *Sp. Melius*, a Tribune of the People, and a relation of the famous Corn-merchant, cited *Minucius* and *Servilius Abala* to answer for what they had done against his kinsman; *Minucius* for having brought a false accusation against him, and *Servilius* for having put to death a *Roman* Citizen, before condemnation.

Seventy-first Consulship. Year of ROME cccxvii. Bef. J. C. Four hundred thirty-five. *Livy* intimates that these prosecutions were fruitless, and that the Tribune only brought himself into contempt by them: But others relate, that *Servilius* was condemned to banishment, from which *Cicero* pretends, that he was afterwards recalled. As for *Minucius*, we do not find that he suffered any thing from the resentment of the prosecutor.

Seventy-second Consulship. Livy, B. 4. c. 21. Val Max. B. 5. c. 3. Cic. pro Domo, §. 32. Year of ROME cccxviii. Bef. J. C. Four hundred thirty-four. §. III. THE chief concern of the *Romans*, at this time, was to preserve themselves from the plague, with which they were grievously afflicted. And it raged with greater fury, in the following Consulship of * *Julius Iulus* and *L. Virginus*. While *Rome* was in this distress, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* came and incamped almost close to the city, on the side of the gate *Collina*. The Senate, being terrified at so near an approach of the enemy, thought it necessary to nominate a Dictator; and the Consuls pitched upon *Quintus Servilius Priscus*, who commanded all those whose health would permit them to march out of the city. Upon this the enemy immediately retired: But *Servilius* came up with them near *Nomentum*, routed them, and afterwards took the city of *Fidene* by sap. However, this being looked upon as a civil war, because *Fidene* was a *Roman* Colony, the General was not granted a triumph, though he probably assumed then the name of *Fidenas*. This success was followed by a Census of the *Roman* People, which, after the establishment of the Censors, never failed to be renewed every five years.

Seventy-third Consulship. * A third time. Livy, B. 4. c. 22. Fast. Cap. Year of ROME cccxix. Bef. J. C. Four hundred thirty-three. It is not agreed, whether *Rome* in the beginning of the year 319 was governed by the former Consuls, *Julius Iulus* and *L. Virginus*, or by new ones, *M. Manlius* and *Q. Sulpicius*, or by three Military Tribunes. But, be that as it will, it is certain that these Tribunes or Consuls were so little concerned in the events of the year, that they were soon forgotten. A rumour being spread abroad, that all the nations of *Hetruria* were to take arms in favour of the *Veientes*, *Mamercus Æmilius*, a man illustrious both in peace and war, was raised a second time to the Dictatorship, a dignity in which he had before acquired great glory against the same enemies. But the news of this dreadful league proving false, and *Æmilius* finding himself deceived in his hopes of signalising his second Dictatorship by a new victory, resolved however to leave some monument of his zeal for the publick liberty. He observed to the People in a general Assembly, that their Ancestors, in order to preserve their freedom, had established in the Republick no Officer whose authority was to last above a year :

a year : but that this wise precaution had not been remembered in the late Year of creation of Censors, who were allowed a five years Magistracy ; that it R O M E was a grievous thing to be subject five years (a great portion of a man's CCCXIX. life) to the censure of the same persons : And that a Law therefore ought Bef. J. C. to be made for shortening the duration of that office to eighteen months. Four hundred thirty-three.

This discourse was received with great applause, especially by the People, and the next day the Law, with their approbation, was passed and published in form. Then *Æmilius*, " To convince you, *Romans*, that I am in earnest, when I express so great a dislike to Magistracies of long continuance, I now resign my own." The multitude with acclamations of joy, and with expressions of the greatest esteem and affection, conducted him back to his house. But *C. Furius* and *M. Geganius*, the present Censors, shewed a most extravagant resentment of the injury which they pretended was done them, by this abridging of the duration of the Censorship. *Æmilius* had no sooner abdicated his authority, but, in virtue of the power belonging to their office, they struck his name out of the roll of his Tribe, took from him, as from a scandalous wretch, the privilege of voting, and loaded him with a tribute eight times greater than he used to pay. But this persecution, instead of dishonouring him, gave him a new lustre ; all the shame fell upon the persecutors. The Senators themselves, notwithstanding they disliked the new law, were yet more displeased with the severe and arbitrary conduct of the Censors ; making this natural reflection, that, though they might themselves be for a time possessed of the same power, they should probably be much longer subject to it. And, as for the People, full of indignation, they would have torn *Furius* and *Geganius* to pieces, if *Æmilius* had not been so generous as to save them. Seventy-fourth Consulship.

§. IV. THE Tribunes of the Commons, by renewing their ordinary harangues against the electing of Consuls, prevailed to have Military Tribunes chosen for the next year ; nevertheless, in spite of all their interest and intrigues, the People still prepossessed in favour of the Nobility, as to their capacity for government, and the command of armies, gave their voices again to three *Patricians*, *M. Fabius*, *M. Fostius*, and *L. Sergius*. Nothing remarkable happened in their year except a plague, which ceased in the following year of *L. Pinarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. And then ambition raised some fresh disturbances at *Rome*. The wealthy *Plebeians* complained of the inferior sort, as not well enough affected to their interests, having never chosen any but *Patricians* to be Military Tribunes, notwithstanding the law, which allowed them to chuse three *Plebeians* to that dignity. They met at the houses of the Tribunes of the Commons, to consult upon this matter ; and there they came to this conclusion, that the neglect which had been shewn them was owing to the various arts used by the Nobles to gain the People's favour in elections, and it was resolved to propose a law, forbidding any pretenders to the superior offices to go about, as had been the custom, in garments of an extraordinary whiteness, (whence they were called Candidates) to solicit the People's votes : A matter which, as *Livy* tells us, would in his days have been thought of Livy, B. 4. c. 25. Year of R O M E CCCXX. Bef. J. C. Four hundred thirty-two. Third Mil. Tri. Y. of R. 321. Bef. J. C. 431. Fourth Mil. Tri. Liv. B. 4. c. 25. small

Year of small moment, and scarce worthy of a serious debate, but which at this time raised a very warm contention between the two parties. The Tribunes prevailed, the law was passed, and the present animosity of the People against the *Patricians* gave reason to believe that the former would no longer refuse their voices to the chief *Plebeians* for the Military Tribuneship. The Senate to avert this danger turned their thoughts to get Consuls chosen for the next year. The formidable preparations which the *Æquians* and *Volscians* made for war at this time favoured the design. As there were no *Plebeians* who had ever commanded armies, and none but old Captains and the chief men of the Senate were fit for that employment, the People were indifferent, whether Consuls or Military Tribunes were chosen this year. Thus the Senate being left masters of the election, the Consulship

was restored, and *T. Quintius*, the son of *Lucius*, and *C. Julius Mento* attained that dignity. A better choice could not have been made, with respect either to birth or capacity in the art of war: But, jealousy and division arising between them, it is said * they were beaten near the *Algidus*. The Senate, to prevent the Consequences of their defeat, resolved to have recourse to a Dictator. But the two Consuls, on whom the nomination of him depended, though they differed in all other respects, united to cross the Senators in this particular. They were probably offended at the diffidence shewn of their abilities; but, whatever was the cause of their non-compliance with the Senate's desire, they continued obstinate in their determination, 'till, expresses upon expresses bringing accounts of the mischievous progress of the enemies arms, *Q. Servilius Priscus*, a Consular person, turning to the Tribunes of the People who were then in the Senate-house, exhorted them to interpose their authority, and oblige the Consuls to name a Dictator. Those *Plebeian* Magistrates joyfully laid hold of so fair an occasion to extend their power, and, having withdrawn a while to consult, returned with this declaration, *That it was the pleasure of the Tribunes, that the Consuls should obey the Senate, or be led to prison, if they persisted in their disobedience*. Hereupon the two Magistrates submitted, upbraiding the Senators however, that it was by them the Consular authority was betrayed and subjected to the yoke of the Tribunitian power. The *Conscript Fathers* indeed seem to have been so much exasperated against the two Magistrates, and so intent upon vanquishing their obstinacy, as not to be duly sensible of the breach they made in their own authority. After some dispute between the Consuls about the person who should be Dictator, they drew lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to *T. Quintius*; and he named his father-in-law *Posthumius Tubertus*, who appointed *L. Julius Iulus* to be his General of the Horse.

Posthumius was an old Captain, of great valour and experience, but naturally harsh and severe. The knowledge of his temper and the power of life and death, which the Dictatorship gave him, made all who were sum-

* *Livy* speaks doubtfully, and seems here to be much in the dark. He gives no account of what became of the Consuls army after the defeat; nor how the Generals came to be so suddenly in the Senate-house after it.

moned run obediently to range themselves under his ensigns. Leaving the defence of the city to the Consul *C. Julius*, and giving to the other Consul, *T. Quinctius*, the command of one half of the Army; he marched away, and soon came up with the enemy. Observing that they were lodged in two separate camps, he posted his troops likewise in two camps, about a mile from theirs. Daily skirmishes ensued, in which the *Romans* had generally the advantage. This took from the enemy the hope of conquering in the plain field. They attacked therefore the Consul's camp in the night. But neither did they succeed in this enterprise. By the able conduct of the Dictator and his Generals, the *Romans*, after a bloody conflict, proved victorious. *Posthumius* led back his army to *Rome*, and, when he had been honoured with a TRIUMPH, laid down the Dictatorship.

Year of
R O M E
cccxxii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred thirty.
Seventy-fifth Consulship.

§. V. THE next year, in which *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius* were Consuls, the *Æqui*, being humbled by former losses, desired to enter into alliances with the Republick; on the same foot with the *Latines* and *Hernici*. But their Envoys perceiving that the *Romans* were not inclined to an union, upon any other terms, than a submission at discretion; they proposed only a truce, which was granted for eight years. The *Volsci* at this time quarrelled among themselves, and from disputes and reproaches came to seditions and battles. By this means *Rome* was left in perfect tranquillity, and nothing remarkable was done there during the present Consulship, but the settling, by a law, the value of the oxen and sheep, paid by way of fines for disobedience to Magistrates; and the fines were ordered to be paid in money for the future, each ox valued at 100 Asses of brass, and each sheep at 10. The Tribunes were the first projectors of this new regulation; but the Consuls, having notice of the design, proposed the law themselves, by which they gained the favour of the People.

Year of
R O M E
cccxxiii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred twenty-nine.
Seventy-sixth Consulship.
Livy, B. 4. c. 30.

L. Sergius and *Hostus Lucretius* passed their Consulship in greater inaction than their Predecessors. The Republick enjoyed a profound peace. But the next year, when *T. Quinctius* (a second time) and *Cornelius Cossus* were raised to the Consulate, a calamity more grievous than war fell upon *Rome*, and almost upon all *Italy*. An extreme drought occasioned a famine, which was followed by a dreadful plague, that spared neither man nor beast. And not only the bodies of the *Romans* were distempered, says *Livy*, but their minds too were infected with various superstitions; and these chiefly of foreign growth. Rites and Ceremonies and expiatory Sacrifices, never before practised at *Rome*, were introduced by crafty knaves, who, pretending to prophecy, imposed on the credulity of the People. The chief Magistrates, well apprised of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the *Ædiles* to put a stop to this disorder, and to see, that no other Gods were worshipped but the *Roman*, nor these worshipped in any other manner than that which was established by Law.

Y. of R.
cccxxiv.
Y. of R.
cccxxv.

§. VI. THE *Veientes* after their defeat near *Nomentum*, in the year 318, had obtained a truce for 8 years, but, before this time was expired, they

Year of R O M E CCCXXVI. B. J. C. Four hundred twenty-five. —————
 they had ravaged the lands of the Republick. The Senate therefore in the Consulship of L. * *Papirius* and *Servilius Abala* thought it proper to revenge this injury. The only question was in what manner war should be declared against them. The Senate pretended that their Decree would be sufficient: On the other hand the People urged that to determine affairs of peace and war was their peculiar province. This was not disputed, but the Senators alledged that the question at present was not about a new war, but about a war already begun, and only suspended by a truce. The Tribunes carried their point by threatening to hinder the levies, if the Consuls did not apply themselves to the People to obtain a declaration of war against the *Veientes*. These disputes produced these two effects, they delayed the vengeance of the *Romans*, and made the People insist upon having the government of the Republick placed the next year in the hands of Military Tribunes, and not of Consuls.

Year of R O M E CCCXXVII. B. J. C. Four hundred twenty-five. —————
 Four *Patricians* were chosen, T. *Quintilius Cincinnatus*, C. *Furius*, M. *Posthumius*, and A. *Cornelius Cossus*, and they took their employments by lot. *Cossus* stayed at *Rome*, the other three marched against the *Veientes*. But these Generals not acting in concert, when they came to an engagement with the enemy, the *Roman* army was routed. However, it happened very fortunately, that the nearness of the camp saved the troops from slaughter, and their disgrace was greater than their loss. But, as it had not been usual for them to suffer any disgrace, the whole city was in consternation at the news of this shameful action. The People demanded to have the Generals deposed, and at the same time to have a Dictator named. A difficulty arose in relation to this last demand. It had been the prerogative of the Consuls to nominate a Dictator, and there were no Consuls now in being. The Augurs, being consulted thereupon, declared that *Cossus*, who had had no share in the late disaster, might lawfully name a Dictator. Accordingly he named *Mamercus Æmilius*, that great man, who had been in the same post twice before, and whom the Censors had degraded, and sunk to a level with the lowest of the People. *Æmilius* appointed *Cossus* to be his General of the Horse.

In the mean time the inhabitants of *Fidene* massacred the *Roman* colony there, and revolted a seventh time to the *Veientes*, who passed the *Tiber*, and incamped near the city. The Dictator, with his infantry, attacked them furiously; but his left wing was a while amazed and terrified by the enemy's new manner of fighting. The *Fidenates* opened one of the gates of their city, and sent out some soldiers with lighted torches in their hands, and dressed in habits like those usually given the furies. These ran like mad enthusiasts through the *Roman* battalions, and threatened them with fire and sword at the same time. But the Dictator upbraided his men with cowardice, "What, said he, are you as much afraid of smoke as a swarm of bees? Make use of your swords to wrest these torches out of the enemy's hands, and then go and set fire to their city with them." The *Romans* recovered their courage, and, *Cossus* with his cavalry falling upon the enemy at the same time, the latter were intirely defeated: Both *Fidene* and

and the camp of the *Veientes* were taken and plundered, and the prisoners were partly distributed by lot to the *Roman* Officers, and the rest sold for the benefit of the publick. This glorious expedition being finished in sixteen days, *Æmilius* led back his troops to *Rome*, had the honours of a triumph, and then laid down his Dictatorship, leaving it a question, whether his bravery or his moderation were the greater.

Year of
R O M E
cccxxvii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred
twenty-
five.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Fifth Mi-
litary Tri-
bunes.
Livy, B.

§. I. Military Tribunes are chosen to the government the two following years; but the choice falls only on Patricians. The Tribunes of the Commons use their utmost endeavours to dissuade the People from this preference of the Nobles to them, in their elections. The Senate, to counterplot them, before the new elections come on, contrive to send away the principal of the Plebeians into the field against the *Volsci*. In their absence *Appius Claudius* (son of the Decemvir) one of the Military Tribunes, holds an assembly for electing Consuls, and *C. Sempronius* and *Q. Fabius* are chosen. §. II. *Sempronius* brings the whole Roman army into danger of being cut to pieces by the *Volsci*. An Officer of horse, named *Tempanius*, by his bravery and prudence, prevents the defeat of the Romans. He arrives at *Rome* before the Consul, and gives testimony in favour of his conduct. §. III. The People condemn *Posthumius* (one of those Military Tribunes, who by their disunion had lost a battle in the year 327) in a fine. *Tempanius* is made one of the Tribunes of the Commons. His General *Sempronius* being prosecuted by the People for his misconduct, he takes his part, and engages the Tribune *Hortensius*, the accuser, to drop the prosecution.

§. I. THE two following years were spent in making truces with the *Veientes* and *Æqui*, and in other negociations, and in celebrating the great games of the Circus. The Government was in each of these years committed to four Military Tribunes. The Tribunes of the Commons prevailed so far; but they had still the mortification to see Patricians only elected.

Year of
R O M E
cccxxviii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred
twenty-
four.

It is impossible to express the rage and indignation of these Plebeian Magistrates. They reproached the People with ingratitude. They told them plainly that great recompences were necessary to encourage men to great actions, and that for their parts they would throw up all care of the Plebeian interest, if their zeal and labours were never to be rewarded with honours. That it was much better to repeal the law which qualified Plebeians for the Tribuneship, than to see it thus rendered fruitless in all the

Year of
R O M E
cccxxix.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred
twenty-
three.
Livy, B.
4. c. 35.

A. SEMPRONIUS,	} Y. of R.		AP. CLAUDIUS,	} Y. of R.
L. FURIUS.			SP. NAUTIUS,	
L. QUINCTIUS,			L. SERGIUS,	
L. HORATIUS,			SEX. JULIUS.	
	3.			329.

Year of elections by the cabals of the *Patricians*; and that it would be less shame
 R O M E to the Commons to be wholly excluded from the privilege of standing can-
 CCCXXIX didates, than to be always rejected as incapable or unworthy.

These discourses, often repeated, made an impression upon the multi-
 tude; and at the same time the richest and most eminent men of the *Ple-*
beians gave out, that, if they could once be chosen to the Government,
 they would not fail to get the publick lands divided among the citizens,
 procure the establishment of new colonies, and cause a tax to be laid upon
 the landed men to provide pay for the soldiers in time of war: In a word,
 they forgot nothing that might engage the People to raise them to the dig-
 nity of Military Tribunes.

The *Patrician* Magistrates, who were then in possession of that dignity,
 to avoid the shame of having *Plebeians* for their successors, privately agreed
 with the Senate to lead out of *Rome* (under pretence of making an incursion
 upon the lands of the *Volsci*, who, they gave out, were preparing with all
 diligence for war) the chief of the People, and especially those who as-
 pired to the Military Tribuneship; and during the absence of the army to
 proceed to an election of Consuls. Three of the Military Tribunes took
 the field, leaving *Appius* (the Decemvir's son) their Collegue, to guard the
 city, and preside at the intended election. *Appius* was a young man bold
 and enterprising, and had been educated from his very cradle in an here-
 ditary aversion to the People's power. No sooner were the *Tribunes* with
 great numbers of the *Plebeians* gone into the field, but, laying hold of the
 opportunity, he, pursuant to a decree of the Senate, held the *Comitia* for
 electing Consuls. *C. Sempronius Atratinus* and *C. Fabius Vibulanus* were
 chosen: And the People and their Tribunes, at their return, found the
 election too strongly settled, to think of reversing it. They afterwards
 shewed their resentment, by prosecuting one of the Consuls as a criminal,
 on account of the ill success he had in the war against the *Volsci*.

§. II. THIS warlike People, who had long fought with the *Romans*
 for empire and dominion, did this year make, as it were, a last effort to
 avoid receiving the yoke of their old enemies. They raised a great num-
 ber of troops, made choice of able Captains, and omitted none of those
 wise precautions, which may be looked upon as the surest presages of good
 success. *Rome* sent against them her first Consul *Sempronius*, a man full
 of courage, familiar with his soldiers, and therefore greatly beloved by
 them, but who was himself more a soldier than a Captain, and seemed to
 think that valour alone was sufficient to supply all the duties of a General.
 The two armies soon came in view of each other. *Sempronius* despised ene-
 mies whom the *Romans* had so often vanquished; and, as if he had been
 sure of winning the victory with only his infantry, left his horse in a place
 where he could receive no manner of assistance from them. The fight be-
 gan with great fury on both sides. The *Romans* advanced daringly, and
 charged the enemy with their usual valour. But as they fought with
 more fury than order, and as the *Volsci*, drawn together in firm and close
 battalions, defended themselves with great courage, victory began to
 declare

Year of
 R O M E
 CCCXXX.
 Bef. J. C.
 Four
 hundred
 twenty-
 two.

Eightieth
 Consul-
 ship.
 Livy, B. 4.
 c. 73.

declare for the side where was most disciplines. The *Volsci*, led by an experienced General, pressed on briskly, and broke the legion. The *Romans*, instead of attacking, thought now only how to avoid the attack of the enemy. They gave back, and lost ground apace. The Consul, perceiving it, hastened to the place where there was most danger. He fought with his own hands, and tried to animate his soldiers by his example and reproaches, but in vain. He called and he threatened; no-body gave attention to his orders. At length all the legions fell into confusion, and the battle had been quite lost, but for the valour and prudence of *Sex. Tempanius*, an old Captain of horse.

Sempronius, who, as was said before, had flattered himself that he should be able to defeat the enemy with only his foot, had left his horse in a place hemmed in with bogs, where it was impossible for them to fight. *Tempanius*, observing the disorder the legions were put into, leaped to the ground, and addressing himself to his companions, *Follow my lance*, said he, *as if it were a standard; and let us shew the enemy, that, as well on foot as on horseback, nothing can withstand us.* The whole body of horse dismounted after his example, and followed him. *Tempanius*, at the head of them, marched straight against the enemy, and restored the fight. The legions, at the sight of this succour, resumed courage, and returned to the charge with fresh fury. The General of the *Volsci* could not conceive whence this new body of infantry should come. But, as he found himself pressed by them, he sent orders to his troops to open their ranks, and give passage to the soldiers which *Tempanius* commanded, and then to close again, in order to separate them from the *Roman* legions. The *Volsci* did as they were ordered. *Tempanius* and his men, carried on by the heat of their courage, and imagining they were following victory, and a routed enemy, rushed still forwards: But it was not long before they found themselves cut off from the *Roman* main body by some of the enemy's battalions, that stood now in close array. *Tempanius* did his utmost to force his way through them, and rejoin the Consul; but he could not break their order. In this extremity he spied an eminence, of which he presently took possession.

A part of the *Volscian* troops immediately attacked him, believing it impossible for him to make a long resistance. But *TEMPANIUS*, throwing his men into a ring, defended himself with invincible bravery; and this diversion saved the *Roman* army. The Consul, however, at the head of the legions, strove in vain to join *Tempanius*. The *Volsci*, though they lost abundance of men in this last conflict, kept their ground every-where; nor could the *Romans* break one of their battalions. They fought 'till it was night, without either of the Generals being able to perceive on which side lay the advantage; and nothing but want of light made the battle cease.

Both armies, believing themselves losers, equally feared to renew the fight the next morning; nay, the terror in both was so great, that they hastily quitted their camps in the night, leaving many of their wounded,

Year of
R O M E.
cccxxx.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
twenty-two.
Eightieth
Consulship.
Livy, B.
4. c. 38.

Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 2.
Livy, B.
4. c. 39.

Year of and a great part of their baggage behind them, and retired to the moun-
 R O M E tains that were nearest to them.

cccxix. *Tempanius* continued to be invested 'till after midnight; but then the
 Bef. J. C. assailants, receiving notice that their main army had abandoned their camp,
 Four hun- fled likewise in a fright. The *Roman*, who doubted not but the *Volsci*
 dred would attack him again when light returned, was very much surprised
 twenty- when at day-break he saw neither friends nor enemies. He could not
 two. imagine what was become of two great armies, who, not many hours
 Eightieth before, had stretched over the whole plain. He went down with a few
 Consul- of his companions, and took a view, first of the *Volscian* camp; not a
 ship. man was to be seen in it, except those of the wounded, who had not been
 Livy, B. able to follow the main body of the army. Then calling down all his
 4. c. 39. soldiers from the hill, he entered the *Roman* camp, and there found the
 like solitude. Not knowing to what place the Consul was retired with his
 troops, and fearing the return of the *Volsci*, upon the first discovery of
 their error, he took up the wounded *Romans*, and marched straight to *Rome*.
 c. 40. Some run-aways from the battle had got to the city before him; and, be-
 cause they had seen him and his followers cut off from the main army, and
 surrounded by the enemy, they had given out, that the whole body of ca-
 valry was cut to pieces. The return therefore of these brave men occasi-
 oned an excessive surprise and joy.

It happened, that the People were actually assembled when *Tempanius*
 arrived at *Rome*. The Tribunes of the Commons thought this to be a fa-
 vourable opportunity of humbling a Consul. They obliged *Tempanius* to
 appear in the Assembly before he set foot in own house; and *Cn. Julius*,
 one of those *Plebeian* Magistrates, asked him aloud, whether he thought
Sempronius had chosen a proper time to come to an engagement with the
 enemy, had supported his line of battle with reinforcements, or in any
 respect acted the part of a good General? He added, *You are to answer*
these Questions upon your honour, as you are a man of veracity and bravery.
Finally, tell us, what is become of Sempronius and our Legions; whether
they abandoned you, or you deserted them; and whether we are vanquished or
 c. 41. *victorious? Tempanius*, far from seeking to make his own advantage of
Sempronius's disgrace, answered, That it did not become a private Officer
 to pretend to judge of the capacity of his General: That the People had
 given their opinion of it when they chose him Consul: That he had seen
 him fight at the head of the legions with invincible bravery, and expose
 his own person in all the places where there was most danger: That the
 great distance between them after their separation, and the confusion which
 always happens in so obstinate a fight, had kept him from knowing every
 thing that passed where the Consul was engaged; but that he could how-
 ever assure them, by what had appeared to him upon a view of the field
 of battle, that the *Volsci* had not lost fewer men than the *Romans*. He
 added, That as, upon his separation from the main body of the legions,
 he had been so fortunate as to get possession of an eminence, on which,
 notwithstanding all the assaults of the enemy, he had preserved those that
 were

were trusted to his command; so he presumed the Consul, in that general disorder, had gained the mountains, and there intrenched himself. *Tempanius* then desired leave to retire, in order to get the wounds dressed which he had received in the fight. The whole Assembly gave yet greater praises to the discretion and modesty of his answer, than to the valour and good conduct with which he had fought against the enemies of his country.

§. III. HOWEVER the people were so much out of humour with their Generals, that they hastened the condemnation of *Posthumius*, one of the three Military Tribunes, who by their disunion had lost a battle in the year 327. The Tribunes of the Commons had in the beginning of the present year cited both him and his Collegue *T. Quintilius* (the third was dead) to answer for their misconduct; but the prosecution had been suspended by the apprehension of a war with the *Volsci*. *Posthumius* was now condemned to pay a large fine^a; but *Quintilius* was universally acquitted by the Tribes, on account of his own signal services, (when Consul under the Dictator *Posthumius*) as well as those of his father *Cincinnatus*, and his uncle *Capitolinus*; which latter interceded for him.

As for *Tempanius*, the People, in reward of his services, chose him some time after to the Tribuneship, together with three other Officers, who like him had distinguished themselves in the war. In this post he gave new proofs of the generosity of his soul. For *L. Hortensius*, one of the Tribunes, having cited *Sempronius*, after the year of his Consulate was expired, to answer before the Assembly of the People for his conduct in the last battle, *Tempanius* and his three Collegues above-mentioned generously made themselves his advocates, and intreated *Hortensius* not to persecute a brave General, who had been only unfortunate on that occasion. *Hortensius*, believing that these Tribunes, though they affected to act the part of intercessors, had resolved to interpose their authority in favour of the accused, turning to *Sempronius*, asked him, *What was become of his Patrician spirit, and of that courage which a consciousness of innocence would give him, that he, a Consular, should shelter himself under the shadow of the Tribunes?* Then turning to his Collegues, *But, if I persist in my prosecution of this man, what is the part you will act? Will you rob the PEOPLE of their Judicature, and overturn the power of the Tribunes?* *Tempanius* and his Collegues replied, That the ROMAN PEOPLE had indisputably a supreme authority over *Sempronius* and all the members of the Republick; and that, as for themselves, they had neither the inclination, nor the power, to deprive the PEOPLE of their Right of Judging the accused: But that, if the *intreaties* they made in behalf of their General, who had been to *them* a father, could not prevail, they would *change their habit*, as he had done. “Nay (cried *Hortensius*) but that shall never be; the Com-

Year of
R O M E
cccxxxi.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
twenty-
one.

Eighth
Military
Trib. *

Livy, B.
4. c. 42.

* L. MANIUS VULSO,

Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA,

L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS,

L. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

^a Ten Thousand Asses. Decem millibus æris gravis damnatur. 32l. 5s. 10d. *Arlutbot,*

“ MORS

Year of " mons of Rome shall not see their Tribunes in mourning. I have done.
 R O M E " I have nothing farther to say against a man who by his behaviour in
 cccxxxi. " command could make himself so dear to his soldiers." And thus he
 Bef. J. C. dropt the impeachment.

Fourhun-
 dred
 twenty-
 one.

C H A P. XXXV.

Eightieth
 Consul-
 ship.

§. I. *New dissensions arise in the Republick, on occasion of a proposal to add two Quæstors to the two already established. The Tribunes resolve not to suffer an election of Consuls, unless it be made a rule, that, of the four Quæstors, two be always Plebeian. The two parties come at length to this compromise, that Military Tribunes shall be elected to the government, and that the People shall be free to chuse Patricians or Plebeians to the Quæstorship. The People chuse not only the Military Tribunes but the Quæstors too out of the Patricians only.* §. II. *The Tribunes revive the old quarrel about the distribution of the conquered lands. Appius's advice to the Senate, to raise a division among these Magistrates, is followed with success.* §. III. *The affair of the AGRARIAN LAW is revived. Posthumius, one of the Military Tribunes, and General of the army, by his breach of word, and by some imprudent menaces, he provokes his soldiers, that they mutiny. Attempting to justify the mutineers, he is slain by them. The Senate, fearing lest the People, in order to screen the murderers, should chuse Plebeian Military Tribunes for the next year (340), use all their endeavours to get the Consulship restored; and they prevail. The fasces, after being seven years in the hands of Military Tribunes, are transferred to two Consuls, A. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus, who shew great moderation and prudence in the prosecution of the criminals.* §. IV. *In the year 344, the People chuse three of the four Quæstors out of the Plebeians. And the Senate is forced to consent to an election of Military Tribunes for the next year. Three Patricians are chosen. They being ordered by the Senate to name a Dictator, on occasion of a war with the Volsci, two of them refuse. The Senate hereupon has recourse, as formerly, to the Tribunes; but these return a disdainful answer, and will not meddle in the dispute. Servilius Ahala, the third Military Tribune, names P. Cornelius Dictator, who quickly puts an end to the war. Servilius's two Collegues, in anger against the Senate, propose Military Tribunes at the next election: However Patricians are chosen, and so likewise the next year. The Tribunes of the Commons, provoked to the utmost, revenge themselves, by opposing the levies for a war with the Veientes, who had insulted the Roman Ambassadors; and they make the old affair of the Agrarian Law their pretence. The Senate get the better of this opposition, by decreeing that the infantry shall hereafter have PAY out of the publick treasury, during the service. The People joyfully confirmed this Decree, and readily offer themselves to be enlisted.*

§. I.

§. I. **T**HE affection which four *Tribunes of the Commons* had shewed to a *Patrician*, and the compliance of *Hortensius* with their desires in his favour, seemed to promise a better understanding, and more union between the Senate and People, than there had been of late: But the very next year, in the Consulate of *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Fabius Vibulanus*, new dissensions arose with relation to the Quæstorship. [The institution of this office is ascribed by *Plutarch* to *Poplicola*, who (according to the same Author) left the choice of the Quæstors to the People. Their business was to collect the taxes, defray the expences of war, and keep exact accounts of their receipts and disbursements of the publick money, of which they were the treasurers, and for which they were accountable. And, lastly, the *Roman* eagles were deposited with them, and they delivered them out, at the Consuls command, when the *Romans* marched into the field.]

Year of
R O M E
cccxxxii.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred
twenty.
Eighty-
first
Consul-
ship.
Liv. B. 4.
c. 43.

To this time, only two of these Officers had been annually chosen, who never stirred from *Rome*. The Consuls proposed that two others should now be added, to attend the Generals in the field, take account of the spoils won from the enemy, sell the booty, and, above all, provide for the subsistence of the army. The Senate warmly seconded this Proposal, 'till the *Tribunes* demanded, that some of the Quæstors should henceforward be *Plebeians*. (Hitherto the Quæstors had been chosen out of the *Patricians* only. Both Consuls and Senate, at first, opposed this demand with all their might, afterwards they yielded thus far, That in the election of Quæstors, as in that of Military Tribunes, the *Roman* People, if they thought fit, should chuse as many *Plebeians* as *Patricians*. But the *Tribunes*, demanding that two of the Quæstors should always indispensably be *Plebeians*, the Senate, rather than submit to this, dropt the design of increasing the number of those officers. The *Tribunes*, in revenge, renewed the proposal of the *division of the lands*; nor would they suffer the present Consuls to hold the *Comitia* for electing new ones, but insisted on having Military Tribunes for the next year. The Senate were now more than ever concerned to hinder this, lest, if the *Plebeians* were chosen to the Government, the *Agrarian Law* should take place. The obstinacy of the two parties in holding to their demands threw the Republick into a kind of anarchy: For the *Tribunes* sometimes even opposed the Senate's meeting to name an *Inter-rex*; but they constantly hindered this Officer's holding any Assembly for the chusing of Consuls. At length *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, being *Inter-rex*, by expostulations and soft persuasions, brought each of the parties to yield something of its pretensions, in order to a reconciliation. The Senate agreed to let *Military Tribunes* be chosen instead of *Consuls*; and the *Tribunes* of the Commons consented that in the election of the four Quæstors the People should give their votes as they pleased, either to *Patricians* or *Plebeians*; and thus the dispute ended.

The

Year of R O M E cccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Four hundred nine-
teen. The Assembly for the election of *Military Tribunes* was first held; and, notwithstanding all the credit and intrigues of the Tribunes of the Commons, four *Patricians* were chosen, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Sp. Furius Medullinus*, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, (cousin to the Consul of the same name :) *Sempronius* presided in the election of *Quæstors* *. *Antistius* and *Pompilius*, two Tribunes of the Commons, asked the *Quæstorship*, the first for his son, the second for his brother; yet none but *Patricians* were promoted to that office; the People had not power to deny it to men whose fathers and ancestors had been honoured with the *Consulship*. The Tribunes of the Commons, enraged almost to madness at this preference, cried out, *What! Two Tribunes of the Commons, one recommending his son, the other his brother, and both disregarded! There must infallibly have been some deceit in gathering the votes, and A. Sempronius ought to be called to account for it.* But as he was a man of known probity, and his innocence and the dignity with which he was then invested, set him above their reach, they turned all their fury against *C. Sempronius*, his relation, before spoken of, and revived the prosecution against him (for his ill conduct in the last battle) which *Hortensius*, at the request of *Tempanius*, had dropped. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-seven days. During this interval, *Sempronius* constantly attended the Senate, and being resolved not to lose his character there, by a timorous behaviour, zealously opposed the request of the Tribunes, concerning the partition of the lands; and he behaved himself with the same steadiness on his trial: But, notwithstanding all the solicitations of the Senate in his favour, he was fined 15,000 *Asses* [48 l. 8 s. 9 d.]

Year of R O M E cccxxxiv. Bef. J. C. Four hundred eighty-
teen. §. II. IN the following Military Tribuneship of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*, a plot was formed by the slaves, to set fire to the city, and seize the Capitol; but this secret was revealed by some of the conspirators, and the mischief prevented. Soon after, *Lavicum* *, a city included in the *Latine* confederacy, gave the Romans some reasons to suspect their fidelity. And the next year (in which the Republick was governed by three Military Tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*) produced the intire revolt of the *Lavicani*, who joined the *Æqui*, pillaged the territory of *Tusculum*, and incamped with their new allies under the *Algidus*. It was ordered by the Senate that two of the Military Tribunes, should take the field, and the third continue to govern the city. Upon this a contest arose between the three, no one of them being willing to stay at home. The Senate was offended at these disputes; and *Q. Servilius Fidenas*, formerly Dictator, put an end to them by his paternal authority, commanding his son *C. Servilius*, one of the three Governors, to stay in *Rome*. But the two Generals agreed no better in the field than they had done in the city; each was for fighting the enemy

* By a letter from *Cicero* to *Curius* (Ep. 30. L. vii. ad Famil.) it appears, that, in their time, the *Quæstors* were elected in *Comitia Tributa*. But I find no reason to believe, that, at this time, they were elected in those assemblies, nor so long as the People chose the *Quæstors* out of the *Patricians* only.

his own way; they despised each other, and the troops were divided into two parties. When the news of this discord came to *Rome*, *Q. Servilius* apprehended the consequences of it, and advised his son to raise more troops to be in readiness at all events: And the advice proved serviceable. For, the two Generals having at length agreed to command the troops alternately each his day, *Sergius* soon after imprudently hazarded a battle, and by a stratagem of the enemy, who designedly gave ground to draw him into an ambush, was intirely defeated. He took refuge with his broken troops in *Tusculum*. Upon this news the Senate ordered a Dictator to be created; and the younger *Servilius* nominated his father, who (as some say) appointed his son General of the Horse. The father and son left *Rome* at the head of a new army (that which had fled to *Tusculum* being recalled) and incamped within two miles of the enemy. The Dictator being there informed that they were grown negligent and presumptuous, he marched with haste to attack them, routed them, invested *Lavicum*, their place of retreat, and took it by assault. And, all this being done in eight days, he returned to *Rome*, and immediately laid down his office.

Year of
R O M E
cccxxxv.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred se-
venteen.
Eleventh
Mil. Tri.

The succeeding Military Tribunes, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*, gained no other glory but that of preserving the Republick in the same tranquillity in which they found it.

But the next year (when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, governed the Commonwealth) *Sp. Mæcilius*, a fourth time Tribune of the People, and *Metilius*, now Tribune a third time, renewed the proposal of an equal distribution of lands, conquered from the enemies of *Rome*. This tended to a confiscation of the estates possessed by a great part of the Nobility. The city of *Rome* had been built upon ground originally belonging to the city of *Alba*, and had scarce any territory, but what had been since won, sword in hand. Under pretence of buying or renting parcels of this acquisition, those of the *Patricians* whose ample share in the Government furnished them with opportunities, had possessed themselves of large tracts, to which they could not produce any just title. The Tribunes were for resuming these lands, and making a fair partition of them among all the Citizens, Nobles and Commons. To defeat this project the SENATORS had meetings publick and private. The youngest of them, *Appius Claudius*, (grandson of the Decemvir) is said to have spoken to this effect: That it had been a constant tradition in his family, that relief against the Tyranny of the Tribunes was to be found no where but in their own College: That the best way to frustrate the designs of *Mæcilius* and *Metilius* was to engage some one of their Collegues to oppose them: that it would be no difficult matter for the Nobles by condescensions and caresses to gain over those who were but newly come into Office, made no figure, and were perhaps jealous of the authority assumed by the two leading Tribunes. And he exhorted the *Fathers* to try the experiment.

Year of
R O M E
cccxxxvi.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred six-
teen.
Twelfth
Military
Tribunes.
Year of
R O M E
cccxxxvii.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred fif-
teen.
Thir-
teenth
Military
Tribunes.
c. 48.

This advice they unanimously approved, and *Appius* was highly praised for having thus shewn that he did not degenerate from the virtue of his an-

Year of censors. The chief men of the Senate immediately applied themselves to
 R O M E gain some of the Tribunes; and by intreaties and remonstrances they suc-
 cc xxxviii. ceeded so well, that of the ten they won over six to oppose the promulga-
 Bef. J. C. tion of the law. *Mecilius* and his Collegue reproached them as traytors,
 Four-hun- enemies to the People, and slaves to the Senate: But it was all in vain,
 dred ef- they were forced to desist from their enterprize.
 teen.

Thir- The Senate, by means of a good intelligence with the majority of the
 teenth Tribunes, remained the directors of affairs the following year also. *L. Sex-*
 Mil. Tri. *tius*, one of the College, to make his court to the People, having proposed
 Year of to send a colony to *Volæ*, a little town which they had lately taken from the
 R O M E *Æqui*, the other Tribunes opposed it, and declared, that, during their Tri-
 ccxxxviii. buneship, they would never suffer any new law to be offered, which had
 Bef. J. C. not been first approved by the Senate. But this influence of the *Conscrip-*
 Four-hun- *Fathers* in the Tribunitian College did not last long: The affair of the
 dred four- *Agrarian Law* was revived the next year.
 teen.

Four- §. III. THE *Æqui* having retaken *Volæ*, *P. Posthumius Regillensis*, one
 teenth of the Military Tribunes, a good soldier, but an imperious, obstinate,
 Mil. Tri. wrong-headed man, was sent with an army to recover it. After some
 Livy, B. skirmishes with the enemy in the field, he invested that place. Before he
 4. c. 49. led his troops to the assault, he promised them for their encouragement,
 Year of that, if they took the town, they should have the plunder. The place was
 R O M E won, but the General, who naturally hated the *Plebeians*, of whom the
 ccxxxix. greatest part of his army consisted, broke his word, and sold all for the
 Bef. J. C. Publick treasury.
 Four-hun-
 dred thir-
 teen.

Fifteenth *Sextius*, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, soon after brought on
 Mil. Tri. anew the affair of the *conquered lands*. *Posthumius* was hereupon sent for
 to *Rome* to assist his Collegues in opposing the Tribunes enterprize. Being
 come, he in full Assembly of the People dropt an expression, that seemed
 to speak him a fool or a madman. *Sextius* having proposed to the Assem-
 bly to pass a decree for dividing the city and territory of *Volæ* among the
 soldiers who had made the conquest, affirming that they had the best right
 to the benefit of it, *Posthumius* hastily cried out, *Woe be to my soldiers, if*
they stir. So proud and unjust a saying offended the Senators no less than
 the multitude: *Sextius*, bold and eloquent, took advantage of the general
 discontent, and directing his speech to the People: "Do you hear how
 " *Posthumius* threatens his soldiers, as if they were so many slaves? And
 " yet this brute of a man you think more worthy of the *Military Tribune-*
 " *ship*, than any of us, whose whole study is to procure you lands, and
 " houses, and a comfortable retreat in your old age, and to defend you
 " upon all occasions against such proud and cruel adversaries. Can you
 " then have any reason to wonder, that of late so few of your Tribunes

CORNELIUS CASSUS,	} Y. of R. 338.		Q. FABIVS,	} Y. of R. 339.
QUINCTIVS CINCINNATVS,			CN. CORNELIVS,	
VALERIVS VOLVSVS,			P. POSTHVMIVS,	
FABIVS VIRVLANVS.			L. VALERIVS.	

“ shew

“ shew much zeal for your interests ? What have we to expect from you ? Year of
 “ Honours ? You bestow them upon your enemies, *Posthumius*’s words R O M E
 “ have indeed shocked you, filled you with horror. But what then ? If ^{CCCCXXIX.}
 “ you were just now to go to an election, you would prefer this cruel ^{Bef. J. C.}
 “ threatener to your best friends, to those who have nothing at heart but ^{Four}
 “ your welfare.” ^{hundred}
^{thirteen.}

This Discourse did not fail to inflame the People ; and when the threats ^{Fifteenth}
 of *Posthumius* were reported in the camp, they occasioned such a commo- ^{Mil. Tri.}
 tion and murmuring in the army, as came little short of downright sedi- ^{Livy, B.}
 tion. *P. Sestius*, one of the Quæstors, having in the absence of his Gene- ^{4. c. 50.}
 ral ordered a Lictor to seize a soldier who was more mutinous than the rest, ^{Zonaras,}
 his fellow-soldiers rescued him, and one of them gave the Quæstor a severe ^{B. 7.}
 blow with a stone. *Posthumius*, informed of this tumult, hastened to the
 camp, and exasperated the troops more than ever by the strictness of his
 inquiries, and the cruelty of his punishments. He commanded the most
 guilty of the mutineers to be put to death *under the hurdle*, a kind of exe-
 cution which has been beforementioned. The manner of it was this :
 The criminal was laid at his length in a shallow water, under an hurdle,
 upon which they heaped stones, and so pressed him down ’till he was
 drowned. But in vain did the General now pass this sentence against the
 seditious : the rest of the soldiers tore them out of the hands of the exe-
 cutioners, and set them at liberty. *Posthumius*, transported with rage,
 came down from his Tribunal, and, preceded by his Lictors, broke
 through the press, in order to lay hold on the criminals. He found no ^{Florus,}
 respect remaining, among the soldiers, either for his orders or his person ; ^{B. 1.}
 they opposed force with force, and, being urged to fury, stoned him to
 death. This was the first instance, from the foundation of *Rome*, of a Ro-
 man General slain by his troops.

When the news of the tragical end of *Posthumius* came to the city, his Col- ^{Livy, B.}
 legues, who resided there, zealous to revenge his death upon the rebellious ^{4. c. 50.}
 soldiers, decreed, with the Senate’s approbation, that informations should
 be taken concerning it : The Tribunes of the Commons interposed. This
 contest depended upon another. The *Conscript Fathers* thought it of the
 utmost importance to avoid an election of Military Tribunes for the next
 year, lest the Commons, to screen the guilty soldiers, should chuse Go-
 vernors out of the *Plebeians*. They would therefore have made a Decree,
 that Consuls should be chosen in the next Comitia. The passing of this
 Decree was opposed by the Tribunes of the Commons, and the conten-
 tion lasted so long, that the Republick fell into an *Inter-regnum*. In the ^{Livy, B.}
 end the Senate carried their point. *Fabius Vibulanus*, being *Inter-rex*, ^{4. c. 51.}
 assembled the Comitia by Centuries, and they chose *M. Cornelius Cossus* and ^{Year of}
L. Furius Medullinus Consuls. These were good-natured men, and for ^{R O M E}
 that reason, as it was thought proper not to be too rigorous in punishing ^{CCCXL.}
 the soldiers who had murdered their General, were unanimously appointed ^{Bef. J. C.}
 by the Senate and People to inquire into the crime. Necessary it was to ^{412.}
 make examples ; but this was done with moderation ; and those few who ^{82d Con-}
 died ^{sulship.}

Year of died fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the Licitors. The
 R O M E Consuls thought it more adviseable to suppose the army in general to be in-
 CCCXL. nocent, than to drive them into an open revolt by too strict an examination.
 Bef. J. C. It had been happy if the Senate and Consuls had, to so prudent a ma-
 Four hun- nagement, added the partition of the Territory of *Volæ* among the People :
 dred twelve. They had indeed no plausible pretence not to do it, there being as yet no
 private occupiers of it to be disturbed in their possessions. And this would
 Eighty- have been the most effectual way to silence the factious complaints of the
 second Tribunes, and abate the ardour of the People for the division of the pub-
 Consul- lick lands conquered before. But the Commons now saw with indignation,
 ship. that the secret design of the Senate and Nobility was to keep them always
 in poverty, as well for their own interest, as to make them more sub-
 missive and dependent. Before it be long we shall see them prosecute
 their pretensions with more fury than ever.

In the mean time the Consul *Furius* marched against the *Volsci*, who had
 pillaged the territory of the *Hernici*. At his approach the enemy disap-
 Year of peared; and he took from them *Ferentinum*, which he gave to the *Hernici*,
 R O M E with the lands about it, to compensate their losses.
 CCCXLI.

Bef. J. C. §. IV. THE Tribunes made no opposition to the election of Consuls
 Four hun- for the next year; and *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius* were chosen. But *L. Ici-*
 dred ele- *lius*, a Tribune, began to resume the affair of the conquered lands with
 ven. immoderate heat. A plague that raged in the city put a stop to his ca-
 Eighty- reer. This calamity was of course followed by a scarcity of provisions :
 third For, the citizens being also the husbandmen, the lands were left untilled
 Consul- while the distemper prevailed; and the loss of one harvest was sufficient
 ship. to reduce *Rome* to extreme want.

Liv. B. 4. The famine was severely felt in the succeeding Consulship of *M. Papirius*
 c. 52. and *C. Nautius*; however, care was taken to get corn from *Hetruria* and
 Year of R O M E *Sicily*; and *Rome* by extraordinary good fortune continued this year without
 CCCXLII. commotions at home or abroad.
 Bef. J. C.

Four No sooner did the plague and famine cease, but the *Æqui* renewed their
 hundred incursions upon the territories of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, faithful allies of
 ten. *Rome*. *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius* were now Consuls. It fell to the latter
 Eighty- to conduct the war; but, when he would have levied troops, the Tribune
 fourth *Menius* opposed it upon the old pretence of the *Agrarian Law*. In the mean
 Consul- time the *Æqui* insulted the *Romans*, and took from them the fort of * *Car-*
 ship. *ventum*. This disgrace not only increased the hatred of the Nobles to
 Year of *Menius*, but induced the other nine Tribunes to assist the Consul in making
 R O M E the levies and punishing those persons who refused to serve.
 CCCXLIII. Bef. J. C.

Four hun- The *Romans* recovered the fort, and found in it a considerable booty
 dred which the enemy had laid up there; but, *Valerius* being dissatisfied with his
 line. men on account of their backwardness to enlist themselves for the war, he
 Eighty- sold all, and put the money into the Quæstor's hands.
 fifth

Consul- It was the custom in the triumphal procession for the soldiers to chant
 ship. satyrical verses on the victor who enjoyed that honour. In *Valerius's*
 c. 53. *Ovation* they did something particular, and by way of revenge they
 * In *Latine* divided
 war.

divided themselves into two choirs, and, while one made the air resound with songs against their General, the other sang verses in praise of *Menius*; and every time his name was repeated the People in the streets clapped their hands and made acclamations and even drowned the noisy musick of the soldiers.

This behaviour of the citizens alarmed the Senate and obliged them to bestir themselves, to hinder an election of Military Tribunes for the next year, lest *Menius* should be chosen for one. The *Fathers* prevailed; Consuls were elected; and the choice fell upon *Cn. Cornelius* and * *L. Furius*.

Under their administration three Tribunes of the name of *Icilius*, all three kinsmen, and of a family in which to hate the *Patricians* was hereditary, undertook to deprive them of the Quæstorship, which hitherto had never been out of their order, though *Plebeians* were qualified to stand for it. The *Icili*i talked much of glorious projects they had formed in favour of the Commons; but at the same time declared that they would not stir one step towards the execution of them, unless the *Plebeians* would assume so much courage at least as to raise some of their own body to the Quæstorship. The multitude, possessed with hopes of the mighty advantages they were to reap from the zeal of their present Tribunes, gave their votes in the election of Quæstors to *Q. Silius*, *P. Ælius*, and *P. Pupius*, all three *Plebeians*; and of the *Patricians* who put up for that dignity none but *Cæso Fabius Ambustus* could obtain it.

The Tribunes of the Commons, elated with this victory over the Nobility, flattered themselves, that the Quæstorship would now open them a way to the Military Tribuneship, the Consulate, and the Triumph. They would not hear therefore of an election of Consuls for the next year; they opposed the publication of a Decree of the Senate for that purpose; they cried out, that it was high time for the *Plebeians* to have their share in the Government. The disputes on this head grew warm, when, luckily, for the *Icili*i, news came that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were again in motion. The Tribunes opposed the levies, which, in pursuance of a *Senatus-consultum*, the Consuls would have made. Two of the *Icili*i constantly attended upon these Magistrates, each watching his man, to hinder him from raising troops, or holding the Comitia for chusing new Consuls. The business of the third *Icilius* was to manage the Multitude, and let them loose, or restrain them, as he judged proper. Things were at this pass, when news was brought that the *Æqui* had retaken the fortress of *Carventum*. This gave the Tribunes a farther advantage, the want of an army being now more pressing. In short, the Senate were forced to consent to an election of Military Tribunes; but, to disappoint the *Icili*i, they annexed this proviso to their decree, *That none of the present TRIBUNES OF THE COMMONS should be chosen to the MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP, or continued in their office the next year.*

The levies now went on without opposition. The Consuls marched to recover *Carventum*, but they lost a great deal of time before it, and were forced

Year of
R O M E
cccxi iii.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred
nine.

Eighty-
fifth
Consul-
ship.

Year of
R O M E
cccxliv.
Bef. J. C.
Fourhun-
dred
eight.

Eighty-
sixth
Consul-
ship.

* A 2d
time.
Liv. B. 4.
c. 54.

c. 55.

Year of forced to raise the siege at last. They took however *Verrugo* from the
R O M E *Volsci*.

CCCXLIV.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
eight.

Eighty-
sixth
Consul-
ship.
Livy B. 4.
c. 56.

Though the Commons had carried their point, of obtaining *Comitia* for electing *Military Tribunes* (instead of *Consuls*) for the next year; yet the *Fathers* got the victory at the elections: three *Patricians* were chosen and no *Plebeian*. It is said that the Nobles made use of a stratagem (and were reproached with it at that time by the *Idili*) which was this: They engaged a great number of the meanest and most worthless of the *Plebeians* to stand candidates, mixing them with the worthy candidates of the same order. The People were so disgusted with the appearance of the former, that they would not give their voices to the latter, nor to any but *Patricians*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLV.
Bef. J. C.
Four
hundred
seven.

Sixteenth
Mil. Tri.

C. Julius Iulus, *P. Corn. Cossus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala* were declared Military Tribunes; but did not long continue in the supreme Command. The *Volsci* having set on foot a very formidable army, the Senate, according to custom, resolved to send a Dictator against them. As the absolute authority of that Magistrate in a manner swallowed up the power of all the inferior Officers, *Julius* and *Cornelius* opposed his nomination, alledging that they did not want courage and experience to command an army, and that it was unjust to deprive them of a dignity which they had so lately obtained by all the votes of their fellow-citizens.

The Senate, exasperated at their refusal to name a Dictator, had recourse to the *Tribunes of the Commons*, as they had done before upon the like occasion. But the Tribunes of this year observed a different conduct from that of their predecessors. Overjoyed to see this dissension between the Military Tribunes and the Senate, they answered, with a scornful raillery, "That for their part they could give no help in the affair; that they were only *Plebeians*, not citizens, nor even to be reckoned in the number of men; that, if ever the honours and dignities of the Republick were made common to them with the *Patricians*, they should then take care that no proud Magistrate disobeyed the decrees of the Senate; but that in the mean time the *Patricians* themselves, as they had thrown off all respect of Laws and Magistrates, might also, if they pleased, assume the power and functions of the *Tribunes*, and do their own business as they could."

c. 57.

The contests drawing to an end, and the enemy still advancing towards the frontier, *Servilius Ahala*, the third Military Tribune, declared publicly, that the good of his country was more dear to him than the friendship of his Collegues; and that, if they would not chuse a Dictator, he would take upon him to name one himself: And accordingly, being supported by the whole Senate, he named to that highest Magistracy *P. Cornelius Rutilius*, who afterwards appointed *Servilius* to be General of the Horse.

The war was of no long continuance; the *Volsci* were defeated near the city of *Aniurn*, their territory plundered, and a great number of prisoners taken. After this expedition the Dictator laid down his authority, and the
Military

Military Tribunes resumed theirs. *Julius* and *Cornelius Cossus*, discontent-
ed with the Senate for having, by the creation of a Dictator, frustrated
their hopes of acquiring glory, in this war, made no mention of electing
Consuls for the ensuing year, but appointed an Assembly for chusing Mili-
tary Tribunes. The *Conscript Fathers* were much alarmed to see their in-
terest thus betrayed by men of their own order: and therefore, as they
had, the last year, by setting up *unworthy* candidates from among the *Ple-*
beians, given the People a dislike to all the *worthy*; so now they effected an
exclusion of all *Plebeians* by setting up, for candidates, the most illustrious
members of their own body, men whom they knew to be esteemed by the
Commons. *C. Valerius*,* *C. Servilius*, *L. Furius*, and † *Fabius Vibulanus*,
all eminent *Patricians*, were chosen to the Military Tribuneship.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLV.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred
seven.

Sixteenth
Mil. Trib

The truce with the *Veientes* being at this time expired, the *Romans* sent
Heralds to them to renew their demand of satisfaction of damages for-
merly sustained. These Heralds, meeting on the road some Envoys going
from *Veii* to *Rome*, consented, at their request, to proceed no farther,
'till the latter had been heard by the Senate. The *Veientan* Ministers ob-
tained of the *Conscript Fathers* to desist from their demands, 'till some civil
broils which were then at *Veii* should be quieted; a conduct which *Livy* re-
marks as an instance of great generosity in the *Roman* Senate, who, had
they consulted nothing but their own interest, could not have had a more
favourable occasion of falling upon a rival State.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLVI.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred six.

Seven-
teenth
Mil. Tri.

* A 2d
time.

† A 3d
time.

Livy, B.

The same year the *Volsci* retook *Verrugo* from the *Romans*, and put the
garrison to the sword, the Senate being dilatory in sending succours to it.
However the Military Tribunes revenged this loss; they surprised the
Volscian troops when scattered about the country to plunder, and cut them
to pieces.

4. C. 56.

The Senate kept their ascendant in the election of Magistrates for the
next year, and procured the Military Tribuneship for *C. Cornelius*, † *L. Va-*
lerius, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *Fabius Ambustus*, all *Patricians*, and of the best fa-
milies in the Commonwealth.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLVII
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred
five.

During their administration, the *Veientes* having insulted the ambassa-
dors of the Republick, the Senate ordered a declaration of war against
Veii to be immediately proposed to the People. The *Roman* youth, upon
the first rumour of this design, began to murmur at it: *The war with the*
Volsci is not yet ended; we have lately had two garrisons cut in pieces, and the
places [though covered] are not defended now, but with much danger. Not a
year passes without a battle; and yet, as if we had not fighting enough, we
must begin a new war against powerful neighbours that may engage all *Hetru-*
ria in their cause.

Eigh-
teenth
Mil. Tri.

† A 2d
time.

The Tribunes did not fail to encourage them in this opposition to the
Government. “ In truth, said they, the chief war you have to sustain is
“ that which the Senate has so long carried on against the Commons of
“ *Rome*. They send you into the field only to be slaughtered, or else
“ to keep you at a distance from the City, lest, if they allowed you any re-
“ pose,

Year of " pise, your minds should run upon Liberty and Colonies, or the pub-
 R O M E " lick Lands, or freedom in giving your votes in the Assemblies, and you
 cccxvii. " should concert measures for promoting your own interests, with reference
 Bef. J. C. " to these matters."

Fourhun- Whenever the Tribunes met with any of the veteran soldiers, they took
 dred five. them by the hand, entered into familiar discourse with them, inquired how
 High- many years they had served, and, making them shew their scars, asked them,
 teen. whether they had room for any more wounds, or could spare any more
 Mil. Tri. blood for the service of the Commonwealth. By these and other arts of
 management, in which the Tribunes were indefatigable, they made the
 Commons utterly averse from a war with the *Veientes*: so that the *Patrici-*
ans, perceiving, that their Bill, if now offered, would be rejected, deferred it
 to another time.

Livy, B. However it was agreed, that three of the Military Tribunes should lead
 4. c. 59. an army against the *Veji*. At the approach of it the enemy disappeared,
 and left their country open to be pillaged. The Roman Generals here-
 upon divided their forces into three bodies, and made incursions into it
 on different sides. *Fabius* laid siege to *Anxur* (afterwards called *Terracina*)
 a wealthy city, and, having taken it by assault, divided the spoil equally
 among the soldiers of all the three armies, telling his own men, that the
 troops of his Collegues, by hindering succours from coming to the relief
 of the place, had contributed to the taking of it as much as if they had
 been present in the action. This generosity (not usual of late) to the
 soldiers paved the way for a reconciliation between the Nobles and Com-
 mons. And this was intirely accomplished by a Decree of the Senate,
 soon after passed, *That for the future the Roman infantry should be maintain-*
ed in the field at the publick expence. Hitherto all the citizens had used to
 go to war at their own charges; and oftentimes, when the campaign was
 too long, the lands, especially those of the poorer *Plebeians*, lay fallow.
 This occasioned borrowing, exorbitant usury, complaints and seditions.
 The Senate, to prevent these disorders, decreed of themselves, and with-
 out being importuned by the People or their Tribunes, that for the future
 the soldiers should have PAY out of the publick money; and that, to fur-
 nish this expence, a new tax should be raised, from which no Citizen what-
 soever should be exempt.

c. 60. Upon the first news of this *Senatus-consultum*, the People were trans-
 ported with joy; they ran in crowds from all parts to the Senate-house,
 and, taking the Senators by the hand as they came out, said, that now
 indeed it appeared they were justly called *Fathers*; and declared them-
 selves ready to spill the last drop of their blood for their country, so ten-
 der and generous a mother to all her children.

In this universal gladness, the Tribunes of the Commons were remarka-
 ble for their gloomy and envious countenances. Union always hindered
 them from making a figure in the State. They gave out that the Senate
 bestowed largesses at a very cheap rate; that the People must be very blind
 if they did not perceive that this their pay would come out of their own
 pockets;

pockets; nay, that it was not just to make those Citizens who had always served at their own charge, and had compleated the time of their service, contribute to the support of the new soldiers who succeeded them in the armies; and they proclaimed that they would protect all those who should refuse to pay the tax. These declarations made some impression upon the People; the Senators, nevertheless, went on with their undertaking, and began the contribution themselves, paying their own contingents fairly, according to the real value of their estates; and their example was followed by the chief men among the *Plebeians*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLVII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred five.
Eight-
teenth
Mil. Tri.

As, in those days, there was no silver money, carts loaded with weighty pieces of brass were every day seen going to the Treasury with the contributions of the rich: The poorer sort, pleased with this sight, and animated by the commendations given by the Nobles and the soldiers to those of the Commons who submitted to the impost, listened no longer to the declamations of their Tribunes, but ran every one eagerly to pay the Tribute according to his proportion.

C H A P. XXXVI.

§. I. *The Romans invest Veii. In the two first years of the siege (which lasted ten) there is little action. The third year, (350 of Rome) a loss which the besiegers sustain before the place animates the Plebeians with a zeal to push on the siege with vigour. The Senate, for the first time, allow PAY TO THE HORSE.* §. II. *The year following, Sergius and Virginus (two of the Military Tribunes) who have the conduct of the siege, quarrel, and divide the troops between them, which having mischievous consequences, they are both recalled. All the Military Tribunes of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are chosen. Sergius and Virginus (the Generals of the last year) are both fined for misconduct.* §. III. *The Tribunes renew the domestick broils: But all is quieted by the chusing of some Plebeians into the Military Tribuneship. At the next elections the Comitia chuse five Plebeians to that dignity, and only one Patrician. There happens a great mortality among men and cattle. To avert this evil, the ceremony of the Lectisternium is observed.* §. IV. *The Senate take advantage of the People's fears and superstition, to get the Military Tribuneship for Patricians only; pretending that the Gods were angry at the choice, which had been made of Plebeians to that Magistracy. The lake of Alba overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, Deputies are sent from Rome to consult the Oracle of Delphos. Six new Military Tribunes are chosen, all Patricians. Some defect being discovered in their inauguration, they all abdicate, and six new ones are chosen, all Plebeians. Their administration not being prosperous, Camillus is named Dictator.* §. V. *He takes Veii by sap.*

Y. of R.
347. Bef.
J. C. 405.

§. I. **T**HE Senate's view, in allotting funds for the payment of the troops, was not only to ease the People, but also to enable the State to carry on the war farther, and maintain it longer.

Eight-
teenth
Mil. Tri.

Year of ROME cccxlviii. Bef. J. C. Four hundred five. Eight-teenth Mil. Trib. Year of ROME cccxlviii. Bef. J. C. Four hundred four. Nine-teenth Mil. Trib. Liv. B. 4. c. 61. fore this regulation they could not so properly be said to make war as incursions, which were generally terminated by one battle. These expeditions rarely lasted above twenty or thirty days, the soldiers, for want of pay, not being able to keep the field for a longer time together. But now, when the Senate found themselves in a condition to maintain an army abroad as long as they pleased, they began to form great designs; and, all opposition to a war with the *Veientes* being over, they resolved to besiege *Veii* itself, one of the strongest places in *Italy*, the bulwark of *Hetruria*, and which yielded to *Rome* neither in the courage nor in the wealth of its inhabitants.

The siege was begun in the year 348 of *Rome*, when the *Romans*, for the first time, chose six * Military Tribunes. The States of *Hetruria* had a general council, to debate whether they should unite their forces in the defence of the *Veientes*, or not; but came to no agreement upon this head.

The next year, when *Rome* was again governed by six † Military Tribunes, the siege was carried on with less vigour than in the beginning, part of the *Roman* forces being called away to a war with the *Volsci*.

Livy tells us, that the year following the Republick chose eight Military Tribunes; among whom he reckons *M. Furius Camillus* and *M. Posthumius Albinus*; but in this he seems to have been mistaken: For, besides that the electing of eight was illegal, those two Senators, according to the Capitoline Fasti, were Censors this year, and there were but six ‡ supreme Governors, of whom *Appius Claudius*, grandson of the Decemvir, was one.

Happily for the *Romans*, the *Veientes* at this time chose themselves a King; a proceeding which so displeased the other States of *Hetruria*, who not only abhorred all Royalty, but had a particular dislike to this King, that they came to a resolution to refuse their assistance to the besieged, so long as these should continue under Regal Government.

We may judge of the strength of *Veii* by the length of the siege, which (with various fortune) lasted ten whole years; though perhaps this might be chiefly owing to the frequent changing of the Generals who commanded the *Roman* armies. Doubtless these changes hindered the *Romans* from

Livy, B.

5. c. 1.
Sig. in Fastos. Pig-
nius in
Annal.

*C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time,
M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS,
T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS,
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time,
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS,
A. MANLIUS VELSO CAPITOLINUS.
†P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS,
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a third time,
CR. CORNELIUS CASSUS, a second time,

C. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time,
K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS,
M. SERGIUS FIDENAS,
‡M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a 2d time,
M. FURIUS FUSUS,
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS,
L. JULIUS IULUS,
M. QUINCTIUS VARUS,
L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.

making

making a swifter progress in conquest. Had they been constantly governed by some one of those illustrious Dictators, who were their last refuge in cases of extreme danger, they had soon been Masters of *Italy*: But such is the usual conduct of a Republick, jealous of her liberty; she checks the rapidity of her victorious Generals, lest she herself should become a part of their conquests. It was at this siege that the *Romans* are thought to have first invented those lines of circumvallation and contravallation, which have been since so much in use; at least this is the first time they are mentioned in *Roman* antiquity.

The Military Tribunes, considering that *Veii* could not be taken but after a long siege, and then rather by famine than force, formed a design of keeping the army in the field all winter, and they began to erect wooden barracks for the men. The soldiers made no opposition to it, chusing rather to live in the camp at the publick expence, than in *Rome* at their own: But the Tribunes of the Commons had no sooner heard of this, than they immediately made it a pretence to raise an outcry against the Senate. They said in every Assembly, that indeed they always feared the gifts of the Senate concealed some fatal poison; that this new pay was only a bait which the *Patricians* had made use of to deceive the People: That it was in truth the price of their liberty: That the Military Tribunes, in detaining the soldiers in the camp during winter, had visibly no other end, but to deprive the Commons of so many votes: That the Senate and *Patricians* would now reign despotically in all the Assemblies: But that they ought to be made sensible, that they governed men who were free; and that it was but fitting the poor Citizen, who daily exposed his life in the defence of his country, should at the end of every campaign enjoy a little rest, and have the satisfaction of seeing his house, his wife, and his children, and of giving his voice in the election of the Magistrates.

Appius, whom the other *Military Tribunes* had left at *Rome* to oppose the Measures of the *Tribunes of the Commons*, being informed of these seditious speeches, called an Assembly, and in a long harangue reproached those *Plebeian* Magistrates, That they studied nothing but to hinder all union between the two Orders in the State: That they sought to create themselves employment like knavish physicians: That their desire was to have the State always diseased, that they might ever be busy in the cure: That they seemed determined to like nothing which the Senate did, let it be never so advantageous to the People: That as Masters did not suffer their slaves to have any intercourse with the neighbours, lest they should be either well or ill used by them, so the Tribunes for the same reason could not endure that the Commons should have any intercourse with the Nobles, and were enraged to see that the Senate had shewn so much tenderness for the soldiers, as to allow them pay.

He added, " Either we should not have undertaken this siege, or we should continue it. Shall we abandon our camp, the forts we have erected, our towers, our mantelets, and our gabions; and so have all the same works to begin again the next summer? And who will promise

H h h 2

" your

Year of
R O M E
CCCL.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred two.
Twenty-
first
Mil. Tri.
Plut. Life
of Camil-
lus.
Livy, B:
5. c. 2.

c. 3-6.

Year of " your Tribunes, who give you such wholesome advice, that all *Hetruria*
 R O M E " will not be at length prevailed upon by the *Veientes* to arm and come
 CCCL. " to their assistance, if we raise the blockade, and give them opportunity
 Bef. J. C. " to renew their solicitations. They may perhaps displace that Gover-
 Fourhun- " nor who is so disagreeable to the *Hetrurian* States, or he may perhaps
 dred two. " for the sake of his country resign his authority. The scene would be
 Twenty- " much changed, if those States should all unite against us. Who can
 first Mil. " assure you, that the *Veientes*, thus strengthened, will not next year
 Trib. " invade and pillage our territory? And what a contempt will it bring
 " upon the Republick, if the nations bordering upon *Rome*, and now
 " jealous of her greatness, shall find that your Generals, fettered by new
 " laws of your Tribunes, are unable to finish a siege, or keep the field a
 " moment after the fine weather is over? Whereas, on the other hand,
 " nothing will make the *Roman* People more formidable, than their shew-
 " ing that no severity of the seasons is able to put a stop to their enter-
 " prises; and that they are firmly resolved to conquer, or die at the foot
 " of the enemies ramparts."

Livy, B. APPIUS was already a match for the *Tribunes of the Commons*, even in
 5. c. 7. their assemblies, when a loss, sustained at the siege, gave him a complete
 victory over them, and produced a surprising concord between the two
 orders at *Rome*. The *Veientes*, in a sally, surprised the besiegers, slew a
 great number of them, set fire to their machines, and ruined most of their
 works. This news, instead of depressing the spirits of the *Romans*, in-
 spired them with new ardor for the continuation of the siege. The richer
 citizens, whose wealth qualified them to be in the first class among the
Roman Knights, but who, not having yet received horses from the Repub-
 lick, were therefore not legally and actually Knights, offered to mount
 themselves at their own expence. Acceptance and a profusion of thanks
 from the Senate rewarded this generous offer. And no sooner did the
 report of it reach the Forum, but the Commons came in crowds to the
 Senate-house with a tender of their voluntary services (in the infantry) to
 be employed before *Veii*, or wherever it should be thought most proper;
 and they promised, in case they were led to *Veii*, never to leave the camp
 till the city was taken. The joy which had before filled the minds of the
Fathers was now made to overflow by this extraordinary and unexpected
 zeal of the Commons. These volunteers were not thanked and praised, as
 the cavalry had been, by some of the Magistrates commissioned to that
 office, nor were any of them called into the house to receive an answer:
 The Senators could not keep themselves within doors; out they ran, and
 every one in particular, by his words and gestures, expressed to the mul-
 titude (that were standing below in the Comitium) the general gladness
 and exultation: *Happy, unconquerable, eternal would Rome be made by this*
concord! They praised the Knights, they praised the Commons, they ex-
 tolled even the day, *the glorious Day!* they confessed the Senate to be out-
 done in kindness and benevolence. The Senators and the People seemed
 to vie with each other in weeping tears of joy; till at length the *Fathers*
 were

were called back into their house; and then they made a Decree, "That
 " the Military Tribunes should, in *an Assembly of the People*, give the due
 " thanks to both cavalry and infantry, and assure them that the Senate
 " would be ever mindful of the affection they shewed for their country,
 " and had come to a resolution to allow pay to all the voluntiers." It was
 at this time, that the cavalry in general began to receive pay out of the pub-
 lick Treasury.

The new army of voluntiers were conducted to *Veii*, the works, that
 had been destroyed by the enemy, restored, new ones formed, and provisions
 conveyed from *Rome* to the camp, with more care and diligence than ever;
 so that nothing necessary might be wanting to soldiers who deserved so well
 of the Republick.

§. II. THE *Capenates* and *Falisci*, nations of *Hetruria*, nearest to the *Ve-*
entes, and consequently most concerned in their preservation, armed privately,
 and, joining their troops, surpris'd and attacked the *Romans*. *L. Virginus*
 and *M. * Sergius**, both Military Tribunes, commanded at this liege.
 The jealousy, so common between persons in equal authority, had set them
 at variance: Each had a body of troops under his command, and had as it
 were a separate camp. The *Capenates* and *Falisci* attacked that of *Sergius*
 on one side, at the same time that the besieged made a sally, and attacked
 it on the other. The *Roman* soldiers, thinking they had all the forces of
Hetruria to deal with, were dismayed, fought faintly, and rather to defend
 their own lives, than with hopes to vanquish the enemy. It was not long
 before they gave ground, fell into disorder, and ran away. *Virginus* could
 have saved his Collegue's troops; his own were ranged in order of battle:
 But the animosity between the two Generals was so great, that *Sergius* chose
 rather to perish, than to ask the assistance of *Virginus*; and *Virginus*, on
 the other hand, would not give him any succour, unless he would send
 and beg it. The enemy profit'd by this division: *Sergius's* army fled in
 disorder to *Rome*, which was but six leagues distant from the camp, and
 the General went thither himself, not so much to justify his own conduct,
 as to set forth the baseness of that of his Collegue.

The Senate hereupon sent orders to *Virginus* to leave his army under
 the command of his Lieutenants, and repair immediately to *Rome*, to
 answer to the complaints which *Sergius* preferred against him. The dis-
 pute was managed with great acrimony and the two Military Tribunes
 ran into invectives against each other before the Senate. Each had his
 friends there who took his part. The *Conscript Fathers*, to quiet the
 matter, thought it adviseable to make a decree, that all the Military Tri-
 bunes of that year should resign their Magistracies, and the People imme-
 diately proceed to a new election of Military Tribunes, who should enter
 on their office on the *Calends of October*. The four who had been in no
 fault acquiesced; but the two, on whose account this decree was proposed,

* The other four were

C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a third time,
 Q. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS,

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS,
 A. MANLIUS VULSO, a second time.
 begged

Year of
 R O M E
 CCCL.
 Bef. J. C.
 Four
 hundred
 two.
 Twenty-
 first
 Mil. Tri.
 Year of
 R O M E
 CCCL.
 Bef. J. C.
 Four hun-
 dred
 one.
 Twenty-
 second
 Mil. Tri.
 * 2d time.
 Livy, B.
 5. c. 8.

Livy, B.
 5. c. 9.

Year of ROME begged of the Senate that they might not be disgraced; and, when they found that their intreaties were not regarded, they protested against the *Senatus-consultum*, declaring that they would not resign their authority before the *Ides of December*, the due time for its expiration.

The Tribunes of the Commons, who much against their will had been for some time quiet, laid hold of this occasion to break out, and make a figure. They threatened the two Generals to send them to prison, if they did not obey the Senate's orders. *Servilius Abala*, one of the Military Tribunes, full of indignation at the haughty manner in which these *Plebeian* Magistrates treated his Colleagues: "As for your threats, I should not be displeased with an opportunity of shewing, that you have as little courage to execute them, as you have right to utter them. But the decrees of the Senate ought to be obeyed; and, if my Colleagues are refractory to its commands, I shall name a Dictator, who will be able, without your interposition, to force them to quit their office."

Virginus and *Sergius*, finding it fruitless to resist any longer, abdicated their Magistracy, and the People proceeded to a new election.

Year of ROME L. * *Valerius*, L. *Julius*, M. † *Æmilius*, Cn. § *Cornelius*, Cæso || *Fabius*, and *Furius Camillus*, were chosen Military Tribunes. And these new Governors had work enough upon their hands: They were to begin anew the siege of *Veii*, to keep the *Falisci* and *Capenates* in awe, and to recover *Anxur*, which the *Volsci* had taken the last year. Besides, the Tribunes of the Commons kindled fresh broils, when the armies came to be raised. They dissuaded the old soldiers, who were to stay in the city to guard it, from paying taxes, pretending they were exempted from that burden by being enlisted. And the disturbances, occasioned by their seditious harangues, the levies, and collecting the tribute, were so great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new Tribunes off the Commons. Two were still wanting. The *Patricians* at first endeavoured to get them supplied out of their body, but in vain. They then caballed to strike at the *Trebonian Law* ‡; and in the end prevailed to get two persons added to the eight, by the appointment of the majority of those eight. This was in effect to abrogate the *Trebonian Law*. It happened, that among the Tribunes of the Commons there was one C. *Trebonius*, who thought it a duty owing to his name and family to take that Law under his protection. He told the People that their interests were betrayed; and he brought an odium upon those of his Colleagues, who had ventured, of their own authority, to appoint two Tribunes. The People were especially exasperated against three of the eight, P. *Curatius*, M. *Metilius*, and M. *Minutius*: But these diverted the hatred of the publick from themselves, by turning it against *Sergius* and *Virginus*, the two Generals of the last year, whom they cited to appear in judgment before the People; and they forgot nothing upon this occasion, that might inflame the minds of the multitude, not only against the two persons accused, but against the whole body of the *Patricians*. They said, "that though the two Generals laid the blame of their ill success on each other, *Virginus* reproach-

ing

“ ing *Sergius* with cowardice, and *Sergius* accusing *Virginus* of treachery, Year of
 “ it was not probable, that either of them acted his shameful part, but in R O M E
 “ concert with the Body of the *Patricians*: For that the study of the CCCLII.
 “ *Patricians* was to protract the war; to the end, that, the soldiers being Bef. J. C.
 “ kept in the field, the Tribunes might not have a sufficient number of Fourhun-
 “ voters in the city to support their Bill concerning the *conquered Lands*, or Twenty-
 “ any other Bill that tended to the advantage of the Commons.” third
 They added, “ That the accused had, in effect, been already con- Mil. Tri.
 “ demned by the Senate, the *Roman* People, and even their own Col-
 “ legues. That the Senate, by a Decree, removed them from the Go-
 “ vernment; and, when they refused to obey that Decree, their Collegues
 “ contrained them to it by threatening to name a Dictator. That the
 “ *Roman* People had created new Military Tribunes, and had directed
 “ them to enter on their Magistracy, not on the 13th of *December* (the
 “ usual time) but on the 1st of *October*, because the Republick could no
 “ longer subsist under the administration of *Sergius* and *Virginus*. And
 “ yet these men, so universally pre-condemned. had the folly to imagine
 “ they were sufficiently punished by being reduced to the condition of
 “ private citizens, two months before the time; whereas the abridging
 “ the duration of their Magistracy was only a depriving them of the
 “ power of doing more mischief, not an infliction of punishment; seeing
 “ their Collegues, who had certainly committed no fault, were removed
 “ from the administration at the same time with them.” In conclusion
 they admonished the People, “ To recall those dispositions which they
 “ lately felt, when they saw their routed, affrighted army coming flying to
 “ *Rome*, accusing, not Fortune, nor the Gods, but only the two Gene-
 “ rals.—There is not one among you, who did not, that day, detest
 “ and curse *Virginus* and *Sergius*, and all that belong to them. Is it fit,
 “ that, after invoking the Gods to punish these criminals, you yourselves,
 “ when you have them in your power, should shew them any indulgence?
 “ The Gods are never themselves the executors of vengeance upon unjust
 “ men; it is sufficient that they furnish *the injured* with an opportunity of
 “ revenge.” The People, irritated by these harangues, would give no ear
 to *Sergius*’s Plea of *the Chance of War*, nor to *Virginus*’s intreaty, *not to render*
him more unhappy at home, than he had been in the field. They were each of
 them condemned in a fine of 10,000 asses of brass.

This prosecution had the designed effect; the People were so intent up-
 on it, that they forgot the *Trebnian Law*, and their quarrel with the three
 Tribunes.

§. III. *ROME* at this time received good news from all parts where the
 war was carrying on: But this did not put a stop to domestick seditions. The
Tribunes of the Commons preferred two laws, the first requiring a partition
 of the lands, the second excusing the People from any more contributions
 towards the soldiers pay: And in fact they would not suffer them to pay
 the

Year of the times; for the legions, being deprived of their subsistence, were ripe for a sedition.

CCCCII. But all this bustle ended in getting five *Plebeians* into the Military
Bef. J. C. Tribuneship. *P. Licinius Calvus*, *P. Mælius*, *P. Menius*, *L. Titinius*,
Four hundred. and *L. Publilius*. *Sp. Furius* was the only *Patrician* elected at this time².

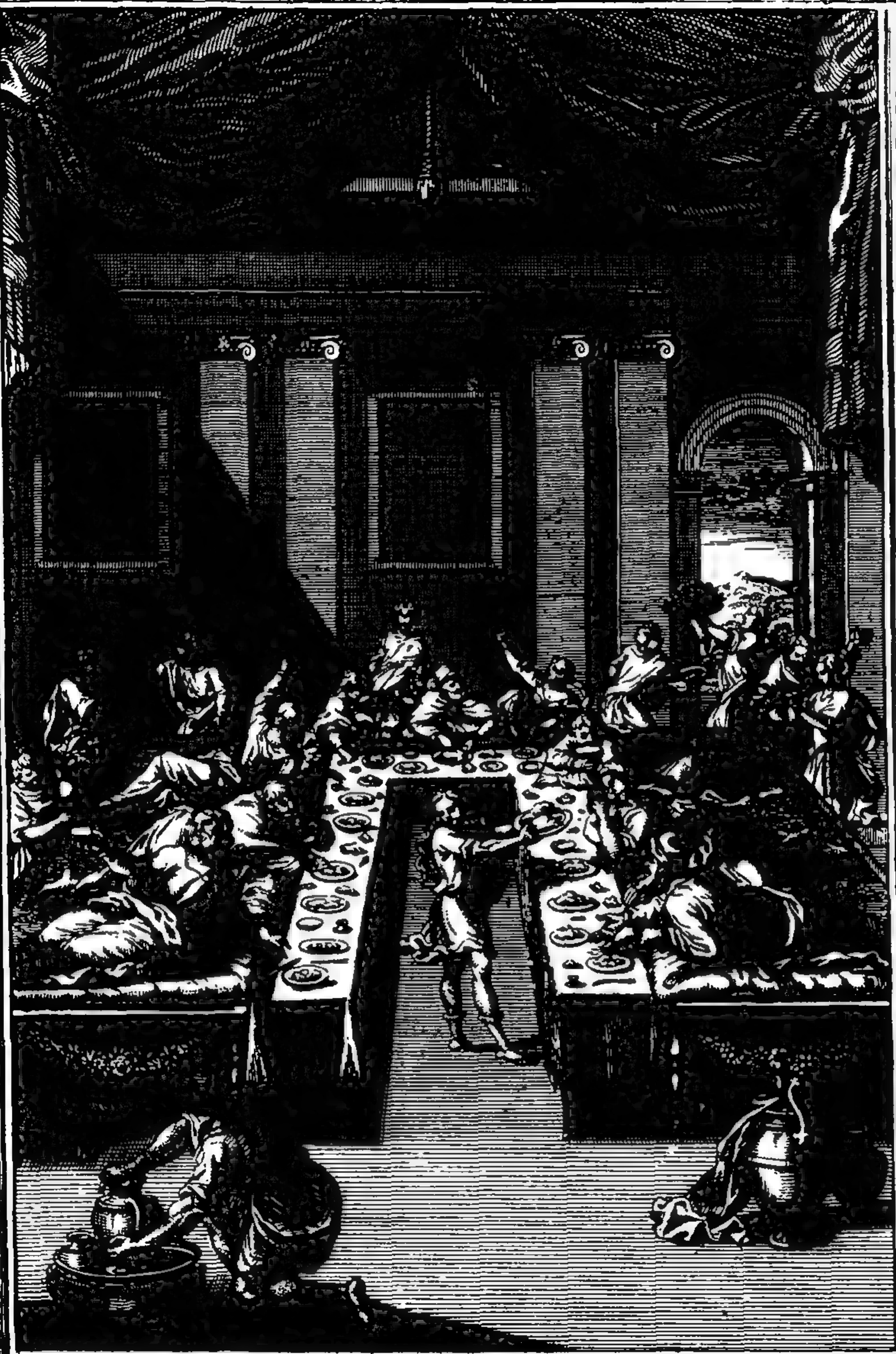
Twenty-third. [Livy says, that *Licinius*, though a *Plebeian*, and never before in any public office, was an old Senator.] The Tribunes of the Commons were so much rejoiced to see *Plebeians* in the supreme magistracy, that they ceased their opposition to the tax; the soldiers received their pay again, their courage was revived, they took *Anxur* from the *Velsci*, and carried on the siege of *Veii* with perseverance; tho' they suffered much from the severe cold of the winter.

Year of ROME CCCCIII. At the next elections, the Centuries almost unanimously chose five Military Tribunes out of the *Plebeians*, and only *M. Veturius* out of the *Patricians*. These five were *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *Volero Publilius*. To hasten the reduction of *Veii*, the three armies of the last year joined their strength; and they intirely defeated the forces of the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, who came to its relief. So complete a victory made the administration of the *Plebeian* Military Tribunes glorious in the eyes of the People; but it was not happy. The extreme cold of the weather changed on a sudden to excessive heat; and this occasioned a mortality both among men and cattle. The *Sybilline* books being consulted upon this occasion, the *Duumvirs* pretended to find there a sort of expiation never before used in *Rome*: It was called the *Læsternium*. They took down the Statues of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune*, from their niches, and laid them on three beds placed about a table, on which magnificent repasts were served up to those Deities for eight days together. These publick ceremonies were imitated in private families. Every one kept open house for friends and strangers, and conversed friendly even with adversaries. All processes, disputes, and animosities were suspended; nay, the prisoners were released from their chains, to partake of the publick rejoicings; and it was a point of Religion not to confine them again after the festival.

Year of ROME CCCCIV. §. IV. THE *Patricians*, taking advantage of the present disposition of the People, gave out, that the mortality was owing to the wrath of the Gods, who, they said, were displeased, because in *Comitia*, held with the sacred Rite of observing the Birds, honours were prostituted, and no regard had to the distinction of families. By a religious scruple, thus raised in the minds of the multitude, and by presenting to them, at the next elections, candidates of the greatest dignity and best families, the *Patricians* carried a point which they had much more at heart, than the business of the war.

² Livy reports, that the Military Tribunes, now chosen, were all *Patricians* except *Licinius*. But *Pighius* and others are persuaded, that the Historian has here made a mistake; all the names, except *Furius*, being names of

Plebeian families; and three of them, viz. *Mælius*, *Manius*, and *Titinius*, being the names of three *Plebeian* Military Tribunes chosen about four years after this time, according to his own account.



The Triclinium of the Ancients.

ness of the war; the recovering to their order the supreme magistracy which they had seemed in danger of losing for ever.

L. Valerius*, L. Furius†, M. Valerius, Q. Servilius§, Q. Sulpicius||, and the famous Camillus‡ were chosen to be the six Governors of the Republick. This year the Romans had a prodigy to employ their attention. It happened to be a dry summer; but though there was little water in the rivers, springs or marshes, the lake of *Alba*, that seldom rose so high as to the foot of the rocks which quite surrounded it, swelled on a sudden to such a height as to reach the very tops of those rocks. This strange accident occasioned much discourse in the camp; and, as in long sieges the soldiers of the different parties sometimes become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their several posts. One day when they were scoffing at one another in relation to the siege, an old soldier of the *Veientes* cried out in an enthusiastick manner, "*Veii* shall never be taken, 'till all the water " is run out of the lake of *Alba*." A Roman Centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing what he said, and, upon inquiry, understanding that he was a Diviner, contrived a stratagem whereby he made him prisoner, and then carried him before the Roman General, who sent him to the Senate. The old man affirmed to the Fathers, that what he had declared was agreeable to an ancient tradition written in some prophetick books in his country, and that, if the Romans could draw the water out of the lake, *Veii* would be taken: But he advised them to have especial care, that the drains which should be made to carry it off did not convey it to the sea. Though the Senate were not disposed to an implicit faith in the diviner, yet they thought the matter of such importance, as to send a deputation of three *Patricians* to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle upon it.

Before the return of the Deputies, the People had chosen six new Military Tribunes, all *Patricians*. The Romans, during the siege of *Veii*, found themselves obliged this year to make head not only against the *Volsi*, *Falisci*, and *Capenates*, but against the *Tarquinienses*, new enemies from *Hetruria*, who had committed hostilities in the Roman territory. A. Posthumius and L. Julius (two of the governors) who had staid in Rome, requested leave to raise troops to disperse them, and, when the Tribunes of the Commons obstructed the levies, put themselves at the head of a small number of volunteers, and fetching a great compass about surprised the *Tarquinienses*, as they were returning home, made a terrible slaughter of them, and recovered the booty they had seized.

In the mean time the three *Patricians* returned from *Delphos*; and, to the astonishment of the Senate and People, the answer of the *Pythonefs* was perfectly conformable to the prediction and advice of the old diviner, whom, thereupon, they advised with concerning the necessary expiations

Year of
R O M E
CCCLV.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
seven.
Twenty-
sixth
Mil. Tri.
Plut. life.
of Cam. p.
130.
* A 5th
time.
† A 3d
time.
§ A 2d
time.
|| A 2d
time.
‡ A 2d
time.
Livy, B.
5. c. 15.
Val. Max.
B. 1. c. 6.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVI.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
six.
Twenty-
seventh
Mil. Tri.
Livy B. 5.
c. 16.
Plut. in
Camillus,
P. 137.

L. JULIUS IULUS, second time,
L. FURIUS, fourth time,
L. SERGIUS,

A. POSTHUMIUS,
A. MANLIUS, third time,
P. CORNELIUS, second time.

Year of to render the Gods propitious. Then the *Romans* sent out pioneers to
 R O M E make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey
 cccclvi. them all over the fields, by trenches. [This fine work subsists to this day,
 Bef. J. C. and the water of the lake *Albano* which runs along *Castel Gandolfo*, passes
 Three through it.] But the oracle had likewise directed the *Romans* to re-esta-
 hundred blish the neglected ceremonies of religion, and to begin those again which
 ninety-six had not been regularly performed. The first they interpreted of the *Feriae*
 Twenty- *Latinae*, of late neglected; and they renewed the observation of them.
 seventh And as to the second it was discovered, that the election of the present
 Mil. Tri. Military Tribunes had been defective, with regard to the Auguries;
 Kircher, whereupon they all abdicated, and after a short *Inter-regnum* were suc-
 B. 3. ceeded by six new ones, all *Plebeians*. Their administration was not
 Vet. Lat. prosperous. *Atinius* and *Genucius*, two of them, marched with some troops
 Livy, B. to oppose an inundation of *Hetrurians*, who, not by order, but by
 5. c. 17- permission of their Governors, were coming to attack the *Roman* intrench-
 18. ments before *Veii*: The Tribunes fell into an ambush; *Genucius* was killed;
 Year of and *Atinius*, though he rallied his men and retreated, durst not any more
 R O M E face the enemy in the open field. The news of this disaster so terrified the
 cccclvii. army before *Veii*, that it was with difficulty hindered from disbanding.
 Bef. J. C. *Rome*, in a yet greater consternation, had recourse, as in the most pressing
 Three and general calamities, to a Dictator; appointing *M. Furius Camillus* to that
 hundred supreme dignity. This elevation he owed wholly to the publick danger and
 ninety- distress: A time when superior merit, without canvassing or intriguing,
 five. naturally gets into its right place. The change of the commander made a
 Twenty- sudden change in every thing,—New hope—fresh courage—fortune seem-
 eighth ed to turn at once in favour of the city^b. *Camillus*, having named for Ge-
 Mil. Tri. neral of the Horse *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and having rigorously punished those
 c. 19. cowards, who on the late alarm had fled from the camp, he rode thither
 with all expedition to revive the courage of the soldiers; which done, he
 returned to the city to raise a new army. The People strove who should
 first list themselves under his banners; every body was for going to the
 wars with a General whom victory had never deserted. Nay the allies,
 (the *Latines* and *Hernici*) of their own accord, sent to offer him a strong
 supply of their ablest youth. The Dictator marched from the city a-
 gainst the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, whom, in the territory of *Nepete*, he

^a *Livy* tells us, that old *Licinius Calvus*, the first Commoner ever raised to the Military Tribuneship, was now a second time named to that dignity by the majority of the *Prerogative Tribe*, i. e. of the Tribe to whose lot it fell to vote first; but at his request, pleading age and infirmities, the People chose his son in his stead. From this passage in *Livy*, it appears that the order esta-

blished by *Servius Tullus*, in voting, had been changed; and that the *Classes* and *Centuries* were now blended with the *Tribes*. See p. 93. 94. 238.

^b *Omnia repente mutaverat imperator mutatus, alia spes, alius animus hominum, fortuna quoque alia urbis videri. Liv. L. 5. c. 19.*

P. LICINIUS,
 L. ATINIUS, second time,
 P. MÆLIUS, second time.

L. TITINIUS, second time,
 P. MÆNIUS, second time,
 C. GENUCIUS, second time.

defeated in a pitched battle; and, after this victory, which left him the country open, he repaired to the camp before *Veii*, restored military discipline, which of late had been very much slackened, invested the place more straitly, and strengthened his lines by several additional forts.

As the besieged defended themselves with no less courage than before, and as *Camillus* perceived that he should not be able to carry by assault or open force a town which had a whole army for its garrison, he had recourse to mines and sapping. His pioneers, whom he divided into six companies, relieved one another; so that the work being carried on without interruption, they, in a short time, opened a passage under ground to the very citadel, the besieged suspecting nothing of the matter. The Dictator, then thinking himself sure of conquest, sent to the *Conscrip* *Fathers*, to know how they would have the spoils of the city disposed of. When the question came to be debated in the Senate, old *Licinius*, whose opinion was the first asked by his son (now Military Tribune) answered, that he thought, proclamation should be made, *That whosoever of the citizens was desirous of sharing in the plunder of Veii, might repair to the Dictator's camp.* *Appius Claudius* spoke warmly against this bounty, as an unprecedented prodigality, and inconsistent with equity and sound policy: *That if the Senate were absolutely against bringing the whole produce of the spoil into the publick treasury (though much exhausted) yet, at least the soldiers ought to be paid out of it, and the Commons be thereby, in some measure, eased of their burden of taxes; and that by this regulation every family in Rome would have some advantage from the booty.* To this *Licinius* replied, *That the money, so reserved and appropriated, would be a source of endless discontent, occasion impeachments, and seditions, and motions for new Laws. That it was better to conciliate to the Senate the good-will of the multitude, by a bounty, which would relieve their indigence (caused by the taxes they had paid for ten years together) and would make them taste the sweet fruits of persevering in a war, in which they might almost be said to have grown old. That what each man should take with his own hand from the enemy, and bring home, would give him more pleasure, than a gift of much greater value, from the Senate. That, as it was only to avoid the bringing odium upon himself the Dictator had referred the matter to the Senate, so the Senate, from a like regard to themselves, ought to abandon the whole spoil to the people, and suffer every man quietly to enjoy what the fortune of the war should give him.*

Year of
R O M E
ccclvii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
five.

Twenty-
eighth
Mil. Tri.

Livy, B.
5. c. 20.

c. 21.

tem-

This advice, being thought the safer, prevailed; a proclamation was issued conformable to it, and hereupon prodigious numbers of the citizens immediately flocked to the Dictator's camp.

Camillus, when he had taken the Auspices, and ordered his troops to be ready for an assault upon the place, is said to have made the following vow and prayer: O Pythian Apollo, it is by thy inspiration, and under thy guidance, that I am going to assault the city of *Veii*! and I do therefore vow to dedicate to thee the tenth part of the spoil which shall be taken in it. And, O Queen Juno, who now residest in *Veii*, vouchsafe to follow us victorious to our city, which shall thenceforward be thy city, where thou shalt possess a

Year of temple worthy of thy greatness ! To engage the whole attention of the be-
 R O M E sieged, so that they might as late as possible discover their danger from
 CCCLVII. his mine, *Camillus* (whose army was now numerous enough for the purpose)
 Bef. J. C. caused an assault to be made on all sides of the place at once. This
 Three drew the citizens from all quarters to the ramparts, wondering what
 hundred should be the cause of so sudden and furious an attack from the *Romans*,
 ninety- who for some days had been quite still. While the besieged were in this
 Eve. amazement, the *Roman* soldiers, who filled the mine, rising up in the
 Twenty- middle of the temple of *Juno*, which stood in the citadel, sallied forth,
 eighth and spread themselves in several bodies through the town. One fell upon
 Mil. Tri. the rear of those who were defending the walls, another broke down
 Livy, B. the gates ; and the whole *Roman* army rushed into the place, putting all
 5. c. 22. to the sword who did not surrender their arms. It is said, that the Dic-
 tator, when he beheld the spoil, far exceeding this expectation both in
 quantity and value, lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed, *That, if*
his prosperity, and the prosperity of the Roman People, should appear to Gods
or Men excessive, the envy might be all spent upon him, rather than the publick
should feel even the smallest effects of it : and that after this prayer, as he
 was turning himself to the right, he fell to the ground ; an accident, says
Livy, which, after the condemnation of *Camillus* and the destruction of
Rome by the *Gauls*, was interpreted into an omen foreboding those events.
 The next day the prisoners of free condition were sold to the best bidder ;
 and the money arising from thence the Dictator transmitted into the pub-
 lick treasury, much to the dissatisfaction of the soldiers ; though this was
 the only part withheld from them of the produce of the spoil. Nor did
 they hold themselves obliged to the Dictator for what they brought away
 with them, because from a selfish motive he had referred a matter to the
 Senate which it was in his own power to determine ; nor did they think
 themselves obliged to the Senate, but to the two *Licinii* only, father and son,
 who had made themselves the advocates of the People on this occasion.

When the conquerors had emptied *Veii* of all the riches that had be-
 longed to *men*, they began to remove what belonged to the *Gods*, and
 to remove the *Gods* themselves ; but this more like worshippers than
 plunderers. For they selected, out of the whole army, some of the
 youngest men, to whom, when their bodies were washed perfectly clean,
 and cloathed in white, it was given in charge to transport Queen *Juno*
 to *Rome*. They entered her temple with reverence, and, at first, but
 lightly touched her, to see how she would take it : Because, among the
Etrurians, it was not customary for any but a priest of a particular family
 to handle that image. As she gave no sign of anger, one of the lads,

^a According to *Plutarch*, *Camillus* prayed,
that the publick might suffer nothing, and be
himself very little ; and that he thought his
 prayer answered, by his falling down with-
 out hurting himself. Mr. *Dacier* is much dis-
 pleased with this account, unworthy of the

Hero. Both Mr. *Dacier* and *Gronovius* sup-
 pose that *Plutarch* did not understand *Livy's*
 words : *Uteam invidiam lenire suo privato*
incommodo [potius] quam minimo publico
populi Romani liceret.

in a civil manner, then asked her. *Are you willing to go to Rome, JUNO?*—*Yes, yes,* (answered the rest, all together) *she is willing; she gives a nod of assent:* And hence (says *Livy*) a fabulous report, that she herself made the answer in words. *He adds,* Certain it is, that she was easily moved from her place, and that they got her to *Rome* with as little trouble, as if she had followed them thither on foot. They conveyed her safe and found to the *Aventine* hill, whither *Camillus* had invited her, and which was thenceforward to be the seat of her residence for ever; and there he dedicated a temple to her in discharge of a vow, which, to gain her favour, he had formerly made. Such, after a ten years siege, was the fate of *Veii*, the richest city of *Tuscany*; it was at once despoiled of its riches, its inhabitants, and its gods.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVII.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
five.
Twenty-
eighth
Mil. Tri.

C H A P. XXXVII.

§. I. *The People are much displeased with Camillus.* §. II. *The next year (the Republick being under the Government of six Military Tribunes, all Patricians) a Tribune of the Commons proposes, that half of the Senators, Knights, and People of Rome should remove to Veii, and settle there. After much struggle Camillus and the other Senators bring this project to nothing.* §. III. *Camillus, chosen one of the six Military Tribunes for the year following, has the conduct of the war against the Falisci. He besieges Falerii their capital city, and punishes a Schoolmaster, who would have betrayed the place to him. The Falisci submit to the Romans.* §. IV. *The People, when the time comes for electing their Tribunes, chuse to the same office those of the old ones who had appeared for the proposal of removing half the People to Veii. On the other hand, the Patricians get Consular Government restored. The project of going to Veii is debated in an Assembly of the People, and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The Senate decree seven acres of the lands of Veii to every freeman of Rome.* §. V. *The Volturnenses, a People of Hetruria, take arms against Rome. The Consuls, being seized with a contagious distemper, resign the Fasces. An inter-regnum ensues. And then Six Military Tribunes are elected to the government.*

§. I. **T**HE length of the siege, the dangers attending it, the uncertainty of success, the importance of the conquest, all these made the news of the taking of *Veii* be received at *Rome* with the utmost transport of joy: The temples were filled with *Roman Ladies*, and four days were set apart for a publick thanksgiving to the Gods; which had never before been practised in the Republick upon the greatest success. The very triumph of the Dictator had something new and singular in it. *Camillus* appeared in a stately chariot drawn by four horses all milk-white, and he had coloured his face with vermillion.

White horses, since the expulsion of the Kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the *Sun*; and it was with vermillion the statues of the Gods

were

Livy, B.
5. c. 23.
Plut. in
Camillus,
p. 132.
Plin. B.
33.

Year of R O M E CCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-five. ——— Twenty-eight. Mil. Tri. Liv. B. 5. c. 23. Plut. in Camillus, p. 133.

were commonly painted. In the midst therefore of the praises which the People gave the Dictator, they could not without a secret indignation behold him affecting a pomp, which in a manner put him upon a level with the Gods. Vanity so impious much diminished the esteem and affection of the multitude for him; and he had not long resigned his Dictatorship, before he became perfectly odious to them. What partly occasioned this was the vow which, just before ^a the assault upon *Veii*, he made, as we have before observed, to consecrate the tenth part of the booty to *Apollo*. Amidst the hurry and confusion of the plundering he remembered not his vow: And when it returned to his mind, [a year after] there could no easy means be found to make the soldiers give back the tenth of what they had got. In this perplexity the Senate proclaimed, that all who were desirous to have a clear conscience, and secure prosperity to their families, should honestly compute the value of their booty, and bring the tenth part of that value to the Quæstors, in order to make the God a present suitable to his majesty, and proportioned to the benefits received from him.

This contribution, exacted at a wrong time, alienated the hearts of the People from *Camillus*. His vow, they said, was to give *Apollo* the tenth of the enemy's spoils, but that he performed it by tithing the goods of his fellow-citizens.

Year of R O M E CCCLVIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-four. ——— Twenty-ninth. Mil. Tri. Liv. B. 5. c. 24.

§. II. THE centuries chose six Military Tribunes, all *Patricians*, for the new year. In the beginning of their administration, the *Capenates* sued for peace and obtained it. The war with the *Falisci* went on. In the mean time, to quiet the discontented people at home, the Senate decreed, that a colony of 3000 *Romans* should be sent into the country of the *Volsci* (who had lately made submissions) each man to have about three acres and a half of land: But, when the time came for enrolling the names of those who were to form the colony, the *Plebeians* expressed a contempt of the Senate's bounty: *Why should they be sent into banishment among the Volsci, when the fair city of Veii, and its territory, more fertile and more ample than that of Rome, were before their eyes?* Nay *SICINIUS*, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, preferred a bill for removing one half of the Senate and People of *Rome* to *Veii*, (a city better situated and better built than *Rome*) yet so, that the two cities should form but one Commonwealth. He added, That the *Romans* would, by this means, more easily preserve their conquests. The chief nobles opposed his project with all their might; (and they had gained over to their side some of his Collegues.) They said, they would sooner die than suffer so mischievous a bill to pass into a Law: *A people so prone to civil dissension, when dwelling together in ONE and the same*

^a *Pistarch* says, that *Camillus* made this vow before he left *Rome* to go to the siege of *Veii*.

P. CORNELIUS COSSUS,
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO,
M. VALERIUS, second time,

K. FABIUS, third time,
L. FURIUS, fifth time,
Q. SERVILIUS, second time.

city,—*what will be their temper when living separate in two?—Would any man in his wits prefer a conquered city to his own native city which had conquered it?—Would you have Veii, after its being subdued, exalted to be more considerable than it was before its reduction?—You may leave us here, if you please; but nothing shall ever engage us to relinquish the place of our birth, and, in order to follow the new founder, Sicinius, to Veii, forsake our God Romulus, the son of a God, and the father and founder of Rome.*

Year of
R O M E
ccclviii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
four.

In the struggle about this bill, nothing restrained the populace from blows and violence, but the deep-rooted respect which they had for the principal Senators, who, whenever a shout was raised for beginning a scuffle, presented themselves to their fury, bidding them *assault, strike, kill.*

Twenty-
ninth
Mil. Tri.

CAMILLUS went about, loudly declaiming, *That it was no wonder the people were seized with a madness, seeing they had nothing so little at heart as the performance of vows to the Gods, after receiving the favours, to obtain which the vows had been made. He would say nothing of the ALMS given to Apollo, instead of the TENTH of the spoil: Each of the individuals had bound himself; so the state was free. But he was obliged in conscience to let them know one thing: That, though no mention had hitherto been made, but of the moveables, yet his vow to Apollo had comprehended the city of Veii, and all the territory belonging to it. The Senate, [pretending to be] perplexed with this new scruple, referred it to the Pontiffs; and these (in concert with Camillus) declared, that a tenth of whatever had belonged to the Veientes before the Dictator made his vow, and had, after his making the vow, fallen into the power of the Romans, ought to be sacred to Apollo. In consequence of this judgment, the city of Veii and its territory were appraised, and a tenth of the value was given out of the publick treasury to the Military Tribunes, to purchase gold with it, that a golden cup, or vase, large and massy, might be sent as a present to Apollo. Gold being scarce, the ladies agreed among themselves to lend their toys and ornaments to the State. Never were the Fathers better pleased with any thing, than with this complaisance of the sex; and, in return for it, a decree was made, that they should have the privilege of riding in covered chariots to the sacrifices and publick games, and in open ones at all other times.*

Livy, B.
5. c. 25.

The business of the vow thus settled, the Tribunes of the Commons began to stir again, and the multitude to vent their anger against all the principal Senators, and especially Camillus—*That by their Reservations, and their Consecrations, they had reduced the spoil of Veii to nothing. And, finding that the affair of removing to Veii was not like to be determined this year, they chose again, to the Plebeian Tribuneship, the same men who had preferred the Bill. On the other hand the Senate, by employing all their influence, got those Tribunes rechosen who had opposed the Bill; so that there was little change in the college.*

§. III. By a like exertion of their utmost strength, in the Comitia held for electing Military Tribunes, the Fathers prevailed to have Camillus chosen to be one of the number. They pretended to want an able general for the war, but their real aim was to provide themselves with a champion-
able

c. 26.

Year of able to make head against the *Tribunes of the Commons*, resolutely bent
 R O M E upon an *Agrarian Law*, and an equitable partition of the lands of *Veii*.
 cccix. The five Collegues given him were all *Patricians* ^a. Things remained quiet
 Bef. J. C. 'till *Camillus* had taken the field; and even then the *Plebeian Tribunes*
 Three made little progress in their affairs; while he, their most formidable ad-
 hundred verſary, acquired new glory by his conduct in the war against the *Falisci*.
 ninety- The enemy for ſome time kept themſelves ſhut up in *Falerii*, 'till the de-
 three. vastations made by the *Romans*, in the territory about it, provoked them at
 Thirtieth length to come out: Their fear however hindered them from advancing far-
 Mil. Tri. ther than about a mile from the town, and they incamped in a place ſo ſtrong
 by nature, that they thought it needed no other fortifications. *Camillus* ne-
 vertheleſs attacked them there, defeated them, and took their camp. The
 whole ſpoil he put into the *Quæſtors* hands, much to the diſcontent of the
 ſoldiers; yet he kept them in awe by the ſtrictneſs of his diſcipline; ſo
 that they hated him for the very virtue they admired in him. After this
 victory he inveſted *Falerii* and ſurrounded it with lines, but at ſo great a
 diſtance from the walls, that there was more than ſufficient room for the
 beſieged to come abroad and take the air without danger.

The *Falisci* had brought from *Greece* the cuſtom of committing all their
 children to the care of one man, who was to inſtruct them in all ſorts of
 polite learning, and ſee them perform the exerciſes proper for their age.
 The children had uſed often to walk with their maſter without the walls
 of the city, before the ſiege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet,
 and at ſuch a diſtance, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue
 the practice. But the preſent ſchool-maſter proved a traitor. At firſt he
 led the youth only along the walls, then a little farther, and at length took
 his opportunity, and brought them through the *Roman* camp, quite to the
 General's tent; whom he accoſted with telling him, that by putting thoſe
 boys, the ſons of the principal citizens, into his hands, the city in effect
 was delivered up to him. *Camillus*, ſtruck with horror at the treachery,
 ordered his *Lictors* to ſtrip the traitor, tie his hands behind him, and then
 furniſh the youth with rods, to whip him back again into the city. A lit-
 tle before, the *Falisci* had proteſted they would rather undergo the fate of
 the *Vientes*, than imitate the cowardice of the *Capenates*: But now they
 ardently deſired peace; ſo deep an impreſſion had the probity of *Camillus*
 made upon them. The Deputies whom they ſent to him on this buſineſs
 he ſuffered to proceed to *Rome*; where they addreſſed the Senate in the fol-
 lowing manner: " You and your General have gained a victory over us,
 " which cannot be diſpleaſing to Gods or Men. We ſubmit ourſelves to
 " you, out of a perſuaſion that we ſhall live more happy under your laws
 " than under our own. The *Romans* and *Falisci* are this day giving two
 " great examples to mankind; you, in preferring an honourable action to

Plat. Life
 of Camil-
 lus, p.
 133, 134.
 Livy, B.
 5. c. 27.

^a M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, third time,
 L. FURIUS, ſixth time,
 C. ÆMILIUS,

Sp. POSTHUMIUS,
 P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, a ſecond time,
 L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

victory;

“ victory ; we, in rather yielding to the power of virtue, than the force of
“ arms.” *Camillus* demanded of the *Falisci* a year’s pay for his troops, and, Year of R O M E
ccclix.
Bef. J. C. having on that condition granted them peace, led back his army to *Rome*. Three hundred.
ninety-three.
Thirtieth
Mil. Tri.

The applauses, now given to *Camillus* by his fellow-citizens, were much sincerer than those he had formerly received, when the white horses drew his triumphal chariot through the city. And the Senate, ashamed perhaps of having delayed to discharge his vow to *Apollo*, deputed, at this time three *Patricians*, *L. Valerius*, *L. Sergius*, and *A. Manlius*, to convey the golden vase to *Delphos*. The long ship, on which these deputies embarked, was intercepted by some pirates from the isle of *Liparæ* ; and thither the captors carried their prize. But it luckily happened that *Timasitheus*, this year chief magistrate of *Liparæ*, had as much religion as any *Roman*. For when he understood, that the treasure which had fallen into the hands of his people was an offering designed for *Apollo*, in discharge of a vow ; and when he had farther learnt, that the three *Romans* were ambassadors ; he not only entertained them hospitably, but in person, with a squadron of ships (the pious pirates consenting to it) conveyed them to *Delphos*, and from thence (when they had made their offering) safe back to *Rome* : For which generous and religious proceeding, he received, in virtue of a decree of the Senate, rich presents from the Publick ; and they made a league of hospitality with him.

War with the *Æqui* was carried on this year, under the conduct of *Æmilius* and *Posthumius*, with such various success, that neither the citizens at *Rome*, nor the soldiers in the field, could, for some time, tell which side had the better. At first when the two Generals acted in conjunction, they gained a victory ; but afterwards when, separating, *Æmilius* thought fit to go to garrison *Verrugo*, and *Posthumius* to lay waste the enemies borders, the troops of the latter, carelessly secure, and marching in disorder, were by the *Æqui* surprised, struck with terror, and put to the rout. They fled to some neighbouring hills ; and their fright communicated itself to the garrison at *Verrugo*. *Posthumius*, as soon as he had rallied his men, and posted them so as to be out of danger, reproached them bitterly with their coward-like behaviour. They confessed their fault, begged with earnestness to be instantly led to the attack of the enemy’s camp (which was within sight, in the plain below) and declared they would submit to any punishments if they did not force it before night. The General commended their ardor, bid them refresh themselves, and be ready at the fourth watch. As the *Æqui*, to hinder the *Romans* from escaping to *Verrugo*, were guarding the road that led thither, the two armies met in that road. The battle began by moonlight, and the shouts of the combatants reaching *Verrugo*, the troops there, imagining that *Posthumius*’s camp was assaulted, took a fright, and, notwithstanding all that *Æmilius* could say, fled for refuge to *Tusculum*. Thence flew a report to *Rome*, that *Posthumius* was killed, and his army defeated : But a letter, crowned with laurel, arrived from that General to the Senate presently after, with an account of his having obtained a complete victory.

Year of
R O M E
ccclix.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
three.

Thirtieth
Mil. Tri.
Livy, B.
5. c. 29.
Year of
R O M E
ccclv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
two.

Eighty-
seventh
Consul-
ship.

* 321. 5.
10d.
Arbuth-
not.
Livy, B. 5.
c. 30.

+ Create a
Dictator.

§. IV. THE bill for removing the *Veii* being still in suspense, the *Commons*, when the time came for electing their Tribunes, were for continuing those of the old ones who had proposed the bill; and the *Patricians* endeavoured to get those re-elected who had opposed it. The former prevailed in their own *Comitia*. The promoters of the law were re-chosen, and the opposers excluded: Upon which the *Fathers* in revenge made a decree that Consuls should be chosen for the next year: *L. Lucretius Flaccus* and *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus* were by the Centuries raised to that dignity.

Under the new administration, *Sicinius* renewed his intrigues with more zeal than ever, to get the Law passed for removing half of the People and of the Senate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, two of the last year's Tribunes of the Commons, who had distinguished themselves by their opposition to the law, were cited to appear before the tribes; and, notwithstanding all the influence of the Senate in their favour, they were fined * 10,000 *Aſſes* of brass: A sentence which gave great offence to the *Fathers*. *Camilius* loudly inveighed against the Commons, who, he said, were so blind, as not to see, that by their iniquitous sentence they had overturned the tribunitian power; in as much as they had deprived their Tribunes of the privilege of *INTERCESSION*. But they deceived themselves, if they imagined the Senate would endure an unbridled licentiousness in any of those magistrates. That, if the violence of some of the Tribunes could not be repelled by the help of their Collegues, the *Fathers* would † find another weapon! He likewise reproved the Consuls for quietly suffering the two Tribunes to be oppressed, who had done nothing but by advice of the Senate, and had trusted to their promised protection. And, as to the Law in question, he never ceased exhorting the *Fathers* to oppose it with all their might; advising them to go down into the *Forum* (when the Tribes should be assembled to determine the affair) as men prepared to fight in defence of their native land, the altars of their household Gods, and the temples of the Gods of their Country. He added, “ Were I at liberty to think of my own glory, when that of my country is in question, what could flatter my ambition more, than to see a city, which I have conquered, inhabited by *Romans*, who would be so many living witnesses of my victory, and where every object would be a monument of my glory? but I think it would be impious to re-people a city whose Gods have deserted it, and shameful to prefer before your own country a country conquered by it.”

The Senators, old and young, moved by these exhortations, went all in a body to the *Forum*, when the Law was to be proposed, and dispersing themselves into their respective Tribes, with tears in their eyes, conjured the People not to abandon “ that city where they were born, and in defence of which both they and their ancestors had so bravely and so successfully fought.” Then pointing to the *Capitol*, the Sanctuary of *Vesta*, and to the other Temples all around, “ Can you consent that the *Roman* People should be driven, like exiles, from their guardian Gods, and their native country, to inhabit a city not long ago peopled by their enemies? Better had it been never to have taken *Veii*, than that *Rome* should be

“ thus

“ thus deserted.” As the *Patricians*, abstaining from all violence, employed prayers and intreaties only on this occasion, and made frequent mention of the Gods, they, by raising a religious scruple in the minds of many, prevailed to have the law rejected, though it was only by a majority of one Tribe. And now the Senate were so pleased with this victory, that the next morning, at the request of the Consuls, they made a decree, whereby they assigned seven acres of the lands of *Veni*, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition, that the former might be enabled to educate their children, and the latter be induced to marry.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLV.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
two.

Eighty-
seventh
Consul-
ship.

Livy, B.
5 c. 31.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXI.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
one.

Eighty-
eighth
Consul-
ship.

Fall. Cap.
Cicero's
in Ver. 2.

§. V. ON the other hand, the People, obliged by this liberality, made no opposition to the election of Consuls for the next year. *L. Valerius Potitus* and *M. Manlius*, (afterwards *Capitolinus*) were the persons chosen; and they began their year by performing a vow made by *Camillus*, when Dictator, to celebrate the great Games. (Of these there were two sorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of *September*, in honour to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the other called votive, or extraordinary, had no fixed day appointed for them, and were celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* only.)

The *Romans*, commanded by their two Consuls, had this year a battle with the *Æqui*, whom they presently routed. *Valerius*, because he pursued the enemy farther, and killed more of them than *Manlius* did, was more honoured than he; *Manlius* had only an *Ovation*; *Valerius* a *Triumph*. In this same year, war was declared against the *Volsinienses* and *Salpinates* (nations of *Hetruria*) who, joining their forces, had, without provocation, made an incursion on the lands of the Republick. No army, however, could, for some time, be led against these new enemies, because a famine and pestilence, occasioned by an excessive hot and dry season, then raged in the *Roman* territory. *C. Julius*, one of the Censors, being carried off, *L. Cornelius* was substituted in his place, a thing afterwards deemed inauspicious, because *Rome* was taken in that Lustrum: Nor after this time did the *Romans* ever substitute, in the place of a Censor who died in his office, another person to be colleague to the survivor. The Consuls too falling sick, the Senate decreed that they should abdicate; and an Interregnum ensue. *Camillus* was created Inter-rex, and succeeded by *Cornelius Scipio*, and he by *Valerius Potitus*. This last held an assembly for the election of six Military Tribunes, that, in case some of the supreme Magistrates should be seized with the distemper, there might yet be others in a condition to take care of the publick.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

§. I. *Camillus is cited to appear in judgment before the People. To avoid a publick condemnation he goes into exile.* §. II. *Shortly after, Clusium in Hetruria being besieged by the Gauls under King Brennus, the inhabitants implore the assistance of the Romans. Three brothers of the Fabian family*

K k k 2

are

ere sent Ambassadors from Rome to mediate a peace. They rashly transgress the law of nations. Brennus, in anger, raises the siege, and marches towards Rome. §. III. He gives the Romans a total overthrow on the banks of the Allia. The third day after the battle, he enters Rome, burns the City, and invades the Capitol. §. IV. Camillus, though at this time an exile, is, by a commission from the Senate, in the Capitol, constituted Dictator. §. V. The Gauls attempt to scale the Capitol in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is discovered by the cackling of some geese. The assailants are repulsed, chiefly by the bravery of M. Manlius. §. VI. Both besiegers and besieged being distressed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The Romans are to purchase a peace with gold. While the gold is weighing, Camillus arrives: He forces the Gauls to raise the siege, and quit the Country. §. VII. Rome being destroyed, the Tribunes renew the proposal of removing to Veii. Camillus (who is continued in the Dictatorship the whole year) opposes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a Centurion is what determines the People to stay and rebuild the city. §. VIII. Before the end of the next year (during which the Commonwealth is governed by six Military Tribunes) the City is intirely REBUILT.

Year of
ROME
ccclxvi.
Ref. I. C.
Three
hundred
sixty.

Thirty-
first.

Mil. Tri.
* A 7th
time.

+ A 2d
time.

Liv. E. 5.
C. 32.

Plut. in
Camillus,
P. 134.

Ib. p. 135.
Livy, B.

5. C. 32.

§. I. **L**. LUCRETIUS, Serv. Sulpitius, M. Æmilius, * L. Furius, Agr. Furius, and † C. Æmilius, the six new governors of the Republic, entered on their office the first of July. The war with the *Volsinienses* fell by lot to *Lucretius* and *Æmilius*; that with the *Salpinates* to *Agrippa Furius* and *Sulpitius*. A total defeat, suffered by the *Volsinienses*, taught them prudence, so that they begged a truce from the *Romans*; which was granted for twenty years upon conditions. As for the *Salpinates*, they were so terrified by the defeat of the *Volsinienses*, that they durst not appear in the field, but left their country open to be pillaged.

At this time, one *Caditius*, a man of the lowest rank, pretended to have heard a miraculous voice, which pronounced distinctly these words, *Go to the Magistrates, and tell them, the Gauls draw near*^a. The meanness of the man made the Military Tribunes despise the warning; and, notwithstanding the daily conquests made by the *Gauls*, the *Romans* appear plainly, by their manner of treating the great *Camillus* (their only General capable of making head against such formidable neighbours) to have had no apprehension of any danger from them. *Apuleius*, one of the *Tribunes of the Commons*, summoned him to appear before an *Assembly of the People*, and answer to the accusation of having robbed the publick of some of the riches of *Veii*, of which charge certain brass doors, seen in his house, were said to be a proof.

Camillus was, at this time, in excessive affliction for the death of a son; and therefore, on receiving the summons, he sent to the great men, formerly his Collegues in office, to his friends, his clients, and the chief

^a *Camillus* afterwards erected a temple to the unknown Divinity who made this revelation; and the *Romans* coined for him the name of *Aius Locutius*.

men of his Tribe, to come to him at his house. His purpose was to find their thoughts and dispositions. When the Assembly, which was very numerous, had considered of the matter, they answered, that they would willingly pay the fine in which he should be condemned; but that it was not in their power to acquit him. Hereupon, he chose rather to banish himself from *Rome*, than present to undergo the shame of a condemnation. 'Tis said, that when he came to one of the gates of the city, he stopped, and, turning towards the capitol, prayed to the Gods, that his ungrateful countrymen might quickly have cause to repent their having repaid his services with so sharp an outrage. Having thus cursed his fellow-citizens, as *Achilles* did the *Greeks*, he retired to *Ardea*, a city not far from *Rome*, and, in his absence, was fined fifteen thousand *Asses* of brass; [about forty-eight pounds of our money.]

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXII.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety.
Thirty-
first Mil.
Trib.

The Destruction of *Rome*, by the *Gauls*, following so closely these transactions, it is no wonder, that the multitude, always superstitious, ascribed it to the anger of the Gods on account of the injustice done to *Camillus*.

Livy, B.
5. c. 33.
Chiv.
† Tusca-
ny.

§. II. HE was no sooner gone, than Envoys arrived from the inhabitants of *Clusium**, in *Ettruria*†, imploring the assistance of the Republick against an army of *Gauls*, which had made an irruption into *Italy*, and now besieged their city. The occasion of the siege was this:

ARUNS, a native of *Clusium*, a man well born, was guardian to an orphan, named (or, perhaps, stiled) *Lucumo*, the richest and the handsomest youth in the place. The ward, who had been brought up, from his infancy, in the house of *ARUNS*, could not find in his heart to leave it, even when arrived at that age which puts a young man under his own direction: He had such an esteem and affection for his guardian, that there was no possibility of living without his Company. It appeared, however, after some time, that the chains, which held our pupil so fast bound in the place of his education, were not the virtues of *ARUNS*, but the charms of his wife. The passion being mutual, and growing too violent to be either conquered or concealed, *Lucumo* carried off the Lady, avowed the action, and kept her publickly. To obtain reparation of honour, by course of Law, was attempted in vain: Large bribes and the numerous adherents to the ample fortune of *Lucumo* enabled him to triumph over the complaints of an injured husband, not so rich as he. *ARUNS*, despairing of justice, applied his thoughts to revenge. The State was now become guilty of the cruel injury and affront which he had received from his ward. Against *Clusium* therefore he aimed the meditated mischief, forming a design to reduce the city under the domination of an army of foreign freebooters. He knew, that, from several Cantons of *Gaul**, multitudes

Plut. vita
Camilli,
p. 135,
136.

of

* *Gaul* was anciently divided into three parts. The first, which reached from the British sea to the *Seine*, was called (by the Romans) *Gallia Belgica*. The second, which comprehended all the country between the

Seine and the *Garonne* quite to the *Alps*, they named *Gallia Celtica*. The third, containing all that tract of ground which lies between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees*, and the western ocean, was called *Gallia Aquitania*.

The

Year of of men had been formerly drawn into *Italy* by the allurements of its delicious wines: And it is said, that the *SENONES* (who possessed that part of

ccclviii.
Bef J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty.

Thirtv-
and Mil.
Two.

The only *Gauls*, who at several times crossed the *Alps* and settled in *Italy*, were the *Celtae*, or the inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*. About the year of *Rome* 160, during the reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, *Ambragatus*, King of the *Celtae*, finding his dominions overflocked with ungovernable subjects, sent away vast numbers of them to seek their fortune under the command of his two nephews, *Segovesus* and *Bellovesus*. The former took his way through the *Hercynian Forest* (of which the present *Black Forest* was but a small part) and settled in a canton of *Germany*, ever since called *Bohemia*, or *Boemia*, from the word *Boii*, the greatest part of his followers being of that *Celtic* nation, which was so named. But these, being afterwards driven thence by the *Marcmani* or *Sclavonians*, retired into that country which lies between the *Inn* and the *Iser*, and which from them took the name of *Bohemia* or *Barvaria*.

Bellovesus was followed by great numbers of almost all the other *Celtic* nations, as well as of the *Boii*. He crossed the *Rhone*, spread his army over *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, and at length entered *Italy*, between the mountains *Graevre* and *Cenis*. At this time the *Heurians* or *Tyrrhenians* possessed the better part of it. *Bellovesus*, having defeated them in a battle on the banks of the *Ticin*, drove them before him, and took possession of their lands, each of the nations which followed him having its distinct portion of the conquered countries. The *Taurini*, or the inhabitants of the mountains on the side of *Gaul*, had *Piedmont*, the capital of which is *Turin*. Those inhabitants of *Provence*, who were called *Salvies*, had *Liguria*. The *Libici*, another people of *Provence*, were placed on the north side of the *Po*, where *Vercil* now is. The *Insubres* or *Burgundians* settled in the fine country of the *Milanese*, and there built a town, which they called *Mediolanum* (*Milan*) from the name of a little city in the territory of the *Auturii*, in *Burgundy*. The *Orsbii*, who had dwelt on the banks of the river *Orbis* in the country now called *Languedoc*, settled in the territory of *Bergamo*, and built both the city of that name, and *Cemo*, but retained their old appellation of *Orsbii*. *Bellovesus* seems not to have carried his conquests farther than this, nor to have brought

into *Italy* all the nations which had engaged to follow him.

A second irruption into *Italy* was made by the *Cenemani*, (or those people of *Gallia Celtica* who dwelt between the mouths of the *Seine* and the *Loire*) under the conduct of one *Elitius*. He was probably followed likewise by the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, and the *Carnates*. These new adventurers are said to have been tempted to cross the *Alps* by the wine which *Bellovesus* sent them. The *Gauls* were at this time almost perfect strangers to wine; nay, so late as the time of *Julian the Apostate*, there was none made in *France*, at least in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. The *Cenemani* settled themselves north-east of the *Insubres*, and possessed the present *Brescia*, *Cremuse*, and *Mantua*, on the north side of the *Po*. The *Veneti*, or the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, settled more eastward, on the borders of the *Adriatick* gulph, and the country still retains the name of *Venetia*, which it received from them. As for the *Carnates*, they went farther north, and took possession of the territory called from them *Carniola*.

It is uncertain from what part of *Gaul* the *Levis* (or *Lavi*) and the *Ananes* (or *Anamartes*) came, who made the third irruption into *Italy*; but the historians agree, that the *Lavi* seized the country of *Novara*, on the north side the *Po*; and that the *Ananes* settled in the neighbourhood of *Placenza*, on the south side of that river.

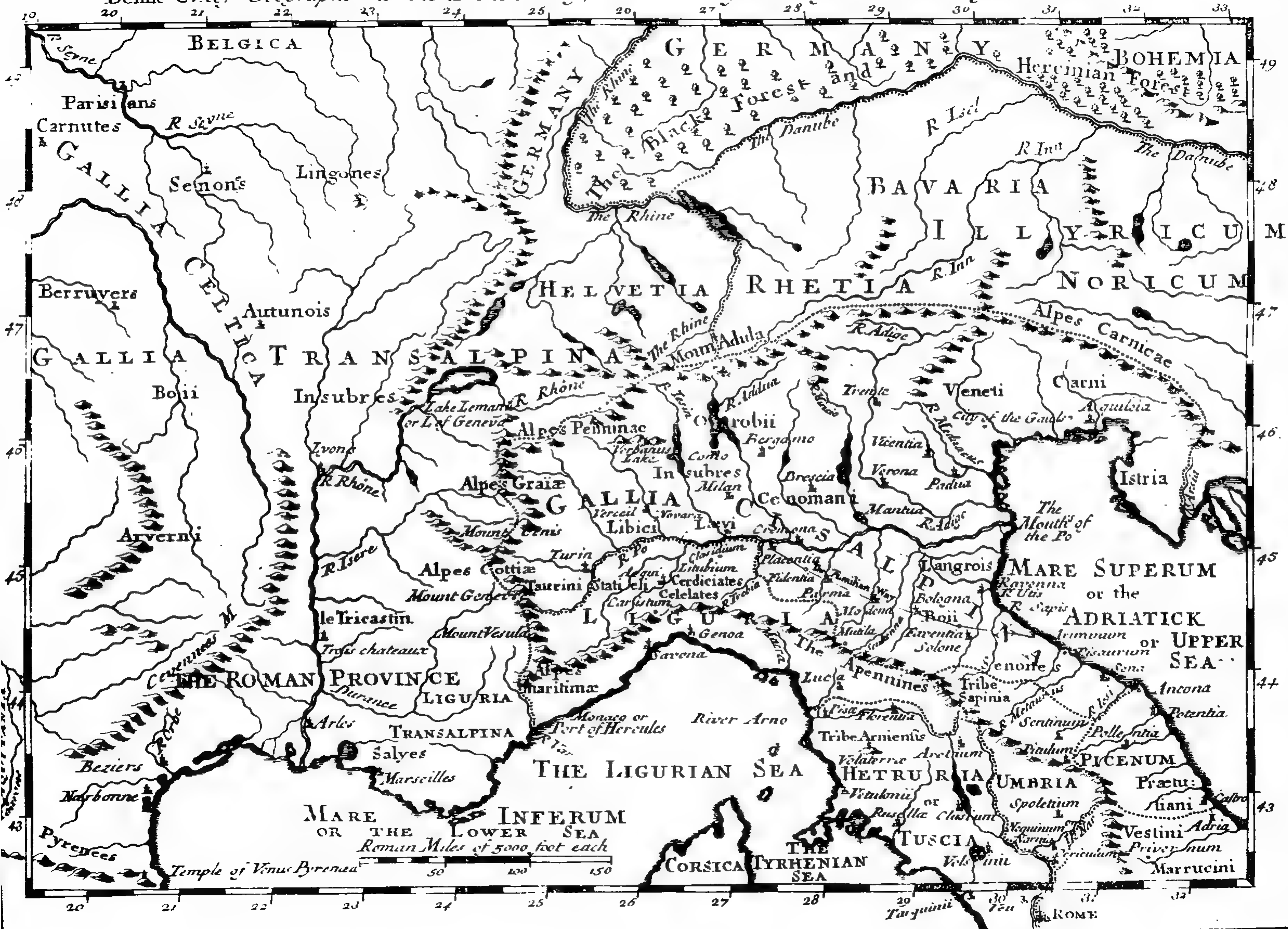
The fourth migration of *Gauls* into *Italy* was, when the *Boii* and *Lingones* passed the *Alpes Penninae*, or mount *St. Godard*, and settled on the south side of the *Po*, between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*.

The *Heurians*, being driven out of their old habitations by these inundations of strangers, passed the *Apennines*, and retired into that country, which has been ever since called *Heururia*, or *Tuscany*. It was divided into twelve *Lucumonies*, and reached from the *Arno* to the *Tiber*; being bounded to the north, by the *Apennines*; and to the south, by the *Tyrrhenian* sea. And we are not told, that the *Heurians* were any more disturbed by the *Celtae*, from the year of *Rome* 156 to the year 356.

It was 300 years after the invasion by *Bellovesus*, that the *Senones* made the fifth irruption into *Italy*. C. & R.

Gaul,

A MAP OF GALLIA CISALPINA. LIGURIA AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES. By G. Delille Chief Geographer to the French King, and Member of the Royal Academie of Sciences.



Gaul, which lies to the South-East of *Paris*, and whose capital city was *Sens*) being hitherto unacquainted with that sort of liquor, he therefore chose to address himself to them, in the hope of gaining them to his purpose, by the means of some excellent wine, which he carried with him. It prevailed against all objections. [O, ye men, how exceeding strong is wine!] A numerous army of these *Gauls*, guided by the *Hetrurian* fugitive, passed the *Alps*, and, without disturbing the *Celts*, in *Italy*, fell down upon *Umbria*, and possessed themselves of all the country, from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*, comprehending the present Dutchy of *Urbino*. They are supposed to have been there about six years, when (in the year of *Rome* 362) to reward their guide, by revenging his quarrel, they undertook the siege of *Clusum*.

The *Clusians* had no alliance with *Rome*, nor any claim to her friendship, unless it were by their not having armed in defence of their countrymen, the *Veientes*, when the *Romans* besieged *Veii*: Nevertheless they sent ambassadors to crave the aid of the Republick. Succours the Senate did not grant; but commissioned three *Patricians*, the sons of *M. Fabius Ambustus*, to go to the camp of the *Gauls*, and, in the name of the Senate and People of *Rome*, admonish them to forbear hostilities against the *CLUSIANS*, from whom they had received NO INJURY. The three brothers having delivered their errand, in a council expressly summoned to give them audience, *BRENNUS*, the King, (or chief commander) answered, laughing, *No injury! Yes indeed, the Clusians have done us a great deal of wrong: For they have more land than they are able to cultivate, and yet have refused to give a part of it to us, who are strangers, and numerous, and very poor. They do us the same wrong that every powerful nation receives from its weaker neighbour, whom it has not yet subdued. The most ancient of all Laws ordains, that the weak should yield to the strong, and the brave be Lords of the world*^a.

This haughty answer left the *Fabii* no hope of effecting an accommodation; and it would seem, that through the excess of their anger they forgot their character of ambassadors. For they soon after put themselves at the head of the *Clusians*, when these made a sally; and *Quintus Fabius* had the fortune to kill a General of the enemy, remarkable for his advantageous stature, and gallant appearance. At first, the *Gauls* mistook the victor for an *Hetrurian*; but, while he was stripping the vanquished of his armour, *BRENNUS* perceived, that he was one of the *Roman* ambassadors, who, violating the Law of Nations, had thus taken part with the besieged. Instantly he ceased the fight, and sounded a retreat from before *Clusum*: *ROME* was now his object. Some of his officers would have had him march thither without the least delay. The advice of the elder sort prevailed: *BRENNUS*, before he set forward, dispatched a herald to demand of the *Romans*, that, in satisfaction for the injury done by their Ambassa-

^a *Plutarch* makes *Brennus* speak, as if he were acquainted with all the petty wars, which *Rome* had made upon her neighbours, the *Albans*, the *Fidenates*, the *Ardeates*, the *Volsci*, &c. But *Livy* represents the *Gauls* (in their answer to the Ambassadors) as strangers to the *Roman* name, *Et si novum nomen audiant Romanorum*, &c. B. 5. c. 36.

Year of dots, these, as the Law of Nations required, should be delivered up to
R O M E the Gauls.

ccclxiii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
and
thirty-
five.
Thirty-
second
B.C. Tri-
The demand did not appear unreasonable to the *Conscrip't Fathers*: The Priests especially and the *Feciales* [the *Roman* Heralds] declared that it was perfectly just. Nevertheless, as it concerned persons of high birth, and great credit, the Senate would determine nothing; but referred the matter to an *Assembly of the People*: And so powerful an influence had *Fabius Ambustus*, the father of the ambassadors, on the multitude, that they not only decreed to send back the herald without the satisfaction required, but chose the delinquents to be three of the six ^a Military Tribunes for the new year.

BRENNUS, on the return and report of his herald, put his army in march with all expedition ^b. Observing that the inhabitants of the villages fled, in a fright, at his approach, he caused it to be proclaimed, wherever he passed, that his arms were bent against the *Romans* only, and that to *Rome* he was going.

The *Romans* (as *Livy* observes) seem to have been, at this time, infatuated. In their petty wars with the *Fiduates*, *Veientes*, and other neighbours, it had been their usual practice, on occasions of extraordinary distress or danger, to create a Dictator; in whose single and absolute authority they always found great advantages, with respect both to the levying soldiers for the war, and to the maintaining discipline in the field; and the person chosen to this high office was ever from among their ablest and most approved Generals: But now, when threatened by a far more dreadful enemy than the most potent of the neighbouring States, they neglected an expedient so successfully tried, and committed the conduct of an army, on which the preservation of *Rome* depended, to six commanders, equal in authority, most of them young, and of more spirit than capacity.

With a large body of troops, levied in the haste of a general consternation, they marched out, and met the *Gauls* near the place, where the river *Allia* falls into the *Tiber*, about eleven miles from the city. And here they immediately presented battle to the enemy, without having taken any of those previous measures, which were customary, and which prudence and the superstitious prejudices of the soldiers required. No fortified camp behind them, to retreat to in case of a disaster: A total neglect of religion; no sacrifices, no *Auspicia*, no promise of victory from bird nor beast. Fearing to be surrounded by the *Gauls*, superior ^c in

^a FABIVS,
CESO FABIVS,
CAIVS FABIVS,

Q. SULPITIUS,
Q. SERVILIUS, a fourth time,
SER. CORNELIVS.

^b *Died. Sic. Lib. iv.* makes *Brennus* wait the arrival of a reinforcement from *Gaul*, before he begins his march; and this delay will give time (which otherwise it will be hard to find) for the solicitations of *Fabius* the father, and the new Elections.

^c *Diodorus Siculus* reports (B. 4.) that the

Gauls were 70,000 strong. *Plutarch* says, the *Roman* army amounted to 40,000 men, and was equal in number to the *Gauls*.

Livy, *Died. Siculus*, and *Plutarch* differ in some circumstances of this action, but agree in the main.

number

number, they thinned their center (weakening it too much) in order to extend their wings and make their line of an equal length with that of the enemy; which, nevertheless, they did not effect. Wherefore, to defend their right flank (for their left was defended by the *Tiber*) they posted a body of reserve on a small hill, which stood on the right of their *Battalia*. *Brennus*, suspecting that these troops were to fall on his flank or rear, during the heat of the engagement, thought it expedient to begin by dislodging them from their post. While this was doing, a pannick seized the main army of the *Romans*. Intire, unattacked, and without striking a stroke, they turned their backs, and fled; so that not one soldier fell in battle; great numbers in the rout. The troops of the left wing threw themselves into the *Tiber*, where many were drowned; but the greater part, escaping both that danger and the darts of the pursuers, got safe to *Veii*; from whence they neither attempted to go home, nor even sent thither any advice of their defeat. The whole right wing made the best of their way to *Rome*, and, when they had entered the city, without stopping to shut the gates after them, fled for refuge into the citadel.

If the *Gauls* had closely pursued these terrified legions in their flight, nothing could have hindered the total extinction of the *Roman* name. But the conquerors, not imagining their victory to be so complete as it was, lost three days in banqueting and dividing the spoil; so that the *Romans* (who despaired of preserving the city) had time to secure the fortress of the capitol^a. Provisions, arms, every thing necessary for defence, were with the utmost diligence conveyed into it. Thither the strength of the Senate, and all the citizens, able to bear arms, retired; not excluding their wives and children from that asylum. As for the old men, not capable of either serving the publick or shifting for themselves, it was thought the loss of them might be easily borne, seeing they were a generation, that, by the course of nature, must very soon go off the stage. And, in order to induce the multitude of superannuated men of the lower rank to acquiesce the more readily in their being left in the city to the mercy of the *Gauls*, some ancient Consulars and victorious Generals, who had been honoured with the *Triumph*, declared publicly, that *they would die with them*: *These bodies, too weak to support the weight of arms, too weak to be employed in the defence of our country, ought not to be a burthen upon those who are armed for its preservation, and who may soon be distressed by a scarcity of provisions*: Then, turning to the soldiery, and following them all the way to the citadel, pathetically recommended to their bravery and youthful vigour the defence of what remained of a State, that for more than 360 years had, in all its wars, been victorious. But, when the moment came that these venerable elders and the young men were to take a final leave of each

^a Thus writes *Plutarch*: *Livy* tells us, that the *Gauls* did march to *Rome* the very day of the victory, and arrived there before sun-set; but, finding the gates open and the walls without soldiers to defend them, astonishment, and the apprehension of some stratagem, to be executed by the *Romans* in the night, made *Brennus* incamp at a small distance from the town. *Livy*, B. 5. c. 39.

Year of other, deep was the distress which that scene exhibited; and it was made
 R O M E consummate by the weeping and lamentations of the women, distractedly
 cccLXIII. running to and fro, from their husbands to their sons, from their sons to
 Bef. J. C. their husbands, asking now these, now those, *What shall we do?* irresolute,
 Three hundred undetermined which to follow—whose fate to share.

eighty- A great number of the women, however, though not invited, followed
 nine. their relations into the citadel, no-body opposing it; for, how inconvenient
 Thirty- soever the admitting them might prove, there was no avoiding that incon-
 second venience without being inhuman. The remaining multitude (which con-
 Mil. Tri. sisted chiefly of the populace) too numerous to be lodged within a fortress
 that stood on so small a hill, or to be fed there, if it could have contained
 them, poured forth from the city in a mighty throng, passing over the
 bridge *Sublicius* to the *Janiculum*; from whence they dispersed themselves
 about the country, having neither leader to conduct them, nor any con-
 certed scheme to follow.

In the mean time, the priest of *Romulus* and the vestals, after consulting
 together, agreed to hide, under ground, such of the holy things as they
 could not carry off; which done, these likewise (bearing, as it is said,
 the sacred fire, and other important matters) made the best of their way
 to the *Janiculum*^a; and from thence they were conducted to *Cære* in *He-*
truria, where they continued to perform their accustomed religious rites
 and worship of the Gods.

When the crowd of superannuated patriots had, by their advice and
 exhortations to the soldiers, done all that was in their power towards the
 defence of the capitol, they returned to their houses, there to wait, with
 steady resolution, the coming of the enemy and death. Such of them,
 as had *triumphed* for victories, or had been *Curule* Magistrates, that they
 might die with the greater dignity, adorned themselves with the insignia of
 those honours which they had acquired by their virtue. Cloathed in their
 triumphal robes, or in those of their magistracies, they repaired to the
 Forum^b, and seating themselves there, in their curule chairs, maintained
 the same respectable air of greatness, as when in the fulness of their former
 power.

Some say, that the *Pontifex Maximus* pronounced over these ancients the
 form of words prescribed, in cases of self-devotement; which was a high
 point of religion and virtue among the *Romans*, they believing that the vo-

^a *Livy* tells us (B. 5. c. 40.) that one *Al-*
binus, a *Plebeian*, who was conveying his
 wife and children in a cart to some place of
 safety, observing the holy virgins, with their
 holy burthens, ascending the *Janiculum* on
 foot, thought it irreigious to let his family
 ride while the vestals walked; and there-
 fore, making his people alight, he put the
 priestesses, and their sacred cargoes, into the
 cart, and conducted them to *Cære*.

Here they met with a favourable recepti-
 on, and because the vestals remained at *Cære*,
 and continued to perform the rites of religi-
 on there, those rites were thence called *Cere-*
monies from *Cære*, and *Manere* to *Remain*.
Val. Max. B. 5. c. 39.

^b *Livy* says, that they seated themselves in
 the porches or halls of their own houses.

luntary sacrifice, which their leaders made of their own lives to the infer- Year of
nal Gods, brought confusion and destruction upon the enemy. R O M E.

As the *Gauls* had met with little resistance from the *Romans* in the field, CCCLXIII.
Bef. J. C. and were not put to the trouble of an assault to take the city, they entered Three
hundred
eighty-
nine. it (at the gate *Collina*) without any thing, in their appearance, of hostile anger, that raging flame kindled by opposition, difficulty, and danger. Moving on, they beheld, with amazement, the streets unpeopled as a Thirty-
second
Mil. Tri. desert; and when they came to the Forum, and cast their eyes all around, they could observe no shew of war but in the citadel alone. What chiefly drew and fixed their attention was the company of venerable victims, who had *devoted* themselves to death. Their magnificent purple robes, their long white beards, their air of greatness, their silence, stillness, and serenity, all these astonished the *Gauls*, held them at an awful distance, and inspired them with the same respect which they would have had for so many Gods. It chanced, however, that one of the soldiers (who was, probably, less apt to be religiously affected than his comrades) took the freedom gently to put his hand towards the beard of *Manius Papirius*, as if he meant to stroke it; a familiarity which so offended the majestick figure, that, with a smart blow of his ivory truncheon, he broke the fellow's head. There needed no more to put an end to all reverence for such a cholerick deity. The *Gaul* instantly killed *Papirius*; and as if, by this, he had given the signal for a general massacre, all the rest were now slain, sitting, like him, in state, in their curule chairs. After which, *Brennus* having properly posted a guard to prevent any attack, from the citadel, upon his men, when divided and dispersed about the city, these betook themselves to plunder and destroy; they spared not a mortal, made no distinction of age or sex; and, when they had rifled the houses, set some of them on fire.

The first day, no great execution was done upon the houses; which makes it doubted, whether the *Gauls* originally intended to destroy *Rome* totally, or whether, by letting the *Romans* see part of the city in flames, they meant to terrify them, and engage them to a surrendry, by the hope of saving the remainder. Be that as it will, the garrison of the capitol were steady in their resolution not to yield; and the *Gauls* proceeded to lay all *Rome* level with the ground. Instead of a considerable city, nothing now was to be seen but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waste, in which *Brennus* incamped his army, investing the ^a citadel. Once he attempted to scale the hill on which that stood; but without success: The *Romans* met their enemies in the mid-way of the ascent, and, having so great advantage of the ground, easily repulsed them; and the *Gauls* became sensible that they could never, by assault, possess themselves of the

^a *Livy* (B. 5. c. 46.) relates that one *Fabius Dorso*, being obliged on a certain day to perform a sacrifice to the tutelar Gods of his family, and the hill *Quirinalis* being the only place where this sacrifice could regularly be performed, when the day came, he dressed

himself like a sacrificer, came out of the Capitol, carrying his Gods with him; and that the *Gauls*, out of a regard to religion, suffered him to pass to the place appointed, and to return in safety to the Citadel, after he had offered his sacrifice.

Year of place. It was determined therefore, that one part of the army should
 R O M E blockade it, while the other made incursions into the adjacent countries
 ccclxiii. for provisions.

Bef. J. C.

Three

hundred

eighty-

nine.

Thirty-

second

Mill. Tri.

§. IV. FORTUNE conducted these foragers to the neighbourhood of *Ardea*, whither CAMILLUS, in his exile, had retired. This great man, less afflicted for his own misfortunes, than for the calamities of his country, and watchful to seize every opportunity of serving her, received intelligence, that the *Gauls*, secure in the terror of their arms, preserved no order nor discipline in their marches: That they spent whole days in drinking: And that neither officer nor soldier dreamt of other enemies, beside those who were blocked up in the capitol. Thus furnished with arguments he addressed himself to the magistrates, and obtained their permission to lead out, against the common enemy, the youth of the city. These were very willing to follow him. He chose the dead of night for his expedition, and, surprising the *Gauls*, unarmed and asleep, made a dreadful slaughter of them; and those that escaped under shelter of the night fell next day into the hands of the peasants, who gave them no quarter.

The news of this action was quickly spread far and wide. It gave fresh courage to the *Romans*, who had taken refuge in *Veii*. These formed a pretty strong body: They had just cut off two parties of *Hebrurian* pillagers; and their strength was now increased by the coming of those soldiers who, after the defeat at the river *Allia*, had dispersed themselves about the country.

All in general looked upon *Camillus* as their last resource, and earnestly wished to have him for their leader: "He is no longer an exile. *Rome* is no more, we have now no country. Why must the *Ardeates*, who are strangers, acquire glory under the conduct of *Camillus*, while we, once his fellow-citizens, lie idle and see our country possessed by the *Gauls*?" They presently sent deputies with an humble request to him to be their commander.

Camillus would not take the command of the *Romans* upon him, without the approbation, first obtained, of the Senate in the Capitol. To learn the Senate's pleasure was very difficult, the place being invested by the enemy. Nevertheless a young man, named *Pontius Cominius*, undertook it. He put on a light habit, provided himself with cork, and in the beginning of the night threw himself into the *Tiber* above *Rome*. The stream carried him undiscovered to the foot of the capitoline hill; and at a very steep place, where the *Gauls* had placed no centinels, he mounted with difficulty to the Citadel. Having made himself known to the guard, he was straight admitted into the place and conducted to the Magistrates. These, without delay, assembled the Senate: The deputy gave them an account of *Camillus's* victory, and, in the name of all the *Romans* at *Veii*, requested, that they might have him for their General. Not much time

* *Livy* makes the People themselves have this scruple: Consensu omnium placuit, ab *Ardea* *Camillum* acciri; sed antea consulto senatu, qui *Romæ* esset, adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant. B. 5. c. 46.

was spent in debates: the Senate decreed, *that Camillus should, by an act of the People, assembled by Curiaë, be recalled from banishment, and, by the authority of the people, be immediately appointed Dictator*, Pontius, with the same good fortune that had attended him in going to the capitol, got back to *Veii*, bearing this decree; and the Romans in *Comitia Curiata* joyfully made a LAW conformable to it.

THUS was *Camillus* from the state of banishment raised at once to be the sovereign Magistrate of his country. On notice of the honour done him he repaired to *Veii*, and there quickly saw himself at the head of above forty thousand men, *Romans* and allies.

§. V. WHILE he was preparing to march against the enemy, the Capitol had like to have been taken by surprise. Some *Gallick* soldiers having spied on the side of the hill the prints of *Pontius's* hands and feet, made their report of it to *Brennus*; who immediately conceived a hope of scaling the hill by the same way that the *Roman* had ascended. For the execution of his design, he chose out of his army such soldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accustomed from their early youth to climb precipices. These, under cover of the night, climbed up from rock to rock, and with much difficulty, and more danger, advanced by degrees, lending each other a hand, 'till they arrived at the foot of the wall.

They had got up so silently as not to be discovered by either man or dog: But they could not escape the vigilance of some geese, which, being consecrated to *Juno*, had, notwithstanding the scarcity of provisions, been preserved alive. These creatures, naturally quick of hearing, and now more ^a wakeful than ordinary through hunger (having been kept at short allowance) were alarmed at the first approach of the *Gauls*; so that, running up and down, they with their cackling and the beating of their wings, awaked the soldiers that lay near. *M. Manlius*, a Consular person, was the first who starting up ran to defend the wall. Of two *Gauls*, whom he found on the top of it, he slashed off the hand of one, while aiming a blow at his head; and, almost at the same instant, with his buckler so strongly pushed back the other, that he fell from the rampart, and in his fall overthrew all those who were behind him. And now, some of the garrison coming to the aid of *Manlius*, he easily repelled the rest of the assailants, and drove them headlong down the precipice.

The besieged, after their escape, passed the remainder of the night in as much tranquillity as men could do, whose minds had been alarmed and agitated by so great a danger. In the morning, at day-break, the Military Tribunes, by sound of trumpet, called the soldiers together in order to dispense rewards and punishments. First of all *Manlius* was praised for his gallant behaviour, and had presents, not only from the magistrates, but from all the soldiers; each of whom carried to his house, which stood in the citadel, half a pound of meal, and a small measure of wine, which

^a The learned and judicious monsieur *Dacier* is much discontented with this philosophical conceit of *Plutarch's*, and is of opinion, that a goose, how well soever fed, will always be very wakeful.

Year of he spared out of his own allowance: A reward ^b considerable only as it
 R O M E was a proof, in the present scarcity of provisions, of the real affection of
 CCCCLXIII the givers.

Bel. J. C.

Three
 hundred
 eighty-
 nine.

Thirty-
 second
 Mil. Tri.

After this, the centinels, through whose neglect of duty the *Gauls* had been able to mount, undiscovered, to the rampart of the citadel, were cited to appear. The Military Tribune, *Sulpitius*, declared that he would punish them all, according to the laws of war: but finding that the soldiers disapproved of this measure, and unanimously and loudly concurred in laying all the blame on one centinel, he thought it not safe to meddle with the rest. The man, universally condemned, was thrown headlong from the rock.

But now famine began to oppress both parties equally. *Camillus*, since his nomination to the Dictatorship, had possessed himself of all the roads. The *Gauls* durst not stir out to forage; so that the besiegers were themselves besieged, and suffered the same inconveniences that they made the *Romans* undergo. A contagious distemper also prevailed in the army of the *Gauls*, occasioned by the great heats to which they were not accustomed.

• About
 45,000 l.
 sterling

|| Vaz vic-
 tis.

§. VI. AT length the distress on both sides occasioned a truce and a parley. *Brennus* having intimated, that he would raise the siege (which had now lasted seven months) on the *Romans* paying an inconsiderable ransom; and the soldiers in the capitol having signified to their commanders, that they could no longer support the fatigue of continual watching and the misery of famine^c, and must therefore either surrender or redeem themselves; the Senate commissioned *Sulpitius* to treat with the enemy. A thousand pound weight ^{*} of gold was the ransom agreed upon; the price of a people who were one day to be lords of the world. The *Gauls* brought false weights; to which, when *Sulpitius* objected to them, the King, insultingly added his sword, which he threw into the scale, giving no other reason, but *Wo to the vanquished!* || The *Romans* not being in a condition to resent this affront, and wisely considering, that the chief indignity they suffered was not in paying more than they had agreed to, but in paying any thing, were just on the point of finishing the affair, when

^b The *Romans* extended their rewards and punishments even to the geese and dogs. The former were ever after held in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them was always kept at the publick expence. A golden image of a goose was set up in memory of their service; and a goose was every year carried in triumph on a soft litter nicely adorned; whilst those dumb guards the dogs were held in abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year impaled one of them alive on a branch of elder. *Plin. & Plut. at fest. Rom. C. & R.*

^c *LaBartius* (B. 20.) tells us a strange story of the *Romans* being admonished and directed in a dream, by *Jupiter*, tutelary god of the capitol, to make all the corn they had into bread, and throw it into *Brennus's* camp,

not reserving the least morsel of it for their necessities: And that the *Gauls* being hereby deceived, and despairing to reduce the *Romans* by famine, raised the siege. In memory of the God's favour, the *Romans* erected an altar to him, under the name of *Jupiter Pistor*, *Jupiter the Baker*. *Ovid* seems to countenance this story, *Fast. B. 6.*

*Posse fame vinci spes excidit, hoste repulso,
 Discam Pistoris quid velit ara Jovis.*

Both *Livy* and *Florus* mention the throwing of loaves of bread from the capitol, in order to deceive; but they both ascribe the driving away of the *Gauls* to *Camillus*. *C. & R.*

on

on a sudden appeared *Camillus* with his forces at the place of conference. [How he made his way thither unperceived, it is hard to guess.] Instantly he commanded the gold to be taken away, and the *Gauls* to depart: 'Tis with iron, not with gold, that the Romans are wont to defend their country. In vain did *Brennus* represent to him, that he contravened a treaty, actually concluded. *Camillus* replied, that, he being Dictator, no treaty made without his approbation could be valid; and he warned the King to prepare for battle. The *Gauls* were now routed with as much ease as they had defeated the *Romans* at the river *Allia*; and *Camillus* the next morning in a second engagement with them on the *Gabinian* way, eight miles from *Rome*, so totally vanquished and destroyed them, that not a man was left to carry home the news of their disaster. The Dictator returned in triumph to the city, and the soldiers in their songs stiled him ROMULUS FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND SECOND FOUNDER OF ROME.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXIII.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eighty-
nine.
Thirty-
second
Mil. Tri.

§. VII. *CAMILLUS*, who had thus ^a saved his country in war, may be said to have preserved it a second time, when in peace, by hindering the people from removing to *Veii*; a project which was now renewed with more warmth than ever.

The houses of *Rome* being all demolished, and the walls razed, a heartless despondency seized the multitude; they were extremely backward to set about rebuilding; and the rather, as *Veii* offered them a place fortified by art and nature, good houses ready built, a wholesome air, and a fruitful territory. They said, "they were but just escaped, as it were, quite
" naked from shipwreck, exhausted by misfortunes, without strength and
" without materials for rebuilding a whole city, of which nothing was left
" but the ruins." Nor did there want declaimers to throw out hard words against *Camillus*, as if from vain-glory and the ambition of being esteemed

^a That *Camillus* thus saved his country, as *Livy* and *Plutarch* report, is undoubtedly fabulous; though neither *M. Vertot* nor the Jesuits take notice of any objection there is against giving credit to the story. *M. Rollin* indeed observes (*Hist. Rom. Tom. 2. p. 384.*) that *Polybius* (*B. 2. c. 18.*) silent concerning the double defeat of the *Gauls* by *Camillus*, imputes their retreat from *Rome* to their being called home to defend their own country against the *Veneti* who had invaded it: Yet *M. Rollin* seems to think that the other account may nevertheless be true, for he adds, "It ought
" to be remarked, that *Polybius* does not
" enter into the particulars of this *Grande*
" *Action*, but confines himself to the giving a
" general idea of it." But *Polybius*, in the passage referred to, tells us, that the *Gauls* did return home, and had afterwards quarrels among themselves; consequently they were not put to the sword by *Camillus*. And the same historian (*B. 1. c. 6.*) asserts, that the

Romans [in the capitol] made a convention with the *Gauls*, upon the terms which the latter thought fit to prescribe. And in *B. 2. c. 22.* he represents some Gallick Ambassadors encouraging two Kings of the *Gesatae* to join the *Gauls* in a war against *Rome*, by this consideration, That the *Gauls* had formerly vanquished the *Romans* in battle, taken their city, held it seven months, and then restored it to them voluntarily, and out of mere generosity, [*ἐθελοντὶ καὶ μετὰ χάριτος*] returning safe home enriched with spoil.

The pretended generosity of the *Gauls* is a flourish of the Ambassadors, who are introduced speaking; but the other facts agree with what is said by *Polybius* himself, in the before cited passages; so that it is evident, this unbiassed historian did not believe one word of *Camillus's* marvellous exploits against *Brennus*. See likewise *Sueton. Vit. Tib. c. 3.* *Justin. L. 38. c. 4.* *Diod. Sic. L. 4.*

Year of a second *Romulus*, a new founder of *Rome*, he opposed a design of such great
 R O M E and general advantage.

ccclxiii. On the other hand, the Senate, resolutely determined against removing to
 Bef. J. C. *Vei*, would not suffer *Camillus* to quit the Dictatorship, after his tri-
 Three umph, and the expiration of his six months. They earnestly intreated him
 hundred umph, and the expiration of his six months. They earnestly intreated him
 eighty- not to leave the commonwealth in an unsettled state. The Dictator com-
 nine. plied with the desire of the *Fathers*. And now, as he was ever most egre-

Thirty- giously devout, the first business to which he gave his attention was what
 second concerned the worship of the Gods. He obtained a decree of the Senate,
 Mil. Tri. "For purifying all those temples and sanctuaries which had been proph-

"ned by being in the enemy's possession; and for consulting the Duum-
 "virs, who had the care of the Sibylline books, about the proper manner
 "of purification.

"For making a league of hospitality with the *Carites*, who had so kindly
 "entertained the *Roman* priests and the vestals:

"For celebrating the *Capitoline* games in honour of *Jupiter*, who had
 "defended the place of his residence, and the citadel of *Rome*; and for
 "impowering the Dictator to constitute a college of persons, chosen from
 "among the inhabitants of the Capitol and citadel, to superintend that
 "affair."

Mention too was made of expiations for having neglected *the miraculous*
voice (heard in the night) which gave warning of the approach of the
Gauls; and a temple ordered to be erected to the kind monitor (whoever he
 was, under the name of *Aius Locutius*.

It was likewise decreed, that the gold which had been rescued out of the
 hands of the *Gauls*, and what other gold had in the midst of danger and
 confusion been taken out of various sanctuaries and brought into that of
Jupiter, should, inasmuch as it could not be distinctly remembered from
 whence and from whom the several parts of the treasure came, be *all* deem-
 ed sacred, and deposited under the pedestal of *Jupiter's* statue.

All these pious regulations did not divert the *Tribunes of the Commons*
 from continually exhorting the multitude to leave *Rome*, that was nothing
 but a heap of ruins, and remove to the fair city of *Vei*. *Camillus* there-
 fore, attended by the whole senate, repaired to the forum, and made a most
 elaborate ^a speech to the people there assembled. His chief arguments were
 addressed to their superstition: *Could they find in their hearts to forsake Ju-*
piter, Vesta, Mars, and Father Romulus? [as if *Jupiter* and *Vesta* and

^a *Camillus*, in this speech, insists much on the constant experience which the *Romans* had of prosperous or adverse fortune, according to their observance, or neglect of religious duties. And he mentions some rites of religion, the performance of which was confined to certain places in *Rome*, and could not be transferred elsewhere. This may have been true of *some* rites. But when our historian makes *Camillus* ask—*Where can the*

COMITIA CURIATA, *for military affairs, be AUSPICIOUSLY held but in the usual place? Shall we transfer them to VEII?* he seems to have forgot, that, by his own account, CAMILLUS had been recalled from banishment, and appointed to the dignity he then held, by the people in *Comitia Curiata*, held at VEII: and this in conformity to a decree of the Senate. *Liv. B. 5. c. 46.*

Mars and *Romulus*, if spoken civilly to, would not have removed from *Rome* to *Veii*, as readily, and in as good humour, as *Juno* came from *Veii* to *Rome*.] It is said, that his discourse made a considerable impression on the multitude; but that what determined them absolutely not to remove was a chance word seasonably spoken. For shortly after, the Senate being assembled, in the *Curia Hostilia*, to deliberate on this important affair, just as *L. Lucretius* (the first called upon, to give his opinion) was going to speak, a Centurion, who (as *Plutarch* relates it) came with his company to relieve the guard, was distinctly heard to say, *Ensign, plant your colours, THIS IS THE BEST PLACE TO STAY IN* *. Instantly *Lucretius* and all the Senators ran out of the Temple, crying aloud, *A happy Omen! the Gods have spoken, and we obey*. The multitude universally approved the notion ^b: All doubt was now at an end: No more any mention of *Veii*: *ROME for ever!*

An Inter-regnum followed the Dictatorship of *Camillus*: For the *Romans* would not suffer the Military Tribunes, during whose magistracy the city had been taken, to hold the Comitia for electing new Magistrates. And no sooner was *Q. Fabius* out of office, than *C. Marcius*, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, summoned him to appear for his conduct (of which the consequence had been so fatal) when ambassador to the *Gauls*. Sudden death, supposed to be voluntary, freed him from this prosecution.

Camillus and *P. Cornelius Scipio* performed the office of Inter-rex, by turns, for a few days. It fell to the former to preside at the election of Military Tribunes.

§. VIII. THE six new Magistrates were *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginius Tricostus*, *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Aemilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Posthumus Albinus*. Their first care (after consulting the Senate) was to collect the treaties with foreign States, and what remains could be found of the laws of the Kings, and of the twelve tables, which had been written on brass, and fixed up in the *Forum*. Some of these were communicated to the Publick; but of such as related to religious worship, the Pontifices made themselves the depositaries, that they might likewise be the interpreters of them, and occasionally make them serve as a means to keep the populace in reverence and subjection. In making a list of lucky and unlucky days, the fifteenth of the Calends of *August*, (*i. e.* the eighteenth of *July*) was particularly marked among the latter,

* *M. Dacier*, on this occasion, observes, that *Cicero* held it to be direct Atheism to despise or laugh at such omens. *Cic. de Divin. lib. 1.*

^b What the Centurion said, if really spoken by chance, or believed so to be, furnished a reason of the same kind with some of those which *Camillus* had employed in the long harangue, given him by *Livy*; and was as good a reason as any of his, for not removing from *Rome*.

^c By this passage of *Livy* it would seem, that the same Military Tribunes who commanded the army against the *Gauls* at the battle of the *Allia*, were still in office, when *Camillus* laid down the Dictatorship; and if so, either they must have held their Magistracy two years, or *Camillus* cannot have held the Dictatorship so long as he is represented by the *Capitoline Marbles* to have done; *i. e.* part of the year 363, and all 364.

Year of as memorable for two unfortunate battles; that in which the 300 *Fabii*
 ROME were slain near the *Cremera*, and that wherein the *Romans* were defeated by
 CCCLXV. the *Gauls* upon the banks of the *Allia*; no sacrifices were to be offered,
 Bef. J. C. no business done in the courts of justice, no new expedition begun on this
 Three hundred day; and so of several others.

eighty- And now the care of all was the rebuilding * of the city. The State
 seven. furnished tiles, and the People were allowed to take stone and other ma-
 Thirty- terials wherever they could find them, giving security to finish their houses
 third within the year. The hurry in which they went to work made them heed-
 Mil. Tri. less whether the ground they built on was their own or their neighbours;
 Livy, B. 6. each raised his house where he found an empty space, so that the com-
 mon sewers, which before ran under the streets, ran now under the houses.
 And so little taste had they for order and beauty, that the city, when re-
 built, was even less regular than in the time of *Romulus*: And though in
Augustus's time, when *Rome* was become the capital of the world, the tem-
 ples, palaces, and private houses, were more magnificent than before, yet
 these decorations could not rectify the fault of the plan.

* *Plutarch* (in *Camilla*, p. 145.) tells us, that among the ruins of the city, and under a heap of ashes, was found *Romulus's* augu-
 ral staff unburnt: And that this was looked upon to portend the everlasting preservation and prosperity of the *Roman* State.

THE Roman History.

T H I R D B O O K.

From the Year of ROME 365, when the CITY was REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the Year 489, when the ROMANS, having subdued ALL ITALY, began the first PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

C H A P. I.

§. I. *The Hettrurians, Æqui, Volsci, Latines, and Hernici, all the nations bordering upon the Roman State, combine to take advantage of his weak condition. CAMILLUS, appointed now the third time to the Dictatorship, raises a numerous army, which he divides in several bodies for different services. He marches in person, with one part of the troops, against the Volsci, forces their camp, and subdues that People: After which he takes the capital city of the Æqui, and recovers Sutrium from the Hettrurians.* §. II. *The next year (when the Commonwealth is again governed by Military Tribunes) the Roman arms prosper abroad. The year following is a year of peace. Four new Tribes are added to the twenty-one.* §. III. *The expectation of a new war makes the Romans chuse Camillus to be one of the six Military Tribunes for the next year. He leads the Roman troops first against the Volsci of Antium, and then against the Hettrurians; and has success in both expeditions. The Latines and Hernici submit.*

§. I. **R**OME, arising as it were out of her own ashes, appeared once more a city. But scarce did her citizens begin to take breath, when new wars called them again into the field. The *Hettrurians*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volsci*, all near neighbours of *Rome*, and of course her enemies, made a league to oppress her before she had recovered her strength. Nay, the *Latines* and *Hernici*, who had long been allies of the *Roman* People, engaged in this design. The

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXV.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eighty-
seven.
Thirty-
third
Mil. Tri.
Livy, B.
6. c. 2.

Year of *Romans* seem to have lost their empire when the seat of it was destroyed, and to have had most of the same conquests to repeat, as after the expulsion of *Tarquin the Proud*, and the first establishment of the Commonwealth.

In this distressful situation the Republick had recourse to a General, always superior to dangers and difficulties. *Camillus* was a third time named Dictator. Immediately he summoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies, caused one of them to incamp under the walls of *Rome*, appointing *M. Marcius* to command it: The second he ordered into the neighbourhood of *Veii*, under the conduct of *L. Æmilius*, to watch the motions of the *Ætrurians*: And he led the third himself against the *Volsci*. His very name, and the report of his march, filled the enemy with terror; they now thought no more of conquest; their whole study was how to avoid being conquered; they shut themselves up in their camp, which they fortified with a strong palisade of stakes, and a barricade of trees. *Camillus*, having observed the nature of their fortification, caused his soldiers to throw fire in great quantity against it. The fire, made fiercer by a brisk wind, that chanced to rise, and blow the flame and smoke full upon the camp, presently destroyed the wooden fence, and put the soldiers into such a consternation, that they rushed out in crowds, and fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who made a terrible slaughter of them. *Camillus* then sent to extinguish the flames, in order to save the booty, with which (as he had taken the camp by assault) he rewarded his army; a bounty so much the more agreeable, because unexpected from the Dictator, who had never been known to be over liberal on these occasions. Pursuing the routed enemy in their flight, he ravaged the whole country of the *Volsci*, and at length intirely subdued that untractable People, after they had harrassed the Republick with continual hostilities for more than 107^a years. From the *Volsci* he next turned his forces against the *Æqui*, and by assault made himself master, not only of their camp, but of their principal city, *Bolsa*. In the mean time almost all *Ætruria* had taken arms, and was now engaged in the siege of *Sutrium*, a town in alliance with *Rome*. *Camillus*, by order of the Senate, marched to its relief. The place had capitulated before he came, and the inhabitants had obtained nothing but their lives and the cloaths on their backs. In this destitute condition they were going to seek new habitations, when *Camillus* met them, bad the women dry up their tears, and promised to transfer their sorrows to the enemy. His promise he performed: For the *Ætrurians*, secure after their victory, and wholly employed in plundering, had left the gates of *Sutrium* open, and without guards. He came upon them by surprise, slew many, and made

I. iv. B.
L. c. 3.
Hist. 13.

^a So the critics say we should read, instead of 70, as it is in *Livy*, there being from the year 258, when the war was renewed against the *Æqui*, in the Consulate of *Sp. Claudius*

and *P. Servilius* to this time 107 years. We find that *Tarquin the Proud* made war with the *Volsci*. And we shall find presently, that all the *Volsci* were not now subdued.

an incredible number prisoners. The *Sutrin*i, before night, found themselves again in possession of their city, which had been thus twice taken in one day.

This expedition ended, the great *Camillus*, victorious in three wars, in one and the same year, entered *Rome* triumphant.

With part of the money raised by selling the *Hebrurian* captives (after they had been led before his chariot) the *Roman* Ladies were paid the value of the jewels they had formerly lent to the State: And with the remainder the Senate bought three vases of gold, which, with *Camillus*'s name inscribed on them, they placed at the feet of *Juno* in the temple of *Jupiter*.

§. II. UNDER the six ^a new Military Tribunes of the following year affairs prospered abroad: They ravaged the country of the *Æqui*, and took two cities, *Cortuosa* and *Contenebra*, from the *Hebrurians*.

The *Romans* being at this time in a humour for building, the capitol was now rebuilt (or repaired) with square stone, and with so happy an execution, as to be thought worthy of admiration, even in the reign of *Augustus*.

While the People were busied in this sort of works publick and private, the Tribunes of the Commons endeavoured to revive the old quarrel about the *division of the conquered lands*, on occasion of the *Pemptin* territory, for which the *Romans* and *Volsci* had long struggled, and which, after the Republick had got possession of it, the *Patricians* had appropriated to themselves. But the time was ill chosen for making a bustle about this affair, because the minds of the Commons were so intent on building that they did not much frequent the Forum; and, besides, they were almost quite drained of their money, and had not enough left for the expence of cultivating new farms, and stocking them with cattle. They took little notice therefore of the harangues of their Tribunes. The Military Tribunes for this year, upon some scruple concerning the validity of their election, voluntarily laid down their offices, and, after a short *Inter-regnum*, six ^b new ones were chosen; whose year, being a year of peace, was spent in works of peace. To the *twenty-one* tribes were added *four* new ones, *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina*, and *Arniensis*.

§. III. THE expectation of a war induced the centuries to chuse ^{*} *Camillus* to be one of the Military Tribunes for the next year. They gave him, for his Colleagues, † *Ser. Cornelius*, † *Q. Servilius*, † *L. Quinctius*, † *L. Horatius*, and † *P. Valerius*, all men of moderation, who knew how to do themselves and *Camillus* justice. In full Senate they transferred their authority into his hands, and left to him the sole management of the war, so that he was in effect Dictator. The Republick had designed to turn her arms

^a T. QUINCTIUS,
L. SERVILIUS, a fifth time.
L. JULIUS,
L. AQUILIUS,
L. LUCRETIVS,
SER. SULPICIVS,

^b L. PAPIRIUS.
C. SERGIUS,
L. ÆMILIUS, a second time,
L. MENENIUS,
L. VALERIUS, a third time,
C. CORNELIUS.

against

Year of
R O M E
ccclxv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eighty-
seven.

Thirty-
third
Mil. Tri.
Livy, B.
6. c. 4.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxvi.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eighty-
six.

Thirty-
fourth
Mil. Tri.
Livy, B.
6. c. 5.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxvii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eighty-
five.

Thirty-
fifth
Mil. Tri.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxviii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eighty-
four.

Thirty-
sixth
Mil. Tri.
^{*} A 4th
time.
† A 2d
time.
† A 6th
time.
Livy, B.
6. c. 6.

Year of against the *Hetrurians*; but this design was altered upon the news, that the
 R O M E *Antiates* * had entered the *Pomptin* territory in arms, and obliged the Ro-
 cccxlviii. mans, who had taken possession of it, to quit it. *Camillus* allotted to
 Bef. J. C. each of his Collegues an employment suitable to his rank, and joined
 Three hundred *Valerius* with himself in the command of the army which was to march
 eighty-four against the *Antiates*; but *Valerius* refused to be upon an equal foot with
 ————— *Camillus*, No, (said he) you shall be my Dictator, and I will serve under you as
 Thirty-six your General of the Horse. The *Latines* and *Hernici* had joined the *Anti-*
 Mil. Tri. *ates* near *Satricum*: So that the Roman soldiers, when they came within
 * i. e. The sight of the enemy, were terrified at their numbers, which *Camillus* under-
 Volsci of standing, mounted his horse, rode through the ranks, put his men in mind,
 Antium. that these were the same *Latines* and *Volsci* whom they had so often van-
 Liv. B. 6. quished, and that he was the same *Camillus* who had led them so often to
 c. 7. victory. He then dismounted, took the next standard-bearer by the hand,
 c. 8. and led him towards the enemy, crying out at the same time, *Soldiers advance*. A battle ensued, in which the enemy were intirely over-
 thrown. The *Latines* and *Hernici* separated from the *Volsci*, and returned home. The *Volsci* fled for refuge to *Satricum*: *Camillus* came before it, and carried it by assault. He then left his army under the command of
 c. 9. *Valerius*, and returned to *Rome*, to solicit the Senate's consent, and get things necessary for undertaking the siege of *Antium*. While he was proposing this affair to the *Conscript Fathers*, Deputies arrive from *Nepete* and *Sutrium* (cities in alliance with *Rome*, and that were, in a manner, its bulwark, as well as the keys of *Hetruria*) demanding succours against the *Hetrurians*. The Senate ordered *Camillus* to their relief, and assigned him those troops which *Servilius* had commanded in *Rome*, and kept in readiness in case of an exigence. He marched, came before *Sutrium*, found it almost taken, and preserved it. *Nepete* had surrendered voluntarily to the *Hetrurians*, the greater part of the inhabitants being better affected to them than to the *Romans*. The recovery of this place seemed therefore a work of greater difficulty. However, he took it at the first assault, and, having put the garrison to the sword, condemned the Authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the *Lictors*.

Camillus, before the end of this year, called the *Latines* and *Hernici* to account for their late conduct. The Magistrates of those nations alledged, that the reason of their not aiding the *Romans* was the necessity they had been under to keep their troops at home to defend their own country; and that, as to the assistance which some of their People had given to the enemies of *Rome*, they had done it without authority, and had been punished for their fault; not one of them having returned safe home. These excuses were not satisfactory, but the Senate readily admitted them, being unwilling at this juncture to multiply the enemies of the Commonwealth.

C H A P. II.

§. I. M. Manlius (who saved the Capitol) uses such Methods to make himself popular, as alarm the Senate. They name a Dictator, who commits him to prison, and presently after resigns his office. The Senate, fearing the rage of the People who are devoted to Manlius, set him at liberty. §. II. Camillus is chosen one of the Military Tribunes for the next year. Two of the Tribunes of the Commons impeach Manlius of treason, and, by sentence of the People, he is thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock.

§. I. **I**N the following Magistracy of six ^a Military Tribunes, a dangerous war abroad, and a more dangerous sedition at home, distressed the Republick. The *Volsci*, joined by the *Latines* and *Hernici*, who had revolted from Rome, commenced the war: the sedition had for its author a Roman of high birth, consummate bravery, and illustrious fame. Marcus Manlius (who saved the Capitol) though he had pride enough to despise all the other great men of Rome, yet envied one: He could not bear to see Camillus so distinguished, as if he alone were fit for the Supreme Magistracy and the command of the army: This exalted man looks down upon his Colleagues, as his ministers, forgetting that he and they were elected under the same auspices. What ground for all this arrogance? Could he have recovered Rome, if I had not first saved the Capitol? He came by surprise upon the Gauls, when employed in receiving the gold, and secure in the treaty of peace; I had to do with men armed, and just upon the point of taking the Citadel: Every soldier of his army had a share in the glory of his exploit; but I had no companion in my victory.

It is said, that Manlius by such speeches gave vent to his envy; and that, not finding his merit prized by the Nobles suitable to his own idea of it, he forsook that party, concerted measures with the Tribunes of the Commons, and set himself to court the multitude. Not content with renewing the proposal for distributing the conquered lands, he made himself the advocate and protector of such Plebeians as were oppressed with debt. Nothing could be more popular at this time than a warm concern expressed for insolvent debtors; because most of the lower People had been forced to borrow money, to rebuild their houses. The Senate, alarmed at the proceedings of Manlius, thought it necessary to create a Dictator, who, by his absolute power, might be able to crush the rising faction; and the war with the *Volsci* (now strengthened by the *Latines* and *Hernici*) furnished a plausible pretence for this creation. The Dictatorship was given to A. Cornelius Cossus, who named T. Quinctius Capitalinus to be General of the Horse.

^a A. MANLIUS, a second time,
P. CORNELIUS, a second time,
T. QUINCTIUS,

L. QUINCTIUS,
L. PAPIRIUS, a second time,
C. SERGIUS, a second time.

these are the pure effects of Marcus Manlius's bounty. From him I have received all the benefits that a son can receive from a parent; and to him therefore I devote my body, my life, all that remains unspilt of my blood. Whatever ties I have to my country, to the Gods of my country, to my household-gods, those same ties fasten me inevitably to that one man. Both the nobleness of the act, and the effusion of praise and gratitude from the person obliged, made so strong an impression on the multitude, that they were already disposed to attach themselves, like the Centurion, to *that one man*, when he did another thing, which was still better imagined, to turn their heads quite, and to throw all things into confusion. Having, in the territory of *Veii*, a farm, the chief part of his estate, he caused the publick cryer to notify the sale of it.—No, Romans, whilst I have any thing left, I will never suffer, that any one of you be cast into the prison of his creditor. Nor did he stop here in his endeavours to make himself popular, and to alienate intirely the hearts of the commons from the Senate. In assemblies which he held in his own house (in the citadel) he confidently gave out, that the Senators, not content with being the sole possessors of those lands, which ought to have been divided equally among all the citizens, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own use, the gold which was to have been given to the *Gauls*, and which had been raised by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens who were then in the Capitol; a treasure which alone would be sufficient to discharge all the debts of the poor *Plebeians*. And he promised to shew them in due time, where this treasure was hid. So pleasing a prospect, as that of every man's having his debts discharged, took up all the attention of the People; their whole care was to draw those riches out of the hands of the *Patricians*.

Things were in this situation when the Dictator returned to the city. Having agreed with the Senate upon the measures to be taken, he went to the Forum, accompanied by the Fathers, and a great number of other *Patricians*, ascended his tribunal, and sent a Lictor to cite *Manlius* to appear before him. *Manlius* did not disobey the summons, but, making all his adherents follow him, he approached the Tribunal with so numerous a guard, that the Assembly looked like two armies ready to join battle. Silence being made, the Dictator spoke thus: “I heartily wish, *Manlius*, that I and the Senate could in every thing agree with the Commons of Rome, as readily as I trust we shall do in what concerns you, and the matter I am going to question you upon. You have been heard to say, that some of the principal Senators have secreted the gold that was designed for the *Gauls*, and that this fund alone would be sufficient to discharge all the debts. I am so far from desiring to hinder such an extraordinary benefit to the Commons, that I exhort you earnestly to ease them of that burthen of usury they labour under, and to name the men who

“——addita alia commotionis ad omnia quem vestrum, inquit, Quirites, donec quieturbanda consilii res. Fundum in *Veienti*, quam in re mea supererit, judicatum, ad caput Patrimonii, subjecit praconi: ne dictumque duci patiar. c. 14.

Year of. " have stolen and concealed this important treasure. But, if you do not in-
 R O M E " stantly name those robbers of the publick, be assured that I shall without
 ccclxix. " delay send you to prison, as an incendiary and a slanderer ; for I will
 Bef. J. C. " not suffer you any longer to deceive the People with vain hopes"
 Three " *Manlius* answered, " I find I was not mistaken in my opinion, that
 hundred " the Dictator was created, not to act against the *Volsci*, but against me,
 eighty- " and the *Commons* of *Rome*. He openly espouses the cause of the Usu-
 three. " rers, and I am to be destroyed on account of the affection which the
 Thirty- " people bear me. Does it indeed offend you, *Cornelius*, and you, *Con-*
 fiverth " *script Fathers*, to see the crouds that attend me ? Why do not you en-
 Mil. Tri. " deavour to share their affection with me ? Why do not you relieve the
 " poor citizens, who are quite sunk and overwhelmed with debt ? Pay
 " for some, answer for others, supply their necessities out of your su-
 " perfluities : Nay, without bestowing any thing upon them of what you
 " possess, do but deduct from the principal sums what you have re-
 " ceived for interest. You will then see, that my train of followers will
 " be no greater than any of yours.—But why is *Manlius* (say you)
 " the only man who thus concerns himself for the citizens ? You may
 " ask me too, why I was the only man who saved the Capitol ? As I
 " then exerted myself for all in general, so now I am ready to give my
 " help to every *Roman* in particular. As to the secreted treasure, you
 " put a question to me which you can better answer yourselves. The
 " very demand makes that difficult, which would otherwise have
 " been easy. The more you press me to declare the place where the
 " gold is hoarded, the more reason I have to believe that you have re-
 " moved it, and hid it beyond the reach of the most curious inquiry.
 " Am I to reveal where your thefts are concealed ? or ought not you
 " rather to be compelled to bring them forth ?" At these words the
 Livy B.6. Dictator commanded him to give over his evasions and subterfuges, and
 c. 16. go directly to the proof of his charge, or else to confess before all the
 People, that he had slandered the Senate. To this *Manlius* replying,
That he would not speak at the pleasure of his enemies, he was immediately
 ordered to prison. When the *Lictors* laid hold of him, he cried out,
O Jupiter, most beneficent, most mighty ; O Juno, Queen of Heaven ; O Mi-
nerva, and all ye other Gods and Goddesses who reside in the Capitol : will ye
suffer your Champion and Defender to be thus treated by his enemies ? Shall
this right hand, with which I drove the Gauls from your sanctuaries, be manac-
led and locked in chains ?

We have on this occasion a surprising instance of the ready submission of the *Romans* to the commands of a lawful Magistrate. The People, though seditiously devoted to *Manlius*, made not the least motion to hinder the execution of the sentence ; not an angry expression was heard, nor a threatening look seen in the whole Assembly. His adherents and abettors expressed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crouding about the prison-door, and there lamenting his misfortune.

In.

In this time of the People's affliction *Cornelius Cossus* had a triumph for Year of his victory over the *Volsci*. The multitude expressed nothing but a deep R O M E dejection on that day of joy. Some were heard to say, that the Dictator ^{ccclxix.} triumphed over a citizen, not over the enemy; that the chief ornament of ^{Bef. J. C.} the show was wanting; and that to gratify the Victor's pride *Manlius* ^{Three} should have been led before his chariot. The Senate, to soothe and pacify ^{hundred} the People, decreed of their own motion to send a colony of *Romans* to ^{eighty-} *Satricum*, and allotted to every man two acres and a half of arable land. ^{three.} But this expedient proved ineffectual. So soon as the Dictatorship of *Cor-* ^{Thirty-} *nelius* was expired, and the People freed from the dread of an uncontroll- ^{sevench} able Magistrate, the discontent of *Manlius's* party began to grow into Mil. Tri. open sedition. Some reproached the multitude in public discourses, "That it was their custom to exalt their Protectors to high and slippery ^{Livy B.6.} stations, and then to forsake them in the very moment of danger and ^{c. 17.} downfall: That *Sp. Cossus*, the first who proposed *the Partition of the* " *Lands*; that *Maelius*, who in a famine generously fed the People at his " own expence; had both of them been abandoned and destroyed; and " that now *Manlius*, for endeavouring to free the poor debtors from sla- " very, was given up to his mortal enemies. It is a shame to see a Con- " sular thus treated, merely because he did not answer at the nod of the " Dictator. Suppose him to have invented a story, and therefore not to " have an answer ready, was it ever known, that even a servant was put " in irons for only telling a lye? Call to mind that fatal night when the " *Gauls* climbed up the *Tarpeian* cliff, and when *Manlius*, all covered with " sweat and blood, rescued, in a manner, even *Jupiter* himself out of the " hand of the enemy. Do you think that half a pound of meal was a " sufficient reward for the preserver of our country? Will you suffer a " man, whom you have almost equalled to *Jupiter*, by giving him the " surname of *Capitolinus*, to drag on a miserable life in a dungeon, and " draw his breath at the pleasure of a Jailer? Was one man able to pre- " serve all, and shall not all be able to succour one?" Discourses like these were frequently repeated, and the people, surrounding the prison day and night, threatened to break it open. The Senate, fearing lest the multitude in their fury should execute what they threatened, made a Decree for his release: But they did not thereby put an end to the sedition; they only gave the seditious a leader.

During these commotions, Ambassadors arrived from the *Latines* and the *Hernici*, as also from the cities of *Circei* and *Velitrae*, demanding releasement of the prisoners taken in the last action when the Dictator *Cossus* defeated the *Volsci*. The Ambassadors of the former were received. (though their demand was rejected) because those Nations had been only allies of *Rome*; but the Ambassadors of the latter were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the People, because those cities had been upon the foot of *Roman Colonies*. The former enjoyed their own laws; the latter were subject to the laws of *Rome*, and had therefore no right to send Ambassadors.

Year of R O M E cccclxx. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-two. Thirty-eighth Mil. Tri. Livy B. 6. c. 18. * A 3d time. † A 2d time. ‡ A 2d time. § A 2d time.

§. II. WHEN new Magistrates came to be elected for the next year, the Centuries chose *Camillus* Military Tribune a fifth time; and with him they joined * *Ser. Cornelius*, † *P. Valerius*, ‡ *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Papirius*, and § *T. Quinctius*. The confidence of *Manlius* was now much increased by the timorousness of the Senate, and the remissness of *Cossus* in not punishing him as a former Dictator had done *Mælius*. And the poor Plebeians entertained the hope, that under such a leader they should be able to get usury abolished. *Livy* gives us a long speech (doubtless of his own making) as spoken by *Manlius*, in an assembly held at his house in the citadel. The substance of the discourse is an exhortation to the Plebeians to free themselves from the burthen of their debts, and the tyranny of the Patricians, by exerting their natural superiority of strength, and assuming the ascendant.—No more Dictators—No more Consuls—I declare myself the PATRON of the Commons of Rome: My steady concern for their Interests has already fixed upon me that Title. If you are willing to bestow a higher upon your leader, it will enable him to assist you more effectually in the accomplishing of what you desire. *Livy* adds, “It is said, that from this time was set on foot a project for restoring kingly power; but it is not clearly said, how far it went, nor who were the projectors.” In the debates of the Senate, alarmed at the cabals held at a private man’s house, a house too in the citadel, many of the *Fathers* declared loudly, “That the Commonwealth stood in need of another *Servilius Abala*, who by one stroke should rid her of a bad Citizen, and restore the publick safety and tranquillity.” And tho’ the resolution of the Assembly was, in words, more gentle, it was, in effect, not less violent: For by an order to the MILITARY TRIBUNES to take care, that the Commonwealth suffered no detriment from the pernicious projects of *Marcus Manlius*, they empowered them to act as *Abala* had done. And now these Magistrates and the Tribunes of the Commons (for the latter, foreseeing that the loss of their dignities would soon follow that of the publick liberty, had given themselves wholly to the Senate) consulted together upon the proper measures to be taken in the present exigence; and when they were at a loss, no one having proposed any better expedient than *Assassination*, which yet in all appearance would occasion a dangerous conflict, *M. Manlius* and *Q. Petilius*, both Tribunes of the Commons, started a new thought: *Why do we make that to be a strife between the SENATE and the COMMONS, which ought to be a war of the whole State against one pestilent Citizen? Why should we attack him united with the Commons, when we may more safely attack him by the Commons themselves? We purpose to appoint him a day to appear in judgment. Nothing is more odious to the People than royalty. And when the multitude shall see, that there is no contest with them; that they are made JUDGES in the cause; that the accusers are Plebeians, and the accused a Patrician, and the crime, charged, aspiring to be King; they will unquestionably shew, that there is nothing they regard with so true a tenderness, as their liberty.*

c. 20. This advice being unanimously approved, they notified to *Manlius* a day for his appearance [before an Assembly by Centuries.] The Plebeians

beians were at first much affected to see him going about in a dress of mourning to solicit favour; not one Senator, nor any of his kindred, not even his brothers, *Aulus* and *Titus*, accompanying him; any thing the like to which had never happened before. Whence it is evident that there was a combination of all the *Patricians* to oppress him, because he was the first of his family who had fallen off from their party to espouse the cause of the *Plebeians*.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxx.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eighty-
two.

When the day of trial came, his accusers charged him with holding private assemblies, and with seditious words, ill-meant liberalities, and slandering the Senate [with relation to the gold.] But *Livy* tells us, that he could not in any Author find what direct proofs the Tribunes brought of *Manlius's* aspiring to the regal power. However, he supposes, that sufficient proofs they had, since nothing but the circumstance of the place where he was tried (which was the *Campus Martius*) hindered his immediate condemnation.

Thirty-
eighth
Mil. Tri.
Livy, B.
6. c. 20.

Manlius is said to have produced near 400 citizens, for the payment of whose debts he had advanced money, without interest, thereby recovering their effects which had been seized, and keeping their persons out of the prisons of their creditors. He produced two mural crowns [of gold] his rewards for having entered the first into cities taken by assault; eight civick crowns [of oak-leaves] for having in battle saved the lives of so many citizens, among whom *C. Servilius* (when General of the Horse) was one; the spoils of thirty enemies, whom he had slain with his own hand in single combat. He then opened his bosom, and shewed it covered with scars, left by the wounds he had received in fight. Looking often to the Capitol, he called upon *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, for help; and he conjured the People to turn their faces to that sanctuary, and, when they were going to pronounce judgment, to think of the Gods who resided there.

The People, touched with the humiliation and distress of a *Roman*, who by his bravery had saved the Republick, and having before their eyes the very place where he had fought so valiantly against the *Gauls*, could not resolve to condemn him. The Military Tribunes, plainly perceiving this, and that, unless the multitude were removed to some place whence they could not see the Capitol, they would never give sentence against the accused, deferred the decision of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the Assembly to be in the *Peteline* wood, without the gate *Flumentana*. Then the object, which had saved *Manlius*, no longer dazzling the eyes of his Judges, he was condemned to be thrown from the Capitol itself; and the theatre of his glory became that of his punishment and shame. Two marks of infamy are said to have been fixed upon his memory; one by publick authority, the other by private. The publick decreed, that no *Patrician* should thenceforward dwell in the Capitol, or the Citadel; and the *Manlian* family came to a resolution among themselves, that no member of it should ever bear the prænomen of *Marcus*. Such (says *Livy*) was the end of a man who, if he had not been born in a free state, would have deserved to be remembered with honour by posterity. The multitude

multitude very soon regretted the loss of him. Their fear of his ambition being over, they remembered only his virtues: And, because a plague broke out at this time without any discernible cause, many of the People ascribed it to the severe treatment of *Manlius*: *The Capitol*, they said, *had been polluted with the blood of its deliverer; and the Gods were offended at the execution, almost in their very presence, of a man who had rescued their Temples out of the hands of the enemy.*

REMARKS on the DEATH of M. MANLIUS.

M. *Dacier* expresses his wonder at “the fantastick humour of the *Roman People*, who [though fully convinced of the guilt] could not prevail with themselves to condemn the criminal, while they had the *CAPITOL* before their eyes; yet presently after [without any new offence by him committed] could throw him headlong from that very *CAPITOL*, the sight of which had hindered them from condemning him.”

Perhaps the reader may wonder at *M. Dacier's* giving credit to this part of the story; I mean *the Trial and Condemnation of Manlius by an assembly of the People*: I am well persuaded that *Livy* gave no credit to it, nor to several other particulars which he has so pompously delivered concerning *Manlius*.

- I. The public examination (as *Livy* relates it) of *MANLIUS*, the year before his death, by the Dictator, *Cornelius Cæsus*, has too strong a mark of fiction, to have passed upon *Livy* for true history. The Dictator charges *Manlius* with having slanderously^a accused the principal Senators of secreting the gold that was snatched [by *Camillus*] out of the hands of the Gauls. And *Manlius* is represented as making no difficulty to own, that he had so accused them, and that he believes them guilty. Now it is absolutely incredible, that *Manlius* charged the Senators with secreting what every *Roman*, then living, knew with certainty to have been carried away by the Gauls^c;

^a *Etrange bizarrerie du Peuple! il ne peut se résoudre à condamner Manlius à la vue du Capitole, et un moment après il le précipite de ce même Capitole, dont la vue l'avoit empêché de la condamner. Dac. Plat. Vie de Cam.*

^b ——— sermones pleni criminum in patres: inter quos — thesauris Gallici auri occultari a patribus jecit: nec jam possidentis publicis agris contentos esse, nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant. Ea res si palam fiat, exolveri plebem ære alieno posse — indignum facinus videri, quum conferendum ad redimerendam civitatem à Gallis aurum fuerit, tributo collationem factam idem aurum ex vestibus captum in paucorum prædam cessisse. L. 6. c. 14.

Spem factam à te civitati video, fide incolami, ex thesauris Gallicis, quos primores Patrum occultent creditum solvi posse. C. 15.

^c *N. B.* It is not improbable, that *Manlius* did accuse the principal Senators, and *Camillus*, among the rest, not falsely but truly, of embezzling (not the gold weighed out for the Gauls, and which the Gauls carried off, but) what remained of the treasure, which the Magistrates had amassed from voluntary contribution, after their paying the sum agreed upon for their ransom. That they were guilty of fraudulent purposes with regard to that remaining treasure, *Livy* furnishes ground to believe, by what he says of their scrupulous casuistry, and of the reasons they found for not parting with the gold they had got into their possession. And it is very possible, that this gold, properly applied, might have gone a great way towards discharging the debts of the poor *Plebeians*, as *Manlius* is reported to have said.

for that the *Gauls*, when they marched off, did not go without the ransom-Gold, Vid. *supr.* is made indisputable by *Polybius's* account; which account *Livy* had before him, p. 447. though he takes no notice of it.

Indeed *the saving of this gold* is a point, with which the *Latine* Historian seems to have been much perplexed. Saved it must be; because it was not fit that such a majestic People as the *Romans* should be redeemed like so many paltry slaves: *Diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere ROMANOS. Nam forte quadam, prius quam infanda Merces perficeretur—Dictator intervenit, &c. Lib. 5. c. 49.*

Well, but what became of this gold, so fortunately preserved? Why truly, both *this* (which, in order to avoid a profane use of sacred treasures, had been collected from the women) and *other gold*, that in the fright and hurry had been taken out of several sanctuaries and brought into the sanctuary of *Jupiter*, were deposited under the pedestal of *Jupiter's* statue.

But why, when all was safe and quiet, were not the women's ornaments restored to them? and why were not the other parcels of gold replaced in the respective sanctuaries to which they belonged? The reason was, it could not be distinctly remembered from *whence* and from *whom* the several parts of the treasure came; so it was thought best, that *the whole* should be deemed *consecrated to the Gods*. [As if the priests could not distinguish the gold of their respective temples, nor the women their own trinkets.] The women, it seems, in reward of their virtue received publick thanks; to which the publick added an honour: Instead of restoring to them the fineries of their dress, it was decreed, that they should have fine things said of them at their funerals, as the men had ^a.

THAT MANLIUS was convicted before the People, assembled by centuries, of attempting to make himself King of Rome; and that the People condemned him, as guilty of that crime, to be thrown from the Tarpeian Rock; are facts which seem to be as little worthy of belief, as that he accused the Senators of secreting gold, snatched [by *Camillus*] out of the hands of the *Gauls*.

1. For, first of all, *Livy* tells us that he could not in any author find what *direct* proofs the accusers of *Manlius* brought of his plotting to be King. *Crouds of people about him; seditious words; ill-meant liberalities* [largitio]; *slandering the Senate in relation to the gold* [fallax indicium;] these were all the particulars mentioned by those writers from whom *Livy* borrowed his accounts: Yet our Historians *supposes*, that weighty matters were proved against him, because [it is said] the sentence was deferred, not on account of any want of evidence, but merely on account of the place where the criminal was tried ^b [the field of *Mars*, whence the *CAPITOL* could be

^a Aurum quod Gallis ereptum erat, quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Jovis cellam collatum, quum, in quæ referri oporteret, confusa memoria esset, sacrum omne judicatum, sub Jovis sella poni jussum. Jam ante in eo religio civitatis apparuerat, quod, quum in publico deesset aurum, ex quo summa pacta mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis collatum acceperant, ut auro sacro abstineretur. Matronis gratiæ actæ, honosque additus, ut earum, sicut virorum, post mortem solennis laudatio esset. Lib. 5. c. 20.

Plutarch reports that the privilege granted to the women of having funeral orations was in reward of their giving [he should have said *lending*] their ornaments to make a vase, to be sent to *Delphos*, in discharge of *Camil-*

lus's vow, when he was just going to the assault of *Veii*.

^b Quum dies venit, quæ, præter cætus multitudinis, seditiosasque voces, et largitionem, et fallax indicium, pertinentia propriè ad regni crimen, ab accusatoribus objecta sint reo, apud neminem auctorem invenio. Nec dubito haud parva esse, quum damnandi mora plebi non in causa, sed in loco fuerit. C. 20.

N. B. *Manlius's* liberalities to the poor are said to have been *urged against him* as indications of his inordinate ambition. And he, *in his defence*, is said to have produced 400 citizens, to whom he had advanced money, without interest, to prevent their falling into the cruel hands of their creditors.

seen:].

seen:] That is to say, IF *Manlius* was certainly tried by the People, and if sentence against him was deferred on account only of the place where he was tried, then it is probable there was sufficient proof of his guilt. But presently after,

2. Our Historian lets us know that he is not quite sure that *Manlius* was tried and condemned by the People: For, after speaking of their passing sentence against him, contrary to their inclination, even when they were in a place from whence the Capitol could not be seen, he adds, *live report that he was condemned by Duumvirs, cited to inquire into it. Treason.* Sunt qui per Duumvires, qui de perduellione antiquerent creatos, auctores sint damnatum.

3. As *Livy* by these last words discovers, that he did not know certainly before what court *Manlius* was tried; so, by what he says in the preceding chapter, he seems to allow his reader to believe, that the supposed criminal was never brought to trial before any court whatsoever, but was cut off by an act of mere violence, an act of that absolute power with which the Senate had invested CAMILLUS and the other Military Tribunes, on purpose to destroy him. I say, *Livy* seems to intimate this, when he tells us, that the Senate's giving that extraordinary power to the magistrates amounted to the same thing as a resolution to dispatch *Manlius* (as *Abala* had dispatched *Mælius*) without any previous form of process^a.

That they destroyed *Manlius*, by casting him down from the *Tarpeian Rock*, may be easily believed, though we suppose no publick sentence to have passed against him, specifying that punishment: because his house, where, it is probable, the officers of the magistrates seized him, stood in the citadel, and therefore very near to that rock.

4. To the arguments, above offered, against the pretended trial and condemnation of *Manlius*, for plotting to be King, may be added the great unlikelihood, that any *Roman*, not out of his senses, would, in those times, furnish even the smallest ground for suspecting him of such a plot. Is it not, in the highest degree, improbable, that *Manlius* should hope to raise himself to a regal throne, by the help of a populace, whom he could not but know to have an hereditary and insuperable aversion to the very names of *King* and *Kingdom*: insomuch, that the ambition of reigning [*cupiditas regni*] was, with them, the most unpardonable of all crimes; and for which no kind nor degree of merit could atone? *Livy*, on the present occasion, (as on several others) intimates this to have been the temper and turn of the *Roman People*: Illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines, quæ et quanta decora scæda cupiditas regni, non ingrata solum, sed invisâ etiam reddiderit, c. 20: and then enumerates the worthy actions and heroic exploits of *Manlius*. [See what has been said on this head in the close of Chap. XIV. B. 2.]

BUT if *Manlius* was not guilty of designs against the LIBERTY of his Country, nor of slandering the Senators, what was it that made them so unanimously combine to destroy him? I answer; His singular merit, his honest zeal for the LIBERTY of his fellow-citizens the poor Plebeian debtors, continually exposed to become slaves to their merciless Patrician creditors; [Consensu opprimi popularem virum, quod primus a patribus ad plebem defecisset.] His reproaching the Nobles severely in words, and more severely by his example, with their rapaciousness, avarice, and oppressive usury; and his urging them to do, freely and from virtue, what a

Livy, B.
6. c. 20.

^a Magna pars [Senatus] vociferantur Servilis *Abala* opus esse qui non in vincula duci jubendo irritet publicum hostem, sed unius jacturâ civis finiat intestinum bellum. Decur-

ritur ad leniorem verbis sententiam, vim tamen eandem habentem: ut videant Magistratus, ne quid ex perniciosi consiliis M. Manlii republica detrimenti capiat. Lib. 6. c. 19.

few years after, they were constrained to do by an act of the legislature, an act passed by the Tribes, in spite of the most vigorous opposition from the Senate, aided by CAMILLUS, then Dictator, and by a majority (which the Senate had gained over to them) of the Tribunes of the Commons: I mean that LAW, which, to relieve the debtors, deducted from the principal debt whatever sums had been paid for interest. It was but seven years after the death of *Manlius*, that *LICINIUS STOLO* proposed that LAW: which, with two other Laws, he, after a ten years struggle, prevailed to have enacted; much to the benefit of the Commonwealth, as will be seen in the sequel of the story. Whatever appearance of injustice it may have to make a law on purpose to hinder those, who have fairly lent their money, from exacting what by contract is legally due to them from the borrowers; such a law was absolutely necessary at this time, in order to preserve to the Commons of *Rome* any appearance of freedom. And the very passing of this law, notwithstanding so mighty an opposition made to it, is alone a cogent proof, that the oppression which they suffered was excessive, and the distemper of the state such as required extraordinary and violent remedies. If we consider the words with which *Livy* furnishes the Centurion *, (whom *Manlius* delivered out of the hands of his creditor) and the speech of *Manlius* †, to the Dictator *Cornelius Cossus*, we shall have a just idea of the miserable condition of the Commons, and of the relief proposed by their brave and generous advocate. For it is evident (as the reader will find) from the following parts of *Livy's* narrative, that he does not make the two speakers exaggerate the grievances of the Commons, or make them say more than was strictly true concerning the cruel oppression which the poor debtors laboured under: And the very remedy proposed by *Manlius* was one of those remedies that, very soon after, were by the legislature judged necessary to be employed.

• See p.
456.

† See p.
458.

LIVY and *PLUTARCH* represent the zeal of *Manlius* in behalf of the debtors, as having its source in envy and anger, envy to *CAMILLUS*, and anger against the SENATE for preferring that rival before him to govern the State and command the army. Doubtless in the year 369, when *Manlius's* popularity is said to have alarmed the Senate, he had just cause to think himself unworthily and injuriously neglected by them. But that THIS NEGLECT of him was not the CAUSE, but the EFFECT of his ZEAL for the poor debtors, will I think appear from the following considerations.

A braver soldier than *Marcus Manlius* the Roman State had never produced. The Military rewards which he received from the Generals, under whom he served, are an incontestable proof of it; and in the year 361, two years before his most celebrated exploit of saving the Capitol, he had been honoured with the Consulship. And yet after that important service (in 363) we never see him in any magistracy whatsoever. How shall we account for this? It may easily be granted, that *CAMILLUS* was superior, in abilities, to *Manlius*, and to every other Roman of that time, for the conduct of an army; and this may furnish a plausible reason, why the Senate, in pressing and extraordinary exigencies, had recourse to those abilities. But since no less than six persons were every year chosen to the Military Tribuneship (except in the year 364, when the Senate continued *Camillus* in the Dictatorship, that he might hinder the people from removing to *Veii*) and since there had been five elections in the time between the Gauls departure and the commotion occasioned by the generosity of *Manlius* in 369, how came it to pass, that a Patrician of such high birth, a hero so applauded and extolled at the time of the siege, was never after appointed to be one of the six governing magistrates? His brother, *Aulus Manlius*, who had no merit (that we read of) to recommend him, was nevertheless a Military Tribune in the year 365, and again in 369, the very year in which the Senate created *Cornelius Cossus* Dictator to quell the commotion raised by the liberality of *Marcus*.

May we not fairly gather from this uninterrupted exclusion of *Marcus* from the Magistracy after the rebuilding of the city, that he began about that time to dis-

oblige *Camillus*, and the other Oligarchs; and that their discontent with him was on account of his compassionate concern, warmly expressed, for the poor *Plebeians*, loaded with debt, and who had lately *increased the burthen by borrowing money to build their houses*, as *Livy* informs us?

It ought here to be remarked, that the necessity of borrowing money to *build* was a necessity to which they were subjected, merely by the Senate's refusing to let them remove to *Veii*; which removal, after *the total destruction* of Rome by the *Gauls*, would in all appearance have been a very reasonable measure: But it would not have been consistent with the views of the Oligarchs, who were bent upon making to themselves immense estates out of the newly conquered *Veientan* territory.

It is not indeed unlikely, that *MANLIUS* (who unquestionably saved the Capitol) was discontented to see *Camillus* (who unquestionably did not drive away the *Gauls* and save the gold) so distinguished by the Senate, as if he alone was qualified to command an army. And *Manlius* might with the more reason be dissatisfied, as he knew, that *Camillus's* chief merit with the *Fathers* was not his *military skill*, but his skill and inclination to keep the *Plebeians* in extreme indigence, and thereby in a state of servitude to the *Patrician* usurers. *Livy*, though he seems to have made it a rule to himself, always to speak respectfully of the Senate, yet tells us, "that, when the election of Military Tribunes, for the year 354, was coming on, the attention of the *Fathers* to that affair and their concern for the event were very near being greater than their care about the war^a." And yet the *Romans* were at that time engaged in the important siege of *Veii*: And he likewise tells us, "That the Senate, when, in the year 359, by using their utmost efforts, they got *Camillus* into the Military Tribuneship, pretended, that it was to provide the Republic with an able general, but that their *real motive* was to provide themselves with a magistrate, who would oppose the Tribunes bill for a distribution of the publick lands^b." So that *Manlius*, who was as compassionate and generous as he was brave, needed not the incitement of ambition or envy to make him displeased with the Senate's throwing so much power into the hands of a man, whose temper and character made him very unfit to be at the helm of a free state.

Just reasons unquestionably there were, why *CAMILLUS*, though an exile on account of male-administration, was by an act of Senate and People recalled from banishment and created Dictator in the year 363, when the *Gauls* invested the Capitol: But the reasonableness of continuing him in the Dictatorship throughout the year 364 may very well be questioned. For it is not evident, that, in this unprecedented step, they had any view to the good of the publick; and it is plain beyond a doubt, that they had a view to their private interests: That by the means of *Camillus*, invested with the terrors of absolute power, they purposed to keep the People at a distance from *Veii*, and thereby to hinder them from having their just share of the conquered lands, and likewise from seeing how shamefully the Oligarchs made themselves rich by robbing the commonwealth. For that these were their principal objects appears from the whole thread of the history of these times.

We have seen that the *Fathers*, when in the year 360, by tears and intreaties and Vid. *supr.* talking much about religion, they had prevailed to have the [very unreasonable] bill, P. 435. *for dividing the Senate and People between Rome and Veii*, rejected, were in such joy for their victory, that, the next morning, they passed a decree for assigning to every freeman of *Rome* seven acres of the lands of *Veii*. Doubtless this decree, though re-

^a Jam Comitia Tribunorum Militum aderant, quorum prope major Patribus, quam belli cura erat. L. 5. c. 14.

^b Comitibus Tribunorum Militum patres

summa ope evicerant, ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. Propter bella simulabant parari ducem, sed largitioni tribunicia adversarius querebatur. L. 5. c. 26.

presented by *Livy* as an act of voluntary bounty, when joy had opened and dilated the hearts of the Senators (not apt to such effusion of goodness) was made in performance of a promise, by which they had gained a majority of the Tribes to vote against the bill in question. And there is some reason to doubt, whether they ever put the decree in execution. And, if they did, it would seem, that they very soon got the land back again out of the hands of the poor *Plebeians*, and probably * in * Vid. satisfaction of interest for money they had lent to those *Plebeians*. For *Livy* intro-^{supr. p.} duces one of the Tribunes, in that long contest which began about thirteen years 435. after this notable bounty, expostulating with the principal Senators, *How they could have the confidence to desire that every one of them might be allowed to possess more than 500 acres of land, while no more than two acres was allowed to each Plebeian?*

To return to *CAMILLUS*: He was again created Dictator in 365; and Military Tribune (for the fourth time) in 368, and again in 370, and invested with absolute power, purposely to destroy *MANLIUS*. Though *Camillus* had five Collegues, *Plutarch* represents him as principal in the prosecution, and as the Magistrate who removed the Assembly to a place whence the Capitol could not be seen: Which makes *M. Dacier* ask, “But why was *Camillus* so eager to get *Manlius* condemned, a person of such eminent merit, and who had served so well? Why did he not leave that melancholy honour to his Collegues?” He adds, “*Livy*, to avoid throwing all the odium of the action upon *Camillus* alone, says, *That the [Military] Tribunes, perceiving the effect which the sight of the Capitol produced* ^b, &c.”

M. Dacier might have found perhaps a satisfactory answer to his question, if he had attended to what *Plutarch* says in his comparison of *Camillus* with *Themistocles*. The biographer, though he sometimes extols the Roman hero to the skies, yet leaves it doubtful, “Whether it was the love of liberty and of his country, that made him prosecute *Manlius* to death, or whether his hatred to *Manlius* was not owing to a secret jealousy of a rival, illustrious by many noble exploits, and especially by that of saving the *Capitol*; whence he acquired the surname of *Capitolinus*.”

But, without having recourse either to *Amor Patriæ*, or to any supposed jealousy of a rival for military Glory, it would seem that we may well account for *Camillus*'s being the chief actor in the destruction of *Manlius*. This humane, generous, noble-spirited hero, by his civil and social virtues, reproached, eclipsed, and dishonoured the invincible *Camillus*; and, by patronising the cause of the distressed *Plebeians*, opposed the gratification of his (seemingly ruling passion) avarice.

A late celebrated author observes, “That the writers of *particular lives* are apt to be partial and prejudiced in favour of their subject, and to give us a *Panegyrick*, instead of a *History*”—and that “this seems to flow from the nature of the thing itself, where the very inclination to write is generally grounded in prepossession, and an affection already contracted for the person whose history we are attempting; and, when we sit down with the disposition of a friend, it is natural for us to cast a shade over his failings, and to give the strongest colourings to his virtues.”

* *Auderentne postulare, ut quum bina jugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta jugera habere liceret? Ut singuli prope trecentorum civium possiderent agros, plebeio homini vix ad rectum necessarium, aut locum sepulturæ, suus pateret ager? Liv. L. 6. c. 36.*

And in lib. 6. c. 21. *Livy* informs us, that the Senate (in the year 371, just after the murder of *Manlius*) to engage the People's consent to a declaration of war, passed a Decree for dividing the *Pomptin Territory*

among them. Yet we do not find, that this was done till many years after the Decree.

^b Mais pour quoi *Camillus* poursuivoit-il avec tant d'ardeur la condamnation de *Manlius*, d'un homme de ce mérite & qui avoit si bien servi? Que ne cedit-il ce triste honneur à ses collegues? Aussi *Tite Live*, pour ne pas faire tomber toute la haine de cette action sur *Camillus* seul, dit, *Que les Tribuns s'étant appercus de l'effet que cette vue produisoit, &c.*

Perhaps there is not a more striking instance of the truth of what is here said, than PLUTARCH'S *Life of CAMILLUS*. It abounds with indications of an extreme partiality. He extols the only *good action (recorded)* of his hero, greatly beyond its merit; and discovers a most friendly disposition to believe, that he never did any thing wrong.

Certainly it required no extraordinary elevation of soul, nor any thing beyond common prudence and policy, and a moderate sense of honour, to act as *Camillus* did, with relation to the school-master of *Falerii*. It was one of those parts of conduct, the performance of which does not render a man so praise-worthy as the non-performance of them renders him infamous. Yet, from *Plutarch's* admiration of the deed, one would imagine it to be something so glorious as not to be looked at without having the eyes of our minds dazzled with its brightness.

Vid. sup. CAMILLUS was, by the Roman People, thought guilty of *impious vanity*, when
p. 429. with his *face painted red*, and in a chariot drawn by *white horses*, he rode in triumph for the conquest of *VEII*. What says our biographer to this? Why truly he is of opinion, "That we may reasonably presume the Gods would not have showered down so many favours upon *Camillus*, if he had really offended them by any impiety."

But did not *Camillus* imbezzle and appropriate to his private use some of the wealth belonging to the publick? Of this he was accused; and he was cited to appear in judgment before the People to answer the charge. Neither the principal men of his Tribe, nor his *Clients* (which, says *Livy*, made a considerable part of the *Commons*) nor (according to *Plutarch*) his *Colleagues* heretofore in office, nor his *Friends*, when all were assembled to consider of his case, would give him any hopes of escaping condemnation: So, to avoid a trial, he ran away, cursing his countrymen. One would naturally conclude from these particulars, that he was guilty. No, says *Plutarch*, "the Gods declared him innocent, by bringing the *Gauls* against *Rome* to revenge his cause, and punish the *Romans* for their unjust treatment of it."

And the biographer will have it "that he was banished for his steady opposition to the BILL for removing half of the Senate and People to *VEII*;" which Bill (if we may credit *Livy*) the people themselves, moved by the intreaties of the Senators [and probably more moved by a promise of seven acres of the lands of *Veii* to each of them] had rejected three years before this prosecution.

Indeed it is highly probable, that, long before the impeachment of *Camillus*, the greater part of the *Plebeians* had received impressions much to his disadvantage: For the whole series of his conduct towards the Commons appears, even from the accounts given of it by his Panegyrists, to have been base and detestable; so base, that one may reasonably wonder how it could happen, that *Camillus* should be such a favourite character as he certainly is with most readers of ancient history. However, this may perhaps be sufficiently accounted for by the same reflections which the ingenious writer, before quoted, makes on another occasion:

Midd. "Among the celebrated names of antiquity, those of the great conquerors and
Life of "generals attract our admiration always the most, and imprint a notion of mag-
Cicero, "nanimity, and power, and capacity for dominion, superior to that of other mor-
Pref. p. "tals:—these are the only persons who are thought to shine in history, or to merit
xvii. "the attention of the reader: dazzled with the splendor of their victories, and

* — M. Furium ab urbe amovere. Qui die dicta ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis, propter prædam Veientanam, filio quoque adolescente per idem tempus orbatus, quum accitis domum tribulibus, et clientibus,

quæ magna pars plebis erat, percunctatus animos eorum responsum tulisset, Se collaturus quanti damnatus esset, absolvere eum non posse, in exilium abiit. L. 5. c. 32.

“ the pomp of their triumphs, we consider them as the pride and ornament of the
 “ *Roman* name ; while the pacifick and civil character, tho’ of all others the most
 “ beneficial to mankind, whose sole ambition is to support the laws, the rights and
 “ liberty of his citizens, is looked upon as humble and contemptible on the com-
 “ parison, for being forced to truckle to the power of these oppressors of their
 “ country.”

That *Camillus* was superior in military skill to all his cotemporaries, and that he did important service to his country by many victories ^a in the field, is not to be disputed. But, when we have granted thus much, what is there more to say in his praise ? How scandalous an appearance does he make as a citizen, a member of a Republick erected on the principles of Liberty ?

1. He is reported to have vowed the tenth of the spoil of *VEII* to *APOLLO*, in case the *Romans* should become masters of the place.

Livy says, that *Camillus* made this vow just before he assailed the walls : According to *PLUTARCH*, it was before he set out from *Rome* to go to the siege : And it seems most probable from the sequel of the story, that, neither before nor after he left *Rome*, did he ever act so senseless a part : But that when he and the Senate, thinking that the poor soldiers had got too rich a reward of their labours (during a ten years siege) wanted to rob them of part of it, he then falsely pretended to have made the vow in question. For should we grant, that the general of a *Roman* army might, from certain religious prepossessions, without being out of his senses, really intend to make a present of a tenth part of the wealth of *Veii* (the richest city of *Tuscany*) to the *Grecian* Priests of *Apollo* at *Delphi* ; I say, supposing this, How came it, that *Camillus* did not in due time, and before the booty was carried off, acquaint the soldiers with his act of devotion ! Why truly, He had forgot it ; *the* Vid. *supr.* *worst*, says *Plutarch*, and the most ridiculous of all excuse. The soldiers nevertheless, p. 430. threatened with the anger of the Gods, paid into the publick stock the value of a tenth of what they had brought home.

2. Fraud and imposture succeeding so well, a new trial of it is made the next year. The poor citizens being many of them eagerly bent on removing to *VEII*, that they may get a reasonable share of the lands belonging to it, *Camillus*, to throw a religious obstacle in their way, is pleased then to have a new scruple : He recalls to mind, that Vid. *supr.* his vow to *Apollo* had comprehended, not only the *moveables*, but the city of *Veii*, p. 431. and all its territory. The Senate ^b have tender consciences, and therefore refer this nice case to the Pontifices, the Casuists of the State. These, having discoursed with *Camillus*, had informed themselves satisfactorily of his *Intention* when he made the vow, are clear in opinion, that *Apollo* must have the tenth of whatever had, before the vow, belonged to the *VEIENTES*, and had, since the vow, fallen into the power of the *ROMANS*. [Not a word however of the money raised by the sale of Vid. *supr.* the captives, and transmitted to the publick treasury (that is to say, transmitted to p. 428. *Rome* for the use of the leading men of the Senate :) For though the *persons* of the *VEIENTES* had fallen into the power of the *Romans*, yet the Casuists, it is likely, might hold that, the *persons* of the *VEIENTES* being the *Veientes* themselves, they

^a *Plutarch*, in comparing the exploits of *Camillus* with those of *Themistocles*, intimates that there is so much of *surprise* and of the *Merveilleux* spread over the actions of the *Roman*, as made them fitter subjects for painters and poets than for historians.

^b Quum ea disceptatio anceps senatui visa, delegata ad pontifices esset, adhibito

Camillo, visum collegio, quod ejus ante conceptum votum *Vientium* fuisset, & post votum in potestatem populi *Romani* venisset, ejus partem decimam *Apollini* sacram esse. Ita in æstimationem urbs agerque venit : pecunia e ærario prompta, et tribunis militum consularibus, ut aurum ex ea cõmerent, negotium datum. L. 5. c. 25.

could not properly be said *to belong to the Veientes*, and so were not comprehended within the vow.] Weil but how shall *Asinius* get his due? The tenth of the houses and lands of *Asinius* cannot be sent to *Deities*. *Camillus* and his associates have an easy expedient for this. They get the town and territory *appraised*, and they pay out of the publick treasury, into their own hands, the tenth of the value; that they may buy gold to make a cup for *Asinius*. [The God was to have had a cup before the appraisement, and he gets nothing more now: No; but the Senate find their account in this transaction. For, the people having purchased, of the God, his tenth of the city and lands of *Asinius*, and this tenth not being divided from the rest, it is become impracticable for the people to put their project in execution, till the Senate shall think proper to ascertain and set out the particular houses and lands that belong to the publick, in virtue of the late purchase.]

Livy exhibits to his reader this whole scene of oppression, knavery, and religious imposture, and makes *Camillus* the principal actor in all: And yet speaks of him as the glory of *Rome* at this time, and the envy of *M. Manlius*.

On the other hand, though the historian (wanting proof) *first supposes* Marcus Manlius to have been actuated by pride, envy, and ambition, and *then invents* for him words and discourse, such as a man, under the influence of those passions might possibly utter, yet it is to be remarked, that he mentions not any one thing as *certainly done by Manlius*, but what is praise-worthy.

And from these observations one would be inclined to think, that the oldest *traditions*, and perhaps the first *written accounts* concerning the transactions of those times, were all favourable to *Manlius*, and much to the disadvantage of the Senate and *Camillus*: But that the later historians (and Livy in particular) who on many occasions do evidently consult the glory of the *Romans*, and especially of the Senate, more than truth, perceiving plainly, that, in the minds of strangers and of posterity, the venerable *Fathers* and *Optimates* of those days would be much disgraced, if it remained an established point of history, *That an eminent Patrician, a man distinguished for his bravery and gallant exploits, and who had done essential service to the State, was agitated by them, only because he impoverished himself to relieve poor debtors, and warmly declined against excessive usury*; the later historians, I say, to cover, in part, the infamous conduct of *Camillus* and the *Patrician* faction, thought it convenient to suppose (without evidence) the truth of what that faction imputed to *Manlius*, when they had determined to cut him off. Accordingly those writers have reported, that in all probability *Manlius* (otherwise a *Roman* of eminent virtue) was seized with the *Cupiditas Regni*^a, and endeavoured to make himself king of *Rome*. Of this charge against him Livy confesses that he found no proof, except his *good deeds*, (his liberalities, and some *sedition* discourse, that is to say, some discourse against *exorbitant usury*, *cruelty to insolvent debtors*, and *robbing the publick*; of all which the chief men of the Senate were notoriously guilty: For it is to be observed, that, with Livy, *sedition* frequently signifies nothing more than opposition to the desires and measures of the Senate.

If it be granted (as surely it will) that, in order to form just ideas of the merit or demerit of those men who make the principal figures in history, we must attend chiefly to what they *did*, and not to the *characters* given of them by their historians, *M. Manlius Capitolinus* will, I think, appear to have been an honest benevolent, gene-

•Vid. sup.
p. 254 &
seq.

^a The same distemper had, with equal truth, been imputed to *Spurius Cassius*^a, and in after times was imputed to *Tiberius Gracchus* and his brother *Caius*. This stratagem of the Senate, when they wanted to destroy an adversary by the hands of the *Roman* peo-

ple, was somewhat like pointing out to our populace a man, as bit by a mad dog, and incurable, and whom it is necessary to destroy in order to prevent mischief. The latter is not so malicious, because not so certainly fatal, as was the other.

rous, open-hearted, brave soldier, a friend to just liberty; the invincible *M. Furius Camillus*, a vain, hypocritical, avaricious robber of the publick, the champion of tyrannical usurers, and the murderer of the best man in the Commonwealth. Always a hero in the field, always an oppressor in the city, he opposed for ten years together the enacting of those Laws, to the execution of which, when enacted, were owing the *liberty*, the *virtue*, the *glory*, and the *empire* of the *Romans*^a. I mean the laws proposed by *Licinius Stolo*, in the year 377, and passed by the Tribes in 386. A writer, on no occasion partial to the *Tribunes of the Commons*, tells us, Dr. Midd. that “they never left tearing the Senate with fresh demands till they had laid Pref. to
“open to the *Plebeian* families a promiscuous right to all the magistracies of the Re- Life of
“publick, and by that means a free admission into the Senate.” He adds, “Thus Cicero, p.
“far they were certainly in the right and acted like true patriots; and after many sharp xxxvii.
“contests had now brought the government of Rome to its perfect State; when its ho-
“nours were no longer confined to particular families, but proposed equally and
“indifferently to every citizen; who by his virtue and services, either in war or
“peace, could recommend himself to the notice and favour of his countrymen.” To hinder this improvement of the constitution, and to keep the *Plebeians* in a slavish dependance on insatiable *Patrician* usurers, were the chief objects of the care of the great *Camillus*, in his old age. Created Dictator by the Senate (in the year 385) for no other end, but that he might abuse the power annexed to that office, he (to answer the purpose of his creation) by menaces, and by his lictors, drove the people from the Forum, when they were going to enact the most excellent Laws. The two Tribunes, however, not dismayed hereby, and knowing his weak side, quickly frightened him, by an attack there, into an abdication of his Dictatorship. *Plutarch* speaks only of their threatening him with a heavy fine; but *Livy* tells^b us, that, according to some writers, the Tribunes actually got a Law passed by the Commons, subjecting him to that heavy fine, in case he interposed his authority of Dictator, to hinder the proceedings of the Comitia. Be that as it will, *Camillus*, after mention of the fine, suddenly laid down his sovereign magistracy, under pretence, says *Plutarch*, of bodily indisposition. The *Latine* historian, very unwilling to believe that the Hero retreated through fear, gives four or five reasons against that opinion; and is inclined to think, that he quitted his post out of a religious scruple, relating to some new discovered defect in the ceremony of his inauguration: But if the love of riches was the Hero’s ruling passion, as it seems to have been, this will furnish a sufficient answer to twenty better reasons than *Livy* has produced; and, by the account which *Plutarch* gives of the insult offered to the Hero the next year when he was again Dictator, and of the meek part he then acted, it appears (if the story be true; for *Livy* says nothing of it) that the Tribunes, by threatening to make him pay, had totally subdued his spirit.

I conclude from the whole of these Remarks, that *MANLIUS*, innocent of all designs against the liberty of his country, fell a sacrifice to the avarice and ambition of *CAMILLUS*, and the other Oligarchs, his associates in oppressive iniquities.

^a In the introduction of the fourth book of this history, the reader will find some reflections on the excellency of these laws; and he may find the same reflections inserted in the preliminary discourse of the ingenious author of the new translation of *Cæsar’s Commentaries*.

^b — re neutro inclinâtâ magistratu se abdicavit: seu quia vitio creatus erat, ut scripserunt quidam; seu quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad plebem, idque plebes scivit, ut si *M. Furius* pro dictatore quid egisset, quingentum millium [æris] ei multa esset. L. 6. c. 38.

C H A P. III.

§. I. During the six following years and the beginning of the seventh Rome is almost intirely free from civil diffensions; but wars are carried on abroad againſt the Præneſtini and Volſci with very little interruption. Camillus, being one of the Military Tribunes in the year 373, gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when diſreſpectfully treated by one of his Colleagues.

Year of
R O M E
cccxxi.
Bef. J. C.
Three
Hundred
eighty-
one.

Thirty-
ninth
Mil. Tri.
Liv. B. 6.
c. 21.

* A third
time.

† A 4th
time.

‡ A 3d
time.

§ A 3d
time.

¶ A 3d
time.

Y. of R.
372. Bef.
J. C. 380.

Fortieth
Mil. Tri.

** A 4th
time.

†† A 4th
time.

Liv. B. 6.
c. 22.

Y. of R.
373.

Bef. J. C.
379.

41st Mil.
Trib.

Plut. Life
of Camil-

lus p.
48.

AULUS * MANLIUS [probably an infamous usurer, and for that reason not consenting to the death * of his brother *Marcus*] was chosen one of the *Military Tribunes* at the very next election, and with him were joined † *L. Valerius*, ‡ *Ser. Sulpicius*, § *L. Lucretius*, ¶ *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. The plague still raged, and, to add to the misfortune, *Rome* was not only threatened again by the *Volſci*, but by some of her own colonies which revolted; so that the Senate found it necessary to engage the People's consent to a war. And in order to this they promised to divide the *Pomptin* territory among them, and named five Commissioners to make the distribution of lands, and three others to lead a colony to *Nepete*. Hereupon the Tribes unanimously agreed, notwithstanding the opposition of the Tribunes, that troops should be raised to act against the several enemies of *Rome*. Accordingly troops were raised; but, the plague continuing, the *Military Tribunes* durst not lead them into the field. And, though *Præneſte* followed the example of *Velitræ*, *Circæi*, and other colonies, the low condition of the Republick obliged her to suspend her resentments.

But in the following *Military Tribuneship* of *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, ** *Ser. Cornelius*, ‡ *Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and †† *L. Æmilius*, the two first marched an army towards *Velitræ*, and in the neighbourhood of that place defeated the *Veliterni*, tho' joined by great numbers from *Præneſte*. The generals did not think it adviseable to besiege *Velitræ*, but rather to pursue the war with vigour against the *Præneſtins*, who had farther provoked the *Romans* by assisting the *Volſci*.

And now the Republick, having much work upon her hands, turned her eyes again upon the invincible *Camillus*, to raise him a sixth time to the *Military Tribuneship*. *Camillus*, apprehensive of the vicissitude of fortune, was willing to spend the remainder of his days in tranquillity: But in vain he endeavoured to excuse himself, by pleading his age and infirmities; the People declared, that they did not expect him to fight in person either on foot or on horseback, but only desired him to assist the army with his counsel, and make it invincible by commanding it. *A. Posthumius*, *L. Post-*

humius,

*humius, L. Furius, * L. Lucretius, and M. Fabius Ambustus,* were chosen Year of
to be his Collegues. The Senate decreed the conduct of the war against R O M E
the *Volsi* to *Camillus*; it fell by lot to *L. Furius* to be joined with him. CCCLXXXIII
All the troops consisting of four legions marched towards *Satricum*, which Bef. J. C.
the *Volsi* and *Prænestins* had lately taken, and where they had formed their Three
camp. *Camillus* posted himself at a small distance from the enemy, but hundred
was in no haste to fight; he either waited for better health, or to receive seventy-
a reinforcement of troops. In the mean time the *Volsi* endeavoured to nine.
provoke the *Romans* to a battle, and these grew impatient of the insult. Forty-
Their ardour for fighting was increased by the rash discourses of young first
Furius, who imputed the prudent delays of his Collegue to his age, which, Mil. Tri.
he said, *had chilled his blood*. He at length addressed himself to *Camillus*, * A 3d
reproached him with his inaction, and urged him to comply with the de- time.
sires of the soldiers. *Camillus* answered with an air of superiority, but Plut. Life
with great temper, That hitherto the *Roman* People had not been dissa- of Camil-
tisfied with his conduct in war; that, nevertheless, if the impetuosity lus, p. 148
which hurried the soldiers on to an engagement was not to be restrained, Livy, B.
he wished them success, but desired to be excused, on account of his age, 6. c. 23.
from engaging in the foremost ranks. While *Furius* drew up his troops
in order for battle, *Camillus* prepared a *Corps de Reserve* to assist his Col-
league in case of distress; and this precaution proved of great importance :
For when the young General, whose vigorous charge did not fail to put
the *Volsi* to flight, had, through his indiscreet warmth in pursuing them
too far, suffered a defeat, *Camillus* rallied the broken cohorts, and repuls- c. 24.
ed the enemy. The next day he joined battle with them again. *Furius*, Plut. Life
whom he had placed at the head of the cavalry, being sensible of his of Camil-
fault, intreated his troops to exert themselves to recover his reputation. lus, p.
Accordingly, when the infantry were hard pressed, the horse, at his re- 149.
quest, dismounted, and gave them assistance so opportunely, as to make
them victorious. Among the prisoners were found some of the inhabi- Livy, B.
tants of *Tusculum*, a neighbouring city, and in alliance with *Rome*. These, 6. c. 25.
being examined, declared that they had taken arms with the consent of
their Magistrates. This account alarmed *Camillus*, and he thought it
necessary to go in person to *Rome* with the prisoners, and lay the matter
before the Senate. Though he left *Furius* to command the troops during
his absence, yet it was generally believed both in the army and in the
city, that his chief business at *Rome* was to complain of him. The Se-
nate therefore when they observed that he said nothing of *Furius*, but
confined his discourse to the revolt of the *Tusculans*, were much astonished ;
and still more so, when of all his Collegues he chose *Furius* to accompany
him in the new expedition against *Tusculum*. By this conduct *Camillus*
gained honour to himself, and covered the disgrace of the young General
[probably his kinsman.] As for the *Tusculans*, they disarmed the resent-
ment of the *Romans* by making no resistance. *Camillus* found the hus-
bandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundest peace; the

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxiii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
seventy-
line.
Forty-first
Mil. Tri.
Livy, B.
6. c. 26.

Magistrates of the city sent him provisions, and came out to meet him ; and when he entered the place he found the shops and schools open, the markets full, and not the least sign of war. The Generals, pleased and satisfied with these tokens of repentance, advised the Senate of *Tusculum* to send a Deputation to *Rome*, there to make their submission. Deputies were accordingly dispatched, who, habited in mourning, and with their *Dictator* at their head, addressed the *Conscrip't Fathers* in a suppliant manner. The Senate readily forgave the *Tusculans*, and, to make them intirely *Roman*, granted them, soon after, the privileges of *Roman* citizens.

The following administration of * *L. Valerius*, † *P. Valerius*, § *L. Merenius*, ‡ *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, and † *Ser. Cornelius*, was disturbed by domestic seditions and a foreign war. The two *Censors* had begun to examine into the grounds of the complaints made by the poor debtors, when one of those Magistrates died ; upon which the other, as custom required, laid down his office, and the *Romans* proceeded to a new election. But the *Patricians*, who were doubtless afraid of a *Census*, (because it must of course discover the riches and excessive usury, and the oppression which the poor debtors laboured under) pretended some defect in the election, and thence took occasion to declare publicly, that it was against the will of the Gods, that the Republick should have any *Censors* this year. The *Tribunes of the Commons* exclaimed against this proceeding, as an intolerable artifice ; and would suffer no levies to be made to oppose the *Prænestins*, till these, imboldened by the Discord in *Rome*, came pillaging to its very gates. Then in a fright and a hurry the People all ran to arms, *Titus Quinctius* was created *Dictator*, troops were raised without opposition, and the *Prænestins* (such a dread they had of a *Dictator*) instantly removed farther off. Possess'd with a vain conceit, that the banks of the *Allia* must always prove a fatal place to the *Romans*, they incamped there, and were there routed. The *Dictator*, by assault, took eight towns subject to *Prænestæ*, and then *Velitræ* ; after which *Prænestæ*, without waiting to be attacked, capitulated. From that city *Quinctius* brought, in triumph, the statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, and placed it in the *Capitol* between the sanctuaries of *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*, and then abdicated his Dictatorship, which he had held only twenty days.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
seventy-
seven.
Forty-third
Mil. Tri.
** A 2d
time.
Livy, B.
6. c. 30.

The Government of the Republick passed now into the hands of three *Patricians* and three *Plebeians* : The former were *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and ** *L. Julius* ; the latter *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antistius*. To the two *Manlii*, because more nobly born than their *Plebeian* Collegues, and more in favour than *Julius*, the Senate gave the conduct of the war against the *Volsi*, but had soon cause to repent of this preference : For those Generals, without first acquainting themselves with the country, sent out some cohorts to forage ; and, upon the single report of a *Latine*, who, disguised under the appearance of a *Roman* soldier, came hastily with the false tidings, that the foragers were by the enemy intercepted and surrounded, marched the army with all expedition to their rescue, and thereby fell into an ambush, where the desperate courage alone of the soldiers (not the skil

skill of the commanders) preserved them from total destruction; and the *Volsci*, during the action, detached a part of their troops, which surprised and plundered the *Roman* camp. When the news of these disasters came to *Rome*, the Senate were at first for naming a Dictator; but judging by the inaction of the conquerors, that they knew not how to improve a victory, it was only resolved to call home the army and its commanders. During these misfortunes abroad, *Rome* continued free from all domestic broils; which may reasonably be imputed to the share the *Plebeians* had at this time in the Government.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
seventy-
seven.

The next year, when *Sp. Furius*, * *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *P. Clælius*, *M. Horatius*, and *L. Geganius*, all *Patricians*, held the *Military Tribune-ship*, was far from being so peaceable. What gave occasion to the disturbance were the debts. To inquire into these, two Censors had been created; but they could not proceed in the affair, because of a fresh irruption of the *Volsci* into the *Roman* Territory. The *Tribunes of the Commons* however pursued their point with more warmth than ever, and opposed the levies, till they had forced the Senate to issue a Decree, that no person should be disturbed either for private debts, or for the publick taxes, during the present war. Hereupon all opposition to the levies ceased, and the *Romans* took ample revenge on the *Volsci*. But the war was no sooner at an end, than the creditors renewed the prosecution of their debtors; who, far from having any hopes of discharging their old debts, found themselves under a necessity of contracting new, on account of a tax imposed on them, to defray the expence of a wall of square stone, which the Censors were building; and the oppressed *Plebeians* could get no help from their *Tribunes*, because, no army being at this time wanted, these had no levies to obstruct.

Forty-
third
Mil. Tri.
Year of
R O M E
ccclxxvi
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
seventy-
six.
Forty-
fourth
Mil. Tri.
* 2d time.
Livy B.6.
c. 31.

NAY, the next year, when, by the powerful influence of the *Patricians*, six * men of that order were again in the supreme magistracy, they raised, without any opposition from the *Tribunes of the Commons*, three armies, one to guard the City, another to be ready to march on any unexpected occasion, and a third to take the field under the command of *Valerius* and *Æmilius*, against the confederated *Latines* and *Volsci*, who had commenced hostilities, and were incamped near *Satricum*, a city of the *Volsci*. In this war the *Romans* had the advantage. The confederates, after sustaining some losses, quarrelled among themselves, upon the Question, Whether the war should be continued! The *Antiates* and the rest of the *Volsci* desired peace; the *Latines*, obstinately averse to it, separated from them in a rage, which they vented first on *Satricum*, reducing it to ashes, and sparing only a Temple of the Goddess *Matuta*. (This Divinity, according to

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxvii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
seventy-
five.
Forty-
fifth
Mil. Tri.
Livy, B.6.
c. 32, 33.

* L. ÆMILIUS, a fifth time,
S. SULPICIUS, a second time,
P. VALERIUS, a fourth time.

L. QUINCT. CINCINNAT. a second time,
C. VETURIUS,
C. QUINTIUS.

Year of *Plutarch*, was the same whom the *Greeks* called *Leucothea*, or *Ino*, Daughter
 R O M E of *Cadmus*.) Thence they fell upon the *Tusculans*, to punish them for hav-
 ccclxx ii ing deserted the *Latin* Confederacy, and accepted the privileges of *Roman*
 Bef. J. C. Citizens. They surprised the Town, but the inhabitants retired into the
 Three Citadel, which they held out till they were relieved, probably by that
 seventy- Roman army which had been kept ready to march upon occasion. The
 five. Romans took the place by assault, and the *Latines* within the walls of it
 Forty- were all cut to pieces, not one escaping.
 fifth
 Mil. Tri.

C H A P. IV.

§. I. *The lower sort of the People of Rome are over-awed and oppressed by the Great and the Rich; and the Commons in general lose that spirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the Nobles. In the midst of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman sets three bold and enterprising men at work to raise, by some New Laws, the fortune of the Plebeians higher than ever. By one of these proposed Laws (called afterwards the LICINIAN LAWS) the Consulship is to be restored, and, of the two Consuls, one is always to be Plebeian. The three men, who combine to effect this project, are M. Fabius Ambustus, the Lady's father, (a Patrician) C. Licinius Stolo, her husband, a Plebeian, and L. Sextius, another Plebeian, of great distinction. After ten years struggle with the Senate, they carry their point. The Prætorship and Curule Ædileship are instituted. A Plague carries off many persons of distinction among whom is the Great CAMILLUS.*

Year of §. I. **A** TREATY concluded with the *Antiates*, and the defeat of the
 R O M E *Latines*, gave the Republick an interval of rest from foreign
 ccclxxvii. wars: but as the Senators and rich *Patricians*, when they stood in no need
 Bef. J. C. of the assistance of the lower sort, never failed to oppress them; so the
 Three more quietness there was at this time abroad, the more violence and tyrann-
 hundred ny did they exercise at home towards their *Plebeian* debtors. Multitudes of
 seventy- these being insolvent, were condemned to be *bond-slaves* * to their merciless
 five. creditors; which melancholy scene so depressed and sunk the spirits not
 Forty- only of the meaner *Plebeians*, but even of the most considerable of that
 fifth order, that, far from having the courage to stand in competition with the
 Mil. Tri. Nobles for the *Military Tribuneship*, there was not among them all a man of
 Livy 5.6. ability and experience, who would sue for or consent to bear even the *Plebei-
 c. 34 an Magistracies* *. But now, at this very crisis, when the *Patricians* seemed
 * Next to

* Quanto majoris prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia fore erant, tanto in urbe vis Patrum indies miserique Plebis crescebant; quum eo ipsi, quod necesse erat solvi, facultas solvendi impediretur. Itaque quum

jam ex re nihil dari posset, fama & corpore judicati atque addicti creditoribus satisfaciebant, pœnaque in vicem tunc cesserat, Adeo ergo obnoxios summisserant animos, non insinisci, sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad

to have secured to themselves for ever all authority in the state, and to have reduced the Commons to a kind of despondent subjection, a trifling accident gave occasion to a wonderful change in the face of things : The *Plebeians* on a sudden raised their drooping spirits, and with a dauntless ambition carried their pretensions, and with success too, higher than ever.

§. II. M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS, a *Patrician* of great credit in both parties, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to S. *Sulpicius*, a *Patrician* by birth, and now Military Tribune ; the younger to a rich *Plebeian*, named C. *Licinius Stole*. One day when this *Plebeian's* wife was at her sister's house, a *Lictor* who walked before *Sulpicius* at his return from the Senate, thundered at the door (an usual thing) with the staff of the *Fasces*, to give notice that the Magistrate was coming. This noise, to which the wife of *Licinius* had not been accustomed, put her into a fright. Her sister, taking notice of it, could not forbear laughing at her, seeming much to wonder at her ignorance. A very small matter, says *Livy*, is sufficient to disturb the quiet of a woman's mind. The vanity of the younger *Fabia* was stung to the quick by her sister's laughing ; it made her feel the inequality of their conditions ; and her uneasiness did not fail to be increased by the crowd of people that came to pay their court to her sister, and receive her commands. Her father, happening to see her while she was yet in the first anguish of her grief, and perceiving by her countenance that something troubled her, kindly asked her what it was, and whether all was well at home. At first he could get no satisfactory answer from her : She was ashamed to own, either that she envied her sister, or was discontented with her husband. But, *Fabius* continuing, in soft words, to press her to disclose the secret, she at length confessed, that the true cause of her pain was her being married unsuitably to her quality, and into a family incapable of honours and high stations. The father, being very fond of his daughter, omitted nothing that could be said to comfort her, promising, *that it should not be long before she saw at home the same honours which she had seen in her sister's house*. And from this time he began to plot with his son-in-law for the interest of the Commons ; these two associating in their projects I. *Sextius*, a young *Plebeian* of capacity and spirit, and who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the highest offices in the Republick. The oppression which the poor *Plebeians* laboured under at this time, and from which they could never hope to be freed, but by raising some of their own body to the supreme power, gave a fair occasion to the cabal to attempt an innovation in the Government. It was thought expedient, for the easier compassing their designs, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* should begin by getting the *Plebeian* Tribuneship, a magistracy that would enable them to

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxvii.
bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
seventy-
five.
Fifty-
fifth
Mil. Tri.

Livy, B.
6. c. 35.

ad Tribunatum Militum inter Patricios petendum, quod tanta vi, ut liceret, tetenderant ; sed ne ad Plebeios quidem magistratus capessendos, petendisque ulli viro acri experientique animus esset : possessionemque honoris usurpati modo à

plebe per paucos annos, recuperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur. Ne id nimis laxum parti alteri esset, parva (ut plerumque solet) remingentem moliundi causa intervenit. M. Fabii Ambusti, &c.

open

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxvii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
seventy-
five.
Fifty-
fifth
Mil. Tri.

open themselves a way to the highest dignities. And when they had carried that first point (which they soon did) they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to put the *Plebeians*, already not inferior to the Nobles in courage and virtue, upon a foot of equality with them in respect of honours too, boldly aiming, not at the Military Tribuneship, but at the very Consulship itself. They proposed a law for suppressing the office of Military Tribune, restoring the Consulate, and requiring that, of the two Consuls to be annually chosen, one should always be a *Plebeian*. And, in order to make the People more eager to pass this Law, they tacked it to two others relating to the *Debts* and the conquered *Lands*.

By the first of these two laws there was to be deducted from the capital debt whatever sums had been paid for interest, and the principal was to be discharged in three years, and by three equal payments.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
B. i. c. 2.

The second was to prohibit any *Roman* Citizen from possessing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that restriction were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer Citizens.

It is easy to guess, that laws of such weighty import were not to be obtained without violent struggles. Riches and honours, those objects of the most passionate desires of men, were the interests in question. The Senators, alarmed and terrified, held publick and private councils, but could fall upon no expedient to avert the impending evil, except that of gaining some of the Tribunes over to their party; an expedient which in like contests they had formerly employed with success. And now the eight Collegues of *Licinius* and *Sextius* were all prevailed with to oppose the measures of these two; so that, when the projectors of the new laws had convened the Tribes to give their voices concerning them, the other Tribunes would not so much as suffer the reading of them to the assembly: The word *VETO* (*I forbid*) put a stop to all proceedings thereupon. The two Tribunes having frequently assembled the people, but still in vain, *Sextius*, at length, addressing himself to the *Patricians*, said aloud, *Very well; since INTERCESSION^a is always to have so prevailing a power, we shall take care to defend the Commons with the very same weapon. Appoint an assembly whenever you please for electing Military Tribunes; the word VETO, which our Collegues now chant in concert so harmoniously, will not then be so pleasing a musick to your ears.*

Year of
R O M E
378,
379,
380,
381,
382,
Livy, B.
6. c. 35.

§. III. THESE were no empty menaces; for, the time being come for a new election of Curule Magistrates, *Sextius* and *Licinius* opposed and hindered all proceeding thereto; and, being themselves continued in the *Plebeian* Tribuneship, they renewed the same opposition for five years successively, so that the Republick fell into a kind of Anarchy. At length, in the fifth year, a foreign enemy came as it were to the assistance of the

^a The term expressing the *Opposition* of the *Tribunes* to any public Act.

Senate. The inhabitants of *Velitræ*, a Roman Colony, grown wanton with idleness, and seeing no Roman army on foot, made some incursions on the lands of the Republick, and then besieged *Tusculum*. The *Tusculans* had long been allies, and had lately been admitted Citizens of Rome, so that the *Plebeians* as well as the Nobles were ashamed to refuse them assistance. *Sextius* and *Licinius* therefore waving their OPPOSITION, an assembly was held by an *Inter-rex*, for electing Military Tribunes. The choice fell on six *Patricians**, who, after some difficulty in making the levies, marched an army against the enemy, defeated them, raised the siege of *Tusculum*, and besieged *Velitræ*: And, this place not being taken when their year drew towards a close, the Centuries created six new Military Tribunes^b to carry on the siege: and among these, * *M. Fabius Ambustus*, the father-in-law of *Licinius Stolo*. The state of affairs at Rome was now much altered, not only by this promotion of *Fabius* to the supreme magistracy, but by an increase of strength which the favourers of the new laws had got in the college of Tribunes, of whom at this time there were but five who opposed those laws. *Licinius* and *Sextius* being thus supported by three of their Collegues, and by a Military Tribune, pushed their point with more warmth than ever. They were now the seventh year in office, and, by long habit, thoroughly practised in the art of managing the People. In the presence of the multitude they boldly and repeatedly asked the chief men of the Senate, *with what assurance they could desire, that the laws should allow them to possess more than five hundred acres of land, when only two acres were allotted to each Plebeian? Is it reasonable that every one of you should hold the lands of near three hundred Citizens, and that a Commoner should hardly have ground enough whereon to build him a small habitation to live in, or sufficient for a burial-place when he dies?*

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxxii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
seventy.
Forty.
sixth
Mil. Tri.
A second
time.
Year of
R O M E
ccclxxxiii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty-
nine.
Forty-se-
venth
Mil. Tri.

When by these and such-like doleful words they had stirred up the People to a much greater indignation than they felt themselves, they immediately added, *But how is it possible that any bounds should be set to the avarice of the Patricians, or to their oppression of the People, unless the People themselves will provide for their own security, by raising some of their own body to the Highest Magistracy? Nor will it be sufficient that Plebeians be qualified by law to be Consuls. They obtained the privilege of standing for the Military Tribuneship; and yet, in forty-four years^c, not one of their order was promoted to that dignity! The number of Military Tribunes, at their first institution, was ordained to be Six, on purpose that the Commons*

* L. FURIUS, a second time,
P. VALERIUS, a fifth time,
A. MANLIUS, a fourth time,
S. SULPICIUS, a third time,
C. VALERIUS,
S. CORNELIUS, a sixth time.

^b Q. SERVILIUS, a third time,
M. CORNELIUS,
C. VETURIUS, a second time.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS,
A. CORNELIUS,
M. FABIUS.

^c From the Year 309 to 353.

Year of ROM E
ccclxxxiii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty-
nine.
Forty se-
venth.
Mil. Tri.

might have a share in that magistracy; nevertheless, by the power and influence of the Nobles, their just pretensions have been almost constantly defeated. And how much easier will it be for the Patricians, when there are but two places to be filled by Consuls, to secure them both to themselves? The only remedy is to make it an indispensable law, that there be always ONE Plebeian in the Consulate. From that very day, and not till then, may the Roman People be deemed to have banished Kings from Rome, and to have established Liberty on a firm basis: From that very day the Plebeians will begin to share in all those things which now give the Patricians the pre-eminence over them, Power, and Honour, Military Glory, and Nobility; they will enjoy great advantages themselves, and transmit them greater to their posterity.

When the Tribunes found that these discourses were listened to with pleasure, they proposed a fourth law, *That DECEMVIRS be appointed, instead of DUUMVIRS, to take care of the Sybilline Books, and to interpret them; and that Five of the Ten be always PLEBEIAN.* However, all proceedings on this, as well as the other Proposals, were suspended during the siege of *Veſtre*, which went on but slowly. The five Tribunes in the interest of the Senate had urged, that it was but just to wait the return of the army from before that place, that the Soldiers, who made so great a part of the Commons, might not be excluded from giving their votes, when such important innovations were on foot.

Year of ROM E
ccclxxxiv
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty-
eight.
Forty-
eighth
Mil. Tri.
Liv. B. 6.
c. 38.

§. IV. THE year ending before the return of the army, the Republick chose six new Governors; but the People continued in the *Plebeian* Tribuneship the two authors of the laws in dispute. *Sextius* and *Licinius* having once more summoned the People (probably towards the close of the year 384) were now resolved to proceed without any regard to the *Prohibition* of their Collegues*. The Senate terrified hereat had recourse

* L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS,
SP. SERVILIUS,
S. CORNELIUS, a seventh time,

L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS,
S. SULPICIUS, a fourth time,
L. VETURIUS.

* Father *Catrou* and *Mons. Vertot* seem both of them to have mistaken some words of *Livy* in this part of the story, and by that mistake to have fallen into a perplexity, which has induced the first to suppose a ground of contest between the Tribunes, for which he has no authority, and the other to omit the mentioning of any contest at all between them.

Both the *French* writers relate, that the Tribunes were now *unanimous* upon the affair of the New Laws. The passage in *Livy*, on which I suppose they found themselves, is this: *Quum Tribus vocarentur, nec intercessio Collegarum laboribus obſtaret, trepidi Paucis ad*

duo ultima auxilia, summum imperium summumque ad civem decurrunt. The words in *Italic* they understand to mean, *That there was no longer any opposition to Sextius and Licinius from their Collegues:* Whereas the context plainly shews the true meaning of them to be, not that *Sextius* and *Licinius* were not opposed by their Collegues, but that they were not hindered by that opposition from proceeding; and it was this that alarmed the Senate so much, as to make them name a Dictator. That the Tribunes were still divided about the new Laws, as before, is evident from the words of *Livy*, which presently follow those above cited: *Quum Dictator*

course to their last experiments, the *Highest Authority* and the *Greatest Man*. They named *CAMILLUS* to the Dictatorship, this being the fourth time of his being invested with that dignity. His promotion, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was much against the will of the People, nor was *Camillus* himself very forward to accept the charge, not caring to exert the Dictatorial authority against those who had so often on great occasions reposed their confidence in him, and believing that he was pitched upon out of ill-will, that he might be the instrument to oppress the Commons if he succeeded, or, failing, might himself be ruined.

The creation of a Dictator did not deter *Sextius* and *Licinius* from convening the Tribes to give their votes upon the new laws. *Camillus*, full of anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of the *Patricians*, repaired to the Assembly, and there seated himself in his Tribunal. After the usual conflict between the *legislating* and the *interceding* Tribunes, and when, in spite of the *Veto* of the latter, the former, supported by the People's favour, went on to take the suffrages of the Assembly, and the first Tribes had already voted for the Laws, the Dictator, rising up, declared, *that he was come to support the privileges of the Commons, and that he would never suffer one part of the Tribunes to deprive the other of their right of Opposition*. *Sextius* and *Licinius* laughed at this artful speech, and continued to take the votes. The Dictator, hereupon, in great wrath, sent his lictors to drive the People out of the Forum; threatening at the same time, that, if they offered to proceed to *Law-making*, he would summon them to the *Campus Martius*, oblige them to list, and to march into the field. His menaces, while they put the Commons into a fright, seemed to raise the courage of the two Tribunes. For these preferred a Bill, and engaged the Commons to pass it into a Law, *That, in case M. Furius Camillus made use of his Dictatorial Power to obstruct the enacting of the Laws in dispute, he should pay a fine of 500000 asses of brass*. *Camillus*, presently after, either intimidated by this *Plebiscitum*, or (as *Livy* is inclined to think) having discovered that there had been some defect in the ceremony of taking the Auspices, when he was created Dictator, abdicated his supreme Magistracy.

§. V.

Dictator stipatus agmine Patriciorum, plenus iræ minarumque confedisset, atque ageretur res solito primum certamine inter se Tribunorum plebi ferentium Legem intercedentiumque; & quanto jure potentior intercessio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipsarum, latorumque, &c.

Father *Catrou*, not to be inconsistent with himself, conjectures that some of the Tribunes opposed the proceedings of the rest at this juncture, not because they disapproved of the laws in question, but out of respect for the Dictator then present, *Sans doute par respect pour le Dictateur*; that they were una-

nimous concerning the justice of passing the laws, and differed only as to the time.

^a Or 50000 Drachmæ; i. e. 1614*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* *Arbutnot.*

The Greek *Drachma* was in value the same as the Roman *Denarius*, that is, 7½*d.* English.

^b *Livy* gives several reasons for his believing that it was not fear which made *Camillus* resign the Dictatorship. 1. The Character of the Man. 2 The Senate's appointing another Dictator to succeed him; which they would not have done, if the Dictatorial Authority had proved impotent in his hands.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxxiv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred.
sixty-
eight.
Forty-
eighth
Mil. Tri.
Plut. in
Camillus
p. 149.
Liv. B.
6. c. 38.
Plut. p.
150.

Year of §. V. THE Senate in this nice conjuncture, not knowing how to act
 R O M E without a Dictator, whose authority might be a curb upon the Tribunes,
 ccclxxxv. named *P. Manlius* to succeed *Camillus* in that dignity.
 Bef. J. C.

Three *Livy* tells us, that during a sort of inter-regnum, which there was be-
 hundred tween these two Dictatorships, *Sextius* and *Licinius* held an Assembly of
 sixty-se- the People, and proposed their Laws anew; and that they might have
 ven. obtained the passing of those two which related to *Land* and *Usury*, if
 Livy, B. those would have satisfied them: but that, they refusing to separate the
 6. c. 38, Laws, and requiring the People to give their voices upon all at the same
 39. time, the Assembly could not be brought to pass that Law which related
 to the Consulate.

The new Dictator *Manlius* presently discovered himself to be a favourer
 of the Commons, by naming a Plebeian, *C. Licinius* (not *Licinius Stolo*
 the Tribune) for his *General of the Horse*. Such a nomination was with-
 out example, but he endeavoured to justify himself to the Senate by al-
 ledging, that *Licinius* was his near kinsman, and that the dignity of *Ge-*
neral of the Horse was not greater than that of *Military Tribune*, which
 Verot. latter *Licinius* had heretofore enjoyed. [This shews, that in the confusions
 of a state mutual fidelity between the members of a party is not much to
 be depended upon, because of the private ties that there are among Citi-
 zens of the same City, though of opposite parties.]

When the election of Tribunes came on, the method they took, in order
 to get themselves continued in office, was, to pretend that they would no
 longer serve. They represented to the People, that they were grown old
 in the Tribuneship to no purpose, and that, after struggling nine years with
 the Senate for the good of the Commons, the only recompence they had
 met with for their services was neglect and ingratitude: *You would very*
gladly be freed from the oppression of Usury, and you are very eager to have your
share of the conquered Lands; but when the question is, to promote the honour
of your Tribunes, by whose labours and zeal you are to obtain those benefits,
you shew nothing but coldness and indifference. Is it consistent with modesty for
you to ask these advantages by our means, while you resolve to leave us after-
wards, not only without honour, but without hopes of honour? To be plain then,
the laws we have proposed are inseparable. If you are willing to pass them
conjointly, you may then abuse us again into the Tribuneship; but, if you are de-
termined to reject that which relates to the Consulate, be assured that we will no
longer serve, nor shall you get those passed which concern Usury and the con-
quered Lands.

Liv. B. 6. All the *Patricians* in the assembly were struck dumb with amazement at
 t. 40. & this open and resolute Declaration, except *Appius Claudius* (Grandson of
 seq.

3. *Camillus's* accepting of the same office again not long after, and while the three
 Laws were still in dispute; which he would
 have been ashamed to do, had he been so
 lately overpowered in the exercise of it. 4.

At the time when the bill, for imposing the
 fine, is said to have been preferred, he had
 power to hinder its passing into a Law, or he
 could not have hindered the passing of those,
 for the sake of which this was preferred.

the Decemvir.) *Appius*, not moved by any hope of influencing the assembly, but by anger and indignation, stepped forth and made a long and warm speech, full of invectives against the two Tribunes, *those TARKUINS*, as he called them, *the years of whose perpetual Tyranny were regularly numbered, as the years of the Kings were formerly in the Capitol.* And he expatiated on the insolence of declaring, *That the Commons should not be free to pass such Laws as they approved, unless they would at the same time pass others which they did not approve, nor think to be for the public benefit.*

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxxv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty-se-
ven.

Appius's harangue had no other effect, than to delay for a while the publication of the laws proposed. The two authors of them were chosen the tenth time into the Tribuneship; and it is probable, that the multitude, being afraid of losing such able and zealous defenders, engaged themselves to follow their directions implicitly.

Livy, B.
6. c. 42.

Not long after their re-election into power, they obtained the passing of that law which had been last preferred, and which related to the guardianship of the *Sybil's* Books. The Commons, content for the present with this victory, suffered six *Patricians* to be created Military Tribunes^a for the next year, without mentioning any thing of the Consulate.

§. VI. IN the beginning of the new administration, sudden advice coming, that a cloud of *Gauls*^b from the coasts of the *Adriatick* was advancing towards *Rome*, the danger, common to all, united the voices of all to raise *Camillus* (now the fifth time) to the Dictatorship. This great man, though near fourscore, yet considering the peril the state was in, did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but readily undertook it, and lifted his soldiers. And knowing that the force of the Barbarians lay chiefly in their great swords, with which they laid about them in a rude unskilful manner, hacking and hewing the head and shoulders, he caused iron helmets to be made for most of his men, smoothing and polishing the out-side so, that the enemies swords, lighting upon them, might either slide off or be broken; and round about their shields he drew a rim of iron, the wood itself not being strong enough to sustain the blows. The two armies came to a battle in the territory of *Alba*. The *Roman* soldiers, ever since their defeat at the river *Allia*, had retained a fear of the *Gauls*: Nevertheless, *Camillus*, without much difficulty, obtained a complete victory.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxxvi
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty-six.
Forty-
ninth
Mil. Tri.
Plut. in
Camillus,
p. 150.
Livy, B.
6. c. 42.

After this success he led his army to attack *Velitræ* (the siege of which had been interrupted) but the City surrendered to him without resistance.

^a A. CORNELIUS, a second time,
L. VETURIUS, a second time,
M. CORNELIUS, a second time,

P. VALERIUS, a sixth time,
M. GEGANIUS,
P. MANLIUS, a second time.

^b *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Romans* feared the *Gauls* so much, that in a law they made to excuse Priests from military service there was an exception to the case of an Invasion from the *Gauls*.

Year of ROME ccclxxxvi Bcf. J. C. Three hundred sixty-six. He then returned to *Rome*, where the honours of a TRIUMPH were decreed him by Senate and Commons.

§. VII. THE People, returning home elated with victory, were more obstinately bent than ever on passing the three Laws, so long disputed. On the other hand, the Senate, equally obstinate in their opposition, would not suffer *Camillus* to lay down his Dictatorship, thinking that under the shelter of his great name and absolute authority they should be better able to contend with their adversaries. *Plutarch* reports, that one day when the Dictator was sitting on his Tribunal in the *Forum* dispatching publick business, an officer, sent by the Tribunes, commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the same time, as if he meant to drag him away by force. Never was a greater uproar or tumult in the *Forum* than on this occasion; the *Patricians*, who surrounded *Camillus*, driving back the officer, and the multitude from below bawling out, *Pull him down, Pull him down.* *Camillus*, though greatly at a loss what to do in this exigence, yet would not resign his authority: Guarded by the Senators, he retired with them to the Senate-house; but, before he entered it, turned towards the *Capitol*, and besought the Gods to put an end to these commotions, vowing to build a Temple to CONCORD, if Union might be restored among his Fellow-citizens.

After warm debates in the Senate about the measures proper to be taken, it was at length resolved to comply with the people's desire, and to accept the three Laws in question, as the only means to procure domestic peace.

Plut. in Camillus, P. 152. Livy, B. 6. c. 42. The Commons having thus obtained the victory over the Nobles, the Comitia were held for electing Consuls, and then L. SEXTIUS the Plebeian Tribune was chosen Colleague in that dignity to L. *Æmilius Mamercinus* a Patrician. Nevertheless, when the election of *Sextius* should have been confirmed by the Senate, the *Conscript Fathers* absolutely refused to do it; and the new disputes on this occasion between the two parties rose to such a height, that the *Plebeians* were just ready to leave *Rome*, and make a new SECESSION, when the Dictator proposed an expedient for a reconciliation. Hitherto the dispensing of justice in the city had been a branch of the Consular Office, but to which the Consuls could not always attend, being commonly during the summer in the field at the head of armies. *Camillus's* proposal was to separate this function from the Consulate, and to create a judge with the title of PRÆTOR, to whom it should be appropriated; and he advised the Senate to suffer that one Consul might be annually chosen out of the *Plebeians*, on condition that the *Prætor* should be always a *Patrician*. This motion being approved by both parties, the Senate confirmed the election of *Sextius*, and the Centuries created the son of *Camillus* *Prætor* ^a.

^a The *Prætorship* was the second dignity in the Commonwealth; and the *Prætor* had the *Prætexta*, the *Curule Chair*, and two *Lictors*, who bearing *Fasces*, walked before him. The *Provincial Prætors*, created in after-times, were allowed six *Lictors*. C. & R.

§. VIII. TRANQUILLITY being thus established, the Romans, in Year of gratitude to the Gods, ordered the *Great Games* to be celebrated. These R O M E used formerly to last but three days, but now a fourth * day was added; ccclxxxvi. and on this account their name of *Ludi Magni* was changed into *Ludi* Bef. J. C. *Maximi*. It happened that the present *Ædiles* (for what reason is un- Three hundred known) refused to take upon them the care of making preparations for sixty-six. this festival; upon which the young *Patricians* cried out, *That, since the* Forty- affair in question was the worship of the Gods, they should think it no dishonour ninth to be employed in it, provided they might be appointed *ÆDILES*. According- Mil. Tri. ly the People, at the motion of the *Dictator*, created a new office in fa- Livy, B. vour of the *Patricians*. It was called the *Curule Ædileship*, because these 6. c. 42. *Ædiles* (two in number) had the honour of the *Curule Chair*, which the *Plebeian Ædiles* had not. The business was to take care of the Temples, Theatres, Games, Markets, Tribunals of Justice, and the repair of the City Walls, and also to see that no novelty was introduced into Religion; in after-times they had likewise the inspection over books that were published, and pieces written for the Stage.

Notwithstanding some alarms, caused by a report, that the *Gauls*, who Year of had dispersed themselves in *Apulia*, were again got together, and that the R O M E *Hernici* threatened a rebellion, the Senate were unwilling to enter upon a ccclxxxvii. war under the administration of a *Plebeian Consul*, lest the glory he might Bef. J. C. acquire should redound to the honour of his whole party; so that all Three hundred continued quiet both abroad and at home, excepting that the Tribunes sixty-five. of the Commons expressed their discontent to see, that for one *Plebeian* Eighty- Consul granted to the Commons the Nobles had got three new *Curule* Ma- ninth gistrates. The Senate hereupon were prevailed with to consent, that the Consul- *Curule Ædiles* should be chosen out of the *Plebeians* every second year; ship. and afterwards they left the People at full liberty to chuse them every year Livy, B. 7. c. 11. out of either body.

§. IX. ROME after these establishments continued at rest both from Year of foreign wars and intestine divisions, under the new Consuls *L. Gemucius a Ple-* R O M E *beian*, and *Servilius Abala a Patrician*. But it seems to have been the fate ccclxxxviii. of the city never to be in perfect tranquillity: A pestilential sickness spread Bef. J. C. itself on a sudden, when no-body could account for it. It could not be as- Three hundred cribed to the irregularity of the seasons. The winter had not been extraor- sixty-four. dinary dry, nor had the cold weather been too suddenly succeeded by an Ninetieth. immoderate heat; nor had the summer been too rainy; nor had the autumn- Consul- nal fruits, for want of sufficient maturity, caused indigestions: Nor, lastly, ship. had the *Calabrian* wind blown any dangerous and unwholesome air to Rome. Oros B. 3. This plague swept away, together with great numbers of the People, some c. 4. of the Magistrates; one Censor, one *Curule Ædile*, and three Tribunes of Livy, B. 7. the Commons: But what made it most memorable was the death of the c. 2. great *Camillus*, who, though full of years, was more regretted, says *Plutarch*, than the whole multitude of those who died of the same disease.

* *Plutarch* says, that this fourth day was added to the *Ferie Latine*.

C H A P. V.

§. I. *The Romans have recourse to various expedients for putting a stop to the plague. The filial piety of the son of L. Manlius Imperiosus.* §. II. *The earth opens on a sudden in the midst of the Forum, and continues open, to the great terror of the City. M. Curtius, a young Patrician, leaps into the gulph completely armed and on horseback.* §. III. *The Consul Genucius, the first PLEBEIAN Rome had ever placed at the head of an Army, unfortunately conducts the war against the Hernici, his legions are routed, and he himself slain.* §. IV. *The Gauls advance within three miles of Rome, incamping on the banks of the Anio. Young Manlius in single combat slays the mightiest champion of the Gauls, a man of a gigantick stature; which so discourages them, that they leave their camp in the night and in confusion. The next year the Gauls appear again in the neighbourhood of Rome; but are routed and driven thence by the Romans. The Consuls make war with success against the Tyburtes and the Hernici.*

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxxix
Ref. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty-
three.
Ninety-
first
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
7. c. 2.
Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 1.
Livy, B.
7. c. 2.

§. I. **I**N the year of Rome 389, C. Sulpicius and C. Licinius Stolo took possession of the Consulship. The latter was that famous *Licinius* (son-in-law to *Fabius Ambustus*) who jointly with his Colleague *Sextius* had contrived the three Laws, and at the end of ten years, during which he had been *Tribune of the Commons*, had obtained the publication of them. And now the promise *Fabius* had made to his younger daughter was fulfilled, and she had the pleasure of seeing the *Lictors* with their *Fasces* march before her *Plebeian* husband, and of hearing them thunder at her gate.

The plague still continuing, the *Romans* to put a stop to it had recourse to their old superstition of the *Lectisternium*. But this proved ineffectual; and they endeavoured therefore to avert the anger of the Gods by a new institution to their honour. Hitherto *Rome* had no other Publick Sports but those of the *Circus*, that is to say, Races and Wrestling, which were very proper exercises for so warlike a people. But now they introduced a new sort of *Shows*, which at first were innocent, but afterwards became indecent, and had a natural tendency to corrupt mens manners. These shows were called *Scenici*, because they were represented on a *Scene*, that is, a stage built in the *Shade*. The performers, who were brought to *Rome* from *Hebruria*^a, danced to the Flute, and kept time with their motions and gestures; but their *Entries* had no manner of relation to one another; neither

^a The *Hebrurian* word, which signified a *Player* or *Dancer*, was *Hesper*; and hence the name of *Histriones*, given by the *Romans* to all Stage-players. The first speakers on the stage fell into the vicious taste of the *Fescennini*, a people of *Hebruria*, who threw coarse and unpremeditated jests at one another.

These were soon succeeded by satires written in verse, and set to the flute; which satires were repeated with suitable gestures. And, some years after, *Livius Andronicus*, who acted his own pieces, turned the Satires into regular Plays, and confined himself in his compositions to one uniform matter. But he was

neither were the Dances accompanied with any verses or discourses in these early times.

This kind of Comedy being performed in a part of the *Circus* near the banks of the *Tiber*, and the river happening to overflow at this time, the people concluded, that the new remedy they had invented to appease the Gods would be ineffectual. However, as they themselves had been agreeably amused, they did not lay aside the entertainments of the *Scene*.

In the following Consulship of * *L. Æmilius* and *Cn. Genucius*, the plague not ceasing, the *Romans* bethought themselves of an old religious ceremony which, according to tradition, had succeeded in the like cases. This was the driving of a Nail by a Dictator into the wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, on the side next *Minerva's* sanctuary, which was under the same roof. This Goddess was deemed the inventress of Numbers; and the *Romans* used to number the years of their state by nails. *Livy* tells us, that there was a law written in antique characters and obsolete words, and fixed up in the Chapel of *Minerva*, importing, That the chief *Prætor* for the time being should on the Ides of September DRIVE THE NAIL. (When this law was made, the *Romans* were perhaps unacquainted with the numeral letters.) The same author adds, that the Consul *Horatius*, who dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter* the year after the expulsion of *Tarquin*, performed at the same time the ceremony of driving the Nail, which function was afterwards transferred from the Consuls to the Dictators, as magistrates of greater dignity and power; and that, the custom having been discontinued, it was now thought a matter of sufficient importance for which a Dictator should be expressly created.

T. Manlius was the person named to the Dictatorship. It is likely that the plague, which had lasted three years, ceased about this time, because *Livy* makes no further mention of it. But *Manlius* being dissatisfied to have the whole business of his office confined to a religious ceremony, and it being believed that the *Hernici* were preparing to shake off the

was called upon so often to repeat his Plays, that he at last became hoarse, and lost his voice. Hereupon he got the people's consent that a young man should sing for him, whilst he only accompanied the verses with proper gestures; and then his action soon became more perfect, when his attention was no longer divided between singing and acting. When these Theatrical Pieces were thus brought into form, the farces, which had made people laugh, were despised and neglected. Nevertheless, the *Roman* youth revived them, and acted them at the end of their serious pieces. When the professed actors had finished their parts, some young *Romans* came upon the stage masked, and began to repeat merry verses, as formerly, but

such as were free from obscenity. These pieces, which were a sort of composition between Satires and regular plays, had their first rise in *Atella*, a city in *Campania*, and were called *Exodia*, that is, Verses not belonging to the Play. The *Romans* borrowed them from the *Osii*, a people of *Campania*. But the *Roman* youth never suffered the professed actors to bear any part in their *Exodia*, lest they should dishonour them. The persons who acted these pieces were not liable to the penalties to which the *Histriones* were subject; their names were not blotted out of the roll of the *Tribes* in which they had been incorporated; nor were they excluded from military services, as infamous persons. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxxix
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty-
three.

Ninety-
first
Consul-
ship.
Year of
R O M E
cccxc.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty-two.

Ninety-
second
Consul-
ship.
• A 2d.
time.
Livy B. 7.
c. 3.

Year of *Roman* yoke, he laid hold of this pretext to continue himself in power.
 R O M E He ordered troops to be raised, and even used violence to make the
 cccxc. citizens incline themselves. However, *the Tribunes of the People* opposed
 Bef. J. C. his design, repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to abdi-
 Three cate. And the *Consuls* for the new year, * *Q. Servilius* and † *L. Genucius*,
 hundred were no sooner in office, than he was cited by *Pomponius*, one of the *Tri-*
 sixty-two. *bunes*, to answer before the People for the violence and cruelty which
 he had exercised towards the Citizens. But nothing was so much detested
 Ninety- as his cruel nature, and the surname of *Imperiosus* (intolerable in a free
 second city) which he had acquired by his excessive severity, shewn no less to
 Consul- his own blood and kindred than to strangers. For the Tribunes, among
 ship. other things, accused him of inhumanly and barbarously treating one of
 Year of his own sons for no just cause, and merely upon account of some natural
 R O M E defects. This son of *Manlius*, named *Titus*, had an impediment in his
 cccxc. speech, and was besides of slow parts; and, for these reasons only, his fa-
 Bef. J. C. ther had confined him to the country, where he made him work like one
 Three of his slaves.

Ninety-
third
Consul-
ship.
* A 2d
time.
† A 2d
time.
Livy, B.
7. c. 4.
Cic. Off.
B. 5.
Livy, B.
7. c. 5.
Manlius had a copy of his accusation given him, and twenty-seven days
 to prepare for his defence. All were highly exasperated against him, ex-
 cept the son himself, who hearing of what passed, and not being able to en-
 dure the thought that he too should furnish matter of accusation against his
 father; and to the end that Gods and Men might know how far he was
 from wishing to give his father's enemies any assistance; he resolved upon
 a most extraordinary method to deliver him, a method (as *Livy* observes)
 suitable to his rustick education and character, but laudable for the filial
 piety that inspired it. Early in the morning he privately and alone left
 the village to which he had been banished, came to *Rome*, nor stopt till he
 arrived at the door of *Pomponius* the Tribune, who was not yet up. He
 sent him word, that the son of *Manlius* desired to speak with him about an
 affair that would admit of no delay. The Tribune, believing that the
 young man was come either to thank him for the concern he had taken in
 his misfortunes, or perhaps to discover to him some new proofs of his fa-
 ther's tyrannical temper, ordered him to be brought in. *Manlius*, as soon
 as they had saluted each other, desired to speak to him in private without
 witnesses; upon which every body present was ordered to retire. Then the
 young man drawing out a poniard, and standing over the Tribune, threaten-
 ed to run him thro', if he did not immediately and solemnly swear to desist
 from the prosecution of his father. *Pomponius* was too much terrified not
 to swear whatever the other pleased to dictate; and he excused himself after-
 wards to the People for his dropping the prosecution, by alledging the oath
 which had been extorted from him. The People were not displeased at the
 Val. Max. bold enterprise of a son in favour of a father, which was the more lauda-
 B. 5. c. 4. ble, inasmuch as the father's hard usage of his son had not been able to
 lessen his filial piety. So that not only the father was discharged, but the
 affair ended much to the honour of young *Manlius*, who the same year was
 pro-

promoted, by the suffrages of the People, to one of the most important posts in the army. Every Roman Legion was commanded by six *Legionary Tribunes*, and these officers had been hitherto left to the choice of the General; but this year the People thought fit to elect part of them in the *Comitia*. Of twenty-four *Legionary Tribunes*, appointed at this time, the People chose six, and T. Manlius was named the second of the six. We shall soon see him by his merit surmount all the disadvantages of his education.

Year of
R O M E
cccxc
Bet. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty one.

Ninety-
third.
Consul
ship.
Livy, B.
7 c. 6.
Val. Max.
B. 5.
Oros. B. 3.
S. Austin.
de Civi-
tate Dei,
B. 5.

§. II. THE same year a very extraordinary accident threw the City into a consternation. The ground, perhaps by the violence of an earthquake, opened to a great breadth and depth in the midst of the *Forum*, and continued gaping in a frightful manner. Neither could this chasm be filled up by throwing abundance of earth into it, wherein the Citizens laboured with great diligence. The Augurs, being consulted hereupon, told them, *That their purpose would never be effected, until that thing, wherein the strength and power of the Roman People chiefly consisted, were dedicated and devoted to that place, and that such a sacrifice would secure the eternal duration of the Roman state.* Great consultation there was, and much doubt concerning the meaning of this Oracle. At length M. Curtius, a *Patrician*, a brave young man, reproving the stupidity of his fellow-citizens, asked them, how they could doubt whether Rome had any thing more valuable than Arms and Valour? Having armed himself completely, and mounted a horse richly caparisoned, he came to the *Forum*, where the People were assembled in crowds. While they stood silent with wonder and expectation, he turned his eyes, one while to the *Capitol*, and then to the Pit, and having adored the celestial and infernal Gods, and devoted himself to death for his country, he leaped at once horse and man into the gulph. The People, both men and women, threw in after him great quantities of corn, fruit, and other oblations; and it is probable that with these, and afterwards with earth and rubbish, the hole was quite filled up. But some authors fabulously report, that the ground immediately closed upon Curtius's precipitating himself into the opening.

Val. Max.
B. 5. c. 6.

§. III. AFTER this expiation, the Romans unanimously resolved to turn their arms against the *Hernici*, who had made depredations in the territory of Rome, and had refused the satisfaction demanded by the heralds of the Republick. The conduct of the war fell by lot to Genucius, the first *Plebeian Consul* that was ever intrusted with the Command of an Army; and both parties were very anxious about the success of his expedition, because according to the event it would be judged whether the Republick had done well to admit *Plebeians* to share in the Consular Dignity. It happened unluckily for the Commons, that Genucius proved unsuccessful in the campaign. He fell into an ambush, his legions were routed, and he himself killed. The *Patricians* did not fail to take advantage of this accident. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of Rome were owing to the vengeance of the Gods, who had been

Livy, B.
7. c. 6.

despised.

Year of despised. That the Commons might indeed, by force of a law, deprive
 R O M E the Nobles of their birth-right, and transfer the *Auspices* to those who
 cccxcj. could not take them without impiety; but that no such law would pre-
 Bef. J. C.vail against the immortal Gods, whose anger at the profanation of their
 Three rites was sufficiently declared by the defeat of the army, and the death
 hundred of its Commander.
 sixty-one.

Ninety- *Servilius*, the surviving Consul, with the approbation of the Senate,
 third named to the Dictatorship *Appius Claudius*, the man who had the most
 Consul- distinguished himself in the opposition made to the new law complained
 ship. of. While *Appius* was raising a second army at *Rome*, the *Hernici*, flushed
 Livy, B. with their success, advanced to attack the camp of the *Romans* under the
 c. 7. command of *C. Sulpicius*, who had been Lieutenant to *Genucius*, and had
 since that General's defeat collected his scattered troops. The *Romans*,
 courageously sallied out of their intrenchments, and repulsed the enemy.
Appius soon after arrived with his new levies, and, having rewarded the
 bravery of the Lieutenant and his soldiers with praises, prepared for a ge-
 neral battle.

On the other hand, the *Hernici*, in order to preserve the advantage they
 had gained over *Genucius*, exhausted their whole country of men to rein-
 force their army; and, among the multitude of their soldiers, chose out
 three thousand two hundred, whom they divided into eight *Coborts*, of
 four hundred each. These were the flower of their army, and made a
 separate corps, that their valour might be the more conspicuous; and, to
 engage them to behave themselves bravely, their Generals honoured them
 with marks of distinction, promised them double pay, and exempted
 them from all the drudgery of military service. In the general action,
 which soon followed, when the *Roman* Knights had made several efforts
 in vain to disorder the enemy's battalions, and when with permission of
 their General they had dismounted, and placed themselves in the first line
 of the foot, the eight chosen *Coborts* made head against them, so that the
 flower of both nations came now to a close engagement. The victory
 was a long time doubtful, and it seemed to be only the *better fortune* of
 the *Romans* which determined it in their favour. However, they lost a
 fourth part of their army, and a great number of *Knights*. *Appius* had
 no Triumph granted him, which can be imputed to nothing but the un-
 willingness of the People to do honour to the most declared enemy of
 the *Plebeian* party.

Year of §. IV. AND now notwithstanding the misfortune of *Genucius*, and the
 R O M E murmurs of the Nobility, the *Centuries* made no scruple to chuse a Consul
 cccxcij. out of the *Plebeians* for the next year. *C. Licinius Calvus Stolo* was elected
 Bef. J. C. a second time; and with him was joined *C. Sulpicius*, surnamed *Peticus*.
 Three Under these Generals the *Romans* advanced into the country of the *Hernici*,
 hundred and, finding no enemy in the field, laid siege to *Ferentinum*. This place
 sixty. having surrendered, they took the road to *Rome*; but, when they came to
 Ninety- *Tybur*, they found the gates shut against them. There had been frequently
 fourth misunderstandings between the Republick and the *Tyburtes*, but now it was
 Consul- war
 ship.
 c. 9.

war declared; and the *Romans*, perhaps believing that the *Tyburtes* could not have the confidence to think of coping with the Republick, unless encouraged by some secret intelligence with the *Gauls*, who were in motion, thought proper, as in time of imminent danger, to name a *Dictator*, *T. Quinctius Pennus* was the person nominated to that dignity; and he appointed *S. Cornelius* to be his General of the Horse.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCII.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
sixty.

The apprehensions of the Republick were not groundless. The *Cisalpine Gauls*, having taken arms again to revenge their defeat, came and incamped three miles from *Rome*, near one of the bridges of the *Anio*. The *Romans*, under the command of the Dictator, immediately advanced to meet them. Nothing but the river parted the two armies, and neither party endeavoured to break down the bridge, lest it should seem to argue fear. This bridge became the scene of many combats between the champions of the two armies. One day a *Gaul* of a gigantick size advanced upon the bridge, and challenged the stoutest of the enemy to single combat. His extraordinary stature struck such a terror into the bravest of the *Romans*, that not one of them, for a long time, durst enter the lists against him. Young *Manlius* alone, who had so remarkably signalised his piety to his father, thought he had found a danger worthy of his valour. He went to the Dictator, and asked permission of him to encounter the *Gaul*: For, said he, though I were sure of victory, I would never fight out of my rank without your command; but, if you will give me leave, I will shew that huge beast, that I am descended of the same family which drove the *Gauls* headlong from the Capitol. Go, *Manlius*, answered the Dictator, and be as courageous for the glory of thy country, as thou wast for the defence of thy father. The two champions soon came to an engagement. *Manlius* had for this combat chosen a short sword, made both for cutting and stabbing, and, artfully getting within the long one of his enemy, gave him two stabs, and laid him breathless on the ground. The *Gaul* had a Collar* about his neck, which *Manlius* took from him, and put it about his own, in token of victory; and hence it was that he got the surname of *Torquatus*, which descended to his posterity. The event of this single combat seemed to the *Gauls* so bad an omen for the rest of the war, that they abandoned their camp in the night, and dispersed themselves in *Campania*. Nor could they well have retired to their own country without the assistance of the *Tyburtes*, who furnished them with provisions.

Ninety-
fourth
Consul-
ship.

Livy, B. 7.
c. 10.

* In Latin
Torquis.

Livy B. 7.
c. 11.

This people had too openly declared against the Republick to be suffered to go unpunished; and so soon therefore as the Consuls for the new year, *M. Fabius Ambustus* and *C. Poetelius Libo*, entered upon their office, levies were made at *Rome* to chastise them. *Poetilius* conducted this war, while *Fabius* marched against the *Hernici*, who persisted in their revolt. The Republick was at this time destitute of all assistance from abroad. The very *Latines*, formerly so attached to her, stood absolutely neuter. In the mean time, the *Gauls* ventured to advance again to the very neighbourhood of *Rome*, and blocked up the gate *Collina*. To make head against these

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCII.
Bef. J. C.
Three
fifty-
nine.

Ninety-
fifth
Consul-
ship.

Year of
R O M E
cccxciii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty nine

Ninety-
fifth
Conful-
fhip.

these dangerous enemies, the Republick named *Servilius Abala Dictator*, without recalling either of the *Consuls*. *Servilius* came to an engagement with the *Gauls*, under the very walls of *Rome*, where the *Romans*, fighting within sight of their fathers, wives, and children, were irresistible. The *Gauls* fled towards *Tybur*, and being favoured by the *Tyburtes*, who made a sally to facilitate their retreat, entered it, notwithstanding the opposition of *Poetilius*, who attacked them in their flight. *Poetilius*, nevertheless, obtained a *Triumph*, while his Colleague *Fabius*, who had fought with success against the *Hernici*, had only an *Ovation*. The *Dictator*, who had most deserved a *Triumph*, declined that honour, and laid down his *Dictatorship*.

C H A P. VI.

§. I. *A domestick sedition, which is soon quelled. An incursion of the Tyburtes, who are soon repulsed. The commencement of a new war against Rome by the Tarquinienſes.* §. II. *The Gauls appear on a sudden in the plains of Præneste. C. Sulpicius, named Dictator, with an army, strengthened by the Latines, marches against them. By the help of a new stratagem he obtains a complete victory. The Hernici and the Tarquinienſes are vanquished by the Romans.* §. III. *Two new Tribes are formed. A Law is passed against openly canvassing for votes. Another fixing the legal interest of money at One per Cent. per month. Licinius Stolo, author of the law against any man's possessing more than five hundred acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is passed against holding the Comitia in any place but Rome.* §. IV. *The Falisci and Tarquinienſes having engaged all Hetruria to take part with them against Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, the PLEBEIAN Consul of the last year, is named Dictator by Popilius, the PLEBEIAN Consul of this, to the great displeasure of the Nobles. He obtains a complete victory over the enemy, and has a Triumph, in spite of the opposition of the Senate. Two Patricians are chosen to the Consulate, contrary to the intent of one of the Licinian laws, and the custom for eleven years past. The next year the Fasces are again in the hands of two Patricians; and likewise the year following. T. Manlius (who had never been Consul) is named Dictator, to conduct an army against the Cœrites.*

Year of
R O M E
cccxciv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-
eight

Ninety-
fifth
Conful-
fhip.

§. I. **T**HE *Tyburtes* made a jest of *Poetilius's* *Triumph*, and threatened to be soon again at the gates of *Rome*. This made the *Romans* sensible, that these enemies were neither conquered nor humbled; and the new *Consuls* therefore, *M. Popilius Lenas* and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, would probably have led an army into the territory of *Tybur*, if they had not been hindered by a sudden rising in the City, of the People against the Senate. *Popilius* was *Pontifex* to the Goddess *Carmenſis*, as well as *Consul*, and was just offering a sacrifice, when he received the news of the commotion.

motion. He ran from the altar in his Pontifical Robe to the place where the People were assembled, and by his influence put a stop to the sedition. And, because the robe he then wore was *Læna*, he thence got the name of *Lænas*. But *Popilius* was very soon obliged to assume the Soldier. A handful of *Tyburtes*, out of a bravado, and to make good their late threatenings, came in the dead of the night to the very gates of *Rome*, and alarmed the City. The two Consuls, as soon as it was day, marched out with their troops at different gates, and easily repulsed these bold enterprisers, whose attempt served only to re-establish tranquillity in *Rome*, and totally extinguish the sedition.

In this same year the *Tarquinienses*, a people of *Hetruria*, entered the *Roman* territory in arms; nevertheless the *Romans* postponed their revenge till they had chosen new Consuls.

§. II. THE persons elected were *C. Fabius Ambustus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The hostilities of the *Tarquinienses* were soon followed by a new alarm from the *Boii*, who appeared on a sudden in the plain of *Præneste*, and advanced as far as *Pedum*. But, in the midst of these distresses of the Republick, the *Latines* (for what reason is uncertain) very seasonably renewed their ancient treaty of alliance with *Rome*, and furnished her with the same *quota* of men as formerly. With this re-inforcement she was in a condition to make head against all her enemies. *C. Sulpicius* was named Dictator to conduct the war against the *Gauls*. With the best Legions of the Consular armies strengthened by the *Latin* auxiliaries, he took the field, and met the enemy. Both armies were very ardent to engage; but the Dictator restrained the impetuosity of his troops, thinking it better policy not to run the hazard of a battle, since the *Gauls* must necessarily be distressed for want of provisions, having prepared no magazines, and being no longer supplied by the *Latines*. The soldiers however did not enter into their General's views, and universally murmured against him, as a timorous commander of brave men. They came in crowds to the Dictator's quarters, and demanded access to him, having named *Sextus Tulius* (a man of distinguished courage, and who for seven years past had been first Captain of the first Corps in the army) to be their speaker. *Sulpicius* was surprised to find himself surrounded by a number of mutineers, and especially to see *Sextius*, at their head, whom he had thought an unblameable officer. *Sextius*, in the name of the army, reproached him with the disadvantageous opinion he seemed to have entertained of the valour of his troops, and urged him to lead them to the enemy. His speech to the Dictator was followed by the acclamations of the multitude, who all cried out for leave to arm and march to battle. *Sulpicius* found himself under a necessity of promising to comply with their desires; but then, taking *Sextius* aside, he asked him, *What it was that had put him at the head of a Faction?* The brave Centurion replied, that it was not any want of respect to his General, or ignorance of the Martial Laws; but to prevent the soldiers chusing an insolent leader, who

Year of
R O M E
cccxciv
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-
eight.
Ninety-
sixth
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B. 7.
c. 12.
Cic. in
Eut.
Year of
R O M E
cccxcv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-
seven.
Ninety-
seventh
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
7. c. 12,
13, 14.
Appian.
in Celtic.

might

Year of ROM E might do something injurious to the dignity of the *Dictator*. He then advised *Sulpicius* to yield to the desires of the soldiers, who otherwise seemed inclined to seize the first opportunity of fighting, whether he would or not. An accident presently convinced the *Dictator* of the truth of what *Sextius* had told him. Two beasts of burden, which escaped out of the *Roman* intrenchments, and were seized by the *Gauls*, had like to have been the occasion of a general action. The *Roman* soldiers were with difficulty restrained by their Centurions. *Sulpicius* therefore thought it no longer proper to delay the engagement, and gave notice in the camp that he would offer battle the next day.

The *Romans* being inferior to the *Gauls* in number, the *Dictator*, to remedy this disadvantage, made use of a stratagem which had never been practised before. He ordered his Muleteers to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horses, to mount them, march silently up to the hills, and hide themselves in the woods, till they received farther orders. This extraordinary body of troopers, to the number of about one thousand, appearing opportunely in the plain in the heat of the action, so intimidated the *Gauls*, who feared to be surrounded, that they presently dispersed and fled, losing more men in their flight than in the action, for few of them escaped the slaughter.

Sulpicius, when he had been honoured with a Triumph and had made a present of some of the enemies spoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, abdicated the *Dictatorship*, and the Government returned into the hands of the two *Consuls* for the year. *Plautius* vanquished the *Hernici*, and totally subdued them. But *Fabius* was defeated in battle by the *Tarquinienfes*, who, to shew their contempt of the Republick, cut the throats of 307 *Roman* prisoners. However, the Conciliation of the *Latines*, the total Overthrow of the *Gauls*, and the Reduction of the *Hernici*, made this a prosperous year for the Republick. *Rome* was now in almost as flourishing a condition as before it was taken by King *Brennus*.

§. III. SOME *Roman* Citizens being at this time sent into the *Pomptin* Territory, to stop the incursions of the *Veliterni* and *Privernates*, formed a new *Tribe* there, called *Pomptina*, which, with the *Tribe Publicia*, or *Popilia*, lately established in the territory of the *Volsci*, made the whole number of the *Tribes* twenty-seven.

At this time, likewise a law was made, at the motion of *Poetilius* the Tribune, and with approbation of the Senate, against openly canvassing for votes. It was occasioned by the ambition of the *Novi Homines*, or *upstart Gentlemen*, who, not content with soliciting suffrages in the *Forum Romanum*, went even to the country fairs, and other publick meetings, to buy voices. This, says *Livy*, was the first law of the kind preferred to the People; nevertheless, according to the same author, a law was passed in the year 321, forbidding the candidates to make their robes whiter than

ordinary, and this * in order to give a check to the practice of canvassing for offices.

* To
de ambi-
tionis
causa.

Under

Under the following administration of *C. Marcius Rutilus* and *Cn. Manlius * Imperiosus*, the interest of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of the *Tribunes of the People*, settled at *One per Cent. per month*^a. This regulation so displeased the avaricious *Patricians*, that, to revenge themselves on the *Plebeians*, they cited the famous *Licinius Stolo* to answer for the breach of one of the four laws (which he himself had so zealously promoted) prohibiting any Citizen to possess more than five hundred acres of land. *Licinius* actually possessed a thousand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his son, and made him the nominal possessor of one half of them. However, he was convicted, before the *Prætor*, of fraud, and fined ten thousand ^b *Asses of Brass*. These intestine commotions being over, the *Consul Marcius* was ordered to conduct an army against the *Privernates*, who the year before had declared against *Rome*. *Marcius* routed the enemy in the field, and pursued them to *Privernum*, which, to preserve it from being plundered, they immediately surrendered.

Year of
R O M E
cccxcvi.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-six.
Ninety-
eighth
Consul-
ship.
* A 2d
time.
Livy, B.
7. c. 16.
Val. Max.
B. 8. c. 6.
Plin. B.
18. c. 3.

But *Cn. Manlius*, the other *Consul*, gained little glory in his expedition against the *Falisci*, whom he had been sent to punish for several insults on the Republick. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, but his attempt upon the Constitution. He had ventured to assemble the *Tribes* near *Sutrium*, and had there made a law in his camp, *That the twentieth part of the price of every slave, thereafter sold, should be paid into the publick Treasury*. The Senate had consented to this law, notwithstanding the irregularity of holding the *Comitia* by *Tribes* in the Camp. But the *Tribunes of the People* thought this step of the *Consul* of dangerous consequence to the publick liberty; and therefore got a law passed, forbidding any man to assemble the *People* in *Comitia*, any where but in *Rome*, upon pain of death. However, the law relating to the twentieth part of the price of slaves was not repealed.

^a *Livy's* words are, *De UNCARIO Fœnore*——rogatio est perlata, &c.
“ The interest of money, both in *Rome*
“ and *Greece*, was high for a considerable
“ time. Simple interest was exacted month-
“ ly in both places, at the rate of one *per*
“ *cent. per month*.——The *Romans* paid a
“ *Denarius* a month for 100 *Denarii*; and it
“ is mentioned by *Cicero* as monthly.——
“ And, because the *As* was reckoned any
“ *Integer*, it was likewise called *Asses Usuræ*:
“ So that *Asses Usuræ* and *Centesima Usuræ*
“ are the same thing,——*Livy* and *Tacitus*
“ mention the *Fœnus Unciarum*, and *Semiun-*
“ *ciarum*, as high, which according to the
“ proportion of the *As*, being but $\frac{1}{12}$ or $\frac{1}{12}$ in
“ the month, must only make 1 or $\frac{1}{12}$ *per*
“ *cent. per Annum*. And the Law of the XII.
“ tables forbids, *Ne quis unciario fœnore am-*
“ *plius exerceto*.” So it is expressed by *Tacitus*.

“ These expressions cannot be interpreted
“ according to the analogy of the tables,
“ but differ from all the others; and they
“ certainly denote the *Centesima Usuræ*:
“ But, how this way of expression in these
“ two authors has happened, I can give no
“ account: It seems they put the *Uncia* for
“ the *As* or *Integer*.——*Semisses Usuræ* or
“ $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent. per month*, six *per cent* a year,
“ which *Pliny* calls *civilis et modica*, came to
“ be the publick and customary interest of
“ money; for the *Asses Usuræ* came to be a
“ grievance, and occasioned great tumults
“ among the people; yet still he that took
“ it was not reckoned to transgress any
“ law; and there were some greedy *Usurers*
“ that exacted double, triple, nay four
“ times as much.” *Arbutnot*, chap. xxii.
Of the interest of money.

^b Or 32 l. 5 s. 10 d. *Arbutnot*.

§. IV.

Year of
R O M E
cccxviii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-four.
Ninety-
four.
Consul-
ship.
* A 3d
time.
† A 3d
time.

§. IV. THE *Consuls* for the following year, *M. Fabius* * *Ambustus* and *M. Popilius* † *Lenas* (both a second time) no sooner entered on their office, than they took their Military employments by lot. *Popilius* commanded the army which was to act against the *Tyburtes*. He found them shut up within their walls, and ravaged their lands without opposition. But *Fabius* had a more difficult war to manage against the united *Falisci* and *Tarquinienses*. They stirred up all *Hetruria* against the Republick. The *Horatians* advanced towards the *Roman* Territory, as far as the *Salt-Pit*, on the banks of the *Tiber*; and their approach obliged the *Romans* to have recourse to the usual remedy in great emergencies. The *Consul* *Popilius* was ordered to name a *Dictator*; and, as he was a *Plebeian* himself, he pitched upon *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Consul* of the last year, to raise him to that dignity. The *Dictator* likewise chose a *Plebeian*, *C. Plaucius Proculus* to be his General of Horse: so that now the government of the Republick was almost intirely in the hands of men of true merit, chosen out of the People. The *Patricians*, stung with jealousy at these promotions, did all they could to hinder the *Dictator* from having the necessaries for the war: but, on the other hand, the People hastened the preparations for the campaign, and the General marched out to meet the enemy. He surprised their camp, forced it, and took eight thousand prisoners. Notwithstanding so complete a victory, the Senate opposed the Triumph of a *Plebeian Dictator*; but the People did him justice, and he entered *Rome* triumphantly the day before the *Nones of May*.

And now the time drawing nigh for electing new *Consuls*, and *Fabius* not being at *Rome*, the Nobility pretended that it was unlawful for any *Plebeian*, though a *Dictator*, to preside in the *Comitia*; because by the *Pontifical* Laws the election of chief Magistrates should be consecrated by *Auguries*; and *Auguries*, say they, belong of right only to *Patricians*. And for this time they prevailed. The Republick had recourse to an *Inter-regnum*; and, which is very extraordinary, the *Plebeians*, in the very year in which they triumphed most, were excluded from a share in the Government; two *Patricians* were chosen *Consuls* in the ensuing *Comitia*. The *Tribunes of the People* exclaimed against the election, as contrary to the custom practised for eleven years past, during which time one of the *Consuls* had always been a *Plebeian*. But the president of the

Year of
R O M E
cccxviii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-four.

Comitia silenced the clamour, by citing a Law ‡ of the *Twelve Tables*, That only the last edicts of the People should be of force: For they inferred; that the People, by chusing two *Patricians*, had in effect abolished the former custom.

The new *Consuls*, *C. Sulpicius* § *Peticus* and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, after a slight battle, took *Empulum* from the *Tyburtes*, but did nothing else remarkable abroad during their administration. Their chief view was to keep the *Consulate* in *Patricians* hands; and, when the time came for new elections, they declared that they would never resign their dignity to any other than *Patricians*. This occasioned great commotions and tumults in the

1 See 8th
Law of
the 9th
Table, p.
320.

Year of
R O M E
cccxviii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-four.

100 Con-
sulship.
§ A 3d
time.
Liv. B. 7.
c. 18.

the *Campus Martius*, infomuch that the greater number of the People cried out, that a *Seceſſion* was neceſſary, and in reality quitted the aſſembly, leaving only the leaſt paſſionate behind them. This gave their ſuffrages for two *Patricians*, *M. Fabius* * *Ambuſtus* and *T. Quintius Pennus*; and thus the Nobility carried their point. The Conſuls took the field; the former againſt the *Tyburtes*, whom he totally ſubdued; the latter againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, on whom the *Romans* now revenged the cruelty committed on the three hundred and ſeven *Roman* ſoldiers formerly mentioned. *Quintius*, having defeated them in a bloody battle, put all the priſoners to the ſword, except three hundred and fifty-eight, whom he ſent to *Rome*, where, by order of the Senate, they were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Theſe victories extended the reputation of the *Romans*; infomuch that the *Samnites* ſent an embaſſy to the Republick, courted her friendſhip, and concluded an alliance with her, probably upon the ſame foot as that with the *Latines* and *Hernici*. Without changing their Laws or Government, they engaged to furniſh the *Romans* with troops in their neceſſity; and the *Romans* promiſed to protect them againſt their enemies both at home and abroad. This was conſtantly the firſt ſtep taken by the politick Republick, in ſubduing the nations that lay neareſt to her. She flattered them with the title of Allies of the *Roman* People; and, when by their aſſiſtance ſhe had made herſelf miſtreſs of the more diſtant countries, thoſe who had ſuffered themſelves to be lulled aſleep under the title of Allies, found themſelves involved in her conqueſts; and, tho' they were ſtill called Allies, they were treated as Subjects.

Though the People were ſtill very deſirous to have one of the Conſuls *Plebeian*, the Nobility, as their creditors, had them ſo much under at this time, that they kept the Conſulſhip in their own hands; and *G. Sulpicius* † *Peticus* and *M. Valerius* ‡ *Poplicola* were again promoted to that dignity. While the Republick was preparing her levies to act againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, ſhe received advice from the *Latines*, that the *Volſci* were upon the point of entering the *Roman* Territory; and this obliged her to divide her forces between the two Conſuls. *Sulpicius* marched into *Hetruria*, *Valerius* againſt the *Volſci*. *Valerius* had already incamped on the confines of the Territory of *Tuſculum*, when he was recalled to *Rome* to nominate a *Dictator*. This was occaſioned by letters from *Sulpicius*, which imported, that the *Cærites* were undoubtedly diſpoſed to take part with the *Tarquinienſes*; that his army was not ſtrong enough to repreſs the insolence of theſe enemies united; and that even the *Falſci* had joined the latter. In order therefore to have a third army on foot, to oppoſe the *Cærites*, while the two Conſuls checked the progreſs, the one of the *Volſci*, the other of the *Tarquinienſes* and *Falſci*, *Valerius* was directed to name a *Dictator*. Accordingly he named *T. Manlius Torquatus* to that dignity, who appointed *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his General of Horſe. Though *Manlius* had never been Conſul (a neceſſary ſtep to riſe regularly to the *Dictatorſhip*) yet his merit was ſuch, that no oppoſition was made to his promotion.

Year of
R O M E
cccxcix.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-three
101 Con-
ſulſhip.
* A 3d
time.
Livy. B. 7.
c. 19.

Year of
R O M E
cccc.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-two.
102 Con-
ſulſhip.
† A 4th
time.
‡ A 2d
time.

Year of
R O M E
CCCC.
Esf. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-two.
102d Con-
sulship.
Livy, B.
7. C. 20.

But now the inhabitants of *Cære*, intimidated by the preparations made against them, instead of pursuing the war, sent an embassy to *Rome* to implore the clemency of the Senate. The Senate referred the Deputies to the People, who being moved to compassion by the repentance of the *Cerites*, and especially when reminded that *Cære* had been formerly the *Asylum* of the *Vestals*, and the Receptacle of their Gods, granted them a truce for an hundred years, and the *Dictator*, instead of marching against them, led his troops against the *Falisci*. But neither on this side did he find an enemy in the field to contend with; so that, having laid their country waste, he immediately returned to *Rome*.

C H A P. VII.

§. I. *The Magistrates take effectual measures to relieve the Debtors, in order to maintain peace at home.* §. II. *The People suffer two Patricians to be declared Consuls. Nevertheless in this very Consulate the Commons prevail for the first time to have a Plebeian chosen to the CENSORSHIP.* §. III. *And notwithstanding that the present Consuls name a Dictator to hold the Comitia for the election of their successors, in order to get two Patricians chosen, M. Popilius Lænas, a Plebeian, is promoted (now a third time) to the Consulate with L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius falling sick, the Plebeian Consul has the sole conduct of a new war with the Gauls. A PRÆTOR acts as a General, for the first time. Two Patricians are chosen Consuls. The Gauls spread themselves on the sea-coast of Latium. M. VALERIUS (afterwards surnamed CORVUS) a Legionary Tribune, kills in single combat a Champion of the Gauls, and this occasions a general action in which the Romans obtain the Victory. Valerius, though but twenty-three years of age, is chosen to be one of the Consuls.* §. IV. *The Romans conclude a Treaty with the Carthaginians.* §. V. *The Interest money is lowered to Half per Cent. Valerius Corvus (now a second time Consul) defeats the Volsci, and takes from them Satricum. The Secular Games are celebrated for the second time.* §. VI. *A Dictator is named, on occasion of a war with a new enemy, the Aurunci. He builds a Temple, which he had vowed, during a battle with the enemy, to Juno Moneta. The year following, the Romans imagining that the Goddess, agreeable to her name MONETA, admonished them by Prodigies of the impending wrath of the Gods, P. Valerius is named Dictator, to order the celebration of the Feriæ Latinæ.*

Livy, B. 7. C. 21. §. I. **A**LL things were quiet in the city, till the time came for new Elections. The *Dictator*, who was to have presided in the *Comitia*, had formed the design of hindering any *Plebeian* being chosen to the *Consulship*; but the *Tribunes of the People* perceiving his intention, opposed the assembling of the *Centuries*, till the expiration of his *Dictatorship*, and of the *Consuls* year, both which ended at the same time. An *Inter-regnum*

num ensued; and the two parties were irreconcilable. The People began to make complaints about their debts, as well as of the infraction of the *Licinian Law*, relating to the election of *Consuls*; and the disputes grew to such a height, as seemed to threaten an open revolt. This apprehension induced the Senate at length to suffer the *Licinian Law* to take place, and to permit the *Centuries* to chuse one of the *Consuls* out of the *Plebeians*. C. * *Marcus Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, was joined with *P. Valerius Poplicola* in the *Consulate*. These Magistrates made it their first care to reconcile the two Parties, by easing the Debtors. To this end, they chose out * five men of known probity, to take an account of all debts, and see them discharged. These five were called *Bankers*, and they had the command of the Publick Treasury, to enable them to perform their commission, which they did to the satisfaction of all parties. Those who through sloth and carelessness, rather than want, had plunged themselves in debt, either borrowed Money of these Bankers, giving security to the publick, or else deposited the value of their debts in their creditors hands, in effects which were valued by the Bankers. By this means the greater number of the Debtors were relieved without wronging any person, and with little loss to the publick.

§. II. BUT, while the Republick was taking these methods to secure peace at home, she was suddenly alarmed with the report of a new war, which she must quickly sustain abroad against the twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria*; upon which the Senate immediately named *Julius Iulus Dictator*. The report however proved groundless, and was (probably) raised by the *Patricians*, only to get a man at the head of affairs, who might prevent the *Licinian Law* from taking place in the ensuing elections. And indeed he employed all his credit and power to that end, but without success; for the People were so warm and steady in opposing his design, that both he and the *Consuls* were out of office before they could get the *Comitia* assembled.

In the *Inter-regnum* which ensued, *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Fabius* governed by turns; and the People, by the complaisance which they had for these men, seem to have been actuated by some particular pique against the late *Dictator*, in their opposition to his desires; for now they readily suffered two *Patricians* to be raised to the *Consulship*. *Sulpicius* † himself was one of them, and *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus* the other. The former marched against the *Terquinenses*, and the latter against the *Falisci*: But these two nations being tired out by the calamities of war, submitted to the Republick, and obtained a truce for forty years.

The present interval of peace seemed a proper season for holding the *Comitia*, to elect new *Censors*. A day was accordingly fixed for this purpose, and it was the first time that any *Plebeian* was seen to stand *Candidate*

* C. DUILIUS,
P. DECIUS MUS,
M. PAPIRIUS,

Q. PUBLILIUS,
T. ÆMILIUS.

S f f 2

for

Year of
R O M E
CCCCI.
Ref. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty-one.
103d Con-
sulship.
* A 2d
time.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCII.
Ref. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty.
104th
Consul-
ship.
† A 5th
time.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCII.
Def. J. C.
Three
hundred
fifty.

for that important office. *C. Marcius Rutilus*, having been twice *Consul* and once *Dictator*, thought he might well aspire to any dignity in the Republick. He was the first of the Commons who had been raised to the *Dictatorship*; and, in spite of the opposition of the Nobles, he had obtained a *Triumph* for his exploits in that station. And now, in the *Comitia by Centuries*, he was declared *Censor*, with *Cn. Manlius* a *Patrician*.

104th
Consul-
ship.

§. III. BUT, though the *Patricians* had not been able to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Censorship*, they still hoped to secure the *Consulship* wholly to themselves; and, the better to succeed in that design, the present *Consuls* named *M. Fabius Ambustus* (who had been thrice *Consul*) *Dictator* to preside at the next election, imagining, that an absolute Governor would be more respected in the *Comitia*, and have more influence. But, notwithstanding these precautions, *M. Popilius Lænas*, a *Plebeian*, was now chosen *Consul*, a third time; and his Collegue, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, falling sick when he should have taken the field, the Senate had the farther mortification of seeing the *Patrician Consul* to be General of the Troops. *Popilius* immediately ordered levies to be made, to stop the progress of the *Gauls*, who were ravaging the *Latine* Territory, and approached towards *Rome*; and, to be the sooner in readiness for marching, he appointed the

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIII.
Def. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-
nine.

105th
Consul-
ship.

Liv. B.

7. c. 23.

Appian

in Celtic.

Livy, B.

7. c. 24.

Enrollment without the Gate *Capena*, and not upon the *Capitol*. So great a number of soldiers enlisted themselves on this occasion, that the *Consul*, by order of the Senate, divided them into two armies, and left one to guard the City, under the command of *M. Valerius Poplicola*, the present *Prætor*. And this was the first time that the *Prætor* was seen at the head of an army. *Popilius* with four *Legions* and some auxiliaries marched against the enemy, defeated them, plundered their camp, and led back to *Rome* his victorious army, enriched with spoil. He was decreed a *Triumph* at his return; but the ceremony was deferred on account of a wound he had received in the battle, and of which he was not yet recovered. His Collegue *Scipio* continued likewise still sick; so that the Republick, seeing both her chief Magistrates out of a condition to discharge their functions, desired them to name a *Dictator* to preside at the election of new *Consuls*. Accordingly they named *L. Furius Camillus* (son of the Great *Camillus*) to that dignity, who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* to be his General of the Horse. These two eminent *Patricians* employed their utmost efforts to make the election fall only on men of their own

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIV.
Def. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-
eight.

order, and they succeeded. The *Dictator* prevailed to have himself chosen one of the *Consuls*; and *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Cressus*, another *Patrician*, was appointed his Collegue.

And now the *Gauls*, who after their late defeat had fled for refuge to the hills of *Alia*, came down again, and spread themselves upon the Seacoast in the country of the *Latines*. At the same time some *Greeks* (from

106th
Consul-
ship.

* The gate *Capena*, now called the gate of *St. S. Lazzaro*, led to the *Appian Way*; as we learn from *Frontinus*, who tells us, that the

Censor Appius made a great road from this gate quite to *Capua*.

what

what part is uncertain) made a descent on the very same coast where the Gauls were ravaging and plundering, *i. e.* from the mouth of the *Tiber* to *Antium*; but the Gauls, jealous of their booty, forced these new invaders back to their ships. While the *Greeks* still hovered about the Coast, and the Gauls were yet in *Latium*, the Republick left one of her Generals, who should have acted against these Robbers; *Appius*, one of the *Consuls*, died during the preparations for the war. It seemed expedient to nominate a *Dictator* to act in concert with the surviving *Consul*, but the Senate were unwilling to give *Camillus* any superior. He had obliged them in the late Elections, his personal merit was great, and his very name of *Camillus* was a good omen in a war with the *Gauls*; all these considerations made them accept of him as sole Governor of the Republick; so that he wanted little more than a greater number of *Liētors* to commence a regular *Dictator*. His first care was to raise two armies. The *Latines* were summoned to furnish their contingent of Auxiliaries; but they refused to be commanded by a *Roman* General; and, in a National Diet, resolved to shake off the dishonourable yoke. However, the *Consul* found *Roman* Citizens enough, who by Law were obliged to serve, to compose a body of ten *Legions*, amounting to 45,000 men. *Camillus* left two of these *Legions* to guard the city; gave four to *L. Pinarius* the *Prætor*, whom he sent to defend the sea-coast against the *Greeks*; and he himself incamped with the other four in the *Pomptin* territory, a country full of marshes and rivers; for he had no design of coming to a battle with the *Gauls*; his only view was to harass the enemy in their posts, intercept their convoys, and, if possible, to starve them. While both armies continued unactive, a fierce *Gaul* of a gigantick stature appeared between the two camps, defying the bravest man in the *Roman* *Legions* to single combat. *M. Valerius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, great grandson of the famous *Valerius Volusus*, accepted the challenge, and is said to have obtained a victory by means of a Raven, which had perched upon his helmet ever since day-break, and which, during the fight, flew in the face of the Giant, and so blinded him with his wings, that *Valerius* easily stabbed him. The *Gauls*, seeing their champion slain, immediately crowded round his body, to hinder him from being stript of his armour; and the *Romans* at the same time ran to defend *Valerius*, and this by degrees brought on a general battle, in which the *Gauls* were again defeated. Those of them that escaped took their way through the country of the *Volsi*, and, crossing *Campania*, retired as far as the coasts of the *Adriatick* sea. As for the brave *Valerius*, the General rewarded him with a crown of Gold and ten Oxen; and he ever after bore the name of *Corvus* *.

* Raven.

Nothing now remained for the *Consul* to do, in order to finish his year with honour, but to drive away the *Greek* pirates that infested the coasts of *Latium*. With this view he joined his army to that of the *Prætor Pinarius*; but the obstinacy of those adventurers, who, though they durst not land, continued hovering at sea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he had imagined. In the mean while the time for the new election

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIV.
Bel. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-
eight.
106th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
7. c. 25.
Diod Sic.
B. 16.

Aul. Gel.
B. 9. c. 11.
Livy, B.
7. c. 26.
Auth of
Lives of
Illust.
Men. c.
29.

Year of of Consuls drew near, so that he was obliged to name a *Dictator* to pre-
 ROME side in the *Comitia*; and on this occasion the famous *Manlius Torquatus*
 ccccv. was again raised to that dignity. A *Dictator* could not fail to have a con-
 Bet. J. C. siderable influence in the assembly of the *Centuries*; and *Manlius*, who was
 Three extremely pleased with the exploit of *Valerius*, so much resembling his own
 hundred former victory over a gigantick *Gaul*, found means to prevail with the Peo-
 forty- ple to chuse him one of the Consuls, though but twenty-three years of age,
 seven. and too young to have a place in the Senate. With him they joined *Po-
 pilius Lenas*, now *Consul* a fourth time.
 10th
 Consul-
 ship.

As for *Camillus*, he made so good an appearance on the coast, that the
Greeks not daring to come ashore, and at last wanting fresh water and other
 necessary provisions, put out to sea.

§. IV. THE armies were disbanded; and *Rome*, for a short space, had
 Livy, B. neither War abroad, nor Quarrels at home. Her Tranquillity however was
 7. c. 27. not complete: a pestilential sickness disturbed it. The Senate directed
 the Decemvirs to consult the Sibylline Books, and, it being there found
 that the *Lætiæsternium* would be good against the plague, they ordered that
 notable ceremony to be performed.

But the most memorable event of the present year was *A Treaty of Friend-
 ship and Alliance between ROME and CARTHAGE*. It was made at the re-
 quest of the *Carthaginians*, who sent Ambassadors to *Rome* for that end;
 and it seems to have been the first^{*} Treaty concluded between the two States:

Cum

^{*} *Orosius*, (lib. 3. cap. 7.) calls the TREATY
 made at this time the *First*—PRIMUM illud
 iustum cum Carthaginiensibus fœdus.

Polybius pretends, that, so early as the first
 year of the Republick, ROME and CARTHAGE
 entered into a TREATY, the record of
 which, in the old obsolete Latin, was, in
 his time, still extant: and he gives us the
 following Translation of it, as made with all
 possible exactness:

“ THERE shall be peace and friendship
 “ between the Romans and the Allies of the
 “ Romans, and the Carthaginians and the
 “ Allies of the Carthaginians, on the fol-
 “ lowing conditions:

“ The Romans and the Allies of the Ro-
 “ mans shall not navigate beyond the Fair
 “ Promontory^{*}, unless constrained by tem-
 “ pest or an enemy. If at any time they
 “ shall chance to be forced ashore [beyond
 “ that promontory] they shall not be per-
 “ mitted to take or buy any thing but what
 “ they need for repairing their vessels, and
 “ for their sacrifices. None shall make
 “ longer stay ashore than five days.

“ On those who shall come to traffick, no
 “ duty shall be imposed beside the Fees to
 “ the Cryer and Register; and for payment
 “ of whatever shall be sold, whether in A-
 “ frica or Sardinia, in the presence of those
 “ officers, the publick Faith shall stand en-
 “ gaged to the seller. If any Romans shall
 “ come to such places in Sicily as are in sub-
 “ jection to the Carthaginians, they shall have
 “ justice done them in all things

“ The Carthaginians shall do nothing to
 “ the detriment of the people of Ardea, An-
 “ tium, Laurentum, Circeii, or Tarracina, or
 “ any other of the Latines whomsoever, if
 “ they be subject [to the Romans] and if any
 “ be not subject, yet the Carthaginians shall
 “ make no attempt on their towns, if they
 “ make seizure of any such towns, they shall
 “ deliver up the same unhurt to the Romans.
 “ They shall not build any fort in the coun-
 “ try of the Latines; and in case they shall
 “ at any time land their arms, they shall
 “ not remain there one night.” *Polyb. B. 3.
 c. 22.* See what is said in relation to this
 Treaty, in p. xxvi. & seq. of the *Dissertation*

^{*} That is, to the Southward of it, towards the lesser Syrtis, as *Polybius* explains it. But the Romans were
 permitted to have trade and commerce with Carthage and the rest of Africa on the other side the Fair Promontory,
 as likewise in Sardinia and those parts of Sicily which are dependent on Carthage.

Cum Carthaginiensibus legatis *Romæ* FoEDUS Ictum, quum amicitiam ac societatem petentes venissent. *Liv.* lib. vii. cap. 27.

Year of
R O M E
ccccvi.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-six.

§. V. IN the following Consulship of C. *Plautius Hypsæus* and T. *Manlius Torquatus* (who, though twice *Dictator*, had never been *Consul* before) nothing remarkable happened, except the reducing of the interest of money from one *per Cent.* [per month] to half *per Cent.* and the allowing the debtors, upon their paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to discharge the remainder by annual and equal payments; and the debtors had this further relief, that no levies were made, nor taxes raised this year.

108th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.

BUT the next year, when *Valerius* * *Corvus* and C. *Poetelius Libo Visolus* were in possession of the *Fasces*, news being brought from *Latium* that the *Volsci* were soliciting the *Latines* to take arms against *Rome*, *Valerius* received orders to march and attack the Enemy before their Confederates could join them. *Satricum*, which the *Latines* had destroyed in 377, had been rebuilt and repeopled by the *Volsci* in 405, and was now the rendezvous of their forces. Here *Valerius* gave them battle, put them to the rout, and, having taken the town, burnt it, sparing only the Temple of the Goddess *Matuta*; after which he returned to *Rome*, and entered it in Triumph with four thousand captives before his chariot. But according to the *Capitoline Marbles*, the Triumph of *Valerius* was not the most pompous show with which the *Romans* were entertained in his Consulship; the *Secular Games* ^b, which had been instituted in the year of *Rome* 297, were now celebrated for the second time.

7. c. 27.
Year of
R O M E
ccccvii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-five.

109th
Consul-
ship.
* A second
time.

§. VI. THE *Romans*, after the Victory over the *Volsci*, were attacked by the *Aurunci*, a petty nation near the confines of *Latium*, on the coast of the *Tyrrhenian* sea; and the Republick, being struck with the same terror

on the Credibility, &c. prefixed to the Second Volume.

Polybius gives us another Treaty, as the second, between the two republicks, but does not tell us when it was made. It differed from the first in the following particulars:

The *Tyrians* and those of *Utica* were comprised in it. For it was a treaty between the *Romans* and their Allies on one side, and the *Carthaginians*, *Tyrians*, *Uticenses*, and their Allies on the other.

To the *Fair Promontory* were added *Mastia* and *Tarscium*, as places beyond which the *Romans* were not to go in search of Plunder nor build a City, nor carry on any commerce. [The Geographers know not the situation of these places.]

The *Romans* might trade to the towns of *Sicily* subject to the *Carthaginians*, but were to have no commerce in *Sardinia*, nor in any part of *Africa*, except the City of *Carthage* only. Here they were to be allowed the

same rights and privileges [in point of Trade] as the Citizens themselves; and the *Carthaginians* were to have the like treatment in *Rome*.

If the *Carthaginians* should take any Town in the Territory of the *Latines*, not under the *Roman* dominion, they might keep the Pillage and Captives, provided they relinquished the town; but if the *Carthaginians* should make any Captives among those of the *Latines*, who, though not subject to *Rome*, were, by a written Treaty, in league of amity with her, and should bring such Captives into any *Roman* port, and these Captives should be discovered and challenged by any *Roman*, they should be set at liberty.

The *Romans* were to be subject to the like restrictions with regard to the *Carthaginians* and their Allies. *Polyb.* B. 3. c. 24.

^b The nature and origin of these Games will be spoken of hereafter.

Year of as if all *Latium* had declared against her, ordered the Consuls *M. Fabius*
 R O M E *Decius* and *Servius Sulpicius Camerinus* to nominate a *Dictator*; the Courts
 ccccviii. of justice were shut up, and the Levies made with the utmost rigour.
 Bef. J. C. *L. Furius * Camillus*, whom the Consuls named to the *Dictatorship*,
 Three hundred marched away to meet the enemy, and was greatly surprised, when he
 forty- came within sight of them, to find that they made no better appearance
 four. than a gang of robbers. Nevertheless, because they had the hardiness to
 be the aggressors, and readily to offer him battle when he appeared, he
 111th thought it expedient to seek aid of the Gods; and therefore in the heat
 Consul- of the conflict vowed a Temple to *Juno Moneta* *. The *Aurunci* were too
 ship. weak to resist the *Roman* forces; *Furius* returned victorious to *Rome*;
 * A second time Dic- but, resigning his Dictatorship, left to others the care of performing his
 tator. vow. The Senate appointed *Duumvirs* to direct the building of the Tem-
 ple, promised to the Goddess. It was erected on the *Capitol*, in the same
 place where the house of *Marcus Manlius* had stood. The Consuls em-
 ployed the *Dictator's* army against the *Volsci*, and, coming upon them un-
 awares, took from them *Sora*.

Year of The succeeding Consuls, *C. Marcius † Rutilus* and *T. Manlius ‡ Imperi-*
 R O M E *osus*, consecrated this new Temple the first || of *June*, a year after it had
 ccccvix. been vowed. This ceremony was immediately followed by prodigies;
 Bef. J. C. thick darkness in the day-time, and a shower of stones. After consulting
 Three the Sibylline Books, the Senate judged it expedient (the multitude being
 hundred full of superstitious fears) to name a *Dictator*, whose business should be
 forty- to order the solemnisation of the festival called *Feria Latinae*. *P. Valerius*,
 three. being raised to that office, not only obliged the *Roman* Tribes, but the
 Nations bordering on the *Roman* Territory, to observe the Festival, ap-
 111th pointing the day when each should perform their devotions.

Severe sentences (it is said) were, at the suit of the *Ædiles*, passed, this
 year, against the Usurers.

|| Macrobi.

Satur. * This name had been given to the Queen
 Book 1. of the Gods a little before the taking of
 chap. 12. *Rome* by the *Gauls*. It was pretended, that
 Oros. B. 3. from the Temple of *Juno* had come a voice,
 ch. 7. accompanied with an earthquake, and that
 Livy. B. the voice had admonished the *Romans* to avert
 7. c. 28. the evils that threatened them, by sacrific-

Cicero, de
 Divin. E.

1. n. 101.

ing a sow with pig. Hence she was called
Moneta §. Afterwards the Temple of *Juno*
Moneta became a publick Mint; and from
 thence the Medals, which were stamp'd for
 current coin in trade, took the name of
Moneta, MONEY.

§ From *monere*.

C H A P. VIII.

§. I. *In the administration of M. Valerius Corvus (a third time Consul) and Cornelius Cossus Arvina, happens the FIRST RUPTURE between the ROMANS and SAMNITES, on occasion of a war which the latter had carried on with success against the people of Capua in Campania. The Campanians, to engage the Romans to succour them in their distress, make a surrender of themselves and their country to the Republick. Hereupon Valerius is directed to march an army into Campania, and Cornelius to carry the war into Samnium. Valerius, in an action with the Samnites, has the advantage. §. II. Cornelius, on the other hand, by an imprudent march brings his army into danger of being intirely cut off by the enemy; however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by a stratagem, suggested and executed by a Legionary Tribune, named P. Decius Mus; and presently after, following the advice of the said Decius, he gains a victory over the Samnites. Decius is rewarded with many honours. §. III. Valerius obtains a second victory over the Samnites in Campania. These successes make the Romans respected abroad.*

§. I. **T**HE Dictator having, for some reason (not mentioned by the Historians) reduced the Government to an *Inter-regnum*, the President of it held the *Comitia* by Centuries, for electing new Consuls. The choice fell (as the last year) upon two Patricians. M. * Valerius Corvus was now raised a third time to the Consular dignity, and with him was joined Cornelius Cossus, surnamed Arvina. It was during their administration, that the Romans and Samnites first became enemies. A city to which the Republick had no relation at that time, sowed those seeds of discord between the two nations, which produced a lasting hatred. The Sidicini, a people of Ausonia, situated beyond the Liris, being attacked by the Samnites, who doubted not to make an easy conquest of their small territory, applied themselves to the Campanians for assistance. It was the interest of the latter to succour their distressed neighbours, and stop the progress of the Samnites; but they undertook the defence of the oppressed with more ostentation than real strength. For, though they possessed a very fruitful country, and tho' commerce daily increased their riches, this wealth of private persons was the weakness of the State. Luxury reigned universally; the Houses were magnificent, but the City without Fortifications. The Merchant, vain of his wealth, mistook his vanity for courage, and looked down with scorn upon enemies that were not so rich as he.

This contempt, ever imprudent, often fatal, of an enemy's strength, proved the ruin of Capua. The Samnites, who had a prospect of more glory and advantage in the conquest of the Campanians than of the Sidicini, turned their arms against the former, and having defeated them in two pitched battles, in which the vanquished lost all their youth, drew near to

Year of
R O M E
ccccx.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-two
112th
Consul-
ship.
* A 3d
time.
Livy, B.
7. c. 29.

Year of siege their City, that had now no other defence than weak walls, and ROM E inhabitants filled with consternation.

CCCCX.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-two

111th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
7. c. 30.

c. 31.

The Magistrates in this distress had recourse to *Rome*; they sent a pompous embassy to implore the alliance and assistance of the *Romans*. Their ambassadors laid before the Senate all the motives both of glory and interest, which could engage the Republick to undertake their defence; the extremity to which they were reduced, and the power of their enemies, which would be considerably augmented by the conquest of so rich a city as *Capua*. They added, “*Such is the misery of our present condition, that, if we are not immediately succoured by our friends, we must fall under the power of our enemies. If you defend us, you will secure to yourselves allies full of fidelity and gratitude; we shall honour you as Founders of our State, as our Parents, nay, even as the immortal Gods. If you abandon us, what will be the consequence we dread even to imagine.*” To this humble address the Senate, whether out of regard to the faith of Treaties, as *Livy* represents it, or to draw more solid advantages from the assistance they should give the *Campanians*, than a vain title and empty praises, answered the ambassadors by the Consul *Valerius*, *That they thought the CAMPANIANS worthy of their assistance, and wished they could with honour succour them; but that the Republick had an ancient alliance with the Samnites, which would not allow her to take arms against them! that the Senate however would send Deputies to their camp, to intreat them as Friends and Allies to desist from their hostilities.* The *Campanian* Deputies had hitherto spoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the *Romans*, but now, not thinking the answer they had received sufficient to build great hopes on, the chief of them (pursuant to the powers with which they had been invested before they left *Capua*) made this farther declaration: *Tho’ the Romans refuse to protect us and ours against violence and injustice, they certainly will not neglect to defend their own. The People of Campania, the City of Capua, our Lands, our Temples, every thing we have divine and human, we absolutely give and surrender to you, O Conscrip Fathers, and to the ROMAN PEOPLE; from this time forward therefore all our losses will be yours.* This said, the ambassadors prostrated themselves on the threshold of the Senate-house, and, holding up their hands to the Consuls, shed a flood of tears. Self-interest and compassion made new impressions on the minds of the Senators; they were moved, says *Livy*, at the sad revolution to which human affairs are liable; to see a nation, late so rich and flourishing, so proud and luxurious, and from whom its neighbours had implored assistance against oppression, reduced in a short time to so dejected a state of mind, as to give themselves and all their possessions into the power of a foreign people. And as the donation was made in due form, by Ambassadors authorised to make it, the Senate did not think their alliance with the *Samnites* obliged them to refuse it. Without hesitation therefore they sent away Deputies with instructions to intreat the *Samnites*, as friends, to spare a province which belonged to *Rome*; and, in case of refusal, to give them notice, in the name of the People and Senate of *Rome*, to quit the country immediately. But the *Samnite* Magistrates were so far from being intimi-

intimi-

intimidated by the Majesty of the *Roman* name, that, in the very presence of the Deputies, they ordered the Commanders of their Troops to go instantly and ravage *Campania*.

This insult filled both the *People* and *Senate* with indignation; and the *Romans* applied themselves wholly to the making preparations for a war. All the due forms of demanding satisfaction and proclaiming war by the *Feciales* having been observed, the two *Consuls* took the field, each at the head of an army. It fell to *Valerius's* lot to command in *Campania*, and *Cornelius* was to enter the country of the *Samnites*. *Valerius* posted his troops near mount *Gaurus* in *Campania*; and, being there advantageously situated, he was in no haste to come to a battle, but tried the *Samnites* in slight skirmishes, to learn their way of managing their arms. At length he assembled his troops, exhorted them *not to be afraid of new enemies, or of a new manner of fighting*; bid them remember *their former Victories, and by what General they were now commanded*; that it was *Valerius, who had thrice obtained the Consulship, not by Intrigue, or the Nobleness of his Birth* (honour being now the reward of merit only) *but by his bravery*; reminded them *that he was descended from the Great Poplicola, and had himself been always a Poplicola in the true meaning of the word*. Go then, *ROMANS*, he added, *fall upon the enemy, and, in return for my affection to you, gain me the honours of a triumph*.

Never was Consul more popular; never was General more tenderly beloved by his soldiers. He took a pleasure in mixing with them, and sharing the labours of the meanest among them. *Valerius* frequently made one at their diversions, whether Wrestling or Running, and did not disdain to enter the lists with a common soldier. He always kept his temper, and, whether victorious or vanquished in these exercises, his countenance never changed. He was continually bestowing favours, but with a just regard to times and persons. He was easy in his private conversation, and gave every man full liberty to express his sentiments in his own manner; but, as for himself, he ever maintained a certain dignity in his discourses. It was natural for troops to love and respect a General of this character. They marched out of the camp with a more than usual ardour for victory.

When the two armies were drawn up, and faced each other, their numbers appeared to be pretty equal. The battle was fought with wonderful resolution on both sides; but the *Samnites* began at length to give ground, when the night put an end to the conflict. The *Romans* had never engaged with more stubborn enemies, and perhaps would not have known that they had gained much advantage, if the *Samnites* had not deserted their camp in the night.

§. II. BUT whilst *Valerius* was signalising his courage in *Campania*, his Colleague *Cornelius Cossus*, who had been advantageously posted near *Saticula* on the confines of *Samnium*, left his camp (for what reason is unknown) and marched his troops through a mountainous country into a forest, all the roads of which were narrow, and out of which there was but one passage,

Year of R O M E ccccx. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two
 and that through a deep valley. It was not in his power to alter his march, when he discovered, that both the wood and the valley were lined with *Samnites*, and that he was in a manner furrounded by the enemy. In this distress *P. Decius Mus*, a *Legionary Tribune*, proposed to the *Consul* to detach him with the *Principes* and *Hastati* of one *Legion*, to take possession of an eminence which overlooked the *Samnites*, and which they had neglected. He added, *When you see me posted there, continue your march, without fear, through the valley; the enemy will not dare to attack you while they are exposed to our darts.* The *Consul* approved of the motion. *Decius* was not discovered by the enemy till he had just gained the eminence; and then the *Samnites* were in such a surprise, that they could come to no determination what to do, whether to attack the *Consul*, or *Decius*. In the mean time *Cornelius* took advantage of their irresolution, and marched through the valley without molestation; and soon after the night came on.

Decius had at first expected to be attacked by the enemy on his hill; and hoped by the advantage of the ground to be able to withstand them. When he found that they neither came to assail him, nor yet raised any Works between him and them, he assembled his soldiers, and exhorted them not to follow the enemy's example, but to form some design with expedition, and to execute it with courage. Then while it was yet daylight, changing his habit with a private soldier, and being accompanied by his *Centurions*, whom he made to do the like, that the enemy might not distinguish them to be Officers, he took a view of all the avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return silently to the main body, at the second watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were re-assembled, he laid before them the necessity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to stay for daylight, or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy, while they were asleep. The latter being universally approved, *Decius* led his troops down from the rock in great silence; but, when they had got half-way through the enemy's camp, a *Roman* soldier struck his foot against the buckler of a *Samnite*, and, the noise awakening a centinel, he gave the alarm in that quarter. The *Samnites* ran to arms, without knowing whether it were *Decius* with his troops, the *Consul* with his army, or some *Samnite* of the camp, who had disturbed their rest. In the midst of this uncertainty, *Decius* ordered his men to give a great shout, which so increased the consternation of the *Samnites*, that they were in a manner frozen with fear, and the *Romans* easily made their escape. When they were come near the *Consul's* camp, *Decius* commanded them to halt: *It is not fit*, said he, *that after so glorious an exploit you should enter the camp in silence and darkness; rest yourselves therefore here till the light returns.* The next morning *Decius* and his troops marched into the camp, with the acclamations of the army, who called them their *Preservers*, and gave thanks to the Gods for their happy return. But when the *Consul* (having summoned all his soldiers to hear his harangue) was beginning to make the Panegyrick of *Decius*, this brave Tribune advised him, instead of losing time



A. A Roman Soldier in the Sagum.
 B. A Roman General in his Paludamentum.

time in Panegyrics, to march away immediately, and surprise the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had sent out detachments in quest of him. This advice was followed; the *Romans* surprised the *Samnites* scattered about the hills and woods, and pursued them into their camp, where thirty thousand of them were cut to pieces.

This success added much to the glory of *Decius*, who was honoured with all the military rewards that were ever given to a Subaltern. Beside a Crown of Gold, he received from the General a present of an hundred Oxen, and a white Bull with gilded horns. As for the soldiers of his detachment, the Consul, in recompence of their merit, assigned them a double quantity of Corn, not only for the present, but during life, and he gave each of them two *Saga*^a. The army likewise shewed their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an *Obsidional Crown*^b. And, lastly, his own detachment, which he had brought safely out of the danger into which he had led them, bestowed a mark of distinction on their leader, and crowned him with a *Civick Crown*, or a Crown of Oak-leaves, which was deemed the most honourable of all rewards. Thus adorned with three Crowns, he offered up his white Bull in sacrifice to *Mars*, and distributed his hundred oxen among the companions of his danger, and sharers of his glory.

§. III. BUT the campaign was not yet ended. The *Samnites*, having recovered their courage, and raised new forces, appeared before *Suessula*, a town situated between *Nola* and *Capua*. *Valerius* marched against them, and, when he came within a small distance of them, incamped his troops within as narrow a compass as he possibly could, and by this he deceived the enemy; for they taking a view of his camp, and finding it so small, imagined the *Romans* to be but weak in number, and therefore, full of confidence, offered them battle. *Valerius* kept close within his intrenchments, and made such a shew of fear, that the *Samnite* soldiers were for immediately forcing his lines. However the officers retrained their impetuosity; and, believing that the *Romans* must soon want provisions, they judged it a wise part to continue quiet in their camp, and watch them, not reflecting that the *Romans* were in a friend's country, whose interest it was to support them. In short, the *Samnites* themselves were the first who wanted necessaries, and were obliged to send out large detachments to convey provisions to their camp. *Valerius*, observing this, seized the moment when the greater part of the enemy's troops were dispersed about the coun-

^a The *Sagum* of the *Romans* was a military habit, open from top to bottom, and usually fastened on the right shoulder with a buckle, or clasp. It was not different in shape from the *Chlamys* of the *Greeks*, and the *Paludamentum* of the *Generals*. The only difference between them was, that the *Paludamentum* was made of a richer stuff, was generally of a purple colour, and both longer and fuller than the *Sagum*. The adjoining Plate will

shew the form of this garment, which the *Latin* authors call *Sagum*, and *Chlamys*, and *Paludamentum*.

^b It was customary among the *Romans* for the garrison of a besieged place to crown the General who came to its relief, and raised the siege, with a Chaplet or Garland made of the Grass growing in the place. It was called *Corona Obsidionalis*. A. Gell. L. 5. c. 6.

Year of
R O M E
ccccx.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-two
112th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
7. c. 37.
Aul. Gel.
B. 5.
Auth. of
Lives of
Illust.
Men. c.
26.

Year of
R O M E
ccc. x.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-two

try, attack their camp, forced it, made a great slaughter there, and then with his cavalry chased the several parties that were abroad foraging. In this action the *Romans* took one hundred and seventy standards from the enemy.

The successes of *Valerius* and *Cornelius* (to whom the Senate decreed the honours of the TRIUMPH), made the Republick respected abroad; the *Falisci* entered into a treaty of alliance with her, and that whole *Lucumony* of *Uetruria* became *Roman*. The *Latines*, who had stood neuter to see the event of the war, commenced hostilities against the *Peligni* (a *Samnite* nation) as it were to assist the *Romans*; and, lastly, the *Carthaginians* sent a compliment of congratulation to the Republick, with a present of a Gold crown of twenty-five pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of thanksgiving for her victories.

Euseb.
Chron.

By a *Census* taken this year it appeared, that the number of *Romans* able to bear arms amounted to 160,000.

C H A P. IX.

Some Cohorts of Roman soldiers, who had been left in Capua all the winter, plot to make that delightful City their own, and to settle there. The measures taken by one of the Consuls, to defeat this scheme, occasion a desertion. The deserters are joined by great numbers of malecontents from Rome. They force an old soldier, whom they find employed in husbandry, to be their leader. Valerius Corvus is hereupon named Dictator, to march an army against the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from Rome, and prevails with them to submit; yet they, besides pardon, obtain some concessions from the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
cccxi.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-one

THE Consuls for the new year were C. *Marcus Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, (now raised to that dignity a fourth time) and Q. *Servilius Ahala*, a *Patrician*. The latter incamped the army allotted him in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, while the former marched with another into *Campania*. A body of *Romans* had, at the request of the *Campanians*, been left in *Capua* all the winter to defend them from the enemies incursions. When *Marcus* arrived in that City, he perceived a great alteration in those soldiers of the Republick. Discipline had been neglected; their austerity of manners was changed into effeminacy, and their sobriety into intemperance. The charms of the climate and the air, which they breathed in idleness, had so far bewitched them, that they did not care to hear their own country mentioned; and the less, as at home they were oppressed by their creditors. They had entered into a plot among themselves, to drive the natives out of *Campania*, seize it for their own possession, and settle there. *Marcus* was informed of all this; and, as he was a man of great experience and prudence, he made use of the gentlest methods to induce them to drop their design. He checked the sedition for the present, by indulging them in the hope that they

they might put their scheme in execution whenever they pleased: For he caused a rumour to be spread, that they should spend the following winter in the same places. This hope prevailed likewise among the other *Romans* dispersed up and down in *Campania*. In the mean time he contrived, under various pretences, to send away the most factious, at first one by one, and afterwards by whole *Coborts*; yet so, that no soldier was dismissed with disgrace. But at length the Troops observed the General's conduct, and penetrated into his intentions. They presently imagined, that their companions had been tried and condemned at *Rome*, and that they themselves must undergo the same fate. In this apprehension, the first expedient that occurred to them was desertion; and the soldiers of one *Cohort* were so bent upon it, that they straight marched away, and posted themselves near *Anxur* in *Lautula*, which was the name the *Romans* gave to the narrow pass there, between the sea on one side, and high mountains on the other. To these deserters all those whom the *Consul* had dismissed, or who were oppressed by debts, resorted; and, new desertions following close upon the first, the malecontents in a little time increased to a moderate army. But still they were at loss for a leader. To supply this want, they surprised by night in his bed one *T. Quinctius* (an eminent soldier, who had retired from publick life to his farm) and forced him to go along with them, and lead them as their General to *Rome*.

The City was so terrified at the approach of these Mutineers, that the Republick had recourse to her usual remedy in great emergencies; the *Consuls* named a *Dictator*. *Valerius Corvus* was the man pitched upon, and he, at the head of an army, met the Rebels eight miles from *Rome*, in the *Appian Way*. The *Dictator* had always distinguished himself by a tender love for his soldiers; and these very Mutineers were a part of the victorious army which he had commanded the last year. He endeavoured therefore to bring them back to their duty by gentle methods; and, advancing into the middle space between the two armies, expostulated with them in the softest terms on their strange and unaccountable behaviour, so contrary not only to the tender regard they owed to their country, but even to the grateful returns which he himself might have expected from them, considering how zealous he had ever been for their interests, and with what condescension and kindness he had always treated them in the highest stations to which he had been promoted, as well as in his private capacity. He told them, that his prayer to the Gods before he left *Rome* had not been to conquer them in battle, but to reconcile them to their country; and that he was so far from desiring to reduce them by force of arms, that, if they resolved to fight, they must be the first to sound the trumpet for the charge, and must begin the attack too, before he would draw his sword against them. Then addressing himself to *Quinctius*, “Whether it be willingly or by force, *T. Quinctius*, that you are engaged on that side, you will do well, in case of a battle, to retire into the hindmost ranks; it will be less dishonourable for you even to turn your back, and fly before your fellow-citizens, than to fight against your country. But, if it be only

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXI.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty-one.
113th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
7. c. 39.

Fast. Ca-
pit.
Livy B. 7.
c. 40
Auth. of
the Lives
of Illust.
Men.

“ in

Year of " in order to peace and reconciliation that you appear at the head of your
 R O M E " party, you may consistently with your honour and duty continue there to
 ccccxii. " be their interpreter. Speak then, make your demands, ask any condi-
 B. J. C. " tions that are reasonable, and they shall be granted. Nay, it will be better
 Three " to grant you even unreasonable terms, than that we should begin a de-
 hundred " testable Civil War, and *Romans* imbrue their hands in *Roman* blood."

113th Consul-ship. Livy B. 7. c. 41. *Valerius* had no sooner ended, than *Quinctius*, turning to the rebels, told them with tears in his eyes, that he could be of no service to their cause, unless in obtaining for them an advantageous peace; and he advised them to put themselves intirely into the hands of the *Dictator*, who had a fatherly affection for them, and leave it to him to manage their interests at *Rome*. This motion was followed by a shout of approbation; and then the *Dictator*, having given the Mutineers hopes of all reasonable concessions, returned to the City, and obtained from the Senate an Act of Grace, which was afterwards confirmed by the People in *Comitia*. And in the same assembly, and at the request of the Rebels, were passed some new Military Laws, which revenge alone inspired them to demand. Particularly they insisted that the pay of the Cavalry should be reduced; and this because not one single man of that corps had joined them in their revolt. Some authors say, that at this time all usury was abolished in *Rome*, by a Law made at the motion of *Genucius*, a *Tribune of the People*; and that the Commons passed likewise these other Laws: That no man should have the same office twice within ten years, or possess two different offices in the same year; and that the two *Consuls* might be chosen out of the *Plebeians*. If these articles were obtained at this time, it is evident, that the Rebel army must have been exceedingly formidable. *Livy* tells us, that the historians differ in most of the circumstances of this event.

c. 42.

C H A P. X.

§. I. *Privernum* revolts, but is quickly reduced. The Samnites turn their arms once more against the *Sidicini*, who, being refused succour by the Senate at *Rome*, give themselves to the *Latines*, already in arms. The *Campanians* join the *Latines*. An army formed of these three nations enters *Samnium*. §. II. The Samnites send an embassy to the Republick to complain of her suffering the *Latines* and *Campanians* to commit hostilities in *Samnium*. They receive an unsatisfactory answer. (Alexander King of *Epirus*, uncle of Alexander the Great, comes into Italy, and concludes a treaty of friendship with *Rome*.) §. III. The *Latines* demand of the Romans as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, That one of the *Consuls* and half of the Senate of *Rome* be for the future chosen out of the *Latines*. This demand is rejected, and war is declared. §. IV. *Manlius* and *Decius*, the two *Consuls*, have one and the same dream concerning the event of the war. §. V. *Manlius* causes his own son to be beheaded, for a breach of discipline. §. VI. The Romans come to a battle with

with the Latines. Decius, to secure the victory to his troops, devotes himself to death. The Latines are totally routed. Manlius gives them a second overthrow, after which both they and the Campanians submit. §. VII. The next year, T. Æmilius, the Patrician Consul, being directed by the Senate to name a Dictator, names Q. Publilius, his Plebeian Colleague; who obtains some new laws in favour of the Plebeians. §. VIII. The Romans determine the fate of the several conquered cities. The Latines, being Allies, are made Subjects of Rome.

§. I. **T**HUS was tranquillity re-established in Rome; but the confusions shewn to rebels, and the war in which the Republic was engaged with the Samnites, induced some of her neighbours to fall off from her alliance. The Privernates, in the Consulship of C. * Plautius Hipseus and L. Æmilius Mamercinus, made it appear, by their revolt, that the dread of her power was diminished. However, the Consul Plautius, without difficulty, subdued these Enemies: He defeated them in battle, took Privernum, and, though he restored it to the inhabitants, deprived them of two thirds of their Lands, and placed a strong garrison in the town. Thence he marched against the Volsci of Antium, and had a bloody engagement with them near Satricum: A sudden storm put an end to it before victory had declared for either side. It was the purpose of the Romans to renew the fight the next day; but the Antiates having numbered their dead, and being disheartened by the great loss of men they had sustained, retired in the night to Antium, with the same haste as if they had been vanquished in the battle.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
forty.
114th
Consul-
ship.
Livy B.7.
c. 42.
A 2d
time.
Livy B.8.
c. 1.

The other Consul, Æmilius, who led his forces into the country of the Samnites, and laid it waste, met with no opposition: They sued to him for a peace. He referred the Ambassadors to the Senate, of whom they requested two things; peace with Rome, and permission to make war on the Sidicini. Both these requests they obtained; and the Roman army returned home, after receiving from the Samnites a year's pay and three months provisions, pursuant to their agreement with the Consul, when he granted them a truce till their ambassadors should come back from Rome.

And now the Samnites turned their forces against the Sidicini. These, after the example of the Campanians in the like distress, had recourse to the Roman Republic for protection, offering to make an absolute surrendry to her of their Country and their Liberty: But the Senate with scorn rejected the offer as made too late, and as the mere effect of extreme necessity: Whereupon the Sidicini immediately gave themselves to the Latines, who, of their own motion, had already taken arms to attack the Samnites. Nor did the Campanians forbear to join the Latines in this war, so much deeper an impression did their minds retain of the injuries they had received from the Samnites, than of the benefits they had received from the Romans.

A considerable army, formed out of these three nations, entered Samnium, laying waste all before them; and in some slight engagements they

Year of had the advantage : Nevertheless their commander, who was a *Latine*, not
 ROME caring to lessen his strength (destined to more important service) by too
 CCCCXII. frequent skirmishes, withdrew his forces very soon out of the enemies
 Pef. J. C. country.

Three
 Hundred
 forty.

114th
 Consul-
 ship.

§. II. THE retreat of the confederates gave the *Samnites* an opportunity of sending Ambassadors to *Rome*: Who, when admitted by the Senate to an audience, complained of their hard fortune, in that they suffered no less since their alliance with the *Romans*, than they had done when in enmity with them; and humbly prayed, that the *Romans* would be satisfied with having snatched out of their hands a certain victory over the *Campanians* and *Stacini*, and not suffer them also to be subdued by those the most base and cowardly People of all *Italy*. They added, *If the Latines and Campanians are subject to you, why do not you forbid them to enter our country in a hostile manner? If they are rebels, why do not you chastise them?* These questions puzzled the Senators, unwilling to own that they had no longer any power over the *Latines*, and fearing at the same time to alienate them intirely by a censure on their proceedings. The Consul *Plautius* therefore in the name of the Senate gave this ambiguous answer: *The Campanians are our subjects, and we will force them to desist from troubling you: But, as for the Latines, they are not restrained by our Treaty of Alliance with them from making war against whom they please:* An answer which as it left the *Samnites* in a melancholy uncertainty with relation to the intentions of the Republick, so it wholly alienated the *Campanians* by the menace it contained; and, as for the *Latines*, they grew so proud upon it, as to imagine they could now demand nothing which the *Romans* would dare to refuse. Under colour of preparing to carry on the war with the *Samnites*, they convened frequent assemblies of their Chiefs, where they formed designs against *Rome*, in all which the *Campanians* took part. The *Roman* Senate, though the confederates used all endeavours to keep their consultations secret, received full information of what was doing; and, to the end that the Consuls who would have the management of so important a war, might be the sooner in commission, the *Fathers* obliged the present to abdicate before the expiration of their year: And because it was doubtful whether these Consuls quitting their Magistracy before the usual time, could, consistently with true religion, hold the *Comitia* for electing their successors, the government was reduced to an *Inter-regnum*.

§. III. *M. FABIVS* (the second *Inter-rex*) having convened the Centuries, they chose *T. Manlius* * *Torquatus* and *Decius Mus* to be Consuls for the new year *. And now, although the *Romans* had no doubt of the defection of their allies, and especially of the *Latines*, yet the *Conscript Fa-*

* A third
 time.

* *Livy* tells us (by mistake, as *Dodwell* thinks) that *Alexander King of Epirus*, and brother of *Olympias*, mother of *Alexander the Great*, came at this time into *Italy*, and would probably have attacked the *Romans*, had he succeeded in his first enterprises. *Aulus*

Gellius (B. 17. c. 21.) reports that this prince used to say, that the country he proposed to conquer was a country of *Men*; whereas the provinces which his nephew *Alexander* went to subdue were inhabited by *Women* only.

thers

thers cited ten of the chief leaders of the *Latines* to appear at *Rome*, to receive the orders of the Republick. The *Latines* had chosen themselves two *Prætors*, or Presidents of their great Council (who were likewise to be the managers of the war) *L. Annius* and *L. Numicius*, the one a native of *Setia*, the other of *Circeii*, two *Roman* colonies. These men, being especially summoned by name, assembled the Council, acquainted them with the summons, pointed out the heads upon which they presumed their examination would turn, and asked what answer they should make to the *Roman* Senate. The members of the Diet were divided in opinion; upon which *Annius* in a long harangue laid before them their own strength and flourishing condition; the credit they had with their neighbours, so as to be able to engage even the *Roman* colonies in their cause; the present weakness of the Republick, sufficiently discovered in the answer given by the Senate to the *Samnite* Deputies; and in conclusion exhorted the assembly to shake off all dependance upon *Rome*, and even to refuse an alliance with her, unless she would consent, that one of her *Consuls* and the half of her *Senate* should for the future be chosen out of the *Latines*: And he offered to go in person to *Rome*, and make this demand in the presence of the *Senate* and *People*, and even of *Jupiter Capitolinus* himself.

This motion being universally applauded, *Annius* with nine more Ambassadors appeared soon after in presence of the *Conscript Fathers* assembled in the *Capitol*. The *Consul Manlius* spoke first, and in the name of the Senate forbade the *Latines* to make war against the *Samnites*. To this *Annius*, more like a conqueror who had taken the *Capitol* by force of arms, than an Ambassador protected by the law of nations, answered, *That the Romans had chosen an ill time to give their orders in such an arbitrary manner; when the Latines were in nothing inferior to them. That in an union between two nations, where the strength on both sides was equal, the authority likewise should be equally shared*; and then he made the demand before-mentioned: which so highly provoked the *Consul*, a man no less haughty and passionate than the *Latine Prætor*, that, not being able to contain his anger, he loudly declared, *That if the Conscript Fathers should ever fall into such a madness, as to receive the law from a Citizen of Setia, he would himself enter the Senate-house sword in hand, and kill every Latine he should find there*. Then turning to the statue of *Jupiter*, he invoked the God to be witness of the pride and ingratitude of the *Latines*. The rest of the Senators joined their exclamations full of disdain to those of the *Consul*; while *Annius*, as some say, in return to their repeated invocations of the Gods, who had been witnesses of the leagues and treaties between the Republick and the *Latines*, raised his voice, and scoffed at the *Roman Jupiter*. Certain it is, that he left the Senate-house in a rage, and retired with such precipitation, that stumbling at the threshold of the door he fell from the top of the steps to the bottom, and for some time lay senseless. *Manlius* coming, by the Senate's order, to dismiss the Ambassadors and seeing *Annius* prostrate on the ground, loudly broke out into these expressions: *It goes well!—Gods! You begin a holy war!—Yes, There is a Power above! Thou hast a Being, Great Jupiter!*

Year of
R O M E
ccccxiii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty-
nine.
115th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
8. c. 3, 4.

c. 5.

c. 6.

Year of ROME *And it is not without reason that we have consecrated this temple to thee, as the father of Gods and Men!—Why, Romans, Why, Conscript Fathers, do we delay one moment to take arms, when we have the Gods for our leaders? I will lay the Legions of the Latines as low, as their Ambassador now lies before you.* These words, highly applauded by the People, raised such a spirit in them, that the care of the Magistrates, rather than any regard to the law of Nations, preserved the Ambassadors from being insulted at their departure.

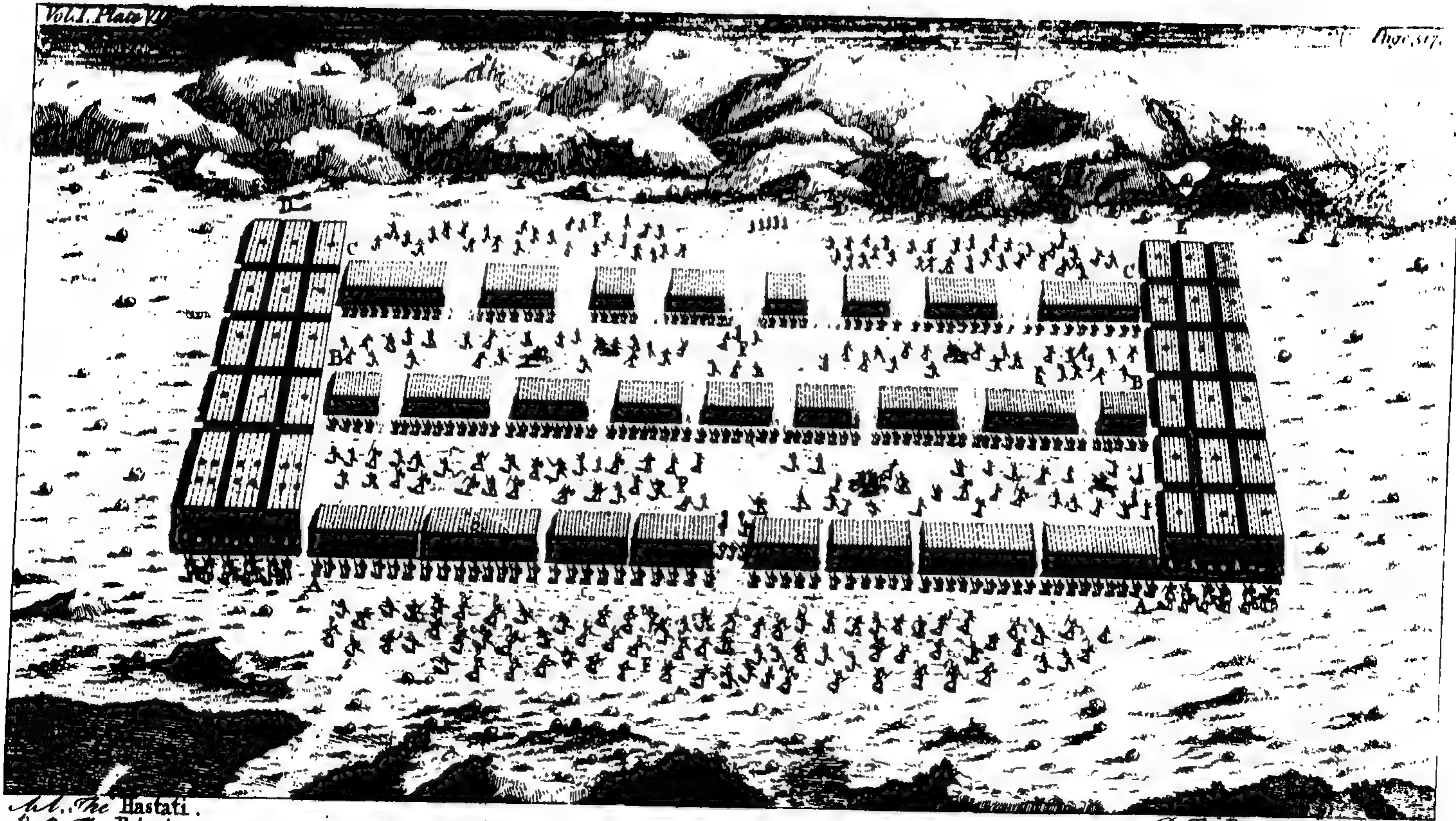
cccxlii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty-
nine.

115th
Consul-
ship.

§. IV. THE Senate having passed a decree for a war with the *Latines*, the Consuls raised two armies, marched them through the Countries of the *Marci* and *Peligni*, and, being joined by the *Samnites*, incamped in the neighbourhood of *Capua*, where the forces of the *Latines* and their Confederates were assembled. The night following, *Manlius* and *Deicius* are said to have seen, in their sleep, a man of a gigantick stature and majestick look, who told them, *That the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whose General should devote himself to the Dii Manes.* As soon as it was day the Consuls communicated their dreams to each other; expiatory sacrifices were offered to avert the anger of the Gods; and the *Aruſpices*, being consulted, pretended to make such discoveries in the entrails of the victims, as confirmed the dreams. Hereupon, the *Lieutenants*, and the *Tribunes of the soldiers*, being called together, the will of the Gods was imparted to them, lest the voluntary death (not known to be such) of a Consul should strike a terror into the army; and it was agreed between the two Consuls, that he, whose troops should first give way, should rush into the midst of the enemy's battalions, and devote himself to certain death, to save his country.

§. V. IN the same council of war it was determined, that the ancient strict discipline should be observed, and that no officer or soldier should dare to fight with the enemy out of his rank; and this was proclaimed through all the camp; a precaution extremely necessary at this time, when the *Romans* were at war with the *Latines*, with whom they were personally acquainted (having often served together) who spoke the same language, were armed after the same manner, and observed the same way of fighting, and of marshalling their troops. It happened soon after, that young *Manlius*, the Consul's son, being at the head of a detachment of horse, met an advanced squadron of the enemy, whose Commander, knowing him, challenged him to single combat. *Manlius*, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late order of the Generals, accepted the challenge, killed his adversary, stript him of his armour, and, loaded with the glorious spoils, came straight to his father's tent: *Father, I have followed your example, and proved myself your son: I was challenged, like you, by an enemy to single combat; I have slain him, and I here lay his spoils at your feet.* The Consul turned his back upon his son, ordered the troops to be assembled, and then in their presence made him this reply: *Since you, Titus Manlius, in contempt of the Consular Dignity and the Authority of a Father, and in contradiction to my express orders, have been so rash as to leave your rank to fight the enemy;*
since

Livy, B. 8.
c. 7.



A. The Hastati.
B. The Principes.
C. The Triarii.

A Roman Army drawn up in Battalia.

D. The Roman Cavalry.
E. The Cavalry of Auxiliaries.
F.F.F.F. Light armed Soldiers.

since you have destroyed, as far as in you lay, that Military Discipline which has been hitherto the support of the Roman People, and reduced me to the hard necessity of forgetting myself and mine, or the regard I owe to the publick interest, Rome must not suffer the punishment of your fault; we must expiate it ourselves. A sad example shall we be, but a wholesome one to the youth of the Roman Soldiery. As for me, both the innate affection of a Father for a Son, and that specimen which thou, deceived by a vain appearance of honour, hast given of thy valour, move me exceedingly: But since either the Authority must be established by thy death, or quite destroyed by thy impunity, I cannot think, if there be any of the Manlian blood in thee, thou wilt be backward to repair the breach thou hast made in the Military Discipline, by undergoing the punishment due to thy offence. This said, he ordered the *Lictors* to tie him to a stake and strike off his head. All present were stunned at the cruel sentence, as if it had been pronounced against themselves; and, if they continued quiet, it was more out of fear and astonishment than modesty. And no sooner was the young man beheaded and his blood seen to gush out, than, coming to themselves, they vented their anger in imprecations and invectives against the Father: But, as to the son, they covered his dead body with the spoils of the *Latine*, whom he had vanquished, and expressed their affection for him by the most pompous obsequies which they could, in the field, perform to his honour. Extreme and excessive doubtless was this severity of *Manlius*: Nevertheless, it had this good effect, that it made his army wonderfully tractable for the future, and strictly observant of discipline, which proved of great moment in the general engagement with the enemy a few days after.

§. VI. THE Romans on a day of battle drew up their soldiers in three lines, distinguished by the names of the *HASTATI*, the *PRINCIPES*, and the *TRIarii*.

The *HASTATI*, who composed the first line, had their name from the javelins called *Hastæ* which they bore.

The *PRINCIPES*, who made the second line, were so called because originally they were placed in the front of the battle, and began the attack; and in those times they were generally the richest and the noblest of the Roman youth. They fought with swords.

The *TRIarii* were so named because they made the Third line. They were commonly veterans, or hardy old soldiers, the main strength and hopes of their party. They bore the javelin called *Pilum*, whence they had the name of *Pilani Milites*; and for the same reasons the soldiers of the two lines before them had that of *Antepilani*.

Originally

^a According to *Zonaras*, B.7. *Manlius* first crowned his son as a Victor.

^b Mr. *Kennet* thinks it probable, that this was before the institution of the *Hastati*.

^c How differently soever the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii* might be arm'd in these

times, they afterwards bore much the same arms; and therefore *Polybius* has not divided them in his description, but speaks of them all together.

In *Polybius's* time, a Legion of 4000 men had 600 *Triarii*, 1200 *Principes*, and as many *Hastati*;

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hundred
thirty-
nine.

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Consul-
ship.

Livy B.8.
c. 8.

Varro, B.
4. de Ling.
Lat.

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R O M E
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Ref. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
nine.

115 Con-
sularship.

Originally each of these three lines was intire, there were no breaks or intervals between the *Manipuli* or companies that composed it; nor were there any void spaces left behind the lines, so that the whole body of infantry was close and compact, like the *Macedonian Phalanx*.

But,

Hastati; the rest were *VELITES*. If the Legion happened to be more numerous, each of the three last corps was increased in proportion, but the *TRIARII* never exceeded 600.

The *VELITES* were commonly young men of mean condition; they had their name à *Velande*, or à *Veleritate*, from their swiftness or expedition. They hovered in loose order before the army. Their arms were

The *Spatha Suroa*, which the *Romans* thought of the best shape and temper, and fittest for execution, being something like the *Turkish Scymiter*, but more sharp at the point. The soldiers wore it on their right side.

Hasta, or light and slender javelins. Each man had seven.

Parma, a kind of round buckler 3 feet in diameter, of wood covered with leather.

Galea, a light casque for their head, generally made of the skin of some wild beast.

The arms of the *HASTATI*, *PRINCIPES*, and *TRIARII* (beside the sword abovementioned) were the *Scutum*, the *Pilum*, the *Galea*, and the *Lorica*.

The *Scutum* was a buckler of wood, the parts being joined together with little plates of iron, and the whole covered with a bull's hide. An iron plate went about it without to keep off blows, and another within to hinder it from taking any damage by lying on the ground. In the middle was an iron Boss or *Umbo* jutting out, very serviceable to glance off stones and darts, and sometimes to press violently upon the enemy, and drive all before them. They are to be distinguished from the *Clypeus*, which were less, and quite round, belonging more properly to other nations, tho' for some little time used by the *Romans*. The *Scuta* themselves were of two kinds; the *Orata* and the *Imbricata*; the former is a plain oval figure, the other oblong, and bending inward like half a cylinder. *Polybius* makes the *Scuta* 5 or 6 feet long, and *Plutarch* * calls them *πεντάγωνοι*, reaching about to the Feet. And it is very probable

that they covered almost the whole body, since in *Livy*; † we meet with soldiers who stood on the guard, sometimes sleeping with their head on their shield, having fixed the other part of it on the earth.

The *Pilum* was a missile weapon, which in a charge they darted at the enemy. It was commonly four-square, but sometimes round, composed of a piece of wood about three cubits long, and a slip of iron of the same length, hooked and jagged at the end. They took abundance of care in joining the two parts together, and did it so artificially that it would sooner break in the iron itself than in the joint. Every man had two of these *Pila*; and this number the Poets allude to:

Bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.

VIRG. *Æn.* i. 317.

Quæ duo sola manu gestans acclivis monti

fixerat, intorquet jacula——

STATIUS, *Theb.* 2.

C. † *Marius* in the *Cimbrian* war contrived these *Pila* after a new fashion; for before, where the wood was joined to the iron, it was made fast with two iron pins; now *Marius* let one of them alone as it was, and pulling out the other, put a weak wooden peg in its place; contriving it so, that, when it was stuck in the enemy's shield, it should not stand out-right as formerly; but, the wooden peg breaking, the iron should bend, and so the javelin sticking fast by its crooked point should weigh down the shield.

The *Galea* was a Head-piece, or Morrion, coming down to the shoulders, commonly of brass.

The *Lorica* was a Brigandine, or Coat of Mail, generally made of leather, and worked over with little hooks of iron, and sometimes adorned with small scales of thin gold; as we find in *Virgil*:

Loricam confertam hamis. Æn. iii. 467.

And,

Nec duplici squamâ lorica fidelis & nuro.

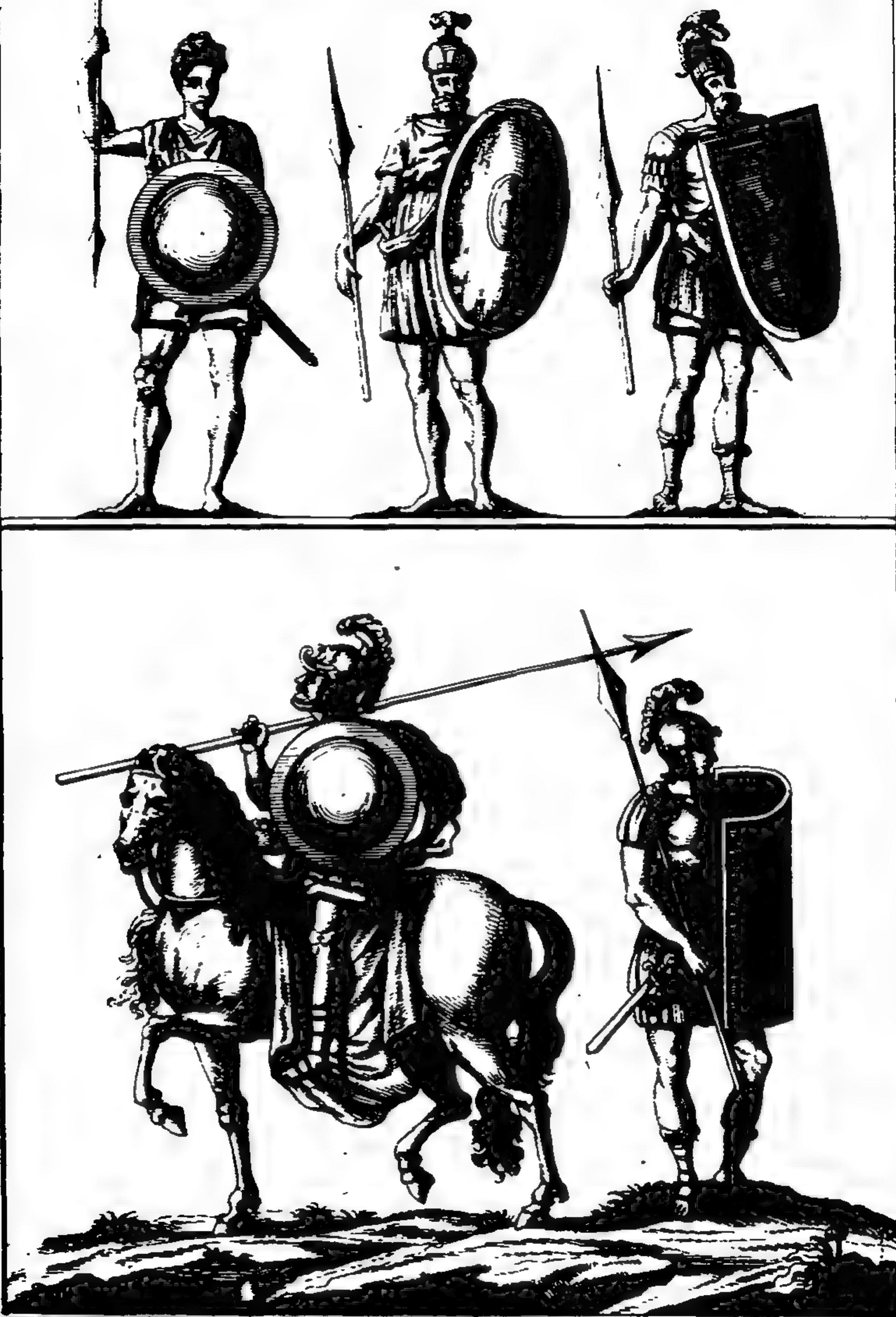
Æn. ix. 707.

* *Plut.* in *P. Æm.*

† *B.* 44.

‡ *Plut.* in *Mari.*

Sometimes



The different sorts of Roman Bucklers.

But, at the time of this war of the *Romans* with the *Latines*, the method of marshalling the troops was different.

Between the first and second lines was a space of fifty feet; and the *TRIarii* were drawn up at the distance of an hundred feet behind the *PRINCIPES*.

And, as spaces were left between the lines, so likewise between the *MANIPULI*, or companies of each line. But these openings were not so disposed, as to yield a *direct* passage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear. The *Manipuli* of the second line stood behind the openings of the first, and the *Manipuli* of the third behind those of the second, so that the order of the whole resembled that of a *Quincunx*.

When the *HASTATI* happened to be overpowered, they retired softly towards the *PRINCIPES*, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and together with them renewed the fight. But, if the *PRINCIPES* and the *HASTATI* thus joined were too weak to sustain the fury of the battle, they all fell back into the wider intervals of the *TRIarii*; and then, all together being united into a firm mass, they made another effort much more impetuous than any before: If this assault proved ineffectual, the day was intirely lost as to the Foot, there being no farther reserves^a.

Livy speaks of the *RORarii* and the *ACCENSI*, as two corps of troops that were a kind of supernumeraries to the *TRIarii*, but not soldiers equal to them for strength or courage.

In the middle of the space between the *PRINCIPES* and the *TRIarii*, where stood the *Roman* Eagles, the Consuls and Lieutenant Generals took their posts. Behind the Generals, the *TRIarii* (while the *Hastati* and *Principes* were fighting) kept firm with their right knees on the ground,

Sometimes the *Loricæ* were a sort of Linen Cassocks, such as *Suetonius* attributes to *Galba*, and like that of *Alexander* in *Plutarch*; or those of the *Spanish* troops described by *Polybius* in his account of the battle of *Cannæ*.

The poorer soldiers who were rated under a thousand Drachms, instead of this Brigandine, wore a *Pectorale* or breast-plate of thin brass about twelve fingers square; and this, with what have been already described, rendered them complely armed; unless we add the *Ocreæ*, or Greaves, which they wore on their legs; which perhaps they borrowed (as many other customs) from the *Grecians*, so well known by the title of—*εὐχρημίδες Ἀχαιοί*.

In the elder times of the *Romans*, their horse used only a round shield, with a helmet on their head, and a couple of javelins in their hands, great part of their body being left without defence. But, as soon as they found the great inconveniencies to which they were hereby exposed, they began to arm themselves like the *Grecian* Horse, or

much like their own Foot, only their shield was a little shorter and squarer, and their lance or javelin thicker, with spikes at each end, that, if one miscarried, the other might be serviceable. *Kenn. Antiq. P. II. B. IV. Ch. IX.*

^aThe stratagem of rallying thus by means of these openings in the lines, has been reckoned almost the whole art and secret of the *Roman* discipline, and it was almost impossible it should prove unsuccessful, if duly observed: For fortune, in every engagement, must have failed them three several times, before they could be routed; and the enemy must have had the strength and resolution to overcome them in three several encounters for the decision of one battle; whereas most other nations, and even the *Grecians* themselves, drawing up their whole army as it were in one front, trusted themselves and their fortunes to the success of a single charge. *Kennet's Antiq. Part II. Book IV. Ch. X.*

their

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXIII.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty-
nine.
115th
Consul-
ship.
Julius
Lipfius de
Mil. Rom.
B. 4. c. 1.

Year of their great bucklers on their shoulders, and resting themselves on their
 R O M E spears, which, pointing upwards, formed a kind of Palisade before
 ccccxiii. them.

Bef. J. C.

Three
 hundred
 forty-
 nine.

115th
 Consul-
 ship.
 Livy, B.
 8. c. 9.

As for the *Roman* Cavalry, they were always posted at the two corners of the army, like wings on a body, and fought sometimes on foot and sometimes on horseback, like our Dragoons. At this time there were but 300 to a Legion of 5000 Foot. Of four such Legions and 1200 Horse the present army consisted.

The Consuls *Manlius* and *Decius*, before they drew their troops out of the camp, offered sacrifices to the Gods. It is said that the *Aruspex* shewed to *Decius* the liver of his victim wounded in the friendly * side (a bad omen for him;) but declared that the beast had no other mark of being unacceptable to the Gods; and that, as to *Manlius's* victim, the signs were as favourable as could be wished. 'Tis enough, said *DECIVS*; all is well, if my Colleague has engaged the Gods to be propitious to him.

When the day of battle came, *Manlius* commanded the right wing, *Decius* the left. It was fought on both sides at first with equal strength and courage; but at length the *Roman Hastati* of the left wing were forced to give ground, and retire into the intervals of the *Principes*. This disadvantage put *Decius* in mind of his agreement with his Colleague on occasion of their dreams. He called out therefore to *Valerius* the *Pontifex Maximus*, to perform on him the ceremony of Consecration, in order to his Devotement to death to save his Legions. *Valerius* bad him put on his *Pratexta*^b, cover his head, put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and then standing with both his feet upon his javelin repeat after him the following words: "O *Janus*, *Jupiter*, Father *Mars*, *Quirinus*,

* Indige-
 tos.

"*Bellona*; O ye *Lares*, ye *Novensiles*^c, ye Deified * Heroes, ye Gods who have power over us and our enemies, ye Gods of Hell, I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you to prosper the arms of the *Roman* People, and to strike their enemies with terror, affright, and death; and I do for the safety of the *Roman* People and their Legions devote myself, and, with myself, the Legions and Auxiliaries of our enemies, to the Infernal Gods and the Goddesses of the Earth."

Having made this prayer, he ordered his *Lictors* to go in all haste, and tell his Colleague *Manlius*, that he had devoted himself for the safety of the *Roman* army. Then tucking up his robe, and girding it about him, he mounted his horse and rode full speed into the thickest of the enemies battalions. *Livy* says, that he appeared to them more than human, and that, at the sight of him, they seemed as if they were planet-struck; and that he was no sooner fallen to the ground with numberless wounds, than the *La-*

* *A familiari parte*. The other was the Enemy's side of the liver, where their Doom was to be read.

^b White Robe, bordered with purple.

^c Nine Deities, according to *Varro*, brought

to *Rome* by the *Sabines*; viz. *Lara*, *Vesta*, *Minerva*, *Feronia*, *Concord*, *Good Faith*, *Fortune*, *Chance*, *Health*. Some take them to be the nine Muses. C. & R.

tine Cohorts all around him dispersed themselves ^a and fled. As for the *Hastati* and *Principes* of the *Roman* left wing, they instantly renewed the charge like men who had just received the signal to begin to fight; and they were strengthened by the *Rorarii* from the rear; the *Triarii*, with their right knees on the ground, still keeping their post.

The battle continued, and the *Latines*, superior in number, had the better in other parts of the field, when the news was brought to *Manlius* of his Colleague's death. Having let fall some tears, and given him the praises due, he remained a short moment in doubt, whether he should then give the signal for the *Triarii* to rise; but, judging it more prudent to reserve them for the finishing blow, he commanded the *Accensi* ^b from the rear to the van. The enemy, taking these fresh troops to be the *Roman Triarii*, instantly ordered their own *Triarii* to the charge; and this proved the loss of the battle to the *Latines*: For when they had wearied themselves, and broken or blunted their weapons in repulsing the *Romans* once more, and when, after they had repulsed what they fancied to be the last reserve of their enemies, they thought themselves sure of the victory, the *Roman Triarii* by order of *Manlius* appeared on a sudden, as if they had started out of the ground. Their arms were shining and their strength intire. Having received the *Hastati* and *Principes* into the intervals of their ranks, they first gave a shout that dismayed the enemy, and then fell upon them with such fury, and made so terrible a slaughter, that scarce a fourth part of the army escaped.

This battle was fought not far from mount *Vesuvius*. During the action the *Samnites*, drawn up in *Battalia*, at the foot of that Mountain, served to keep the *Latines* in fear: Or perhaps (as some writers reported) they came to the assistance of the *Romans*, after the conflict was over. *Manlius* acquired great honour by his conduct in this important day; both *Latines* and *Romans* agreeing afterwards in opinion, that whichever army he had commanded must have been victorious.

Those of the *Latines* who escaped the slaughter, and were scattered about ^{c. 11.} the country, collected themselves soon after into one body, and took shelter at *Vescia*, near the *Liris*. Here *Numicius* their General exhorted and encouraged them to try the fortune of arms once more with the *Romans*; and his motion was approved. In order to get an augmentation of his troops, he artfully caused letters to be spread about in *Latium*, and the country of the *Volsci*, representing the flight of the *Latines* as only an

^a *Cicero* (B. 3. de Nat. Deor.) derides that superstitious credulity, which ascribed such wonderful effects to these *Devotements*. He could not conceive, how men of sense could form to themselves any such beings as mischievous Gods, who thirsted after human blood. So that he looked on these voluntary *Devotements* as no more at bottom than heroick acts of valour, or the last efforts of

Generals, who, when their troops were disheartened and broken, threw themselves into the midst of the enemy's battalions, in order to engage their soldiers to follow them. C. & R.

^b Father *Rouillé* on this occasion speaks of the *Accensi*, as light-armed soldiers, who fought with slings; but, if so, how could the *Latines* mistake them for the *Roman Triarii*?

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honourable retreat, and by this means he drew to his camp many, who had not assisted at the late action; and, having thus hastily formed a new army, he marched immediately away, taking the road to *Capua*. *Manlius*, informed of the enemy's motions, met them in their march, gave them another overthrow, and then entered *Latium* to lay it waste. He met with no resistance; the *Latine* towns surrendered at discretion, as did *Privernum* in the territory of the *Volsci*. *Campania* was likewise totally brought into subjection. The Consul dispossessed the *Campanians*, *Latines*, and *Priver-nates* of their estates, and distributed them among the Commons of *Rome*. However, the *Latines* and *Campanians* were not all deprived of their estates without distinction. The *Laurentini* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian* Knights to the number of sixteen hundred, had not been concerned in the revolt; and they were therefore continued in their possessions and privileges; nay, the latter were made *Citizens* of *Rome*, but without right of suffrage; and an annual pension of 450 * *Denarii* was assigned to each of them out of the publick revenues of *Campania*.

Fast. Ca- pit.
Livy, B. 8. c. 12.

Manlius had deserved the honours of a Triumph, and doubtless he obtained them (though *Livy* says nothing of it.) But he could not recover the good-will of the *Roman* youth; they bore him an implacable hatred for his severity, none but the old men went out to meet him at his return to *Rome*. Soon after, he fell sick; and, as a *Roman* General was wanted in the field to oppose some fresh incursions of the *Antiates*, he named to the Dictatorship *L. Papirius Crassus*, who appointed *L. Papirius Cursor* to be his *Master of the Horse*. The Dictator kept his troops some months in the field at free quarter, and then returned to the city to preside at the election of new Consuls.

Year of R O M E
ccccxiv.
Bef. J. C.
Three hundred thirty-eight.
116th Consul-ship.
Ibid.

§. VII. IT had been customary, for some time past, to observe the law which directed to chuse one of the two Consuls out of the *Plebeians*; and now *Q. Publilius*, a *Plebeian*, was joined with *Tib. Æmilius*, a *Patrician*, in the Government. The former proving successful in an expedition against a body of *Latines* (rebellng on account of their lands being taken from them) obtained the honours of a Triumph. Upon which, *Æmilius*, jealous of his Colleague's glory, demanded the same honours, as the reward for some advantage he had gained over another body of *Latines* assembled at *Pedum*, though he had not finished his expedition; but the *Conscript Fathers* absolutely refused his request, till he should take that place either by surrendry or assault; a refusal so highly resented by *Æmilius*, that never did any *Tribune of the Commons* inveigh more bitterly against the Nobility, than the *Patrician Consul* did on this occasion. The subject of his harangues was the unequal distribution the Senate had made of the Lands in *Latium*; and he began to raise a disturbance. The Senate, to put an end to it, ordered him to name a Dictator, under pretence of carrying on the war more vigorously against the *Latines*. *Æmilius* obeyed, but at the same time revenged himself on the *Conscript Fathers*, by nominating

* 14 l. 10 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ *Arbutnot.*

his *Plebeian* Colleague *Publius*, who appointed *Brutus Scæva*, another *Plebeian*, to be his *General of the Horse*. The *Dictator*, being a man intirely devoted to the *Commons*, immediately seized this favourable opportunity to establish their rights, and even to extend their privileges. And these things he effected by three Laws which he passed, 1. *That the Decrees, made by the Commons at the request of their Tribunes, should be observed by all the Romans* [the *Quirites*.] 2. *That, for the future, the laws which were to be passed by the Centuries should be authoris'd^b by the Senate before they were put to the vote in the Comitia*; whereas hitherto the *Comitia Centuriata* had used to pass the laws first, and the Senate to accept or reject them as they pleased. 3. *That one of the Censors should always for the future be a Plebeian*.

The Senate, much mortified at this downfall of the *Patricians*, resolved to revenge themselves on *Æmilius*; and, knowing him to be very tender of his honour, attacked him on that side. To shew the *Romans* how negligently he had conducted himself in the discharge of the commission he had received to finish the *Latine* war, they ordered the new *Consuls*, *L. Furius Camillus*, grandson of the Great *Camillus*, and *C. Menius*, a *Plebeian*, to undertake the same enterprise, and to lay siege to *Pedum*. And, that the Generals might not be foiled in the attempt, they plentifully furnished them with men, provisions, arms, and proper engines. Upon the report of *Camillus*'s march to besiege *Pedum*, the forces of *Tybur*, *Præneste*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, *Velitræ*, and *Antium* hastened to relieve the place; but these troops were defeated, and *Camillus* the same day took the town by assault. The *Consuls* having finished the war, and totally subdued *Latium*, returned to *Rome*, where they not only had the honours of a Triumph, but, by order of the Republick, two *Equestrian* statues erected for them in the *Forum*.

And now the great affair in the Senate was to determine the fate of the conquered. *Camillus*, in his harangue upon this occasion, told the *Fathers*, that the success of their arms against the *Latines* had been such, that it now depended on their pleasure whether *LATIUM* should be any more; but that it deserved their consideration, whether it would not be of greater advantage to the Republick to shew mercy to the conquered, and admit them to the privileges of *Roman Citizens*, thereby increasing the number of her subjects, than utterly to exterminate them, and reduce their country to a desert. The *Consul* declared himself for the first, and the *Conscript Fathers* in general were inclined to clemency: But, as some of the *Latine Cities* had been more criminal than others, they made a distinction in their treatment of them. *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, were made *Roman^c Municipia*; their soldiers were to be incorporated in the *Legions*, and

Year of
R O M E
ccccxiv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty-
eight.
116th
Consul-
ship.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty-
seven.

117th
Consul-
ship.

Livy, B.
8. c. 14.

^a Ut Plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent. This Law seems to be of the same import with that passed by *Horatius* and *Valerius* in 304. the year after the Decemvirate.

^b Ut legum quæ Comitiis Centuriatis fer-

X x x 2

rentur, ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent.

^c The privileges granted by the *Romans* to the *Municipal Towns* were more or less, according to the services they had done the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty-
seven.

117th
Consul-
ship.
• Flor. B.
1. C. 11.

and to be no longer upon the foot of *Auxiliaries*. *Tusculum* had had the same privilege before, and it was now confirmed. But *Velitræ* was razed, and its Senate and inhabitants banished to another city, beyond the *Tiber*, because it had often rebelled since it was made a *Roman Colony* (in the year 261.) *Antium* was not destroyed; the *Antiates* were granted the freedom of *Roman Citizens*; but they were forbidden the sea; and their fleet, consisting of six * Gallies, was partly burnt, and partly carried away into the *Roman* ports. With the brass *Beaks* [*Rostra*] of these vessels the *Consul Menius* adorned the Pulpit from whence the *Roman* Magistrates harangued the People, and hence it was ever after called the *Rostra*. The inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Prænestæ* were deprived of all their lands, for having formerly assisted the *Gauls*; and, lastly, all the *Latines* in general were forbidden to assemble their Diets as formerly; to marry out of their respective cities; or to have common markets or fairs for trade.

As for *Cumæ* and *Suessula*, and the other cities of *Campania*, they were treated as *Capua* had been, i. e. their lands were all taken from them and divided among the *Romans*. Thus a three years war was ended in the subduing of two fine countries to the Republick; and the *Latines*, from being the *Allies* of *Rome*, became her *Subjects*.

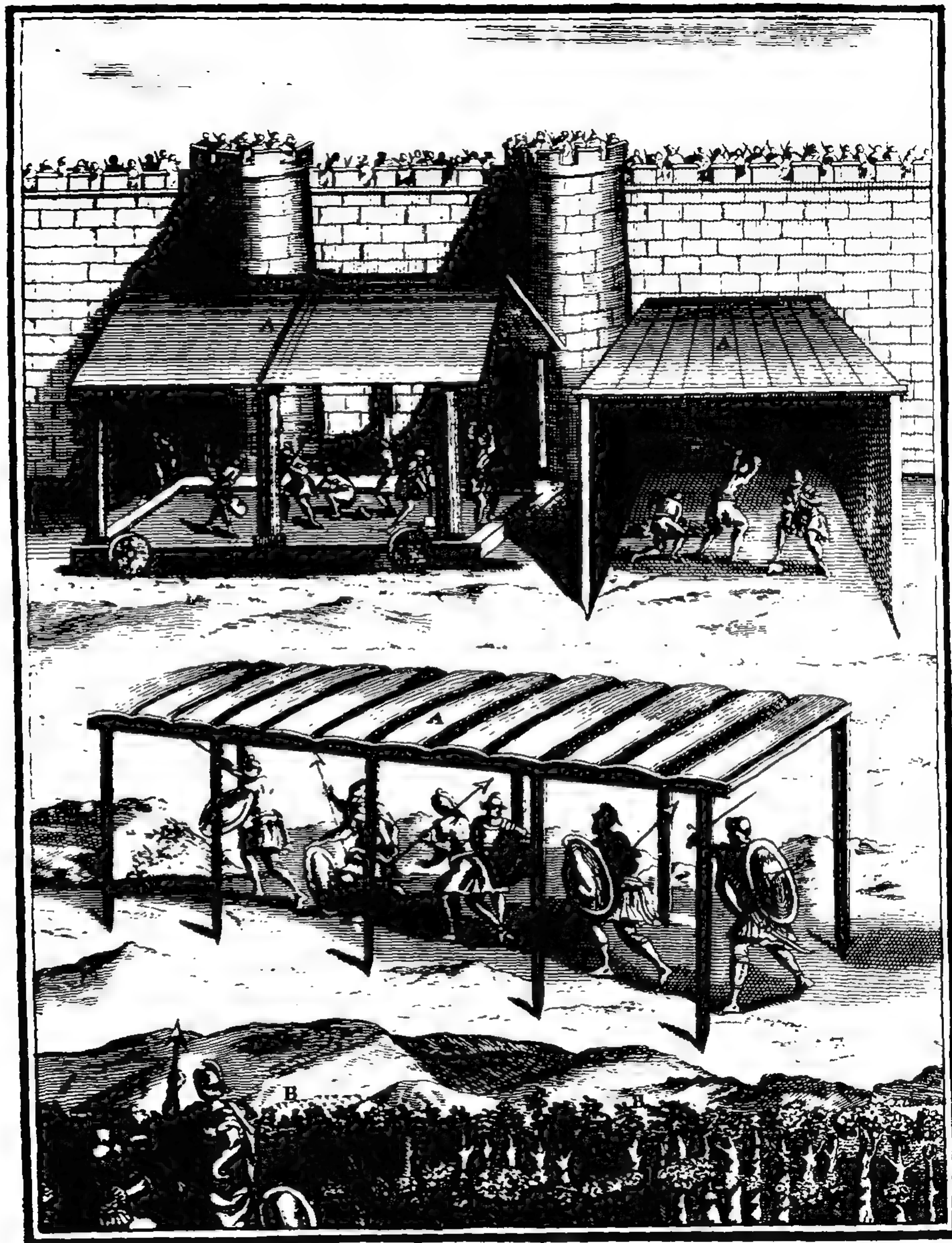
Republick. The Citizens of some *Municipia* had only the Title of *Roman Citizens*. Others enjoyed all the privileges and served in the army upon the foot of properly belonging to that title. They were enrolled in the Tribes, had a right of suffrage, could stand candidates for offices, and Legionaries.

C H A P. XI.

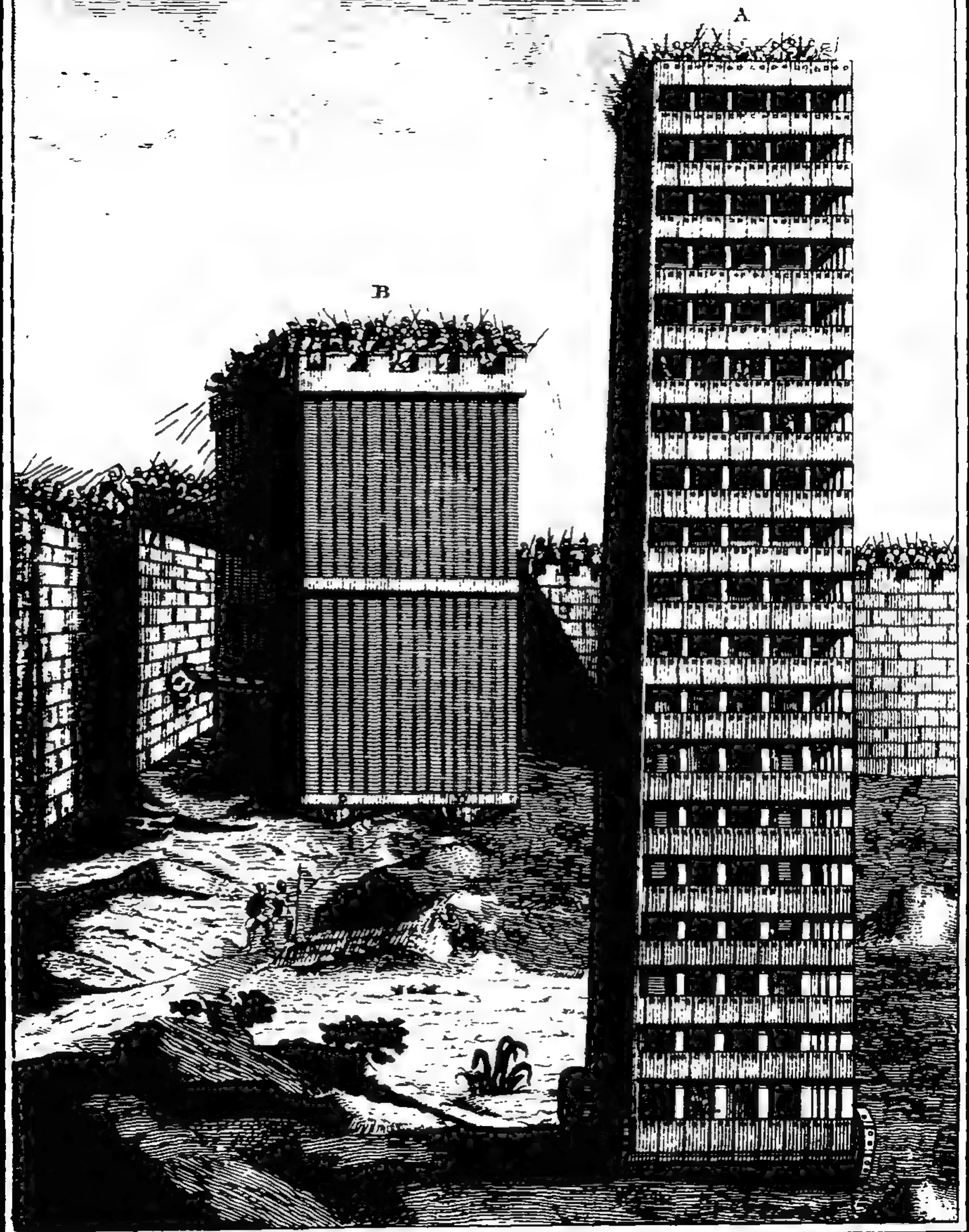
§. I. *PUBLILIUS*, though a Plebeian, obtains the PRÆTORSHIP; so that all the great Dignities in the State, except those of the Priesthood, are now common to the two Orders.

From this year 416, to the year 425, the most memorable events are The invention of Moveable Towers and Covered Galleries, by the Consul M. Valerius Corvus (in the year 418) at the siege of *Cales*, the chief City of the *Aufones*, allies of the *Sidicini*. The Republick's changing the custom of raising a new army upon every change of Consuls. The reduction of the *Sidicini* (probably in 420.) The addition of two new Tribes (in 421) to the 27 old ones. A plot formed (in 422) by some hundreds of *Roman Women* to poison their Husbands. The revolt of *Privernum* (in 423.) The reduction of that City (in 424,) and the courageous and noble answer given by one of the Citizens, when questioned by the *Roman Senate* concerning the conduct which the *Privernates* would observe for the future.

§. I. *R O M E* had never been in a better condition to attempt the Conquest of all *Italy* than now, when those warm contentions for power at home, which had often retarded the progress of the *Roman* arms abroad,

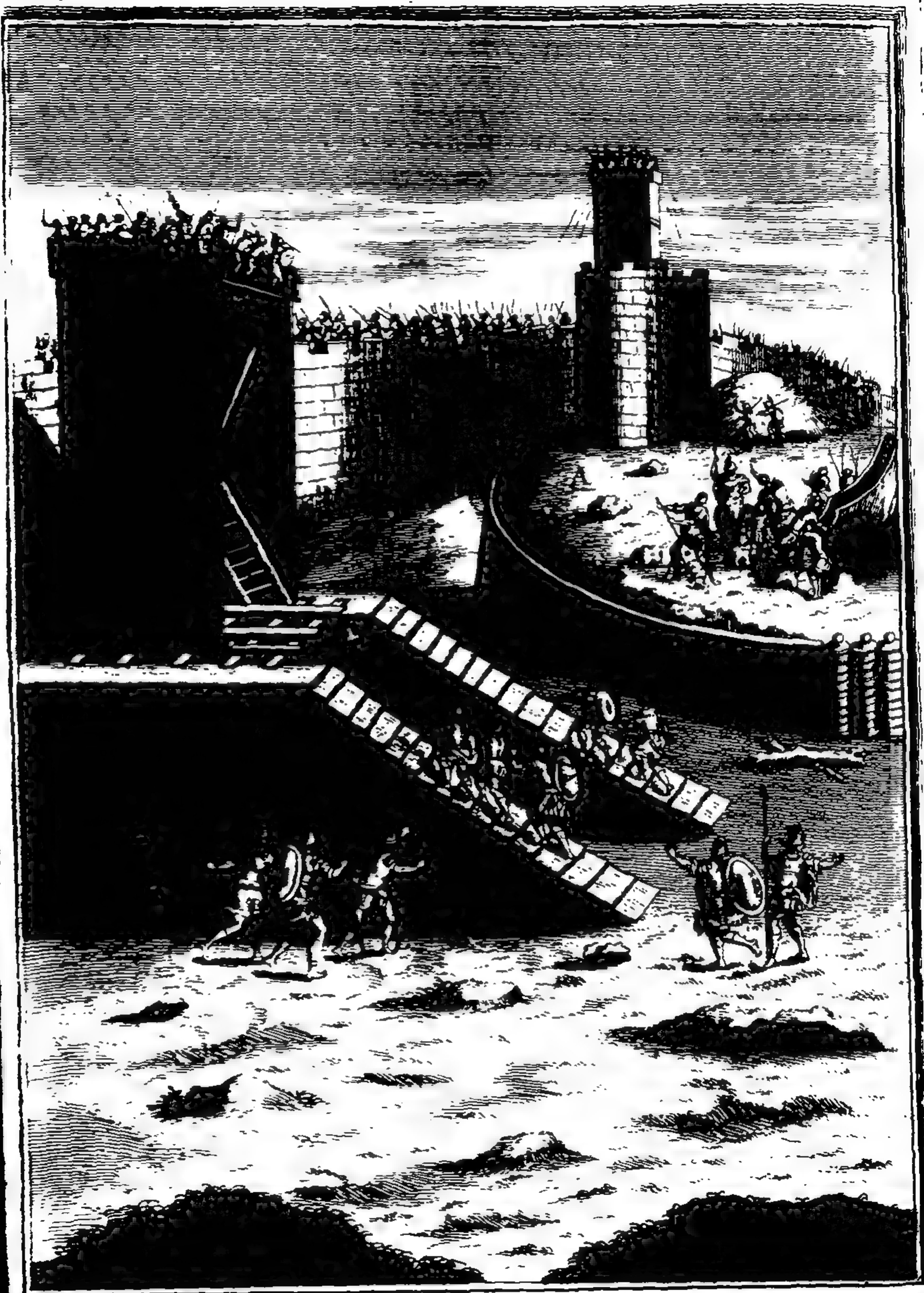


A. Different Sorts of Covered Galleries.
B. Vinea for covering Besiegers.



A. A Tower of twenty Stories.

B. A Tower with a Draw-Bridge.



Act. Terrapies.

abroad, were at an end. The *Plebeians* shared almost all the great offices in the State with the *Patricians*; the *Consulship*, *Quæstorship*, *Ædileship*, and *Censorship*: they were excluded only from the *Prætorship* and the *Sacerdotal Dignities*. And in the following year, when *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *P. Ælius Pætus* were in possession of the *Fasces*, *Publius*, a *Plebeian*, stood candidate for the *Prætorship*, and obtained it. The *Consul Sulpicius* had refused to admit his name among those of the other candidates; but the Senate were easy in the matter, thinking it perhaps unreasonable and absurd, that a *Plebeian*, who had been *Consul* and *Dictator*, should merely on account of his birth be excluded from the *Prætorship*. And thus the *Plebeians* being arrived at the height of their desires, (for they did not yet pretend to the *Pontificate* and *Augurate*) all pretences for faction were entirely taken away. Real, personal merit, not high birth, not the merit of mens ancestors, was now chiefly regarded in the distribution of honours: So that this period of time may more properly, than any of the former, be called *The Age of ROMAN VIRTUE*.

The Republick, through the indolence of her present *Consuls*, neglected to revenge the *Aurunci* on their enemies the *Sidicini*, who this year had invaded their country, and made themselves masters of their principal City. The *Aurunci* had submitted to the *Romans* in the Consulship of *Manlius Torquatus*, and had continued faithful amidst all the confusions of the *Latine* war. They well deserved therefore to be succoured; and accordingly the *Consuls* of the new year, *L. Papirius* and *Cæso Duilius*, were now ordered to lead an army to their assistance; and, though the *Aufones* joined their neighbours the *Sidicini*, these united forces were easily put to the rout. They fled for shelter behind the walls of their Cities; and the *Consuls* returned to *Rome*, without reaping much glory from the campaign.

But in the following Consulship of *M. Valerius Corvus* (now raised to that dignity a fourth time) and *M. Atilius Regulus*, the former (to whom his Collegue, at the request of the Senate, had yielded the command of the army without drawing lots) laid siege to *Cales*, the chief city of the *Aufones*. He invented *Covered Galleries* and *Moveable Towers* for screening his men, and carrying on the attacks, and at length took the place by assault.

After this the two *Consuls*, having first nominated a *Dictator* to preside at the ensuing elections, joined their forces, and marched against the *Sidicini*; but, notwithstanding that they used all expedition to finish their conquest before the expiration of their year, they were forced to leave the completion of it to their successors, *T. Veturius Calvinus* and *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*. As soon as these new Magistrates were named, and before they entered on their office, they, to make themselves acceptable to the Commons, solicited and obtained a decree for settling a *Colony* of *Roman Citizens* at *Cales*, and dividing the district of that City among them; and, that the distribution of the lands might be made the more equally, the Senate chose out

Year of
R O M E
ccccxvi.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty-six
118th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B. 8.
c. 15.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxvii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty-five.
119th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
8. c. 16.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxviii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred-
thirty-four.

120th
Consul-
ship.
Fall. Ca-
pit.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxix.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred-
thirty-three.

three
121st
Consul-
ship.

Year of three persons of known equity to conduct and settle the *Colony*, consisting
 R O M E of two thousand five hundred men.

cccccix. The *Romans* seem at this time to have quite abolished that custom
 Bef. J. C. they formerly had, of raising a new army upon every change of chief
 Three Magistrates. An army raised by one General now passed from him to
 hundred his successor, and so on till the end of the war. Accordingly *Veturius*
 thirty- and *Pestumius* put themselves at the head of the troops which *Corvus* had
 two. commanded, and entered the country of the *Sidicini*; who, to avoid a
 battle, suffered their territory to be laid waste, and appeared no more in
 the field. Nevertheless, a report was spread at *Rome*, after the return of
 the *Consuls*, that the *Sidicini* had once more assembled a formidable army,
 and were joined by the *Samnites*, which caused so great an alarm, that the
Consuls, by order of the Senate, named a *Dictator*, as in a time of im-
 minent danger. Their choice fell upon *P. Cornelius Rufinus*. This supreme
 Magistrate however soon abdicated, upon some pretended defect in his
 inauguration. Nay, superstition prevailed so far at this time, that be-
 cause a plague raged at *Rome*, and because the College of *Augurs* declared,
 that all the *Auspices* of the year had been infected by the contagious air,
 the chief Magistrates were all displaced, and the Republick fell into an
Inter-regnum.

Year of Livy says nothing of what happened in the year 420, when *L. Papirius**
 R O M E Curior and *C. Poetelius Libo Visolus* were *Consuls*, according to the *Fasti*
 cccccc. *Capitolini*. It was very probably a year barren of events, unless the *Si-*
 Bef. J. C. *dicini* were then subdued, which is not unlikely, since we find no other
 Three epoch of their reduction.

In the succeeding *Consulship* of *A. * Cornelius* and *Cn. Domitius*, a rumour
 that those terrible enemies, the *Gauls*, were preparing for a war with the
 Republick, occasioned the sudden nomination of *M. Papirius Crassus* to be
Dictator; but, while he was levying troops to oppose their attempts, more
 certain accounts came that all was quiet on that side. Some suspicion of
 the *Samnites* at this time prevailing, the *Dictator* would not withdraw from
 the country of the *Sidicini* a *Roman* army that was there incamped. The
Samnites were indeed raising troops, but it was to defend *Italy* against
Alexander King of *Epirus*, who under pretence of succouring the *Taren-*
tines (then at war with the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*) had made a descent
 at *Pestum*, and began to grow formidable to all the eastern parts of *Italy*.
 What suspended the progress of his arms is unknown; but, after some
 small advantages obtained against the enemies of the *Tarentines*, he made a
 Treaty with the *Romans*.

The late addition of so many new *Citizens* as *Rome* had received, since the
 reduction of the *Latines*, made it necessary to take a new *Census*, and to
 increase the number of the *Tribes*. To the twenty-seven, already in being,
 were added the *Mecian* and *Scaptian*; [the first near *Lanuvium*, the second
 between *Tybur* and *Praneste*.]

Year of
 R O M E
 cccccxi.
 Bef. J. C.
 Three
 hundred
 thirty-
 one.
 123d
 Consul-
 ship.
 * A 2d
 time.
 Liv. B.
 8. c. 17.
 Justin, B.
 12. c. 2.
 Livy, B.
 8. c. 17.

But

But in the midst of this repose from foreign alarms, and in the beginning of the new *Consulship* of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Valerius Potitus*, there sprung up in the bosom of the Republick a new kind of monsters, more terrible than any army of invaders from abroad. Some women of distinction, to the number of 170, according to some, or 360, according to others, formed a plot to poison their husbands, and took the opportunity of an epidemical distemper to put their design in execution. Their wickedness being discovered to *Fabius*, one of the Curule *Ædiles*, by a slave of one of the Ladies, and their persons being seized, two of the prisoners, *Sergia* and *Cornelia*, both *Patrician* women, were brought before the assembly of the People. Being there examined, they denied that in the medicines which they had prepared, and which had been found with them, there were any poisonous ingredients. The slave, to verify her accusation, proposed, that the two Ladies should take their own potions; and the experiment was immediately ordered to be made. Upon this, *Cornelia* and *Sergia* desired to confer with their accomplices, which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poison, and so delivered themselves from a more lingering death. The Republick ascribed this unheard-of prodigy to a spirit of madness, sent as a punishment from the angry Gods; to appease whom they nominated a *Dictator*, to drive a Nail into the Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

This transient *Dictatorship* quickly gave way to the *Consulship* of *L. Papirius * Crassus* and *L. Plautius Venno*. In the beginning of their administration, a deputation came to *Rome* from the *Poluscans* and the inhabitants of *Fabrateria* (both in the territory of the *Volsci*) to demand protection against the *Samnites*, by whom they were threatened with an irruption. The Senate did not reject their petition, but sent Ambassadors to desire the *Samnites* to put a stop to their hostilities against those two nations. The *Samnites* complied, and then the Republick immediately turned her arms against the *Privernates*. These rebels, in conjunction with some of the inhabitants of *Fundi*, were headed by *Vitruvius Vaccus*, originally of that town, which after the *Latine* war had been admitted to the rights of *Roman Citizenship*. *Vitruvius* had made himself an inhabitant of *Rome*, and had enjoyed all the privileges of a Citizen born there, but through the vanity of commanding an army had excited his countrymen to revolt. However, he durst not keep the field when the *Consuls* appeared; he fled for refuge to *Privernum*. *L. Plautius*, with one part of the army, entered the territory of *Fundi*, the Senators of which City came out to meet him, and endeavoured to justify themselves from having any share in the revolt. The *Consul* wrote to *Rome* in their favour, and then marched to rejoin his Colleague, who had already blocked up *Privernum*. The siege of this place was not yet over, when the Senate recalled one of the *Consuls* to *Rome*, to preside in the *Comitia* for electing new ones.

The *Romans* were the terror of their neighbours, but the *Gauls* in *Italy* were the terror of the *Romans*. And the Republick being alarmed at the news of

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirty.
124th
Consul-
ship.
Oros. B.
3. c. 10.
Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 5.
Livy, B. 8.
c. 18.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxiii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred-
twenty-
nine.
125th
Consul-
ship.
* A 2d
time.
Livy, B. 8.
c. 19.

c. 20.

Year of of the *Gauls* being in motion, thought fit to bring on the elections before the usual time, in order to provide fit Generals for so important
 cccxxiv. a war^a.

Bef. J. C.

Three hundred twenty-eight.

126th Consulship.
 * A 2d time.

Fall. Capit.

L. * *Æmilius* and C. *Plautius*, the new *Consuls*, entered on their office the very day of their election, and they drew lots for their commands. It fell to *Æmilius* to act against the *Gauls*; his Collegue was to carry on the siege of *Privernum*. How much the very shadow of the *Gauls* terrified *Rome* may be judged of by the extraordinary preparations at this time to oppose them. The levies were made with the utmost rigour; no excuse was allowed; the meanest artificers, and those of sedentary occupations, were without distinction put into the roll. But, after all these precautions and many other, advice came that the *Gauls* were quiet; so that *Æmilius* joined his Collegue before *Privernum*. The town was taken, and the rebel *Vitruvius*, being made prisoner, was condemned by the Senate to be first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. *Æmilius* and *Plautius* both triumphed on account of this new conquest; and the former, who had spent but little time before the place, obtained the surname of *Privernas*^b.

Livy, B. 8. c. 21.
 Val. Max. B. 6. c. 2.

What now remained was to punish the *Privernates*. Those of their Senators, who had staid in *Privernum* after its revolt, were condemned to the same punishment which had been inflicted on the Citizens of *Velitræ*, that is, they were banished beyond the *Tiber*, and forbid to appear any more on this side of it under the penalty of a great fine. And though the Consul *Plautius* interceded with the Senate for the innocent multitude, and particularly for the prisoners taken in the war, whom he brought to the door of the Senate-House, he did not immediately draw the *Conscript Fathers* over to his sentiments; they were divided in opinion. One of the *Privernates*, by an haughty answer, indangered all his fellow-captives. Being asked by a Senator, who inclined to rigour, what punishment he thought the *Privernates* deserved? *The same*, said he, *which is due to men who think themselves worthy of LIBERTY*. So brisk an answer exasperated some of the assembly, which *Plautius* perceiving endeavoured to prevent the ill effect of it, by putting a milder question to the prisoner, and which should naturally draw a softer answer from him: *Suppose*, said the

^a In the midst of these apprehensions the *Romans* did not forget their sports and diversions. They at this time built sumptuous Porticoes at the entrance of the *Circus*, for a shelter to the Horses, which were before so exposed to the sun, that they were often fatigued before they began the race. C. & R. All that *Livy* says, is, *Carceres eo anno in circo primum statuti*.

^b The *Romans* are sometimes reproached with unjustly giving all the glory of an en-

terprise to the last General concerned in it, and who finished it, notwithstanding that the former commanders had brought it to such a maturity, as to be past the danger of abortion. But it should be considered, that this conduct in a people, whose chief aim was to extend their empire, was founded in wise policy: By giving all the honour of a successful war to him who ended it, they animated their Generals to exert themselves on all occasions to make a rapid conquest. C. & R.

Consul,



Consul, we should pardon you: In what manner may we expect you will behave yourselves for the future? The prisoner answered, If the peace you grant us be a good one, we shall maintain it faithfully and inviolably; if the terms of it be hard, do not count upon us long. These words made different impressions on the judges. Some construed them as menaces, and as indications of a disposition to a new revolt; but the greater part and the wiser found a magnanimity in them worthy of a man and of a free man. Those especially of the Senators who had been CONSULS adhered to *Plautius's* opinion, who loudly declared, and repeated it often, That a people whose only desire was LIBERTY, and whose only fear was that of losing it, were worthy to become ROMAN. Accordingly the Senate passed a decree in favour of the prisoners, and *Privernum* was made a *Municipium*.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxiv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
eight.
126th
Consul-
ship.

C H A P. XII.

§. I. The Romans give umbrage to the Samnites, by planting a Colony in their neighbourhood. And the Palæopolitans make an irruption into the Roman Territory. §. II. A remarkable instance of the Romans abhorrence of Malice, in the prosecution of a criminal. §. III. A new rupture between the Roman Republick and the Samnites. §. IV. The Romans take some Towns from the Samnites. And *Publius* takes Palæopolis by means of a stratagem laid and executed by two of the Citizens: For which exploit, though he be but a Proconsul, he is decreed a TRIUMPH. §. V. The Tarentines, being jealous of the growing power of Rome, by an artful stratagem seduce the Lucanians from the Roman interest into a league with the Samnites. §. VI. About this time the infamous passion of a Roman, named *Papirius*, for one of his insolvent Debtors, occasions the passing of a law at Rome, whereby CREDITORS are disabled from seizing the Persons of their DEBTORS.

§. I. IT was now customary for the Romans either to send Colonies to the conquered Cities, or to give the inhabitants the right of Roman Citizenship. For they had found to their cost the ill consequences of that independence in which they had left the Latines after their first reduction of them. In pursuance of this new policy, the Senate, in the Consulship of *C. Plautius Proculus* and *P. Cornelius Scapula*, sent a Colony of Romans to *Fregelle*, a City in the Territory of the *Sidicini*, which the Romans had rebuilt after the Samnites had razed it. The repairing and fortifying of this place, and the planting a Colony in it, gave umbrage to the Samnites, and proved the occasion of that furious war which soon after broke out between them and the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
seven.
127th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
8 c. 22.

In the mean time the inhabitants of Palæopolis made incursions into the Roman Territory. These People were originally *Eubæans*, who came into Italy and built *Cumæ*. From thence they spread themselves farther;

Year of and a Colony of Cumans built Naples, or Neapolis, i. e. *The New City*;
 R O M E and, finding in the neighbourhood of Naples a Town ready built, they
 cccxxv. possessed themselves of it and called it *Palæpolis*, or *Palaiopolis*, i. e. *The Old*
 B. S. J. C. City.

Three hundred and twenty-seven. §. II. THE news of this irruption of the *Palæopolitans* was brought to Rome just before the holding of the assemblies of the Tribes and of the Centuries; the first for the Election of Tribunes of the People, the second for that of Consuls. It is remarkable, that in the *Comitia* by Tribes the People at this time chose one *Q. Flavius*, a man of a most infamous character, to be one of their Tribunes. The occasion of it was extraordinary. He had been accused not long before of doing violence to a Lady. *Valerius*, one of the *Curule Aediles*, was his chief prosecutor; and the evidence was clear. Fourteen of the twenty-nine Tribes had already voted him guilty, when the accused, in order to move the rest of his judges to favour him, made vehement protestations, and called heaven and earth to witness his innocence. Upon this *Valerius* cried out with a louder voice, *What is it to me whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou be destroyed!* The Tribes were so offended at these words, that they acquitted the criminal by a majority of suffrages. *Flavius*, soon after, lost his mother; and, it being then customary to offer sacrifices in honour to the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than usual, and, in gratitude to the People for their late favour, distributed the flesh among them. They in return now chose him Tribune, though absent.

Year of §. III. THE *Comitia* by Centuries appointed *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and
 R O M E *Q. Publius * Philo* to be the new Consuls. *Publius* marched an army
 cccxxvi towards *Palæpolis*, and, foreseeing that this place would not easily be taken while supplied with men and provisions from Naples, he prudently incamped his troops in the narrow tract of ground between the two Cities. In the mean time *Cornelius*, who had posted himself with another army near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in awe (who were thought to be gained over by the *Samnites* to join them against Rome) received undoubted intelligence, that the *Samnites* openly solicited the *Roman Colonies* to revolt. Upon this the Senate dispatched Ambassadors into *Samnium*, to learn the reason of a conduct so contrary to the faith of Treaties. The Ambassadors met with a haughty reception. The *Samnites* complained of the proceedings of the Republick, and particularly of the rebuilding and fortifying of *Fregelle*, which (they said) was a wrong done to the *Samnite* nation; and to reproaches they added even menaces. The Ambassadors, without losing their temper, proposed to refer the matter to the arbitration of their common allies. Arbitrators! cried the *Samnites*, we will have none, but the Gods and our Swords; Battles will determine our pretensions better than Words and Judges; Mars shall put an end to our disputes, in the plains of *Campania*. Let our armies face each other between *Capua* and *Suessula*, and there try, whether the *Samnites* or the *Romans* shall be Lords of Italy. The Ambassadors replied, We shall not go whither our enemies invite us; but whithersoever our Generals shall think fit to lead us.

§. IV.

§. IV. SUCH was the situation of affairs abroad when the time drew near for the new Elections. The Senate, without recalling the *Consuls* to Rome, ordered a *Dictator* to be named to preside at them. But when *Cornelius* had nominated *M. Claudius Marcellus*, a *Plebeian*, the *Augurs* pretended, for some frivolous reason, that the nomination was invalid; and though the *Tribunes* charged the College with imposture, and with pretending Religion, when their view was only to wound the *Plebeian* interest, the Government fell into an *Inter-regnum*; and then the *Comitia* chose *C. Petilius Libo* and *L. Papirius Mugillanus* *Consuls* for the ensuing year. They put themselves at the head of the army which *Cornelius* had commanded, and with which he had already entered *Samnium*, and they had the good fortune to be joined by the People of *Lucania* and *Apulia*, two nations to which the *Romans* had been hitherto almost utter strangers. With this reinforcement they penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and took three Towns from them.

But these conquests were of little moment in comparison of that made by *Publius*, whom the People, at the motion of their *Tribunes*, had continued in the command of the army before *Palæpolis*, with the title of *Proconsul*. He had already, as was beforementioned, cut off the communication between that place and *Naples*, so that the besieged were much streightened for want of provisions. Nor was this the greatest calamity which the *Palæpolitans* suffered. Four thousand *Samnites* and two thousand of the inhabitants of *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, under pretence of defending *Palæpolis*, had, before it was invested, got into the Town, where they kept the citizens in a state of cruel slavery, treating them as prisoners of war, and even doing violence to their wives and to their children of both sexes. In this distress having long waited in vain for relief from the *Tarentines*, whose presence they hoped would deliver them from the oppression of their defenders, the inhabitants at length resolved to put the place into the hands of the *Romans*. The *Palæpolitans*, as has been observed, were originally *Greeks*, and the stratagem they made use of had in it much of *Grecian* artifice. *Nymphius* and *Charilaus*, the two chief Magistrates of the City, undertook, with the consent of the principal inhabitants, to act two different parts in order to the execution of the common design. *Charilaus* escaped as a deserter to the *Roman* camp, where he applied himself to the *Proconsul*, and imparted to him the desire of his countrymen to purchase the friendship of the *Romans* by surrendering their City to them. He declared, that he had nothing in view but the interest of his Country and of the *Roman* Republick, and demanded no condition to his own private advantage. *Publius* received him kindly, applauded his generosity, and readily entered into the scheme proposed. He put him at the head of 3000 *Romans*, who at a proper time were to attack the place in that part which was defended by the *Samnites*. In the mean time *Nymphius*, who had staid in *Palæpolis*, inveighed most vehemently against his Colleague for his desertion, and by his counterfeited anger so effectually blinded the *Samnite* Commanders, that without any suspicion they fell into the snare he

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxvii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
five.
127th
Consul-
ship.
Livy B. 8.
c. 25.

c. 23.
c. 25.

c. 25.

Year of
R O M E
cccxvii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
five.

129th
Consul-
ship.

had prepared for them. He advised them, as the surest method to force the *Romans* to withdraw their troops from the neighbourhood of the City; immediately to equip the fleet which lay in the Port, and make a descent in the *Roman Territory*; and he offered to undertake in person the execution of his project. This motion was highly approved, and, as the ships lay dry on the shore, all diligence was instantly used to set them afloat. *Nymphius* contrived to have the *Samnite* Troops chiefly employed in that laborious work, which, under pretence of better concealing the design, he ordered to be done in the night; and when by this means he had left that part of the wall, by which the *Romans* were to enter, but weakly guarded, he gave notice to his Colleague, with whom he all along kept a private correspondence, to begin the attack. *Charilaus* with his 3000 *Romans* advanced without loss of time, and, being favoured by the inhabitants, easily made himself master of the place. As for the *Samnites* (who were most of them busied without the Town) finding themselves betrayed, they made the best of their way to their own country, without arms or baggage, being ever after the derision of their countrymen, who continually reproached them with the *Paleopolitan* Equipment.

Notwithstanding that the *Romans* had got possession of the Town by the good-will of the inhabitants, yet, inasmuch as it was by means of the siege that the latter were brought to take those measures they did in favour of the Republick, the *Proconsul* was decreed a Triumph for his success. *Livy* observes, that two particular honours were done *Publius*, which had never been done before to any *Roman*: The being continued after the expiration of his Consulship at the head of the same army he had commanded when Consul, and the being decreed a Triumph for exploits performed in an inferior station.

Livy, B.
B. C. 27.

c. 24.

§ V. THE taking of *Paleopolis* made the *Tarentines* jealous of the growing power of the Republick. They had a little before this lost their chief support by the death of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, who, being warned by an Oracle to avoid the Waters of *Acheron* and the City of *Pandofia*, had left his own country, in which were a City and River of those names, and met his fate in *Italy*, where there happened to be another *Pandofia* and another *Acheron*. The story, as related by *Livy*, is to this effect: The King of *Epirus* had made a descent in *Italy* to assist the *Tarentines* against the *Bruttians* and *Lucanians*; and having taken some towns of importance from the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and encamped them on three different hills separated by deep vallies. The *Italian Acheron* rolled its waters in one of those vallies, and the little City of *Pandofia* stood on the banks of it. The violent rains, which came on a sudden, filled up the vallies, and cut off the communication between *Alexander's* three bodies of Troops. The enemy seized this occasion to attack them separately, while they could not assist each other, and, having easily defeated the two divisions of the army where the King was not, they straightencompassed the hill where he had posted himself. *Alexander*, by his bravery, forced a passage through the enemy, and, having rallied his scattered soldiers,

diers, came to a river, where the fresh ruins of a bridge, which the flood had broken down, pointed out the right road for him to take. While they attempted to pass the stream, uncertain whether it were fordable or not, an *Epirot* soldier, oppressed with fear and fatigue, made this sudden exclamation, *Justly indeed art thou called Acheron!* (*i. e. River of Sorrow.*) The King hearing this, and remembering the Oracle, stopt short, unresolved whether to go forward or not; but in that instant *Sotimus*, one of his Pages, telling him that his own Guards (consisting of 200 *Lucanian* Exiles whom he had taken into his service) had in concert with the enemy plotted his destruction, and the King seeing them in reality advancing to assault him, he sword in hand pushed on his horse, and had almost reached the opposite shore, when one of those faithless guards at a distanced lanced a javelin at him, which pierced him through, and killed him.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxvii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
five.
129th
Consul-
ship.

The *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, by going over to the *Romans*, and declaring for them against the *Samnites*, had much increased the uneasiness of the *Tarentines*. These therefore, who were very ready at tricks and artifices, contrived a stratagem to deceive the *Lucanians*, and bring them off from the party they had espoused. They bribed a company of young *Lucanians*, of good families, though of little honour; to tear their backs with whips, and then shew themselves to the People, pretending that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the *Roman Consuls*, to whose camp curiosity had led them. The *Lucanians* were so stupid a people, that, without examining into the truth of so improbable a fact, they immediately demanded a National Assembly, which being convened, it was there decreed, That war should be declared against the *Romans*; that the ancient alliances should be renewed with the *Samnites*; and that an Embassy should be sent to the latter for that purpose. The *Samnites* could scarce believe the deputation real; and, before they would hearken to the Ambassadors, demanded hostages, and insisted on the Towns of *Lucania* receiving *Samnite* garrisons. These things were readily granted; nor did the *Lucanians* discover the cheat till it was too late to repent.

Livy B. 8.
c. 27.

§. VI. AT this time the poor Debtors at *Rome* had the good fortune to shake off the heaviest yoke that lay upon them. By one of the laws of the *Twelve Tables*, Creditors were impowered to seize the Persons of their insolvent Debtors, and keep them in irons. These wretches, till they had discharged their debts by their labour or otherwise, were in all respects slaves, except in name. They were called *Nexi*, *i. e. Bound*, whereas the Slaves were called *Servi*. A young *Plebeian*, named *Publius*, of extraordinary beauty, and of a good family, had voluntarily made himself a slave to one *Papirius*, in order to pay his father's debts. *Papirius* conceived a detestable passion for the young man, and, upon his refusing to comply, caused him to be whipt unmercifully. *Publius* made his escape out of the house, complained publicly of the cruel usage, and told the occasion of it. The story filled the People with compassion for the young man, and with resentment and fury against his master. They gathered together tumultuously,

c. 28.
Varro de
Lingua
Latina,
B. 6.

Year of multuously, and having, by their clamours, obliged the *Consuls* to assemble the Senate, presented *Publius* before them, with his back all bloody and torn, and then on their knees demanded justice. The Senate had regard to their intreaties; and though they decreed nothing against *Papirius* (perhaps for want of sufficient proof) they passed a law, which was afterwards confirmed by the People in *Comitia*, That for the future no person whatsoever should be held in fetters or other bonds unless for some crime that deserved it, and only till the criminal had suffered the punishment due by law; and that CREDITORS should have a right to attach the Goods only, and not the Persons of their DEBTORS.

R O M E
ccccxxvii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
five.
length
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
2. c. 28.

C H A P. XIII.

§. I. The *Vestini*, a People on the coast of the *Adriatick* sea, take arms against Rome to their own loss. §. II. *L. Papirius Cursor* is named Dictator to conduct the war against the *Samnites*. His General of the Horse, *Quintus Fabius*, is guilty of a breach of discipline. The severity of the Dictator on this occasion. §. III. Finding his soldiers ill affected to him because of his severity in command, he changes his manner on a sudden, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the *Samnites* to sue for peace. §. IV. The Senate grant the *Samnites* only a year's Truce, which the latter break so soon as they hear that *Papirius* has quitted the Dictatorship. The Romans obtain a complete victory over them. §. V. The *Samnites*, repenting of their breach of the Truce, endeavour to pacify the Romans.

Year of §. I. T H E Republick, in the following Consulate of *L. Furius Camillus* and *D. Junius Brutus*, began to be embarrassed by the great numbers of enemies she had to deal with. Beside the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, the *Vestini* had declared against her. These were themselves an inconsiderable people upon the coast of the *Adriatick* sea; but they had powerful neighbours, who in all probability would arm in their defence, if the Republick should attack them. This consideration made the Senate demur; but at length pride prevailed over prudence; it was not for the honour of Rome to let herself be insulted without revenging it. The two *Consuls* therefore took their commands by lot, and it fell to *Camillus* to conduct the war against the *Samnites*, and to *Brutus* to act against the *Vestini*. *Brutus's* first care was to hinder the *Vestini* from joining the *Samnites*, which he did, by incamping on the frontiers between the two nations. He soon after defeated them in battle, and took from them *Cutina* and *Cingilia*.

R O M E
ccccxxviii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
four.
length
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
2. c. 29.

§. II. *CAMILLUS*, who had made it his business to keep the *Samnites* upon the defensive in their own country, fell sick, and was obliged to return to Rome; and, being there ordered to name a Dictator, he pitched upon *L. Papirius Cursor*, the greatest Captain the Republick could then boast of, who appointed *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to be his General of the Horse.

Aurel.
Vict. de
Viris Il-
lust. c. 31.

Horfe. These took possession of the command of the army in *Samnium*: But, there having been something obscure in the *Auspices* consulted before their departure from *Rome*, scruple and superstition tormented the *Dictator* when he came to enter upon action. To remove the pain of his doubts and fears, he returned to the City to renew the *Auspices*; but first forbade *Fabius*, with whom he intrusted the command of the army in his absence, to venture a battle with the enemy.

Fabius being fond of glory, and beloved of the army, and disdaining to have his hands so tied up, resolved to hazard an action, notwithstanding the *Dictator's* prohibition. He attacked the *Samnites*, whom he found in less disorder than he had at first expected, and was once very near losing the day: But then the *Roman* cavalry, unbridling their horses, drove upon the enemy with such a sudden and irresistible impetuosity, that the latter were put into confusion, and intirely broken and defeated. Twenty thousand of them remained dead upon the field of battle. This victory made the young Conqueror grow insolent; and, instead of lodging the spoils of the enemy in the *Quæstor's* hands, to be sold for the advantage of the publick, he caused them all to be burnt, that they might not do honour to the *Dictator*, by being carried in his Triumphal Procession; neither did he send any account of his victory to the *Dictator*, but only to the *Senate*; an instance of great disrespect to the General under whose *Auspices* he had fought.

These proceedings incensed *Papirius*, and he hastened to the camp to punish his disobedient *General of the Horfe*. *Fabius* having timely notice of his coming, and of his design, called together the troops, and made an harangue to them, wherein he inveighed against the *Dictator*, whose resentments, he said, threatened not only his life, but the lives of many of the other officers, and even of the private Soldiers, who had helped him to gain the victory. That therefore it was the common interest of the army to protect him; and that to them he committed the defence of his life and fortune. The soldiers with one voice cried out to him to take courage, and they promised to defend him to the last breath. *Papirius*, not long after, arrived. Having instantly assembled the Troops, he ordered the Crier to call *Quintus Fabius, General of the Horfe*, to appear before him. When *Fabius* was come near the *Tribunal*, and silence made, the *Dictator* questioned him concerning his violation, not only of the common laws of Military Discipline, but of the express orders of a *Dictator*, whom he could not but know to have a sovereign authority in the Republick, and whom even the *Consuls* themselves, Magistrates who succeeded to the Regal Power, obeyed. *Fabius* had a bad cause to defend, and was confused in his answers; one while complaining that the *Dictator* was both accuser and judge, and then exclaiming loudly, that he would sooner lose his life, than the glory of his exploits; this moment he attempted to excuse himself, and the next accused the *Dictator*: which provoking *Papirius* still more, he commanded the *Lictors* to strip the criminal, and prepare the Rods and Axes. But, when these executioners were beginning to tear off his clothes, he

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
four.

130th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B. 8:
c. 30.
Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 2.

Liv. B. 8.
c. 30.

c. 31.

c. 32.

Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 7.

Year of he cried out to the Soldiers for assistance, and by some means made his
 ROM E escape, retiring among the *Triarii*. These things put the army into a great
 cccxxxiii. commotion, and raised a clamour throughout the whole assembly; some
 Bef. J. C. beseeching, others threatening. The officers who were near the *Dictator*
 Three endeavoured by reasoning and by intreaties to mitigate his resentment
 hundred against a young man of great hopes, and of a family so highly and so justly
 twenty- honoured in *Rome*. They represented to him the danger, to which he might
 four. expose himself by too far exasperating the multitude, who, blind with an-
 130th ger, might be carried to do something extravagant and desperate. All was in
 Consul- vain, *Papirius* continued inflexible; and their remonstrances seemed more to
 ship. increase his indignation, than to soften him towards *Fabius*. But, when he
 would have commanded silence, the noise was so great that neither his
 criers nor himself could be heard, and night alone put an end to the tumult.
 Entrop. *Fabius*, though summoned to appear again the next day, did not think it
 B. 2. c. 8. prudent to stand a second trial, but escaped to *Rome*, there to present him-
 Livy, B. self before less passionate judges.
 8. c. 33.

As soon as he arrived, his father (who had been thrice *Consul*, and once *Dictator*) thought it necessary to get the Senate assembled without delay, and obtain a favourable decree for him before the return of the *Dictator*. The Senate was met, young *Fabius* had already worked upon the *Fathers*, and made them think *Papirius* both unjust and barbarous, when on a sudden a great noise was heard at the door of the Temple where they were sitting. It was *Papirius* himself, attended by his *Lictors* who were dispersing the crowd at the entrance of the sanctuary. Upon his appearance the scene changed. He took his place, ordered his *Lictors* to seize young *Fabius*, and was immediately obeyed. In vain did the oldest and most venerable Senators intercede for the criminal; *Papirius* was inexorable: so that the father of the young man, having no other remedy left, appealed to the people in *Comitia*; and, though the appeal was unprecedented, the *Dictator* did not hold it expedient to dispute the superior authority of the *Roman People*.

When the *Comitia* were formed, both the *Fabii* ascended the *Rostra* with *Papirius*; which he observing, sternly ordered the *Master of the Horse* to be pulled down. Young *Fabius* immediately descended, and his father followed him; but then the father, placing himself at the foot of the *Rostra*, broke out into bitter invectives against *Papirius* for his haughtiness and barbarity; he cited some former * cases (not much to the purpose) where faulty Generals had not been so severely punished; he complained, that no distinction was made between a fortunate and an unfortunate disobedience; and, in short, omitted nothing that could be said in so bad a cause. He clamoured, he brangled, he complained, he called upon Gods and men for help, and, throwing his arms about his son's neck, wept over him a flood of tears. The whole assembly was moved. On the side of the *Fabii*, says *Livy*, were the majesty of the Senate, the favour of the Peo-

* The case of *Minucius* (see p. 318.) and that of *L. Furius* (see p. 403.)

ple, the aid of the Tribunes, and a remembrance of the absent army. Year of
Papirius, on his own part, spoke in a high strain, of the Dignity of his R O M E.
 Office, the Military Laws, *Dictatorial* Edicts revered as the Oracles of ccccxviii.
 Heaven, *Manlius's* rigour to his own son : He reproached the *Romans* with Bef. J. C.
 degeneracy from that heroick love of their country, which used to prevail Three
 over all paternal affection and private considerations : He urged the many hundred
 ill consequences of admitting appeals from a *Dictator* to the *People*, and twenty-
 especially in cases of disobedience in war ; and concluded with admonish- four.
 ing the Tribunes not to load themselves with the blame of being the au- 130th
 thors of those mischiefs to the Republick, by their protection of the guilty Consul-
Fabius. ship.
 Livy B.8.
 c. 34.

His discourse threw both the People and their *Tribunes* into great per-
 plexity : For, tho' to receive Appeals from the sentence of a *Dictator* was
 to extend the exercise of the People's power, yet they were afraid of the
 consequence of interposing (in such a cause especially) against that high
 authority, which they had so often found it necessary, for the safety of
 the Republick, to lodge with a single Magistrate. Instead therefore of
 taking upon them to judge in the affair, they only became intercessors for
 the criminal, humbly beseeching the *Dictator* in the most earnest manner
 to pardon his *General of the Horse*. The *Fabii* themselves likewise fell
 prostrate at his feet, and implored his clemency. Upon this *Papirius*
 ordered silence to be made, and then declared, That he was satisfied :
 MILITARY DISCIPLINE has prevailed, the DICTATORIAL AUTHORITY
 has gained the victory. The delinquent is not acquitted, but condemned, and
 is pardoned at the intercession of the Roman People and of their Tribunes :
 They have succoured him, not as innocent, not by a just exercise of power,
 but by their prayers for mercy on a convicted criminal. Live then, *QUINTUS*
FABIUS, more fortunate in this unanimous consent of your Country to your
 preservation, than in the victory you a while ago so insolently boasted of. Live,
FABIUS, though you have dared to commit a crime which your own Father,
 in my place, would not have forgiven. You shall be received again into my
 favour——upon my terms. But as for the Roman People, to whom you owe
 your life, the best return you can make to them is to let this day teach you,
 whether in war or peace, to obey your lawful commanders. Go, you are at
 liberty. Thus ended this affair ; and the *Romans* afterwards confessed, to
 the *Dictator's* honour, that the perils into which he brought *Fabius* had con-
 duced as much to the support of Military Discipline, as the death of young
Manlius, condemned by his own Father.

§. III. BUT, while *Papirius* staid in Rome, the *Samnites* took advan- c. 36.
 tage of his absence to insult his army ; whose Commander, *M. Valerius*,
 a Lieutenant General, was so intimidated by the example of *Fabius*,
 that he durst not oppose the hostilities of the enemy. He suffered a party
 of his foragers to be cut in pieces, rather than stir out of his camp to re-
 lieve them. This accident helped to exasperate the troops yet more against
 the *Dictator* ; who, when he came to the camp, (with *L. Papirius Cressus*,
 a relation of his own, whom he had appointed to command the horse in

Year of the room of *Fabius*) found all his men so ill-affected to him, and so little disposed to gain him glory, that he had no hopes of making any progress with them in the war. However, as the enemy offered him battle, and he could not in honour decline fighting, he posted himself so advantageously, and drew up his troops with so much dexterity, that it was not possible for them to be intirely defeated. When the battle was over (in which, though they had fought but faintly, they had not been routed) *Papirius* acted a part which surpris'd every body. Not one officer or soldier, who had behaved himself negligently in the fight, was so much as reprimanded by him. He went about with his Lieutenants visiting the wounded soldiers, put his head into their tents, asked them how they did, charging their officers to have particular care of each of them by name; and all this he seems to have done without the least appearance of affectation: for we find that the army, which had always held him in esteem, came, in a short time, to have a most tender affection for him.

Year of The People at *Rome*, being informed of this great alteration in the dispositions of the soldiers towards their commander, continued him in his employment^a, and no *Consuls* were chosen for the year 429. As for *Papirius*, he no longer doubted of victory, and he soon gave the enemy a total overthrow; after which he over-ran *Samnium* (leaving all the booty to his soldiers) and reduced the *Samnites* so low, that they sued for peace, which he granted them on three preliminary conditions: That they should cloath all his Troops, give them a year's pay, and get the Treaty confirmed by the Senate.

Year of §. IV. *PAPIRIUS*, having triumphed for his late victories, held the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, where *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *Q. Aulius Cerretanus* were chosen *Consuls* for the next year. When the *Conscript Fathers* came to consider of the Peace to be made with the *Samnites*, they disapproved of the terms offered by them, and therefore granted only a Truce for a year, which the *Samnites* broke so soon as they heard that *Papirius* was no longer in command. At the same time the *Apulians* declared for them against *Rome*. The Republick thought it necessary therefore to divide her forces between the two *Consuls*. *Aulius* led an army into *Apulia*, and *Sulpicius* another into *Samnium*; but, both *Samnites* and *Apulians* keeping themselves close in their fortified places, the *Roman* Generals reaped little glory from the campaign.

This year the *Tusculans* were tried before the *Roman* People upon a bill preferred by the *Tribune*, *M. Flavius*, to punish them for ad-

^a *Livy* confines *Papirius's* Dictatorship to the foregoing year 428, and places the events of this year 429 in that. So that he makes *Papirius's* two Dictatorships to have been but one. Nevertheless it appears that *Papirius* was continued in his office, and created Dictator a second time. We have a convincing proof of it in the *Fasti Capitolini*. They say that *L. Papirius* triumphed

over the *Samnites* in the year 429, on the the third of the Nones of *March*. This makes us believe that *Papirius's* Dictatorship was prolonged to the year 430; and *Livy's* silence confirms us in this opinion: for he makes no mention of any *Consuls* for the year 429, which is likewise omitted in the consular Annals. C. & R.

vising and assisting the People of *Velitræ* and *Privernum* in the war they made upon the *Romans*. The *Tusculans*, with their wives and children, came to *Rome*, and in the humblest manner solicited the People to have pity on them. All the Tribes, except the *Pollian*, rejected the bill. The *Pollian* would have had all the men scourged and beheaded, and their wives and children exposed to sale. Of this the *Tusculans*, who were incorporated into the *Papirian* Tribe, retained so lasting a resentment, that, almost to the times of *Livy*, scarce any person of the *Pollian* Tribe, who stood candidate for an office, could get the vote of the *Papirian*.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxi.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty-
one.

Quintus Fabius (who had been General of the Horse to the Dictator *Papirius*) and *L. Fulvius Corvus*, the next year's *Consuls*, marched their joint forces against the *Samnites* (who had raised a formidable army) and gave them an intire overthrow, but not without great difficulty. The *Samnites* had surpris'd the *Romans*, while incamped in a place very disadvantageous both for subsisting their army and for sustaining an attack; and, when, for these reasons, the *Romans* attempted to retire in the night, the enemy watched them so narrowly, and pursued them so close, that the next day they found themselves under a necessity of hazarding a battle. It lasted from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, without either side's giving way, or so much as changing the order in which they were first drawn up. The imprudence of the *Samnite* cavalry determined the fortune of the day: For, having received advice, from one of their most advanced squadrons, that the *Romans* had left their baggage a good way behind them without any troops to defend it, greediness of plunder induced them to wheel off in order to seize the prey; and the *Consuls*, to whom early notice of their motion was brought, allowed them all the time that was necessary to load their horses with booty, and put themselves out of a condition to fight; and then ordered away the whole body of *Roman* cavalry to fall upon them. The cavalry executed the order with expedition and success: After which, fetching a compass, they came upon the rear of the *Samnite* Infantry; an unexpected attack, which struck them with terror, and soon after threw them into confusion. The *Romans* pursued their advantage, and made a dreadful slaughter: Those of the *Samnites*, who kept their ground, were cut in pieces by the *Roman* Foot; and those who fled fell most of them by the swords of the Horse, and, among the rest, the General himself.

132d
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
8. c. 38.

Faß. Ca-
pit.

c. 39.

§. V. SO terrible a defeat made the *Samnites* reflect seriously on their unjust breach of the Truce with the *Romans*; and they imputed their late misfortune to the anger of the Gods, whom they supposed to be offended at the violation of their oaths. To appease them, they resolved to sacrifice the chief author of that breach; and one *Brutulus Papius*, a man of distinction, but of a turbulent spirit, was universally pitched upon to be the victim. They passed a decree that he should be delivered up to the *Romans*; and, that the spoil and captives taken within the time of the Truce, and in short, whatever their *Feciales* had demanded, should be restored to them. In pursuance of this decree, *Brutulus*, with all his effects,

Year of R O M E cccxxxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-one. was put into the hands of some *Samnite* ambassadors, to be carried to *Rome*; but he killed himself before he got there. However, they surrendered his dead body to the *Romans*, who, of what was offered by way of restitution, accepted only the captives and a part of the effects, rejecting whatever could not be claimed by any private *Roman* as his own.

After this the *Consul Fulvius* returned to *Rome*, while his Colleague *Fabius* led an army into *Apulia*. That he succeeded in his expedition appears by the *Capitoline Marbles*, where he is said to have triumphed over the *Samnites* and *Apulians*, *Fulvius* over the *Samnites* only. One *A. Cornelius* was this year chosen *Dictator*, but it was only to preside at the Games in the absence of the *Consuls*, and during the sickness of the *Prætor*. However *Livy*, finding that at the time of the defeat of the *Samnites* the Government was in the hands of a *Dictator*, ascribes by mistake that exploit to him. The *Capitoline Marbles* rectify the error,

C H A P. XIV.

§. I. *The Samnites, being refused a Peace, prepare to carry on the war with vigour: and they appoint one Pontius, an able officer, to be their General. Pontius, by a stratagem, draws the Roman Legions into a dangerous pass (called afterwards the Caudine Forks) where they are surrounded by the Samnites, and have no possibility of forcing their way out of it. To save their lives, they submit to shameful conditions imposed by the enemy.* §. II. *The base expedients, to which the Romans have recourse, to evade the treaty.* §. III. *Satricum revolts from the Romans; and the Samnites surprise Fregellæ, a Roman Colony.*

Year of R O M E cccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-two. 133d Consulship. Livy, B. 9. c. 1. c. 2. §. I. **I**T had been a constant maxim with the *Romans* to pardon the nations which submitted, and to treat none with rigour but the proud and untractable; but their late successes made them now deviate from this rule; and, notwithstanding that the *Samnites* sued to them for a peace, and endeavoured to merit it by the methods which have been related, the Senate rejected their petition, and thereby put them under a necessity of continuing the war at all hazards. And, while the *Centuriate Comitia* at *Rome* were chusing *T. Icturius* and *Sp. Posthumius* *Consuls* for the new year, the *Samnites* in their Diet appointed one *Pontius*, an able General, to command their troops. *Pontius* exhorted the assembly not to fear a war with a People who had received restitution of wrongs with haughtiness, and had refused peace when offered upon the most reasonable terms. *The Gods*, said he, *are now no longer our enemies; Justice accompanies our arms, and we cannot fail of success.* He then immediately led his troops near to *Caudium* (a little Town in *Samnium*) and there incamped as covertly as possible. When the *Consuls* were come within a league of him, he caused a report to be spread, that the *Samnite* army was laying siege to *Luceria* in *Apulia*; and, the more effectually to deceive the *Romans*, he ordered ten of his soldiers in the habit of herdsmen to lead some cattle in-

to different parts, but still in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with instructions to agree all in the same report when taken prisoners by their Foragers. The stratagem succeeded. The *Romans* in a council of war resolved to march to the relief of *Luceria*; and, there being two ways thither, one broad and open, but farther about than the other, which was through certain streights (called since *The Claudine Forks*) they chose the latter. The nature of the ground was this: Between two circling ridges of mountains, so covered with trees and briars as to be absolutely unclimbable, was a pretty large marshy meadow, through the middle of which lay the road. At the hither end, the way into it was very deep and narrow through a hollow rock; the way out, at the farther end, more narrow, deep, and difficult. When the *Romans*, having passed the first, came to this, they found it intirely barred with huge stones and trees laid across: and then they also discerned great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences. To avoid being invested, they instantly turned back, thinking to retire through the pass by which they had entered; the *Samnites* had already blocked it up. The consternation of the *Romans* was inexpressible, when they perceived themselves shut in, without a possibility of escaping. They stood silent and fixed their eyes on one another, each to see whether he could discover any glimmering of hopes in his companions looks. At length the soldiers seeing the *Consuls* tent pitched, and preparations making towards fortification, set themselves to work, without waiting for orders, to raise a rampart along the water, though they well knew it to be a fruitless labour, and were all the while scoffed at by the enemy. As soon as the army was incamped, the principal Officers repaired of their own accord to the *Consuls* tent; but the case was such as allowed no room for counsel or debate. The Gods themselves, says *Livy*, could hardly have given them assistance. Night came on: Without taking any refreshment, officers and soldiers spent the hours of rest in discoursing on their unhappy situation.

On the other hand, the *Samnites* could not come to any determination what to do with their enemies, who were absolutely at their mercy. After much debate it was at length universally agreed to consult *Herennius*, the father of *Pontius* a wise old man whom they looked upon as a kind of Oracle. The messenger whom they sent to him for his advice brought back this answer: *That he counselled them not to do the least harm to the Romans, but to open them a free passage home.* This advice being rejected, the same messenger was dispatched a second time; and then the old man sent word, *That he would not have them spare the life of one single Roman.* The strange difference between these two answers made the *Samnites* imagine that there was some mystery in the matter, and they pressed *Pontius* to have his father brought to the camp, that he might explain himself. When the wise *Herennius* was come, he let them know, that in good policy there was no *medium* between treating the *Romans* in the kindest manner, and destroying them absolutely. That by the first (which he thought

Year of
ROMAN
CCCCXXII
Lef. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty.
—
133d
Consul-
ship.
Eutropi-
us, Florus,
Zonaras,
Orosius,
&c.

Year of thought the best) they would gain the friendship of a powerful nation ;
 R O M E. that by the second they would greatly lessen the strength of a dangerous
 cccxxxii enemy ; but that no third way could produce any advantage of either
 Ref J. C. fort. However, this prudent advice was not followed. *Pontius* and his
 Three Officers chose a middle way, such as their foolish vanity suggested : They
 hundred would spare the lives of the *Romans*, but at the same time treat them as
 twenty. conquered enemies.

133d
 Consul-
 ship.
 Livy, B.
 9. c. 4.

Whilst the *Samnites* were in these deliberations, the *Romans* sent a deputation to them to desire a truce upon equitable terms, and in case of refusal to invite them to a battle. *Pontius* with a haughty air answered, *That the Samnites had no battles to fight ; that the victory was already gained ; and that not a man of the Roman Legions should escape, till they had been disarmed, and had passed one by one under the Yoke : That, besides this, he expected that the Romans should quit Samnium, and withdraw their Colonies from all the Cities they had usurped from the Samnites. And he concluded with forbidding the Deputies to appear any more in his presence, if the Consuls did not accept the terms proposed.*

The report of this answer threw the *Legions* into the utmost despair. The *Consuls* were struck dumb, and durst not declare themselves for so shameful a Treaty. *L. Lentulus*, a considerable Officer in the army, and who had been at the head of the Deputation to the *Samnites*, was the first who broke silence ; addressing himself to the *Consuls*, he spoke to this effect : *I have often heard my father say, that, when the Gauls besieged the Capitol, he was the only man in the Senate, who opposed the redeeming of Rome with Gold ; and the reason he gave for his opinion was, that, the enemy not having shut up the Capitol by intrenchments, nor raised any rampart round it, it was still possible for the Romans, though difficult, to force a passage through the besiegers. Were the case with us the same ; were there any possibility of escaping ; could we make sallies, as they sometimes did, or could we force the Samnites to a battle, I should soon convince you by my counsel, that I have the same courage as my father ; I should speak the same language, and endeavour yet more by my example, than my words, to animate you to the fight, though in never so disadvantageous a situation for it. For my own part, I would gladly rush into the midst of the enemy, and devote myself for the Roman People, if that could be of any avail to their preservation ; for I am truly sensible, that no fortune can be so glorious as to die for the safety of our Country. But our Country at present is here ; its chief stay and strength, the Roman Legions, are in this valley. Shall they devote themselves to death for their own preservation ? To what end then ? To save the Walls of Rome ? the Houses ? the croud of People that inhabit the City ?—And which way can even these be preserved, if this army perish ? Will a weak, unarmed, despondent multitude defend them ? Just as they did against the Gauls after the battle of the Allia.—But it is shameful, say you, to give up our arms like cowards. I grant it : Yet the love of our Country should be such, as to make us ready, if need be, to suffer Ignominy as well as Death ; to sacrifice, not only our Lives, but our*
 Glory

Glory to preserve it. For the sake of ROME then let us submit to the conditions imposed, be the indignity never so great; nor scruple any longer to obey Necessity, to which the GODS themselves are subject.

Year of
R O M E.
ccccxxxii.
Bef. J. C.

This advice was followed. The *Consuls* signified to *Pontius*, that they consented to lay down their arms, and pass under the Yoke; upon which they obtained a conference with him. As to a treaty of Peace, they declared, That they could not conclude any that would be binding on the Roman People without their approbation, and the ministry of the *Feciales*. That their power extended no farther than to make promises, which they were ready to strengthen by giving Hostages. The stipulation was accepted on these terms, and the *Consuls*, *Lieutenant Generals*, *Quæstors*, and *Legionary Tribunes* all signed the Convention; six hundred Roman Knights were to be given as Hostages; and the *Samnites* were to have power to cut off their heads, in case the Republick did not perform the *Consuls* promises.

Three
hundred
twenty.

133d
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
9. c. 5.

When the day came for the Roman army to pass under the Yoke, or Gallows, the six hundred Knights marched first out of the camp, unarmed, and with only their under garment; and these were taken into safe custody. The *Consuls* followed next, then the inferior Officers, and at last the Soldiers one by one. The *Samnites* insulted them as they passed; and, if any Roman returned but a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down or killed.

c. 6.

The Romans could have reached *Capua* the same day; but partly out of distrust of that City, and partly out of shame to be seen there in so wretched a condition, they threw themselves on the ground in the neighbourhood of it, resolving to pass the night in the open air; which when the Magistrates of *Capua* understood, moved with compassion, they sent clothes, horses and arms, *Lictors* also and *Fasces* to the *Consuls*, and food for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the Senate and People went out to meet them with all demonstrations of kindness. Nevertheless the Romans, overwhelmed with shame, seemed unaffected with this hospitality: They kept their eyes fixed on the ground, and shunned all discourse. They were accompanied to the frontiers by several young men of the *Campanian Nobility*; but they still observed the same behaviour, and shewed the same dejection of mind; which, when it was reported to the Senate of *Capua* by the young Nobles at their return, made the assembly in general conclude that the Roman courage was for ever lost, and their affairs desperate. One of them, however, a venerable old man, declared, that he judged differently of the dumb confusion of the Romans: This obstinate silence, their eyes fixed on the ground, their ears deaf to all consolation, are tokens of an inward rage that ferments without evaporating. If I am not wholly unacquainted with the temper of the Romans, their remembrance of the *Caudine Treaty* will be more fatal to the *Samnites* than to them. The Romans will have it in their thoughts wherever they shall encounter the *Samnites*; but these will not every-where find *Caudine Streights*.

c. 7.

In

Year of
R O M E
ccccxlii
Bet. J. C.
Three
hundred
twenty.

132d
Consul-
ship.
Liv. B.
9. c. 7.

In the mean time the People at *Rome*, without orders from the Senate, and as it were by tacit consent, put on the deepest mourning. The shops all round the *Forum* were shut up; there was a vacation in all the Courts of Justice, before any proclamation for it; gold rings and robes of magnificence were laid aside; and the city was more dejected, if possible, than the army itself. Before the arrival of the troops, it was the language of the People, angry not only with the commanders, but with the guiltless soldiers, that they ought not to be received into the city: But, as soon as they appeared, the publick indignation changed into pity. Nevertheless, they did not enter the city till night; and then every one stole home, and hid himself in his own house: Even the *Consuls* banished themselves from society, after they had performed the indispensable duty of naming a *Dictator* to hold the *Comitia*. They pitched upon *Q. Fabius Ambulius*; but, some defect being found in the nomination, *Amilius Papus* was substituted in his room. Nor did this *Dictator* hold the Assembly for the Elections; no Magistrate of this unfortunate year could please the People; the Government fell into an *Interregnum*.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxliii
Bet. J. C.
Three
hundred
nineteen.

133th
Consul-
ship.
Liv. B.
9. c. 8.

§. II. AND now all eyes were cast on two of the greatest men in the Republick, *Papirius * Cursor* and *Publius || Philo*. These, being chosen *Consuls* in the *Comitia*, entered upon their office the very day of their election. Their first care was to obtain a decree of the Senate, importing, that there had been no defect in point of religion in their inauguration: After which the *Fathers* took into consideration the Treaty made with the *Samnites* by the late *Consuls*. *Posthumius*, one of those unfortunate Generals, was called upon to speak first. He addressed himself to the assembly with an air of great modesty and humility, owned the Treaty to be infamous, but declared, that the *Roman* People were not bound by it, since it had been made without their orders; and that the Republick was obliged in justice to nothing more, than to deliver up into the hands of the *Samnites* those of the army who had signed it. And he advised therefore that the new *Consuls* should lead a new army into the field; but that, before they entered upon action, they should surrender to the mercy of the *Samnites* his Colleague and him, with all the other officers who had been parties to the convention. The Senators were struck with admiration at the generosity of *Posthumius*; and their compassion for him did not fall short of their esteem of his heroick virtue. However, they all approved of the proposal, except two *Tribunes of the People*, who had (probably) been raised to that office since their return from the *Caudine Forks*. These contended, not only that the motion made by *Posthumius* was unjust with regard to the persons concerned in the Treaty, but that it was by no means sufficient to discharge the demands which the *SAMNITES* had upon Rome; and that, as to themselves, they were *Sacrosanct* Magistrates, inviolable, and not to be delivered up to the enemy. To the last of these pleas *Posthumius* replied, That the Senate might defer the delivering up of the *Tribunes* till their *Holinesses* were out of Office, and then (if his advice might be followed)

cause

cause them to be beaten with rods in the publick Forum, by way of Usury for the delay. But as to himself, and the rest of the *Profane* Officers concerned in the Treaty, he pressed the immediate execution of his proposal; and he offered such plausible arguments to prove the invalidity of the *Caudine* Convention, and the sufficiency of the satisfaction designed for the *Samnites*, that the Senate, whether convinced or not, were universally pleased with his discourse, and acquiesced in his project. Nay, the two Tribunes themselves, who had at first opposed it, consented at length to follow the fate of their companions, and to that end abdicated their office.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxxiii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
nineteen.
134th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B. 9.
C. 10.

Posthumius's proposal was no sooner passed into a decree of the Senate, but it dispelled that cloud of sorrow, with which the *Romans* had been covered ever since the misfortune of *Caudium*; it seemed to them like the breaking out of the sun upon the city after a total eclipse. Nothing was talked of but the generosity of *Posthumius*, whose *Devotement* they compared to that of *Decius*; and the *Roman* youth were so animated, that there needed no orders to raise Troops; a new army was formed almost wholly of Volunteers, and the *Caudine* Legions were again enrolled. As soon as these forces came near the enemy's camp, preparations were made for surrendering up the *Roman* Officers in due form by a *Fecialis*. *Cornelius Arvina* was the person appointed for this purpose; who, having conducted the Prisoners bound into *Pontius's* presence, addressed himself to him in the following words: *Since these men undertook without any commission to conclude a Treaty of peace with you, and committed a crime in so doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourselves from any share in the punishment which they alone have deserved.* The *Fecialis* had scarce uttered these words when *Posthumius*, as if offended with what he had said, gave him a hard blow on the thigh with his knee, and looking sternly at him, *I am now, said he, a Samnite, and you an Ambassador of Rome: I have therefore by this blow violated the Law of Nations, and you are thereby authorised to make war upon us.* But this little low artifice served only to raise the indignation of the *Samnite* General, and make him despise the author of it. He laid before *Posthumius* and the *Fecialis* the injustice and baseness of their proceedings. He told them, that if the *Roman* People would preserve their honour untainted, and maintain the rules of equity, they must either perform the conditions of the Treaty, or send the *Roman* army again into the *Caudine* Forks. And, as to *Posthumius's* behaviour to the *Fecialis*, he thus expostulated: *Will you be able to impose on the Gods by these thin disguises? Will they take Posthumius for a Samnite, and consider the blow he has given, as an insult offered to the Roman People by a Samnite? Is it thus that you sport with Religion and the Faith of Treaties? Are such ludicrous transactions becoming the Gravity of a Consul, and the Dignity of a Great Nation? Lictors, untie the Prisoners, and leave them free to go where they please.* And thus the *Romans* were dismissed.

C. 11.

Year of
ROM E
cccccxxiii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
nineteen.
134th
Consul-
ship.
Liv. B.
9. c. 12.
c. 26.

§. III. BUT now the *Samnites* repented too late of their not having hearkened to the wise counsels of old *Herennius*; they had a foreboding, says *Livy*, of the misfortunes that afterwards befel them; while the *Romans*, on the other hand, looked upon the liberty they had obtained of making war as equal to victory. Not long after, the inhabitants of *Samnium* joined with a body of *Samnites*, who surprised *Fregelle*, a Roman Colony, in the night, and, having by a promise of quarter engaged the greater part of the inhabitants to lay down their arms, burnt them afterwards alive. *Capua* likewise at this time prepared for a revolt; the chief Citizens entered into a plot to shake off the Roman yoke. This, with some other alarms, induced the Republick to name a *Dictator*, the *Consuls* being employed in the war. *C. Menius* was chosen to that dignity, and he appointed *M. Fostius* to be his General of Horse. The new *Dictator's* commission extended only to the making inquiry into state Crimes, and punishing them. And there needed no more to put a stop to the revolt of *Capua*; for the terror of a judge from whom there lay no appeal became so great throughout all *Campania*, that the heads of the conspiracy killed themselves to avoid punishment.

After this, the *Dictator* pretending that the powers given him by his commission were not confined to the taking cognizance of traitorous persons and practices at *CAPUA* only, but extended to the cognizance of all conspirators and conspiracies whatsoever and wheresoever against the Roman State; and pretending farther that all intriguing and canvassing for offices was a kind of Treason against the Commonwealth; he cited several of the *Patricians* to appear before him on accusations of that kind. The accused, having no other resource, called upon the *Tribunes* to interpose their negative, and put a stop to the prosecution; but not one of them would interfere in the matter. Hereupon the whole body of the Nobles took the alarm. They exclaimed in all places, that the *Patricians*, to whom, being nobly born, the way (if not obstructed by indirect practices) was naturally open and easy to all Honours and Dignities, were not the persons on whom this crime should be charged; but certain upstart Gentlemen, such as the *Dictator* himself and his *Master of the Horse*, who indeed ought rather to be prosecuted themselves, than sit as judges of other men; and they threatened that they would make the two inquisitors know this, so soon as their Magistracy should be expired.

Menius, though free from guilt, yet fearing lest his reputation should suffer by the calumny, assembled the People, and laid before them the uprightness of his intentions and the impartiality of his conduct; and then, to give them a farther proof of his innocence, abdicated the *Dictatorship*, that he might be brought to a trial. *Fostius* also, for the like purpose, resigned his office at the same time. The Senate, by a special commission, appointed the *Consuls* of the year (probably recalled to *Rome* on this occasion)

occasion) to be their judges; who, having heard the witnesses, and fully examined the affair, honourably acquitted the accused *.

This kind of inquisition descended afterwards to men of less distinction, and in a short time was intirely stopt by force of those very intrigues and cabals against which it was levelled.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxxiii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
nineteen.

* The account which has been given of MÆNIUS's affair is taken from *Livy*, who adds, that PUBLILIUS also was soon after brought to a trial on the same sort of accusation, and acquitted; but then *Livy* refers both these trials to the year 439, when Mænius was indeed Dictator, according to the *Capitoline Marbles*, but Publilius was not Consul.

If Publilius stood his trial the same year that he was Consul, we must suppose that he also, as the *Jesuits Catrou and Rouille* have well observed, abdicated his office in order thereto. These learned Fathers conjecture that this was the case, and that Papirius, being thereby left sole Consul, named to the Dictatorship L. Cornelius Lentulus, who appointed Papirius to be his General of the Horse, intending to be governed in all difficulties by his advice, as the ablest man in all the Commonwealth to conduct the present war: and what confirms the opinion, that the war was conducted by PAPIRIUS this year in quality only of Master of the Horse, is, that he had no TRIUMPH for his conquests.

What induces the *Jesuits* (who have been followed in the Text) to place the trial of

Mænius in the year 433, is not the authority only of the *Capitoline Marbles* (which make Mænius Dictator this year) but a passage of *Livy* * himself, who in the year 443 makes Sempronius the Tribune speak of MÆNIUS being created Dictator, to inquire into State Crimes, and of his abdication in order to stand his own Trial, as things which had happened within ten years: an expression which he probably would not have used, if those events had happened four years before.

It is indeed very difficult to reconcile the *Capitoline Marbles* with *Livy*, who seems to be at a loss in this part of the History, and to have made some confusion of times and events, not distinguishing the several Dictatorships of Mænius as they are marked on those Marbles.

The Marbles give us three Dictators this year, C. Mænius, L. Cornelius, and T. Manlius. *Livy* mentions only the second, and in this manner; though he ascribes the exploits of the campaign, we are going to enter upon, to Papirius and Publilius, the Consuls of the year, yet he owns that the thing is doubtful, and that some give those exploits to L. Cornelius created Dictator, and Papirius Curfor his Master of the Horse.

134th
Consul-
ship.

* *Livy*, B. 9. c. 34.

C H A P. XV.

§. I. *The Romans give the Samnites a great overthrow, and take from them Luceria in Apulia; §. II. And Ferentum; and recover Satricum. The character of Papirius Curfor. §. III. A two years Truce is granted to some Cities of Samnium. The Roman arms prosper in Apulia. Campania is turned into a Roman Præfecture. Two new Tribes are formed, which make the whole number thirty-one. §. IV. All Apulia is subdued. Antium receives laws from Rome for its future government. Saticula, a Campanian City, and Sora (in the country of the Volsci) both in alliance with the Samnites, are taken by the Romans. §. V. The Cruelty of the Romans towards three Cities of the Ausones. The Samnite war continues.*

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxiii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
nineteen.

134th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
9. c. 12.

c. 13.

c. 14.

§. I. **I**T seems highly probable from some passages of *Livy*, joined with the authority of the *Capitoline Marbles*, that the operations of the campaign were this year governed by *Papirius Cursor*, not in quality of *Consul*, and Collegue to *Publius*, but of *General of the Horse* to *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, created *Dictator*.

The chief view of the *Roman* Generals being to rescue the 600 *Knights*, who had been delivered up to the *Samnites* as hostages, they to that end divided their forces. *Cornelius* put himself at the head of the same troops that had passed *under the Yoke*, and led them against the victorious *Caudine* Legions of the *Samnites*. *Papirius* marched towards *Luceria* in *Apulia*, where the *Roman* hostages were kept prisoners. *Pontius* the *Samnite* General was for some time in suspense, whether to march to the relief of *Luceria*, or stay to make head against the *Dictator*. He feared that, if he marched, the enemy would fall upon his rear; and that, if he did not march, *Luceria* would be lost. His resolution at length was to put all to the hazard of a battle. The *Dictator* no sooner perceived the intention of the enemy, but he assembled his soldiers, and would have exhorted them, as was usual on such occasions, to behave themselves with the courage becoming *Romans*; but he found his harangue to be intirely needless. The soldiers, mindful of their late disgrace, were so eager to fight, that they gave no attention to him; with one voice they all cried out, *To Battle*. When they drew near the *Samnites*, they pressed their *Ensigns* to march faster, and, being spirited by revenge to a degree of fury, rushed upon the enemy without observing their usual order, or waiting the command of their General. Nothing could stand before them; the *Samnites* were routed, and their camp taken and plundered.

On the other hand *Papirius* having entered *Apulia*, and being assisted by the people of *Arpi* (old enemies of the *Samnites*, their neighbours) had laid siege to *Luceria*, but was so straitened by the difficulty of getting provisions, that the arrival of the victorious army at his camp proved very seasonable. The *Dictator* dispersed his *Legions* about the country, intercepted the convoys that were going to the besieged, and facilitated the bringing of provisions to the camp of *Papirius*. The *Samnites*, who had likewise an army incamped near *Luceria*, finding that the place could not hold out long, resolved to give the besiegers battle. Every thing was getting ready on both sides for a general action, when Ambassadors arrived from *Tarentum*, to put a stop to all hostilities by their mediation; and they threatened to declare themselves against whichever party should persist in carrying on the war. *Papirius*, pretending to listen seriously to what they said, told them, that he would consult the *Dictator*; and accordingly he did so, but it was only on the measures to be taken in the engagement, for which he instantly prepared. While the *Romans* were sacrificing, as was customary before a battle, the *Tarentine* Ambassadors came for their answer. *The Chickens*, cried *Papirius* feed perfectly well; so the Keeper of them tells us. *The Gods too are much pleased with our Sacrifices: under their protection therefore we are going to*

to fight, as you perceive. He then led his troops out of the camp, ridiculing the vanity of a little insignificant People, who would needs make themselves mediators of a peace between two powerful nations, when at the same time *Tarentum* could hardly support itself under its own intestine divisions.

But now the *Samnites* absolutely declined the fight, alledging that *Papirius* had deceived them by false hopes of an accommodation, and declaring that out of respect to the *Tarentines* they would keep themselves upon the defensive within their camp. This timorousness of the enemy encouraged the *Romans* to attack them in their intrenchments, which they did with so much success, and with such a spirit of vengeance, that scarce any of the *Samnites* would have escaped the slaughter, if the *Roman* Generals had not restrained the fury of their troops, in regard to the six hundred *Knights* in *Luceria* whom the besieged might, perhaps in revenge and despair, put to death. The Town being sorely distressed by famine, the garrison sent an offer to release the six hundred Hostages, on condition that the *Romans* would raise the siege. *Papirius* told the Deputies who came to him with this proposal, that they should have consulted *Pontius* about the treatment proper to be expected by the vanquished; and peremptorily insisted, that all the soldiers in the place, to the number of 7000, should unarmed, and with only one garment each, pass under the Yoke, and *Pontius*, who had thrown himself into the Town, at the head of them. These conditions were accepted; and thus the *Romans* retaliated the ignominy they had undergone at the *Caudine Forks* and recovered their hostages.

§. II. A F T E R the return of *Papirius* with the army to *Rome*, *Cornelius* laid down his *Dictatorship*, and another *Dictator*, *T. Manlius*, was chosen (as it seems probable) only to hold the *Centuriate Comitia*, where *Papirius* * *Cursor* was again raised to the *Consulate*, and *Q. Aulius* † *Cerretanus* given him for a Colleague. The latter defeated the *Ferentani* in *Apulia*, and took their City, *Ferentum*. The former reduced *Satricum*, a City of *Latium*, which, as we have before observed, had gone over to the *Samnites*, though its inhabitants had obtained the privileges of *Roman Citizens*.

The *Satricans*, as soon as the *Roman* army appeared before the walls, sent out a Deputation to sue for Peace. *Papirius* refused to grant it, unless they would kill all the *Samnite* garrison, or deliver them alive into his hands. And, when they expostulated with him, asking, How it was possible for them, who were but weak and unarmed, to master a garrison armed and strong? he bid them advise with those by whose counsel they had received that garrison into the Town. The *Satrican* Senate, upon the report of this answer from the *Consul* were divided in opinion what measures to take, one part consisting of those who had counselled the revolt to the *Samnites*, the other of the adherents of *Rome*. It happened that the garrison, for want of provisions to hold out a siege, had resolved to march away the night following. That faction therefore which had called the

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxxiii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
nineteen.

134th
Consul-
ship.

Livy B. 9.
c. 15.

Oros. B. 3.
c. 15 and
others.

* A 3d
time.

† A 2d
time.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxxiv

Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eighteen.

135th
Consul-
ship.

Livy, B.
9. c. 16.

Samnites

Year of *Samnites* in, thought it sufficient to give the *Consul* notice at what hour
 R O M E they would begin to move, through what gate they were to pass, and
 ccccxix what road they were to take; but the other party, not content with this,
 Bef. J. C. opened another gate to the *Romans* at the same hour; so that the *Sam-*
 Three nite garrison were surprised, and cut to pieces, and the town seized the
 hundred same instant. *Papirius*, after an inquisition by torture concerning the
 eighteen chief authors of the revolt, caused the most guilty to be scourged and
 135th beheaded, disarmed all the *Satricans*, and placed a strong body of troops
 Consul- in the place.
 ship.

For this conquest *Papirius*, at his return to *Rome*, had the honour of a
 Triumph, which had not been granted him for his more important exploits
 the year before, (probably) because he had acted under the *Auspices* of a
 superior Magistrate.

This *Papirius* is the man whom *Livy* represents as a Hero, who would
 have been a match for *Alexander the Great*, had that Conqueror turned
 his arms Westward, and come into *Italy*. He was no less remarkable
 for his vigour of mind, military skill and courage, than for his strength
 of body, and wonderful agility in running, which got him the surname of
Curſor: and whether it were owing to his robust constitution, or continual
 exercise, no-body eat or drank more than he; but he was also indefatiga-
 ble in war, sharing the severest toils of it without hurting his health.
 Never had the *Roman* Horse or Foot a General that kept them to harder
 service. 'Tis reported of him that, his Cavalry having taken the freedom
 to desire a little relaxation from their fatigues, after an expedition which
 had been successful, he answered, *Yes, by all means; when you alight from*
your Horses, I excuse you from the trouble of stroaking their backs. *Papirius*,
 so severe in point of discipline, was naturally facetious, but not very gentle
 even in his jests. Walking one day before the door of his tent, while he
 was *Dictator*, he ordered a certain *Prætor* of *Præneste*, who in battle had
 behaved himself shamefully, to be called, and, as soon as he appeared,
 bid the *Lictor* prepare his *Ax*: When he saw the poor *Prænestine* ready
 to die with fear at the sound of those words, he presently added, *Dispatch,*
Lictor, cut away this stump of a tree that spoils my walk: After which he on-
 ly fined the *Prætor*, and dismissed him. Such was the character of the re-
 nowned *Papirius*.

Year of §. III. IN the following *Consulship* of *L. Plautius Venno* and *M. Fostius*
 R O M E *Flaccinator*, many of the *Samnite* Cities sent Deputies to the *Roman* Senate
 ccccxv. to ask Peace; but these being referred to the People in *Comitia* (where
 Bef. J. C. the *Caudine* Legions doubtless made a part of the assembly) the *Samnites*
 Three could obtain, by urgent intreaties, no more than a two years Truce.
 hundred
 seventeen.

And now the terror, spread throughout *Apulia* by the *Roman* army,
 which *Plautius* conducted thither, was so great that the two Cities of
 136th *Teanum* and *Canusium* surrendered, to avoid being pillaged. *Capua* like-
 Consul- wise being so divided by intestine seditions, as to be no longer in a con-
 ship. dition to govern herself, desired the *Romans* to give her a Governor and
 Livy, B. 9. a new
 c. 20.

new Laws ; and it was at this time that the *Romans* first turned *Campania* into a *Præfecture*^a, and sent thither a *Præfēt*.

It was perhaps to make the *Campanians* some sort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up, or rather to keep them to their duty, that a new *Roman* Tribe was formed in their country. It was called the *Falernian Tribe*, doubtless from the hill *Falernus*, this Tribe possessing the delightful plain which surrounded that hill. Another Tribe was also established on the borders of the *Ufens*, and was therefore called *Tribus Ufentina*. So that the *Romans* had now thirty-one Tribes, all which had a right of suffrage in the *Comitia by Tribes*.

By a *Census* taken this year, the number of men in *Rome* fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred and fifty thousand.

§. IV. THIS happy war was followed by another as prosperous, under the administration of *Q. Æmilius Barbula* and *C. Junius Brutus*, who subdued and quieted *Apulia*. *Antium* followed the example of *Capua*, in asking a Governor and Laws from *Rome*. But this City was not made a *Roman Præfecture*, nor did she receive laws from a single Magistrate sent thither for that purpose. The care of making the laws by which the Magistrates were to govern was left to the Patrons of the *Colony*. It was then customary not only for private families, but likewise for Cities and afterwards for Provinces to have their Patrons, who were often of the principal Nobility of *Rome*. The Patrons of the *Municipia* were generally of the families of those *Consuls* who had conquered them ; and the Protectors of the *Colonies* were the children of those who had received the commission to plant them.

The succeeding *Consuls*, *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius*, were scarce entered upon their office, when the Republick, either from a distrust of their abilities, or for some other reason unknown, obliged them to nominate a Dictator to carry on the war. They named *L. Æmilius*, who immediately put himself at the head of the *Legions*. He invested *Saticula*, a City of *Campania*, in alliance with the *Samnites*, and defeated the *Samnite* army that came to relieve it ; but his Dictatorship expired before he could take the place. The *Samnites*, not hoping to defend it, laid siege to *Plisfia*.

The *Romans* had now got such a habit of suffering none but Dictators to command their armies, that, tho' the famous *Papirius * Cursor* and *Pub-*

^a All the Cities which the Republick subdued were not upon the same foot. Some were called *Colonies*, some *Municipia*, and some *Præfectures*.

The *Colonies* chose their Governors out of their own inhabitants, and, tho' subject to the *Roman* People, were a kind of petty Republicks, modelled after the plan of *Rome*.

The *Municipia* kept their old laws, and the customs they had among them before they became *Roman*.

The *Præfectures* were in a worse condition than either the *Colonies* or *Municipia*. The

Præfets, who were sent to them annually from *Rome*, had a power of changing their laws, and wholly swallowed up the authority of the other Magistrates. Some of these *Præfets* were chosen by the *Roman* People ; and others received their commissions from the *Prætor* of *Rome*, and were, properly speaking, no more than his substitutes in the Provinces. The discord among the *Campanians* gave the first occasion to the institution of *Præfets*. And afterwards the *Romans* established this form of Government in several parts of *Italy*. C. & R.

Year of *lilias Philo* * were chosen *Consuls* for the following year, we find *Q. Fabius R O M E Maximus*, who had been formerly General of the Horse to *Papirius*, and ever since his implacable enemy, raised at this time to the *Dictatorship*, and commissioned to carry on the siege of *Saticula*. While he was making his attack, the *Samnites* came from before *Plifia*, and their cavalry insulted the *Roman* camp, in which he had left his Cavalry under the command of *Aulus Cerretanus*, his General of the Horse. *Aulus*, without consulting the *Dictator*, sallied out with the *Roman* Knights, and, having discovered the General of the *Samnites*, rushed on him, and laid him dead with the first push of his lance; but, having penetrated too far into the enemy's squadrons, he could not retire; and the *Samnites* gave their General's brother the glory of revenging his death: He dismounted *Aulus*, and then stabbed him as he lay upon the ground. Hereupon the *Roman Knights* alighted from their horses, to recover their General's dead body; the *Samnite* cavalry did the same, and a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the *Romans* prevailed. The *Samnites* returned to the siege of *Plifia* † (a City in alliance with the *Romans*) and took it by assault.

† The situation of this place is unknown. Livy B. 9. c. 23. In the mean time *Saticula* capitulated, and then the *Dictator* marched to besiege *Sora*, on the banks of the *Liris*, in the country of the *Volsci*. The *Sorans* had gone over to the *Samnites*, having first massacred a *Roman Colony* which had been settled in their city. To defend this place the *Samnites* followed the *Dictator* with all expedition. When *Æmilius* understood that they were not far behind him, he faced about, marched to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow pass of *Lautula*. The success of the battle was doubtful, night put an end to it, and both armies continued their march towards *Sora*.

And now the *Dictator* chose a new General of the Horse, *L. Fabius*, a kinsman of his own, to succeed *Aulus*. He ordered him to go to *Rome*, fetch thence some fresh levies, conceal his march from the enemy, and, when he had posted his men in some secure place near *Sora*, to wait the signal for moving. This was no sooner executed, than the *Dictator* pretended fear, and kept close within his intrenchments, in hopes thereby to draw the *Samnite* army near his camp; and it did not fail to have the desired effect. Then on a sudden giving the signal for battle, he sallied out of his intrenchments, without letting the soldiers know the succours he had in readiness. They imagined it was some great distress, which made their General so suddenly change his resolution; and he confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them that *their case was such, that they must either conquer or perish: That he had ordered fire to be set to their tents and baggage, but that they might soon make up the loss by the plunder of the rebellious cities*. However, his private orders were to set fire only to those tents which were next the ramparts, and this was to be the signal for the General of the Horse to move to his assistance, and fall upon the enemy in the rear. Every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, and by this stratagem the *Samnites* were intirely defeated, and their camp plundered; and the *Roman* soldiers had

had the farther joy of finding at their return to their own camp, that their tents and baggage were not burnt.

After this the *Dictator* laid siege to *Sora*, and the siege was continued by his successors in the command of the army, *M. Poetelius Libo* and *C. Sulpicius * Longus*, the new *Consuls*. They pitched their camp almost close to the walls of the Town. While they were deliberating and in doubt in what part to make their attacks, a deserter from the besieged suggested to them a stratagem for getting possession of the place. What he proposed appeared to the *Consuls* practicable; and, in order to its execution, they, by the advice of the deserter, removed their camp to the distance of six miles from the Place: to the end that this might throw the garrison into carelessness and security. Next night the deserter, having posted some cohorts near the town, in a woody spot, where they could lie concealed, stole with ten chosen *Roman* soldiers into the citadel. Then placing his men in a narrow steep path, that led from the Citadel to the Town, and where they might easily defend themselves against a great multitude, he hastily ran down into the Town, crying out, *To arms, to arms, the enemy are in possession of the fortress*. A fright seized the inhabitants; and in their haste to escape they broke down the gates. The *Roman* cohorts, roused by the noise, rushed in at one of them, putting all they found in the streets to the sword. In the morning by day-break the *Consul*, with his army, entered the Town, already in the possession of the *Roman* cohorts. Two hundred and twenty-five of the prisoners, who had been the chief authors of the revolt, and of the massacre of the *Roman Colony* there settled, he sent to *Rome*, where they were first beaten with rods and then beheaded.

§. V. THE reduction of *Sora* was followed by the surprising of three Cities of the *Aufones* (*Aufona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Vescia*) on the same day and at the same hour. The *Romans* seized these places, and barbarously massacred all the inhabitants, merely upon an accusation (without proof) brought to the *Consuls* by twelve traitors of the nation, of their having formed a design to revolt. But *Livy* tells us, that this barbarity was owing to the absence of the Generals when the Towns were seized.

Luceria, which had rebelled, being taken by assault, not only the *Samnite* garrison, but the Citizens were put to the sword, and a *Colony* of two thousand five hundred men sent thither from *Rome*, to secure it for the future against all attempts.

Notwithstanding all these examples of severity, the restless *Campanians* prepared once more to shake off the *Roman* yoke; so that the Republick thought fit to name a Dictator^a, *C. Manius*, to go with an army into their country, and keep them in awe. In the mean time the Consul *Sulpicius* appeared with his army near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* had drawn together a great body of troops, and were waiting for the insurrection of the *Campanians*, who they hoped would join them. The two armies came

^a See the Note at the end of Chapter xiv.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxxix.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
thirteen.
140th
Consul-
ship.
* A 3d
time.
Livy, B.
9. c. 24.

c. 26.

Fast. Ca-
pit.
Liv. B.
9. c. 27.

Year of R O M E to an engagement, in which the *Samnites* lost thirty thousand men killed or taken *. And the conqueror marched his army to *Bovianum*, one of the principal Cities, if not the Capital of *Samnium*, and passed the winter before it.

Three hundred twelve. 141st Consulship. Fast. Capit. Livy, B. 9. c. 28. *L. Papirius Cursor* (a fifth time) and *C. Junius Brutus* (a 2d time, were now raised to the *Consulate*: but soon after, for what reason is unknown, the *Fathers* ordered a *Dictator* to be created. The nomination fell upon *C. Poetelius Libo*, and he was appointed to command the forces. He repaired to the camp near *Bovianum*, and in a short time quitted that post to retake *Fregellæ* from the enemy. They evacuated the place without standing a siege, and then the *Dictator* appeared before *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, which he quickly reduced, together with *Atina* and *Calatia*, both in the same province. This year the *Romans* planted a Colony at *Suessa*, a city of the *Aurunci*; and another in *Pontia*, an island which the *Volsci* had inhabited, and which lay within sight of their coast. And the Senate passed a Decree for planting a Colony at *Interamna* and *Casinum*.

Year of R O M E carrying on the war against the *Samnites*, and *P. Decius Mus*, the other, was lying sick at *Rome*, the Senate received advice, that the *Hetrurians* threatened the Republick with an invasion, upon which they ordered *Decius* to name a *Dictator* *. *C. Sulpicius Longus*, being promoted to that dignity, raised a powerful army, and made all the preparations which the apprehension of a war with so populous a nation and so near a neighbour required. Nevertheless he was not in haste to enter upon action; he kept himself upon the defensive, and waited till the *Hetrurians* should begin the hostilities; and this moderation had the effect he desired. The *Hetrurians* upon farther reflections suspended their design, and continued quiet within their own bounds.

* *Livy* gives the Consul *Poetelius* a share in this victory.

was named *Dictator*; but according to the *Fast. Cap. Junius* was General of the Horse to *Sulpicius*.

According to *Livy*, *C. Junius Bubulcus*

C H A P. XVI.

§. I. *Appius Claudius*, one of the Censors of *Rome*, admits the SONS OF FREED MEN into the Senate. The People reform this abuse the next year, and make some new regulations. §. II. *Rome* has war with the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*. §. III. *Appius* obstinately refuses to quit his office, though his eighteen months (the legal time for its duration) are expired. He is prosecuted before the People.

Pomponius de Origine Juris. §. I. THE domestick tranquillity of the Republick was at this time a little disturbed by *Appius Claudius*, one of the Censors. He was an able Lawyer, and an Oracle among the *Romans* in all knotty points of law, but a lover of innovations, taking great delight in overturning the most

most ancient institutions, and in setting up for a Legislator. Hitherto none but *Patricians*, or the most considerable of the Commons, had been admitted into the Senate; but *Appius* introduced there the *Libertini*, i. e. the sons of those who had been slaves, and had obtained their liberty. Having thus debased the Senate, he attacked the Priesthood, which had always been confined to the Nobility. The oldest Priesthood in *Rome* was that belonging to the Altar, called *Ara Maxima*, erected by *Evander* to *Hercules*; it had been given at that very time to an old man of the *Aborigines*, named *Potitius*, and had continued ever since in his family. The *Censor* prevailed with the *Potitii*^a to resign this Priesthood to the Slaves belonging to the publick, and employed in the publick works.

But, if *Appius* thus brought a blemish on the Senate and Priesthood, he made his country amends by the useful works he undertook with success; particularly an *Aqueduct* seven miles long, whereby he supplied *Rome* with plenty of wholesome water, which it before wanted. He likewise made that famous road from *Rome* to *Capua*, which was called the *Appian Way*, and which *Julius Cæsar* afterwards continued from *Capua* to *Brundisium* on the *Adriatick*. It lasted intire above eight hundred years.

The succeeding *Consuls*, *C. Junius* * *Brutus* and *Q. Æmilius* † *Barbula*, were no sooner entered on their office, but they complained to the People in *Comitia* of *Appius*'s new list of Senators, and cancelled it, so that the Senate resumed its former lustre. The people at the same time not only recovered an old privilege, but extended it farther than before: By a law in the year 391, the *Comitia* had assumed the privilege of chusing six out of twenty-four *Legionary Tribunes* in the *Consular* armies, consisting of four *Legions*. This privilege had been for some time past usurped from them by the *Consuls* and *Dictators*; but now it was decreed, that the People should, instead of six, name sixteen of the twenty-four *Tribunes*. At this time likewise the People, at the motion of *Decius Mus*, one of their *Tribunes*, appointed two ‡ officers to take care of the naval affairs of the Republick.

§. II. WHILEST the *Romans* were employed in these regulations, their *Consuls* prepared to lead two armies^b into the field. It fell to *Brutus*'s

Year of
R O M E
ccccxli.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eleven.

142d
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. B.
1. c. 40.
Val. Max.
B. 1. c. 1.
Livy B. 9.
c. 29.
Frontinus
de Aquæ-
ductis, B.
1.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxlii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ten.

143d
Consul-
ship.
* A 3d
time.
† A 2d
time.
Livy, B.
9. c. 30.

1 Drum-
viri Na-
lot vales.

^a *Livy* (B. 9. c. 29.) speaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the *Potitii*, consisting of twelve families, in which were thirty persons at or past the age of puberty, perished within the year; a warning from the angry Gods not to attempt innovations in Religion: And that *Appius* also was struck blind some years after, as a punishment for his profaneness.

^b *Livy* tells us (B. 9. c. 30.) that, while the *Romans* were burthened with the care of two dangerous wars, an adventure happened too trifling to be mentioned in History, were it not for the relation it had to Reli-

gion. All the publick Pipers, or Players upon the Flute, ran away together on a sudden to *Tybur* in great dudgeon, because the *Censors* had forbid them to feast and carouse in the Temple of *Jupiter*, as they used to do; so that there was no-body to play during the pomp of the sacrifices. The Senate, with a pious concern, dispatched some Deputies to *Tybur*, who were to endeavour to prevail with the People of that place, that the Pipers might be sent back to *Rome*. The *Tyburtes*, not being able to win upon these fellows, by persuasion, to return, contrived, on occasion of some festival, to make

Year of R O M E ccccxlii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ten. 143d Consulship. Livy B. 9. c. 32. c. 31. Zonaras, B. 6.

lot to carry on the war in *Samnium*, and to *Æmilius* to march against the *Hetrurians*, who had now begun hostilities. *Æmilius* found the enemy ready to lay siege to *Sutrium*, a Town in alliance with the *Romans*, about thirty miles from *Rome*, and a sort of key to the *Roman State* on that side. The *Hetrurians*, trusting to their numbers, ventured a battle, and were defeated by the *Consul*, who obtained a Triumph at *Rome*. Nor was *Junius Brutus* less successful against the *Samnites*. He first took *Cluvia* by assault, and then *Bovianum*, the spoils of which he gave to his soldiers. And now the *Samnites*, no longer daring to contend with a *Consular* army in the open field, had recourse to artifice, and endeavoured to draw their enemies into new *Caudine Forks*. Between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania* was the forest of *Avernus*, so called from the lake *Avernus* in the middle of it, from whose sulphurous waters exhaled such a nauseous stream, that the birds which attempted to fly over it were believed to be suffocated by the exhalations. The Poets make it one of the vents of Hell. Into this forest, where the *Samnites* had posted great numbers of men, they allured the *Roman Troops* by the hopes of booty. But the *Romans*, upon the first discovery of the ambush, drew up in order with such expedition, and behaved themselves with so much resolution and bravery, that they defeated the enemy, and left 20,000 of them dead upon the spot.

Year of R O M E ccccxliii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine. 144th Consulship. *A second time. Livy, B. 9. c. 33. Pomponius de Origine Juris. Livy, B. 9. c. 34.

§. III. IN the following *Consulship* of *Q. Fabius* * and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the tranquillity and concord at home, to which so much prosperity abroad was owing, was greatly disturbed by the ambition and obstinacy of the *Censor Appius*. In the year 319, a law had been passed, enacting, that no *Censor* should continue in his office longer than eighteen months: But *Appius* refused to comply with this regulation, and to resign the *Censorship* (tho' his Colleague did) at the expiration of his term, depending on the favour of the People, who were pleased with his *Aqueduct* and new *Road*. Nevertheless *Sempronius Sophus*, one of the *Tribunes*, made no scruple to impeach him for this infraction of the *ÆMILIAN Law*. *Appius*, upon a summons, appearing before the *Assembly of the People*, the *Tribune* asked him, how he would have behaved himself, had he been one of the *Censors* when that Law was passed? To this *Appius* answered that his case was not the same with theirs, and that the Law in question bound only the *Censors* of that year. *Sempronius*, finding that nobody applauded this answer, immediately ordered him to prison. But then *Appius* appealed to the whole body of the *Tribunes*, of whom three took him under their protection, while the other seven were against him; and as no person could be condemned at their

make them all dead-drunk, and then sent them home in carts. When they awaked in the morning, they found themselves in the middle of the *Forum*. The People, who were got together about them, having prevailed upon them to stay, the privilege

of feasting in the Temple was restored to them, and a new one was granted them of strolling about the city three days every year in masquerade, piping and singing. This custom still prevailed in *Livy's* time.

Tribunal;

Tribunal, unless they were all unanimous, he by this means escaped, and alone held the *Censorship* more than three years longer, contrary to the inclination of the Publick.

Year of
R O M E.
ccccxliii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
nine.

C H A P. XVII.

§. I. *The Consul Fabius defeats the Hetrurians. He penetrates into the Ciminian Forest, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a second overthrow.* §. II. *The Roman arms have not equal success against the Samnites. The Senate orders Fabius to name Papirius Cursor (the man he most hates) to be Dictator to carry on that war.* §. III. *He continues (with the title of Proconsul) successfully to conduct the war against the Hetrurians.* §. IV. *The Dictator Papirius is no less successful against the Samnites. He returns to Rome, and retires for the rest of his life from publick business.* §. V. *The Samnites, assisted by the Marſi and Peligni, are defeated. The Hetrurians sue for an Alliance with Rome. The Romans subdue all Umbria.* §. VI. *They send an army against the Salentines. The HERNICI rebel and are subdued; and the SAMNITES are frequently defeated.* §. VII. *The Samnites request and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with Rome. The ÆQUI, who had lately rebelled, are totally subdued.*

144th
Consul-
ship.
Auth. de
Viris Il-
lustris
c. 34.

§. I. **T**HIS intestine disturbance did not stop the progress of the Roman arms. Fabius marched against the Hetrurians, and defeated them near Sutrium. The run-aways took refuge in the Ciminian Forest, a forest, says Livy, more impassable and dreadful than those of Germany, and through which not even a single merchant had ever yet made his way. Fabius was almost the only man in the army who had the boldness to think of entering into it: they were afraid of finding Caudine Forks in Hetruria. The General had with him at this time a near relation, named Cæſo Fabius, who had been educated at Cære in Hetruria, and spoke the language of the country perfectly well. Cæſo undertook to examine the forest and the places about it. He was accompanied in this enterprize by only one servant, who, having been brought up with him, was also well acquainted with the *Tuscan* language. Before they set out, they took care to inform themselves of the names of the several Governors, and of the nature and situation of the places through which they were to pass, that in conversation they might not be discovered through their ignorance of any thing that was notorious to all the natives. They were clad in the habit of shepherds, bearing each a cleaving bill and two javelins after the manner of the peasants. But neither their dress, their arms, nor the familiar use of the language, was so good a security to them against a discovery, as the general notion that no stranger would dare to enter that forest. In this disguise they are said to have travelled

Livy B 9.
c. 35, and
36.

Year of as far as to *Camerinum* * in *Umbria*, where they discovered themselves to be
 ROM E *Romans*, treated with the Senate of the City in the name of the *Consul*, and
 ccccxliii. obtained a promise from them to furnish the *Roman* army with a reinforce-
 Bet. J C. ment of men, and with thirty days provision, in case it should come into
 Three those parts.
 hundred
 nine.

144th
 Consul-
 L. P.

Upon the report made by *Cæso* at his return, *Fabius*, when it grew dark, first sent away his baggage, and soon after his infantry, to enter the forest. He himself stayed in the camp with his cavalry, and early the next morning began to skirmish with the advanced guard of the *Hetrurians* that were posted without the wood. When by this means he had long enough amused the enemy, he retired into his camp, from whence he went out at another gate, and overtook his main army before night. The next morning by day-break he reached the top of the hill *Ciminus*, which was on the further side of the forest, and gave name to it: From hence he surveyed a while the fertile plains of *Hetruria*, and then sent out a detachment of soldiers, who not only brought off a great booty, but defeated a tumultuous army that had got together to rescue it out of their hands. After this the *Romans* returned to their camp near *Sutrium*, where they found two Tribunes of the People, with five Deputies from the Senate, dispatched expressly to forbid *Fabius* to enter the *Ciminian* Forest. These messengers were extremely pleased, that they had come too late to hinder an expedition which had succeeded so well. They returned to *Rome* with the joyful tidings, that a way was opened into *Hetruria*.

The detachment which *Fabius* had sent out to plunder, had alarmed all the country near the foot of the hill *Ciminus*, and even the people of
 Livy, B. *Umbria* on the confines of *Hetruria*, so that prodigious numbers of each
 9. c. 37. nation took the field and came to the camp before *Sutrium*. And now the *Hetrurians* not only brought their camp forward, but came out and drew up their forces in order of battle in the plain, leaving a space for the enemy to do the like. Finding that the *Romans* declined the fight, they advanced almost to their very trenches; and the soldiers cried out with one voice to their officers, that the remainder of their allowance of provision for that day might be brought to them, for they would stay there under arms, and attack the *Roman* camp either in the night or early the next morning. *Fabius*, to deceive the enemy, still pretended fear, and kept close within his intrenchments; but he bid his men refresh themselves, and be ready for action upon the first signal. To raise their courage, he made a short harangue to them, extolling to a high degree the exploits of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium*, and assuring them, that the *Hetrurians* were not soldiers comparable to the *Samnites* for strength or courage; to this he added some dark words, by which he made them believe he had a secret correspondence with the enemy's camp, and was sure of the victory. About

* From *Sutrium*, whence *Cæso* had set out to *Camerinum* in *Umbria*, it was a two days journey.

the fourth watch of the night he drew up his army in order of battle with- Year of
in the intrenchments of the camp, caused the rampart to be levelled, and R O M E
the ditch to be filled, and then marched out and surprised the enemy while ccccxliiii.
half asleep, and lying scattered over the plain. Of the *Hetrurians* were sixty Bef. J. C.
thousand men slain or taken prisoners. Those who could escape fled into Three
the wood. Their camp was seized and plundered. Some say, that this ac- hundred
tion happened in the country beyond the hill *Ciminus* near *Perusia*. Be nine.
that as it will, three of the most considerable *Lucumonies*, after this over- 144th
throw, sent Deputies to *Rome* to sue for Peace; they obtained a Truce for Consul-
thirty years. ship.

§. II. BUT the *Roman* arms under the conduct of the Consul *Marcus Livy*, B. 9.
had not the like success against the *Samnites*, tho' he gained at first some c. 38.
advantages over them. The *Roman* fleet, commanded by *P. Cornelius*,
met with misfortunes. This was the first fleet the *Romans* had ever put
to sea. The Admiral made a descent at *Pompeii*, in *Campania*, and his
troops, meeting with no opposition at first, were, by the eager desire of
booty, carried farther into the country than was consistent with prudence,
so that the inhabitants had time to get together, and they had the good
fortune to intercept them in their return. They forced the *Romans* to
relinquish their spoil; slew some of them, and chased those who escaped
the sword to their ships.

This news, with a false report that *Fabius* had met with *Caudine Forks* in
the *Ciminian* forest, revived the courage of the *Samnites*, and they gave
Marcus battle. Much blood was spilt in the action on both sides, and it
was not known which had the advantage. Nevertheless, as fame gave it
against the *Romans*, (because some of the knights, and of the *Tribunes of the*
Soldiers, and one of the Consul's lieutenants had been killed, and the Consul
himself wounded) the Senate judged it necessary to create a *Dictator*; and
nobody doubted but *Papirius* would be the man. How to get him nomi-
nated was the question: For, whether *Marcus* were alive or not, no one at
Rome could tell; and the *Samnites* had guards upon all the roads that led to
his *Camp*: And, as for *Fabius*, the other Consul, he had a private and perso-
nal quarrel with *Papirius*. In this difficulty, the *Fathers* determined to send
to *Fabius* some eminent members of their body, men of consular dignity,
who to the publick authority should add the weight of their own, to en-
gage him to suppress his resentments for the sake of his country. When
the deputies, being arrived at his camp, had notified to him the Senate's
decree, and had thereto added some discourse to the style of exhortation
and intreaty to comply, he stood silent for a while, with his eyes fixed on
the ground, and then withdrew without making any answer. At midnight
(according to custom) he declared *Papirius* Dictator. Nevertheless, he
plainly shewed the violence he had done to himself: For, when the deputies
returned him thanks for mastering his resentment, he dismissed them with-
out any reply, they could not draw one word from him.

We have a remarkable instance at this time of the excessive superstition
of the *Romans*. *Papirius*, after his nomination to the *Dictatorship*, and
after

Year of R O M E had recourse ^a as seems to have been the custom in these days at least, to an assembly of the People by *Curia* to obtain his commission. It having fallen by lot to the *Curia* called *Fauzia* to vote first, the assembly would not proceed in the matter, because to the same *Curia* had fallen the like *prærogative* in those unfortunate years, when ROME was taken by the Gauls, and the Roman Legions were surprised in the *Caudine Forks*. The business was put off to the next day, and then *Papirius* obtained his commission without any ominous circumstance.

He marched away with an army which had been suddenly raised upon the alarm, formerly mentioned, of *Fabius's* danger in passing the *Ciminian* forest, and arrived at *Longula* on the frontiers of the *Volsci*, where *Marcus* delivered up to him the troops under his command. *Papirius* offered the *Samnites* battle, but they declined it; and for some days after both parties continued quiet in their camps.

§. III. IN the mean time *Fabius*, who in quality of *Proconsul* had been continued at the head of the forces in *Hebrunia*, not only put to flight without difficulty an army of *Umbrians*, but obtained a notable victory over the *Hebrurians*, who had assembled on the banks of a little lake called *Vadimonius* (near *Viterbo*) a more numerous and more courageous army than they had ever had before. All the soldiers of it were men who had chosen ^b one another to the service, and (as some think) made a vow to conquer or die. This is supposed to be the meaning of their *Lex sacra*, by which they were bound: whoever violated this oath might by any man be slain with impunity. Be that as it will, the extraordinary engagement, by which they had bound themselves, had such an effect upon them, that during the action the Romans could not believe that they were contending with the same people they had so often vanquished. The first line of the Roman army was cut to pieces, and the second repulsed; so that the *Proconsul* was obliged to bring his *Triarii* to the charge; nor was even this sufficient; it became necessary for the Cavalry to dismount, and go to the assistance of the Foot. But when the Roman Knights, who were quite fresh and in full strength, passing over heaps of slain, had placed themselves in the front of the battle, they made so furious an attack on the enemy, and were so well seconded by the Legionary Soldiers (tho' much fatigued) that the *Hebrurians* were soon broken, and their whole army put to flight. They lost the flower of their troops in this action.

§. IV. NOR was *Papirius* less successful against the *Samnites*, who, to give their soldiers more pride and spirit, had furnished them with finer arms and finer habits than usual. They divided their troops into two bodies, one of which they cloathed in stuff of various colours, and pro-

^a Ei [Papirio] legem curiatam de imperio ferenti, triste omen diem diffudit, quod Fauzia curia fuit principium, duabus insignis cladibus, captæ urbis & Cardinæ pacis:

quod utroque anno ejusdem curiæ fuerat principium. *Livy*, B. 9. c. 38.

^b Lege sacra coacto exercitu, quum virum legisset. *Livy*, B. 9. c. 39.

vided with gilt bucklers; the other had silvered bucklers, and were cloath-
ed in white habits; and they had all crests to their helmets, to make them
look taller. That this novelty might have no ill effect upon the *Roman*
soldiers, their officers put them in mind, that the true dress of a soldier
was a sword and courage; that gold and silver were of no use in battles,
and made but an ugly figure when distained with blood, but would be a
very good booty to enrich the conquerors.

Year of
R O M E
cccxlii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
eight.

Papirius commanded the right wing of the *Romans*, which faced the
many-coloured troops of the enemy; and his General of the Horse *Ju-*
nius Brutus, commanded the left, which faced their white battalions; *Bru-*
tus cried out, as he advanced towards the enemy, *I devote these white men*
to Pluto: His attack presently threw the *Samnites* into disorder, and they
began to give ground; which *Papirius* observing, called out to the *Romans*
of the right wing, *What! you have the Dictator at your head, and shall*
victory begin in the left? While *Papirius* thus animated the Infantry of the
right to make a vigorous charge, his two Lieutenants (both eminent men,
who had been Consuls) *M. Valerius* (on the right) and *P. Decius* (on the
left) quitted the Foot, and putting themselves at the head of the Cavalry,
each on his own side, made a sudden and furious attack on the enemy's
flanks. The *Samnites* finding themselves almost surrounded, a terror seized
them, they instantly broke their ranks and fled to their camp; but their
loss in the battle had been so great, that they durst not think of defending
it. Before night it was taken and burnt.

144th
Consul-
ship.

The *Dictator*, after the victory, returned to *Rome*, and had a Triumph, Fast. Ca.
of which the fine arms taken from the *Samnites* were the chief ornaments. pit.
They were afterwards delivered to the Goldsmiths company, to beautify
the *Roman Forum* with them: And hence arose the custom of the *Ædiles*
adorning the *Forum*, on those days when the images of the Gods were
carried in procession through the streets of *Rome* in chariots.

The Triumph of the *Proconsul Fabius* followed that of the *Dictator*, and,
though less splendid, was accompanied with more applause, because he
had had no sharer in his glory; whereas the other had been much indebted
for his success, not only to his General of the Horse, but to his two Lieu-
tenants, *Valerius* and *Decius*.

§. V. *PAPIRIUS* was now grown old. He appeared no more in
any publick station, but for the future left all the glory of heroical exploits
to his rival *Q. Fabius*, who was now (the 3d time) with *P. Decius Mus*
(the 2d time) raised to the Consulate. *Samnium* fell by lot to the former,
and *Hetruria* to the latter. *Fabius* took *Nuceria*, [the last town in *Cam-*
pania, on the other side of mount *Vesuvius*,] from the *Samnites*, and de-
feated them afterwards in a battle, but a battle so inconsiderable, that it
would not deserve notice in History, had it not presented the Republick
with new enemies who had not before appeared. The *Marfi* and *Peligni*,
two petty nations in the neighbourhood of *Samnium*, northward, had joined
the *Samnites*, though with little benefit to their allies.

Year of
R O M E
cccxlv.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
seven.

145th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
9. c. 41.

Year of R O M E ccccxlv. B. J. C. Three hundred. 145th Consulship. As for *Decius*, he made such a happy progress in his province, that all *Hebruria* desired an alliance with *Rome*: But the Republick, having (doubtless) formed the design of conquering this country, granted the *Hebrurians* only a Truce for one year. Soon after the *Umbrians* assembled all their forces, and, being joined by great numbers of *Hebrurians*, they confidently boasted, that, leaving *Decius* behind them in *Hebruria*, they would march directly to *Rome*. This put both the *Consuls* in motion. *Decius* made long marches from *Hebruria*, and incamped his army in the *Pugillan* field, near the river *Liris*, about eight miles distant from *Rome*. But the enterprising *Fabius* no sooner received orders from the Senate (alarmed by the preparations of the *Umbrians*) than he quitted *Samnium*, crossed *Sabina*, entered *Umbria*, and incamped in the very heart of the country near *Mecania*, on the banks of the *Citurnus*. The *Umbrians* were terrified at his unexpected appearance among them; and, though they ventured to give battle, they behaved themselves like women in the action: The *Romans* hardly made use of their swords; they beat down the enemy with their bucklers alone, so that little blood was spilt; but the whole army were made prisoners, and the whole nation soon after submitted. After this *Fabius* returned to his camp in *Samnium*.

Year of R O M E ccccxv. B. J. C. Three hundred. 146th Consulship. Livy, B. 9. c. 42. §. VI. THE time being now come for a new election of *Consuls*, *Appius Claudius*, who had held the *Censorship* five years contrary to law, stood candidate for the *Consulate*, and obtained it. *L. Volunnius Flamma* was appointed his Collegue. *Appius* not being qualified for the command of armies, the Senate obliged him to stay in *Rome*; and, notwithstanding his opposition to it, continued *Fabius* in quality of *Proconsul*, and without any associate, in the command of the troops in *Samnium*, where he obtained a considerable victory over the enemy near *Alifia*, on the banks of the *Volturnus*. In the mean time *Volunnius* made war against the *Salentines*, in the extreme part of *Italy*, with good success, and for the first time spread the terror of the *Roman* name in those parts.

Fast. Capit. Year of R O M E ccccxvii. B. J. C. Three hundred. 147th Consulship. Livy, B. 9. c. 43. In the election of *Magistrates* for the following year, the *Romans* chose *Appius* to be *Prætor*, a post much better suited to his talents; and at the same time raised *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* to the *Consulate*. The former was ordered to march against a body of *Hernici*, who had taken arms on account of the severe treatment which some of their countrymen (made prisoners in the last battle of the *Romans* with the *Samnites*, had suffered at *Rome*. The rebels lost three camps in a few days, and were forced to surrender at discretion. This war being ended, *Marcius* hastened to join his Collegue, who had suffered himself to be invested in narrow passes by the *Samnites*. The enemy, to prevent the uniting of the two armies, gave *Marcius* battle, while his troops were fatigued and in some disorder. The place where they attacked him being not far from the camp of *Cornelius*, the latter could hear the shouts of the combatants, and see the clouds of dust that they raised; judging therefore that his Collegue was engaged in fight with the enemy, he sallied out of his intrenchments, fell upon the *Samnites* in flank, broke through them, and

and made his way to their camp, which he found empty, and set fire to it. The sight of the fire totally discouraged them, so that they immediately dispersed themselves and fled, leaving thirty thousand men dead on the spot. But this action was no sooner over, than the *Romans* found themselves obliged to enter upon a new engagement with a body of fresh troops coming to reinforce the *Samnite* army. The success of this battle being the same with that of the preceding one, the *Samnites* were reduced to sue for peace. The *Consuls* referred their Deputies to the Senate and People of *Rome*.

Year of.
R O M E
ccccxlvii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
five.
147th
Consul-
ship.

Whilst *Marcus* and *Cornelius* were yet in the field, the time came for electing new Magistrates; so that a *Dictator* was named to preside in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, who chose *Posthumius Megellus* and *Tib. Minucius Consuls*. Before they took possession of their office, the Senate determined the fate of the *Hernici*. Those of their cities that had continued faithful were allowed to chuse whether to live according to their ancient laws, or to have the right of *Roman Citizenship*, and they preferred the former. The rest were declared *Roman Citizens*, and obliged to be governed by *Roman Laws*, whether they liked it or not, yet without having the right of suffrage.

Livy, B
9. c. 44.

At this time Deputies arrived from *Carthage*, with a compliment and presents to the Republick; and some Historians say, that a third treaty was now made with the *Carthaginians*.

c. 43.

The new *Consuls* were both ordered into *Samnium*, each at the head of two *Legions*. *Posthumius* directed his march towards the city of *Tifernum*, and *Minucius* incamped in the neighbourhood of *Bovianum*. The first came to a battle with the *Samnites*, the success of which was equal on both sides; but he pretended to be worsted, retired the next night to the mountains, and there fortified himself in an advantageous place. The *Samnites* followed and incamped within two miles of him. *Posthumius* hereupon finished his intrenchments, with all expedition, and leaving a sufficient number of troops to guard them, marched out at midnight with the rest, and joined his Collegue, who lay in sight of another body of *Samnites* that waited for an opportunity to engage. *Minucius*, by the advice of *Posthumius*, advanced into the plain with only his two *Legions*, and offered the enemy battle. The victory was long disputed; but at length *Posthumius* appearing with his fresh troops, and falling suddenly upon the *Samnites*, whose strength was exhausted, the latter suffered a terrible slaughter. They lost one and twenty *Ensigns*. This action over, the two *Consuls* led their joint forces to *Posthumius's* camp, and thence fell upon that body of *Samnites* which was posted near it. This proved a bloodier battle than the former; *Minucius* was killed in it, and *Statius Gellius*, the *Samnite* General, taken prisoner. Victory declared for the *Romans*, who took twenty-six *Ensigns* from the enemy.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxlviii
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
four.
148th
Consul-
ship.
Liv. B. 9.
c. 44.

The People at *Rome*, on the news of *Minucius's* death, immediately appointed *Fulvius Cereus* to succeed him, and to finish the campaign,

Year of which he did by reducing *Bovianum* and several other cities to surrender, R O M E for which he had a Triumph at his return home.

CCCCXLIX.

Bef J. C.

Three

Hundred

three.

149th

Consul-

ship.

Faft. Ca-

pit.

Livy, B.

9. c. 45.

§. VII. IN the beginning of the administration of the succeeding *Consuls*, *C. Sempronius Sophus* and *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Samnite* nation sent Deputies to *Rome* to desire a renewal of the ancient confederacy with the Republick: But the *Romans*, before they would grant this request, dispatched *Sulpicius* with an army into *Samnium*, to examine the sincerity of the *Samnites*, and discover their real sentiments. They received the *Consul* every-where with great marks of respect and friendship; and, upon his report of the seeming alteration in their dispositions, a new alliance was made with them on the old foot.

And now the Republick prepared to punish her old enemies the *Æqui*, who, notwithstanding the Treaty between them and *Rome*, had many times privately sent succours to the *Samnites*, and had of late openly espoused their cause, following the example of the *Hernici*. They had likewise returned this haughty answer to the *Roman Feciales*, who had been sent to them to demand satisfaction: *That they supposed it was only a trial, whether through the fear of a war they would suffer themselves to be made Roman Citizens; which, how desirable a thing it was, the Hernici had taught them; seeing those of that nation, who had been left free to chuse, had preferred their own Laws to Roman Citizenship; and those who had been compelled to be Roman Citizens looked upon it as a punishment.* War was therefore declared against the *Æqui*, and both the *Consuls* were ordered to enter their country. The long subjection and inaction of this people had enervated their courage, and untaught them Military Discipline. They assembled an army, but there was no order, no subordination among the soldiers, nor could they come to any agreement what measures to take. At length they all unanimously left their camp at midnight, and every one made the best of his way home. The *Consuls*, who the next morning drew up their troops with an intention to offer battle, were much surpris'd at the inaction of the enemy, and the silence that reigned in their camp. No advanced guards appeared, no centinels upon the ramparts. At first they suspected an ambush, and proceeded with caution; but, when they discovered the truth, resolved to lay siege to the Cities whither they had retreated. In fifty days the *Consuls* took forty-one Towns, most of which they razed or burnt, which intirely reduced the *Æqui*; and this rapid destruction spread such a terror among the neighbouring nations, that the *Marfi*, *Peligni*, *Ferentani*, and *Marrucini*, all sent to solicit an alliance with the Republick. Their request was granted.

C H A P. XVIII.

§. I. The renowned *Q. Fabius*, being *CENSOR* this year, acquires the surname of *MAXIMUS*, for his reformation of an abuse introduced by *APPIUS*.

§. II. Colonies are sent to the Conquered Cities. The art of Painting is introduced

roduced at Rome by C. FABIVS, surnamed PICTOR. Cleonymus, son of Cleomenes King of Sparta, brings a fleet upon the coast of Italy, and makes two descents there. §. III. An insurrection of the Marfi is quelled. After a victory over the Hettrurians, a Truce is granted them, for two years.

§. I. **T**HIS success of the Roman arms abroad was followed by re-
formations at home. The famous Q. Fabius Rullianus, being
this year (with P. Decius Mus) in the Censorship, employed his power to
rectify an abuse introduced by Appius Claudius into the State. Appius,
as we have already * seen, to make himself Master in the Senate, had
brought the sons of Freed-men into it; but this novelty had not lasted
above one year; his list of Senators was cancelled, and the old one took
place. Not succeeding therefore in that enterprise, he, in order to go-
vern the Elections in the Comitia, dispersed the Freed-men and the very
lees of the People, men wholly devoted to him, into all the Roman Tribes,
and this occasioned endless broils in the Republick. It was owing to the
same cause, that the Curule Ædileship fell this year into the hands of two
very mean persons, the one a native of Præneste, the other Cn. Flavius,
the grandson of a Freed-man, and whose first profession had been that of
a scribe †. Having by some means learnt the rules by which the Ponti-
fices settled the Term-days, or the days for hearing Causes, and such
other matters as were within their peculiar province, he composed a Ca-
lendar, transcribed it, and fixed it up in the Forum for the use of the
People †; who, being thereby freed from their dependance on the Ponti-
fices in this respect, rewarded him with several honourable employments,
to which they raised him successively, and at length with the Curule Ædile-
ship. The Nobles were so deeply affected with the indignity offered them
by this promotion of Flavius, that many of them laid aside their ornaments,
and particularly their Gold-Rings, as in a time of mourning.

Fabius, to re-establish peace in Rome, and to hinder the great dignities
from being bestowed on worthless men, reincorporated into the four City-
Tribes those mean fellows whom Appius had taken thence, and dispersed
among the Country-Tribes; so that for the future they could influence no
more than four Tribes, and in these they were not the strongest: a refor-
mation so agreeable to the Republick, that on this account alone the
Romans gave Fabius the surname of Maximus, which he had not acquired
by all his military exploits. It was perpetuated in his branch of the
Fabian family.

* Pliny (B. 33. c. 1. §. vi) says, that Flavius had been scribe to Appius Claudius Cæcus, and, at his instigation, both made himself master of the secret (by artful inquiries) and published it.

† Flavius published likewise what Livy calls, *Civile jus repositum in penetralibus pontificum*. See TAYLOR's *Elements of Civil Law*, p. 77—81, where this matter is satisfactorily explained.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxlix.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
three.

149th
Consul-
ship.

* In the
year 441.
Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 2.

Aul. Gell.
B. 6. c. 9.
Livy, B.
9. c. 46.
Pomponi-
us de Ori-
gine Juris.
Cicero
pro Mu-
ræna, 11.
Livy, ibid
Plin. B.
33. c. 1.
§. 6.

Year of
R O M E
452. B.
J. C. 500.
Fast. Ca-
pit.
In this *Cretyship* likewise an ordinance was made, that the *Roman* *Argers* should every year on the *Ides* or *July* appear on horseback dressed in purple, and crowned with Olive, and march in procession from the Temple of *Mars* to the *Capitol*, [in honour of *Cajus* and *Polus* who fought for the *Romans* at the lake *Regillus*.]

§. II. THE Republick being now in peace with her neighbours, the year of the Consuls *S. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Genucius Aventinus* was almost wholly spent in sending *Colonies* to the conquered Cities. To *Sora* 4000, to *Antia* in the country of the *Aequi*, 6000 men were sent. The same year to the *Arpinum* and *Trebulan* were granted the privilege of *Roman* Citizens; but from the *Fri States* was taken a third part of their land, because they had solicited the *Samniti* to make war on the *Romans*. The publick tranquillity suffered a short interruption by a gang of Robbers in *Umbria*, who ravaged the country far and near. Their retreat was a great cave with two entrances: and the *Romans*, having found them both, lighted great fires at them, so that some of the wretches whose whole number amounted to two thousand were stifled with the smoke, and the rest threw themselves into the flames.

This expedition was followed by an inconsiderable war. In the beginning of the *Cretyship* of *M. Livius Dentor* and *M. Fufius Paulus*, the *Aequi* took umbrage at the *Colony* of six thousand men which the Republick had lately sent to *Ater*, and they laid siege to that place. But *Junius Brutus*, whom the People named *Dictator* upon this occasion, marched against them, and by a speedy victory put an end to the war in eight days time. At his return home he dedicated to *The Goddess of Health* a Temple, which he had vowed when he was *Consul*, and of which he had laid the foundation when he was *Censor*. And this is the first time that History mentions the use of the art of Painting in *Rome*. *C. Fabius* (afterwards *Consul*) painted all the walls of the new Temple in *Tusco*, and thence got the surname of *Pictor*.

At this time *Cleonymus*, the son of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, came with a great fleet on the coast of *Italy*, with design to make a settlement there, and he took *Thuriae* [anciently called *Sybaris*] a City of *Lucania*. Being driven thence by the *Romans* he made a second descent, in the place where *Venice* now stands. But, this expedition proving as unfortunate as the former, he returned to his own country, having lost four-fifths of his fleet.

§. III. THE following year the Republick had no *Consuls*, but was governed by two *Dictators*, one after another, each of whom fulfilled his six months. The first was *Fabius Maximus*. The revolt of the *Marfi* induced the *Romans* to put this eminent warrior at the head of their troops. He marched an army against them, and by one single victory quieted that insurrection. *Valerius Corvus*, who succeeded *Fabius*, was named to the *Dictatorship*, to conduct a war against the *Hetrurians*, in which the Republick was engaged by taking part in the civil broils of that people. But the *Roman Legions*, having entered *Hetruria*, were no sooner advanced within a small

a small distance of the enemy, than a religious scruple seized the *Dictator*. He called to mind that there had been some defect in the ceremony of his inauguration, upon which he straight returned to *Rome*, to renew the *Auspicia*. In his absence *Sempronius Sophus*, his General of the Horse, imprudently made an incursion into the country, fell into an ambush, and lost a great number of men, and some colours. The news of this defeat, which was much magnified, caused an extraordinary terror at *Rome*, and the *Dictator* hastened away with new levies to the camp. At his arrival he found things in a much better condition than had been reported. *Sempronius* had changed his post for a more safe and advantageous one; the *Manipuli*, who had lost their Colours, were impatiently waiting in great shame and disgrace without the camp (where they continued day and night without covering) for an opportunity to recover their honour, and the whole army desired nothing so much as a battle, that they might have their revenge. *Valerius*, seeing this good disposition of his troops, led them into the fields of *Russelle*, one of the twelve chief cities of *Hetruria*. The *Hetrurians*, flushed with their success, followed him, and endeavoured by a stratagem to surprise *Fulvius*, one of the *Dictator's* Lieutenant-Generals, who, with a detachment, had possessed himself of a fort at some distance from the *Roman* camp. Some *Hetrurian* officers, in the dress of shepherds, came with their flocks near the walls of the fort. This was a bait to draw the *Romans* out; a body of troops lay ready in ambush to fall upon them. *Fulvius*, discovering their artifice by their speech, which was more elegant than that of shepherds, bid some of his men call out to the pretended shepherds, and tell them, *That they would find it as hard to deceive the Romans as to conquer them*. When the *Hetrurians* perceived that their stratagem would not take effect, they presently after appeared, and besieged *Fulvius* in form. The *Dictator* had notice of his distress, and hastened to his relief, and this brought on a general action. *Valerius*, to surprise the enemy, instead of posting his Cavalry in the wings of his army, as was usual, drew them up behind his Infantry, leaving spaces in the lines for the horse to advance upon a signal. And in reality, when the *Romans* had given the first shout for the combat, it was not their Infantry but their Cavalry that began the charge. Passing through the intervals before-mentioned, they drove full speed upon the enemy; and this unexpected attack so terrified and disconcerted the *Hetrurians*, unprepared for it, that the battle was neither long nor doubtful. They quickly gave ground, dispersed themselves, and fled; and the victory of the *Romans* was complete. The *Hetrurians*, humbled by this fresh blow, once again sued for peace, but could obtain no more than a truce for two years.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLII.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred.
151st
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
10. c. 4.

c. 5

C H A P. XIX.

§. I. *In the year of Rome 453, a Law is passed, to qualify PLEBEIANS for the Pontificate and Augurate.* §. II. *The Lex Valeria is confirmed anew.* §. III. *Q. Fabius Maximus declines the Consulship, and at his own request obtains the Curule Ædileship.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIII.
Ref. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
nine.
—
153d
Consul-
ship
• A fifth
time.
Fast. Ca-
pit.
Livy, B.
12. c. 6.

§. I. **A**T the next election of Magistrates, *Valerius Corvus*, though absent, was again * promoted to the Consulship; and the *Comitia* appointed *Q. Apulcius Panfa* to be his Collegue. During their administration the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* continued quiet, and the Republick enjoyed an interval of tranquillity abroad. But as it had ever been the fate of *Rome* to have commotions at home, when she had no foreign enemies, so now two *Tribunes of the Commons*, brothers, of the name of *Ogulnius*, set on foot a new contest with the *Patricians*, concerning honours and dignities. The only important offices which the *Plebeians* did not share with the Nobility, at this time, were the *Pontificate* and the *Augurate*. *Numa* had appointed only four *Pontifices*, and that number had never been increased. The *Augurs*, though but three in number at their first institution by *Romulus*, had been augmented to six. However, the *Augural* College consisted now but of four, probably by the death of two. The *Ogurnii* presented a petition to have four additional *Pontifices* chosen out of the *Plebeians*, and to have five *Plebeian* Augurs added to the four in being. The *Patricians* were highly offended with this proposal; but, as they had experienced the fruitlessness of their endeavours to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Consulate* and the other great dignities, they made no other opposition to this new incroachment on their prerogatives, than by declaiming in all places against the innovation, as an affront offered to the Gods themselves: *May Heaven grant that so wicked a profanation of our sacred mysteries draw no calamity on the Republick!* The matter was first debated before the assembly of the *Curiæ* where *Appius Claudius*, so famous for his attempts to humble the Nobility, became now their most zealous advocate. But, as his harangue contained nothing more than a repetition of the old arguments that had been so often employed against the admission of *Plebeians* to the *Consulate*, History has not transmitted it to us. On the other hand, *P. Decius Mus*, who had been twice Consul, and once *Dictator*, spoke in behalf of the *Plebeians*. He put the assembly in mind of his father *Decius*, who devoted himself to death for the *Roman Legions*, and thereby made *them* victorious: *If Decius was as pure and as agreeable a victim to the Gods as his Patrician Collegue Manlius would have been, had he offered himself; what should hinder, but that the same Decius might have been chosen to officiate in our Religious Ceremonies and Sacrifices? And, after all, whence is it that the Patricians derive this peculiar privilege of being alone worthy to minister in sacred things? Did they descend from Heaven with the quality of Patricians? or did Romulus* give

give that title to their ancestors, only because they could tell who were their Fathers and Grandfathers, that is, because they were men of free condition? If this be all, I am able to name a Consul for my Father; and my son may boast, that both his Father and Grandfather have been honoured with the highest dignities in the Republick. But to what purpose should I reason any longer? The Patricians have nothing solid to offer, they only seek to amuse us with words and noise, and they know very well that we shall carry our point. My opinion therefore is, that the People by their suffrages do immediately pass the Petition of the Ogulnii into a Law.

Year of
R O M E
ccccliii.
Bef. J. C.
Three
hundred
ninety-
nine.
152d
Consul.

This Debate was in the assembly of the *Curiae*; but, in order to decide the affair, it had been before agreed to summon the *Tribes*; and there both points were carried in favour of the People, and *Decius* was chosen one of the new *Pontifices*.

§. II. *VALERIUS* took the opportunity of the present tranquillity to revive an old Law*, made by *Valerius Poplicola*, and afterwards renewed † by another of his ancestors, enacting, That in capital causes the accused should have a right of appealing to the Tribunal of the People. The Patricians, by their interest and power, had hindered the effect of this law, and rendered it obsolete; but it was now once more restored, and expressed in stronger terms than before; with no other sanction however, but That the transgressors of it should be deemed guilty of a dishonest action; a penalty which should have been of little influence in a more corrupt age, but sufficient at this time to restrain the Romans, who piqued themselves upon their virtue, and had no hope of rising to great employments, unless they had preserved their reputation pure and untainted.

* In the
year 244.
† In the
year 304.

§. III. IN the following *Comitia* for electing new Consuls, *Q. Fabius*, finding that the People were inclined to raise him again to that dignity, though he had not entered his name among the *Candidates*; and considering that he should gain but little glory, in a time of tranquillity; desired the assembly to reserve that mark of their esteem for him till a more tempestuous season, and declared, that a civil employment at present would be more agreeable to him. Accordingly they placed him (with *Papirius Cursor*, the son of the Great *Papirius*) in the *Curule Ædileship*; nor did his superior merit appear less conspicuous in this station than in military command: For, when, not long after, there happened to be a great scarcity of corn at Rome, he took such effectual care to guard the People against famine, by bringing corn from abroad, and by making a proper and wise distribution of it, that the poorer sort confessed they owed their lives to him.

c. 9.
c. 11.

C H A P. XX.

§. I. The *Hetrurians* break the truce with Rome. *Picenum* obtains an alliance with the Republick. *Valerius Corvus* being declared Consul (the 6th time) the very name of this renowned warrior strikes such a terror into the *Hetrurians*, that they desist from the war. §. II. A report being spread that

4 D

both

both the Hettrurians and the Samnites were making mighty preparations to attack the Republick, the Romans oblige the great FABIVS to accept the office of Consul contrary to his inclination; and, at his request, give him P. Decius Mus to be his Collegue. The Hettrurians ask peace; so that the Consuls march their two armies into Samnium.

Year of
R O M E
cccliv.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
eight.

153d
Consul-
ship.
Livy B.
10, c. 10.

a 11.

Plin. B. 7.
c. 48.
Val. Max.
B. 8. c. 13.
Cicero, in
Catone
Majore.
Plut. in
Mario.

§. I. **T**HE Consuls chosen for the new year were *M. Fulvius Petinus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *Fulvius* went into *Umbria* to carry on the siege of *Nequinum* (which *Apuleius*, one of the former Consuls, had begun) and, by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, he made himself master of the place. The Romans sent a Colony thither, to keep the rest of the *Umbrians* in awe.

In this Consulate the *Hetrurians* broke their truce with *Rome*. But, when they were preparing to enter the *Roman* territory, an irruption of the *Gauls* into their country suspended the design; however, they did not drop it. On the contrary, that they might execute it with the better success, they endeavoured by large sums to engage the *Gauls* not only to forbear pillaging *Hetruria*, but to join with them against *Rome*. The *Gauls* seemed to listen to the proposal, took the money, and withdrew their troops. But, when the time came for marching against the *Romans*, they excused themselves, unless the *Hetrurians* would assign them a part of their territory to settle in; and this was absolutely refused.

During these negotiations between the *Hetrurians* and *Gauls*, *Picenum*, on the borders of the *Adriatick*, sent Deputies to *Rome* to ask an alliance with the Republick; a request which the *Romans* easily granted in the present necessity of their affairs, and then they dispatched away an army to punish the *Hetrurians* for their breach of faith. The command of it had fallen by lot to *Manlius*; but, this General losing his life by a fall from his horse, the *Centuries* met to chuse him a successor, and (which had never happened since the birth of the Republick) all the suffrages were given in favour of one and the same man, *Valerius Corvus*, now the sixth time created Consul. His first Consulship was in the year 405, according to the *Capitoline Marbles*^a. Though now in a very advanced age, he made the campaign with all the vigour of a man in the bloom of life. His very appearance at the head of the *Roman* army so terrified the *Hetrurians*, that they durst not continue in the field, but shut themselves up in their fortified places; nor could the burning of their villages, and the laying waste their country, provoke them to hazard a battle. This was the last

of *Valerius's* Military expeditions. In what year he ended his days is unknown, but it is certain that he lived to above an hundred. He was promoted one and twenty times to offices, that gave him a right to sit in the *Curule* Chair, which can be said of no *Roman* but himself; and, when not in any publick station, he made Agriculture his chief employment and amusement. He was not only a worthy Patriot and good pattern

^a According to *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, *Val. Max.* *Val. Corvus's* first Consulate and his last; *imaz*, and others, there were 46 years between according to the *Fast. Capit.* 48.

of that Affection which men owe their country, but an excellent model of the Paternal Care which the head of a great family ought to have of his children and relations. Great in Peace and great in War, *Valerius Corvus* shone eminent even among those Heroes who appeared in the most glorious, because the most virtuous, age of *Rome*.

§. II. TOWARDS the close of the year ^a the Republick (by what accident is unknown) fell into an *Inter-regnum*. When the *Comitia* were held for a new election of Magistrates, *Appius Claudius* took it into his head to oppose the admitting of any *Plebeian* into the *Consulship*: But all his rhetorick proved ineffectual, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* a *Plebeian*, was made Collegue to *L. Cornelius Scipio*. During their administration the *Hetrurians* took arms again, and the *Samnites* broke their alliance with *Rome*. *Scipio* marched against the former, and gave them battle, the success of which was doubtful. However, the *Hetrurians*, after the action, were seized with an unaccountable terror, deserted their camp in the night, and returned to their respective *Lucumonies*; and the *Consuls* pillaged and laid waste the whole country. This is *Livy's* account. But the *Fasti Capitolini* make it more probable, that this expedition of the *Romans* into *Hetruria* was under the conduct of *Fulvius*, who afterwards marched against the *Samnites*, and gained an unquestionable victory over them near *Bovianum*.

Before the expiration of the present *Consulship*, a report prevailed of mighty preparations that the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* were making to attack the Republick once more. Hereupon, the first care of the *Romans* was to chuse able Generals for the next campaign; and all eyes immediately turned upon *Fabius*. But he (from what motive is hard to guess) declined the honour, and excused himself to the People on pretence of his age, and the decay of his strength and vigour. And, to shew that he was in earnest, he ordered the law to be read, which forbad any man to bear the office of *Consul* twice within ten years^b; a law made in the year 411, but which had not been strictly observed. Nevertheless, the People, being bent upon having him for one of their *Consuls*, made such a clamour when the statute was going to be read, as quite drowned the voice of the person appointed to read it; nay, the *Tribunes* themselves threatened *Fabius*, that, if he did not desist from opposing his election, they would get the People to dispense with the law by a formal decree. When *Fabius* found that there was a necessity of complying, he resisted no longer; but then he desired that they would at least oblige him so far as to give him a Collegue to his own mind, and proposed to them *Decius Mus*, who had been joined with him in his last *Consulship*, and with whom, he told them, he had lived in perfect concord and harmony. The

^a Two new Tribes, *Aniensis* and *Terentine*, were this year added to the 31 in being.

^b According to *Livy* and the *Fast. Capit.* there had been ten Consulates since *Fabius* was in that station; so that if his objection

was good, we must conclude, that the *Consular* years were not always complete years, and are therefore a very uncertain measure of time. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
cccliv.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
eight.

153d
Consul-
ship.
Cicero in
Bruto, c.

14.
Year of
R O M E
ccclv.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
seven.

154th
Consul-
ship.
Liv. B.
10 c. 12.
c. 12.

Year of *Comitia* granted his request, and those *Centuries* who had not yet voted gave
 R O M E their voices unanimously for *Decius*. The rest of the year was spent in re-
 cccclvi. straining the avarice of those who, contrary to law, possessed more than five
 Eef. J. C. hundred acres of land.

Two While the new *Consuls Fabius* * and *Decius* † were considering together
 hundred in a friendly manner, which of them would be able to conduct the war in
 ninety- this or that province, with most advantage, and what number of forces it
 six. would be necessary to employ in each, Deputies arrived at *Rome* from
 155th *Sutrium*, *Nepete*, and *Falerii*, who all agreed in their report, that the *He-*
 Consul- *trurans* in their last Diet had resolved to desire a peace. Upon this both
 ship. the *Consuls* marched into *Samnium*, but entered it different ways. *Fabius*
 * A 4th took the shortest cut, by *Sora*; and being informed by his scouts, that
 time. the *Samnites* had laid an ambush for him on the banks of the *Tifernus*,
 † A 3d and were waiting for his coming into a deep valley, that they might fall
 time. upon him from the hills, he resolved to attack them in their concealment.
 Livy, B. But they, finding their project discovered, left their ambush, and drew up
 10. c. 14. in order of battle in the plain. The brave resistance they made in the
 beginning of the engagement gave *Fabius* some uneasiness. He com-
 manded his Cavalry to give their horses the reins, and to rush upon the
 enemy with their usual impetuosity; but this proved ineffectual. His
 next recourse was to stratagem. He ordered *Scipio*, one of his Lieu-
 Frontini tenants, to take the *Hastati* of the first Legion, march them by round-about
 Stratag. ways in silence to the top of a neighbouring hill, and thence fall on the
 B. 2. enemy in the rear; and this motion was made without being perceived,
 either by the rest of the army, or by the *Samnites*. In the mean time the
 latter, proud of having repulsed the *Roman* Cavalry, pushed the first line
 of the Infantry briskly, and forced them to retire through the spaces in
 the second line, which consisted of the *Principes*. But, when these began
 likewise to lose ground, *Scipio* appeared with his detachment in the rear
 of the enemy. *Fabius*, to encourage his men, made them believe, that
 it was the army of his Colleague *Decius* come to his assistance. And, the
 same persuasion prevailing among the *Samnite* Troops, they immediately
 disbanded and fled. The slaughter was not great, but the *Romans* took
 twenty-three colours.

Livy, B. *Decius*, whose name had been of service in this action, had likewise in
 10. c. 15. another respect contributed to the victory, by having defeated the *Apu-*
lians, who were to have joined the *Samnites*. After this the two *Consular*
 armies continued five months in *Samnium*, and made incredible devasta-
 tions; *Decius* changing his camp forty-five times, and *Fabius* his eighty-
 six for that purpose.

C H A P. XXI.

§. I. *Appius Claudius* makes a fruitless attempt to get the *Consular Fasces*
 for *Fabius* and himself to the exclusion of all *Plebeian* Candidates. *Fabius*,
 being

being President in the Comitia, opposes his own re-election. Great advantages are gained over the Samnites. §. II. Appius, though much embarrassed with a war against the Hetrurians, pretends to be displeased with the arrival of his Colleague Volumnius to his assistance from Samnium. The united armies of the two Consuls came to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them. §. III. Volumnius returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the Samnites.

§. I. *FABIVS* returned to Rome to hold the Comitia. The Centuries, first Year of
called, had all voted for him to be one of the Consuls, when he him- R O M E
self opposed the proceeding. At first he offered the same objection which cccclvi.
he had employed the year before. But when *Appius Claudius* (who had Bef. J. C.
probably secured his own election) and the whole body of the Nobility, Two
surrounded his chair, and pressed him in the most earnest manner to take hundred
this opportunity of excluding the Plebeians from the Consulship, and thereby ninety-
restoring both to that Magistracy and to the Patricians their pristine dignity, six.
he answered, That he should not have refused to receive the names of two Pa- 155th
tricians, if he had observed an intention to join any other but himself with Ap- Consul-
pius Claudius; but would never give so bad an example, as that of standing ship.
candidate, contrary to Law, in an assembly where he himself presided. Here- Livy, B.
upon *Volumnius Flamma*, a Plebeian, was chosen Colleague to *Appius*. The 10. c. 15.
Patricians, much dissatisfied with *Fabius*, imputed his refusal of the Con- Year of
sulship to his dislike of *Appius* for a Colleague, a man who far surpassed him R O M E
in eloquence, and the arts of civil government. cccclvii.
Bef. J. C.

Both the Consuls of the last year received orders to continue the war in hundred
Samnium, in quality of Proconsuls, for six months; so that the Republick five.
had very soon four armies on foot under four Generals.

Fabius, after his return into Samnium, was obliged to lead his army a- 156th
gainst the *Lucanians*, who had lately rose up in arms; and he spent his Pro- Consul-
consulate in keeping them in awe, and hindering them from joining the ship.
Samnites. In the mean time *Decius* pushed the Samnites to the last extremi- Livy, B.
ty, drove their army even out of Samnium, and then laid siege to their 10. c. 16.
Towns. When he had taken and sacked *Murgantia*, he persuaded the sol- c. 17.
diers to sell their booty for money, that they might not be incumbered
with it in their future expeditions. After this, *Romulea* and *Ferentinum*
were both taken by assault; and, to complete the destruction of Samnium,
a new army of two Legions and fifteen hundred auxiliaries advanced thi-
ther under the command of the Consul *Volumnius*.

§. II. THE war with the Hetrurians had fallen by lot to *Appius*. The c. 18.
storm was now gathered on that side. For the Samnites, who had been
driven out of their own country by *Decius*, had taken refuge in Hetruria,
and there, in a Diet held at their request, had pressed the Chiefs of the
Lucumonies to exert their utmost strength against the Romans, offering to
serve under them at their own expence, and to follow them even to the foot
of the Capitol. The Hetrurians, pleased with this proposal, had raised a
formidable army, which was strengthened with some Troops of the Gauls,
whom

Year of whom they had engaged by the force of money to join them. Upon the
ROM E news of so powerful a confederacy formed against the Republick, the
cccclvii. Romans dispatched away *Appius* at the head of two *Legions* and twelve
B. 6. J. C. thousand auxiliaries; but it was rather to keep the enemy within bounds,
Two hundred than in expectation of any notable advantage from the conduct of their
the y- Consul. And indeed he was worsted, for want of military skill, in every
five. skirmish and slight action in which he ventured to engage; insomuch that
1565 the soldiers had no longer any confidence in their General, and the General
Cocili- became distrustful of his soldiers. In this extremity he is said (for the thing
1567 is not certain) to have written to his Collegue to leave *Samnium*, and
1568 hasten to his assistance. *Volumnius* came with all expedition, and the
1569 troops of *Appius* were overjoyed at his arrival. But *Appius* himself seemed
surprised at it, disowned the letter, and reproached his Collegue with act-
ing dishonourably, in quitting the province assigned him, in order to gain
the credit of giving assistance to others who did not want it. *Volumnius*
upon this would have immediately returned to *Samnium*, if the officers of
both armies had not intreated him to have no regard to the unaccountable
behaviour of *Appius*, but to consider the interest of the Republick, which
required his presence in *Hetruria*: *We are just ready to give battle, and,*
should matters go ill with us for want of your assistance, will it be inquired,
whether Appius treated you with arrogance, or not? No, the Roman People
will consider only the ill success of the battle, and impute it to your too hasty
resentments. The Officers, while they remonstrated these things, insensibly
led both the Consuls to that part of the camp where the soldiers were wont
to meet when the General was to harangue them; and where they
were actually assembled. There the two Collegues in longer discourses,
than before in their more private conversation, made their complaints of
each other; and, as *Volumnius* had the better cause, he surpassed himself on
this occasion in speaking, for he was naturally no Orator: Upon which
Appius could not forbear rallying: ROMANS, you are much obliged to me,
I have made a dumb Consul speak. I remember, that, the first time *Volum-*
nius and I were joined together in the Consulate, he scarce opened his mouth
for some months; he had then no tongue, and now, you see, he is grown even
eloquent, a perfect Orator. *Volumnius* answered, I should have been better
pleased if, instead of your teaching me how to talk, I had taught you how to
fight. The service of the Republick requires at present an able General, more
than a fine Speaker; and, if you have a mind to know which of us understands
better the conduct of an army, that may soon be decided. There are two pro-
vinces, *Samnium* and *Hetruria*; make your choice, I am ready to undertake
the war in either of them. At these words the soldiers cried out, that they
should both in conjunction carry on the war in *Hetruria*. *Volumnius* an-
swered, Since I have already made one mistake, and have misrepresented the
intention of my Collegue, I should be sorry to fall into another, by misunder-
standing your inclinations. So put the matter therefore out of all doubt: If
you would have me stay here, signify it by an acclamation. Instantly the army
gave a general shout, which was heard in the camp of the enemy, who
immediately

immediately took the alarm, and drew up in order of battle. *Volumnius* without delay marched out to meet them; *Appius* is said to have hesitated a while, undetermined whether he should fight or not, till he found that his Troops were disposed to follow his Collegue in defiance of the orders of their own General. But then an emulation for glory, and the shame of being obscured by a rival, roused him to such a degree, that he exerted himself beyond what could have been expected. He performed the part of an able and brave Commander, having first made a vow to *Bellona* to build her a Temple, in case he proved victorious. The united *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* were intirely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered.

Year of
R O M E
ccclvii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
five.
156th
Consul-
ship.

§. III. THIS victory put an end to the misunderstanding between the two *Consuls*, and they agreed to act jointly against *Hetruria*. But *Volumnius*, by an unexpected event, was called back into his own province. The *Samnites*, though so much exhausted, had raised new levies, spread themselves over *Campania*, and ravaged it; which obliged *Volumnius* (the *Proconsulate* of *Fabius* and *Decius* being expired) to hasten to the assistance of the *Campanians*. When he came to the foot of Mount *Massicus*, in the district of *Cales*, he learnt that the intention of the enemy (who were incamped near the *Vulturnus*) was to break up their camp about midnight, march home, disburthen themselves of their booty, and then return to make fresh devastations. *Volumnius* made so much expedition, that he came upon them, when they were unprepared for battle, slew six thousand of them, and recovered all the spoil they had taken. This success quieted the minds of the People at *Rome*, who had been much alarmed at the last enterprize of the *Samnites*; and they now took into consideration the proper means to secure *Campania* from the like incursions for the future. It was judged proper to settle two Colonies, one at the mouth of the *Liris*, called the Colony of *Minturnæ*, the other at *Sinuessa*. However, the Senate deferred the execution of that design, on account of matters of greater importance, which at this time indispensably required their immediate attention.

Livy, B.
10. c. 20.
c. 21.

C H A P. XXII.

§. I. *Q. Fabius* is elected the 5th time to the Consulate, and at his request the *Comitia* grant him *Decius* again for a Collegue. §. II. A rivalryship between the *Patrician* and *Plebeian Ladies* for the reputation of strict Chastity. §. III. The Senate decree the conduct of the war against the *Hetrurians* to *Fabius*, the *Patrician Consul*. His *Plebeian Collegue Decius* appeals from the Senate's decree to the People. §. IV. In an engagement which the Romans have with a confederate army of *Gauls* and *Samnites*, *Decius* (who commands the Roman left wing) to recover the courage of his troops, terrified and broken by the armed chariots of the *Gauls*, devotes himself to death in the same manner his father had done on a like occasion: After

ter which Fabius obtains a complete victory. §. V. The Samnites are again routed by the forces of Appius, now Prætor of Rome, and the Proconsul Volumnius. Rome is afflicted by a Plague, and terrified by Prodiges.

Year of
R O M E
cccclviii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
Hundred
ninety-
five.

176th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
10. c. 21.
c. 22.

§. I. CERTAIN advice came to Rome, that the *Hetrurians* had concluded a fresh treaty with the *Samnites*, *Umbrians* and *Gauls*; and that the armies of the four nations were already assembled in two camps in *Hetruria*, where was only *Appius* with his troops to make head against them. The *Comitia* for the new elections being soon after held, *Volumnius* (who had been recalled from *Samnium* to preside in them) before he took the suffrages of the *Centuries*, put the assembly in mind, that they were that day to elect two *Consuls* who would have four nations to contend with; he added, that he doubted not but, in so perilous a season, they would chuse the ablest General in the Commonwealth to the *Consulate*; otherwise he would have named a *Dictator*. At these words all eyes were immediately turned again upon *Fabius*. But when the *Centuries*, first called, had voted for him and for *Volumnius*, he started difficulties, as formerly, and excused himself on account of his age. However, he at length signified his consent, provided he might again have *Decius* for his Colleague: *He will be a support to my old age. One Censorship and two Consulates, in which Decius and I have been already Collegues, have made me know what a happiness it is to the Commonwealth to have her Magistrates live in concord. It is hard for an old man to suit himself to a new Partner in Power. It will be much easier to communicate my thoughts freely to a friend with whom I am thoroughly acquainted.* *Volumnius* approved of *Fabius's* request, and made a fine encomium upon *Decius*, insisting much on the great advantages which would flow from the harmony between two Generals in such strict friendship. The day being spent in these harangues, the elections were put off to the next, and then *Fabius* * and *Decius* † (though the latter was absent from the assembly) were declared *Consuls*; *Appius* chose *Prætor*, and *Volumnius* continued in the command of the army in *Samnium*, with the title of *Proconsul*.

* A fifth
time.
† A fourth
time.

Livy, B.
10. c. 23.

3 Padici-
tia.

§. II. IN this crisis of an approaching terrible war, the People being very superstitious multiplied their publick acts of Devotion; and these gave rise to a quarrel among the *Roman Ladies*. In the Ox-market was a Temple built to the honour of *Patrician Chastity*; and none of the wives of *Plebeians*, how illustrious soever their husbands might be, were ever admitted into it. However, *Aula Virginia*, being herself nobly descended, and being the wife of the *Plebeian Consul Volumnius*, claimed a right of assisting at the ceremonies with the *Patrician Ladies*. And when the latter opposed her pretensions, *What!* said she, *is my virtue ‡ suspected? Was I meanly born? Or have I married two husbands?* (Second marriages were at this time so great a blemish on the *Roman women*, that it excluded them the Temple of *Chastity*.) But all that *Virginia* could say was to no purpose. She was absolutely refused admittance into the sanctuary. Upon this

this she formed the resolution of having a Temple dedicated to *Plebeian* Chastity: She divided a part of her own house from the rest, caused an altar to be erected and consecrated in it, and, having there assembled the *Plebeian* women of the greatest distinction, complained to them of the pride of the *Patrician* Dames, told them her design, and pressed them to an emulation with those haughty Ladies in the point of Modesty and Virtue. This scheme was readily approved, Ceremonies were instituted and observed, much like those practised in the other Temple; and this fervour continued for some time: But at length, women of little merit and doubtful characters being admitted into the assembly, it sunk into disgrace, and no more mention was made of *Plebeian* chastity.

Year of
R O M E.
ccclvii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
five.
156th
Consul-
ship.

The same year, the *Curule Aediles* (Cn. and Q. *Ogulnius*) cited some usurers to trial; and the effects of these being, by sentence, confiscated to the Publick, those Magistrates purchased, with the produce, brazen gates for the Capitol; silver vessels sufficient to furnish three Tables in the chapel of *Jupiter*; a statue of this God in a chariot drawn by four horses, which was placed on the pinnacle of his temple; images of the two infants (founders of the city) suckled by a she-wolf. This monument they placed at the *Ruminal Fig-tree*, i. e. in the place, where had stood the wild fig-tree, under which *Romulus* and *Remus* were said (in the fable concerning them) to have been carried by the stream*.

§. III. WHEN the time came for *Fabius* and *Decius* to enter upon office, it was natural to suppose that the latter would be induced by gratitude, as well as by the age and superior merit of his Colleague, to compliment him with the command of the army in *Hetruria*, without drawing lots. But, as the *Patricians* made it a point of honour not to permit any other than *Fabius* to have the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, the *Plebeians*, on the other hand, would not suffer *Fabius* to have it, unless it fell to him by lot, lest the *Patrician Consuls* should for the future claim a right of chusing their provinces; and the pacifick-minded *Decius* was compelled to go with the stream of his party. The question being carried against him in the Senate, he appealed to the People in *Comitia*. There the two competitors pleaded each his own cause in few words, and more in the language of Soldiers than of Orators. *What!* said *Fabius*, *have I planted a tree, and shall another gather the fruits of it? It was I who first opened a way into Hetruria through the Ciminian Forest, till then deemed impracticable. To what purpose did the People force me, at my age, to put myself at the helm of affairs, if they intended to give the conduct of the war to another?* After this he fell by degrees to complain of his own choice of a Colleague, who seemed rather to be an adversary than a friend, and to

Year of
R O M E.
ccclviii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
four.
157th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
10. c. 24.

* The *Aediles*, from the same fund, paved with square stone the road from the gate *Capena* to the Temple of *Mars*, which was not far from it, at the entrance of the *Appian* way. About the same time, *Aelius* and

Fulvius, the *Plebeian Aediles*, from the money raised by fines laid on the farmers of the publick pasture grounds, entertained the People with some shews, and presented some gold cups to *Ceres*.

Year of
R O M E
ccclviii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
four.

repent of the concord in which they had lived together during their partnerships in office. And he concluded with assuring the assembly, that, notwithstanding any thing he had said, he pretended to no other right to command in the present war, that what their opinion of his abilities should give him; and that, as he had submitted his cause to the determination of the Senate, he was equally ready to abide by the decision of the People.

157th
Consul-
ship.

Decius began his harangue with complaining of the partiality of the Senate, who, he said, envied the *Plebeians* every degree of honour; he then pleaded the established custom of the *Consuls* drawing lots for their provinces, after which he thus proceeded: *Did the question relate only to the honouring of Fabius, He has so well deserved of the Publick, and I in particular am so much obliged to him, that I should never be backward to contribute to his glory, if I could do it without shame and disgrace to myself. But who can be so blind as not to see, that, if, in the case of a dangerous war, the conduct of it be given to one of the Consuls without drawing lots, the other must be deemed insufficient, useless, and supernumerary? Fabius boasts of his exploits in Hetruria, and Decius is ambitious of being able to boast of the like exploits; and perhaps it may be his fortune to extinguish that fire which Fabius only covered, and which has often since broke out afresh. As for Honours and Rewards, I shall be ever ready to yield them to my Collegue, out of respect to his Age and Dignity; but, when the question is of Difficulties and Dangers, I can never willingly yield these either to him or to any other.* When *Decius* had ended, *Fabius* made only this short reply: *I desire, Romans, that, before you decide on the present dispute, you will hear Appius's letters read.* This said he left the Assembly. *Appius*, in his letters, had painted the dangers with which the Republick was threatened in very lively colours; and there needed no more to induce the *Comitia* to have recourse to the surest remedy. The People instantly and unanimously determined that the conduct of the war in *Hetruria* should be committed to *Fabius*.

Livy, B. 10. c. 25. §. IV. AND now all the Roman youth were eager to serve under the command of so able a General. But he, either to dispel the publick fears by a shew of confidence, or to prevent any associates being joined with him, declared, that he would take no stronger a reinforcement to the army than four thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse. With these he marched towards the camp, which the fearful *Appius* was still strengthening with new fortifications. Not far from it he met a detachment, sent to cut wood in a neighbouring forest. *Whither are you going, soldiers?* said *Fabius*. They answered, *To the forest, for wood to fortify the camp.* *What!* cried the General, *is it not already fortified?* Doubtless it is, replied the Soldiers; and we are surrounded by a double ditch and a double rampart, yet we are still afraid. You have wood enough, said *Fabius*; return to the camp, and level the rampart. The detachment immediately returned, and put the Consul's orders in execution, which much alarmed both the Army and its General, till the workmen informed them, that what

what they were doing was by the command of *Fabius*, who would soon be in the camp. *Fabius* arrived the same day; and the next *Appius* set out for *Rome*, to take possession of the *Prætorship*, to which he had been chosen, as an employment better suited to his talents and capacity, than the command of an army.

Fabius observed a quite different conduct from that of his predecessor, Instead of shutting up his soldiers within fortifications, he kept them in continual motion. He said, nothing was more healthful for soldiers than a frequent change of place, and to march from one country to another; and indeed he obliged them often to make as long marches as was possible at that time of the year, for the winter was not yet over; and by this means he gave his troops an air of confidence.

But, before the season permitted him to enter upon action, he went back to *Rome*, either of his own motion, or by invitation of the Senate. (Some authors say, that *Appius* at his return had made a dreadful representation of the forces of the enemy, and had urged the necessity of sending either *Decius* or *Volumnius* with a second army to his assistance; and they add, that *Decius* had upon this occasion declared it to be his opinion, that *Fabius* ought to be left at full liberty to determine concerning the wants of his army, and the interest of the Republick; and had moved, that he might be sent for to *Rome*, to give his judgment of the state of affairs.) When *Fabius* arrived, he gave such an account of things to the Senate and People, as neither to increase the apprehensions of the Republick, nor to let her sleep in security. As to another General's being joined with him, he said, he should acquiesce in it, on account of the fears of others, not his own, nor because he thought the Republick to be in any danger; but then he desired that *Decius* might be the person: *How is it possible that I should forget the good intelligence in which we formerly lived? There is no man that I can prefer before him. With him I shall never want forces, nor have too many enemies to deal with. But if my Colleague has other views, and cares not to act in conjunction with me, I am willing that Volumnius be sent in his stead.* The Senate, the People, and *Decius* himself left the matter wholly to the determination of *Fabius*. *Decius* declared, that he was ready to go either to *Samnium* or *Hetruria*, as his Colleague judged best; a declaration so pleasing to the assembly, and which spread such a joy among them, that they congratulated one another as if victory had been already gained, and they were decreeing their Generals a Triumph, not the conduct of a war.

Before the *Consuls* left *Rome*, they sent away the *Proconsul Volumnius* into *Samnium*, and, in order to cover the city on the side of *Hetruria*, directed two camps to be pitched, one on the hill *Vaticanus*, close by the *Janiculum*; the other in the country of the *Falisci*. After these regulations they set out for *Hetruria*, and upon the road received the news of the total defeat of a *Legion* which *Fabius* had left under the command of *Scipio*, near old *Clusum*. A numerous body of those *Gauls* called *Senones* had surrounded the *Romans*, and cut them all off. However, the *Consuls* were not

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R O M E
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hundred
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four.

157th
Consul-
ship.

Livy, B.
10. c. 26.

Year of discouraged by this accident. Their army consisted of four *Legions*, a
 R O M E good number of *Roman Knights*, a thousand *Campanian Horse*, and a body
 cccclviii. of auxiliaries, more numerous than the forces of the *Romans*. They divided
 Bef. J. C. it into two parts, and incamped separately, but not far from each other, in
 Two the plain of *Sentinum*, about four miles from the enemy. It is said, that the
 hundred army of the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, who incamped together, consisted of a
 ninety- hundred and forty-three thousand three hundred and thirty Foot, and forty-
 four. six thousand Horse. What the number was of the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*
 157th (who jointly made another camp) is not told. It was agreed among these
 Consul- Confederates, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only should engage the *Romans*
 ship. in the field, whilst the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* attacked their two camps.
 Livy, B. *Fabius* had notice, by deserters, of this design; and in order to disconcert
 10. c. 27. it, and make a diversion, he sent directions to the *Proprætors*, *Fulvius* and
 and 28. *Posthumius*, who were incamped near *Rome*, to march their two armies into
Hetruria, and ravage it. This stratagem had the desired effect. The
Hetrurians and *Umbrians* hastened to the relief of the poor People, whose
 houses were plundered, and lands laid waste; and, during their absence,
 the *Consuls* brought the *Gauls* and *Samnites* to a battle. This is the first
 time that we read of armed Chariots used in the wars of *Italy*. The *Gauls*
 surprised the *Romans*, soon after the action began, with this new way of
 fighting. Not only the *Roman Cavalry*, but the Infantry too of the left
 wing, which *Decius* commanded, was disordered, and intirely broken by
 them; nor could he by his utmost efforts engage his terrified soldiers to
 rally. In this extremity he remembered the example of his father, and
 in the very same manner devoted himself to the *Dii Manes* to save his ar-
 my. Assisted by *M. Lælius* the *Pontifex*, he performed the same cere-
 monies, pronounced the same form of words, and rushed unarmed among
 the enemy. The loss of the General usually occasions the defeat of his
 Troops; but such was the superstition of the *Romans*, that the death of
 their General, in this way of sacrifice, gave them new courage. The
 c. 29. *Pontifex*, who was himself a brave soldier, took advantage of their preju-
 dices, put himself at their head, and easily brought them to renew the at-
 tack, in which they were seconded by some troops, sent by *Fabius* from
 the rear, under the command of his two Lieutenants. The fortune of the
 day quickly changed in favour of the *Romans* in the left wing.

In the mean time *Fabius*, who had hitherto done little more than act
 upon the defensive, artfully managing his troops till the first fury of the
Samnites was abated, now ordered his Cavalry to wheel about, flank the
 wings of the enemy, and be ready to charge upon a signal given. He
 then began to press upon the enemy in front; and, as soon as he perceived
 that their strength was greatly exhausted, he made Horse and Foot,
 troops of Reserve, all charge at once; nor could the *Samnites* sustain the
 shock; they fled to their camp, leaving the *Gauls* by themselves to make
 good the fight.

To break the *Gauls*, who yet kept their ground, *Fabius* detached a
 body of five hundred *Campanian Horse* to fetch a compass, and fall upon
 their

their rear, commanding the *Principes* of the second *Legion* to follow this detachment of Horse, and, wherever they should see the enemy's ranks broken by them, to press on, and hinder the *Gauls* from rallying. This motion succeeded so well, that the *Gauls* were at length defeated.

In the mean time *Fabius* forced the camp of the *Samnites*, and made a terrible slaughter there. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were killed in the action of this day, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Among the former was *Gellius Egnatius*, an eminent *Samnite* Commander, who by his negotiations had brought about the formidable alliance of the four nations. The *Romans* lost of the left wing seven thousand men, and one thousand two hundred in the right. The *Consul's* first care, after the victory, was to perform a promise he had made in the heat of the battle, to burn the spoils of the enemy in honour to *Jupiter the Conqueror*. He then caused search to be made for the body of *Decius*, which, being hidden under heaps of the slain, could not be discovered that day, but the day following was found; due *Obsequies* were performed for the dead Hero, and *Fabius* spoke his *Funeral Oration*.

As for the *Proprætors*, *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, they gained great advantages in *Hetruria*; and the *Proconsul Volumnius* obtained a considerable victory over the *Samnites* at the foot of mount *Tifernus*. But, notwithstanding all these victories, neither *Samnites* nor *Hetrurians* were yet brought into subjection. The latter took courage, and assembled fresh forces as soon as *Fabius* left the country, so that he was obliged to lead his army thither again. A new victory obtained over them was the last of this Hero's exploits, in the station of Chief Commander.

Fabius had a son whose surname was *Gurges*, or *The Gulph*, an appellation given him on account of his excessive intemperance in his youth. This man afterwards corrected his way of living, and, though he never equalled his father in any kind of merit, became worthy of Publick Offices. He was now *Curule Ædile*, and, in order to wipe off the shame of his past excesses, turned a zealous reformer of manners. He brought before the Tribunal of the People accusations of Adultery against great numbers of women of distinction, who, being convicted, were condemned to pecuniary fines. The money arising from these fines he consecrated to the building of a Temple to *Venus* near the great *Circus*.

§. V. BEFORE the end of this year the *Samnites* brought two new armies into the field in different places, and even acted on the offensive. Upon which *Appius* the *Prætor* was dispatched from *Rome* to put himself at the head of those troops which *Decius* had commanded, and was ordered to go to the assistance of the *Proconsul Volumnius*. These two Generals, having united their forces, defeated the enemy (whom they had constrained to join theirs) in a pitched battle fought in the *Campi Stellates* in *Campania*. The *Samnites* lost sixteen thousand three hundred men.

Rome had never before made war in so many places at the same time with more success. But, in the midst of her rejoicings for such signal victories, she was visited with a dreadful Plague. It was a melancholy contrast,

Year of
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ccclviii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
four.
157th
Consul-
ship.

Livy, B.
10. c. 30.
c. 31.

Macroh.
Satur. B.
3. c. 13.

Orof. B.
contrast, 3. c. 22.

Year of contrast, as *Orghus* observes, to behold the Triumphal Procession of *Fabius*
 R O M E often interrupted by Funerals; and the applauses of the People by the la-
 ccccliii. mentations of those who bewailed the dead, or the dying.

Def. J. C. Prodigies were never in greater plenty than this year. In three days
 Two there flowed successively, from the altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, three dif-
 hundred ferent liquors; the first day blood, the second honey, and the third milk;
 ninety- and in divers places it rained earth. The *Augurs* and *Sybilline Books*
 four. were consulted upon these imaginary prognosticks, and the joy for past
 158th victories was much damped by the present calamity, and by the appre-
 Consul- hension of impending evils.

ship.
 Z. naras,
 B. 6.
 Liv. B.
 10. c. 31.

C H A P. XXIII.

§. I. *The war was carried on against the Samnites with various success.* §. II. *Three of the Lucumonies of Hetruria are reduced to sue for peace.* §. III. *The Samnite war is continued. The Samnites make 16000 of their soldiers bind themselves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. The Romans gain the victory by a new stratagem.* §. IV. *The war breaks out afresh in Hetruria. The Hetrurians are reduced to buy a truce for a year. In this year a Sun-dial is, for the first time, seen at Rome.* §. V. *A new regulation is made relating to the Guardianship of Orphans, and another relating to the Publick Games.*

c. 31. §. I. **T**HE Republick had now been forty-eight years in war with the *Samnites*, almost without interruption; and, though the latter had been so often vanquished, they did not relinquish the hope of being finally the Conquerors. Four times (says *Livy*) they had been defeated the very last year; they had lost their ablest General; they saw their Allies in the same adverse fortune as themselves; they could neither by their own strength, nor by foreign aid, maintain their ground; yet they did not desist from the war: They were never weary of fighting, even unfortunately, in the defence of liberty: They chose rather to be vanquished than not strive for victory.

Livy, B. So considerable were the preparations they made to take the field once
 10. c. 32, more, that the Senate thought it necessary to employ against them both
 and 33. the new Consuls *L. Posthumius * Megellus* and *M. Atilius Regulus*: But,
 Year of *Posthumius* falling sick, *Atilius* was dispatched away without him, to at-
 R O M E tack the enemy before they could get out of *Samnium*. The two armies
 cccclix. met just upon the confines of *Campania*; and here the Consul was no sooner
 Def. J. C. incamped than the *Samnites* formed the bold design of forcing his lines.
 Two By the help of a very thick fog they approached the Roman camp, sur-
 hundred prised the advanced guards, made themselves masters of the *Decuman* gate,
 ninety- and penetrated as far as to the *Quæstor's* tent, where the military Chest
 three. was kept. The alarm reaching to the General's quarters, he awaked, put
 158th himself at the head of some *Manipuli*, and, in short, repulsed the enemy,
 Consul- but
 ship.
 * A 2d
 time.

but durst not pursue them for fear of an ambush. Though this enterprize of the *Samnites* did not prove successful, yet the courage with which they had felt themselves animated to make the attempt gave them new confidence; and they kept the *Romans* so closely shut up, that they could not enter *Samnium*, to live there upon free quarter.

The disadvantageous situation of *Atilius's* army alarmed the Senate and People at *Rome*; so that *Posthumius*, tho' not perfectly recovered, thought himself obliged to set out for *Samnium* with the two *Legions* allotted him. Upon his arrival the *Samnites*, being in no condition to make head against two *Consular* armies, decamped in haste, and left their country open to be pillaged. *Posthumius* applied himself to the besieging of Towns, and took *Milionia* and *Triventum*; the latter without fighting.

Atilius met with more difficulties and danger in his expeditions. Having received intelligence that the *Samnites* were besieging *Luceria*, in *Apulia*, he hastened to its relief, but found the enemy in his way. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Romans* suffered most; and this misfortune so mightily dejected them, that they passed the night in great uneasiness, expecting every moment to see the enemy approach to force their lines. But it happened on the other hand, that the *Samnites* were no less terrified, and thought only of returning home. The difficulty was how to put their design in execution, because the place where they were posted was a kind of defile and much confined, and the *Romans* were between them and *Samnium*. They resolved at length to go directly towards the *Roman* camp, endeavour to march along by the side of it, and make the plain. The *Consul*, imagining that the enemy was come to attack him, gave orders to his *Legions* to prepare for battle, and to follow him out of the camp. But, though the officers were ready enough to obey him, the *Soldiers* were so fatigued and intimidated, that he could not, even by soft words, prevail with them to stir. In the mean time the *Samnites* drew near, and the *Roman* *Soldiers* pretended to discern, that they were loaded with stakes, as if they meant to form a *Palisade* round the camp. The *Consul* hereupon expostulated with his men on the disgrace of suffering themselves to be shut up in their camp to starve there; and shame at length made them march out, though very slowly and unwillingly. The motion of the *Romans* was a disappointment to the *Samnites*, for they had hoped to avoid a battle; however, when they found in necessary to fight, they prepared for it; and thus two coward armies were brought to an engagement intirely against their inclinations. The *Romans*, gave ground, and would have fled into their intrenchments; but *Atilius* ordering some troops of Horse to the rear of his Infantry, with directions to kill every *Roman* who should attempt to enter the camp, the run-aways were hereby brought to rally and renew the fight. The victory at length fell to the *Romans*, after they had lost 7300 men. *Atilius* soon after, in his march homeward, met with a body of *Samnites*, who having made an incursion into the country of the *Volsce*, and brought thence a considerable booty, and many *Roman* prisoners, were marching home in great disorder;

Year of
R O M E
cccclix.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
three.
158th
Consul-
ship.
c. 34, 35,
36.

Year of order; he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and released the
 R O M E captives. After this he returned to *Rome*, to preside at the new elec-
 cccclix. tions.

Bef. J. C.

Two

hundred

ninety-

three.

158th

Consul-

ship.

Livy, B.

10. c. 3-

A *Triumph* he was * refused for two reasons, for having lost so many men in the battle, and for having released his prisoners on the sole condition of their passing under the yoke.

§. II. THE other Consul, *Posthumius*, because he could find no employment for his Troops in *Samnium*, marched them, without any order from the Senate, into *Hetruria*. Here he defeated the *Volfiniensis*, took *Rufellæ* by assault, and reduced *Volfinii*, *Perusia*, and *Arretium* (three principal cities) to sue for peace. The Senate granted them a truce of forty years, on condition of their paying each 500,000 pounds of brass into the treasury of the Republick. For these exploits the Consul, without scruple, petitioned the Senate for a *Triumph*; not that he expected the *Fathers* would grant it, but because it was customary, on such occasions, to make the first application to *them*. Some opposed his request on pretence that he had not taken the field early enough; others, because he had left his province without the Senate's direction. *Posthumius* perceiving that the members who made these objections were influenced partly by their enmity to him, partly by their friendship for the other Consul (whom, having met with the like refusal, they would console, by putting his Colleague on the same foot with him) frankly addressed the house in these terms: "*Conscript Fathers*, I shall not have my mind so wholly possessed with the remembrance and contemplation of your majesty, as to forget that I am a Consul. The wars, which I undertook, I have conducted with success; I have subdued *Samnium* and *Hetruria*; I have obtained for the Republick victory and peace; and now, in right of the same authority by which I made war, *I will triumph*." This said, he left the assembly. A contest hereupon arose among the *Tribunes of the Commons*: Some said, they would forbid his Triumph, as unprecedented, and of bad example; others declared they would support him in his pretension. The affair came at length before the People; and *Posthumius* was summoned to the Assembly. He put them in mind, "that the Consuls *Valerius* and *Horatius* *, and lately *Marcus Rutilus*, father of one of the present Censors, had triumphed, not by the Authority of the Senate, but by the will of the People:" He added, "That, if he had not known that some of the *Tribunes*, mere vassals to the nobles, would have employed their *Veto* against his bill, he should have made his first application to the *Comitia*; for that the good pleasure and favour of the People, unanimous, did, and ever would, with him, supply the place of all Decrees and Commands." The next day, contrary to the will of the whole Senate, and in spite of the † opposition of seven of the *Tribunes*, the Consul, aided by the other three, obtained the honours of the

* In 304.

† Adversus intercessionem.

* The *Fal. Cap.* give *Atinius* a Triumph over the *Volscians* and *Samnites*.

Triumph;

triumph; and the people solemnised the day with extraordinary rejoicings².

BY a *Census* taken this * year, the number of *Roman* Citizens, fit to bear arms, appeared to be 262,322. *Livy* transfers this *Census* to the next year, and calls the *Lustrum* that followed it the nineteenth, reckoning only from the institution (in the year 310) of the *Censorship*; and even then there is the difference of one between his reckoning, and that of the *Fasti*; according to which the *Census* of this year was the twentieth, and the *Lustrum* the thirtieth.

§. III. T O L. *Papirius Cursor* (son of the famous Hero of that name, five times *Consul*) and *Sp. Carvilius* were transferred the *Consular Fasces*. *Atilius*, the late *Consul*, obtained the *Pratorship*. His Collegue *Posthumius*, to avoid a trial before the People, to which a certain *Tribune*, named *Scantius*, had cited him [probably for having left his Province without orders] engaged *Carvilius* to appoint him one of his Lieutenants.

AT this time the *Samnites*, to make another vigorous effort, published a new Law, importing that whoever, of an age fit to bear arms, should not appear in the field on a summons from the General, or should leave the service without permission, his head should be devoted to *Jupiter*: (*i. e.* it should be lawful for any one to kill him wherever found) and they appointed *Aquilonia* [a town of *Hirpinia* situated between *Beneventum* and *Luceria*] to be the place of rendezvous.

A numerous army being by this means assembled, the General caused to be erected, in the center of the camp, a tent or booth two hundred feet square, covered on the top with linnen cloth, and so close on all sides, that nothing of what passed within could be seen by those without. Here sacrifices were offered according to an *old* Ceremonial, which *Ovius Pacius*, an *old* priest, pretended to have found in an *old* linnen book. This rite being performed, the General summoned all the principal men, men distinguished either by their birth or exploits, and introduced them one by one into the tent. Here, to their unspeakable terror, they beheld altars surrounded with slaughtered victims, and *Centurions* standing by with drawn swords, and each person introduced was led to the altars more like a victim, than an assistant at a sacrifice. Immediately was administered to him an oath of secrecy as to every thing he should hear or see in that place; after which he was constrained to pronounce a curse upon himself, his family, and his posterity, if he did not follow wherever the Generals should lead him to fight, if he ever fled himself, or if he did not kill those whom he should see flying. Some of the first, refusing to swear, were instantly killed; and their bodies, thrown among the carcases of the

² *Livy*, at the end of this account, acquaints us, that there is no certainty concerning the military actions of this year, or the commanders who performed them; and

he mentions some particulars, as related by *Claudius*, others as related by *Fabius*, which are not in the foregoing narrative, but are in some things inconsistent with it.

Year of
R O M E
ccclix.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
three.
158th
Consul-
ship.
* Fast Ca-
pit.
Year of
R O M E
ccclx.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
two.
159th
Consul-
ship.
Livy, B.
10. c. 47.

Year of ROME
ccclxv.
Bef. J. C.
Two hundred
ninety-
two,
159th
Consul-
Ship.

victims, were, to those who followed, an effectual lesson to comply. Of the principal men of the *Samnites*, when they had all gone through this Ceremony, the General selected ten, commanding that each of these should, for the service, chuse^a, out of his acquaintance, the man upon whose bravery he could most rely, and that this man should chuse another of whom he had the like opinion, and so on, each man chosen choosing another, till the number of 16,000 was completed. These were called the *Linnen-Legion* (*Legio Linteata*) from the covering of the Tent where the Nobility were sworn; and they had finer helmets and bucklers than the rest of the Troops, amounting to above 20000, who, nevertheless, made a fine appearance.

Livy, B.
10. c. 39.

While these things were doing, *Carvilius*, at the head of the army which *Atilius* had left near *Interamna*, made his way towards *Samnium*; and his first exploit was the taking of *Amiternum*, a city of *Sabinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. *Papirius* in the mean time hastened the new levies at *Rome*, and, as soon as his *Legions* were complete, entered upon action. He took *Furconia* (*Livy* calls it *Duronis*) in the neighbourhood of *Amiternum*, and, then joining his Collegue, they went together to ravage that part of the *Volscian* territory, which was under the domination of the *Samnites*. After this, *Carvilius* prepared to lay siege to *Cominium*, in the extremity of the eastern part of *Samnium*; and *Papirius* marched to *Aquilonia*, where the main strength of the *Samnites* was assembled.

c. 40.

PAPIRIUS, after some slight skirmishes with the enemy, acquainted his Collegue, by a messenger, that he intended to give battle the next day, in case the *Auspices* were favourable; and desired him to press the siege of *Cominium* vigorously, that no detachments might be sent from thence to strengthen the *Samnite* army. Then calling his Troops together, he exhorted them *not to fear the enemy for the extraordinary methods they had taken to make themselves valiant*; told them, *That Oaths, extorted by fear and violence, would never give true courage*; put them in mind of his Father's victory over a *Samnite* army, which had *made themselves fine, as they had done, with proud Crests to their Helmets, and magnificent Bucklers*. Animated by these words, the soldiers, with one voice, called out to lead them to battle: Nay, so universal was the desire of coming to an engagement, that one of the *Pullarii*, or Keepers of the *Chickens*, made a false report of their behaviour, and declared, that they had leapt presently out of their cage, and fed so greedily as to let some of their meat drop out of their mouths upon the pavement: Good omens these, but the facts were not true. The General seemed overjoyed at the Augury, and ordered preparations to be made for fighting. When, the next day, he had assigned his several officers their posts, and had made all the proper dispositions to charge the enemy, his nephew *Papirius*, a youth born in an age (*says Livy*)

Tripadi-
um Solif-
tium.

^a This seems to be the meaning of *Livy's* *eis dictum, ut vir virum legerent, donec* words: *Decem nominatis ab imperatore, sexdecim millium numerum confecissent.*

when men were not yet acquainted with that philosophy which teaches a Year of contempt of the Gods, discovered to him the error he was in; and he did R O M E this at the instigation of some *Roman* Knights, who had overheard the cccclx. keepers of the *Chickens* disputing about the *Augury* of that day. The Bef. J. C. General answered, *I commend your pious zeal and care: But, if the Augur Two hundred has given a false account, the vengeance will fall upon his head alone. The ninety-two Augury, as reported to me, was good and fortunate for the Roman People.* He then commanded, that the Keepers of the *Chickens* should be placed 159th at the head of the first line; and, before the two armies came to a close Consul- engagement, he who had made the false report was killed by an un- ship. known hand [probably by order of the *Consul*.] The news being Val. Max. brought to *Papirius*, he pretended to consider it as a stroke from heaven: B. 7. c. 2. *The Gods are with us*, he cried, *their vengeance has spent itself on the guilty head.* In the beginning of the action the *Samnites*, especially those who Livy, B. had bound themselves by oath not to fly, made a vigorous resistance; till 10. c. 41 on a sudden they perceived at some distance a cloud of dust, such as is 42d wont to be raised by the march of a considerable army. This dust was caused by the servants and muleteers of the *Roman* camp, whom *Papirius* had ordered one of his officers to mount upon mules and beasts of burden, and lead them, together with some *Manipuli* of the allies, by round-about ways to the top of a neighbouring hill, from whence they were to fall upon the enemy in the heat of the battle. These troops had provided themselves with branches of trees, which they had trailed along Frontini the ground to raise the greater dust. Nothing could be seen but the tops Strat. B. of some standards and lances, and something like cavalry, which seemed 2. c. 4. to flank a body of infantry on each side. Both armies were deceived by this appearance; and, the better to carry on the deceit, *Papirius* himself pretended to be surprised, and cried out with an air of joy: COMINIUM must certainly be taken, and my Colleague is come to my assistance. Courage, soldiers, let us make haste to gain the victory, before another army can arrive to share the glory of the day. Then making the signal for his Cavalry to charge, they instantly gave the reins to their horses, drove full speed thro' the files of the Infantry (that widened and made room for that purpose) upon the enemy's Battalions, and quickly put them to the rout. Twelve Oros. B. thousand of the *Samnites*, according to *Orosius*, were slain; but, accord- 3. c. 22. ing to *Livy*, above thirty thousand; and *Aquilonia*, whither most of the fugitives fled for shelter, was soon after taken.

It is recorded (says *Livy*) that *Papirius*, whether from natural temper, or from a confidence of success, shewed, in the important battle of this day, a cheerfulness, such as had hardly ever been seen in any other General on a like occasion. From the same strength of mind it was, that a doubtful *Augury* could not divert him from fighting, and that, in the heat of action, when it was customary for commanders to vow temples to the Gods, he only vowed, that, in case of victory, he would make to *Jupiter* a Libation of wine mixed with honey, before he tasted wine him-

Year of self. The Gods were pleased with the vow, and turned the bad omens to good.

ROM E
CCECLX.
Ref. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
two.

159th
Consul-
ship
Liv. B. 10
c. 43, &
seq.

§. IV. *CARVILIUS* was preparing to make a vigorous attack upon *Cominium*, according to the agreement between him and his Colleague, when he received a letter which *Papirius* had wrote to him before the battle, with notice that the *Samnites* had sent away a large detachment of their army to relieve the place. Upon this news he dispatched *Brutus Scæva*, with the first *Legion* and twenty *Coberts* of auxiliaries, to meet the *Samnite* reinforcement, with orders to amuse or fight them, wherever he should find them. In the mean time, with the rest of his army he gave an assault to the town, and took it. The besieged, to the number of 15400, surrendered at discretion, 4380 had been slain.

Such was the success at *Cominium* and *Aquilonia*. Both these towns were given up to the soldiers to be plundered, and then were burnt. The two detachments did not come to an engagement; for, that of the *Samnites* being recalled when within seven miles of *Cominium*, *Brutus Scæva* did not meet with it.

After these conquests, the two armies incamped together, but, in a council of war it being judged expedient to push the advantages gained over the *Samnites*, to the total reduction of them, by taking the rest of their cities, *Carvilius* went to lay siege to *Volana* (in *Lucania* near Cape *Palinurus*), dependent doubtless on the *Samnites*; and *Papirius* to attempt the conquest of *Sepinum*, a town situated at the foot of the *Apennines*, near the head of the *Tamarus*.

45.

The news of the great success of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium* was the more agreeable at *Rome*, as an account came at the same time, that the *Hetrurians* were beginning to take arms again; which account was soon after confirmed by deputies sent from some cities in alliance with the Republick. Nor was this all; the *Falisci*, who were the nearest neighbours to *Rome* on the side of *Hetruria*, revolted and joined the enemy. It was necessary therefore to recall one of the *Consuls*, with his army, from *Samnium*; they were ordered to cast lots for the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, and it fell to *Carvilius*, who by this time had taken *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum* from the *Samnites*.

46.

Papirius, after the departure of his Colleague, took *Sepinum* by assault, and gave the booty to the soldiers. He then returned to *Rome*, full of glory, in the month of *February*, and was honoured with a triumph. The rich spoils taken from the *Samnites* made his procession very magnificent. *Papirius* had brought away from the conquered countries 2,533,000^a pounds weight of brass, and 1330 pounds weight of silver. But, though these riches swelled the pomp of the victor's Triumph, he lost the good-will of his soldiers, by giving all into the publick treasury. And the People's discontent was yet greater, when a tax came to be laid upon them to pay his troops, which might have been satisfied by distributing among them a

^a Between 6 and 7000l. Sterling.

part of that wealth. *Papirius* on this occasion dedicated a Temple (to *Quirinus*) which his father, when Dictator, had vowed. He adorned it with the fine spoils taken from the *Samnites*. Upon this Temple was also fixed a Sun-dial, the first ever seen at *Rome*. *Anaximenes the Milesian* had many years before, as *Pliny* tells us, discovered the secret, but the invention had not reached to *Rome*. The *Romans* for a long while marked only the rising and setting of the sun; afterwards they observed the hour of noon, but in a very gross manner. When the sun shined between the *Rostra* and the house appointed for the reception of Ambassadors, one of the Consul's heralds used to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day. But now they could mark the several hours of the day; and the Water-clock, invented soon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

As soon as *Papirius* had triumphed, he left *Rome* again, to lead his troops into the territory of *Vesuvia*, which the *Samnites* still infested, and there he passed the rest of the winter. In the mean time *Carvilius*, in *Hetruria*, took *Troilium* by assault, and reduced the *Falisci* to sue for peace. He granted them however no more than a year's truce, and for that he made them pay dear. After this he returned to *Rome*, and had a Triumph. He brought with him 390,000 *Asses* of brass for the publick treasury, without reckoning a considerable sum which he reserved to build a Temple to *Fortune*. And he gave besides to each private soldier of the Foot 102 pounds of brass, and twice that sum to each Centurion and Horseman; a small present, but well received, and which the remembrance of *Papirius's* parsimonious conduct made still more agreeable; and by this means he became popular enough to prevail with the People to drop the prosecution, which the Tribune *Scantius* had begun against *Posthumius*, one of the Consuls of the last year.

§. V. I T was probably at this time that *Atilius*, the other Consul of the last year, now *Prætor*, made a new law relating to Guardianships. The *Twelve Tables* had not provided for those orphans, whose fathers died intestate, and who had no near relation to take upon him the guardianship of them. The *Atilian Law* ordained, that the *Prætor* and the Tribunes of the People should by a plurality of voices assign such Orphans a Guardian. At the same time the *Curule Ædiles* published an ordinance, that those who had received crowns, as the rewards of their military exploits, might wear them at the publick Games; and that Palm-branches should be put in the hands of the victors in those Games.

^a 1259 l. 7 s. 6 d. Arbuthnot.

^b 6 s. 7 d. Arbuthnot.

C H A P. XXIV.

§. I. Q. Fabius Gurges (son of Fabius Maximus) is chosen to the Consulate, tho' his father had opposed his promotion. Through his ill conduct, he is shamefully vanquished in a battle with the *Samnites*. Old Fabius serves under his son the remainder of the Campaign, which proves successful.

§. II. The

§. II. The Romans, to put a stop to the Plague, send Ambassadors to bring from Epidaurum the God Æsculapius, worshipped there under the form of a serpent. §. III. The God arrives. The haughty behaviour of Volturnus one of the Consuls. He succeeds in the war, but is punished at his return to Rome. §. IV. The Consul CURIUS DENTATUS (a Hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty) reduces the Samnites to ask Peace. §. V. He reduces SAMNIA to a state of subjection to the Republick. He is accused of embezzling some of the spoil taken from the enemy. §. VI. Colonies are sent into the conquered Cities. To relieve the Prætor of Rome, three new Judges are created to try Malefactors. The cruelty of a Creditor to his Debtor occasions a new Secession of the People. The Patricians are obliged to make concessions. Fabius Maximus in his old age is named Dictator to finish the accommodation. He soon after dies.

Year of the ROMAN REPUBLIC. 493. B. C. Two Hundred ninety-one. §. I. **P**.APIRIUS held the Comitia for the election of Consuls. The choice fell upon two men of small abilities for war, 1. *Fabius Gurgus* (the son of *Fabius Maximus*) and *Junius Brutus Scaeva*. It is undoubted, that *Fabius* the father opposed the promotion of his son; but it is very uncertain for what reason; whether, as *Valerius Maximus* thinks, from a Republican principle, and because he thought it of pernicious example to have one family loaded with so many honours, he having himself been promoted to that dignity; or whether on account of some domestick quarrel, or whether because he judged his son unqualified for so high a station. Rome being at this time visited with a Plague, which made terrible havock, this, together with the incapacity of the new Consuls, encouraged the *Falisci* to break their truce, and the *Samnites* to take arms again, and spread themselves over *Campania*. It fell to *Brutus's* lot to march into *Hetruria* against the *Falisci*. The Republick, to supply his defects, appointed *Carvilius* to be his Lieutenant, and by his assistance the Consul made a successful expedition.

But, on the other hand, *Fabius Gurgus*, having all the fire of the *Fabii*, without their usual prudence, rashly, and without drawing up his troops in order of battle, engaged with the *Samnites*, and lost three thousand men, he himself escaping only by the favour of the night. The account of the ill conduct of *Gurgus* so exasperated the publick against him, that the Senate were going to remove him from the command of the army; but then the zeal of *Fabius Maximus* for the honour of his family was roused, and he undertook his son's cause. Without excusing the precipitate conduct of the Consul, he desired the assembly to pardon it, in consideration of the many victories which he himself had formerly obtained for the Republick. He represented to them, that his son's disgrace had not been owing to a want of bravery, but to youthful imprudence, which time and experience might correct. And, lastly, he offered to go and serve under his son, and promised soon to repair the loss which the State had suffered by his son's mismanagement. The People accepted this offer, and were appeased.

Fabius

Fabius Maximus accompanied his son into the field against the *Samnites*, in quality of his Lieutenant, and not only assisted him by his advice, but, when in a battle, which was soon after fought, the *Consul*, following the impulse of his courage, and eager to recover his honour, had indiscreetly penetrated too far among the enemies, and was surrounded by them, rescued him out of their hands by his personal bravery. So gallant an action, in a man of his years, animated the *Roman Legions* to exert themselves with more than ordinary vigour, and they soon put the *Samnites* to the rout. Twenty thousand of the enemy were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners; among the latter was their famous General *Pontius Herennius*, who had commanded them in this and the former battle.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxi.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety-
one.
160th
Consul-
ship.
Oros. B. 3.
c. 22.

§. II. THE joy at *Rome* for so complete a victory would have been much greater if it had not been damped by the Plague, which still continued to make dreadful devastation. In this distress the *Romans* had recourse to the usual remedy, Superstition. The *Sybilline Books* were consulted, and it was there read, that, to put a stop to the pestilence, the God *Æsculapius*, adored under the form of a Serpent, must be brought to *Rome* from *Epidaurus*, a City of *Peloponnesus*. An Embassy was accordingly appointed for that purpose.

Livy, B.
10. c. 47.

§. III. THE time for the new Election drawing on, and the *Consuls* being both in the field, a *Dictator* was named to hold the *Comitia*; but, his nomination being found defective, the Government fell into an *Interregnum*; and then *Posthumus* (the very same man who had so lately escaped a condemnation) holding the assembly, contrived to get himself elected* one of the new *Consuls*. With *Posthumus* was joined *Junius Brutus Bubulcus*.

* A 3d
time.

Posthumus, now the third time *Consul*, and as proud in office as he had been ambitious in procuring to himself the *Consular* dignity, disdained to draw lots with his *Plebeian* Colleague for their provinces. He insisted upon having the Command of the army in *Samnium*; and *Brutus*, finding that his Colleague had a powerful party in the Senate, consented to command in *Ætruria*, without waiting for a decree.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred.
ninety.

About this time the God *Æsculapius*², that is to say, a tame Snake, which the *Roman* Ambassadors had bought of the Priests belonging to the

Temple

161st
Consul-
ship.
Suidas in
Postum.
D. Hal. in
excerptis
à Valesio.

² *Æsculapius* * was a native of *Messene*, a city of *Peloponnesus*. As soon as he was born, his parents exposed him in the midst of a forest, where he was found by some hunters. These had compassion on him, and caused him to be suckled by a bitch. When he was old enough to be capable of instruction, he was committed to the care of the famous *Chiron*, who taught him *Physick*, or, if you will, *Surgery*; for the two arts

were then confounded. The disciple soon excelled his master, and, being grown an able Physician, settled at *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argia*, and practised his art there. It must be granted, that *Æsculapius* made some discoveries in the cure of diseases and wounds. He is said to have invented the *Probe*; to have first made use of *Bandages*; and to have been the first who invented *Purges*, and the art of drawing *Teeth*.
And,

* The particulars concerning *Æsculapius* are taken from *D. Hal.* in excerpt. à Valesio. *LaFart.* ex *Tarquitio*, *Cicero* de nat. Deor. B. 3. *Plut.* in *Quest.* Rom. *Pausanias*, *Arb. de V. r.* lib. 5. c. 24. *Ovid.* *Met.* B. 15. *Val. Max.* B. 1. c. 8. *Pliny*, B. 29. c. 1.

Year of Temple at *Epidaurus*, arrived at *Rome*, to the great joy of the People; and the Plague is said to have soon after ceased.

R O M E

cxcvii.

Bef. J. C.

Two

hundred

ninety.

16th

Consul-

ship.

And, as he lived in an age wherein it was usual to deify those who distinguished themselves by any useful discoveries, the people were pleased to call him the son of *Apollo*, and to rank him among the Gods. After which he soon had a Temple erected to him in *Epidaurus*; which was built upon an eminence without the city, because the most airy and wholesome situations are most suitable to the Gods of *Health*. There the Priests, who presided over the worship of this new God, bred one of those snakes, which are easily tamed, and taught to follow any persons where they please, without any danger of being bit by them; and the silly vulgar honoured this Snake as the God himself. His usual hole was under the feet of the fine stone statue of *Æsculapius*; which the famous sculptor *Phrygiades* of *Parus* had made; and, whenever he came out of it, his appearance was understood to prognosticate the cure of the sick. The Envoys of *Rome* were brought into this Temple, to which the love of life drew all *Greece*, and which gratitude for cures imagined to be there obtained had exceedingly enriched. *Ogulinus* was at the head of the embassy: and it is probable the *Epidaurians* made the *Romans* pay very dear for the relief they sought; their reputation and interest being then very small in *Greece*. Be that as it will, the *Epidaurians* granted their request, and suffered them to carry away with them the important Snake. It is reported as a prodigy, that the Snake came out in sight of the Ambassadors, while they were attentively viewing the statue of *Æsculapius*: and that he left the Temple of *Epidaurus* of his own accord, and, winding his great body along, passed all thro' the city, and went directly to the port where the *Roman* ship was at anchor. To which it is added, that he entered the vessel of his own accord, went directly to *Ogulinus's* cabin, and, curling himself into several circles, continued quietly there. An account which is neither incredible nor miraculous, if we suppose (which might have been the case) that the master of the Snake, who had tamed him, went before him to the ship. Besides, this was not the first time that one of these Snakes had been taken out of the Temple of *Epidaurus*. The *Sicyonians* had already carried one from thence to their city, in a chariot; and an unknown woman, named *Nicagore*, had conducted

him thither. Thus the impostures of the *Greeks* furnished the nations, who were willing to be cheated, with *Æsculapius's*; and thus the *Romans*, among others, were bubbled by them.

The other adventures of the pretended *Æsculapius*, in his passage from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, have been celebrated both by the Historians and Poets. They relate, that the Ambassadors experienced the good effects of the God's presence in their voyage, it being exceeding prosperous and happy. Nevertheless, the sea became boisterous towards the coast of *Italy*, and the violence of the winds forced the seamen to put in at the port of *Antium*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Æsculapius*. The Snake had hitherto confined himself to *Ogulinus's* cabin; but here he escaped, and gliding along came to the court of the sanctuary where he was worshipped. This place was planted with Myrtles and Palm-trees, and the pretended *Æsculapius* got upon the largest of those trees, and twisted his long body round it. For three days it was much feared that the divine animal would continue there; all endeavours to bring him back to the ship proved vain. It availed nothing to offer him his usual food; he continued three days twisted round the Palm-tree. But at length he returned to the gallery of his own accord. *Antium* was at no very great distance from the mouth of the *Tiber*; and up that river the snake was carried to *Rome*. The joy the *Romans* shewed at the arrival of this salutary God is not to be expressed. Altars were erected all along the shore; and incense and sacrifices offered, even to profuseness. While the citizens expected soon to receive the God within their walls, and were thinking to build him a temple there, he is said to have chosen his own abode. In the midst of the *Tiber*, over-against the walls of *Rome*, was an island, formed in the infancy of the Republick, by straw, trunks of trees, sand, and the rubbish of the city; and thither the Serpent retired, swimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the *Island of Æsculapius*; and a Temple was soon erected to him there, and enriched with numberless presents. The Temple was built in the shape of a ship; the higher part of it resembled the stern, and the lower part the prow. But whatever the

Historians

History says nothing of any exploits of *Brutus* in *Hetruria*. But young *Fabius*, who had been continued in the command of the army in *Samnium* in quality of *Proconsul*, being assisted by his father (who governed and directed all his motions, without letting him perceive it) had already reduced the Canton of the *Pentrini*, and was besieging *Cominium* (an important Town, formerly taken and burnt by *Carvilius*, but since rebuilt by the *Samnites*) when *Posthumius* prepared to enter *Samnium* with a new Consular army. Before he left *Rome*, he employed a detachment of his troops in the servile work of grubbing up a forest in his own estate; and he proceeded in the same spirit of tyranny when he came into the field. He sent orders to the *Proconsul* to desist from the siege of *Cominium*, and to leave that enterprise to his conduct. Young *Fabius* had received his commission from the Senate; and the *Fathers* supported his pretensions, and commanded the *Consul* to bend his forces another way; but *Posthumius* had the messenger tell the Senate, *That it was their duty to obey their Consul, and not his to submit to their commands.* He then marched straight towards *Cominium*, resolving to give the *Fabii* battle, if they did not yield to his will. *Fabius Maximus* prevailed with his son, for the sake of the publick good, to give way to the imperious *Consul*. And then *Posthumius*, having a clear stage, and being a man of courage and expedition, soon made himself master of *Cominium*. Thence he turned his arms against *Venusia*, which he likewise took in a short time. In the letter which he wrote to the Senate to inform them of his success, he proposed that a *Colony* might be sent to the last-mentioned place, and his proposal was approved; but the *Fathers*, who preferred Obedience to Valour, took occasion from it to humble him. Instead of appointing him, agreeably to custom, to be one of the founders of the new *Colony* in the city he had conquered, they named three others, and allowed him no share in that honour; nay, to mortify him yet more, they decreed young *Fabius* a Triumph. *Pontius Herennius*, that famous *Samnite* General who surprised the *Roman Legions* in the *Caudine Forks*, and made them pass under the Yoke, now followed the Chariot of the Triumphant Conqueror. (He was afterwards, by an inhumanity unworthy of *Romans*, condemned to lose his head.) But the most surprising sight of all was old *Fabius* on horseback in his son's train. He had formerly in his own Triumphs carried his son in the Chariot with him; and he was now overjoyed to mingle in the croud, and make one of his attendants.

Historians say of it, it is very uncertain whether the plague was not stopped before the Serpent arrived; and if we believe *Pliny*, who gave no credit to vulgar traditions, the *Romans* themselves would not suffer this *Æsculapius*, who had been brought from beyond-sea, to be placed within their walls. He says they had an aversion to Physicians and their art, and despised even *Æsculapius*

himself, the prince and head of Physicians. Nevertheless, the Temple of this God of Health was very much frequented by the Commonalty of *Rome*; the sick came and passed the night in it; and imagination, or the strength of nature, sometimes wrought cures there, which were ascribed to the power of the God. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
ninety.
161st
Consul-
ship.
Dio Coc-
ceianus in
excerptis
à Valesio.
Livy,
Epit. 11.
D. Hal. in
excerptis
à Valesio.
Plut. in
Fab.
Cunct.
Val Max.
B. 5. c. 7.

Year of R O M E cccclxi. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety. As for *Postumius*, when he found himself treated with so much contempt, and his rival so much honoured, he not only declaimed with passion against both Senate and People, but did all that was in his power to revenge himself. He would not give the least part of the booty brought from the two conquered Cities into the publick Treasury, but distributed it all among his soldiers, and then disbanded them before his successor could arrive.

161st Consulship. D. Hal. in excerptis à Valefio. Year of R O M E cccclxiii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-nine. Some Historians say, that, notwithstanding these extravagant proceedings, and the opposition of the Senate, he obtained a Triumph by a decree of the People; but this is highly improbable, since it appears by what followed soon after, that the People were no less exasperated against him than the *Fathers*. For the succeeding *Consuls*, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* and *Marius Curius Dentatus*, were no sooner entered upon office, than he was brought to a trial before the *Comitia by Tribes*. His chief accusation turned upon his having employed his soldiers in a slavish work for his own private profit; a crime which touched the People much more than his disobedience to the Senate. They condemned him to pay a considerable fine; and his reputation continued for some time blasted.

§. IV. THE *Samnites*, having lost their brave General and able Governor *Pontius*, were no longer in a condition to oppose the progress of the *Roman* arms. *Curius Dentatus* laid waste their country, took their towns, and, in short, obliged them to sue for peace. The Republick consented to a treaty of alliance with them for the fourth time, and left the conditions of it to *Curius*.*

162d Consulship. Liv. Epit. 11. Eutrop. B. 2. This *Consul* was remarkable for living, without ostentation, in that voluntary Poverty, which some Philosophers have with great vanity cried up and recommended. The *Samnite* Deputies found him sitting on a sorry wooden seat near a fire, dressing his own dinner, which consisted only of some roots; and they offered him a present of a considerable sum of Money. *Curius* expressed his indignation by a disdainful smile. "Without doubt, said he, my indigence makes you hope that you may corrupt me: But you are mistaken. I had rather be the commander of rich men, than be rich myself. Take away that metal, which men make use of only to their destruction, and go tell your nation, that they will find it as difficult to bribe me, as to conquer me." A treaty being concluded upon such conditions as *Curius* thought fit to prescribe, he returned to *Rome* to triumph. And never did the People express more joy than upon this occasion, being at length freed from the care and burthen of a dangerous war, which had lasted forty-nine years. The conqueror, in the distribution of the conquered lands among those *Romans* who had none of

Nico. Dam. in excerptis à Valefio. * It is uncertain what sort of Government was in use among the *Samnites*; but it is most probable that they were divided into Cantons, and annually assembled a Diet, where resolutions were taken for the publick good. In time of war they chose a Head, who was invested with Sovereign Authority.

It is said that the *Samnites* had one very singular custom in relation to Marriages. Every year, all the marriageable young men and women were assembled before certain judges who matched them according to their merit. C. & R.

their own, prevailed to have no more than seven acres allotted to each man, and accepted no more himself, though a much larger portion was offered him. He said, that, to preserve the *Roman* frugality, it were to be wished that no man had more land than was necessary for his subsistence.

§. V. THE conquest of *Samnium* was followed by the reduction of the *Sabines* to a state of subjection, who had been almost ever since the foundation of *Rome* upon the foot of allies, and had been governed by their own laws. They had feared that the ruin of the *Samnites* would affect their own liberty, and had therefore not only lent them assistance, but had ravaged a part of the *Roman* Territory. *Curius* intirely subdued them; but the *Romans*, in regard to old friendship, treated them gently and admitted them to *Roman* Citizenship, yet without the right of suffrage. For the conquest of *Sabinia*, *Curius* had a second Triumph decreed him the same year; an honour which had never been granted to any of his predecessors in the Consulate.

The eminent virtues of this Philosophical Hero did not secure him from envy: There were not wanting those to whom his reputation of disinterestedness gave offence, and they endeavoured to cast a stain upon it. They accused him of having applied a part of the booty taken from the enemy to his private use. The accusation being general, he was put to his oath; and then he confessed, that he had reserved a little wooden oil-vessel for making libations to the Gods, but protested that he had kept nothing more: He was believed; and the malice of his accusers served only to heighten the lustre of his virtue. Before the expiration of his Consulship, he led an army against the *Lucanians*, and obliged them to raise the siege of *Thurium*, the inhabitants of which had implored the protection of the *Romans*, and had gained *Ælius* (one of the *Tribunes*) to be their friend. This Town was situated near the Gulph of *Tarentum*,

§. VI. THE same *Comitia*, which chose *M. Valerius Corvinus* and *Q. Cædicius Noctua* to be *Consuls* for the new year, appointed *Curius Dentatus* to carry on the war in *Lucania* in quality of *Proconsul*. His expedition proved successful; and he thereby established the *Roman* domination through almost the whole extent of the country that reaches from the *Adriatick* to the *Tyrrhenian* and *Sicilian* seas. The new *Consuls* employed their year altogether in works of peace, and in sending out *Colonies*; particularly to *Adria*, a maritime Town, which some say gave name to the *Adriatick* sea; *Castrum* in *Picenum*, and *Sena*, another City on the *Adriatick* at the mouth of the *Seno* in the country of the *Senones*.

At this time the *Romans*, finding that the *Prætor* alone was not sufficient to preserve good order in the City in a time of peace, when malefactors always multiply, the People appointed three new Judges to try delinquents, and pronounce sentence without appeal: But their power of punishing extended only to pecuniary fines; the People would not divest themselves of the sole power of life and death. These new Magistrates were chosen annually in the *Comitia* by *Tribes*. The number of *Roman* Citizens fit to

Year of bear arms, appeared, by a *Census* taken this year, to be two hundred and
R O M E seventy-three thousand.

ccccxv. And now, when all was quiet abroad, new disturbances were raised at
Bef. J. C. home, and the poor Debtors began again to murmur against the rich
Two Usurers. This spark of dissension was blown up into a flame in the
hundred *Consulship* of Q. *Marcus* * *Tremulus* and P. *Cornelius* † *Arvina*, on the
eighty-eight following occasion: T. *Veturius*, one of those unfortunate *Consuls*, who

163d in the year of *Rome* 432 had been surprised in the *Caudine Forks*, died
Consul- insolvent. His son, a youth of great beauty, and virtuously educated,
ship. borrowed a considerable sum of C. *Plotius*, his father's chief creditor, to
Liv. Epit. defray the expence of his father's funeral. Being afterwards pressed to
11. pay, and having neither money nor credit, he was forced to submit to
Zonar. slavery, and to work for his creditor in order to discharge the debt. *Plot-*
Annal. *tius* conceived a detestable passion for the young man, and treated him
B. 8. unmercifully for his virtuous resistance. *Veturius* one day, when his body
Y. of R. was all bloody with stripes, made his escape out of the house, got upon
465. an eminence, shewed himself to the People, and published the infamy
Bef. J. C. of his tyrant. The People laid hold on the occasion to decry the Usurers,
287. and to demand the abolition of the law which subjected those to slavery
164th who could not pay. This law had been repealed before upon a like occa-
Consul- sion in the year 427, but the *Patricians* had got it renewed. As for *Plotius*,
ship. he was cited by the *Tribunes of the People* before the *Centuries*, and condemn-
* A 2d ed time. ed to death.
† A 2d time.

D. Hal. in In the following *Consulship* of M. *Claudius Marcellus* and C. *Nautius*
excerptis *Rutilus*, the People kept no longer any measures with the *Patricians*.
à Valerio. They insisted upon the abolition of the law before mentioned, and, find-
Val. Max. ing the rich obstinate in opposing it, they made a *Secession* upon the
B. 6. c. 1. hill *Janiculus*, on the other side of the *Tiber*. The city being thus left
Y. of R. destitute of artificers and labourers, and no provisions being brought
466. thither from the provinces (for the country people had likewise their com-
Bef. J. C. plaints) the *Patricians* and rich *Citizens* found themselves under a necessity
286. of making concessions, and they named Q. *Hortensius* Dictator to negotiate
165th with the Separatists. The terms of reconciliation were the repeal (doubt-
Consul- less) of the law in question, and the strict observation of two laws, made in
ship. the year 414. but to which the Nobility had paid no regard. 1. *That the*
Liv. Epit. *Plébiscita* [the Decrees made by the *Commons* at the request of their *Tribunes*]
11. *should be observed by the Patricians as well as Plebeians.* 2. *That laws should*
S. Aug. de *first pass the Senate, and be brought afterwards to the Comitia to be there*
Civitate *approved or rejected, and not vice versa.* The complaint of the coun-
Dei, B. 3. try people was, *That they could not get their causes heard by the Judges*
Cic. in *on Market-days, when they came to Rome, but were obliged to leave their*
Orat. pro *work, and return thither again.* This was rectified. But when these
Planc. several articles of reconciliation were drawn up, and the storm began
Liv., B. to be appeased, *Hortensius* died of a sudden, before the expiration of his
8. c. 12. *Dictatorship*. It being necessary therefore to create another *Dictator*, to
Varro complete what he had begun, the *Consuls* nominated the illustrious *Fabius*,
apud No- who
nium.
Macrob. Sar. 1.
c. 16.
Fragmen-
tum Hist.
Capit.

who now, in an extreme old age, was President or Prince of the Senate. He happily finished the accommodation; and this was the last publick scene in which he appeared. He died soon after. The Republick had considered him in his life-time as a prodigy of *Roman* Valour, Prudence, and Virtue; and now upon his death the People contributed to the expence of his obsequies with so much emulation, that his son, with the victims offered at his funeral, gave a publick entertainment to the whole City.

Fabius, while *Dictator*, had (probably) presided in the *Comitia*, when *M. Valerius Potitus* and *C. Ælius Potus* were chosen *Consuls*. Their year proved barren of remarkable events; but the Republick was never more happy than under their administration. The People, having gained the highest pitch of their desires, thought only of enjoying the sweets of tranquillity. The balance of power leaned now rather to their side; and the *Patricians* had no advantage over them, but in the great riches they had acquired, while they kept the ascendant, and in that respect which naturally is paid to persons of high birth.

C H A P. XXV.

§. I. *The Tarentines endeavour privately to stir up both old and new enemies against Rome. The Gauls, called Senones, give the Roman army a terrible overthrow. Curius Dentatus revenges this defeat.* §. II. *The next year the Romans vanquish in battle the Senones, the Boii, and the Hetrurians. The Samnites revolt. The year following, almost all Italy rises in arms against the Republick. Fabricius defeats the confederate forces of the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnite.* §. III. *The Tarentines fall in a hostile manner upon a Roman fleet, which chanceth to come into their port. The Romans send to demand satisfaction. The Tarentines insult the Ambassadors, and then turn their thoughts to an alliance with Pyrrhus King of Epirus. [A short account of this Prince, and the state of his affairs at this time.]* §. IV. *The Senate and people of Rome decree a war against the Tarentines. An army marches directly for Tarentum. The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the Citizens on its approach. They resolve to invite Pyrrhus to their assistance.* §. V. *Pyrrhus accepts the invitation, and sends before him to Tarentum the famous Cyneas, his prime minister.*

§. I. *R O M E* was now not only in perfect tranquillity at home, but in a flourishing condition with respect to her affairs abroad. The *Latines*, *Sabines*, *Hernici*, *Æqui*, *Marfi*, and *Campanians* were all brought into subjection to her. The *Volsi* were no more a people. The terror of the *Roman* arms reached to *Apulia*, and kept it in awe. A part of *Lucania* on one hand, and on the other *Umbria* and *Picenum*, quite up to the frontiers of the *Senones*, were all either obedient to the *Romans*, or awed by *Roman Colonies* near them. On the other side of the *Tiber* one

Year of
R O M E
ccclxvi.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
eighty-
six.
165th
Consul-
ship.
Auth. de
Viris Il-
lustr. c.
32.
Year of
R O M E
ccclxvii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
eighty-
five.
166th
Consul-
ship.

Year of ROM F part of *Hetruria* was subdued, and that which was more distant observed the truce which had been granted it. *Samnium*, in all appearance, was quieted; and the *Gauls*, both *Senones* and *Boii*, lived in peace with the Republick, always ready however to fight for those who would employ them. Such was the State of *Rome*, when *C. Claudius Canina* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* entered upon the *Consulship*. Nothing memorable happened during their administration; and the *Festus* were transmitted to *C. Sertius Tucca* and *L. Cecilius Metellus*. In their year the *Tarentines* (formerly a Colony of austere *spartans*, but now sunk into idleness and vice) growing jealous of the prosperity of the *Romans*, and fearing an interruption in their pleasures, as much as the loss of their liberty, employed all their *Græcian* subtlety to stir up both old and new enemies against the Republick; and this without appearing to be concerned.

At the same time the *Senones* prepared to besiege *Aretium*, a City of *Hetruria*, about forty leagues from *Rome*, not far from the river *Arno*, and which was in truce with the Republick. The *Romans*, at the request of the *Aretini*, raised an army to defend them; but, before any act of hostility, they sent a deputation to the *Senones*, to persuade them to desist from their design. These proud *Gauls*, instead of listening to the mediation of the *Romans*, killed the Ambassadors, and then immediately brought their troops before *Aretium*. The Consul *Cæcilius* hastened to the relief of the place, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himself was killed, with seven *Legionary Tribunes*, many of the nobles, and thirteen thousand private men. Upon the news of this terrible defeat, *Curius Dentatus* (probably *Prætor* at this time) was dispatched from *Rome*, at the head of some new levies to supply the Consul's place. But this able and experienced Commander, instead of attacking the army of the *Gauls*, flushed with success, or of attempting to succour *Aretium*, marched along the confines of *Hetruria*, and entered the enemies country, where he took ample vengeance for the murder of the *Roman Ambassadors*. With fire and sword he laid waste and destroyed all before him, so that in a little time he reduced it to a vast desert, in which there scarce remain any appearances of its having been cultivated or inhabited; all the men that were found were put to the sword, and the women and children carried into slavery.

§. II. IN the mean time, and in the beginning of the administration of *P. Cornelius Dolabella* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Republick began to feel the effects of the secret negotiations of the *Tarentines*. The *Boii*, *Hetrurians*, and *Samnites*, all declared against her at once, and she had already the army of the *Senones* before *Aretium* to deal with. These *Gauls*, to revenge the devastation made in their country, left the siege of that Town, and were advancing straight to *Rome*, when *Domitius* met them in *Hetruria*, and gave them a total overthrow with great slaughter. After this, *Cornelius* came to a pitched battle with the united *Hetrurians* and *Boii*; the troops of the former were almost all slain, and those of the latter, who escaped, being vanquished a second time, sued for peace. As for the *Senones*,

Senones, they were so utterly destroyed, that there scarce remained any footsteps of them in *Italy*.

In the following *Consulship* of *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, almost all *Italy*, through the secret intrigues of the *Tarentines*, rose up in arms against the *Robbers*, as the *Romans* were then called. On one side the remains of the *Hetrurians* and *Boii*, on the other the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*, in conjunction with the *Samnites*, all conspired together for the destruction of the imperious Republick. It fell to *Æmilius* to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to *Fabricius* to command in *Lucania*. The latter marched to the relief of *Thurium*, a city on the Gulph of *Tarentum*, and besieged by the *Lucanians*, *Bruttians*, and *Samnites*. He defeated this confederate army, but found it a difficult enterprise to force their camp. The means by which he succeeded in it, and which had something of the air of a miracle, was probably a stratagem of his own contriving. Whilst he seemed to be in suspense what measures to take, a young man full of strength and vigour, wearing feathers in his helmet; appeared on a sudden in the midst of the Legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their country, and then, seizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a shower of darts, planted his ladder against it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inspired the *Romans* with such intrepidity, that they soon made themselves masters of the camp. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy, with their General *Statilius*, were slain. After the victory the *Consul* ordered the young man who had first mounted the rampart to be sought for, in order to reward him; and, because he was not to be found, the *Romans* presently imagined, that it was the God *Mars* himself, and returned him solemn thanks for his assistance, by publick *Supplications*.

§. III. AS for the *Tarentines*, the real authors of this war, they had not yet openly declared against *Rome*. An accident at length made them throw off the mask. *Valerius* one of the *Maritime Duumvirs*, or Admirals of the *Roman* fleet, happened to come with ten ships to the mouth of their port, while they were celebrating their Games in the Theatre, which looked towards the harbour. The sudden appearance of the *Roman* ships interrupted their diversions; the *Tarentines* imagining that the *Romans* were come with hostile intentions, they all with one consent ran down to the port, fell upon the fleet with the fury of mad men, sunk one ship, and took four, the other five escaping. All the prisoners fit to bear arms were put to the sword, and the rest sold to the best bidder. Upon the news of this unexpected insult, the Republick sent a deputation to *Tarentum* to demand satisfaction. *Posthumius Megellus*, who had been thrice *Consul*, was at the head of the Embassy. He was admitted to an audience in the Theatre, where he harangued the assembly in *Greek*. The *Tarentines*, heated with wine, instead of listening to his discourse with that seriousness which the importance of the matter required, burst into loud laughter, or hissed him, whenever he hesitated, was incorrect in

Year of
R O M E

CCCCXXXI.
Bef. J. C.

Two
hundred
eighty-
one.

170th
Consul-
ship.

Pliny, B.
34. c. 6.

Ammian.
Mar. B.

24. c. 15.
Val. Max.

B. 1. c. 8.

Flor. B 1.

c. 18.

Oros. B 4.
c. 1.

D. Hal. in
Legat.

Year of in his expression, or even pronounced a word with a foreign accent ; but, ROM E when he began to speak of *Reparation of Wrongs*, they flew into rage, called him *Barbarian*, and, in a manner, drove him out of the assembly. Nor was this all : As he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, a buffoon named *Philonides*, coming up to him, urined upon his robe ; a new source of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude ; some of them even clapped their hands for extreme joy at the outrageous insolence. *Pestibumius*, turning about to the assembly, only shewed them the skirt of his garment so defiled ; but when he found that this had no effect, but to increase the loudness of their contumelious mirth, *Laugh on, TARENTINES, laugh on, now while you may. The time is coming, when you will weep ; yes, TARENTINES, you will long weep. It is not a little blood that must wash and purify this garment.* Having thus spoken, he straight withdrew, left the city, and embarked for *Rome*.

1731
Consul-
ship.

When the *Tarentines* came to themselves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct never to be forgiven, and at the same time on the inability of their neighbours in *Italy* to defend them, they concluded it absolutely necessary to look for succours from beyond-sea ; and they cast their eyes on *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, who, for personal bravery and martial skill, was renowned above all the *Grecian* Commanders of that time.

Plot. Life
of Pyr-
rhos, p.
383. &
seq.

This Prince was descended from *Achilles*, by his son *Neoptolemus* (or *Pyrrhus*) who conquered *Epirus*, reigned there himself, and left the throne to his posterity. Being yet an infant at the breast, when his father *Æacides* was dethroned by his subjects, he was conveyed through variety of dangers into *Illyricum*, where *Glaucias*, the King of that country, took care of him, and educated him with his own children. When *Pyrrhus* had attained to 12 years of age, *Glaucias*, at the head of a great army, entered *Epirus*, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors ; but, when he was 17 years old, the *Epirots* rebelling again, drove him from his kingdom, and forced him to seek refuge in the dominions of *Demetrius*, the husband of his sister *Deidamia*. *Demetrius* was then master of *Greece* and a great part of *Asia*. *Pyrrhus* served under him in his wars against *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, and gained great applause by his courage and conduct at the famous battle of *Ipsus*, in *Pbrygia*, where so many Kings were present ; and, when a peace was made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, *Pyrrhus* was sent to *Ægypt*, as one of the hostages to secure the performance of the Treaty. Here he behaved himself with so much prudence and address, as to gain universal esteem and admiration ; and he made his court so successfully to *Berenice*, the favourite Queen, that she gave him in marriage *Antigone*, her daughter by a former husband. Having by this alliance engaged *Ptolomy* to assist him with money and troops, he recovered his own Kingdom ; after which he made himself master of *Macedon* ; but, being dispossessed of it again by *Lyfimachus*, retired into *Epirus*, and was at this time in peace with all the neighbouring States. However, as he naturally loved action, and the bustle and hurry

hurry of war, the ambassadors whom the *Tarentines* sent to him (perhaps only to try his pulse and observe the state of his affairs) found him in a disposition to hearken to any proposals, which would furnish him with employment worthy of his ambition.

§. IV. THE *Tarentines*, to amuse the *Romans* till it could be known what might be expected from *Pyrrhus*, besieged *Thurium* defended by a *Roman* Garrison, and took it. This news came to *Rome* soon after the return of *Posthumius* and the other ambassadors who had been so ill treated at *Tarentum*. The Republick had just raised *L. Æmilius Barbula* and *Q. Marcus Plautius* to the *Consulate*. These Magistrates having assembled the *Comitia* Fathers represented to them on one hand the shameful indignity offered to their ambassadors, which required vengeance; and, on the other, the danger of engaging in a new war, when the Republick had already so many enemies to contend with: For the *Ætrurians* and *Samnites* were still in arms, and the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians* grown more confident, since the taking of *Thurium*. To the necessity of chastising the *Tarentines*, the Hostilities they had committed against the Republick, and the insult they had offered to *Posthumius*, whose robe was produced in the assembly, left no room for deliberation upon that point; the only question was concerning the proper time; and this the Fathers debated from Sun-rising to Sun-set for several days together, being divided in opinion. Some were for deferring the war with the *Tarentines*, till the intermediate Provinces should be subdued; others for beginning it immediately. The question being put to the vote, the latter opinion prevailed by a majority of voices; and the Senate's Decree was confirmed by the people. Hereupon, *Æmilius*, who had intended to make the campaign in *Samnium*, received orders to lay aside that Expedition, and march directly to *Tarentum*.

The approach of the *Romans* made the *Tarentines* carry on their deliberations with a little more seriousness than formerly; and when the *Consul* sent once again to demand satisfaction, before he began Hostilities, the oldest and richest declared for peace: but the populace who had little to lose insisted upon a war; and what put an end to the debate was a speech of one of the common citizens, who renewed the proposal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, a motion highly applauded by the multitude. The wiser part of the citizens, finding themselves overborne by numbers, came no more to the assemblies. Only, the day that a public Decree was to pass for inviting *Pyrrhus* to *Tarentum*, and when the people were all placed in the Theatre, one *Meton*, a sober worthy citizen, with a withered garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, (as was the manner of drunken debauchees) and accompanied by a woman playing on a flute, came dancing into the midst of the assembly. This silly sight was sufficient to divert the *Tarentines* from their most important deliberations. They made a Ring, and called out to *Meton* to sing, and to the woman to play; but when, expecting to be entertained with a song, they were all silent, *Meton* assuming an air of great seriousness,

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxi.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
eighty-
one.
170th
Consul-
ship.
Y. of R.
ccclxxi.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
eighty.
171st
Consul-
ship.
D. Hal. in
Legation.

Zen.B.3.

Diod. in
Eclog.
Plut. Life
of Pyrr-
hus, p.
390.

Year of nefs, " You do well, *Tarentines*, not to hinder those from diverting
 R O M E " themselves who are disposed to mirth; and, if you are wise, you will
 cccclxx.i. " yourselves make advantage of the present liberty you enjoy to do
 Ref. J. C. " the same. When *Pyrrhus* comes, you must change your way of life;
 Two " your mirth and joy will be at an end." These words made an im-
 hundred " pression upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had
 eighty- spoken well: but those who had some reason to fear that they should be
 171st delivered up to the *Romans* in case of an accommodation, being in-
 Consul- raged at what he had said, reviled the assembly for suffering themselves
 ship. to be so mocked and affronted, and, crowding together, they thrust
Meton out of the Theatre. After this the decree was passed, and am-
 bassadors were sent into *Epirus*, not only from the *Tarentines*, but from all
 the *Italic Greeks*, with magnificent presents for the King, and with
 instructions to say, that they only wanted a general of fame and expe-
 rience; that, as for troops, they could themselves furnish a numerous
 army, 20000 horse, and 350000 foot, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, *Samnites*, and
Tarentines.

As soon as the news came to the *Roman* camp, that a deputation to
 Orat. B. 4. *Pyrrhus* was decreed, *Æmilius* straight began Hostilities, burnt and
 c. 1. destroyed all before him, and forced the *Tarentines* in the field to take
 Zon. B. 8. refuge within their walls. However, not to drive them to despair,
 and to induce them to lay aside the design of receiving *Pyrrhus*, he used
 some moderation, and sent back the prisoners he had taken. These
 highly extolled the generosity of the *Consul*; insomuch, that many of the
 inhabitants were brought over to the *Roman* party; and they all in general
 began to repent of their rejecting a peace, and sending for *Pyrrhus*. This
 was evident by their chusing *Agis*, a friend of the *Romans*, to be their Ge-
 neral, and the Governor of the City.

§. V. IN the mean while the *Tarentine* ambassadors, pursuant to the
 Plut. Life powers they had received, made an absolute treaty with the King of *Epirus*.
 of Pyrr- He was very ready to accept the invitation into *Italy*, his head being turned
 hus, p. with the exploits of *Alexander the Great* in the East, which he thought to
 391. imitate by mighty conquests in the West.

There was then at the court of *Epirus* a *Thessalian*, named *Cyneas*, a
 man of sound understanding, and who had been a Disciple of *Demosthenes*.
 He was thought to approach nearer than any other orator of this time to
 the vehement and forcible eloquence of that great master. *Pyrrhus*
 usually employed him, as his ambassador to those cities with whom he
 had any affair to transact, and the able minister succeeded so well in these
 negotiations, that the King was wont to say, *He had made more conquests by*
the tongue of Cyneas than by his own sword. And for this reason he
 not only held him in the highest esteem, but loaded him with honours,
 making him his chief minister and favourite.

Cyneas, perceiving that *Pyrrhus* was eagerly bent to pass into *Italy*,
 and finding him one day at leisure, and in a humour for free conversa-
 tion, thus began: *The ROMANS, SIR, are reported to be great warriors,*
and

and to rule over many brave and warlike nations. Should God grant us, nevertheless, to vanquish them, what use shall we make of our victory?—The thing speaks of itself, answered Pyrrhus; the Romans once conquered, there is no city, Barbarian or Greek in Italy, that will dare to resist us. We shall be immediately masters of that whole country; whose extent, wealth, and power, no-body is better apprized of than yourself.—Cynceas, (after a short silence) And when we have conquered Italy, What are we to do next?—Pyrrhus (not yet perceiving his drift) Next? Why, there is Sicily just by. She opens her arms to receive us, a rich and populous Island, and easily subdued; for, since the death of Agathocles, the cities are all in confusion and anarchy.—What you say, replied Cynceas, seems very probable indeed. But is the conquest of Sicily to put an end to our expeditions?—No certainly, cried the King; these successes will be only preludes to greater enterprises. Who, in such a case, could forbear passing into Africk, and to Carthage? It is but a step thither. And, when we have subdued these, what think you? Will any of those enemies, who now give us uneasiness, have once the boldness to withstand our arms? We shall then easily recover Macedon, and not only so, but in a little time be masters of all Greece.—Very true, said Cynceas, nothing can be clearer: But when we have completed all these Conquests, What shall we do then?—Pyrrhus smiling, Do then? Why, then we will live at our ease, my Good Friend, and drink, and feast, and spend our days in agreeable conversation.—Ah, Sir, replied the Philosopher, What binds you from immediately possessing that happiness which you propose to purchase at the expence of so much danger? *

These

* Monsieur Paschal, in his discourses of the Misery of Man, has a much admired reflection on this advice of CYNCEAS to PYRRHUS.

THERE is nothing more capable of letting us into the knowledge of human misery than an inquiry after the real cause of that perpetual hurry and confusion, in which we pass our lives.

The soul is sent into the body, to be the sojourner of a few days. She knows that this is but a stop, till she may embark for eternity; and that a small space is allowed her to prepare for the voyage. The main part of this space is ravished from her by the necessities of nature; and but a slender pittance left to her own disposal: And yet this moment which remains does so strangely oppress and perplex her, that she only studies how to lose it: She feels an intolerable burthen, in being obliged to live with herself, and think of herself; and therefore her principal care is to forget herself; and to let this short and precious moment pass away without reflection, by amusing herself with things which prevent her notice of its speed.

4 H 2

This is the ground of all the tumultuary business, of all the trifling diversions amongst men; in which our general aim is to make the time pass off our hands without feeling it, or rather without feeling ourselves; and, by getting rid of this small portion of life, to avoid that inward disgust and bitterness, which we should not fail to meet with, if we found leisure to descend into our own breasts. For it is undeniably certain that the soul of man is here incapable of rest and satisfaction. And this obliges her to expand herself every way, and to seek how she may lose the thoughts of her own proper being in a settled application to the things about her. Her very happiness consists in this forgetfulness: and, to make her exquisitely miserable, nothing more is required but the engaging her to look into herself, and to dwell at home.

We charge Persons from their very infancy with the care of their own fortunes and honours, and no less of the estates and dignities belonging to their kindred and friends. We burthen them with the study of languages,

Year of
R O M E.
ccclxxii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
eighty.
171st
Consul-
ship.

Year of Their words rather vexed the King, than diverted him from his design;
 R. O. M. E. for he could not part with the pleasing hopes he had entertained.

ccclviii.

Ref. J. C.

Two

hundred

eighty.

17th

Consul-

ship.

guages, of exercises, and of arts. We enter them in business, and persuade them that they can never be truly blessed, unless by their industry and caution they in some measure secure the interest and glory of themselves, their families, and their dependents; and that unavoidable unhappiness is intailed upon the failure of any one particular in this kind. Thus we teach them to wear out their strength, and to rob themselves of their rest. A strange method (you will say) of making them happy! What could be done with more effect towards the insuring them in misery (Would you know what? Why, only to release them from these cares, and to take off these burthens. For then their eyes and their thoughts must be turned inward, and that is the only hardship which they esteem insupportable. Hence if they gain any relaxation from their labours, we find them eager to throw it away upon some sport or diversion, which takes up their whole activity, and pleasantly robs them of themselves.

It is for this reason, that when I have set myself to consider the various agitations of human life, the toil and danger, to which we expose ourselves in the court, in the camp, in the pursuit of ambition, which give birth to so much passion and contention, to so many fatal and desperate adventures, I have often said that the universal cause of men's misfortunes was their not being able to live quietly in a chamber. A person who has enough for the uses of this world, did he know the art of dwelling with himself, would never quit that repose and security for a voyage or a siege; nor would take so much pains to hazard his life, had he no other aim than barely to live.

But, upon stricter examination, I found, that this aversion to home, this roving and restless disposition proceeded from a cause, no less powerful than unive sal; from the native unhappiness of our frail and mortal state which is incapable of all comfort, if we have nothing to divert our thoughts and to call us out of ourselves.

I speak of those alone who survey their own nature, without the views of faith and religion. It is indeed one of the miracles of Christianity, that, by reconciling man

to God, it restores him to his own good opinion; that it makes him able to bear the sight of himself; and in some cases renders solitude and silence more agreeable, than all the interest and action of mankind. Nor is it by being man in his own person, that it produceth these wonderful effects; it is by carrying him to God, and by supporting him under the sense of his miseries, with the hopes of an assured and complete deliverance in a better life.

But, for those who do not act above the principles of mere nature, it is impossible they should, without falling into an incurable chagrine and discontent, undergo the lingering torment of leisure. Man, who loves nothing but his own person hates nothing so much as to be confined to his own conversation. He seeks nothing but himself, and yet flies and avoids nothing more than himself: because when he is obliged to look within he does not see himself as he could wish: discovering only a hidden store of inevitable miseries, and a mighty void of all real and solid good, which it is beyond his ability to replenish.

Let a man chuse his own condition, let him embellish it with all the goods and all the satisfactions he can possess or desire; yet, if in the midst of this glory and pride he is without business, and without diversion, and has time to contemplate on his fortunes, his spirits must unavoidably sink beneath the languishing felicity. He will of necessity torment himself with the prospect of what is to come; and he that boasted to have brought home all the ingredients of happiness, must again be sent abroad, or condemned to domestick misery.

IS *Majesty* itself so truly great, and sufficient, as to support those whom it adorns and incircles, under the bare thought of their own grandeur? Is it necessary that this thought should be here likewise diverted, as in the common herd of men? A vulgar person will be abundantly happy, if he may ease himself of his secret troubles, by applying all his care to excel in the perfection of dancing. But dare we say this of a king?

Or,

To conceal his design of making himself master of *Tarentum*, as well as of the rest of *Italy*, he artfully inserted a clause in the treaty with his allies, Year of ROME cccclxxii. Bef. J. C. Two

Or, will he be more charmed with so vain and petty amusements than with the contemplation of his royal dignity and estate? What nobler, what more sublime object than himself, to engage and to satisfy his spirit? Might it not seem an envious lessening of his content to interrupt his princely thought with the care of measuring his steps by an air of music, or of exactly ordering a ball, instead of leaving him to survey the glories of his throne, and to rejoice in the excellence of his power? Let us presume to make the experiment: Let us suppose a prince in solitude, without any entertainment of sense, any engagement of mind, any relief of conversation; and we shall find that a prince with his eyes upon himself is a man full of miseries, and who feels them with as quick and piercing a resentment as the lowest among his slaves. And therefore it has been a standing maxim to banish these intruding and importunate reflections from court, and to keep about the *Regal Palace* those who shall constantly purvey for the amusement of their master, by having a train of diversions to succeed after business, and by watching his hours of leisure, to pour in immediately a fresh supply of mirth and sport; that no vacancy may be left, in life, that is, the court abounds with men, who have a wonderful activity in taking care that *His Majesty* should not be alone, well knowing that solitude is but another name for misery, and that the supreme pitch of worldly greatness is too nice and weak, to bear the examination of a thought.

—WHENCE comes it to pass, that men are transported to such a degree with gaming, hunting, or other diversions, which seem to have taken an absolute possession of their souls? not because there is any real and intrinsic good to be obtained by these pursuits; not because they imagine that true happiness is to be found in the money which they win at play, or in the beast which they run down in the chase: For, should you present them beforehand with both these, to save their trouble, they would be unanimous in rejecting the proposal. It is not the gentle and easy part which they are fond of, such as may give them leisure and space for thought; but it is the heat and the hurry, which divert them from the mortification of thinking.

—A MAN, that by gaming every day for some little stake, passeth away his life without uneasiness or melancholy, would yet be rendered unhappy, should you give him every morning the sum which he could possibly win all day, upon condition to forbear. It will be said, perhaps, that it is the amusement of the play which he seeks, and not the gain. Yet, if he plays for nothing, his gaiety is over, and the spleen recovers full possession. Bare amusement, therefore, is not what he proposeth; a languishing amusement without heat or passion would but dispirit and fatigue him: He must be allowed to raise and chase himself, by proposing a happiness in the gaining of that which he would despise, if given him not to venture; and by creating a fictitious object, which shall excite and employ his desire, his anger, his hope, and his fear.

—WE have seen the utmost that human invention can do, in projecting for human happiness. Those who content themselves barely with demonstrating the vanity and littleness of common diversions, are indeed acquainted with one part of our miseries; for a considerable part it is to be thus capable of taking pleasure in things so base and insignificant. But they apprehend not the cause and principle which renders these miseries even necessary to us, so long as we remain uncured of that inward and natural infirmity of not being able to bear the sight of our own condition. The hare which men buy in the market cannot screen them from this view; but the field and the chase afford an approved relief. And therefore when we reproach them with their low and ignoble aim, and observe to them how little satisfaction there is in that which they follow with so much contention and ardour, did they answer upon mature judgment, they would acknowledge the equity of our censure and would ingenuously declare, that they proposed nothing in these pursuits but the bare violence of the motion, such as might keep them strangers to the secrets of their soul; and that therefore they made choice of objects, which, how worthless soever in reality, were yet of an engaging and attractive nature, and able to engross the activity of all their powers. And the reason why they do not answer in this manner is the want of this acquaintance with their

own.

Year of allies, *That, when he had delivered them from their dangers, he should not be*
 R O M E *bordered from returning to Epirus.* And, to secure their fidelity, he detained
 CCCCLXXII. some of their ambassadors under pretence of wanting their assistance. Af-
 ter these precautions, he sent away *Cynas* with three thousand men to *Ta-*
rentum. This eloquent minister soon found means to depose *Agis* from the
 Government, and to get possession of the Citadel.

In the mean time *Emilius*, the Roman Consul, finding that there was no
 possibility of attempting any thing with success against *Tarentum* this
 campaign, resolved to march his army into winter quarters in *Apulia*.
 Being obliged to pass through certain defiles, threatened by the sea on one
 side, and high hills on the other, he was there attacked by the *Epiracts* and
Tarentines from great numbers of barks fraught with *Balists* (Engines
 for throwing stones of a vast weight) and from the hills which they had
 covered with archers and slingers; nevertheless by placing, between him
 and the enemy, his *Tarentine* prisoners, whom they were unwilling to
 hurt, he preserved his Legions from suffering any considerable loss.
 Having quartered his troops, he himself repaired to *Rome*, where his
 colleague *Marcus* had a Triumph for some conquests he had made in
Hebruria.

C H A P.

own bosom. A gentleman believes with all
 sincerity that there is somewhat great and
 noble in Hunting, and will be sure to tell
 you, that it is a Royal Sport. You may hear
 the like defence and encomium of any other
 exercise or employment, which men affect
 or pursue. They imagine that there must
 needs be somewhat real and solid in the
 objects themselves. They are persuaded,
 that, could they but gain such a point, they
 should then repose themselves with content
 and pleasure; and are under an insensibi-
 lity of the insatiable nature of this desire.
 They believe themselves to be heartily en-
 gaged in the attainment of rest, while they
 are indeed employed in nothing else but
 the search of continual and successive drud-
 gery.

Men have a secret instinct, prompting
 them to seek employment or recreation;
 which proceeds from no other cause but the
 sense of their inward pain and never-ceas-
 ing torment. They have another secret in-
 stinct, a relique of their primitive nature,
 which assures them, that the sum of their
 happiness consists in ease and repose. And
 upon these two opposite instincts they form
 one confused design, lurking in the recesses
 of their soul, which engages them to prose-
 cute the latter by the intervention of the
 former, and constantly to persuade them-
 selves, that the satisfaction they have hi-

ther to wanted will infallibly attend them, if
 by surmounting certain difficulties, which
 they now look in the face, they may open
 a safe passage to peace and tranquillity.

Thus our life runs out. We seek rest,
 by encountering such particular impedi-
 ments, which if we are able to remove, the
 consequence is, that the rest which we have
 obtained becomes itself a grievance. For
 we are ruminating every moment either on
 the miseries we feel, or on those we fear.
 And, even when we seem on all sides to be
 placed under shelter, the affections, which
 are so naturally rooted in us, fail not to re-
 gret their lost dominion, and to diffuse their
 melancholick poison through the soul.

AND therefore when *Cynas* so gravely
 admonished *Pyrrhus*, who proposed to en-
 joy himself with his friends, after he should
 have conquered a good part of the world,
 that he would do much better to anticipate
 his own happiness, by taking immediate
 possession of this ease and quiet, without
 pursuing it through so much fatigue: The
 counsel he gave was indeed full of difficul-
 ty, and scarce more rational than the pro-
 ject of that young ambitious Prince. Both
 the one and the other opinion supposed
 that which is false, that a man can rest
 satisfied with himself and his present pos-
 sessions, without filling up the void space
 in his heart with imaginary expectations.

Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus must inevitably have been unhappy, either without or with the conquest of the world; and perhaps that soft and peaceful life, which his minister advised him to embrace, was less capable of giving him satisfaction, than the heat and tumult of so many expeditions, and so many battles, which he was then forming and fighting in his mind. See *Pensees de Paschal* c. 26. as translated by Mr. Basil Kennet.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
eighty.

C H A P. XXVI.

171st
Consul-
ship.

§. I. *Pyrrhus* (whose character is given) being arrived at *Tarentum* takes measures to turn the *Tarentines* from the pursuit of Pleasures, to which they are intirely addicted. The villainous behaviour of a Legion of *Campanian Soldiers*, which had been sent by the *Roman Republick* to garrison *Rhegium* at the request of the inhabitants. §. II. *Pyrrhus* sends a letter to the Consul *Lævinus*, requiring him to submit the quarrel between *Rome* and *Tarentum* to his arbitration. *Lævinus*, in answer, returns a defiance. The *Romans* force *Pyrrhus* to a battle. §. III. The King, though victorious, declines a second battle with *Lævinus*, and returns to *Tarentum*. §. IV. His conversation with *Fabricius*, sent from *Rome* to treat with him concerning the ransom of Prisoners. The King sends *Cyneas* to *Rome* with proposals of Peace. The Senate moved chiefly by a warm speech of *Appius Claudius* (now blind) unanimously refuse to enter into any treaty of Peace with the King while he continues in *Italy*.

§. I. **T**HE Consuls for the new year were *P. Valerius Lævinus* and *T. b. Coruncanius*, the latter not a *Roman* by birth, but raised to the Consulate purely for his merit. He was of *Camerium*, one of the *Roman Municipia* in *Latium*. It fell to him by lot to carry on the war in *Herruria*, and to his Collegue to conduct that against the *Tarentines*. *Æmilius* was continued in the command of his own Troops in quality of *Proconsul*, and was ordered to march against the *Salentines* (in *Iapygia*), who had declared for the *Tarentines*. The present exigence of affairs obliged the *Romans* to enlist the *Proletarii*. These (as has been formerly observed) were the meanest of the People, and esteemed not capable of doing the State any service except that of peopling the city; hitherto they had never been suffered to bear arms: A wise part of *Roman Policy*, to make it an ignominy to be excluded from serving their country in war.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxiii
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
seventy-
nine.
172d
Consul-
ship.
Tab.
Claud.
Cæsar.
apud Lug-
dunenses.
Oros. B.
4. c. 1.

Pyrrhus was now arrived at *Tarentum*, having narrowly escaped shipwreck. The *Tarentines*, soon after the arrival of *Cyneas*, had sent to the King a great number of Gallies, flat-bottomed Vessels, and other Transports, whereon to embark his forces; and he had sailed from *Epirus* with 20 Elephants, 3000 Horse, 20000 heavy-armed Foot, 200 Archers, and 500 Slingers. When he was got out to sea, the wind rising suddenly at North, and blowing hard, he was driven out of his course. Nevertheless,

Justin. B.
18. c. 1.
Zon. P. 8.
Plut. Life
of Pyrr-
hus, 392.

Year of
R O M E
ceeded in
1790, O.
Two
hundred
fourty-
three.

read
Confu-
ship.

Year of
R O M E
created
1000
1000
hundred
thousand
more.

1-23
Conful-
ship.

less, by the great skill and diligence of the pilot, and seamen, the King's ship bore with the land, and kept the *Italian* coast; but the rest of the fleet could not get up; some of the ships were driven into the *Iapygian* and *Ionian* seas; others, not being able to double the Cape of *Iapygia*, and a very boisterous sea throwing them in the night upon a rocky shore, they all suffered great damage. The Admiral, by her strength and bulk, resisted the violence of the weather; but the wind coming about, and blowing directly in her teeth from the shore, and the vessel keeping up her head against it, she was in danger of opening at every shock she sustained from the high billow that broke over her. On the other hand to be driven off again to sea in a raging tempest, and when the wind was continually shifting about, seemed the greatest of all evils. In this extremity, the vessel not being far from land, *Pyrrhus* without hesitation threw himself into the sea. His friends and guards instantly followed him, striving with emulation to assist and save him, which the darkness of the night, and the impetuosity of the waves, that were repelled with a roaring noise from the shore, made extremely difficult. However, by day-break, the wind being then quite laid, he got ashore, much fatigued and weakened in body, but with undiminished courage, and a strength of mind superior to the most adverse fortune. The *Magnates*, upon whose craft the King was cast, hastened to give him all the assistance in their power, and they also went out to meet and succour some of his vessels, which were not far off, and in which were found a few Horses, two Elephants, and about 2000 Foot. *Pyrrhus*, having drawn these together, marched with them directly towards *Tarentum*. *Cynus*, upon the news of the King's approach, led out his troops to meet him, and conducted him into the city, where he was received with the acclamations of the People.

Pres. in
C. G. R.
1977

P. in
 1. ab. P.
 307.

PYRRHUS (as we learn from *Plutarch*, had in his countenance a Majesty that was rather terrible than august. In a day of battle he was thought to resemble *Alexander* in look, agility, impetuosity, and strength of arm. His consummate knowledge in the art of war appeared even from the books he wrote upon that subject. *Antigonus* being asked, *Who was the greatest Captain of that time* answered, *Pyrrhus, if he lives to be old*: But *Hannibal* afterwards, speaking of great Commanders in general, gave *Pyrrhus* the first * place in the whole list. War was indeed his only study, and the only science he thought worthy of a Prince. Nevertheless he had a great share of humanity in his natural temper, was affable and familiar to his friends, not easily provoked to anger, and the most ardent of all men living to requite obligations. For which reason when *Æropus* died, who had done him important services, he could not bear it with any moderation: *Not because his friend had paid the indispensable tribute to nature, (to die, he said, was common to all) but because he himself, by delays, had lost the opportunity of requiting the kindnesses he had received from*

• *Plutarch*, in his life of *Flaminius*, makes *Hannibal* give *Alexander* the first place, and *Pyrrhus* the second.

bin :

him: For, as PLUTARCH adds, though money-debts may be discharged by payment to the heirs of the creditor when he is dead, a debt of kindness can never be satisfied but by a return of kindness to the friend himself: and, if he dies unrequited, it will always be a pungent grief to the person obliged, if he have a good and honest heart.

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His chief faults were boundless ambition and a strange inconstancy in the pursuit of its objects. Fond of a new enterprise, he was always ready to quit it how successfully soever begun, the moment that a newer presented itself to his imagination. Whatever, says PLUTARCH, he acquired by his exploits, he lost by his vain hopes; his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained would not let him secure what he had already won; which made *Antigonus* compare him to a man at Dice, who has admirable fortune, but plays ill.

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ship.
In Pyrrh.
p 400.

While *Pyrrhus* was waiting for the arrival of his scattered forces, he observed the dispositions of the *Tarentines*, and was surpris'd to see how their minds were intirely bent to pleasures, in which they thought to indulge themselves as usual, while he and his *Epirots* were to fight in their defence. To remedy this mischief, which must otherwise naturally end in the ruin of themselves and their defenders, he, as soon as his troops had joined him, shut up the publick gardens and walks, where the inhabitants used to meet to talk of news and politicks; he forbid publick feasting, plays, and masquerades, and incorporated the best-bodied men of the people in his *Phalanxes*. The effeminate *Tarentines* groaned under these wholesome regulations, in the execution of which the King was very rigorous. They found they had got a Master instead of an Ally; many of them rather, than endure such strict discipline, withdrew from the city, while others expressed their discontent by secret murmurs and loud complaints. *Pyrrhus* had his spies in the city, who insinuated themselves into all companies, and brought him an account of the discourses of the malecontents. One day some young debauchees, heated with wine, gave their tongues an unbounded liberty in talking against the King's measures. *Pyrrhus*, being informed of it, ordered them to be brought before him: *Is it true*, said he, *that you have uttered against me those outrageous things you are accused of?* *It is very true*, answered one of them; *and we should have said more, if our wine had not failed us.* *Pyrrhus* smiled and dismissed them.

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
392.

Val. Max
B. 5. c. 1

But (if we may believe *Zonaras*) he was not so moderate with regard to some of the Citizens, whose intrigues he suspected and feared; he caused the most factious of them to be dispatched by private assassinations. To get rid of one *Aristarchus*, a great Orator, and much in credit with the People, he commissioned him to go to his son in *Epirus*, on some business which he pretended to be of great importance. *Aristarchus* saw through the artifice; and, the master of the vessel in which he was to sail being at his devotion, instead of going to *Greece*, he steered to a port of *Italy*, and went thence to *Rome*. What advice he gave the *Romans* is uncertain: But *Fabricius* was dispatched away to visit the *Colo-*

Zonaras,
B. 8.

Dion.
apud
Fulv. Ur-
nium.

Year of *nies* and allies of the Republick. Nor was the precaution unnecessary at
 R O M E a time when a Prince, so illustrious for his exploits in the East, undertook
 cccclxxiii to deliver the *Italians* from the domination of the Republick.

Bef. J. C. An extraordinary event, which had happened a little before, had also
 Two given the *Romans* much uneasiness, and brought a great discredit on them
 hundred in their *Colonies* and among their *Allies*. While *Pyrrhus* was coming to
 seventy- *Tarentum*, and the *Carthaginians* infested all the coasts of the *Ionian* sea,
 nine. the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, situated in the southern extremity of *Italy*,
 172d near *Sicily*, applied to the Republick for a *Roman* Garrison to defend them
 Consul- from an Invasion. A *Legion* was raised in *Campania* for that purpose, and
 ship. sent to them under the command of one *Decius Jubbellus*. These soldiers,
 Polyb. B. who had been used to a laborious life, began soon to envy the inhabitants
 1. c. 7. the pleasures and ease in which they lived, and it was not long before they
 Liv. Epit. formed and executed a scheme to make those advantages their own. They
 11. forged letters from the *Rhegians* to *Pyrrhus*, importing an offer to put
 the place into his hands; and under this pretext they massacred all the
 chief men of the place at a banquet, and then fell upon the rest, whom
 they either put to the sword, or drove out of the city. As for the women,
 they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and husbands.
 This news was brought to *Rome* at the time when the circumstances of the
 Republick would not allow the *Romans* to take vengeance on the perfid-
 ious *Legion*.

Plut. in §. II. *PYRRHUS*, hearing at *Tarentum* that the *Consul Lævinus* was
 Pyrrh. p. come with an army into *Lucania*, a province in alliance with the *Taren-*
 392. *tines*, and was committing hostilities there, thought it shameful to con-
 tinue longer shut up within walls; and though he had not received any
 reinforcements from the *Samnites* and *Messapians*, or other allies of the
Tarentines, he took the field. But first he wrote the following letter to

Zon. B. 8. *Lævinus*: *PYRRHUS* to *LÆVINUS* *Healtb.* I am informed that you com-
 mand an army which is to make war against the *Tarentines*. Disband it
 without delay, and then come and expose your pretensions before me. When
 I have heard both parties, I will give judgment, and I know how to make
 my sentence be obeyed. To this *Lævinus* answered: Know, *Pyrrhus*, that
 we neither admit you for a Judge, nor fear you as an enemy. Does it be-
 come you to assume the character of a Judge over us, you who have yourself
 injured us by landing in *Italy* without our consent? We will have no *Ar-*
bitrator but *Mars*, the author of our race, and the protector of our arms.
 The King, who expected no other kind of answer, marched his army
 without delay into the plain between the cities of *Pandosia* and *Heraclea*;
 and understanding that the *Romans* were incamped not far from him on
 the other side the *Siris*, (a river which waters the country then called *Lu-*
cania, and which empties itself into the Gulph of *Tarentum*) he rode
 up to the banks of it to take a view of their camp. When he had
 considered it well, its form and situation, with the manner in which the
Romans posted their advanced guards, and had observed some other parts
 of their discipline, he was much surprised, and turning to one of his
 friends

Plut. Life
 of Pyrr-
 hus, p.
 393.

friends who stood near him, *Megacles*, said he, *this ORDER of the Barbarians is not Barbarian. What they are able to do in fight we shall see hereafter.* And, being now a little more anxious about the success of the war than before, he resolved to wait within his camp for the arrival of his confederates; and he posted some troops on the banks of the river to hinder the *Romans* from passing it. *Lævinus* nevertheless, knowing of what consequence it was to come to an engagement with the *Epirot* before he could receive the reinforcements he expected, and having exhorted his troops not to be intimidated by the reputation of *Pyrrhus*, or by his Elephants (animals which they had never yet seen) made his Infantry ford the stream in the very face of the enemy's advanced guard, while his Cavalry passed the river in different places, and wherever they could; so that the *Epirots*, fearing to be surrounded, retired in all haste to their main body. *Pyrrhus* upon the first notice of this motion, which much surprised him, directing the Officers of his Infantry to range their troops in battalia, and keep them ready to march upon the first signal, he himself, with the Horse amounting to about 3000, advanced with all diligence to charge the *Romans*, before their whole army could recover firm footing, and get into order. But the *Roman* Cavalry, being already formed, received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious attacks. The beauty and lustre of the King's arms made him very conspicuous, and his actions presently convinced all who observed him, that his reputation did not exceed his merit; for in this fight neither did his courage transport him beyond the duties of a careful General, nor his attention to direct others hinder him from displaying his personal Valour.

During the heat of the combat, *Leonatus* a *Macedonian*, observing that an *Italian* horseman had singled out the King, whose every motion he watched and followed, gave *Pyrrhus* notice of it, advising him to beware of that *Barbarian*, who, he said, seemed to have formed some great design. *PYRRHUS* answered: *No man, LEONATUS, can avoid his Destiny; be assured, however, that neither that Italian, nor any other, shall have much satisfaction from an Encounter with me this day.* He had scarce ended these words, when the *Italian* quickening his horse, and making directly at the King, aimed a furious stroke at him with his lance, but wounded only his horse; *Leonatus*, at the same time, wounded that of the *Italian*, and both horses fell to the ground with their riders. *Pyrrhus* was instantly surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, having slain the *Italian*, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught *Pyrrhus* to be more cautious. Seeing his Cavalry shrink, he ordered his Infantry to advance; but, before he put himself at their head to renew the charge, he gave his mantle and arms to *Megacles*, in exchange for his. The battle was obstinately fought on both sides, and the victory continued a long time doubtful. The King's changing his arms (though prudently done for the safety of his person) had like to have lost him the day. For *MEGACLES*, being mistaken for the KING, was attacked by great numbers of the enemy, and

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Year of at last wounded and unhorsed by a *Roman* Knight, who, pulling away his
 R O M E helmet and mantle, rode full speed with them to *Lavinus*, crying out.
 cccclxxiii that he had slain *Pyrrhus*. These spoils being carried as in triumph through
 Bef. J. C. all the ranks filled the *Roman* army with inexpressible joy, so that the air
 Two rung with shouts of victory; while the *Grecians* troops were struck with
 hundred consternation and dismay.
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 Plat. p.
 334.

The King no sooner perceived the ill effect of this mistake, but with all diligence he flew along the Lines bare-headed, stretching out his hands to his soldiers, and by his voice confirming the evidence of their eyes. The combat was then renewed, and *Pyrrhus*, bringing his elephants into the wings, quickly obtained the victory. For the *Roman* Battalions seeing their Cavalry put to rout by those huge animals, whose unusual form, noises, and smell, terrified the horses, and finding themselves both charged in flank, and overborne by the force and bulk of those strange beasts, gave way to necessity, and saved themselves as well as they could by hasty flight; nor did they stop to defend their camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both that and the honour of the day intirely to *Pyrrhus*.

Dion.
 apud
 Plutarch.

Dionysius writes, that near 15000 *Romans* were slain in this battle, and that *Pyrrhus* lost 13000 of his men. But other authors lessen the loss on both sides. The King treated the prisoners, mounting to about 1800, with all possible humanity, and esteemed them the more for refusing to enlist themselves in his service.

Plat. in
 Pyrrh.
 p. 394.
 Zon. B. 8.

The fame of this victory was soon spread over all *Italy*, much to the reputation of *Pyrrhus*; for it was a rare thing, that a *Roman* Consul, with a select army, should lose in a pitched battle not only the field, but the camp itself. And this honour was the more bravely won by the *Epirot*, as he had none of his *Italian* Allies to assist him, except the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content in having the glory of this action so peculiarly his own. His satisfaction was visible in his face, even while he was severely reprimanding the *Lucanians* and *Samnites* (who joined him soon after the battle) for their tardiness. To attach them the more firmly to him, he gave them a share of the booty.

§. III. BUT now the King of *Epirus*, with his victorious army, broke like a torrent into the countries in alliance with the Republick, and, many cities surrendering to him, he advanced within 30 miles of *Rome* *. *Zonaras* relates, that the King, being disappointed in his designs upon *Capua* and *Naples*, thought to march into *Hetruria*, join the enemies of the *Roman* Republick in that country, and thence go and besiege *Rome*; but that hearing there was an alliance just concluded between the *Hetrurians* and *Romans*, and that the Consul *Coruncanius*, who by a successful

* *Florus*, (Book I. c. 18.) in his poetick strain tells us, that *Pyrrhus* from a hill near *Prænestæ* took a view of *Rome*, and filled the eyes of the trembling inhabitants with

smoke and dust at twenty miles distance à *vicefimo lapide oculos trepidæ civitatis fumo ac pulvere implevit.*

campaign had effected that alliance, was advancing against him, he proceeded no further in his march. It appears, indeed, by the *Capitoline Marbles* that *Tib. Coruncanius* had a Triumph for his victories this year over the *Volturnenses* and *Volcienes* in *Hetruria*. And it is not improbable that these victories completed the reduction of that country. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Pyrrhus* returned to *Tarentum*.

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The Romans, notwithstanding the great loss they had sustained, were not so dejected, as to have any thought of asking peace from the victor; nor, tho' *Fabrizius* said publicly, that the Epirots had not vanquished the Romans, but that *Pyrrhus* had vanquished *Lævinus*, did they recall the unfortunate Consul: Their whole attention was to recruit his army, and enable him to try a second engagement. *Pyrrhus*, in his return to *Tarentum*, found him in *Campania*, with a more numerous army than that which he had vanquished on the Banks of the *Siris*; and hereupon he is said to have cried out, *I see plainly I was born under the star of Hercules, I have to do with an Hydra, whose Heads are no sooner lopped off, but new ones spring up from its blood.* The Consul offered him battle; *Pyrrhus*, unwilling to refuse it, drew up his army, and commanded the conductors of his elephants to force them to make their strange and dreadful noises, in order to frighten the Roman Legions; but these noises were answered by so universal and terrible a shout from the Romans, that the King who found his soldiers dismayed thought 'fit to decline the engagement, pretending that the Omens were not favourable; and, the Consul not forcing him to fight, he pursued his march to *Tarentum*.

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Florus, B.
1.
Zonaras,
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§. IV. WHILE *Pyrrhus* continued quiet in this city, he had time to reflect on the bravery, conduct, and strength of the Romans. He considered that they were better able to endure many such losses as they had suffered, than he many such victories as he had won. And he concluded therefore, that the only means to save his reputation was an honourable peace. He was full of these reflections, when to his inexpressible joy he heard that an embassy was coming to him from the Senate; he

* Authors are not agreed concerning the time of this embassy, whether it was after *Cyneas* had been to Rome or before. *Plutarch* (whom Mr. *Rollin* follows) makes it posterior to *Cyneas's* journey thither; and *Dionysius* seems to do the same. But if we consider the haughty manner in which *Cyneas* was dismissed by the Senate, with an absolute refusal of entering into any treaty with the King while he continued in Italy, at least it is very unlikely that *Fabrizius*, after such a refusal, should apply himself to *Pyrrhus* in the manner *Dionysius* represents, preaching about the inconstancy of fortune, and as if he was asking a favour. He is made to speak more like an ambassador from a people who sued for peace, than from the proud Roman Senate, who rejected it even upon reasonable terms. *Hannibal*, indeed, before

the battle of *Zama*, talks much to *Scipio* of the mutability of fortune, and the vicissitudes of war; but this was in order to dispose him to grant peace to the Carthaginians, whom he had reduced to extremity.

FlorEpit.
and Zon.
L. 8.

Neither can I see what there was unbecoming in *Fabrizius's* proposal, even upon the supposition that the Romans had rejected a peace offered. A release of prisoners by way of ransom or exchange, is what surely without any indecency may be proposed to an enemy, notwithstanding that a peace has been refused to that enemy upon his terms. Yet *Dionysius* makes *Pyrrhus* reprove the ambassadors as guilty herein of an unworthy proceeding—Σχέτλιόν τι πρᾶγμα ποιεῖτε, &c.—D. Hal. in Legat. p. 711. Dr. *Hudf.* edit.

See D.
Hal. in
Legat.

pleased

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Pyrrhus after this desired a private conference with *Fabricius*, who, he had heard, was the man most esteemed, for his virtue, of any in the Republick, a brave and able warrior, and very poor. The King, taking him apart, told him, *He had been informed of his distinguished merit, and of his poverty so unmixable to it; that he thought a prince could never employ his wealth and power to a nobler purpose, than that of raising the fortune of an indigent great man; and that for this reason he had resolved to bestow such riches upon him, as should put him, at least, upon an equality with the most opulent nobles of Rome.* The King added; nor yet imagine, *FABRICIUS*, that my intention is to ask any thing, in return, that can be inconsistent with the regard you owe your country. I demand nothing but your aid in negotiating the peace which I am desirous to conclude with the *Roman* Senate. You know very well, that I cannot with honour abandon the *Tarentines*, and the other *Greeks* who are settled in this part of *Italy*, before I have secured to them a peace with *Rome* upon equitable terms. Some pressing affairs call me back into my own country, and this makes me the more solicitous to finish our war by an amicable treaty. If my being a KING^a renders me suspected by the Senate, be-
cause

Plat. in
Pyrrh.

^a The *Greek* Historians seldom lose any occasion of letting us know their unfavourable opinion of Kings. *Plutarch*, speaking of this very *Pyrrhus*, says, *KINGS have no reason to complain when inferior men change sides, and violate faith for private advantage, seeing, in this, they do but imitate them who are the great masters in perfidy and treachery; and whose maxim is, that no man pursues his own interest with so much prudence, as he who has no regard to justice.*

And *Polybius* (L. ii. p. 202.) reproves the folly of *Polyarchus*, an historian, who, in giving an account of the miserable end of *Aristomachus*, King of *Argos*, whom (as he pretends) the *Achaians* had put to death by torture, endeavours to heighten the glory of the sufferer, and excite the greater indig-

nation against his persecutors, by saying, "That *Aristomachus* was not only an ABSOLUTE PRINCE, but descended from ancestors who had been ABSOLUTE PRINCES. What more bitter accusation (says *Polybius*) could any one easily have brought against him? What charge heavier with crimes could he have loaded him with? For surely this name of ABSOLUTE PRINCE expresses the very height of impiety; it imports all the kinds of injustice and wickedness, that can be committed by man." Καίπερ ὁ συγγραφεὺς βέλτερος αὐτῷ τὴν δόξαν καὶ παραστήσθαι τὸ ἀκρόντας εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συζηταντικῆν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαθεν, ἢ μόνον αὐτὸν φησὶ γεγενῆσθαι τύραννον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τυράννων πεφυκεῖναι. ταύτης δὲ μείζω κατηγορίαν τὴν πικροτέραν

cause other princes have made no scruple to violate the faith of treaties, be you yourself my security. When the peace is made, come and assist me with your counsels; I will undertake nothing without your advice; you shall be my chief minister, my lieutenant in the field, nay a sharer with me in all that I possess. I have need of an honest man and a faithful friend, and you have need of a generous Prince, a Prince, whose munificence may enable you to make your virtues and your talents for great affairs more conspicuous, and more useful: Let us therefore mutually contribute to each other's happiness.

FABRICIUS answered in words to this effect:

You have, indeed, been rightly informed concerning my poverty. My whole estate consists in a house of but mean appearance, and a little spot of ground, from which, by my own labour, I draw my support. But if, by any means, you have been persuaded to think that this poverty makes me less considered in my Country, or in any degree unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no reason to complain of Fortune. She supplies me with all that nature requires, and, if I am without superfluities, I am also free from the desire of them. With these, I confess, I should be more able to succour the necessitous, the only advantage for which the wealthy are to be envied: but, as small as my possessions are, I can still contribute something to the support of the state, and the assistance of my friends. With regard to Honours, my Country places me, poor as I am, upon a level with the richest: For Rome knows no qualifications for great employments but virtue and ability. She appoints me to officiate in the most august ceremonies of religion; she intrusts me with the command of her armies; she confides to my care the most important negotiations: my poverty does not lessen the weight and influence of my Counsels in the Senate; the Roman People honour me for that very poverty which you consider as a disgrace; they know the many opportunities I have had, in war, to enrich myself without incurring censure; they are convinced of my disinterested zeal for their posterity; and, if I have any thing to complain of in the return they make me, it is only the excess of their applause. What value then can I set upon your gold and silver? What King can add any thing to my fortune? Always attentive to discharge the duties incumbent on me, I have A MIND FREE FROM SELF-REPROACH, and I have an HONEST FAME.

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πικροτέρῳ δὲ ἂν εἰπεῖν παῖδες δὴ αὐτὸ ἔδει· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ πικρὸν πικρὸν ἐστὶν. ἀρετῆς αὐτῷ εὐφρανῶν καὶ πικρὰν ἐπιβλέποντες τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίας ἀδικίας καὶ πικρὰν οὖσαν.

The reader observes that the word which, in this passage of *Polybius*, has been translated ABSOLUTE PRINCE, is τυραννός [TYRANT] an appellation frequently used by the ancients to signify only *A prince with absolute and perpetual power*; in which sense it is used by *Polybius* on the present occasion. We cannot possibly suppose him so very unskilful in the *Pathetick*, as to endeavour at exciting either indignation or pity

for the sufferings of *Aristomachus*, by telling us, that he not only was a TYRANT himself, but descended from ancestors who had been as great TYRANTS as he.

Cornelius Nepos, speaking of *Miltiades*, has these words.—Chersonesi omnes illos quos habitarat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed justus. Non erat enim vi consequutus, sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinuerat. Omnes autem et habentur, et dicuntur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate usa est.

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Plat. ib.

Plat. ib.
p. 396.

The King, perceiving by this answer that *Fabricius* absolutely refused his offers, pressed him no farther. The next day, knowing that he had never seen an elephant, and being desirous to try whether he could surprise and discompose him, he commanded the largest he had of those animals to be armed, and led to the place where he intended to converse with the ambassador. The beast was to stand concealed behind some hangings till a sign should be made for his appearance. The King's order being punctually executed, the signal was given, the hangings were suddenly drawn aside, and the enormous animal, stretching out his trunk over the head of the *Roman*, made a most terrifying noise. *Fabricius* betrayed not the least emotion, but turning towards *Pyrrhus* said with a smile, *Neither your Gold yesterday, nor your Great Beast to-day, have made any impression upon me.*

While they were sitting at table in the evening, discoursing of various subjects, but especially of *Greece*, and the philosophers of that country, *Cyneas* happened to mention *Epicurus*; and he began to relate the principles of the *Epicurean* doctrine: *That the DIVINITY, far removed from love and hatred, compassion and anger, and wholly regardless of human-kind lived through all ages, without action, and without providence, totally absorbed in an uninterrupted flow of delights. That PLEASURE was all the SOVEREIGN GOOD of MAN; and, that for this reason, all publick employments, all solicitude for the publick weal, should be carejully shunned by the wise, as inconsistent with a life of happiness.*——*Cyneas* was going on, when with a loud voice, O *HERCULES*, cried *FABRICIUS*, *May PYRRHUS and the TARENTINES be heartily of this SECT, while they are at war with us!* The King greatly admiring the wisdom and virtue of the *Roman* became more desirous than ever to conclude an alliance with his Republick. He therefore, once more, took him apart, and warmly pressed him to imploy his endeavours for a speedy accommodation, earnestly requesting of him at the same time, that, as soon as the peace should be made, he would come and live at his court, where he promised him the first place among all his friends and captains. *Fabricius* answered in a kind of whisper, *You do not consider, SIR, your own interest in what you propose; for, if those who now honour and admire you, come once to have experience of me, they will chuse rather to have me for their King than you.* *Pyrrhus* was not in the least offended with this answer, but to his friends highly commended the exalted soul of the *Roman*; upon whose single parole he also suffered the * prisoners to go to *Rome* to celebrate the festival of the *Saturnalia*.

And now *Pyrrhus* having resolved to send *Cyneas* to negotiate a peace with

* The Senate (according to *Plutarch*) careful of *Fabricius's* honour and their own, commanded every prisoner upon pain of death to return to *Pyrrhus*, as soon as the festival should be over.

With respect to this affair there is a great

diversity in the accounts of *Plutarch*, *Justin*, *Florus*, and *Zonaras*. Some say the prisoners were absolutely released, and that the Senate, to punish them as cowards, would not suffer them to serve again in the field, but sent them to garrison Towns.

† Other

with the *Roman* Senate, instructed him, if we may believe *Plutarch*, to ask nothing of the *Romans* but their † friendship, and a sufficient security for the *Tarentines*. Upon which conditions he offered to cease all hostilities, release the captives, and assist the Republick in the conquest of *Italy*.

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Just. Plut.
& Flor.

Together with these instructions, *Pyrrhus* furnished his Ambassador with magnificent presents for those persons whose assistance would be necessary to compass what he desired; nor did he forget rare and precious toys for the *Roman* Ladies, by whose means he hoped to smooth the rugged spirit of their Husbands, in his favour. Some authors report, that *Cyneas* found both men and women so steady and uncorrupt, that not one of either sex would receive any of his presents: but *Zonaras* affirms, that many even of the Senators were gained by the liberality of *Pyrrhus*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, after *Cyneas* had had his audience in the Senate, several of the *Conscript Fathers* discovered a strong inclination to accept the peace proposed, assigning for reasons the battle they had already lost, the hazard they were in of losing another (*Pyrrhus's* strength being now greatly augmented by the junction of his *Italian* allies) and the fatal consequences that might attend a second overthrow. A rumour of this disposition in the Senate, being spread through the city, came to the ears of *Appius Claudius*. He had for some time, on account of his great age and the loss of his sight, retired from all publick business, * and confined himself wholly to his family. Upon hearing the report of what passed in the Senate, he caused himself to be carried in the arms of his domesticks to the door of the Senate-house. There his sons and his sons-in-law met him, and led him into the assembly, which was hushed into a profound silence the moment he appeared. The venerable old man was hardly entered, when he thus began:

“ Hitherto, *Romans*, I have borne the loss of my sight with weariness
“ and impatience; but my great affliction now is, that I am only *blind*,
“ and that I am not *deaf* too; that I am able to hear of those shameful
“ resolutions you are taking, and of that infamous Treaty which is to
“ extinguish the glory of the *Roman* name. What then is become of
“ all those brave discourses, those lofty, sounding words, with which
“ you are wont to make all places ring, *That if Alexander had come into*
“ *Italy when we were young, and our Fathers in the vigour of their age;*

† Other writers make his demands to be more extensive, and say, that he required, in favour of all the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, the enjoyment of their laws and liberty; and further, that the Republick should restore to the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Bruttians*, whatever she had conquered from them. These demands, if they were made, may well account for the warm indignation which *Appius Claudius the Blind* expressed, as we shall presently find, at the Senate's listening to *Pyrrhus's* minister. But then it will be difficult

to reconcile them with the offer which *Pyrrhus* at the same time made the *Romans*, to assist them in the conquest of *Italy*. The *Jesuits*, aware of this inconvenience, have made *Cyneas* speak only of the West of *Italy*.

* This *Appius Claudius* had been *Quæstor* in the Y. of R. 435; *Curule Ædile* in 438; and, a second time, in 440; *Censor* in 441; *Consul* in 446; *Prætor* in 448; *Consul*, a second time, in 457; *Prætor*, a second time, in 458; *Dictator* in 461, (according to *Pighius*.)

|| *Appian. apud Fulv. Urfin.*

Year of " *that, if the Great Alexander had dared to contend in arms with Us, he*
 R O M E " *would not now be styled THE INVINCIBLE, but by his death or flight have*
 cccclxxxii. " *added new Lustre to the Roman Glory? An idle tale! vain and empty*
 Bef. J. C. " *boasting! Heroes indeed! you that are afraid of the Cbaonians * and*
 Two " *Molossians, ever the prey of the Macedonians! you, that are trembling*
 hundred " *at the name of Pyrrhus, an assiduous humble courtier of one of Alex-*
 seventy- " *ander's life-guards! a vagabond in Italy, come hither not so much to*
 nine. " *succour the Italick Greeks, as to seek a shelter from his enemies at*
 172d " *home! And yet this mighty man, this Pyrrhus, it seems, is to con-*
 Consul- " *quer Italy; he is to subdue all Italy to Us with those very forces that*
 ship. " *were not able to preserve to Him a small portion of Macedonia! No,*
 * People " *Romans, suffer not his arrogance to escape unpunished; if you conde-*
 of Epirus. " *scend to treat with him, your glory is at an end; Pyrrhus will himself*
 " *despise you; his allies will insult you as a nation easy to be terrified;*
 " *and one dishonourable peace will involve you in a hundred wars."*

Plat. ibid. Appius, by these and some other words to the like effect, so awakened
 p. 395. the Roman spirit in the Senators, that without further debate they unani-
 mously passed a decree, instantly to dismiss the Ambassador with this an-
 swer, *That the Romans would enter into no Treaty with King Pyrrhus so*
long as he continued in Italy; but with all their strength would pursue the war
against him, though he should vanquish a thousand Lævinus's.

Cyneas left Rome the same day, and returned to Tarentum. It is said, that,
 when Pyrrhus asked him his opinion of the Roman City and Senate, he

Plat. ibid answered, that ROME was a TEMPLE, and the SENATE an ASSEMBLY OF
 Flor. B 1. KINGS. His account of what he had observed greatly increased the
 c. 18. King's admiration of the Romans; but, finding that there was no hope of
 peace, he made all possible preparations for the next campaign.

C H A P. XXVII.

§. I. *The Romans come to a second battle with King Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus re-*
tires to Tarentum, and the Consuls into winter-quarters. §. II. *The*
Carthaginians send a fleet to the assistance of the Romans against Pyrrhus.
The Senate refuse the assistance offered. §. III. *The Romans and Epirots*
having again taken the field, the Consuls give the king notice of the trea-
chery of his Physician, who had offered to poison him for a reward. Pyr-
rhus once more sends Cyneas to Rome with proposals of peace, but to no
effect. §. IV. *Pyrrhus passes with his army into SICILY.*

Y. of R. §. I. **I**N the mean time the Republick chose new Consuls, P. Sulpicius
 474. Saverrio and P. Decius Mus, (whose father and grand-father
 Bef. J. C. were both famous for their Devotements.) The two Generals joined
 278. their armies, and marched together into Apulia, where they found Pyr-
 173d rhus incamped near a little town called Asculum, and where they in-
 Consul- trenched themselves in a plain at the foot of the Apennines. This plain
 ship. was divided by a large deep stream, which likewise separated the two
 Zonaras. camps. For some time the Romans and Epirots seemed to stand in awe
 B. 8. of

of each other. The latter had entertained the foolish belief, that the *Decii* transmitted from father to son some unaccountable art of Necromancy, by which they secured the victory to their side, whenever they lost their lives in battle. *Pyrrhus* endeavoured to destroy this dangerous prepossession among his soldiers; and not only so, but he sent a message to *Decius*, *That, if he attempted to devote himself, he would find the Epirots upon their guard, who would take him alive, and make him suffer the most cruel kind of death after the battle.* To this message the Consuls returned the following answer: *PYRRHUS is not formidable enough to reduce us to Devotements. To shew how little we fear him, we offer him his choice: Let him pass the river unmolested, or suffer us to do so, and we shall then see which of us has the most need of extraordinary methods to gain the victory.* *Pyrrhus* chose to let the Romans pass the river. The Historians are not agreed concerning the circumstances of the battle of *Asculum*, nor the success of it, and some make two battles of it. The Romans had prepared, against the Elephants, armed Chariots filled with soldiers, who were to throw fire-brands and other combustible matter against those huge beasts and the Towers on their backs. It is certain, that *Pyrrhus* was dangerously wounded in the action, and that the Consul *Decius* lost his life; but whether in fighting, or by a voluntary Devotement in imitation of his father and grandfather, as *Cicero* thinks, is not known. Fifteen thousand men, including the loss on both sides, were left dead upon the field. *Pyrrhus* after the battle, making a march unperceived by the Romans, retired to *Tarentum*; whereupon the Consul *Sulpicius* led his troops into winter-quarters in *Apulia*.

§. II. AND now the Republick placed at the helm of her Government two men of the most distinguished merit, *C. Fabricius* * and *Q. Æmilius* *Papus*. The Carthaginians at this time sent *Mago* with a fleet of 120 sail to assist the Romans against *Pyrrhus*, who, they heard, would make a descent upon *Sicily*, after he had forced the Roman Republick into a peace; for the *Syracusians* had invited him thither to protect them against the tyranny of the Carthaginians, who not long before had invaded their country. *Mago*, coming to *Rome*, told the Senate, *That the Carthaginians, full of concern to see the Romans attacked by King Pyrrhus, had sent a fleet to their assistance, that in a war with a foreign power they might have foreign aid.* The Fathers returned a compliment of thanks for the kind offer, but would by no means accept it. However, they entered into a new treaty with the Carthaginians, in which it was stipulated, that the Romans should furnish Troops to assist the Carthaginian Republick, in case *Pyrrhus* attacked it; and that the Carthaginians should assist the Romans, when desired, with their fleet. After this *Mago* sailed to *Tarentum*, where he had a conference with the King of *Epirus*. Finding that his intention was to pass very soon into *Sicily*, he, in order to prevent it, sailed with his fleet into the *Streights* between that Island and *Italy*, under pretence of besieging *Rhegium*. This obliged *Pyrrhus* to continue at *Tarentum*, and carry on the war for some time longer against the Romans.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxiv
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
seventy-
eight.
173d
Consul-
ship.
Zonaras
B. 8.
Cicero, in
Tusc. B.
1. c. 37.
Zonaras,
B. 8.
Y. of R.
475.
Bef. J. C.
277.
174th
Consul-
ship.
A second
time.
A 2d
time.
Justin, B.
8. c. 2.
Polyb. B.
3. c. 25.
Liv.
Epir. 13.
Justin, B.
18. c. 2.
Diod. in
Eclog. B.

Year of
R O M E
ccccixv.
Bef J. C.
Two
hundred
seventy-
seven.

174th
Conful-
ship.
Plut. Life
of Pyrrh.
p. 335.

§. III. WHEN the spring was fufficiently advanced, the *Consuls* marched their troops into the territory of *Tarentum*, and *Pyrrhus* came and incamped within fight of them; but the high opinion he had of *Fabricius* made him avoid a battle. While the two armies were watching each other, *Fabricius* § received a letter from *Nicias*, the King's principal Physician, offering to take off his matter by poison, and fo end the war without farther hazard to the *Romans*, provided he might have a reward proportionable to the greatness of his service. *Fabricius* detesting the villainy of the Physician, and finding his Colleague of the same sentiment, they immediately difpatched the following letter to the King: C. FABRICIUS and Q. AMILIUS, *Consuls*, to King PYRRHUS, *Health*. You have made an unhappy choice both of your friends and of your enemies. When you have read the letter sent us by one of your own people, you will fee that you make war with good and honeft men, while you trust and promote villains. We give you this notice of your danger, not for your fake, nor to make our court to you, but to avoid the calumny which might be brought upon us by your death, as if, for want of ftrength or courage to overcome you, we had recourfe to treachery. *Pyrrhus*, upon receipt of this letter, is faid to have cried out, This is that *Fabricius*, whom it is harder *Europius* to turn afide from the ways of juftice and honour, than to divert the fun B. 2. c. 14. from its courfe; and, in acknowledgment of the benefit, he immediately fet all the *Roman* prifoners free without ransom. *Rome* was however too generous to accept a prefent from an enemy, much lefs a reward for not consenting to an execrable deed. In return therefore fhe released an equal *Plut. in* number of *Samnite* and *Tarentine* prifoners. But though *Pyrrhus*, more P. r-hus, ardent than ever for a peace, difpatched *Cyneas* once more to *Rome*, to p. 396. try the force of his eloquence and prefents, this able minifter had no better fuccefs than before; the Senators were fteady in their refolution to enter into no treaty with the King, till he had withdrawn his troops out of *Italy*.

§. IV. IT has been already faid, that the *Syracusians* had invited *Pyrrhus* into their ifland to affift them againft the *Carthaginians*. The King laid hold of this pretext to quit the war againft the *Romans*, in which he had now but little hope of fuccefs, having in the laft action loft his beft Troops and his braveft Commanders. Befides, the *Sicilian* expedition was a new enterprife, and therefore very agreeable to the natural inconfiftancy of his fpirit. But juft at this time he received intelligence, that *Ptolemy Ceraunus* King of *Macedon* was dead, and that the *Macedonians* wanted a King to guard them againft an inundation of *Barbarians*. This news kept him fome time in fufpenfe, and he pleafantly complained of fortune for loading him with too many favours at once. *Macedon* had formerly been in his poffeffion, and he wifhed to be mafter of it again; but as *Sicily* would open him a paffage into *Africa*, and

§ This ftory is differently related by the *Historians*, as to the circumftances, but they all agree in the fubftance.

conduct

conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory, he determined at length for that expedition. In consequence of this resolution, he sent his faithful *Cyneas* before him to treat with the cities there, and give them assurances of his speedy arrival. Not long after, leaving in *Tarentum*, under the command of *Milo*, a strong garrison, sufficient to keep the much discontented inhabitants in subjection, he set sail from thence with thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, on board a fleet of two hundred ships. His departure proved fatal to the enemies of *Rome*. *Fabritius* fell upon the united *Bruttians*, *Lucanians*, *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, defeated them, drove them out of the field, and laid waste their countries.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxv.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
seventy-
seven.
174th
Consul-
ship.
Zonaras,
B. 8.

C H A P. XXVIII.

§. I. *The state of Sicily at the time of Pyrrhus's arrival there. He makes rapid and extensive conquests in the island.* §. II. *The Romans suffer a shameful defeat from the Samnites.* §. III. *But, the next year, carrying on the war with success against the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, these nations send to intreat Pyrrhus to return to their assistance. His fleet, in its return to Italy, is attacked by the Carthaginian fleet. After his landing he suffers a considerable loss of men. He plunders the Temple of Proserpine.* §. IV. *The Romans under the conduct of Curius Dentatus totally defeat the forces of Pyrrhus.* §. V. *Who, leaving a strong garrison in Tarentum, embarks for Epirus.*

§. I. **W**HEN *Pyrrhus* arrived in *Sicily*, this Island was almost wholly possessed by foreigners of three different nations, *Italians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Greeks*, who had settled there at different times. *Messina*, *Lilybæum*, and *Syracuse*, were the capitals of the three dominions there established. The *Mamertines*, from *Mamertum*, in *Campania*, had possessed themselves of the first (much in the same manner as the perfidious *Legion*, who followed their example, got possession of *Rhegium*;) the *Carthaginians* were masters of the second; and the third was governed by two tyrans, whom common interest had united, after a civil war, to call in the King of *Epirus* to assist them against the growing power of the formidable *African Republick*.

Diod. Sic.
in Ecl. 21.
Polyb. B.
1. c. 7.

Pyrrhus, soon after his arrival, deprived the *Carthaginians* of all their conquests in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*. He also attacked the *Mamertines*, and, having defeated them in a pitched battle, reduced them to their city of *Messina* only; after which he counted so much on the reduction of the whole Island, that he caused one of his younger sons (whom he had by a daughter of King *Agathocles*) to be styled King of *Sicily*, purposing to make the other King of *Italy*, which he now also looked upon as a certain conquest.

Y. of R.
476.
Bef. J. C.
276.
175th
Consul-
ship.
Justin, B.
23. c. 3.

§. II.

Year of R O M E cccclxxvi
Bef. J. C. Two hundred seventy-
fix.

§. II. IN the mean time the *Centuries* at *Rome* proceeded to the choice of new *Consuls*. *Fabricius* presided in the *Comitia*, and the respect he had acquired by his virtue was such, that it made him master of the Elections. Every body therefore was astonished to see him vote and influence the assembly in favour of *Cornelius Ruffinus*, a man extremely covetous and self-interested. *Fabricius* hated him thoroughly, yet promoted his election, because of the dangerous situation of affairs, and because he knew him to be a much abler soldier than any of his competitors. And these reasons were implied in the short answer he made to *Ruffinus's* compliment of thanks; *I deserve no thanks*, said he, *for chusing rather to be plundered than sold*. The Collegue given to *Ruffinus* * was *C. Junius + Brutus*, and they both turned their forces against *Samnium*. The *Samnites*, being too weak to sustain the attacks of the two *Consular* armies, fled to their mountains, and there intrenched themselves so strongly, that it was no easy matter to force them. The *Romans* nevertheless attempted it, and were punished for their rashness; many of them were killed, and a great number taken prisoners, and loaded with irons. The *Consuls*, at length ashamed of their enterprise, threw the blame on each other, and separated; *Brutus* continued in *Samnium*, while *Ruffinus* entered the territory of the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*. These nations continued steady in their adherence to *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*. *Ruffinus* therefore not only laid their country waste with fire and sword, but formed a design upon *Crotan*, a considerable city belonging to the *Bruttians*, and situated on the borders of the *Ionian* sea, at a little distance from *Cape Lacinium*. He found this place too well defended to be carried by force; for *Milo*, having notice of his design, had sent a reinforcement of *Epircts* to the garrison, under the command of one *Nicomachus*. However, the *Consul* took it by stratagem. Having been repulied by the besieged, who made a sally, he exaggerated the loss he had sustained in the action, and employed two pretended deserters to publish, one, that he was going to retire into the country of the *Locrenses*; the other, that he was actually gone, and had marched off in a precipitate manner. *Nicomachus*, deceived by these reports, and by the *Consul's* decamping, hastened with his troops to relieve *Locris*, which he imagined the *Romans* intended to besiege. *Ruffinus* took the advantage of his absence, returned with all expedition, and, by the help of a fog, got into the place almost before the inhabitants who were in perfect security discovered him; and not only so, but he defeated *Nicomachus* also in the field, who, when he found himself cheated, would have led back his detachment to *Tarentum*. *Locris* likewise soon after surrendered to the *Romans*, the inhabitants having first massacred the Governor and Garrison that *Pyrrhus* had left in it. [The *Capitoline Marbles* ascribe all these exploits to the *Consul Brutus*.]

Frontini Strat. B. 3. c. 6.
Zonaras, B. 8.

Appian. apud Val. l. 5.

• A 2d time.
Oros. B. 4.
Euseb. & Pausan. B. 4.

§. III. IN the following *Consulship* of *Q. Fabius * Gurges* and *C. Genucius*, *Rome* was afflicted with a strange sort of Plague, which chiefly affected women with child and breeding cattle. To put an end to this calamity, an unfortunate *Vestal* was buried alive; and *Ruffinus* was created

Dictator,

Dictator, to drive a nail into the wall of *Jupiter's Temple*. In the mean time the sickness did not hinder the *Romans* from continuing the war. *Fabius* by repeated victories reduced the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians* so low that they could no longer keep the field without *Pyrrhus*, and they therefore sent Ambassadors to him to intreat him to return, and put himself again at their head.

The face of *Pyrrhus's* affairs in *Sicily* was now much changed. At his first arrival he gained the hearts of the *Sicilians*, by his insinuating affable behaviour; but, being afterwards elated with success, his mild government changed into an absolute tyranny. He treated cruelly those very men who had been chiefly instrumental to his good fortune. He excluded the natives from the Magistracies, bestowing them on his Guards and Courtiers, whose extortions and injustices were so grievous, that at length the cities entered into leagues, some with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines*, to expel him the island. The *African Republick* had also sent a powerful army into *Sicily* to recover her former conquests. This being the situation of the King's affairs when the Ambassadors arrived, he was not a little pleased to have so honourable a pretence to leave a country, where he was no longer safe. At his departure he is reported to have turned his eyes back upon the island, and to have said to those who were near him, *What a noble field are we leaving for the Carthaginians and Romans to fight in!* In his passage the *Carthaginian* fleet attacked him, sunk seventy of his vessels, and dispersed all the rest of his two hundred sail, except twelve ships, with which he escaped to *Italy*. He landed near *Rhegium*; and when he had there collected the scattered remains of his forces, which had been driven on different parts of the coast, he marched towards *Tarentum*.

The *Mamertines*, upon the first report of his intended departure from *Sicily*, had detached 10,000 men to *Rhegium*, to molest him after his landing; and these, lying in ambush in woods and behind rocks, attacked the rear-guard of his army unexpectedly, and made great slaughter. *Pyrrhus*, on this occasion, signally displayed his heroic bravery and surprising strength. In the beginning of the action he received a wound in the head, which obliged him to retire out of the battle; but, returning to it again, he is said with one stroke of his sabre to have cleft a *Mamertine* to the waist, who defied him to single combat. This action so astonished the enemy, that they ceased the fight, and the King continued his march towards *Tarentum*. It was necessary for him to pass through the territory of the *Locrenses*, who had a little before massacred the garrison he had left in *Locris*. He not only exercised all sorts of cruelties on this people, but plundered the Temple of *Proserpine*, to supply the wants of his army. The great treasure which he found there he put on board his fleet to be carried to *Tarentum* by sea, but the ships were all dashed against rocks by a tempest, and the mariners lost. The historians relate, that *Pyrrhus* now repented of his sacrilege; and, as the sea had thrown the greatest part of the treasure upon the shore, he caused it to be gathered up and replaced in the Temple

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxvii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
seventy-
five.

176th
Consul-
ship.
Justin, B.
23. c. 3.
Plut. Life
of Pyr-
rhuss, p.
398.
Ha in
excerptis
à Valesio.
Justin. B.
23. c. 3.

Plut. Life
of Pyrrh.
p. 398.
Appian in
excerptis
à Valesio.
Plut. Life
of Pyrrh.
p. 399.

Zonar.
B. 8.

Dio. apud
Valesium.

Val Max.
B. 1. c. 1.

Year of Temple with great reverence; and not only so, but he put to death all
R O M E those who had counselled him to rob the Temple.

ccclxxviii. His army, when he arrived at *Tarentum*, consisted only of about twenty
Bef. J. C. thousand foot and three thousand horse.

Two §. IV. BEFORE *Pyrrhus* was in a condition to renew the war,
hundred *Rome* changed her *Consuls*; and the famous *Curius Dentatus* was now
seventy- raised (a second time) to that dignity, with *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. Their
four. first business was to raise two armies, which might be sufficient to make
177th head against the King of *Epirus* with his numerous allies. But, when
Conf- *Curius* would have begun to form the *Legions*, he found that the *Roman*
ship. youth, from some unaccountable caprice, or perhaps because their
Appian. spirits were depressed by the late contagious distemper, refused to enlist
apud Va- themselves. Upon this he assembled the *Tribes*, and put all their names
leium. into an urn. The first drawn was the *Pollian Tribe*; and the man of this
Val. Max. *Tribe*, whose name came first up, being an audacious young fellow, and
B. 6. c. 3. refusing to list, *Curius* ordered his effects to be sold, and, upon his ap-
Florus, pealing to the *Tribunes*, he sold the man too, saying, *The Commonwealth*
Epit. 14. *stood in no need of such members as refused obedience*. The fellow's cause be-
ing too bad, the *Tribunes* did not think fit for their honour to assist him;
and from this time if any *Roman* refused to list himself in a regular muster,
when commanded, it became a custom to make a slave of him.

So wholesome an instance of severity had its due effect; and two con-
siderable armies were raised without further opposition. *Lentulus* led one
Plut. in into *Lucania*, while *Curius* entered *Samnium* with the other. *Pyrrhus*,
Pyrrh. p. to make head against both, was obliged to divide his forces, which
399. were now become very considerable; and, esteeming *Curius* the more
formidable of the two *Roman* Generals, he marched himself against him
with the choice of his *Epirots* and of his Elephants. And though the *Consul*
had posted himself very advantageously near *Beneventum*, in a place full
Frontin. of hollow ways, rocks, and woods, where the *Græcian Phalanx* could not
B. 2. c. 1. act with all its strength; yet *Pyrrhus*, who found it necessary by some
Plut. in new exploit to confirm his allies, who were much discontented with
Pyrrh. p. him, made all possible haste to attack the *Romans* in their camp. He
399. marched by night in hopes to surprise them; but passing through cer-
tain woods his lights failed him, and he lost his way; and at the
break of day his approach was discovered by the *Romans* as he came
down the hills that bordered the *Taurasian Fields*. *Curius* sallied out of
his camp, with a detachment of his *Legionaries*, and fell upon the King's
van-guard with such fury, that he put them to flight, killed a great num-
ber of them, and took some Elephants. This success encouraged *Curius*
to descend into the plain, and try a pitched battle with the enemy. One
of his wings had the advantage in the beginning of the battle, but the
other was overborne by the Elephants, and driven back to the intrench-
ments; but then, the *Consul* sending for a body of troops which he had
left to guard his camp, these so plied the huge beasts with lighted torches,
Oros. B. that they ran back upon the *Epirots*, bearing down and breaking all
4. c. 2. their

their ranks, so that the *Romans* obtained a complete victory. The King is said to have lost in this action 23000 men. His army, according to *Orosius*, had consisted of 80000 Foot and 6000 Horse.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxviii.
Bef. J. C.

Pyrrhus's camp, being also taken, proved afterwards of great service to the *Romans*; for they not only admired the form of it, but made it their model for the future. Hitherto a large inclosure within a rampart and a ditch had served them for a camp, in which their tents were pitched in a disorderly manner; but now they got great light into the art of incamping, which by gradual improvements they at length carried to the highest perfection.

Two
hundred
seventy-
four.

177th
Consul-
ship.
Eutrop.B.

§. V. THE King of *Epirus*, who after his defeat had retired to *Tarentum* with a small body of Horse, resolved to leave *Italy* as soon as possible; but he concealed his design, and endeavoured to keep up the spirits of his allies by giving them hopes of succour from *Greece*. In reality he sent letters thither to several courts, demanding men and money; but, for want of favourable answers, forged such as might please those he would deceive. When he could no longer conceal his resolution of going, the method he took to save his honour, at least for some time, was to pretend to be on a sudden transported with anger against his friends for their dilatoriness in sending him the succours he required. Then, said he, *I must go myself and fetch them*. He left a strong garrison in *Tarentum* under the command of *Milo*; and, to engage him to be faithful, one author tells us, that he made him at his departure a very extraordinary present, a seat covered with the skin of the wretch *Nicias*, that Physician who had offered *Fabricius* to poison the King his master. After these disguises and precautions he returned into *Epirus* with only 8000 Foot and 500 Horse.

2. p. 14.
Frontin.
B. 4. c. 1.

Justin, B.
25. c. 3.
Polyænus
Stratag.
B. 8.

Zon. B. 8.

Plut in
Pyrrh. p.
400.

C H A P. XXIX.

§. I. *The triumph of Curius for his victory. His disinterestedness.* §. II. *He is continued for another year in the Consulate. He forces the Samnites and Lucanians to retire for refuge to their mountains. The next year, the Consul Claudius defeats them in a pitched battle.* §. III. *Ptolemy Philadelphus sends an Embassy to Rome, to ask an alliance with the Republic. The Romans send Ambassadors into Ægypt.* §. IV. *Certain advice comes that Pyrrhus is dead. [The manner of his death is related.] The SAMNITES, in despair, put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby totally subdued, after a war which had lasted 72 years. The BRUTTIANS and LUCANIANS submit soon after; and Tarentum is surrendered into the hands of the Romans; after which the Carthaginians, whose fleet lay before Tarentum, sail away from the coast.* §. V. *The Romans punish the perfidious Campanian Legion.* §. VI. *Silver Money is coined at Rome for the first time.* §. VII. *Picenum is intirely subdued, and the SABINES are made intirely Roman, by being admitted to the right of suffrage in the Roman Comitia.* §. VIII. *A war is commenced with the Sa-*

lentines; which nation, together with the Sarcinates in Umbria, being intirely subdued, Rome remains mistress of all the Countries in ITALY from the remotest part of Hettruria to the Ionian Sea, and from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Adriatick. §. IX. The Republick is courted by foreign States. A law is passed to prevent insults on foreign Ambassadors. The Romans regulate their Finances.

Year of R O M E
MCCCXXVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Two hundred seventy-four.
177th Consulship.
Florus, B. 1. c. 18.
Pliny, B. 18. c. 3.
Val. Max. B. 4. c. 3.

§. I. **A**ND now the Triumphal Procession of *Curius*, for his victory over *Pyrrhus*, drew all the attention of the People at Rome. The Romans had never before seen so much magnificence, such quantities of rich spoil; Vessels of Gold, Purple Carpets, Statues, Pictures, and, in short, all the fineries of the Greek Cities. Rome, says *Florus*, could hardly contain her victory. And what raised the admiration of the People more than all were the Elephants, those huge animals with Towers on their backs. The Senate, to reward the victor, impowered him to appropriate to himself fifty acres of the Conquered Lands; but he declined this favour, having firmly resolved never to possess above seven acres, an Estate which he thought sufficient for the support of any honest man.

The Triumph of *Curius* was followed by that of his Colleague *Lentulus*, who had made a successful campaign in *Lucania*, and taken *Caudium* from the *Samnites*.

This happy Consulship ended with a *Census* and *Lustrum*. The austere *Fabricius*, and his old Colleague in the Consulship, *Æmilius Papus*, being *Censors* this year, they made a new list of Senators, and excluded all those of the former list who led dissolute lives; nay, *Cornelius Ruffinus*, who had been *Consul* and *Dictator*, was struck out of the roll, only for having ten pounds weight of Silver Plate for his table. The number of Roman Citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be 271,224.

Y. of R. 479.
Bef. J. C. 273.

§. II. THE Romans, being under the apprehension that *Pyrrhus* might soon appear again in Italy, continued *Curius* in the Consulate for the next year, giving him for a Colleague *Cornelius Merenda*. In the mean time the *Tarentines*, who had hated *Pyrrhus* ever since his first coming among them, began now to despise him. Placing one *Nicon* at their head, they forced *Milo* and his Troops to retire into the Citadel, and confine themselves there. The belief that by these divisions *Tarentum* would ruin herself, and be forced in the end to surrender to the Romans, was what probably made *Curius* neglect to besiege it. He turned his forces against the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, who, not being able to keep the field, retired to their mountains. But in the following Consulship of *C. Fabius Dorsa* and *C. Claudius * Camina*, being encouraged, doubtless, by the emissaries from *Epirus*, who promised them that *Pyrrhus* (after the conquest of *Macedon*, which he had undertaken since his return home) would hasten to their assistance, they came down again into the plains to defend their Towns, and preserve their harvests. *Claudius* defeated them in a pitched battle, and preserved the same ascendant over them, which his predecessors had gained.

178th Consulship.
Zonaras, B. 8.
Y. of R. 480.
Bef. J. C. 272.
179th Consulship.
* A 2d time.
Bef. Cæsar.

§. III.

§. III. THE reputation of the *Romans* being now spread into foreign countries by the successful war they had sustained for six years against *Pyrrhus*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Ægypt*, sent an Embassy to *Rome* to ask the friendship of the Republick, an honour which gave the *Romans* no small pleasure. Not to be out-done in civility, they sent away to *Ægypt* four ambassadors, chosen with the utmost circumspection by a Senate studious to preserve their reputation abroad intire. *Fabius Gurges* was at the head of the Embassy, and with him were joined three *Curule Ædiles*, two of them brothers of the *Fabian* family, and the third *Ogulnius*. Their reception was magnificent, and *Ptolemy* at a splendid entertainment presented each of them with a Crown of Gold, which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by a refusal; but they went the next morning and placed them on the heads of the King's Statues, that were erected in the publick parts of the city. The rich presents which the King offered them at their audience of leave they also accepted; but at their return to *Rome*, and before they went to the Senate, they deposited all these presents in the publick Treasury, desiring no reward but Glory for the services they did their country: However, the Senate and People ordered the *Quæstors* to restore to the Ambassadors what had been given them for their own use.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxx.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
seventy-
two.
179th
Consul-
ship.
Eutrop.
B. 2. p.
15.
Zonaras.
B. 8.
Liv. Epit.
14.
Dion. in
excerpt.
Val. Max.
B. 4. c. 3.

§. IV. WHETHER the *Romans* believed or not, that *Pyrrhus*, when he had conquered *Macedon*, would once more return into *Italy*, they took care to chuse such *Consuls* for the next year as should be able to cope with him, if he came. Their choice fell upon *L. Papirius Cursor* and *Sp. Carvilius*, who both of them had been raised to that eminent station before, and had signalised themselves in it. These Generals, with two Consular armies, were already entered into the Territory of the *Samnites*, when an account came that *Pyrrhus* was dead. This inconstant Prince, when he had almost totally subdued *Macedon*, left that enterprize to undertake the protection and restoration of *Cleonymus* King of *Sparta*, who had been driven from his capital by the intrigues of his wife, and the ambition of his nephew. Such was the *Epirot's* pretence; but his real design was to make himself master of all *Peloponnesus*, by taking advantage of the divisions which had sprung up there. He marched into *Laconia*, and invested *Lacedæmon*, but soon after quitted that undertaking likewise to get possession of *Argos*, whither he was invited by one of the two factions into which that city was split. There he fell by the hand of a woman. The faction that favoured him having in the night admitted him into the Town by one of the gates, and the other faction having opened another gate to a body of *Macedonians* and *Spartans*, a bloody battle was fought, in which *Pyrrhus*, receiving a slight wound from a young *Argian*, would have revenged it by his death: But the mother of the young man, affrighted at her son's danger, which she beheld from the top of a house, took up a great tile, and with both her hands threw it at the King; who receiving the blow in the nape of his neck, of which it bruised the *Vertebrae*, fell senseless to the ground; and

Y. of R.
481.
Bef. J. C.
271.
180th
Consul-
ship.
Plut. Life
of Pyrr-
hus, p.
404, 405.
Justin, B.
25. c. 4.

Year of then *Zopyrus*, a *Macedonian*, who was the only person in the throng that
 R O M E knew him, severed his head from his body.

ccclxxxi
 Bef. J. C.

Two
 hundred
 seventy-
 one.

180th
 Consul-
 ship.

Flor. B. I.
 c. 16.

Orof. B.
 4. c. 3.

Liv. Epit.
 14.

Zonaras,
 B. 9.

Frontin.
 Stratag.

B. 3. c. 3.

The news of *Pyrrhus's* death threw the *Samnites* into despair; they now looked upon their liberty as gone, and, like men in such a situation, put all to the hazard of a single battle. *Firrus* says, that the *Samnites* were so totally conquered, and the ruins of their Cities so ruined, that *Samnium* might in vain be sought for in *Samnium*. And thus ended this bloody war, which had lasted seventy-two years, and had procured the *Roman* Generals thirty-one Triumphs. The *Bruttians* and *Lucanians* soon after submitted to the same yoke. *Tarentum* remained unpunished, and thither therefore the *Consuls* marched and invested it. *Milo* still possessed the Citadel. The *Tarentines* (as it is reasonably thought) had implored the assistance of the *Carthaginians*; for these lay with a fleet before the Town, and pretended to have no design but against *Milo* and his *Epirots*. *Papirius*, being desirous to prevent the *Carthaginians* from getting any footing in *Italy*, signified privately to *Milo*, that, if he would surrender up the Citadel to him, he and his garrison should not only have their lives spared, but be transported safe with their effects to *Epirus*. *Milo* readily listened to this offer, and even did more than he was asked. He undertook to put the City likewise into the *Consul's* hands. Having assembled the *Tarentines*, he persuaded them to depute him to the *Consul*, promising to negotiate matters so well for them, that they should lose neither their lives nor their estates; and he made good his word. The *Romans*, being soon after admitted into the Town, did no violence to the inhabitants. As for the *Carthaginians*, when they found themselves disappointed, they retired with their fleet, leaving, the *Romans* in a well grounded suspicion, that they had intended to seize a place which by right of Conquest belonged to *Rome*; and, though their manner of proceeding did not cause an open rupture, it produced a coldness at least between the two Republicks.

Faß. Ca-
 pit.

Polyb. B.

1. c. 7.

Y. of R.

482.

Bef. J. C.

270.

181st

Consul-

ship.

Zon. B. 8.

§. V. ALL the old enemies of *Rome*, the *Sabines*, *Volsci*, *Campanians*, and *Hebrurians*, being subdued, and these, with the other nations newly conquered, being now become parts of one and the same State of which *Rome* was the capital, the Republick was at leisure to wipe off the dishonour thrown upon her by the perfidious *Campanian Legion*, formerly sent to *Rhegium*. As soon therefore as *Quinctius Claudius* and *L. Genucius Elepsina* were entered upon the *Consulship*, the latter was ordered to lead an army to that City and besiege it. The usurpers, to make a better defence, not only called to their assistance the *Mamertines* (who were themselves originally *Campanians*, and he had acted the same part at *Messana* after the death of King *Agathocles*, which the other had done at *Rhegium*) but opened an *Asylum* for all the *Banditti* of the country. Their obstinacy being increased by this additional strength, the siege proved a long one, and, provisions failing in the camp of the *Romans*, *Genucius* was obliged to have recourse to *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, a generous Prince, whose name will be often mentioned in the course of this history

ry. *Hiero* furnished the *Consul* not only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of some *Sicilian* Troops; and by the help of these succours the *Romans* took the town. Of about 4000 men, of which the guilty *Legion* had at first consisted, there remained now but 300 alive. These, though *Companians* by birth, having the privileges of *Roman Citizenship*, were sent prisoners to *Rome* to be there tried. The Senate condemned them all to be first beaten with rods, and then beheaded; and notwithstanding that one of the *Tribunes* made an opposition to this sentence, pretending that it belonged to the People alone to pronounce upon *Roman Citizens* in capital cases, the decree was executed, and they were put to death by fifty at a time in the *Forum Romanum*. By this execution the Republick cleared herself from the suspicion of having had any part in the treachery of the *Campanian Legion*. Those of the old inhabitants, who had escaped the cruelty of the usurpers, were re-instated in the possession of their lands, liberties, and laws.

§. VI. DURING the following administration of the *Consuls C. Genucius* and *Cn. Cornelius*, the former obtained a victory over the *Sarcinates*, a people of *Umbria*, who were for the most part *Gauls*. This year was remarkable for nothing more, except the severity of the winter. The snow lay forty days upon the ground in the *Forum* of *Rome*, and was of a prodigious depth. The succeeding *Consuls*, *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and *C. Fabius Piclor*, were ordered to undertake the reduction of the *Picentes* and *Salentines*, (the only nation in the East of *Italy* not yet subject to the Republick) but they were of a sudden called elsewhere, to extinguish a flame which a very small spark had kindled. One *Lollius*, by birth a *Samnite*, had been delivered to the *Romans* by his countrymen, as a hostage for their fidelity. This man had escaped from *Rome*, joined a company of rebels, seized a strong place in *Samnium*, and was committing robberies in all the country; he had drawn also the *Caricini*, who were either a people of *Samnium*, or in alliance with them, into his measures, making their City the magazine of his booty. The *Consuls* were therefore dispatched to lay siege to that place; and by the help of some deserters, who introduced the *Roman* Troops secretly into it, they made an easy conquest. The *Consuls* had no Triumph for their success in this war, because it was deemed a civil war; nevertheless, they signalised their victory by more lasting monuments.

To this time the *Romans* had never used any money in commerce, except pieces of Brass stamped with the figure of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar; they had been too poor to coin Silver Money. But now after the conquest of *Samnium*, and the surrendry of *Tarentum*, the riches of the State being increased, and a great quantity of bars of silver (of no use to the Republick in that form) having been found among the treasures taken from *Lollius*, the *Consuls* thought it adviseable to coin the silver, and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the Mint was the Temple of *Juno Moneta*, from whence comes the word *Money*. The new species, instead of being stamped with the figures of animals, was made

Year of
R O M E.
ccccxxxii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
seventy.
181st
Consul-
ship.
Polyb. B.
1. c. 7.
Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 7.
§. 15.
Polyb. B.
1. c. 7.

Y. of R.
483.
Bef. J. C.
269.
182d
Consul-
ship.
Fast. Ca-
pit.
Zon. & D.
Aug.
B. 3. de
Civ. Dei.
Y. of R.
484.
Bef. J. C.
268.
183d
Consul-
ship.
Eutrop.
B. 2. c. 16.
Zonaras,
B. 8.

Plin. B.
33. c. 3.
Suidas
under the
word
Μονήτα.

Year of R O M E 630
 ccccxxxiv.
 Bef. J. C. 183d
 Two hundred sixty-eight.
 made to represent the exploits of the *Roman* Heroes, by ingenious hieroglyphicks; but so ænigmatically, that the invention of our antiquaries is often put to the rack to explain them. Some of these pieces of silver money, being worth ten *Asses of brass*, were called *Denarii*, and marked with the numeral letter X; others, worth but five *Asses*, were called *Quinarii*, and were marked with the letter V. The *Sestertii*, which were worth but two *Asses* and a half, were distinguished by the letters HS or LLS *.

Consulship. Varr. de ling. Lat. B. 4. * Duo & Semis tertius. Y. of R. 485.
 Bef. J. C. 267.
 184th Consulship. Eutrop. B. 2. c. 16. Val. Max. B. 6. c. 5. Frontin. Strat. B. 1. c. 12. Flor. B. 1. c. 19. Orof. B. 4. t. 4. Pliny, B. 3. c. 13.
 §. VII. THE next year the new *Consuls*, *P. Sempronius Sophus* and *Appius Claudius Crassus* (son of the famous blind *Appius*, and the heir of his artfulness) entered *Picenum* jointly; but new commotions in *Umbria* obliged the latter soon after to march thither. He laid siege to *Camerinum*, a town situated near the *Apennines* that separated *Umbria* from *Picenum*; and, when he had taken it, treated the inhabitants barbarously: He sold them for slaves, contrary to his agreement with them; put the purchase-money into the publick treasury, and seized their lands. The Republick, however, would not authorise so wicked a fraud. The Senate ordered the unhappy wretches to be sought out, granted them the privilege of *Roman Citizens*, assigned them a quarter upon Mount *Aventine* for an habitation, and allotted each of them as much land as he had lost in *Umbria*.

In the mean time *Sempronius Sophus* pursued the war against the *Picentes*. Just as he was going to engage with the enemy in a pitched battle, a sudden earthquake greatly terrified his soldiers, and damped their ardour for fighting; but he telling them, *That the earth shook only for fear of changing its masters*, and then vowing a Temple to the Goddess *Tellus*, they quickly recovered their courage, and fell upon the *Picentes* with their usual intrepidity. The battle must have been exceedingly bloody; for, though the *Consul* gained the victory, he lost the greater part of his troops in the action. *Asculum*, the capital of *Picenum*, soon after surrendered, and the whole nation gave themselves to the *Romans*; an important increase of the dominion of the Republick, because this country alone was able to supply her armies with 360,000 soldiers.

To keep the newly-conquered nations in awe, the *Romans* at this time settled Colonies at *Ariminum* in the country of the *Picentes*, and at *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*; and at this time also the *Sabines*, whose right of Citizenship at *Rome* had hitherto extended only to the privilege of being incorporated in the *Legions*, instead of barely serving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of suffrage in the City, and thereby became intirely *Roman*.

Y. of R. 486.
 Bef. J. C. 266.
 185th Consulship. Flor. B. 1. c. 20.
 §. VIII. THE *Salentines*, whose chief Cities were *Hydruntum*, *Aletium*, and *Brundisium*, were now almost the only people in the eastern extremity of *Italy*, that remained unsubdued to the *Romans*. It was easy for the ambitious Republick to invent pretences to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The next year's *Consuls*, *L. Julius Libo* and *M. Atilius Regulus*, took *Brundisium*; but, as the brave *Salentines* disputed their country inch by inch, the two Generals were obliged to leave their conquest to be finished

finished by their successors. These were *Numerius Fabius* and *D. Junius Pera*, who, having first subdued the *Sarcinates* in *Umbria*, totally reduced the *Salentines* (though they had brought the *Messapians* or *Iapygians* into their quarrel.) The reduction of two nations in one campaign procured each *Consul* two Triumphs, a thing unheard of before in the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
ccclxxxvii.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
sixty-five.

Rome was now become mistress of all the different nations of *Italy*, from the farthest part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* Sea, and from the *Tuscan* Sea cross the *Apennines* to the *Adriatick*. But these nations had not all the same privileges, nor were upon the same footing in point of subjection. Some were so intirely subject to *Rome*, as to have no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old customs and forms of government. Some were tributary, others barely allies, who were bound to furnish the *Roman* army with troops, and maintain them at their own expence. Some had the privileges of *Roman* *Citizenship*, and their soldiers were incorporated in the *Legions*; others had likewise a right of suffrage in the elections made by the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*. These different degrees of honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded in the different terms granted by the conquerors in their treaties with the vanquished; and these honours and privileges were afterwards increased, according to the fidelity of the several cities and nations, and the services they did the Republick.

186th
Consul-
ship.
Fast. Ca-
pit.

§. IX. AFTER the great increase of power and dominion which the *Romans* acquired by their victories over *Pyrrhus* and his *Italian* allies, free Cities and whole Nations beyond the seas began to follow the example of the King of *Egypt*, and court the friendship of the Republick. *Apollonia*, situated over-against *Brundisium*, was the first City of *Macedon* that sent Ambassadors, to desire her protection. These Ambassadors were received with honour by the Senate; but afterwards, upon some occasion not known, were insulted by *Fabricius* and *Apronius*, young *Romans* of great distinction, and at this time *Ædiles*. So grievous a breach of the law of nations required satisfaction; nor did the Republick refuse it. The young men were condemned to be delivered up into the hands of the Ambassadors, in order to be transported to *Apollonia*, and there punished at the pleasure of the People. This was shewing the *Apollonians* all the Regard possible; and they, in their turn, shewed a prudent respect for the *Roman* Senate. *Fabius* and *Apronius* were hospitably received, and then sent back to *Rome*. And this memorable event gave rise to a law (which subsisted ever after) That, if any Citizen, of what quality soever, insulted an Ambassador, he should be delivered up to the injured nation.

Liv.
Epit. 15.
Val. Max.
B. 6. c. 6.

Dig. Pa-
rag. de
Legat.

And now the great affair of the Republick under the administration of the *Consuls* *Q. Fabius* * *Gurgus* and *L. Mamilius Vitulus*, was to regulate her Revenues. These revenues arose from the tributes each province was to pay; from the rents of certain arable and pasture lands, which the Republick reserved as her demesnes, whenever she divided any conquered lands

* A third
time.

Year of lands among the Citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands
 R O M E dependent on her; and lastly from the imposts upon all merchandise im-
 ported into her dominions. It has been already observed, that four Offi-
 cers, with the title of *Quæstors*, had the charge of receiving and disburf-
 ing the Publick Moneys. *Valerius Publicola*, soon after the birth of the
 Republick, desiring to ease himself of the care of the Finances, had ap-
 pointed two: To these *Scævola Titinius*, in the year 333, being then
Military Tribune with Consul Authority, had added two more, whose pe-
 culiar business was to attend the *Consuls* in their expeditions, keep the
 military chest, pay the troops, and sell the spoils and prisoners taken from
 the enemy. The *Quæstors* neither of the one nor of the other institution
 had any of the great badges of distinction annexed to their offices. They
 had neither *Curule Chairs*, nor *Lictors*, nor *Apparitors*; nor could they
 refuse to appear before the *Prætor*, upon a summons from even the meanest
 of the Citizens. The only privileges they had were those of assembling
 the *Comitia at Rome*, and speaking to them from the *Rostra*, and haranguing
 the soldiers in the field.

The four *Quæstors* had been found to be hardly sufficient to go through
 the business belonging to them even before the late conquests; but now
 it was absolutely necessary to augment the number of these officers; and
 four new ones were therefore created with the title of *Provincial Quæstors*,
 to take charge of the four^a provinces into which the Republick had divided
 her conquests.

The

^a The seat or chief office of the first pro-
 vince was at *Opus*, a maritime city near
Rome. This *Quæstorship* reached, in all pro-
 bability, from the head of the *Tiber* and the
 river *Arno*, to the mouth of the *Liris*; and
 comprehended *Hærraria*, *Latium*, *Sabinia*,
Umbria, and, in short, all the coasts of the
Tuscan sea, and all the lands between that
 sea and the *Apennines*. The seat of the se-
 cond province was at *Cale*, in the delight-
 ful country of *Campania*; and it reached
 from the *Liris* to the *Gulph of Tarentum*.
 This province contained *Campania*, *Samni-
 um*, *Lucania*, the country of the *Bruttii*, and
Osteria; and with in it were many rich ma-
 ritime cities. The third province reached
 from the *Apennines* to the shore of the *Adri-
 atick sea*, and was called the *Gallick Quæstors-
 ship*. It contained the countries formerly
 conquered by the *Gauls*, especially the *Se-
 nones*, from the river *Rubicon* to the *Æsis*. But,
 notwithstanding its name, it contained also
Picenum, the country of the *Frentani*, and all
 the other countries as far as *Apulia*. And,
 lastly, the fourth *Quæstorship*, of which we
 have not so distinct an account as of the other

three, could only comprehend *Apulia*, *Ca-
 labria*, and the territories of the *Salentines*,
Messapians, and *Tarentines*. A fine province,
 if we consider the great number of its sea-
 ports, into which merchandises were im-
 ported from *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. For
 these four provinces *Rome* created four new
Quæstors; and it was then settled, that all
 the eight *Quæstors* should for the future be
 chosen in *Comitia by Tribes*. After the elec-
 tions, which were renewed every year, the
 eight *Quæstors* drew lots, in the presence of
 the People, to decide which should have the
Roman, which the *Military*, and which the
Provincial Quæstorships. The four *Provin-
 cial* ones were mostly desired by the ambiti-
 ous before *Rome* had extended her conquests
 beyond *Italy*; but when she had brought
 the East and West into subjection to her, and
 great kingdoms were become so many pro-
 vinces under her domination, the four *Ita-
 lian* provinces were but little covered by
 the *Quæstors*, who were multiplied, in pro-
 portion as the Republick enlarged her con-
 quests. The *Proconsuls* and *Proprætors*, that
 is to say, the Governors of those remote pro-
 vinces,

The usual fortune of *Rome*, during any interval of tranquillity, did not fail to attend her at this time. A most dreadful Plague raged both in the City and in the Country. The *Sybilline* books, according to custom, were hereupon consulted; and it was there found, that some secret crimes had drawn down the wrath of Heaven upon the Republick. A vestal, named *Caparonia*, proved the unhappy victim, sacrificed to the prepossessions of the People. Being convicted of incontinency before the Tribunal of the *Pontifices*, they condemned her to be buried alive; and, though to avoid so cruel a death she strangled herself, the same ceremonies of interment were performed upon the dead body, as if she had been living.

Notwithstanding the havock made by the plague, the number of Citizens fit to bear arms appeared, by a *Census* taken this year, to be 292,224. Doubtless the *Sabines*, to whom the right of suffrage had been lately granted, must have been reckoned in this enumeration. *C. Marcius Rutilus*, one of the *Censors*, had on account of his extraordinary merit been elected, contrary to custom and his own earnest remonstrances, a second time to this office; and hence probably he acquired the surname of *Censorinus*, which was perpetuated in his family. *Plutarch* tells us, that, to put a stop to so dangerous a practice, *Marcius* got a law passed, forbidding any person to hold the *Censorship* a second time.

The present *Consuls* were still at *Rome*, wholly employed in civil affairs, when on a sudden a war sprung up in the very bowels of the Republick. *Volturni*, a considerable City of *Hetruria*, had been by Treaty allowed to enjoy her own laws and form of government; but the *Volturnenses* had since fallen into sloth and luxury, neglected their laws, despised the publick offices, and suffered their Freed-men to usurp them. These Freed-men by degrees had made themselves tyrants in the little Republick; and it was their whole business to mortify their old masters. They not only with all licentiousness invaded their wives, but passed a law, that no Virgin daughter of a man free-born should be married to a husband of the like condition, till she had submitted to the passion of a freed-man. And to all these insolences they added Banishments and Proscriptions of the most worthy Citizens. The *Volturnenses*, not being able to help themselves, sent Deputies privately to implore the protection of the Senate of *Rome*. But, though the negotiation was thought to be carried on with perfect secrecy, the Freed-men got notice of it, and put the Deputies to death at their return; and when *Fabius Gurgus*, who undertook with a

vinces, had each his *Quæstor*, or Superintendant of the *Finances*, for his Government: and these Governments being large and rich, and far out of the Senate's sight, the *Quæstors* were fond of going thither, where they could raise more money, and were more honoured and respected; for here they wore the *Prætecta*, and were attended by *Lictors*, as appeared from *Cic.*

3d Orat. contra *Verr.* For all these reasons, when the *Quæstors* drew lots for their provinces, the man to whom any of the *Italian* ones fell became the jest of the people. *He goes to the waters*, said they; meaning, that he was going to enjoy his repose near *Rome*, much as those *Romans* did, who went to *Baie* or *Puteoli* for the waters. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
ccccxxxiii
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
sixty-
four.
187th
Consul-
ship.
Oros. B. 4.
c. 5.
Liv. Epit.
16.
Eutrop.
B. 2. c. 18.
Val. Max.
B. 4. c. 1.
Plut. Life
of Corio-
lanus.
Zon. B. 8.
Flor. B. 1.
c. 21.
Author,
de Viris
Illustr. c.
36.
Val. Max.
B. 9. c. 1.

Year of
ROMAN
cc. clxxxv.
Bef. J. C.
Two
hundred
fifty-
four.
18 th
Consul-
ship.

small army of volunteers to chastise them, came near their City, he found them upon their guard; nay, the Freed-men ventured to face him in the field, and gave him battle. The *Consul* put them to the rout; but, as he was entering the Town with the run-aways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand, and then the *Romans* were repulsed. After this *Decius Mus*, who had been Lieutenant to *Fabius*, besieged the place in form; and in the year following it surrendered to the *Consul Iulius Placcus*. The Freed-men, who had usurped the magistracies, and acted the whole scene of villainy, were all put to death; the City was razed, and the Inhabitants transplanted to another.

These last particulars are here mentioned a little before their time, that they may not hereafter interrupt the relation of more important matters; the causes and commencement of the FIRST PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN War.



The END of the FIRST VOLUME.



THE

1801/1802.

R O M A N
H I S T O R Y,

FROM THE BUILDING OF ROME
TO THE RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND OTHER PLATES.

V O L. II.

By N. H O O K E, Esq;

The F I F T H E D I T I O N.

L O N D O N:

Printed for G. HAWKINS, W. STRAHAN, J. and F. RIVINGTON, R. BALDWIN,
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MDCCLXX.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
HUGH, Earl of MARCHMONT.

MY LORD,

PERMIT me to lay hold of this fair occasion, publickly to congratulate your Lordship, upon that *true* Glory, *the consenting praise of the honest and the wise*, which you have so early acquired. ‘When
‘ men have performed any *virtuous* actions, or such
‘ as sit easy upon their memories, it is a *reasonable*
‘ pleasure’ (says a philosophical * Writer, who speaks contemptuously enough of Renown after death) ‘to
‘ have the testimony of the world added to that of
‘ their own consciences, that they have done well.’ My Lord, you have not only this pleasure, but another, no less reasonable, and more exquisite, attending a character like yours, The being able to do much good to others. To those whom you distinguish

* Mr. Wollaston.

D E D I C A T I O N.

by particular marks of your good opinion you give reputation ; and I have happily experienced, that reputation, so derived, is not meer air and fruitless. Through that warmth of good will which your Lordship, on all occasions, expresses for me, I have profited, greatly profited, by *your* glory. You, my Lord, can be no stranger to this truth ; yet I trust, you will forgive me, if, to draw still more advantage from your fame, I here take the liberty to tell your Lordship, *in print*, for the information of others, what you knew before : As a Player, when alone on the stage, speaks aloud to himself, that he may be heard by those who fill the Theatre. I would, by this dedication of my Book to your Lordship, publish, as far as by such means I can, that you, my Lord, are my Patron and my Friend ; and that I am, with the greatest respect, esteem and gratitude,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful, and

Most humble Servant,

N. H O O K E.

T H E

Roman History.

FOURTH BOOK.

From the Beginning of the FIRST PUNIC WAR
in the Year of Rome 489, to the End of
the SECOND in 552.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAP. I.

The occasion of the First Punic War.

CERTAIN Italian soldiers, called Mamertines, who had been mercenaries in the service of Agathocles King of Sicily, and had, after his death, treacherously seized upon Messina, being reduced to extremities by the arms of Hiero King of Syracuse, one part of them puts the citadel into the hands of the Carthaginians, and the other sends Embassadors to the Romans, offering them the possession of the city, and imploring their protection. The people of Rome order the Consul Appius Claudius to go with an army to the relief of the Mamertines; who, in the mean time, rid themselves of the Carthaginians, that had been admitted into the citadel.

HIERO;
K. of Sy-
racuse.
Y.R. 489.

CHAP. II.

First, second, and third years of the War.

The Carthaginians, in conjunction with Hiero King of Syracuse, who had entered into a league with them, besiege Messina. Appius Claudius lands in Sicily, defeats the allies, and forces them to raise the siege. The next year Hiero, for a hundred talents of silver, purchases a peace with Rome, and the year following assists the Romans in taking Agrigentum from the Carthaginians.

490.
491.

I

CHAP. III.

The fourth and fifth years of the War.

492. *In the Consulship of L. Valerius and T. Otacilius, Rome fits out a fleet of a hundred Quinqueremes and twenty Triremes, in order to dispute with the Carthaginians the dominion of the sea. One of the Consuls of the next year, Cornelius Asina, falls into the enemy's hands, together with seventeen of his galleys; but the other Consul, C. Duilius, gains a memorable victory over the Carthaginian fleet, near Mylæ, chiefly by means of a new invented engine for grappling and boarding the enemy's ships.*
- DUILIUS

CHAP. IV.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth years of the War.

494. *Four thousand Samnites conspire with certain discontented slaves to plunder and burn Rome, but are seasonably discovered, and punished. The Romans invade Corsica and Sardinia with success. A quarrel in Sicily between the Roman army and their Sicilian auxiliaries, gives the enemy some advantages in that island. Next year several towns there surrender to one of the Consuls; and the other surprizes the enemy's fleet in a port of Sardinia, and takes many of the ships; whereupon the Carthaginian sailors mutiny, and crucify their Admiral. The Romans are again conquerors in an engagement at sea near the Tyndaris.*
- 495.
- 496.

CHAP. V.

The ninth year of the War.



497. *To oblige Carthage to recall her armies from Sicily, Rome undertakes to transfer the war into Africa. In this view both the Consuls are sent out with a fleet of 330 ships of war, and an army of near 140,000 men. They gain a complete victory over the enemy's fleet near Ecnomus, and afterwards land in Africa. One of the Consuls returns to Italy with the greater part of the fleet and the army, leaving his colleague Regulus to pursue the war. The Roman General, after taking several towns, routs the land-forces of the Carthaginians near Adis, and then offers peace to the Republic, but upon conditions that are rejected with indignation.*
- REGULUS.

CHAP. VI.

- XANTIPPUS. *The Senate of Carthage entrust Xantippus, a Lacedæmonian, with the command of their army. By his excellent conduct he totally defeats the Romans in a pitched battle, and takes Regulus prisoner.*

C H A P. VII.

From the ninth to the fourteenth year of the War.

Rome dispatches her new Consuls into Africa, with a great fleet, to bring off the remains of Regulus's army, which after the late battle had taken refuge in Clypea. The Consuls gain a victory over the Carthaginian fleet, near the promontory of Mercury; they land at Clypea, and take the legionaries on board; but in their passage home meet with so terrible a storm, that, of above four hundred vessels, only fourscore escape destruction. The Romans fit out a new fleet, with which the succeeding Consuls pass into Sicily, and there reduce some towns. Next year 150 Roman ships perishing by tempest, the Republic gives over all thoughts of naval enterprizes, and resolves to depend entirely upon her land-forces; but those are so much afraid of the Carthaginian elephants, that for two years together they dare not face the enemy in battle, or even appear in the plain field. This terror among the legions, and the advantage which the enemy had of being able, at pleasure, to supply their maritime towns with recruits and provisions, make the Roman Senate resolve to try once more the fortune of Rome at sea. In the mean time, the Roman General in Sicily draws the Carthaginians into a snare, routs their whole army, and kills or takes all the elephants.

498.

499.

500.

501, 502

503.

C H A P. VIII.

Carthage disheartened by her losses sends Embassadors to Rome, and, together with them, the captive Regulus, to treat of a peace. Regulus dissuades the Senate from hearkening to the overture, and even from consenting to an exchange of prisoners. In performance of his word given he returns to Carthage, and there, soon after, dies.

C H A P. IX.

From the fourteenth to the eighteenth year of the War.

The Consuls set sail with the fleet for Sicily, and lay siege to Lilybæum. Himilco, the Carthaginian Commander in the city, makes a vigorous defence. In the mean time a Squadron of ships from Africa passes through the Roman navy, and lands 10,000 men in the town; which being afterwards straitly shut up, one Hannibal, a Rhodian, undertakes to go thither with a single galley, and bring intelligence to the Senate of Carthage of the condition of the besieged; and he succeeds. The garrison in a sally burn all the towers and engines employed against their town; after which the Romans turn the siege into a blockade. Next year the Consul Claudius Pulcher, attempting

503.

Hannibal
the Rhodian.

504.

Claudius
Pulcher.

505.

attempting to surprize Drepanum, is by the governor of the place defeated at sea, and loses the greatest part of his fleet. The rest of the Roman navy, under the other Consul and his Quæstors, is, by the Carthaginian Admiral, forced upon the south coast of Sicily, where every one of the ships perishing by storm, Rome once more renounces the empire of the seas. Her General in Sicily gets possession of the city of Eryx. The following year produces no remarkable action between the contending parties. The Carthaginian army, for want of pay, mutiny against their General. He is recalled home, and succeeded in the command by Amilcar Barcha, father of the famous Hannibal.

CHAP. X.

From the eighteenth year of the war to the end of it, in the twenty-third or twenty-fourth year after its commencement.

AMILC.
BARCHA.

506, 507

508.

509, 510

511.

LUTA-
TIUS CA-
TULUS.

512.

35 Tribes.

Amilcar, after quieting the discontents of the army, and making a successful expedition on the coast of Italy, encamps on a mountain between Panormus and Eryx in Sicily, and there maintains his post against all the efforts of the Romans for almost three years. At length (in 508) he finds means to seize upon the city of Eryx, situated on the side of a high mountain; and though hard pressed by a Roman garrison at the top of the mountain, and a Roman army at the foot of it, yet in two years time they are not able to dislodge him. The Senate of Rome finding it impossible to complete the conquest of Sicily without a naval strength, a considerable fleet is fitted out at the expence of private citizens, the public treasury being exhausted. This new fleet, under the conduct of Lutatius Catulus, obtaining a complete victory over that of the enemy, near the Ægates, the Carthaginians are constrained to yield to the Romans, by a treaty of peace, the whole island of Sicily; which, except the little kingdom of Syracuse, is reduced to the form of a province. At Rome the tribes are augmented to thirty-five, which number they never after exceeded.

CHAP. XI.

The Falisci, a people of Hetruria, rebel against the Romans, but in a few days are forced to submit. Carthage is reduced to great extremities in a war, which for more than three years is carried on against her, by her foreign Mercenaries in conjunction with her African subjects. The conduct of the Romans upon this occasion.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

For three years the Romans, having no war to maintain, employ themselves in establishing good order in Italy, and planting colonies in the neighbourhood of the Gauls and Ligurians. The Republic desires to assist Ptolemy king of Egypt against Antiochus of Syria; but the Egyptian civilly declines the offer. At length the Boian Gauls breaking the peace with Rome, and the Ligurians being in motion, the Romans take the field. The Consul Valerius is vanquished in a battle with the Boian Gauls. He afterwards defeats them, while his colleague obtains a victory over the Ligurians. Next year the Romans act entirely on the defensive against the Boians; but offensively against the Ligurians, and with success. At Rome the Secular Games are celebrated. The new Consuls march against the Boians and Ligurians, who having called in to their assistance an army of Transalpine Gauls, take umbrage at their numbers, fall upon them, and put them to flight. The conquerors weakened by their victory are obliged to make peace with the Romans. The Corsicans in the mean time rebel, with whom Claudius Cyprias, being sent against them, enters into a treaty, on terms dishonourable to the Republic. She refuses to adhere to the treaty, delivers up Claudius to the resentment of the Corsicans, and then subdues them by force of arms. The Corsicans, in conjunction with Carthage, stir up the Sardinians to revolt. Hereupon Rome threatens the African Republic with a war, but is diverted from it by an Embassy from Carthage: And Sardinia being easily reduced the next year, the temple of Janus is shut for the first time since the reign of Numa Pompilius. A few months after, the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Sardinians take arms again. The first instance of a divorce at Rome. Marriage settlements introduced. Fabius Maximus the Consul subdues the Ligurians; his colleague triumphs for his exploits against the Sardinians. At the motion of Æbutius, a Tribune of the people, the judicature of the Centumvirs is erected. The following year Flaminius, another Tribune of the people, proposes a law for dividing amongst the poor citizens of Rome some lands lately taken from the Gauls. In obedience to his father he desists from his enterprize; but one of his colleagues carries it on, and succeeds, notwithstanding the opposition of the Senate. Sardinia and Corfica, now entirely subdued, are reduced to the form of a Roman province; and the conqueror of this latter island being refused a triumph, gives the first example of assuming that honour against the will of the Senate.

512,513

514.

515.

516.

517.

518.

519.

520.

Centum-
virs.

521.

522.

C H A P. XIII.

The first Illyrian War.

The Romans send ambassadors to Teuta, Queen of a part of Illyricum, to complain of the piracies of her subjects. Teuta, offended at the haughty behaviour of one of the ambassadors, causes them all to be murdered in their return.

523.

524. *return home. To revenge this insult, Rome employs both her Consuls, who, assisted by Demetrius of Pharos, successfully begin the war; which is finished in the following year by a treaty of peace, dictated by the Republic. Her acquaintance with the Greeks commences at this time.*
- 525.

C H A P. XIV.

526. *The Gauls on both sides the Po take arms. To oppose these formidable enemies, the Romans make extraordinary preparations; and the next year obtain a complete victory over them. Yet the following Consuls make no progress in the war. Their successors, though Rome, terrified by prodigies, had ordered them to return to the city, hazard a pitched battle, and gain the victory. Claudius Marcellus conquishes in single combat the General of the Gauls, who discouraged by his death, are put to flight. Insubria and Liguria submit, and are made one province, which takes the name of Cisalpine Gaul. Istria on the Adriatick is subdued by the Republic.*
- 527.
- 528.
- 529.
- 530.
- 531.
- 532.

C H A P. XV.

The second Illyrian War.

- Demetrius of Pharos, whom Rome had appointed guardian to the young Illyrian King, despises her orders, and attacks her allies. The present Consuls being obliged to abdicate their office, and the season being too far advanced for their successors to begin a new war, Æmilius Paullus, and his colleague Livius Salinator, go the next year with an army into Illyricum. Demetrius flies for protection to the Court of Philip of Macedon. Livius, on his return to Rome, is condemned by the tribes, for having applied part of the spoil to his own use. Roman colonies are planted at Placentia and Cremona, in the territories of the Gauls.*
- 533.
- 534.

C H A P. XVI.

The second Punic War, or the War of Hannibal. Its causes and commencement.

THE spirit of revenge with which Amilcar left Sicily, and which he communicated to his son Hannibal, is reckoned the First Cause of the second Punic war. The unjust seizure of Sardinia by the Romans, the Second and Principal Cause. The successive victories of Amilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, the Third Cause.

- HANNIBAL.** *Hannibal attacks the Saguntines, a people in alliance with Rome, and the only Spaniards who, on the south of the Iberus, remain unsubdued to the Carthaginian dominion. He reduces Saguntum, after a siege of eight months.*
535. *The Romans order Sempronius, one of their Consuls, into Africa, and P. Cornelius.*

Cornelius Scipio the other Consul into Spain, and at the same time send an embassy to Carthage, demanding that Hannibal should be delivered up to them, to be punished for his unjust infraction of the peace between the two Republics: This being refused, and war denounced on both sides, the Carthaginian General settles the Affairs of Spain, leaves his brother Asdrubal to command on the south-side of the Iberus, and crosses that river with a great army.

C H A P. XVII.

Hannibal, after subduing all the country between the Iberus and the Pyrenees, passes those mountains with his army, in his way to Italy. He proceeds to the banks of the Rhone without molestation. There the Gauls in vain oppose his passage; nor can the Consul Scipio, who, arriving at the mouth of the Rhone, gets notice of the place where Hannibal is, advance expeditiously enough to stop him. Scipio reembarks his forces, sends the major part of them forward to Spain, but returns himself to Italy, that he may meet Hannibal at his descent from the Alps. The Carthaginians with great danger and fatigue pass those mountains, lay siege to Turin and take it. The Romans, astonished at the news of Hannibal's being in Italy, whom they thought to have confined to Spain, dispatch orders to the Consul Sempronius, now at Lilybæum, to hasten to the defence of his country. Scipio, in the mean time, crosses the Po, and advances to meet the enemy.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Roman horse and light-armed infantry under Scipio are defeated at the TICIN by the Carthaginian cavalry. The Consul retires to the neighbourhood of Placentia: Hannibal follows him, and offers battle; which the Roman declines. Scipio distrusting the Gauls, some of whom had gone over to the enemy, removes to the high grounds near the Trebia, and there waits the arrival of his colleague.

Battle of
the TICIN.

C H A P. XIX.

Sempronius having joined Scipio, and being encouraged by a slight advantage he had gained over a party of the enemy, ventures, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his colleague, to fight a pitched battle with them at the TREBIA. The Roman army is totally defeated, and all the nations of the Gauls declare for Hannibal. The Senate make vigorous preparations to support the war. Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius are raised to the Consulate, and the affairs of the Republic prosper in Spain, under the direction of Cn. Scipio. Hannibal to gain friends in Italy, dismisses, without ransom, all those of his prisoners who are of the Roman allies. Dreading the levity of the Gauls, he crosses the Apennines, and enters Hetruria through the marshes, where his army suffers extremely, and he himself loses one of his eyes.

The TREBIA.

536.

C H A P. XX.

The second year of the War.

The Lake
THRASY-
MENUS.

Flaminius, raised to the Consulship by the favour of the people, fears lest the Augurs should declare his election invalid. Neglecting therefore the usual ceremonies of religion, he hastens to Ariminum, where he takes upon him the command of the forces, and from thence, at the head of four legions, marches to Arretium in Etruria. Hannibal lays an ambush for him on the banks of THE LAKE THRASYMENUS, and routs his whole army. The Consul himself is slain in the action; and, a few days after, a body of four thousand horse, that had been sent to his assistance, fall into the hands of the Enemy. Rome, terrified at these misfortunes, names Q. Fabius Maximus to be Pro-dictator, and appoints Minucius Rufus to be his General of the horse. Hannibal, in the mean time, ravages Italy, quite to Apulia. Thither Fabius follows him, but keeps on the hills, and declines a general engagement. The Carthaginian, to provoke him to fight, pillages the fine country of Campania. Hannibal, by a stratagem, deceives Fabius, who imagined that the Carthaginian would not be able to get out of Campania, a country surrounded partly by high mountains and partly by the sea. The cautious circumspective conduct of Fabius giving offence at Rome, the Comitia divide the command of the army between him and his General of the horse. Minucius, now at the head of half the troops, and proud of an advantage he had gained in an encounter with the enemy, descends into the plain, hazards a battle with Hannibal, and is on the point of being totally routed; but Fabius rescues him from danger. The two brothers Publius and Cneius Scipio, in the mean time, carry on the war with success in Spain, where the hostages which Carthage had obliged the Spaniards to give her, are betrayed into the hands of the Romans.

C H A P. XXI.

Third year of the War.

537.

CANNÆ.

C. Terentius Varro, by the intrigues of a Tribune of the people, is raised to the Consulship, and L. Æmilius Paullus is appointed his colleague. Rome, weary of dilatory arts, sends both her Consuls, at the head of a mighty army, to dispute once more with Hannibal the superiority in the field. The armies approach each other in a plain country near CANNÆ in Apulia. Æmilius, disliking the ground, advises his colleague not to fight; but Varro on a day when it is his turn to command, gives battle to the enemy, and is totally defeated with the slaughter of almost all his troops. Many of the allies of Rome go over to the conqueror.

C H A P. XXII.

Some young Romans of distinction resolving, in despair, to forsake Italy, Scipio (afterwards surnamed Africanus) obliges them to take an Oath never to abandon the Republic. And while the people of Rome are in the utmost consternation and despondency, the Senate preserve their courage, and make all possible preparations for the defence of their country. They even solemnly give thanks to Varro, for that he had not despaired of the Commonwealth. A D I C T A T O R is named to govern the State; levies are made with all diligence; the slaves are enlisted for the service; all ranks of men bring their gold and silver into the public treasury, and the silver coin is now first alloyed with copper. In the mean time, by the permission of Hannibal, a deputation from the Roman prisoners in his camp, arrives in Rome, and petitions the Senate to ransom the captives. The ConscripT Fathers deny the request. Capua, resolving to shake off the Roman yoke, demands of the Republic that Rome and Capua should, for the future, be upon a perfect equality; this proposal being rejected with disdain, the Capuans deliver up their city to Hannibal. The Carthaginian dispatches his brother Mago to Carthage, with an account of his success; the Senate vote him a supply of men and money, but are very dilatory in sending it. The Roman Dictator takes the field with a considerable army, and Hannibal, after making some fruitless attempts upon Naples and Nola, lays siege to Casilinum; the garrison of which place, after a stout defence, at length capitulates. Rome not being in a condition to provide for the fleets and armies in Sicily and Sardinia, her allies in those islands assist her by their contributions. The Senate having lost a great number of their members in the war, a Dictator is chosen for the sole business of filling the vacant places. He names 177 new Senators.

C H A P. XXIII.

Fourth year of the War.

Sempronius Gracchus and Posthumius Albinus are raised to the Consulship. The latter being cut off, together with all his army, by the Gauls, the Senate resolve to send no more armies into Gaul. Fabius Cunctator is chosen in the room of the late Consul. Hannibal enters into a treaty with King Philip of Macedon; whose Embassadors, in their return home, are taken at sea, and carried to Rome. The Senate resolve to keep the Macedonian out of Italy, by making war upon him in his own country. The Campaign in Italy passes in expeditions of no great importance, and the Romans, though they have many armies in the field, never hazard a general action against Hannibal. Their arms prosper in Sardinia and Spain. In Sicily, King Hiero being dead, his grandson and successor Hieronymus makes an alliance with Carthage, and is soon after assassinated by his own subjects.

538.

FABIUS.
CUNC-
TATOR.PHILIP of
Macedon.

C H A P. XXIV.

Fifth year of the War.

539.
MARCELLUS.

When the Comitia at Rome were going to raise T. Otacilius to the Consulate, Fabius, the president of the assembly, knowing the insufficiency of the candidate, hinders his election, and is himself chosen, together with Claudius Marcellus. The Roman citizens remarkably shew their zeal for the Republic. The soldiers serve without pay, and fleets are equipped at the expence of private men. Sempronius is said to have defeated an army of Carthaginians under Hanno, and Marcellus to have gained an advantage over Hannibal. Fabius besieges and takes Casilinum, while the Prætor Lævinus begins the war in Greece against King Philip.

C H A P. XXV.

ARCHI-
MEDES.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, two of Hannibal's agents in Sicily, get themselves, by intrigue, chosen Prætors of Syracuse; yet the inhabitants of that city enter soon after into a league with Marcellus, then commander of the Roman army in the island. The Hannibalists, going to Leontini, persuade the Leontines to a rupture with the Romans; Marcellus takes the place at the first assault: Nevertheless the Hannibalists not only make their escape, but by artifice and singular boldness find means to return to Syracuse, with an army under their command. They are re-elected Prætors, and become absolute masters of the city. Marcellus lays close siege to it, but by the wonderful engines of Archimedes is constrained to turn the siege into a blockade.

C H A P. XXVI.

Sixth year of the War.

540.

The following year, the Romans take some towns from the Carthaginians in Italy. Hanno routs a Præfect of the Allies in Bruttium, and cuts off almost all his army. In Spain the two Scipios make considerable progress. They also engage Syphax, a Numidian King, to commence a war with the Carthaginians in Africa. The latter, in conjunction with Gala (another Numidian King) fall upon Syphax, and defeat him with great slaughter. Marcellus continues the blockade of Syracuse, and with part of his forces reduces several towns, while many others declare for Carthage.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXVII.

Seventh and eighth years of the War.

Hannibal, by means of intelligence with some of the inhabitants of Tarentum, gets possession of the city. The Roman garrison retires into the citadel. Hanno, whom the Carthaginian General had sent to supply Capua with corn, is defeated by the Consul Fulvius. Thurium, and the Metapontines submit to Hannibal's officers. The Consuls proposing to besiege Capua, send for Sempronius Gracchus to assist them. In his way he is betrayed into the hands of the enemy, and slain. Hannibal advances to the defence of Capua, and begins a battle with the Consuls, which an accident puts an end to. The Roman Generals decamp in the night; Hannibal follows one of them, but missing him, attacks another commander, Centenius Pænula, and destroys almost his whole army. After this he falls upon the Prætor Fulvius, cuts off 16,000 of his men, and takes his camp. In the mean time the Consuls, in conjunction with the forces of Claudius Nero, besiege Capua in form.

During these transactions, Marcellus makes himself master of a part of Syracuse, and encamps within the walls. An army of Carthaginians and Sicilians come to the relief of the Syracusians. A plague makes great havoc in both camps. Hippocrates and all the Carthaginian soldiers are carried off by it; and the Sicilians disband themselves. Epicydès deserts Syracuse, and the inhabitants begin a treaty with Marcellus; during the course of which, a Spanish officer, corrupted by the Roman General, betrays Ortygia to him; whereupon the Syracusians immediately surrender to him Achradina, and he gives both up to be plundered. Archimedes is slain.

Syracuse:
taken.

In the Consulship of P. Sulpicius Galba and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, Hannibal marches to the relief of Capua, now greatly distress'd for want of provisions. After some vain efforts to draw the Romans to a battle, or break into the town, he suddenly marched away, and appears before the walls of Rome, in hopes the army before Capua, or part of it, would hasten to the defence of the Capital. The Consuls issue out of the city to oppose him, but keep to the high grounds. Hannibal marches back towards Capua; but finding that none of the besiegers had stirred, he turns upon the Consuls, who were following him, and forces their camp in the night, with great slaughter. Despairing of being able to raise the siege of Capua, he with wonderful rapidity traverses Apulia, Lucania, and Bruttium, in the view of surprizing Rhegium, and is very near succeeding in his design. Capua surrenders to the Romans, and is treated with extreme rigour. In Greece, Lævinus draws the Ætolians, and several other States, into a confederacy against Philip of Macedon.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Ninth year of the War.

543. *T. Lævinus and Marcellus are promoted to the consulship. The latter is accused by the Syracusians of cruelty and injustice, before the Senate, who acquit him. The Campanians in vain complain of the rigorous proceedings of Fulvius Flaccus. Salapia in Apulia is betrayed to Marcellus, who takes two more cities in Samnium. Fulvius Centumalus venturing a battle with Hannibal, is totally defeated. The Consul Lævinus, in the mean time, finishes the reduction of Sicily.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Tenth year of the War.

544. *Twelve Roman Colonies refusing to pay their contingents of men and money, the Republic does not think it advisable to attempt compulsion; and to supply the deficiencies, she has recourse to a treasure long boarded up in the Exchequer, and farms the lands of Campania for the benefit of the public. Marcellus is said to have fought three general battles with Hannibal, in three days time: in the first, the victory inclines to neither side, in the second the Carthaginians are conquerors, and in the third the Romans. Marcellus, nevertheless, is unable to keep the field while Hannibal ravages Italy, and takes prisoners a body of the enemy's troops that were besieging Caulonia. Tarentum is betrayed into the hands of the Consul Fabius, who massacres all the inhabitants of the town.*

CHAP. XXX.

Eleventh year of the War.

545. *The Consul Marcellus is slain in an ambush by the Numidians, and his colleague Crispinus mortally wounded. Hannibal miscarries in his attempt upon Salapia, but forces the enemy to raise the siege of Locri. Lævinus makes a descent on Africa with success, and defeats a Carthaginian fleet off Clypea. The Prætor Sulpicius carries on the war against Philip in Greece.*

CHAP. XXXI.

- Asdrubal brother of Hannibal. *The Romans are alarmed by the approach of Asdrubal (the brother of Hannibal) with an army from Spain. A summary account of the Roman affairs in that country, from the first landing of the Scipios there, to the time of Asdrubal's leaving it.*

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXII.

Twelfth and Thirteenth years of the War.

The Consul Livius Salinator is sent to oppose Asdrubal, while the Consul, Claudius Nero, acts against Hannibal. Nero, understanding, by some intercepted letters, that Asdrubal is marching into Umbria, hastens with a detachment of his troops to join Livius. The Carthaginian, misled by his guides, is forced to hazard a battle at the Metaurus, where his whole army is routed, and he himself slain in the action. Hannibal finding it impossible to preserve all his conquests in Italy, retires into Bruttium with all his forces, where he still appears terrible to the Romans, and gains some advantages over the new Consuls.

545.

Battle of
the Me-
taurus.

C H A P. XXXIII.

In Spain, where Scipio (afterwards Africanus) commands the Roman forces, one of his officers defeats two Carthaginian Generals, and he himself routs a great army of the enemy. He then sails to Africa, to persuade Syphax to break his treaty with Carthage. Falling sick, at his return to Spain, a report of his death encourages part of his army to mutiny, and some of the Spaniards to rebel. Scipio recovers, quiets the sedition, and punishes the rebels. Masinissa, a Numidian King, enters into a treaty with the Pro-Consul. The Carthaginians abandon Spain; and, there being now no open enemies to the Romans in that country, Scipio returns to Rome. He is no sooner gone than several of the Spanish nations take up arms again, but are quelled on the loss of a battle.

SCIPIO.

SYPHAX.

MASI-
NISSA.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Fourteenth year of the War.

Scipio, now Consul, has Sicily assigned him for his province, but is extremely desirous of having a commission immediately to transport an army into Africa. Fabius Maximus strenuously opposes his request. The Conscrip Fathers, after a long debate, give him permission to carry the war into Africa, if he shall think it for the interest of the Republic. He equips a fleet with great expedition, embarks a body of Volunteers, and sets sail for Sicily. In the mean time, Mago, the brother of Hannibal, lands an army in Italy, takes Genoa, and gathers great numbers of the Gauls about him. Two Roman Generals march against him, but no action of moment happens. Nor is any thing of importance done in Bruttium, the plague raging in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. Scipio sends Lælius to make a descent upon Africa, and Pleminius to take possession of Locri, which the inhabitants had promised to betray to the Romans. Pleminius succeeds in his enterprize, but

548.

exercises

exercises unheard-of cruelties upon the Locrians. The Romans, terrified by prodigies, send in great devotion to fetch the Goddess Cybele from Phrygia, who works a miracle as soon as she lands.

C H A P. XXXV.

Fifteenth year of the War.

549. *The Romans conclude a treaty of peace with Philip of Macedon, and his allies. Scipio, now continued in his former command, is accused in the Senate, by his Quæstor Cato, of profuseness and idleness; and, by the Locrians, of partiality to the cruel Pleminius. Commissioners are appointed to enquire into his conduct. These making a favourable report of the condition of his army, the Conscript Fathers pass a decree, that he shall immediately go into Africa.*
- SOPHONISBA. *Syphax is drawn off from the Roman interest, by means of his wife Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal, the Carthaginian General, and enters into an alliance with Carthage. At length Scipio arrives with his army in Africa, where he is joined by Masinissa, who had been twice stripped of his dominions by Syphax. After some exploits of little importance, the Roman General lays siege to Utica, but upon the approach of Asdrubal and Syphax with two great armies, retires to a promontory near his fleet, and there entrenches himself. In Italy the campaign produces no remarkable exploit that is well vouched. The Censors Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero quarrel, and behave themselves extravagantly.*
- MASINISSA.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Sixteenth year of the War.

550. *Scipio, having under pretence of negotiating a treaty of peace, got perfect intelligence of the state and disposition of the Carthaginian and Numidian camps, sets fire to them in the night, and destroys the armies of Asdrubal and Syphax. The King and the Carthaginians again take the field with new forces, and are defeated in a pitched battle. Carthage dispatches messengers into Italy, to order Hannibal and Mago to the defence of their native country. In the mean time Masinissa and Lælius pursue Syphax into the heart of his dominions, vanquish him in battle, and take him prisoner. Cytha, the capital of his kingdom, surrenders to Masinissa, who, captivated by the charms of Sophonisba, promises her protection against the Romans; and, as the best means to perform his promise, marries her immediately. Syphax, being brought in chains to Scipio's camp, insinuates to the General, that Sophonisba's power over her new Husband would soon make him regardless of his engagements with the Republic. The Roman therefore insists upon Masinissa's delivering up his wife, as the captive of the people of Rome; and the Numidian, seeing no way to protect her, sends her*

a cup of poison, which she resolutely drinks off. Carthage, to gain time for Hannibal and Mago to arrive in Africa, proposes a treaty of peace with Scipio, and consents to the articles he dictates. Two Roman Generals, uniting their forces, obtain a victory over Mago in Insubria, who being wounded in the action, dies at sea, in his voyage to Africa. Hannibal, receiving a command from Carthage to return home, leaves Italy with great reluctance; and the Romans order public thanksgivings to the Gods for his departure. The Senate approves the conditions of peace proposed by Scipio. During the truce, the Carthaginians plunder some Roman ships, driven by storms of weather upon their coast; and afterwards offer violence to certain Embassadors whom Scipio had sent to demand satisfaction. In the mean time, Hannibal arrives safely in Africa.

Hannibal leaves Italy.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The seventeenth year of the War.

While Scipio, provoked at the perfidiousness of the Carthaginians, pursues the war with uncommon fury, Hannibal approaches with his army, and encamps near Zama. There having asked and obtained a conference with the Roman General, he proposes terms of peace, which Scipio rejects. Next day a decisive battle is fought, wherein victory declares for the Romans. Carthage makes humble supplications to Scipio for peace, and, by the advice of Hannibal, submits to the conditions proposed, which after several debates, are the next year agreed to by the Senate of Rome. Scipio having, in concert with ten commissioners, settled the affairs of Africa, returns home, has a magnificent triumph, and acquires the surname of Africanus.

551.

Battle of ZAMA.

552.

FIFTH BOOK.

From the End of the SECOND PUNIC WAR in the Year of Rome 552, to the End of the THIRD in 607.

First Macedonian War.

CHAP. I.

ROME, having broke the power of Carthage, begins to think of extending her domination to the East, and with this view seeks matter of quarrel against Philip of Macedon. On pretence that he had attacked her allies in Greece and Asia, and assisted her enemies in Africa, she declares war against him, and appoints the Consul Sulpicius to conduct it. King Philip, in the mean time, crosses the Hellespont, and besieges Abydos. There he

553.

has a conference with some Roman Embassadors, which ends without any prospect of an accommodation. After the reduction of Abydos, he returns to Greece, where the Romans had pillaged Chalcis. He makes a fruitless attempt upon Athens, and vainly endeavours to engage the Achæans in his interest.

In Italy, the Prætor Fulvius defeats an army of Gauls, commanded by Hamilcar, a Carthaginian whom Mago had left in that country. Masinissa and Carthage make presents to Rome; and Vermina, the son of Syphax, is received into the favour of the Republic.

CHAP. II.

554. *The Ætolians decline taking part in the War between Rome and Macedonia. After some skirmishes, Philip is defeated in battle near Oëtolophum, by Sulpicius, who then resigns his command to the Consul Villius. Philip gains a victory over the Ætolians, who had now declared for the Romans.*
555. *The King of Syria, at the request of the Senate of Rome, desists from the war he was carrying on against the King of Pergamus. Philip, after a fruitless conference with Flamininus (the successor of Villius) is driven from his camp by the Romans; who, after this victory, make themselves masters of several towns in Thessaly. The Achæans enter into an alliance with Rome, on a promise of having Corinth re-united to their State.*

556.
FLAMINI-
NUS.

Battle of
Cynoccephalæ.

It is agreed between Philip, Flamininus, and the chiefs of the Roman allies, to refer all differences to the arbitration of the Roman Senate. The Fathers, not satisfied with Philip's Embassadors, give full powers to Flamininus to pursue the war, or make peace, as he shall think proper, and the war is continued. Philip, to secure Argos, which the year before had surrendered to Philocles, one of his Generals, gives it up to Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, upon condition of its being restored to him, in case he should be conqueror in the war. The Tyrant, to maintain himself in possession of the town, immediately enters into a treaty with Flamininus. This General, by a fraud, seizes upon Thebes, where the Boëotian Diet is assembled; upon which they are obliged to enter into an alliance with Rome. Attalus, King of Pergamus, dies. Philip being defeated at Cynoccephalæ, offers to submit to whatever conditions of peace the Roman Senate shall please to impose.

The Republic carries on a war with success in Gaul; but in Spain her army is routed, and the Prætor who commanded it killed in the action.

557. *The Senate grant a peace to Philip, on conditions displeasing to the Ætolians. Liberty to Greece is soon after proclaimed, by order of Flamininus, at the Isthmian Games.*

CHAP. III.

ANTIO-
CHUS the
Great.

Antiochus the Great, King of Syria, enters Thrace with an army, purposing to erect a kingdom there for one of his sons. The Romans take umbrage

umbrage at the proceedings of the Syrian, and send some Embassadors to order him to quit Europe.

The Roman Ladies take infinite pains to get a Repeal of the Oppian Law, which limited the finery of their dress and equipage. Cato strenuously opposes them, yet they carry their point, by the assistance of two Tribunes of the people. 558.
Oppian Law repealed.

Cato embarks for Spain, and conducts the war with success in that country. CATO, the Elder.

Hannibal having disobliged some of the Carthaginian Nobles, by certain new regulations beneficial to the state, is, by those Nobles, accused at Rome, of holding correspondence with Antiochus. The Romans send Embassadors to Carthage, to procure the death of the accused; but he escapes the danger by flying his country, and taking refuge in the Syrian court. Hannibal escapes from Carthage to K. Antiochus.

Preparations are begun at Rome for a war against Antiochus; and, lest Nabis of Lacedæmon should join him, Flaminius has permission to turn the Roman arms against Nabis. All the Greek States, except the Ætolians, agree to assist Flaminius in this war; the chief pretence for which is, to restore freedom to Argos. Flaminius marches to Lacedæmon, and besieges it. Nabis at length submits to the conditions of peace dictated by the Roman General; and, to the dissatisfaction of the Ætolians and Achæans, is suffered to continue master of Lacedæmon. (Argos had recovered its liberty, by an insurrection of its inhabitants.) Flaminius leaves Greece and returns to Rome, where he is honoured with a triumph. Embassadors from the King of Syria arrive at Rome, to ask an alliance with the Republic. Their negotiation does not succeed; the Senate dispatches to Antiochus the same Embassadors who had been with him in Thrace. Hannibal advises him to attack the Romans in Italy, and endeavours to draw the Carthaginians into the war. The latter complain at Rome of the encroachments of Masinissa. The injustice of the Romans with regard to Carthage. 559.
560.

C H A P. IV.

The Ætolians and Nabis raise commotions in Greece. Antiochus, after some fruitless conferences with the Roman Embassadors, calls a council, in order to deliberate about a war with Rome. Hannibal, on account of his familiar intercourse with the Roman Embassadors, being suspected of favouring their cause, is not consulted. He endeavours to clear himself in a speech to the King. The Council determine for war. In Greece, Philopœmen, at the head of the Achæans, makes war with success against the Tyrant Nabis. The Ætolians pass a decree, inviting Antiochus to come into Europe. They seize upon Demetrias, and assassinate Nabis. Antiochus lands in Greece with a small army; and endeavours, without success, to bring over Chalcis and the Achæans to his party. He reduces Eubœa; and the Boeotians submit to him. Hannibal's advice with regard to the method of carrying on the war. Philip of Macedon declares for the Romans. Antiochus marries the daughter of his host, and passes the winter at Chalcis in feasting and diversions. 561.
Philopœmen.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

War with Antiochus the Great.

562. Rome declares war against Antiochus. The Consul Acilius routs the Syrians at Thermopylae, drives their King into Asia, and reduces the Ætolians to great extremities. Flamininus takes the island Zacynthus from the Achæans. Philip recovers many places he had lost in his war with the Romans. The Ætolians obtain leave of the Consul to send deputies to Rome, to treat of peace. Livius, the Roman Admiral, obtains a victory over the Syrian fleet. The Ætolians refuse to submit to the conditions proposed by the Conscrip Fathers. Lucius Scipio the Consul, assisted by his brother Africanus, is appointed to act against Antiochus in Asia.

C H A P. VI.

Antiochus invades Pergamus, but on the news of Scipio's approach, asks a peace of the Roman Admiral. His petition is rejected. Hannibal, with a squadron of ships under his command, is blocked up in a port of Pamphylia by the Rhodians. Antiochus, after a vain attempt to engage Prusias King of Bithynia in his quarrel, orders Polyxenidas, the Syrian Admiral, to attack the Roman fleet. The Syrians are totally defeated; and the King, in a fright, withdraws his garrisons from Lysimachia in Thrace, and from Abydos, which commanded the Hellespont. The Consular army having passed into Asia without opposition, Antiochus immediately sends to Scipio proposals of peace. Not succeeding in this negotiation, he ventures a battle with the enemy, is vanquished, and submits to the conditions imposed by the Consul.

C H A P. VII.

564. The Ætolians raise new troubles in Greece. Eumenes of Pergamus asks of the Conscrip Fathers, all the countries they had taken from Antiochus. The Rhodians oppose his request. It is resolved that the conquered countries shall be divided between him and them. A peace is at length granted to the Ætolians. The Consul Manlius reduces the Gallo-Greeks in Asia. Philopœmen forces the Lacedæmonians to renounce the laws of Lycurgus, and subject themselves to those of Achaia. Ten Commissioners from Rome, in conjunction with the Proconsul Manlius, finish the treaty with Antiochus, and settle affairs in Asia. Manlius, in his return home, is attacked by a body of Thracians, and loses great part of the booty he had taken from the Gallo-Greeks.

C H A P. VIII.

566. Scipio Africanus, and his brother Lucius, are successively accused, before the Roman people, of taking bribes from Antiochus, and embezzling the public

public money. Africanus *refuses to answer, and at length retires to Liternum, where he dies.* Lucius is condemned; and, on his refusing to pay the fine imposed, all his effects are confiscated. A society of debauchees formed at Rome, and calling themselves Bacchanalians, is suppressed and punished.

Scipio retires from Rome in disgust.
567.

C H A P. IX.

The Romans, jealous of the growing power of Philip of Macedon, send *Emissaries into Greece, to take cognizance of his proceedings. They strip him of all the towns he had recovered from the Greeks, in the war with Antiochus, and order him to evacuate Ænus and Maronæa, which Eumenes claimed as appendages of Chersonesus and Lysimachia, granted to him by the Senate.* Philip, to revenge himself on the people of Maronæa, who had complained of his tyranny, contrives to have a body of Thracians admitted into the town, where they exercise all the cruelties of war. The Romans expressing much dissatisfaction with the King's conduct, he resolves to employ his son Demetrius, to sooth the Conscript Fathers, with whom the young prince had acquired much favour when a hostage at Rome. Appius Claudius, the Roman Ambassador, treats the Achæans with great haughtiness, in relation to some complaints made against them by the Lacedæmonians.

568.

569.

C H A P. X.

Cato, after great opposition by the Nobles, is chosen Censor. His conduct in that office.

Cato chosen Censor.

C H A P. XI.

Many complaints are brought to Rome against Philip of Macedon. His son Demetrius pleads for him in the Senate; and, out of regard to the young Prince, the Fathers send an Ambassador into Macedon, to settle affairs with the King in an amicable manner. The Messenians break off from the Achæan association, and take up arms. Philopœmen, in a skirmish with them, is made prisoner, and afterwards put to death. Flamininus, the Roman Ambassador to Prusias of Bithynia, demands of the King to give up Hannibal, who had taken refuge in his court. The Carthaginian, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, puts an end to his own life, by poison.

570.

Hannibal kills himself.

C H A P. XII.

The Achæan Ambassadors having demanded of the Roman Senate assistance against the Messenians, receive a rough answer; but are civilly treated, on the news that Lycortas, the successor of Philopœmen, has reduced the Messenians to surrender at discretion. While Philip of Macedon is busy in forming projects for strengthening his kingdom; there breaks out, between his two sons Perles and Demetrius, a quarrel, which at length proves fatal to the latter.

571.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIII.

Transactions of the Romans, from the year 572 to 578.

C H A P. XIV.

PERSES
K. of Ma-
cedon.

- After the death of Philip, his son Perles succeeds him in the throne. He renews the treaty with Rome, is recognized King by the Roman Senate, and applies himself to gain the good will of the Greeks. The Bastarnæ, a nation on the Danube, who had been invited into Macedon by Philip, enter Dardania. The Romans, on this occasion, discover their jealousy of Perles. He makes a journey into Greece, and endeavours to renew the ancient friendship between the Macedonians and Achæans.*
578.
579.

C H A P. XV.

580.
581.
EUMENE-
NES K. of
Perga-
mus.

- The Consul Popilius vanquishes the Statelliates, a people of Liguria, and treats them with great cruelty. Eumenes, King of Pergamus, accuses Perles, in the Senate of Rome, of designs against the Republic. Assassins, hired by Perles, attempt to murder the Pergamenian in his return home. Perles is accused of plotting to take off by poison certain Roman Generals and Embassadors. The Carthaginians make new complaints at Rome of Masinissa's usurpations. Some Roman Embassadors report to the Senate the ill reception they had met with at the court of Macedon.*

C H A P. XVI.

Second Macedonian War.

- Rome declares war against Perles. The dispositions of the Greek and Asiatick States at this time. At the election of Centurions for the army designed against Macedon, twenty-three of them refuse to serve, and appeal to the Tribunes of the people; but afterwards one of the appellants drops his appeal, and persuades the rest to follow his example. Embassadors from Perles sue in vain to the Conscrip Fathers for peace. The Macedonian asks a conference with Marcius the Roman Embassador in Greece, who artfully grants the King a truce, in order to gain time till the Consul should arrive with his army. It is agreed, that Perles should send Embassadors to Rome, to negotiate a peace. Marcius contrives to dissolve the Boeotian league. The Rhodians declare for the Romans. The Senate will hearken to no overtures from Perles's Embassadors.*
- 582.

C H A P. XVII.

Perles draws together his forces, enters Theffaly, takes some towns, and secures the pass of Tempe; while the Consul Licinius advances thro' Atha-
mania

mania to oppose him. The King having gained a victory over the Roman cavalry and auxiliaries, Licinius, through fear, decamps in the night, and posts himself behind the river Peneus; yet he refuses a peace to the Macedonian, on any terms but his surrendering himself and his kingdom at discretion. M. Lucretius robs Gentius (an Illyrian king) of his fleet. The Roman Admiral makes himself master of Haliartus in Bœotia. Cassius the Consul, attempting to make his way from Gaul into Macedon, is recalled by the Senate. During the winter, Perſes defeats the Thracians. Epirus, or great part of it, revolts to him. The new Consul Hostilius makes two unsuccessful attempts to penetrate into Macedon. Appius Claudius is twice defeated in Illyricum. The people of Alabanda deify the city of Rome.

583.

ROME
made a
Goddess.

C H A P. XVIII.

Q. Marcius, the Roman Consul, having penetrated into Macedon, Perſes in a fright abandons Dium, withdraws his garrisons from Tempe, and his guards from the passes into Macedon, orders his treasures at Pella to be thrown into the sea, and his naval stores at Theſſalonica to be burnt. The Roman General, for want of provisions, leaves his new conquest, but possesses himself of the fortresses of Tempe. Hereupon Perſes returns to Dium, repairs its fortifications, and strongly entrenches himself on the banks of the Enipeus. Polybius, at the desire of Marcius, binds the Achæans from sending a supply of soldiers to Appius Claudius in Illyricum.

584.

POLYB.

C H A P. XIX.

L. Æmilius Paullus is chosen Consul at Rome, and has the conduct of the war in Macedon assigned to him. Eumenes being dissatisfied with the Romans, Perſes endeavours to draw him from their alliance. The Pergamenian proposes, for a certain sum of money, to stand neuter; and, for a greater sum, to procure the Macedonian a peace. But, the two Kings suspecting each other of dishonesty, the negotiation breaks off. Perſes engages King Gentius of Illyricum to begin a war with Rome, and then defrauds him of a sum of money he had promised him. The Macedonian refusing to fulfil his engagements with the Bastarnæ, whom he had invited to his aid, they return into their own country.

585.

C H A P. XX.

In thirty days time, the Prætor Anicius finishes the war in Illyricum, Gentius surrenders himself and his dominions at discretion. Æmilius Paulus forces Perſes to abandon the Enipeus, and soon after defeats him in battle at Pydna. The King, deserted by his subjects, takes refuge in the Isle of Samothrace; and the whole kingdom of Macedon submits to the conqueror. Perſes, after an attempt to escape from Samothrace, surrenders himself to the Prætor Octavius, who sends him prisoner to the Consul.

ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
LUS.

Battle of
PYDNA.

C H A P. XXI.

Antiochus
Epiphan.

586.

Certain Embassadors, whom the Rhodians, in the view of mediating a peace between Perles and the Romans, had sent to Rome, are admitted to audience after the news of the victory at P. Ina, and roughly treated by the Senate. Antiochus Epiphanes, at the command of the Senate, intimated to him by their Embassador Popilius, retires from Egypt, when just upon the point of finishing the conquest of it. The Kings of Syria, Egypt, and Numidia, congratulate the Romans on their victory over Perles. Anicius reduces Epirus, and, in conjunction with five Commissioners from Rome, settles the government of Illyricum. The Proconsul Æmilius, assisted by ten Commissioners, divides the kingdom of Macedon into four cantons, independent of each other, and makes them tributary to Rome. Five hundred and fifty Ætolians being inhumanly massacred by some of their countrymen, the murderers are acquitted by Æmilius and his colleagues. Many of the Ætolians, Acarnanians, Epirots, and Bœotians, and above a thousand of the principal men of Achaia, being suspected of disaffection to the Romans, are summoned to take their trial at Rome. Æmilius dispatches his son Fabius, and Scipio Nasica, to ravage the country of the Illyrians; and in one day, by treachery, plunders seventy towns of the Epirots, and reduces 150,000 of the inhabitants to slavery. At his return to Rome, his own soldiers oppose his having a triumph; which, however, is at length granted him. Perles is sent prisoner to Alba (in the country of the Marfi) where he dies. The Senate of Rome restore to Cotys, King of the Odrysians in Thrace, his son, who had been a hostage in Macedon, and taken prisoner by Æmilius.

C H A P. XXII.

Attalus, Embassador at Rome from his brother Eumenes, is incited by some of the Fathers to ask of the Senate a part of his brother's kingdom, but is diverted from this project by one of his attendants, and thereby incurs the anger of the Senate. Though the Rhodians had condemned to death all of their countrymen who had been convicted of having done or said any thing in favour of Perles, yet the Senate of Rome refuse to give audience to their Embassadors; and the Prætor makes a motion to the people to have war declared against Rhodes. Peace, however, is granted her; but the Senate take from her Lycia and Caria, Caunus and Stratonicea. Some years after, she is admitted into an alliance with the Romans, a favour which, till the overthrow of the kingdom of Macedon, she had neither asked nor coveted. Prusias servilely flatters the Senate, who are the more gracious to him on that account. The Fathers, to avoid receiving the compliments of Eumenes, who is on his way to pay them in person, pass a decree forbidding all Kings to come to Rome.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Consuls obtain some advantage in the war against the Gauls and Ligurians. On complaints from Prusias and the Galatians against Eumenes, a Roman Ambassador is sent to Pergamus, wh. invites all the King's subjects to bring what accusations they please against their sovereign. Antiochus Eupator, a child of nine years old, succeeds his father Epiphanes in the throne of Syria. Demetrius (the son of Seleucus, the late King's elder brother) now a hostage at Rome, asks leave of the Senate to return home, and take possession of the kingdom of Syria. His request is refused. The Fathers send Cn. Octavius to assume the administration of the government there; and order him to burn the Syrian ships and disable the elephants. While he is executing his commission, he is assassinated at Laodicea. Demetrius, after being a second time refused leave to return home, makes his escape from Rome, arrives in Syria, and, being declared King, puts to death Eupator, and his tutor Lysias. A treaty is concluded between the Romans and the Jews, in the time of Judas Maccabæus. Demetrius having expelled Ariarathes from his kingdom of Cappadocia, and set up, in his room, Holophernes, a supposititious son of the late King of that country, Ariarathes flies to Rome for protection. The Conscrip Fathers divide Cappadocia between him and his competitor.

C H A P. XXIV.

Cato, on his return from an embassy into Africa, whither he had been sent to terminate some disputes between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, reports to the Senate, that Carthage is in a very flourishing condition, and exhorts them to destroy it. Scipio Nasica opposes him. The Consul Marcius Figulus begins a war with the Dalmatians, which is finished to the advantage of the Romans by his successor Scipio Nasica. Three eminent Orators being sent by the Athenians on an embassy to Rome, and the Roman youth flocking to hear their discourses, Cato prevails with the Senate to give the Embassadors a speedy answer, and dismiss them. Prusias having, on the death of Eumenes, invaded Pergamus, the Senate of Rome obliged him to make good the damage he had done, and to pay a fine.

The Roman armies pass the Alps for the first time, and subdue the Oxybii and the Deciatae. The long quarrels between the two Ptolemies of Egypt are terminated by the victories and the clemency of the elder. On occasion of some commotions in Spain, the Consuls at Rome enter upon their office on the first of January. Alexander Balas, an impostor, pretending to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, sets himself up against Demetrius King of Syria, and is countenanced by the Romans. Demetrius is slain in battle, and the impostor is recognized king.

C H A P. XXV.

602. *The Carthaginians are reduced very low by the arms of Mafiniffa ; Utica withdraws herself from their obedience ; and Rome lays hold of the opportunity*
 603. *of their distresses to declare war against them.*

C H A P. XXVI.

Third Punic War.

First and Second Years of the War.

604. *The Carthaginians, by their Embassadors, surrender themselves to the Roman Senate at discretion, and are promised to be continued in possession of their liberty, laws, territories and effects ; on condition of their giving 300 hostages, and obeying the orders of the Consuls, then in Sicily in their way to Africa. These Consuls having, in Sicily, received the hostages, pass into Africa. They require of the Carthaginians to deliver up all their arms ; and when this demand is complied with, signify to them, that they must abandon the city of Carthage, which Rome is determined to demolish. Upon notice of this cruel injunction, the inhabitants shut their gates, and resolve to sustain a siege. By indefatigable diligence they furnish themselves with new arms ; and, when attacked, repulse the Romans.*
605. *Mafiniffa dying, leaves his kingdom to be divided among his sons at the pleasure of Scipio Æmilianus.*
The Romans make no progress in the siege of Carthage.
One Andriscus appears in Macedon, calls himself the son of Perfes, takes the name of Philip, and is acknowledged King by the Macedonians. He defeats the Roman Prætor Juventius Thalna, but is himself defeated by Metellus, and forced to fly into Thrace, where one of the petty Kings delivers him up to the enemy. A second Impostor, pretending also to be a son of Perfes, is driven by Metellus into Dardania.
- Philip the Impostor.

C H A P. XXVII.

Third and Fourth Years of the War.

606. *Scipio Æmilianus is sent Consul into Africa. He restores discipline among the soldiers. The greater part of Africa submits to him, and Carthage is straitned for want of provisions. Asdrubal, who commands in the town, proposes conditions of peace, which are rejected. Carthage is taken, the people sold for slaves, and the town demolished. Scipio, in conjunction with ten Commissioners from Rome, orders all the towns which had taken part with the enemy to be razed, and reduces the dominions of the African Republic into the form of a Prætorian province.*
- SCIPIO ÆMI-
BIANUS.
607.
CAR-
THAGE
taken and
destroyed.

SIXTH BOOK.

From the end of the THIRD PUNIC WAR, in the year of *Rome* 607, when *Carthage* was destroyed, and the ROMAN POWER became irresistible, to the death of the younger GRACCHUS, in 632, the true date of the destruction of ROMAN LIBERTY.

CHAP. I.

THE imprudent behaviour of the Achæans draws upon them a war with Rome. They are defeated in battle by Metellus, and afterwards by Mummius, who demolishes Corinth, Chalcis, and Thebes. Greece is reduced into the form of a Roman province.

CHAP. II.

A summary account of the actions of the Romans in Spain, from the year 558 to the year 600. The Roman Senate forbid the Segedensis, a people of Celtiberia, to enlarge their town, and, they not obeying, a Consular army under Fulvius Nobilior is sent against them; whereupon they take refuge among the Arvaci, another people of Celtiberia, whose capital was Numantia. The two nations jointly carry on the war with advantage. The Consul Marcellus [in 601.] permits the Arvaci to send deputies to Rome to ask a peace; and, though their petition is rejected by the Senate, yet he concludes a treaty with them. His successor Lucullus, without any provocation, invades the country of the Vaccæi, and there behaves himself cruelly and perfidiously. In FURTHER SPAIN the Lusitanians [in 602.] rout the forces of the Roman Prætor Galba. He afterwards treacherously massacres many thousands of them, who had submitted to him on conditions. Vetilius, the successor of Galba, [in 604.] having gained some advantage over the Lusitanians, and forced them into a place whence they could not easily retreat, Viriatus, then a private soldier, saves them by a stratagem, and is declared their General. He soon after defeats Vetilius, who is taken prisoner and slain. Viriatus is victorious over the Roman Generals, in every action, for three years successively.

VIRIAT-
TUS.

CHAP. III.

The Consul Fabius (Brother to Scipio Æmilianus) being sent into Further Spain, leaves his Quæstor to discipline the army, and makes a journey of devotion to Gades. In the mean time, Viriatus vanquishes the Romans in battle.

608.

A regulation is made at Rome, that the six Prætors shall continue in the city during the year of their office; two of them to take cognizance of civil causes, as formerly; and the other four, to try criminal causes: and that after the expiration of their year they shall repair to their respective provinces abroad.

609.

Fabius obtains a victory over Viriatus; who afterwards defeats Quinctius the successor of Fabius.

610.

The Consul Appius Claudius contrives to kindle a war with the Salassi, and gains a victory; but having lost a battle before, the Senate refuse him a triumph. He nevertheless triumphs, and during the procession his daughter, a Vestal, protects him from being insulted by a Tribune.

His

- His colleague Metellus renews the war in Celtiberia. Next year, by a remarkable act of humanity, he engages several towns to join it to the Romans. The Consul Servilianus loses a battle against Viriatus in Further Spain. A third Macedonian impetor prevails with the people of that country to take arms in his cause. Tremellius a Roman Quæstor by one victory finishes the war.

CHAP. IV.

612. The Consul Pompeius in Hither Spain, successively besieges Numantia and Numantia Termantia, but quits both enterprizes with loss and discomfiture. In the Further Province, Servilianus, now Proconsul, concludes a treaty of peace with Viriatus, which is confirmed at Rome. Servilius Scæpio, one of the Consuls of the next year, obtains leave of the Senate to break this peace, and afterwards hires assassins to murder Viriatus. They dispatch him in his sleep. The Lusitanians chase another general, but he is soon obliged to yield up himself and his army to the Consul.

CHAP. V.

- Pompeius having again laid siege to Numantia with no better success than before, concludes a peace with the Numantines, but afterwards denies the fact. The matter being brought before the Senate of Rome, they resolve to continue the war. 614. Gabinius, a Tribune of the people, gets a law passed for balloting in the election of magistrates; a method of voting, that was afterwards introduced in civil and criminal causes, and in making and repealing laws. 615. The Romans, under the Pro-consul Popilius, are routed by the Numantines. 616. These, the next year, gain a signal victory over the Consul Mancinus, who, to save the remains of his army, enters into a treaty with the enemy. The Conscrip Fathers refuse to adhere to the treaty, and order Mancinus to be delivered up to the Numantines, by way of satisfaction. Brutus, who had come into Further Spain in 615, reduces several nations of the Lusitanians, and afterwards the Gallæci. He joins his forces to those of Æmilius, the successor of Mancinus. Both armies are defeated by the Palantines. 618. The Consuls Furius and Calpurnius, who are successively sent against the Numantines, perform nothing memorable. Fulvius subdues the Ardæans, a maritime people of Illyricum.

CHAP. VI.

619. Scipio Æmilianus (a second time Consul) commands the army in Spain, and brings it under good discipline. The next year he invests Numantia. The 620. besieged, reduced to the utmost extremities by famine, set fire to their town, and destroy their wives, their children, and themselves.

CHAP. VII.

- The Agrarian law of Licinius Stolo, forbidding any Roman to possess more than five hundred acres of the public lands, being fallen into neglect, to the great detriment of the Commonwealth, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a Tribune of the Commons, undertakes to cure the evil by a new law. His design, tho' approved by some of the most virtuous men in Rome, is much disliked by the generality of the great and the rich, who prevail upon M. Octavius, one of the

the Tribunes, to oppose the proceeding of his colleague. The people, at the instigation of Tiberius, depose Octavius from his office, and then pass the new law. Triumvirs are appointed to make the distribution of the lands in question. The Romans, in consequence of the last will of Attalus Philometor, King of Pergamus, having laid claim to his dominions, Tiberius proposes, that the King's treasures be divided amongst the poorer citizens of Rome, and declares, that his towns and territories shall be disposed of by the Comitia. In a speech to the people, he vindicates his proceedings against Octavius. He stands candidate for a second Tribuneship. On the day of election Scipio Nasica and the Senate, in a body, followed by a multitude of clients and slaves, armed with clubs, fall furiously upon the Tribune and his adherents. He is slain in the tumult, together with above three hundred of his followers. Their dead bodies are thrown into the Tiber; many of the friends of Tiberius are banished, and many put to death without a trial. The Senate, to pacify the people, permit Caius Gracchus's father-in-law to be chosen one of the triumvirs for dividing the lands, in the room of Tiberius. To screen Nasica from a trial before the people, they send him into Asia, where he dies. Some reflections on the conduct of Tiberius Gracchus.

C H A P. VIII.

The slaves in Sicily, having broke out into rebellion, vanquish several Roman Prætors, but are routed by the Consul Calpurnius Piso, whose successor, Rupilius, finishes the war with the destruction of the rebels. P. Licinius Crassus Consul and Pontifex Maximus is sent into Asia, against Aristonicus (a bastard brother of Attalus the late King) who had taken possession of the throne of Pergamus. Two plebeians are chosen Censors for the first time. Crassus is defeated, falls alive into the hands of the enemy, and is killed by a Thracian soldier. Next year, the Consul Perperna vanquishes Aristonicus, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome. Atinius Labeo, a Tribune of the people, makes an outrageous attempt upon the person of the Censor, Metellus Macedonicus. The same Atinius procures a law ordaining, that the Tribunes of the people shall be Senators. M. Aquilius, by the basest methods, finishes the conquest of Pergamus, after which, in conjunction with ten commissioners, he reduces it into the form of a province.

Servile
War in
Sicily.
621.
622.

623.

624.

C H A P. IX.

The Roman Senate, at the motion of Scipio Æmilianus, takes from the Triumvirs the right of judging in causes, relating to the resumption of the public lands, and transfers it to the Consul Sempronius; who soon after leaves the city on pretence of a rebellion in Iapidia a canton of Illyricum. Scipio dies suddenly, which occasions surmises about the cause of his death. The Consul is vanquished in battle by the Iapidians, but afterwards obtains a victory over them, for which he triumphs. Nothing very remarkable happens at Rome in the two succeeding years.

Scipio Æ-
mil. dies.

625.

626.

627..

In 627 Caius Gracchus goes Quæstor into Sardinia with the Consul Aurelius, who is sent thither to quell a revolt. Caius persuades the allied cities in that island to furnish clothes for the Roman army, though the Senate, at their request,
bad.

628. *had freed them from that burden. Fulvius Flaccus, a friend of Caius, being raised to the Consulship, proposes a law for granting the rights of Roman citizenship to the Italian allies, but drops his enterprize to undertake an expedition against the Saluvii, a nation of Transalpine Gaul, who had made incursions into the territory of Marseilles. The Prætor L. Opimius raises the town of Fragellæ, to punish the inhabitants for a plot they had formed to shake off the Roman yoke.*
629. *Caius Gracchus returns to Rome from Sardinia, is accused before the Censors*
630. *of a misdemeanor, in leaving his General, and is acquitted. Being chosen Tribune, he, to the great mortification of the nobility, obtains several laws advantageous to the Commons. In the mean time the Consul Metellus subdues the inhabitants of the Balleares. Sextius Calvinus, one of the Consuls for the last year, having reduced the Saluvii, builds Aquæ Sextiæ (now Aix in Provence) and there establishes a Roman colony.*
- CAIUS
GRAC-
CHUS.

C H A P. X.

631. *Caius Gracchus is chosen Tribune a second time, and by his credit with the people, obtains the Consulship for C. Fannius Strabo, in opposition to L. Opimius. The Tribune transfers the right of judicature, from the Senators to the Roman knights; ordains that the Senate shall, before every election of chief magistrates, determine what provinces shall be Consular and what Prætorian; plants new colonies; and gives the freedom of Rome to the Italian allies. Drusus, one of his Colleagues, being gained over to the party of the Senate, endeavours by unworthy methods to make them gracious among the people, and to supplant Caius in their esteem. The latter goes into Africa, at the head of a colony, in order to rebuild Carthage. On his return to Rome he proposes several new laws. Many of the Italians flocking to the city to give their votes, the Consul Fannius publishes an edict, forbidding any of the allies to appear within five miles of Rome, till the Comitia shall have determined concerning the laws in question. Caius stands candidate for the Tribuneship a third time, and loses his election. L. Opimius being raised to the Consulship, purposes to get several of Caius's laws repealed. Antyllus, one of the Consul's Lictors, is*
632. *slain, by some of the followers of Fulvius Flaccus, one of the Triumvirs, a warm opposer of the measures of Opimius. The Senate, as if the commonwealth were in the utmost danger, vest Opimius with a dictatorial power. He commands the Senators and Knights to take arms. Next morning Fulvius and his party possess themselves of the Aventine hill. Caius persuades them to send to the Consul, and propose an accommodation. Opimius disdains to treat, and advancing with his troops, disperses the followers of Caius and Fulvius. These two Romans, with many others, are slain, and their dead bodies thrown into the Tiber. Opimius builds a temple to Concord: the people raise statues to the Gracchi, and worship before them. The Agrarian law is repealed; and the rich get possession of the public lands.*

A
D I S S E R T A T I O N
O N T H E
C R E D I B I L I T Y of the H I S T O R Y of the
first 500 Y E A R S of R O M E.

THE famous *Turenne*, (as we learn from the history of his life) when he was about 12 years old, sent a challenge to an officer, who had affronted him, by saying, that *Quintus Curtius's* history of *Alexander the Great* was a mere romance. I do not wish, that our young gentlemen, who have begun to delight themselves in the Roman History, should carry their resentments so far against M. de *Beaufort*, author of a work, intitled, *Dissertation sur l'Incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l'Histoire Romaine*^a: yet I think they may reasonably look upon him as an enemy, who seeks to deprive them of a considerable part of their pleasures; and that they ought to be upon their guard against him. And, for my own part, I cannot readily consent to have my grave remarks upon certain passages of the history reduced to the importance of those, by which some industrious chronologer should fix the precise year when *Noah's* grand-daughter *Cesara* fled into *Ireland* to escape the deluge. For the sake therefore of us Romanists, I once purposed to have gone through the whole of M. de B.'s Dissertation, and to have attempted to shew the insufficiency of his citations and his reasonings for discrediting the Roman History of the first 500 years, as to the *main* and *fundamentals* of it: For much of the *embroidery* and *flourishing* may be given up without parting with the *ground-work*^b. But the execution of that design would stretch this Discourse to too great a length;

Ramsay's
life of the
Viscount de
Tourenne.

Topog.
Hibern. p.
135, 136.
apud M. de
Poullis.

^a A Dissertation on the uncertainty of the history of the first five ages of *Rome*.

^b That the *Romans* had, with the neighbouring states, the successive wars which *Livy* has recorded; that these wars followed one another in the order given them by *Livy*, and had the *final* events which he has mentioned, may surely be admitted by a reader, not over credulous, and who at the same time will, in his own mind, naturally abate somewhat of the complete victories and numerous triumphs, with which *Livy* has adorned his history, in compliance with the *vanity* of his countrymen. For, that the *Roman* vanity has now and then prevailed to the misre-

presentation of facts, is too manifest, from several passages in the Latin Historian; some regarding the earlier, some the later ages of *Rome*. The fortunate effect of the unsuccessful enterprize of *Mucius* against *Porfenna's* life, and the marvellous exploit of *Camillus* against the *Gauls*, when, at the foot of the Capitol, they were selling a peace to the *Romans*, are remarkable instances of the power of this vanity. And that it had its influence in *Livy's* relations of the war of *Hannibal*, and the *Spanish* war, is shewn in Book IV. Chap. XVI. and other parts of this Volume.

and I conceive, that to those who have perused M. L' Abbé Sallier's^a Defence of the history against the attacks of M. de Pouilli, any further defence is unnecessary. However, as the discourses of that able champion of our cause have, I think, neither been printed apart from the other pieces in the *Memoires de Litterature*, nor translated into *English*, and therefore may not have fallen into the hands of many persons, who may have met with M. de B.'s Dissertation, which is translated, I shall just mention some particulars, in which I apprehend the chief strength of M. L' Abbé Sallier's arguments to be couched; and then make some brief remarks on M. de B.'s principal positions in his attempt to refute those arguments.

M. L'Abbé
Sallier 18
and 30 Dico.

1. It is beyond all belief, that Varro^c, the most learned Roman of the most learned age of Rome, should employ his studies and his labours upon the antiquities of his country, in order to dispel the obscurity cast upon the history of the earliest ages, unless there were means of attaining to certainty, or a high degree of probability, with regard to many things that passed in those ages.

2. It is no less incredible, that Cicero should ^c design, and Livy undertake

See Me-
moires de
Litterature,
&c. Tom. 3.
edit. Am-
sterd.

Pref. p. vii.

^a It was the controversy [in 1722, 23, 24, 25] between these two very learned and very eloquent gentlemen, members of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, which gave occasion to M. de Beaufort's Dissertation sur l'Incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l'histoire Romaine. Not content with the efforts made by M. de Pouilli, who, he thinks, has treated a little too superficially a matter which deserved to be examined to the bottom, he, without neglecting M. de Pouilli's arguments, endeavours to supply his deficiencies, and to prove, even to Demonstration, the Uncertainty, &c. [Je crois avoir démontré, d'une manière très claire, l'incertitude qui regne sur le sens lequel a précédé la prise de Rome par les Gaulois, et la destruction de ses murumens, qui en fut une suite naturelle. Il est vrai, que cela ne prouve rien à l'égard du siècle juivars, sur lequel j'ai cru pouvoir prendre cette incertitude, à cause de la confusion, qui regne encore par rapport à divers evenemens.] In 1738 Mr. de Beaufort gave the first edition of his Dissertation; an English translation of which was published in 1740. His second edition of it, revised, corrected, and considerably augmented, bears date 1750. 'Tis to the pages of the latter the references are made.

N. B. M. de Beaufort gives up one argument, in which M. de Pouilli expatiates, drawn from the work called, *The Parallel of*

Plutarch, a work of which M. l'Abbé Sallier has totally destroyed the credit.

^b Of Varro, Cicero thus writes.

Nos in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tanquam hospites, tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui, et ubi effemus agnoscere; tu civitatem patriæ, tu descriptiones temporum, sedem locorum, tu sacrorum jura, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti. Acad. 1. c. 3.

^c Cicero, says Dr. Middleton, was meditating a general history of Rome, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the only man capable of adding that glory to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the Romans. But he never found leisure to execute so great a task; yet has sketched out a plan of it, which, short as it is, seems to be the best that can be formed for the design of a perfect history.

He declares it to be the first and fundamental law of history, that it should neither dare to say any thing that was false, nor fear to say any thing that was true, nor give any just suspicion either of favour or disaffection: that in the relation of things, the writer should observe the order of time, and add also the description of places: that in all great and memorable transactions, he should first explain

take a history of the earliest ages of Rome, if they had no authentic records, no solid materials for their ground work; and this in an age, of which Cicero says^b, that it was too knowing, too much enlightened to be imposed upon by fictions and persuaded to believe absurdities.

3. Cicero in six books which he wrote concerning the *commonwealth*, gave a particular and circumstantial account of the customs and maxims of ancient Rome, à primo urbis ortu, its domestic and military discipline.

4. We have the express testimony of Cicero for the existence, in his time, of the PONTIFICAL ANNALS^d, which were begun almost as early as the birth of the state, and continued to the time of P. Mucius, the High Priest, who lived in the 7th century of Rome. Varro, in his books concerning the Latin tongue, gives us many fragments of these annals.

5. Since it was the custom in the latter times of the republic to record the acts of the senate and of the magistrates; it is probable that the same custom was observed in the former. And it seems unquestionable from a

L. 12. Ep.
25. ad Cor-
nif. L. 11.
Ep. 25. ad
Brut.

plain the councils, then the acts, lastly the events: that in the councils he should interpose his own judgment on the merit of them: in the acts, should relate not only what was done, but how it was done: in the events, should shew, what share chance, or rashness, or prudence, had in them: that in regard to persons, he should describe, not only their particular actions, but the lives and characters of all those who bear an eminent part in the story: that he should illustrate the whole in a clear, easy, natural stile; flowing with a perpetual smoothness and equability; free from the affectation of points and sentences, or the roughness of judicial pleadings. *De Orator.* 2. 15. *Middleton's Life of Cicero*, Vol. 2. p. 528.

^a Res immensi operis, ut quæ supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, &c. Liv. Pref.

^b Ut jam doctis hominibus, ac temporibus ipsis eruditis fingendum vix quicquam esset loci. Antiquitas enim recipit fabulas, fidas etiam nonnunquam incondite: hæc ætas autem jam exulta præsertim et eradita omne quod fieri non potest respuit. Frag. Lib. 3. de Repub.

^c Nec enim hic locus est ut de moribus, institutisque majorum, et disciplina ac temperatione civitatis loquamur: aliis hæc locis accuratè satis dicta sunt, maximèque in his sex libris quos de republica scripsimus. Lib. 4. Tusc. c. 1.

^d Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annuum consuetudo. Cujus rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causa, ab initio rerum Romanarum

usque ad Publium Mucium Pontificem Maximum res omnes singulorum annorum litteris mandabat P. Maximus, referebatque in album, et proponebat tabulam domi ut esset potestas populo cognoscendi, ii que etiam nunc annales maximi nominantur. Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum hominum locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Græcos, Phercydes, Hællanicus, Acusilaus fuit, alique permulti; talis noster Cato, et Pictor, et Piso, qui neque tenent, quibus rebus ornatur oratio (modo enim huc ista sunt importata) et dum intelligatur, quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse, breviter.

Abest enim historia litteris nostris, ut et ipse intelligo, et ex te persæpe audio. Potes autem tu profecto satisfacere in ea, quippe cum sit opus, ut tibi quidem videri solet, unum hoc oratorium maximè. Quamobrem aggredere, quæsumus, et sume ad hanc rem tempus, quæ est a nostris hominibus adhuc aut ignorata, aut relicta. Nam post annales pontificum maximorum, quibus nihil potest esse * jucundius: sit aut ad Fabiam, aut ad eum, qui tibi semper in ore est, Catonem, aut ad Pisonem, aut ad Fannium, aut ad Vennonium venias: quamquam ex his alius alio plus habet virium, tamen quid tam exile, quam isti omnes.

Unde autem facilius quam ex annalium monumentis aut res bellica, aut omnes republicæ disciplina cognoscitur? Unde ad agendum aut dicendum copia depromi major gravissimorum exemplorum, quasi incorruptorum testimoniorum potest? Frag. Cic. in Hortens.

De leg.
Lib. 1. c. 2.

* Doubtless
jejunius.
See Taylor's
Elements of
Civ. Law.
p. 79.

* Lib. 2. de Orat. 12.

yet there remained good memorials and original pieces sufficient for composing a credible history ^a of the earliest ages of Rome.

14. Tradition alone was sufficient whereon to found a reasonable and full belief of many facts in the Roman story; such, for example, as *the shameful defeat* of the Romans near the *Caudine Forks*; and the seditions and *secessions* of the *Plebeians* on occasion of the cruelties exercised by the rich towards the poor. [This is a concession made by M. de Pouilli.]

15. The fables which are found interspersed in the writings of the Roman historians ought not to ruin the credit of the history of the first ages of Rome, as to the essentials of it; though the historians should seem to have adopted those fables or facts. *Livy*^b warns us not to be over credulous with regard to several old stories of the *marvellous* kind, and *Cicero* ridicules them.

L. 2. de
Divin. &
L. 1. de leg.

16. And *Atticus*^c had successfully laboured to rectify the mistakes in some family-memoirs, concerning the succession of the magistrates, and the origins of families, mistakes, occasioned by ignorance or vanity; and he could have had no success in such an attempt, had he been destitute of all sure guides to the truth.

If any reader desires to see these, and several other particulars, relating to the same subject, learnedly and ingeniously discussed, I shall refer him to the discourses at large of M. L' *Abbé Sallier* in the *Memoires de Litterature*.

BEFORE I take notice of M. de *Beaufort's* positions, I must frankly confess that I am not well qualified to dispute against his opinion, concerning the Roman History; because I cannot, by his Dissertation, discover with *certainly* what his opinion is.

I know not whether, in his judgment, we may reasonably *reject the* WHOLE^d history of the first 500 years of Rome as groundless and fabulous.

Or

^a *Quæ ab conditâ urbe ad captam eandem urbem Romani sub regibus primùm, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus, decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui. L. 6. c. 1.*

^b — *Omnis expers curæ, quæ scribentis animum, etsi non flectere à vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit. Quæ ante conditam, condendamve urbem, poeticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est. Liv. in Præf.*

Speaking of the *Curtian Lake*, and how it came to be so called. *Cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret; nunc fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem. Liv. Lib. 7. c. 6.*

^c *Laborem nobis Attici nostri levavit labor; sic familiarum originem subtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere. Cic. in Orat. et Corn. Nep. in Attic.*

^d Attendu le peu de soin qu'on a eu de transmettre à la posterité la mémoire des evenemens, dans le tems, qu'ils arrivoient, nous sommes fondés, en voiant une histoire suivie de quatre siècles, de rejeter LE TOUT, ou du moins la plus grande partie comme forgée à plaisir.

Ce n'est pas que je veuille *revoquer en doute* généralement tous les evenemens de ce siècle [le cinquième,] pour quelques traits fabuleux dont ils se trouvent accompagnés, ou parce qu'il y en a plusieurs qui sont manifestement faux. Mon intention est seulement de faire voir, que *divers faits* des plus marqués, et des plus importans, se trouvant faux, et le fruit de la vaine gloire des Romains, les autres doivent nous être suspects. J'en tire encore de nouveaux motifs de douter de l'*Histoire des siècles précédens*, laquelle, à plus forte raison, doit paroître fabuleuse et forgée après coup. P. 359.

Ces.

Or should reject only *almost all*.

Or may stop when we have rejected *the greater part*.

Or, rejecting some passages of the history as utterly false, should *call in question, doubt of, suspect all the rest*: [le revoquer en question, en douter, le tenir pour suspect.]

This last, from a great number of passages^a in his Dissertation, one would imagine to be his real opinion. And yet now and then he seems to slide into *belief*, and even into *certainty*, without being aware of it. He has great faith in what *Polybius* relates of the *Romans* in the early times of the Republic; and admits, as indubitable, several facts, for which the other historians are his only vouchers. Thus, for example,

Dissert. p.
209.

"It is *certain*^b that *Servius* [*Tullius*] augmented the number of the Tribes."

P. 329.

"*Certain* it is, that from this time *Porfenna* did not treat the *Romans* as enemies, but as old allies or as good subjects."

See p. 33.

And M. de B.'s arguments for disbelieving some facts in the *Roman* story, or doubting of them, are frequently drawn from the *certainty* of others, particularly of the *Treaties*.

Dissert. part.
2. ch. 10.

I cannot but take notice, that, with regard to the story of King *Brennus* the *Gaul*, M. de B. seems not to doubt of these facts. 1. That the *Gauls* totally routed the *Roman* army in the field. 2. That they presently after possessed themselves of *Rome*. 3. That they burnt the city. 4. That the old historical records and monuments were most of them consumed in the flames. 5. That the capitol was saved. 6. That several antient monuments, being there deposited, were preserved with it. 7. That the *Gauls* sold a peace to the *Romans*, and departed without loss. Here are then, in the history of this one affair, seven important facts which M. de B. seems fully to believe. And what is it he objects to? Why, to *Livy's*

Ces caracteres de fausseté suffiroient à bien des gens pour leur faire rejeter cette Histoire, sans plus d'examen; mais je ne veux pas me prevaloir de cet avantage. Ce n'est que sur l'autorité des écrivains les plus célèbres, et les plus accrédités que je veux m'appuyer pour en douter. Et, afin qu'on ne m'accuse pas d'en douter trop légèrement, je me retranche à ne trouver cette histoire obscure et incertaine, que parce qu'ils la trouvent telle eux-mêmes. p. 10.

^a De-là je conclus—que nous sommes fondés à tenir pour fort suspect TOUT ce qu'en nous raconte des quatre ou cinq premiers siècles de Rome.

La seconde partie sera destinée à l'examen de certain faits des plus marqués, et qui figurent le plus dans l'Histoire Romaine: l'incertitude ou la fausseté desquels, étant bien prouvée, donnera une nouvelle force aux raisons que l'on a de revoquer en doute

TOUTE cette Histoire,—je me flatte, que ceux qui se dépouilleront de leurs préjugés conviendront qu'il n'y a rien de plus incertain que TOUT ce corps d'Histoire des premiers siècles de Rome. p. 11, 12.

Il faut absolument, qu'on en vienne à dire, que ces traités sont supposés, ce qu'on ne peut faire sans de fortes raisons (et je ne vois pas qu'on ait aucune pour douter de leur authenticité) ou que l'on convienne de bonne foi, que TOUT ce qu'on nous debite dans l'Histoire Romaine n'est qu'incertitude, et qu'on n'y peut compter sur rien. p. 43.

^b Il est sur que *Servius* en augmenta le nombre [des tribus.]

Ce qu'il y a de *sur*, c'est que, dès lors, *Porfenna* n'en usa plus avec les *Romains*, comme avec des ennemis, et qu'au contraire il les traita en anciens alliés, ou en bons sujets.

relation

relation of *Camillus's* wonderful arrival in the critical moment to save the *Romans* from the disgrace of living on the foot of a ransomed people; and his destroying the whole army of the *Gauls*. But this relation, romantic in the air of it, and discovered by *Polybius's* account to be a mere fiction of Roman vanity, can never be thought a good reason for questioning the truth of every thing that *Livy* has related of the earliest ages of *Rome*; and much less for regarding the whole Roman History of the first 500 years, as fabulous or *uncertain*. For when M. de B. speaks of the *uncertainty of the Roman History*, I suppose he means, or ought to mean, *the uncertainty of the best and least exceptionable accounts of the Roman affairs, that can be collected from the several antient writers who have treated the subject.*

We shall presently see, that one of M. de B.'s reasons for his incredulity is, that the Roman Historians (the earliest of whom lived in the sixth century from the building of *Rome*) *wanted means to know the truth.* Yet he gives credit to *Polybius's* relation of the wars between the *Romans* and *Gauls*, from the time of *Brennus*, to that of *Pyrrhus*; and if he thinks it reasonable to believe *Polybius* on this part of the Roman History, he must allow that there were means of coming at the truth of it, whether *Livy*, and the prior historians whom he followed, made use of them or not.

BUT whatever be the real opinion of M. de B. concerning the *Roman History* of the first 500 years, he has advanced (if I mistake him not) the following propositions.

I. "THE ROMANS were an obscure people, confined, during four centuries, to a little corner of *Italy*; and the continual exercise of arms, and husbandry (the only sciences they professed) hindered them from having the^a Thought of transmitting the memory of events to posterity." Dissert. p. 6.

II. "AND, if they had thought of perpetuating the memory of what passed among them, they were universally so illiterate, that nobody was capable of writing history, or transmitting the events to posterity by sure and exact memorials^b." P. 15. *Personne n'étoit capable, &c.*

III. "THE

^a — *l'empêcha de songer à transmettre à la postérité des evenemens, qui dans le fond, ne sont devenus interessans, que par le haut degré de gloire, auquel ses descendans se sont élevés par leurs conquêtes.*

^b M. de B. cites a passage from *Livy*, (B. vii. c. 3.) to prove that even in the end of the 4th century, WRITING was very little in use. "Raræ per ea tempora litteræ, on faisoit peu d'usage de l'écriture dit Tite Live en parlant de la fin du quatrième siècle." M. de B. adds, "Indeed they must have been very little solicitous in those times to preserve the memory of events, since, instead of all other Annals, they were content with driving a nail every year in-

"to the wall of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and this was the sole expedient they could have for fixing the chronology, [c'étoit là toute la ressource qu'on pouvoit avoir pour fixer la chronologie] as the same historian informs us in the same place." He proceeds; "Had this been practised from the foundation of *Rome*, it might have been of great use for settling the true *Æra* of the city. But the practice could not commence before the temple was dedicated, which was not till after the expulsion of *Tarquin*; and it had suffered a long interruption. It was renewed in the end of the fourth century of *Rome*, not because they found
" it

P. 12, 55.

III. "THE PONTIFICAL ANNALS, or historical part of the pontifical books, and the other monuments public and private, which could have given some
" cer-

" it mentioned in any record or ritual, (for
" they made so little use of letters, that
" they had neither books nor records) but
" on account of a tradition almost for-
" gotten, *ex seniorum memoriâ repetitum.*"
[it was recalled to mind by some old men, &c.]

As great use is made of the passage in *Livy*, referred to by M. de B. for proving the extremely illiterate state of the Romans, during many years after the commencement of the Republic, I shall here transcribe the passage at length. The historian is speaking of the year 392 (or, according to the Capitoline Marbles, 390) when Rome was grievously afflicted with the plague.

Cn. Genucio, L. Æmilio Mamercino secundum consulibus, quem piaculorum magis conquisitio animos quam corpora morbi afficerent, repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur, pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo sedatam. Ea religione adductus Senatus, dictatorem clavi figendi causa dici jussit. Dictus L. Manlius imperiosus, L. Pinarium Magistratum Equitum dixit. Lex vetusta est prisca litteris, verbisque scripta, ut qui Prætor Maximus sit. Idibus Septembribus clavum pangat. Fixus [*most of the manuscripts have fixa* *] fuit dextro lateri ædis Jovis optimi maximi, ea ex parte qua Minervæ templum est. Eum clavum, quia rare per ea tempora litteræ erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt: eoque Minervæ Templo dicatam legem, quia Numerus Minervæ inventum sit. Volsinii quoque clavos indices numeri annorum, fixos in templo Nortie Etruscæ Deæ, comparere, diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius affirmat. M. Horatius consul, ex lege Templum Jovis optimi maximi dedicavit, anno post reges exactos: à consulibus postea ad dictatores, quia majus imperium erat, solenne clavi figendi translatum est. Intermissa deinde more, digna etiam per se visa est res, propter quam dictator crearetur. Liv. B. vii. c. 3.

NOW I conceive that M. de B. has, through inattention, made no less than four mistakes in his comment upon this passage.

FOR I. First of all, *Livy* does not speak of THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, when he says, *some report, that the Nail was to mark the number of years, because Letters were rare in THOSE DAYS, per ea tempore*; but of the time, when the Practice of driving

a nail in the Wall of the Temple of Jupiter, COMMENCED, in pursuance of a LAW directing that it should be done annually, on THE IDES OF SEPTEMBER, by the Chief Prætor, [i. e. by the Chief Magistrate. The CONSULS were, at first, stiled PRÆTORS.] That this Practice commenced long before the end of the fourth century is evident, from the instance then called to mind by the old men, of a Dictator's doing it, and from the words *intermisso deinde more*. And it seems highly probable from *Livy's* words, that the LAW was made, and the PRACTICE commenced in the first year of the Republic, and that HORATIUS, when he dedicated the Temple, struck the first nail into the wall; and that it was a part of the Ceremony, at the Dedication, and performed in conformity to the Law above-mentioned. "There is an old Law (says *Livy*) written in antique characters, and antique words, importing, that the Chief Prætor should, on the Ides of September, drive the Nail, clavum pangat. The Nail [or the Law] was fixed on the right side of the Temple of Jupiter, in that part where the Fane of Minerva is." What follows is all Parenthesis, till he thus goes on: "The CONSUL Marcus Horatius, ACCORDING TO THE LAW, dedicated the Temple of Jupiter, the year after the expulsion of the kings: AFTERWARDS, the fixing the Nail was transferred from the CONSULS to the DICTATORS, because these were Magistrates of greater power and dignity;" [agreeably to the spirit of the Law, expressed in these words, Qui Prætor Maximus sit.] Whoever attends to *Livy's* words must surely see, that, when he says, the CONSUL Horatius dedicated the Temple EX LEGE, he refers to the Law, where it was enjoined, that the Chief Magistrate should drive a Nail annually on the Ides of September; and means to tell us, that this CONSUL drove the first Nail, pursuant to that Law, when he dedicated the Temple; (which DEDICATION was on the Ides of September, as Plutarch informs us.) If *Livy* did not mean to say that HORATIUS drove the Nail, when he dedicated the Temple, what connexion between the former and latter part of this period? "The CONSUL Horatius dedicated the Temple the year after the Regifuge. AFTERWARDS, the fixing the Nail was transferred from the CONSULS to the DICTATORS."

II. THERE

* Crevier.

" certainty to history, were ALL ^a destroy'd by the flames which consumed the city, after the Gauls had taken it [in 363.]

How to reconcile this ^{third} assertion with the ^{second}, or with the latter part of the first, seems somewhat difficult; nor seems it very easy to reconcile it with the following enumeration of the ancient monuments which M. de B. supposes to have escaped the flames:

" SOME LAWS of the KINGS.

P. 13.

" ALL the LAWS of the Twelve Tables, by which might be known the constitution of the ancient government.

P. 32.

" SOME of the PONTIFFS BOOKS, which discovered the origin of several religious customs or ceremonies. (Under the name of the Pontiffs books,

46, 47.

" M. de B. comprehends all the books in general, which treated of the religious ceremonies and traditions of the Romans, as the books of the Augurs and Haruspices, the verses or hymns of the Salii, the Saturnian verses, and a great number of books of that kind.)

" SOME of the books ^b which contained the *musters* and *polls* taken of the Roman citizens, which books might be of use to history.

103.

" A

II. THERE is not one word in the passage referred to, importing that the Romans had no annals except nails. And the written law itself is a proof, that the nails were not used because nobody could write, or because these nails were the only expedient they could have to fix the chronology. And, for the same reason, they, of whom *Livy* says *serunt*, cannot be supposed to have meant, that the nails were used, because nobody could mark the years by words or figures, but because the generality of people could not read what some could write; as was the case in these countries not many hundred years ago. And the interruption of the practice of driving nails [*intermisso deinde more*] if it proves any thing, proves only, that the common people were become less illiterate, and that the nails were not wanted to instruct them in chronology.

III. It appears from the passage referred to, that, in the end of the fourth Century, the Romans had a monument or record mentioning the custom of driving a nail, &c. They had a written law enjoining it; *lex vetusta est prisca litteris verbisque scripta, ut qui Prætor Maximus sit, Idibus Septembribus clavum pangat*: In conformity to which Law the Act of fixing the nail had been transferred from the Consuls to the Dictators. And this shews that both the Law and the Practice were anterior to the Institution of Dictators.

IV. THE thing said to be remembered by

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the old men, was not the custom of driving a nail into the wall of the Temple, but a particular instance of the plague's being stop'd by a Dictator's driving a nail, &c. *repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo sedatam.*

^a C'est de ces écrivains, que j'apprens, que tous les monumens publics, qui auroient pu donner quelque certitude à l'Histoire, périrent par le feu, lorsque les Gaulois eurent pris Rome. p. 10.

Il est sur que la partie historique des livres des Pontifes, ou leurs *Annales* périrent dans la destruction de Rome par les Gaulois. Tite Live est si exprès là dessus, qu'il nous ote tout sujet d'en douter, — lorsque se plaignant de la peine qu'il a eu parceque tous les memoires, conservez dans les Archives, qui étoient entre les mains des particuliers, ou qui faisoient partie des livres des Pontifes, avoient été enveloppés dans la ruine de la ville. *Et quod etiam si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensâ urbe Pleraque interire.* p. 36.

N. B. In this place, *Pleraque*, with M. de B. imports *Tous*; in p. 5. 18. *Presque tout*; in p. 20. 27. *La plus part*; in p. 19. *Grande partie*.

^b Quoique les anciens Historiens omettent quelques *lustres*, et quelque fois les noms des censures, ainsi que le nombre des citoyens, qui s'étoit trouvé dans chaque

b

denom-

42. "A considerable number of the *Treaties* which Rome had made with
 "the neighbouring states. Il est a presumer qu'ils sauroient un assez
 "bon nombre de ces derniers [les traités] parce qu'ils étoient gardez
 "dans le temple de Jupiter au capitol, qui demeura a l'abri de la fu-
 "reur des Gaulois. *And treaties of peace are the most authentic ma-*
 35. *terials for history.* Les traités de paix sont les materiaux les plus au-
 "thentiques pour l'histoire, et on ne peut former aucun doute raisonnable
 "sur des faits appuyés de pareilles preuves."

145. IV. "THERE WAS, at Rome, no book, no writing prior to *Pyrrhus's* com-
 72. "ing into Italy; no ^a piece that could be of use to history, anterior to the
 "end of the fifth century."

How to make this agree with the foregoing enumeration of *pieces pre-*
ferred from the flames, I do not readily perceive.

- 6, 7. V. "THE LATER historians of Rome did but copy ^b the earlier with re-
 "gard, to the times preceding the earlier."

This seems to be a hasty assertion; since both *Livy* and *Dionysius* speak so
 frequently of the disagreeing accounts given by the authors they cite, with
 regard to the times anterior to the first historians. And *Livy*, in his pre-
 face, says, that each new writer thinks *either to produce something more cer-*
tain with regard to facts than his predecessors have done, or to excel
 them in language and style. *Novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius*
aliquid allaturos se, aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt.

- p. 11. VI. "THOSE records or monuments which escaped the flames (when
 "Rome was burnt by the Gauls) were of little use for composing a his-

denombrement, je serois assez porté à croire, sur ce qui nous reste de ces *reumes generales des citoyens de Rome*, que c'étoit un des monumens le mieux conservé, et que les historiens avoient le moins négligé de consulter. Ce que Denis d'Halicarnasse en cite remonte jusqu'au premier cens sous Servius Tullius. On seroit un peu mieux fondé, si on nous alléguoit de pareilles pieces en faveur de l'histoire Romaine. Car, si ce que les historiens nous disent des differens cens, où denombrement, qui se font fait à Rome, est fondé sur le temoignage de ces monumens, qui se gardoient dans les Archives, on ne peut disconvenir, qu'ils n'aient échappé aux flammes, du moins en partie, et qu'ils n'aient été de quelque usage pour l'histoire. p. 102, 103.

^a J'ai déjà prouvé que ces Annales des Pontifes n'existoient point: et je prouverai bientôt, qu'il n'y avoit aucune piece qui pût servir à l'histoire laquelle faut antérieure à la fin du cinquieme siecle de Rome. p. 70.

^b On reconnoitra facilement que ceux

qui ont écrit l'Histoire Romaine n'ont fait que se copier les uns les autres pour ce qui regardoit les tems antérieurs. p. 7.

Fabius Pictor et ceux qui le suivirent de près avoient ignoré, &c. On n'avoit fait depuis que les copier sans autre examen. p. 45.

Ils ont été plus de cinq siècles sans avoir d'historiens—les premiers qu'ils ont eus ont fort mal réussi destinés comme ils l'étoient de monumens anciens et de memoires sur lesquels leur pussent servir de guides—les Historiens, qui depuis ont entrepris de fournir la même carrière, se sont contentés de s'appuyer de l'autorité de leurs Predecesseurs et de les donner pour garans des faits qu'ils rapportent—ils se sont peu mis en peine d'examiner à la rigueur la verité des faits. p. 6.

N. B. Unless with regard to absurd fictions, it is hard to guess by what test the later historians, if there were no ancient monuments, no authentic memorials, could examine the truth of the facts related by the earlier historians.

"tory.

“ tory. And the *first* historians did not rest upon such monuments, but
 “ *founded themselves wholly upon traditions and vulgar stories*, as the most
 “ celebrated and most esteemed writers inform us, * who nevertheless
 “ *took all their accounts from those first historians.*

“ What we have of the *Roman* history [of the first 500 years] was
 “ taken out of *family-memoirs*. Destitute of all other monuments, it
 “ was to these pieces, that the historians, towards the middle of the sixth
 “ century [i. e. the first historians] were obliged to have recourse, and
 “ *from no other sources could they have drawn* what they related of those
 “ times which, as *they themselves* confess, were cover'd with thick dark-
 “ nefs, and of which there was no speaking with any certainty.”^c

To explain, and, as much as possible, *reconcile* these two paragraphs, we shall have recourse to another passage in the Dissertation.

“ *The most antient piece known at Rome in Cicero's time*^d, was the speech
 “ of *Appius Claudius, the blind*, pronounced in the senate to dissuade
 “ them from accepting the terms of peace proposed by *Pyrrhus* in 474.
 “ Indeed there were, beside that, some *funeral orations*; but *tradition* must
 “ have supplied the rest: so that the truth of the history of the first five
 “ centuries had no other support but these two witnesses, *funeral orations*
 “ and *tradition*.”

“ Perhaps to these we may add, some songs or hymns, composed in
 “ honour of the heroes and illustrious men,—pieces not proper to in-
 “ struct us in the truth of facts.”

THE CASE then was this; there were no *written* family-traditions nor
 any

* Je recherche ce qui a pu échaper à cet incendie—je trouve que ce qui en échapa fut de peu d'utilité pour la composition de l'Histoire. Ce sont eux memes [les *ecrivains les plus celebres et les plus accredités*] qui m'apprennent, que ce n'est point sur de pareils monumens, que les *premiers Historiens* se sont appuyés, et que ceux qui les ont suivis (en avouant, que ceux qui les avoient precedés dans cette carriere, ne s'étoient fondés que sur des traditions, et sur des bruits populaires, que d'ailleurs ils n'avoient apporté ni jugement, ni exactitude, dans la composition de leurs histoires, et dans ce qu'ils disoient des premiers siècles de Rome) n'ont pas laissé de reconnaître que c'étoit d'eux qu'ils tiroient tout ce qu'ils en rapportoient [i. e. tout ce qu'ils rapportoient des premiers siècles de Rome.] p. 10, 11. Les historiens, qui ont vécu dans des siècles plus polis, et où l'on n'ignoroit aucune des loix de l'Histoire, n'ayant point eu d'autres sources où puiser que ces memes histoires, qui n'étoient fondées que sur la tradition, ils n'ont pu

donner plus de certitude à ce qu'ils rapportoient des premiers siècles de Rome. p. 204.

^b By *they themselves*, I presume M. de B. means the later historians; for they are the only writers he cites as complaining of darkness.

^c C'est des *Memoires des Familles*, qu'est tiré ce que nous avons de l'Histoire Romaine. p. 142.

Destitués de tous autres monumens, ce fut à ces pieces [*Memoires des Familles*] que les historiens, vers le milieu du sixieme siècle, furent obligés d'avoir recours. p. 435.

Dans quelle source ont-ils puisé ce qu'ils ont dit sur des tems, que selon eux-memes couvroient d'épaisses tenebres, et dont on ne pouvoient parler avec aucune certitude? Ce n'a pu être que dans ces *Traditions des Familles* puisqu'il n'y avoit point d'autre monument auquel ils pussent avoir recours. p. 152.

^d I am not aware that M. de B. has any support for this, but a mistake of his own (through inattention) in interpreting a
 b 2 passage

p. 142.
 143. &
 435.

151.
 152.

150.

any other [historical] *writings*, aucun livre, aucun écrit, before the year 474. Between this time and the year 550 (when *Fabius Pictor* became an historian) *funeral orations* were *written*. And from these *written orations* and from *oral tradition*, the *first historians* compiled their works.

p. 152. But then we are aground again, by reason of an unlucky passage, cited by M. de B. from *Dionysius*, who tells us, that *Fabius* [whom all the following historians are said to have copied] compiled his history of the first 500 years from tradition, from *hear-say*, wholly from *hear-say*; on
p. 164. voit que ce qu'il en disoit n'étoit appuyé que sur ce qu'il en avoit oui dire: ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας, D. H. Lib. 7. p. 475. *Fabius* then did not make use of the *funeral orations*, nor of any *written* family-traditions, (family-memoirs :) Neither were these, according to M. de B. form'd upon *hear-say*. The matter of them was *invented* by the vanity of private men. And not only the matter of them was invented, but the greater number of the
p. 164. *pieces themselves* were *forgeries*; * i. e. they were not contemporary with the authors to whom they were ascribed, but forged after their time. And if *Fabius* took his historical accounts from forged *funeral orations*, these forgeries must have been *almost all* made in his own time, and *all* in the space of 76 years; supposing it true, that there were no *writings* of earlier date than the year 474. And then we shall be at a loss to guess how it was possible to impose these forgeries upon *Fabius* for genuine pieces.

But is it not strange that M. de B., who, by admitting that the public monuments and private memorials of the *Romans* were burnt by the *Gauls*, admits that the *Romans* had both ability and disposition to write *before*

passage of Cicero's *Brutus* [c. 16.] *Nec verò habeo quonquam antiquiorem cujus quidem scripta proferenda putem, nisi Appii Cæci oratio hæc ipsa de Pyrrho, et nonnullæ mortuorum laudationes, fortè delectant: et Hercule, hæc quidem extant.* Cicero is discoursing, not of authors in general, nor of historians, but of *Orators*, and the last he mentions is *Cato* the Censor: and he adds, "that he is acquainted with none more antient, whose writings he thinks worth speaking of; unless the oration of *Appius Claudius* concerning *Pyrrhus*, and some *funeral orations*, may happen to please. Of these there are indeed enough." Had Cicero been speaking of Roman historians, or authors in general, he certainly would not have said, that he knew none more antient than *Cato*, that were worth mentioning; because *Fabius* and *Cincius*, and several other historians, much esteemed, were prior to *Cato*. Yet on the authority of this passage M. de B. (p. 145.) writes thus, "On ne pourra pas douter de la vérité de ce que j'avance, dès que j'aurai fait voir, qu'on n'avoit à Rome

" aucun livre, aucun écrit, qui fût antérieur
" à la venue de *Pyrrhus* en Italie, événement,
" qui ne se place que vers la fin du
" cinquième siècle de Rome. Pour des
" HISTORIENS, on sait qu'ils ne parurent
" que dans le siècle suivant. Cicéron, parlant
" de ce qu'on avoit de plus ancien de son
" temps, dit que *Caton*, qui étoit mort il
" n'y avoit pas plus d'un siècle, étoit con-
" sidéré comme un Auteur fort ancien eum
" nos perveterem habemus. Certes ajoute
" t-il, je n'en connois point de plus ancien
" dont je puisse vous citer les écrits, à moins
" que l'on ne trouve du goût à la harangue
" d'*Appius Claudius* sur *Pyrrhus*, et à quel-
" ques oraisons funebres."

* L'on peut assurer sans temerité que l'Histoire Romaine, pour la plus grande partie, a été forgée sur ces Tradition des Familles, et sur des oraisons funebres, qui pour la plupart n'étoient que des pièces supposées, que des faussaires avoient forgées pour favoriser les prétensions, que quelques familles formoient à une genealogie illustre.

that

that time, should yet suppose, that they had neither the one nor the other, for above 100 years *after* that time?

And there is another difficulty arising from another passage cited by M. de B. from *Dionysius* [Lib. 1. p. 59.] who there says, that the earliest *Roman* historians took all their accounts of the birth of *Romulus* and the building of *Rome*, from *the antique narratives in the SACRED BOOKS*, ἐν ἱερᾷς δέλτοις.

p. 162.

And what makes these difficulties the greater is, that M. de B. is of opinion, we ought to give full credit to *Dionysius* in what he says concerning the works and merit of the historians who preceded him.

BUT, not to dwell any longer on the *seeming* repugnancies in the argumentation of our ingenious Critic against the credibility of the history of the five first centuries, let us now consider what *Livy* says concerning his own history of the times anterior to the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*.

“ I have, in five books, set forth what, from the building of the city
“ to its being taken, was done by the *Romans*, first under the Kings, then
“ under the Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, and Military Tribunes with
“ consular power; the foreign wars and domestic seditions; matters very
“ obscure, *by reason of their antiquity*, (like objects, that at a great distance,
“ are hardly discerned.) For it is only by *writings*, that the transactions
“ and events of remote times can be clearly and faithfully transmitted;
“ and in those days there were few *writers*; and the greater part of the
“ commentaries of the High Priests, and of the other records, publick
“ and private, perished in the burning of *Rome*^b. Henceforward, mat-
“ ters more clear and certain will be related; the civil affairs and military
“ acts of the *Romans*, after the rebuilding of their city^c.”

Now what is the obvious sense of this passage?

“ The foregoing part of my history, (says *Livy*) is full of obscurity
“ and uncertainty; because the matters, there treated of, are of too anti-
“ ent date to have been transmitted with *faithfulness* and *exactness* by *oral*
“ *tradition*, and because the contemporary writers were few, and the
“ greater part of their writings perished in the fire that consumed the city.
“ But the transactions and events after that time, are things more clear
“ and

^a Denis d'Halicarnasse, aiant entrepris l'Histoire des cinq premiers siècles de Rome, doit être considéré comme juge compétent de ceux qui l'ont précédé dans la même carrière. p. 168. L'on ne risque rien en s'en rapportant à ce qu'il en dit. p. 163.

I cannot possibly be of M. de B.'s opinion in this particular. *Dionysius* seems, of all writers; to be the man who deserves the least credit when he speaks of the merit of other writers. For (Lib. 1. p. 5.) he says of *Polybius*, “ that he wrote little concern-
“ ing the *Romans*, and that the little he

“ did write was without any care or accu-
“ racy, and wholly founded upon idle reports.” Nor could even *Thucydides* please *Dionysius*: but, as to what he says by way of censure on *Thucydides*, Mr. *Hobbes* remarks, “ that there was never written so much ab-
“ surdity in so few lines.”

^b It seems pretty plain from what *Livy* here says of the destruction of public and private Monuments or Records, that he knew nothing of the *peu d'usage de l'écriture*, for which M. de B. contends.

^c Quæ ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem

L. 6. Cap. 1.

“ and certain, *clariora & certiora:*” *How so?* “ Because with respect to these, there are not the same causes of obscurity and uncertainty. The times not being so remote, the *traditions* concerning them are more to be depended on; contemporary writers were less rare; and there has not been a like destruction of their writings.”

This is surely the plain meaning of his words. and it ought to be observed to his credit, that his history of the earliest times, is proportioned, for length, to the scarcity of materials he complains of; for notwithstanding his *circumstantial*, and, perhaps in his own opinion, fabulous account of the rape of the *Sabine* women, with the consequences of it; and notwithstanding the frequent display of his skill in adorning a story, as in his description of the combat between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, and in several other instances, his whole history of the seven kings, who are supposed to have reigned 244 years, hardly fills seventy pages in *Le Clerc*’s small edition; and, of these, twenty are taken up with the reigns of *Servius Tullius*, and his successor *Tarquin the Proud*. Now, the institutions of *Servius*, which were his most important acts, and were the plan, whereon, after the expulsion of *Tarquin*, the new government was established and maintained, cannot easily be called in question; nor, I believe, will any body question the truth of the most material things, related of *Tarquin*’s tyranny, which gave occasion to the revolt from him, and the abolition of kingly government. The obscurity and uncertainty therefore, of which *Livy* speaks, must chiefly regard the circumstances with which some facts are accompanied in his relations, and not the principal facts and events contained in the history of the early times.

p. 6. Certainly M. de B. had not duly attended to the accounts given by the antients, of the regal state of *Rome*, when he ventured to say, “ It is surprising to find a continued history of five centuries, in which there is scarce any void, any year, that is not distinguished by some considerable event.” For very few of the 244 years of the kings are distinguished by any event whatsoever.

It may be further remarked, that *Livy*’s history of the 119 years, from the expulsion of *Tarquin* to the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, is above four times as long as his history of the 244 years of the kings; and his history of those 119 years is no longer than his history of the 95 years that follow the rebuilding of *Rome*, and reach to the year 460, with which his tenth book ends. And the next ten books (which are lost) contained but the history of 73 years. Now the reason of these differences in the length of his accounts of the different periods is very obvious, and is contained in the passage above cited.

eandem urbem Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere, foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui; res quæ vetustate nimia obscuras, veluti quæ magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur: tum quod et raræ per eadem tempora litteræ fuere, una custodia fidelis me-

moræ rerum gestarum: et, quod etiam si quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleræque interiere. Clariora deinceps certioraque ab secunda origine, velut ab stirpibus lætius, feraciusque renatae urbis, gesta domi militiæque, exponuntur.

I pro-

I proceed now to say something of the value of those *materials*, which the first *Roman* historians may reasonably be supposed to have had for composing their histories. Without entering into any discussion of the antiquity or contents of the *linnen books*, the *books of the magistrates*, the *tables* and *memorials* of the *censors*, the *books of the Decemvirs and Duumvirs*, or the *inscriptions* on pillars, statues or shields, (from all which, it cannot be questioned but many things, useful to history, might be drawn) I shall confine myself to speak of the other sources of historical matter, that were open to the first historians.

1. THE ANNALS or Commentaries of the High Priests, called the *Great Annals*.

That it was the constant custom from the earliest times, for the High Priests to record in writing the events of each year, and that *antient Annals*, composed by the *High Priests*^a, existed either entire or in part in *Cicero's* time, is unquestionable from his express testimony.

And from the complaint which *Livy* makes of the loss of the *greater part* of the Pontifical Annals, anterior to the burning of *Rome* [*incensa urbe Pleræque^b interiøre*] it is evident that some *pieces* of those ANNALS were preserved from that fire. His words import this: and his chief ground for saying that the *greater part* perished, was doubtless the preservation of the *smaller*. L. 6. c. 2.

Rome was burnt by the *Gauls* about the year 363, i. e. about 119 years after the commencement of the republic. The *Romans*, we are told, were very industrious in collecting what monuments or records had escaped the fire: and it is natural to suppose that endeavours were used to supply by *memory* (as far as memory could supply) the defects of what remained of the Pontifical Annals. "Before the use of *letters* (says Sir *Isaac Newton*) the names and actions of men could scarce be remembered above 80 or 100 years after their deaths: and therefore I admit of no chronology of things done in *Europe* above 80 years before *Cadmus* brought letters into *Europe*." It seems here to be admitted by this great man, that the names and actions of men, and even the chronology of things done 80 years back, might be preserved by *memory*, and without written records. The defects of the *Great Annals* might therefore, with certainty enough, be supplied, by the help of *memory alone*, as to the principal events during the far greater part of the time, between the beginning of the Republic and the burning of *Rome*. And with regard not only to that time but to the earlier times, is it to be supposed, that those persons, who had read the Annals before they were in part destroyed, remembered nothing of what they had read?

These Annals, thus repaired, would doubtless be very brief and very

^a — *Ab initio rerum—Res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus—ii qui etiam nunc Annales maximi vocantur, De orat. Lib. 2. c. 12. Servius ad Virg. Æneid. Lib. 1. v. 377. and Vopiscus in Tacito cap. 1. speak to the*

same effect, as M. de B. observes.

^b M. L'Abbé Sallier considers *Livy's Pleræque* as a word of exaggeration, to magnify his own labour in compiling a general history of his country.

Short Chron. p. 7.

imperfect,

imperfect, but not useless to history. The great events and the order of them would there be found. And as to the Annals, written after the burning of *Rome* (for the practice was continued) we read of no destruction happening to these either in whole or in part. It must be granted however, that even these, through some accident or neglect, were not entire and perfect in the days of *Livy* or of the prior historians. If there had been no chasms, no interruptions in them, how could the historians have been so much at a loss, as we find they sometimes were, concerning the succession of the magistrates?

But granting the Pontifical Annals, mentioned by *Cicero*, to have been very imperfect, and even supposing, that his words, *ab initio rerum*, regard the time when the practice of writing Annals began, and not the *Epoch* whence the relations, contained in those which he had read, commenced; yet (as I said before) certain it is from his testimony, that *antient Records*, called *the Annals of the High Priests*, or *the Great Annals*, did exist in his time; and therefore the silence of *Livy* and *Dionysius*, if they are silent, (as *M. de B.* imagines) concerning these Annals, will not prove what *M. de B.* would infer from it, the non-existence of them in their time. If they did not *then* exist, they must have been lost in the few years between the time when *Cicero* wrote, and the time when *Livy* and *Dionysius* composed their histories; and of this there is no where any hint. *Livy* would doubtless have complained of such a loss, had it really happened, since he complains of the earlier loss suffered by the burning of *Rome*. And for these several considerations it is reasonable to believe, that the *old Annals*, of which *Livy* frequently speaks, and the *ἱερὰ Δέλται*, mentioned by *Dionysius* as historical monuments, were *the Great Annals* described by *Cicero*: And I think it may be reasonably asked, How could *Cicero* well know (and he speaks with confidence) that the custom of writing Annals commenced *ab initio rerum*, but from the actual existence, in his time, of fragments of Annals, written in the earliest times; or from their being cited by the first historians as existing in their time?

To PROVE the non-existence of any Annals, or parts of Annals, written before the burning of *Rome*, *M. de B.* makes great use of the authority of one *Clodius* cited by *Plutarch*, and represents this *Clodius* as speaking thus: "ALL the ANTIENT MONUMENTS were burnt when the Gauls sacked Rome, and those which the Romans now have are forgeries."

In Noma.
Dissert. p.
20.

• De For-
tuna Ro-
manorum.
p. 21.

M. de B. goes on: "And *Plutarch* himself, or whoever was the author of the treatise OF THE FORTUNE OF THE ROMANS*, after speaking of some marvellous events of those early times,—adds, To what purpose should we dwell upon times which have nothing clear, nothing certain, since, as *Livy* assures us, the Roman History was corrupted, and its monuments destroyed?"

Then immediately (taking for granted, that *Plutarch* was the author of that treatise) he adds, "What *Plutarch* says, upon the testimonies of *Clodius* and *Livy*, of the destruction of those monuments, gets an addi-
tional

“ tional force in the mouth of *so grave* an author as he. For since he
“ does not contradict them, he supports what they say by his suffrage.
“ The testimony of these authors is very express, &c.”

Again, ‘ *Livy, Clodius and Plutarch depose*, that the *monuments*, by
“ which the truth of the *Roman History* might have been ascertained,
“ and which alone could give it the requisite certainty, were destroyed
“ in the sacking of *Rome*.”

p. 26.

And again, “ It is *certain*, that the *historical part* of the books of the
“ Pontiffs or their *ANNALS*, if ^a *they ever existed*, perished in the destruc-
“ tion of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. *Livy* is so express upon this, that he
“ leaves us no room to doubt of it.”——For he says, “ *that ALL the*
“ *memorials (kept in the Archives) that were in private hands, or that made*
“ *part of the books of the Pontiffs, were involved in the ruin of the city.*” But
where does *Livy* say this? Why, [in B. 6. c. 1.] where he tells us, that a
great part or the greater part of what was contained in the High Priests com-
mentaries, and in other public and private monuments, perished in the
burning of *Rome*: *Et quod etiam si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliisque*
publicis privatisque erant monumentis incensæ urbe pleræque interiere.

p. 56.

NOW as to *CLODIUS*, *Plutarch* writes thus: “ Though the *pedigrees* of
“ *Numa’s* family, from its beginning to this day, be set forth in very nice
“ order, there is much dispute concerning the time when he lived. One *Clo-*
“ *dus*, in a work entitled *ἐλεγχος χρόνων*, asserts that the antient writings of
“ *that sort* [*τὰς ἀρχαίας ΕΚΕΙΝΑΣ ἀναγραφὰς*] were lost, when the *Gauls* de-
“ stroyed *Rome*, and that those which now appear were framed by flat-
“ terers to please the vanity of some private families, who would needs be
“ thought descended from the most illustrious origins, to which they had
“ in truth no relation.” We see, that *Clodius* speaks only of genealogical
tables, and not of any other historical monuments. Had he asserted, that
ALL the antient monuments or records were lost, he would have asserted
what was not true, by the concession of *M. de B.*, who allows, that many
treaties of peace, the laws of the twelve tables, and several other pieces of
antiquity, escaped the flames.

M. L’Abbé Sallier thinks, that *Plutarch* was not the author of the trea-

^a *If they ever existed.* Had *Livy* used these words in this place, he would have spoken like a certain gentleman, who, in giving a bad character of a person deceased, after many severe accusations went on thus, *And he was a very cruel father to most of his children——if he had any.*

That *Livy* did not intend to express a doubt whether any Pontifical Annals existed before the burning of *Rome*, is pretty evident from a passage (in his 4th book c. 3.) cited by *M. de B.*

The historian is writing of the year 310, and he puts these words into the mouth of

a Tribune, “ If we are not admitted to the
“ *Fasti*, nor to the *COMMENTARIES* of the
“ *High Priests*, are we therefore ignorant of
“ those things which are known even by all
“ strangers? *That the Consuls succeeded in*
“ *the place of the kings, and have no rights or*
“ *prerogatives which the kings had not le-*
“ *fore?*” Si non ad *Fastos*, non ad *COM-*
MENTARIOS PONTIFICUM admittimur: ne
ea quidem scimus, quæ omnes peregrini
etiam sciunt: Consules in locum Regum
successisse: nec aut juris, aut majestatis quic-
quam habere, quod non in Regibus ante
fuerit?

tise *de Fortuna Romanorum*; and indeed, if he were, he must, how *grave* soever, have been a very idle man, and condemned by himself in the above-cited passage from that treatise, to spend his time in writing the lives of *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Poplicola* and *Camillus*, without any materials, but what he believed to be forgeries and romance.

But can it be imagined, that either *he* or *Livy* or *Dionysius* believed nothing of what they have written of the first ages of *Rome*, or that they looked upon *all* as *uncertain*? Though *Livy*, in some instances, doubts, yet he often says, *it is evident, it is certain*, *constat, certum est*; and, in his preface, he warns us, with regard to what he is going to write, to distinguish between the stories adorned with fiction, and the traditions supported by authentic monuments.

And it was very singular, and not a little marvellous, if, when *Rome* was burnt by the *Gauls*, the fire did so piously distinguish between sacred writings and prophane. It spared that part of the Pontiffs Books which regarded public worship, and likewise the treaties of peace, and the laws of the twelve tables, treaties and laws being *religiones* *, religious matters, deemed so on account of the religious ceremonies performed at their making; but it destroyed *entirely* the *historical part* of the Pontifical Books, their *Annals*: it spared no writing that was wholly prophane, nothing historical, if not somehow under the protection of religion.

* *Livy*, L. 6.
c. 1.

II. THE First *Roman* Historians had, among the materials for their works, not only some parts of the High Priests Annals, written before the burning of *Rome*, but some parts of OTHER *public historical monuments* or memorials, preserved from that fire. *Quæ in Commentariis Pontificum aliisque publicis monumentis erant pleræque interiere*: the greater part, not all, perished.

What those OTHER *public monuments* were, I will not pretend to say. Perhaps they were the *linen books*, the *books of the magistrates*, the *memorials* or *tables* of the *Censors*, and some other antient pieces referred to by the historians.

p. 92.

M. de B. observes, that *Livy*, who cites the *linen books* pretty often, from *Licinius Macer*, during the space of about ten years, does not cite them for any thing after that time, or before it. Now supposing this to be a proof that the *linen books*, which *Licinius* had consulted, contained nothing but what related to those ten years; yet, as those years were prior to the burning of *Rome*, we may reasonably believe, that the books in question were part of an old public record, a fragment preserved from that fire. And we may reasonably think the same of those parts of the *books of the magistrates*, and of the *Censors books*, which are cited in attestation of matters anterior to the destruction of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. The very imperfection of these pieces carries with it some proof of their antiquity, and of the mischief they had suffered.

III. ORIGINAL Records of many treaties which the *Romans* had made with the neighbouring nations, before the burning of the city. And these must

must have been of excellent use to the first historians, both for facts and dates in their accounts of the early times. And as to the treaties, after the rebuilding of *Rome*, there is no question of their preservation.

IV. THE ACTS of the *Senate* and of the *Comitia*, and the LAWS of the *Twelve Tables*, which fully laying open the constitution of the state, the customs and manners of the *Romans*, the rights of the people, and the powers of the magistrates, were a sure guide to the historians in many particulars of their accounts.

V. WHATEVER could be ascertained by antient annals or records, preserved in the other cities of *Italy*, that were fallen under the power of the *Romans*, when *Fabius* and his successors undertook to write history. Why should we suppose, that these were totally neglected by the first historians? That the neighbouring nations had books and records, is evident from *Liv.* L. 10. c. 38. where we find, that, in the year 459 of *Rome*, the *Samnites* had^a recourse to their *linen books* for direction in forming that legion which they called *legio linteaia*.

That treaty with *Porfenna*, (mentioned by *Pliny*) of which *M. de B.* takes advantage to discredit the *Roman History*, was doubtless found at *Clusium*, or some other city of *Hebruria*, not at *Rome*.

Livy, in citing the prior historians, does not always tell us from whence they took their matter, yet often enough to make us know, that they cited authorities for what they delivered. And it is evident, that they had recourse to the archives of the conquered cities. From the passage in *Livy*, (L. 7. c. 3.) before referred to, we learn, that *Cincius* having examined into the antiquities of *Volsinii*, a town in *Hebruria*, had found it to have been formerly a custom there to mark the number of the years by nails fixed in a temple dedicated to *Nortia*, an *Hebruscan* Goddess; and that *Cincius* was a diligent enquirer into such antiquities, *diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius*.

VI. FAMILY-MEMORIALS, and FUNERAL-ORATIONS.

M. de B. cites^b the authorities of *Cicero* and *Pliny* to prove, that it was the general custom at *Rome* for each noble family to preserve *memorials* recording the services which the members of it had done the state in the discharge of those offices with which they had been intrusted. “ If these
“ *memorials*, says *M. de B.*, had been faithfully written, they would have
“ been of infinite use to history. Should we admit that all the other mo-
“ numents were lost, we must likewise admit, that the loss might have
“ been supplied by these memorials. They were so many histories of the

p. 104. &
seq.

^a *M. L' Abbé Sallier*, in his first discourse, makes this observation; and he adds, Les nations Voisines pouvoient donc offrir des monumens aux recherches des historiens. On pourroit rapporter bien d'autres preuves, que les peuples Voisins des Romains n'étoi-

ent pas sans monuments & sans histoires. Varron, cité par Censorin et Festus, en plusieurs endroits, fourniroit de bons témoignage pour ce que je dis icy.

^b *Cic.* in *Brut.* c. 16. *Plin.* L. 35. c. 2.

“ lives of particular men, and contained the principal affairs of the state,
 “ in the conduct of which those men had had a share. But unhappily,
 “ in the composition of those histories, much less regard was had to truth
 “ than to heightening the lustre of families. There were so many falsifi-
 “ cations, the truth of facts was so frequently corrupted in these memo-
 “ rials, that *no use could be made of them without great precaution.*”

To PROVE the unfaithfulness of the *Family-memorials*, M. de B. insists chiefly on a passage in *Cicero*, and another in *Livy*, charging some *Funeral-oration*s with containing false facts, invented to gratify the vanity of private families. From which it would seem that he considers the *Family-memorials* as consisting wholly of *Funeral-oration*s. Yet, as he ranges certain records of the *Censors*, (called by *Dionysius* τιμητικὰ ὑπομνήματα) among the *Family-memorials*, and is inclined to think that the *linen books* ought to be placed there too, he manifestly admits, that *Funeral-oration*s were not the whole of the *Family-memorials*.

NOW if the practice of writing *Family-memorials* began early, and these pieces were preserved, and transmitted from generation to generation, they must have been of excellent use to the first *Roman* historians: For how much soever those pieces might abound in panegyrical exaggeration, and false colourings, they would furnish good evidences of the truth of those facts, in which they agreed, and with which the several writers of those pieces were contemporary.

But as it does not appear at what time the custom of writing *Family-memorials* began, I shall here leave this matter, and consider what is said of *Funeral-oration*s.

DIONYSIUS, speaking of the *Funeral-oration* which *Poplicola* pronounced on his deceased colleague *Brutus*, tells us, it is uncertain whether *Poplicola* introduced this custom among the *Romans*, or found it already established by the kings. Be that as it will, there is no doubt of its being the constant practice from the beginning of the Republic, to honour the memory of great men by *Funeral-panegyrics*. And, as these were premeditated speeches, and as the glory of the orator was no less concerned in the composition, than the glory of the deceased, it is highly reasonable to believe that the orator wrote down what he purposed to say, and by revising and correcting his speech, put it into the best form he could, before he delivered it. I say, it is natural to suppose, that this method was for the most part, if not universally, observed by the speakers of *Funeral-oration*s. Nor can any thing be more probable, than that the families, concerned in these orations, would be very desirous to preserve them.

And indeed there seems to be sufficient ground to conjecture, that from these *Funeral Oration*s were taken, into the History of the earliest times of the Republic, many particulars, not to be learnt from Tradition, or the High Priests Annals, or any other public Memorials. But then,

for an authentic account of what passed among the *Romans*, I would ask, What better materials could an Historian have to work upon, than a series of such Orations? For though in a Funeral Panegyric, the Orator may well enough be supposed to over-rate the private virtues of the deceased, disguise or refine the motives of his actions, ascribe to his remote ancestors exploits which they had not performed, nay, give him noble ancestors from whom he was not really descended; yet, as to the high offices which the person himself had filled, and the public acts he had done in those offices, whether civil or military, we can hardly imagine the Orator would attempt to impose upon an audience, who, having been eye-witnesses of the truth, were not capable of being deceived: For the sphere of action, in which the *Romans* moved during more than 200 years after the erection of the Commonwealth, was so very narrow, that nothing considerable, of a public concern, could pass either in peace or in war, but what must be known to almost every individual of the State. The *Roman* citizens were all soldiers, all went to the war in their turns, and they could not, therefore, be imposed upon with regard to the success of the enterprizes formed by their Generals. And the same soldier-citizens were parties in all the civil commotions and struggles, and had a share in establishing those useful laws and regulations, which their magistrates had the merit of contriving and proposing. So that a series of *Funeral Orations* on the great men of *Rome* would contain most authentic Memorials of all the principal transactions and events both at home and abroad. It was the business of the Historian, who employed these materials for his work, to separate the *solid* from the *light* and *unsure*; and certainly no task could be more easy.

It does not seem probable, that, during the *Regal State*, Funeral Panegyrics were in use, unless we may suppose that this honour was done to the Kings upon their demise, who, while *Rome* was governed by Kings, had the glory of all victories in war, and all prudent institutions in peace. But certain it is, that the practice prevailed from the very commencement of the Republic. And though much the greater number of these Funeral Orations were unquestionably lost, when *Fabius*, about 300 years after the expulsion of *Tarquin*, undertook a general history of *Rome*, yet, that many of them were preserved, and especially of those posterior to the rebuilding of the City, there seems no reason to doubt. What could *Livy* mean by the *Privata Monumenta*, of which, he says, the greater part was destroyed by the *Gauls*, but these Funeral Orations and other Family Memorials? For he speaks of them as Pieces that would have been useful towards a general and clear History of those times. And indeed we cannot imagine, that private families, in the earliest times of the Republic, were chargeable with that vanity, which * *Cicero* and *Livy* complain

* Nec verò habeo quemquam antiquiorem [Catone Censore] cujus quidem scripta proferenda putem, nisi quem Appii Cæci Oratio hæc ipsa de Pyrrho, et nonnullæ

Mortuorum Laudationes fortè delectant: et Hercules, hæc quidem extant. Ipsæ enim familiæ suæ quali ornamenta, et monumenta servabant, et ad usum, siquis ejusdem generis occidisset,

complain of, as the source of many inventions in Funeral Panegyrics of the later ages. Till some families could with *Truth* boast of their antiquity, and the long glories of a line of ancestors from whom they were descended, there was no temptation, no opportunity for vain men *fallaciously* to claim that kind of nobility, and invent pedigrees to do themselves honour. And should we suppose, that at the renovation of the State, upon the departure of the *Gauls*, (*i. e.* about 119 years after the birth of the Commonwealth, the loss of many monuments public and private, might give both temptation and opportunity for fiction in some degree, yet this could reach to nothing very considerable; and it is hardly credible, that the Orator at a Funeral would, to raise the glory of the deceased and his family, hazard invented facts, which derogated from the glory of other families, and could be contradicted by the memory of persons living. And when in later times (the brevity and imperfection of the Pontifical Annals and the other public monuments, and the loss of many private ones, through the extinction or decay of families, giving large scope to inventive vanity) Consulships and Triumphs were falsely ascribed, in Funeral Orations, to the remote ancestors of those whose obsequies were then solemnized; still the accounts, given in those Orations, of what they themselves had performed in the high offices they had filled, would be materials which an Historian might confidently and safely employ.

Livy's complaint sufficiently proves, that he thought the first Historians had made use of Funeral Orations in compiling their Histories, and that some of those writers had very injudiciously adopted what they found delivered in such Orations, concerning the remote ancestors of the persons, in whose honour they were spoken. But neither he nor Cicero charges those Orations, with containing false accounts of facts contemporary with the Orators, nor do they speak of those pieces as *forgeries*. I am not aware of any the least ground *M. de B.* has for thinking, that the Funeral Orations of which *Livy* and *Cicero* complain, were *pieces supposées que des faussaires avoient forgées*.

It is in writing of the year 432 of the City (*i. e.* the 188th of the Republic) that *Livy* is at a loss to know, whether the Dictator *Cornelius*, or the Consuls of the year, conducted the war against the *Samnites*, and had a Triumph for the success. The Authors, he consulted, differed on this point, all agreeing however in *Cornelius* being then Dictator: they had therefore some unquestionable authority for this particular. Their differences, in relation to the persons who obtained the Victory and Triumph, he imputes to the differing accounts in Funeral Orations and In-

occidisset, et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum, et ad illustrandam nobilitatem suam. Quamquam his laudationibus Historiarum nostrarum est facta mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis, quæ facta non sunt, falsi triumphi, plures Consulatus, ge-

nera etiam falsa, et ad Plebem Transitiones, cum homines humiliores in alienum ejusdem nominis infunderentur genus: ut si ego me à M. Tullio esse dicerem, qui patricius cum Servio Sulpicio Consule, anno decimo post Reges exactos fuit. Cic. in Brut. c. 16.

scriptions

scriptions on Images, made long after the time, and by which he supposes the disagreeing Historians to have been respectively guided. "It is my opinion, says he, that the truth of history has been corrupted by Funeral Orations, and lying Inscriptions on Images, each family, by plausible fictions, assuming to itself the honour of great exploits. Hence, (that is, from this arrogant vanity) it has doubtless happened, that the actions of particular men are confounded (those of one man ascribed to another) and the *Public monuments* are likewise in confusion (disagree, contradict one another.) Nor is there any contemporary writer (contemporary with the Dictator and Consuls of the year 432) *extant*, by whose authority the truth of the matter in question can be sufficiently ascertained."

What *Livy* means by *Public Monuments* in this place, I will not pretend to say; probably they were the Inscriptions on Statues, *erected in the later times*, in temples and other public places, which Inscriptions, contradicting one another, had occasioned a disagreement among the Historians, who employed them in their own compositions. That he does not speak of the *High Priests Annals*, as confounded or made inconsistent, is evident from Cicero's account of those Pieces. The High Priest's business was not to record the transactions that passed two or three hundred years before, but the transactions of the present, or immediately preceding year. No Funeral Orations nor Inscriptions on Images, made in after times, could confound those Annals. Contradict them they might, but not make them inconsistent with themselves.

The same may be said of any other monuments, contemporary with the facts recorded in them; no posterior Orations nor Inscriptions could throw them into confusion.

It must indeed be admitted, upon the Credit of ^a *Livy's* words, that, in his time, no authentic record of any sort, contemporary with the Magistrates he is writing of, was extant, *by which the particular point in question could be cleared up*: For otherwise the differences among the prior Historians would not have perplexed him. But he does not say, that *Rome* had no writers so early as the year 432, or that no writing of so early date was extant in his time. His words rather import the contrary, That there were Writers in those days, and that some of their writings were extant, but none whereby the matter in doubt could with sufficient certainty be determined. *Nec quisquam æqualis temporibus illis scriptor exstat, quo satis certo auctore stetur.*

DEMONSTRATION, or satisfactory proof is not aimed at, by any thing or by all that is said above, in favour of the Roman History of the five first centuries; but only probability. The sum is this. It seems from many passages in *Cicero*, *Livy*, and other antient writers, that the first

^a Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor, falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familia ad se quæque famam rerum gestarum, honorumque fallente mendacio trahunt.

Inde certè et singulorum gesta, et publica monimenta rerum confusa. Nec quisquam æqualis temporibus illis scriptor exstat, quo satis certo auctore stetur. Lib. 8. c. 40.

Roman Historians had a great variety of antient and genuine pieces for the foundation of their Histories; *The High Priests Annals; The Acts of the Senate, and of the Comitia; Records of the succession of the Magistrates; The Censors Books; Treaties of Peace and Alliance; Family Memorials and Funeral Orations.*

Of no one sort of these pieces was there an uninterrupted series, but only parts and fragments. The whole stock of materials was insufficient for a continued thread of History; and accordingly, the History is broken and imperfect; there are many chasms in it; some things are delivered as uncertain, some as fabulous; and many things in it are fabulous or uncertain, which are not delivered as such. *Fabius Pictor* and his nearest followers adopted traditional stories which pleased the national vanity, and of which those Historians had no desire to destroy the belief, even when they could have done it by the means of authentic Monuments; and in many instances they were destitute of those means. The *Circumstantial Accounts* of the exploits of particular men, I conjecture to have been taken from Family Memorials and Funeral Orations; because I cannot conceive from what other source the Historians could have them. For *the Great Annals*, according to the description of them by *Cicero*, must have been too brief, to descend often to *Circumstances* of Actions; and *Tradition* (as *M. de Pouilly* observes) never informs us of Circumstances any more than of Dates. When fiction or uncertainty is apparent in the accounts given us of the heroic deeds of this or that great man, I apprehend, that those accounts were taken from Family Memorials and Funeral Orations, of *low date*, when the power of the *Romans* growing considerable, and their vanity keeping pace with it, Genealogies became a matter of great moment to private Families.

BUT as to the most memorable of the *National Affairs*, the civil contests, and the important changes produced by those contests in the constitution of the government, the foreign wars in which the *Romans* engaged, and the final success of their struggles with each of the neighbouring states, the truth of these events might be assured by Tradition alone; and the very dates of most of them would be ascertained by the LAWS and the TREATIES, that were carefully preserved; the laws consequent to the commotions and the treaties consequent to the wars. And we may well presume that the memory of much more than these principal events was transmitted by the High Priests Annals and the other public Monuments, contemporary with the facts they recorded. Family Memorials and Funeral Orations, composed in the earliest times of the Republic, would be excellent materials for an Historian; and even those of later date, where truth was mingled with fiction, would be good authority with regard not only to contemporary facts, but to facts much earlier than those Pieces, if many of those Pieces agreed in the same accounts.

M. de B. begins the second part of his Dissertation with these words.
 “ I have given the reasons which make me call in question the History
 “ of the first five centuries of *Rome*. They are founded on the want
 “ of

“ of contemporary Monuments and Historians. So that the first Historians which *Rome* produced, could have nothing whereon to ground their relations but *Tradition*, which is apt to corrupt very much the truth of facts ^a.”

Now, granting that *the very short account* of the 244 years of the Kings, contained in *Livy's first book*, was chiefly taken from *Tradition*, yet surely it is quite incredible, that such a variety of matter, so many particulars (with that degree of order which they have) as fill the *five* preserved Books of *Livy* that follow the *first*, and filled *seven* ^b Books more that are lost, could all be collected from *Tradition alone*. *Tradition* is not so copious and methodical. The earlier Historians, therefore, from whom *Livy* drew the matter of his History of *Rome*, from the Expulsion of *Tarquin* to the end of the 5th Century, must have had written Records and Memorials of some sort to work upon; and from these they must have taken *the greater part* of what they related; unless we will suppose that their Histories were romances of their own invention, which is not very probable; there being no indication whatsoever of those writers being great wits. It is probable, that, after *Fabius Pictor* and some others had composed General Histories of their Country, most of the private Memorials, which had served them, in many particulars, for guides and vouchers, were neglected and lost; as was the fate of *Livy*, and all the Historians prior to *Livy*, after he had published a better written and more entertaining History, comprehending the substance of all that they had collected.

M. de B., in the second part of his Dissertation, produces from the *Roman* story, several facts, which he calls *Principal Events*, and which, from the disagreement among the Antients, in their accounts of them, he considers as wholly uncertain; and from the uncertainty of these *Principal Events* he infers the uncertainty of all the rest. I shall not enter into a particular consideration of the facts referred to; Because, first of all, some of them are spoken of by the Antients as uncertain; and nobody pretends to certainty where they disclaim it. In the next place, because I conceive that very few of the facts mentioned have a title to be called *Principal Events*; and lastly because, if disagreement in some things, among Historians who write of the same people and times, be a sufficient ground for refusing credit to every thing they relate, there is no History which may not with good reason be utterly rejected; and I am not concerned in the defence of History in general.

BUT, in the first part of the Dissertation, there is one particular, which being strenuously insisted upon by the ingenious author, and seeming very much to his purpose of discrediting the accounts, given us by *Livy*

^a J'ai rapporté les raisons qui me font revoquer en doute l'Histoire des cinq premiers Siecles de Rome. Elles sont fondées sur la disette de Monumens, et d'Historiens contemporains; de sorte que les premiers Hi-

storians ne purent fonder leurs relations, que sur la Tradition, sujette à alterer beaucoup la verité des faits. p. 205.

^b *Livy's* 17th Book ended with the year 495.

and *Dionysius*, of the early times of the Republic, ought not to be passed over unconsidered: I mean THE TREATY which *Polybius* says, was concluded between the *Romans* and *Cartbaginians* in the first year after the expulsion of *Tarquin*; *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and *Marcus Horatius* being *Consuls*. The Reader may find this piece in the 7th Chap. of B. 3. of this History. If the treaty be genuine, and there be no mistake in the date which *Polybius* assigns to it, it stands in opposition to many things related by the two other Historians.

Dissert. p.
35.

I. IT APPEARS by this treaty (says M. de B.) "That *Brutus* and *Horatius* were colleagues in the consulship; which, according to *Livy* and *Dionysius*, and all the *Roman Fasti*, they were not:" and he adds, "that every thing the historians tell us of the events of this year, being partly founded on the names of the Consuls, nothing of the whole is, in his opinion, much worthy of credit."

+ Dissert.
vol. N. 3.

He observes, "that Mr. *Dodwell*, (*de cyclis Rom. Diss. x. p. 104.*) and *Rycquius* (*de capit. Rom. c. 11.*) chuse rather to accuse *Polybius* of falsifying this treaty, than admit the uncertainty which it throws upon antient history: and that *Perizonius* + has endeavoured to reconcile *Polybius* with the *Roman Fasti*, by conjecturing, That *Polybius* found only the name of *Horatius* in the original of the treaty, and added, of his own head, the name of *Brutus*, the better to denote the true date of this piece; and, as the name of *Horatius* alone had been put on the temple of the capitol, so that name alone had been put to this treaty. This conjecture [says M. de B.] I would let pass, if it removed the other difficulties raised by the piece in question, and reconciled it with the accounts given by the other Historians: yet I think *Polybius* too well versed in the Roman History, to have given *Horatius* a colleague, who never was his colleague; and too exact and scrupulous to have added any thing of his own to an original piece."

THAT it is not probable, *Polybius* would falsify a Treaty, add any thing of his own to an Original Piece, I readily grant; and that *Perizonius*'s conjecture, if admitted, would leave the main difficulties in their full force. But I should be curious to know, what *Roman History* that was, which M. de B. supposes *Polybius* so well versed in, and in which he supposes him to have found, that *Brutus* and *Horatius* were colleagues in the consulship. If, in the days of *Polybius*, there were authentic annals existing, which recorded the transactions of the earliest times of the Republic, M. de B.'s main position in his Dissertation is overthrown. If he supposes that *Polybius*'s sole authority for joining *Brutus* and *Horatius* in the consulship (contrary to report of the older historians and annalists, whom *Livy* and *Dionysius* are said to have copied) was the piece in question, I would ask, how it appears that

* Je crois qu'il faut avouer de bonne foi, dé sur les noms de consuls, est peu digne de que tout ce que les Historiens nous disent des créance.
événemens de cette année, étant en partie sen-

the names of *Brutus* and *Horatius* were *certainly* at the head or tail of that ancient monument? It is plain they were not in the body of it. When *Livy* and *Dionysius* contradict *Polybius* upon any particular historical fact, I believe there are very few readers who will not be inclined to side with the last, provided there be no reason not to do so, but barely his being contradicted upon *that fact*, by those two historians. But this is not the present case. The fact reported by *him* is highly improbable; and it is inconsistent with a series of not improbable facts, reported by *them*; facts, in regard to which we cannot conceive any temptation they had to *invent*, *conceal*, or *disguise*: and, in what *Polybius* himself says, there seems to be good ground for suspecting that he was deceived in relation to the piece in question. He introduces his translation of it with these words: “The first treaty between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* was made in the consulship of *Lucius Junius Brutus* and *Marcus Horatius*, the first Consuls after the *Regifuge*, by whom also was consecrated the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, 28 years before the passing of *Xerxes* into *Greece*. Below, you will find the words of the treaty, interpreted in the best manner I was able to do it. For the antient Latin is so different from that now in use, that the most skilful are frequently at a loss, even after close application, to explain it.”—And (in c. 26.) after giving us two subsequent treaties, he says, “It is no wonder that *Philius* knew nothing of these [all the 3] treaties, (though engraven on brass, and preserved in the temple of *Jupiter*, under the custody of the *Ædiles*) for even in my time, the oldest men, both *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, those who were thought the best acquainted with public affairs, were ignorant of these treaties.”

NOW, granting that some Consuls names were *really* found at the beginning or end of the old record in question, yet nobody will suppose, that the Consuls were *there described* in the manner *Polybius* describes them. The description is all his own. And (by the way) when he says, that the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was consecrated by *Brutus* and *Horatius*; Who can prefer his authority, in this particular, to that of *Livy*, or of the most antient Latin historians whom doubtless *Livy* followed herein; and to the very inscription itself on the temple, where *Horatius* was named as the only consecrator? What motive can we imagine the Roman Historians to have had for denying *Brutus* a share in that honour, if he had any title to it? Besides, it seems pretty evident from many passages in *Livy*, that it was not the custom, in the dedication of any temple, for more than one person to perform that ceremony.

FURTHER; not only the description of the Consuls, but their very NAMES, as *Polybius* gives them, cannot well be supposed to have been annexed to this record, *Lucius Junius* with his surname *Brutus*, and *Marcus Horatius* without his surname *Pulvillus*. If the names were entire and legible, we must believe that the historian has either omitted or added something. And supposing, that to this record were found both entire and legible, the names of some Consuls; yet why is it so difficult to believe, that *Polybius* may have been deceived, concerning those names, by persons to

whom he applied himself, for assistance in his attempt to explain a record in old Latin? For it is not to be supposed that he, a stranger, would undertake without assistance to translate a piece so difficult to be translated, even by the most skilful of the natives. He may have given us a false account of the date of this treaty without being guilty of forgery.

AND why may we not suppose, that time had effaced some parts of the Consuls names, and that the defects were supplied by conjecture? The Roman vanity might have a share too in the conjecture: it might prompt the assistants of our historian to fill up the chasms in such a manner as to form an evidence, that the Roman state was considerable enough, in the first year of the Republic, to have a treaty with the *Carthaginians*.

BUT perhaps there is some reason to doubt, whether any date, or Consuls names were *really* found at the beginning or end of this old record. For it is remarkable, that *Polybius*, who gives us, at large, two subsequent treaties engraven, like the first, on brass, and kept with it under the custody of the *Ædiles*, neither mentions *the names of the Consuls* under whose administration they were made, nor assigns any *certain date* to either of them. Of the *former* of the two he says only, that it was made *after the first*; and of the *latter* he says only, that it was made *about the time of Pyrrhus's coming into Italy*: and for *this* it does not appear, that he had any voucher, but the matter of the treaty itself, where *Pyrrhus* is mentioned. If he had found dates and Consuls names to these brazen records, it is wonderful that so exact an historian should omit them; and especially when he is employing these records as evidence against *Philinus's* accounts, and the evidence has no real weight for want of those dates. Seeing then there is so much reason to believe that the records of the two later treaties wanted dates, we may well suspect that the oldest had the like defect; and that the date given to it was by mere conjecture.

Dissert. p.
27.

II. M. DE B.'s second discovery, in this important piece of antiquity, is, "That so early as the first year of the Republic, the *Romans* practised navigation and *piracy*; of which things (he adds) there is little said in their history, which represents their *marine*, till the first Punic war, as consisting only of some merchant ships, and as not brought to any perfection but on account of that war, as *Polybius himself* remarks."

L. 2. c. 20.

I MUST here confess, that I cannot discern, in the treaty, one word importing, that the *Romans* at the time of its being concluded, practised

* Suppose the treaty in question to have been made so late as 304. the first year after the Decemvirs, when *Lucius Valerius Potitus* and *Marcus Horatius Barbatus* were Consuls. The matter of the treaty will, in this case, suit better with the times, according to the accounts of them by *Livy*, and *Dionysius*. (For *A-dia* was then in alliance with *Rome*, and *Astium* was a *Roman* colony.) Imagine the names of the Consuls to have

been partly effaced, and that there remained of them, (supposing the cognomens to have been originally inserted) only *Lucius —ius —us*, *Marcus Horatius*. Who will not see, that the Roman vanity of those, whom *Polybius* employed for his decyphers, might tempt them to supply the chasms with *Jan — Bru —*? But I am inclined to think that the piece in question was of much later date than the year 304.

piracy, or had any ships of war. Perhaps M. de B. collects this piracy from Polybius's comment on the treaty, who says, "That the Carthaginians would not suffer the Romans to sail to the south of the Fair Promontory with long ships, μακρὰς ναυσὶ;" which are commonly understood to be ships of war. But his comment here does not well accord with what he himself asserts, when he writes of the first Punic war: For he there tells us, "That the Romans, to that time, had never thought of the sea—and were so far from having decked ships, that they had not so much as one long ship, or even a *Lembus*." In this particular the historian is undoubtedly mistaken; and I mention it, not only to shew its repugnance to his comment on the treaty in question, but to shew likewise that Polybius is not always to be followed with a blind deference; and that we ought, in reading him, to observe the rule which he recommends to those who read the historian Fabius, "not to regard so much the great name of the person who writes, as the matter he delivers," and to consider whether this be probable, have the appearance of truth, and be consistent with what is unquestionably true^a.

BUT further, this treaty, according to M. de B., informs us,

^a Polybius (L. 3. c. 26.) quarrels with Philinus, not for being ignorant of the three treaties before mentioned, as he supposes he was, but for asserting things contrary to the tenor of them. Now it does not appear, from any proof Polybius gives, either that Philinus was ignorant of these treaties, or that he asserted any thing contrary to them. Philinus affirmed (in speaking of the grounds of the first Punic war) that in some treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, it had been covenanted, that the former should not invade any part of Sicily, nor the latter any part of Italy. But this assertion does not contradict what is contained in the other treaties. To shew a contradiction Polybius should have given us the dates of all the three treaties he has mentioned, and likewise the date, which Philinus assigned to the treaty mentioned by him; and this Polybius has not done. The treaty, to which Philinus refer'd, might have been made after the time of Pyrrhus's coming into Italy: And Philinus might know there was such a treaty, though Polybius could find no record of it: which is the second bad reason he gives for denying the fact. What Philinus reported is so far from being manifestly false, that it is highly probable. For if the Romans before they had subdued all Latium, or had even alliances with all the Latine states, thought it necessary to bind the Carthaginians by treaty not to attempt conquests in any part

of Latium, it was natural, that when they came to have the same sort of interest in protecting all Italy from the Carthaginians which they had before in protecting Latium only, they should exclude the Carthaginians from every part of Italy; and doubtless in that case the Carthaginians would exclude the Romans for the like reasons, from every part of Sicily.

[N. B. In p. 18. of this second Volume of this History, where the question *Whether the first war, undertaken by the Romans against the Carthaginians was justifiable*, is discussed, the reasoning is partly founded on the supposition, that the report of Polybius is true; and that no treaty had been concluded between the two states, whereby the Romans were barred from meddling in the affairs of Sicily.]

It is sometimes urged against the authority of Livy and Dionysius, with regard to certain important facts related by them, that Polybius is silent concerning those facts, tho' he wrote of the same times and on the same subject which they treat. But I shall here observe once for all, That this his silence will never alone be a sufficient reason for rejecting the accounts of the other historians. For Polybius, though he speaks three times of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, does not once mention their burning it; and yet this is an important fact, of which I believe nobody questions the truth.

Duffen. p.
37.

• Lib. 2.
in fine.

+ Lib. ix.

p. 615.

§ D. Hal.

Lib. 4.

p. 277.

Lib. Lib. 1.

c. 57.

III. THAT so early as the first year of the Republic, “The *Romans* were masters of all the sea-coast as far as to *Tarracina*, and even of the cities of *Antium* and *Ardea*; a point wherein it manifestly stands in opposition to *Livy** and *Dionysius*†. For these authors tell us, that *Antium* was the capital of the *Volsci*, and that the *Romans* did not take it till 40 years after, in the consulship of *T. Quinctius* and *Q. Servilius*. The city of *Ardea* §, according to the same historians, was besieged by *Tarquin* the Proud at the time when the *Roman* people shook off the yoke of his domination. The *Ardeates*, after that, having the same interests with the *Romans*, made a fifteen years truce with them. After which time *Ardea* continued in alliance with *Rome* to the year 310, when, on account of some particular discontents, they confederated with the *Volsci*; but in the following year the old alliance was renewed.

“This city therefore (adds *M. de B.*) was, according to those historians, independent, and only in alliance with the *Romans*; whereas the treaty, given at large by *Polybius*, imports, that this city, and likewise *Antium*, *Laurentum*, *Circeii*, *Tarracina* were SUBJECT to them; and expressly distinguished these cities from the cities IN ALLIANCE with *Rome*. Hence it appears that the two historians give us a false notion of the *Roman* state in the beginning of the republic; for they represent its domination as extending little further than the proper territory of *Rome*; whereas by this treaty we see, that it extended over several cities, and over all the sea-coast as far as *Tarracina*.”

WHENEVER THIS treaty was made (supposing it genuine) it is evident, that the main purpose of the *Romans* in it, was to exclude the *Carthaginians* from all *Latium*, not only those parts of it that were subject to the *Romans*, or in alliance with them, but those likewise with which they had neither of those connexions. And it is not, I think, clear from the words of the treaty, that all the towns therein mentioned were in absolute subjection to the *Romans*. It speaks to this effect, “Let the *Carthaginians* do no hurt to the *Ardeates*, *Antiates*, *Laurentini*, *Circeienses*, *Tarracineses*, or any other of the *Latines*, if they be ὑπηκοί, nay if any of them be not ὑπηκοί, let not the *Carthaginians* meddle with their towns. If they take any town of the *Latines* [whether they be ὑπηκοί or not ὑπηκοί] let them restore it unhurt to the *Romans*.” Here is no distinction made of towns subject and towns in alliance, but of the *Latines* who were ὑπηκοί, and the *Latines* who were not ὑπηκοί. What the force of the word ὑπηκοί is, does not fully appear; whether it mean subject in the strict sense, or only dependent allies. I say dependent allies; for these towns might be in alliance with the *Romans* and yet not independent on them; such being the

* ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΑΔΙΚΕΙΤΩ-
ΣΑΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΑΡΔΕΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΤΙΑΤΩΝ,
ΔΙΤΡΕΝΤΙΝΩΝ, ΚΙΡΚΑΙΑΤΩΝ, ΤΑΡΡΑ-
ΚΗΝΙΤΩΝ, ΜΗΔ' ΑΛΛΟΝ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ΛΑ-
ΤΙΝΩΝ, ΟΣΟΙ ΑΝ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΙ. ΕΑΝ ΔΕ

ΤΙΝΕΣ ΜΗ ΩΣΙΝ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΙ, ΤΩΝ ΠΟ-
ΛΩΝ ΑΠΕΧΕΤΩΣΑΝ. ΑΝ ΔΕ ΛΑΒΩΣΙ,
ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΤΩΣΑΝ ΑΚΕΡΑΙΟΝ.
Polyb. Lib. 3. c. 22.

case of almost all the states of *Italy* at the commencement of the first Punic war. And what the true import was of the old obsolete Latin word, which *Polybius* has rendered ὑπηκούοι, who can tell? One would suspect that neither *Polybius* nor his assistants did very well understand the piece they undertook to explain. For it is a very strange covenant, *That in case the Carthaginians seized any town of the Latines, not subject to the Romans, they should restore it to the Romans.*

Further; If this Brazen Monument had, for its date, the names of *Brutus* and *Horatius* (Consuls in the first year of the Republic) and if the words of the treaty import, that the *Ardeates* were SUBJECT TO *Rome*, and distinguish them from ALLIES, it is contradicted by an Original Authentic Record, which *Livy* mentions of a *Treaty of Alliance and Friendship*, made with the *Ardeates* in the Consulships of *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *L. Papirius Mugilanus* (year of *Rome* 309 or 311:) which treaty was a *Renewal of an Alliance* that had long subsisted between the two States ^a. Lib. 4. c. 7.

Again; it is hardly to be imagined that the *Romans* had subdued the maritime towns of old *Latium*, as far as to *Tarracina*, in the remotest extremity of it, without having reduced the intermediate inland towns, and in short, the whole or almost the whole country: Yet this subjection of the *Latine* Nation to *Rome* in the first year of the Republic, is incompatible with an Original Brazen Monument existing in *Livy's* time, and recording the *Treaty of Alliance* made with the *Latines* in the second Consulship of *Cassius*, (year of *R.* 260 or 261.) L. 2. c. 33.

And, as to *Antium*, the Capital of the *Volsci*, though *Livy* reports, that it was taken (in 284) forty years after the commencement of the Republic, yet, by the sequel ^b of his story, it would seem, that the *Antiates* L. 2. c. 65.

^a The *Ardeates*, on occasion of a dispute between them and their neighbours the *Aricini*, about a tract of land, were insulted by a decree of the *Roman* people, to whom the cause had been referred; who, instead of adjudging the land to either of the claimants, took it to themselves. Hereupon the *Ardeates* broke alliance with the *Romans*, and soon after, by Ambassadors, complained at *Rome* of the injury which had been done them; but complained in such terms, as shewed, they were willing to renew alliance and friendship with the *Roman* state, provided restitution were made of the land in question. The Senate gave them a soft answer; and the next year the alliance was renewed by treaty; the record of which treaty *Licinius Macer* had read. *T. Quinctius Barbatus* interrex consules creat, *L. Papirius Mugilanus*, *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. His consulibus cum *Ardeatibus* fœdus renovatum est. Idque Monumenti est, Consules eos illo anno fuisse qui neque in *Anna-*

libus Priscis, neque in *Libris Magistratum* inveniuntur, Credo, quod *Tribuni Militum* initio anni fuerent, eo perinde ac si totum annum in imperio fuerunt, suffectis his Consulibus, prætermisita nomina Consulium horum. *Licinius Macer* auctor est, et in *Fœdere Ardeatino* et in *Linteis Libris* ad *Monetæ* inventa.

^b The *Latine* Historian relates, that when after the taking of *Antium* in 285. by *T. Quinctius*, the Senate had decreed to place a Colony there, the persons appointed to settle the Colony could prevail with but few of the *Roman* Citizens to go thither, so that they were forced to admit of *Volsci* to compleat the necessary number; and he further tells us, that a multitude of the old inhabitants returning soon after to the City, these alienated the minds of the Colony from the *Romans*, and its fidelity could no longer be depended upon. *Livy* seems not to have known the exact time, when the *Antiates* shook off all dependance upon the Re- L. 3. c. 1. c. 4. c. 23.

seems not to have duly reflected, when he says^a, “ It is sufficiently apparent that *Livy* and *Dionysius* knew nothing of the treaty mentioned “ by *Polybius*.” They could not but meet with this piece in *Polybius*’s work, which they appear to be very well acquainted with, and of which *Livy* makes great use in compiling his own. And is it not evident therefore, from their shewing no regard to what *Polybius* says of his old brazen monument, either that they looked upon it as not authentic, or knew that he had been deceived concerning the date of it? It is remarkable, that *Livy*, who informs us, that some authors differing from the rest, make *Horatius* the immediate successor of *Brutus*, has not thought it worth while to observe, that *Polybius* makes them colleagues in the consulship. L. 2. c. 8.

Add to this the great improbability, that, during the unsettled and precarious state of things at *Rome*, in the first year after the expulsion of *Tarquinius*, the *Carthaginians* should enter into any treaty with the *Romans*; and the yet greater improbability, that they should conclude a treaty with them in terms, which suppose them in a settled state, and in a condition to maintain the stipulations therein expressed.

Perhaps we should have found the matter cleared up, and *Polybius*’s mistake animadverted upon by *Livy* or *Dionysius*, if those parts of their histories, which treated of the first war with the *Carthaginians*, had been preserved.

I SHALL close these Observations with the words of M. de *Pouilly*, in the beginning of his *Nouveaux Essais de Critique sur la fidelité de l’Histoire*.

“ It very seldom happens that we avoid one faulty extreme without “ running into another, its contrary: This maxim, true in morality, is “ true in criticism. Are men afraid of giving credit to fables? They “ sometimes refuse it to the most certain facts; they look upon History “ as a compound of Truths and Fictions, so intimately united, that it is “ impossible to separate them.—Had the Historian no part in the trans- “ actions he relates? They suspect him of being ill informed.—Had he a “ part in those transactions? They accuse him of prejudice and pre- “ possession.—On the other hand there are those, who, fearing lest they “ should happen to reject true History, give credit to all the Fables “ which have borrowed its Name.—Let us avoid these opposite ex- “ travagances: Let us confess, that, in History, *falsehood* is mingled with “ *truth*; but that there are marks by which they may be distinguished. “ Love of the *Marvellous*, Interest, Vanity, Spirit of Party, are so many “ fountains ever open, from whence fiction spreads itself in ample waves “ over the Annals of all nations.—When we are reduced to seek the truth “ of a fact in historians biassed by passions, if they are of different parties “ and interests, let us bring their narrations together; and from this “ collation, we shall strike out the truth, if I may so speak, in spite of “ them: I say farther, that those who are of one and the same party, “ will commonly deserve some credit in facts of such public notoriety, “ that they durst not disguise them; or in which they were too little in- “ terested to have sufficient temptation to undertake it.”

^a Il paroît même assez, qu’ils n’en ont eu aucune connoissance, Dissert. p. 34. Si Tite Live avoit eu connoissance de cette piece, &c. S’il avoit consulté ce monument, &c. p. 39.



T H E

Roman History.

FOURTH BOOK.

From the Beginning of the FIRST PUNIC WAR
in the Year of *Rome* 489, to the End of the
SECOND in 552.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the close of the preceding volume of this History, we left the *Romans* complete conquerors and quiet possessors of all *ancient Italy*, that is, of all the country between the *Adriatic* and the *Mediterranean* from the remotest border of *Hebruria* to the *Ionian* sea. The far greater part of this Dominion, though their state [by the usual reckonings] was now 488 years old, had been of late acquisition: For whatever advantage they might have over their neighbours, in the admirable construction of their ^a *legion*, the discipline of war, or any other respects, they could make but little progress in conquest, during the space of above four centuries from the building of their city. *Rome*, while under the government of Kings, was in the weakness of infancy; and if, with *Florus*, we consider her as advanced to sprightly youth, (the second stage of life,) when she became a Republic, yet her natural strength was impaired, and her growth long checked, by the disease of civil discord, a mischief wholly proceeding from the want of that *essential* of a free state, a just equality among its members.

By the revolution which expelled *Tarquin* the Proud, the Commons of *Rome* were delivered from a Tyrant, but not from Tyranny. A short suspension there was indeed of the weight of oppression: This was owing

^a *Vegetius* thinks that the form of the legion was not the product of meer human reason, but that the *Romans* were led to it by a kind of instinct from Heaven: *Non*

tantum humano consilio, sed etiam divinitatis instinctu, legiones a Romanis arbitror constitutas. De re milit. l. 2. c. 21.

Livy, B. 2.
ch. 9.

• Patricians
the Y. of
R. 242.

Y. of R.
242.

Y. of R.
242.

Y. of R.
242.

See Vol. I.
B. 7. ch.
4. §. 1.

to the honest zeal of that excellent Patriot, *Valerius Poplicola*, and to the temporising lenity and moderation of the Senate, while their fears of *Tarquin's* return were alive and strong. In so perilous a season the indulgent Fathers had the goodness to decree, *That the poorer sort, by only educating their children, paid sufficient tribute to the State, and ought not to be loaded with any other tax.* But it was not long before the Plebeians felt themselves in the chains of servitude; *Livy* makes the death of *Tarquin*, which happened in the fourteenth year after his banishment, to be the precise period when they began ^b to be oppressed by the Nobles. The Commons then became sensible, that, by dethroning their King, they had only cast off the domination of one Tyrant to become slaves to many, in a Assembly of Tyrants, whose yoke was no less heavy and insupportable. The *Valerian* * law, to permit appeals from the sentence of the Magistrates to *the People assembled*, was not sufficient to protect the Plebeians from injustice and cruelty. They found it necessary to provide themselves *living* Protectors against the Tyranny of the Great, and therefore extorted from the Senate a consent to the establishment of the *Tribunitian* Power. Another rampart against the overflowings of ambition they raised to themselves by instituting the *Comitia Tributa*, and by the practice of bringing into judgment, before those assemblies, the most exalted of the Nobles, upon accusations of treason against the People. By the publication of the laws of the *Twelve Tables* some check was given to the abuse of that prerogative, which the Patricians tenaciously kept, of being the sole judges in civil causes; and we find, that on several other occasions, the Commons, urged by oppression to fury, exerted their natural strength in such a manner, as seemed to proclaim them the sovereign masters in *Rome*. But those acts of power were only transient flashes, the lightnings of a civil tempest: and, notwithstanding all the advances hitherto made towards liberty and equality, the Patricians were the permanent, established Lords of the Commonwealth: all the great Offices, Civil, Military, and Sacerdotal, were confined to their body; the public treasure at their disposal: They heaped up riches to themselves; and, while the People, through extreme indigence, fell under a necessity of contracting debts to the Patrician usurers, the laws gave the creditors power to be cruel to their insolvent debtors: And the consequence of all this was, that multitudes of the Plebeians, slavishly dependent by reason of their poverty, durst not concur with the more free, in using even the undisputed rights of the commons. Hence the few instances of Plebeians chosen to the *Military Tribuneship*, even after they were legally qualified for that station.

^b Insignis hic annus est nuncio Tarquinii latitia: plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope mortis.—Eo nuncio erecti patres, erecta inservitum erat, injuriæ à primoribus fieri plebes. Sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea facta cœpere. B. 2. ch. 21.



The commonwealth of *Rome* was never truly a free state, till after the publication of the *Licinian* Laws, those laws which, *in their consequences*, made Merit alone the ordinary scale whereby to ascend to the highest offices, and which by admitting the Plebeians to a reasonable share of what was purchased with their blood, delivered them from that servile subjection to the wealthy nobles in which their indigence had so long detained them.

Y. of R.
386.

From this period, the *Roman* people, when they made laws, or elected Magistrates for the execution of them, were, generally speaking, free from all undue influence; not overawed, as before, by the rich and the great, nor constrained by any force, but that of reason and natural justice, in the most absolute subjection to which is the most perfect freedom. No citizen, who had shewed superior talents and virtue, stood excluded, on account of the low degree of his birth, from the dignities of the state: The emulation among the individuals was to surpass each other in *deserving* honours.

Indeed the haughty Patricians, as, when vanquished by the Plebeians, they had given ground with an angry reluctance, and retired fighting, so they afterwards, from time to time, shewed a strong disposition to renew the war, in order to regain their unrighteous sovereignty: but their efforts were faint and ineffectual; and at length acquiescing in what they could not undo, there ensued domestic peace and union, and an established liberty.

Union at home gave new strength to the state; and liberty seems to have inspired the people with a more elevated courage, a more unwearied fortitude, than they had hitherto shewn, in their wars abroad. By a series of victories, they, in the space of about 70 years (reckoning from the battle against the *Latines* in 413) enlarged their narrow dominion, of a few leagues about the city, to the utmost extent of *Italy*. And, though destitute of naval strength and naval skill, their next enterprize, as we shall presently find, will be against a rival republic, beyond the continent; a republic that with greater riches, and more ample territories than theirs, had possession of the absolute dominion of the sea. The boldness of the undertaking, and the amazing constancy with which they supported it, in spite of the most terrible adversities, are not to be paralleled in the history of any other nation: But the *Roman* legions were, at this time, legions of free citizens, whose predominant passion was glory, and who placed the highest glory in facing every danger, and surmounting every difficulty, to preserve their Liberty, and extend their Empire.

C H A P. I.

The occasion and commencement of the first Punic or Carthaginian war.

THE prophetic * exclamation of King *Pyrrhus*, as he sailed from *Sicily*, is now going to be accomplished, and that island to be the theatre of a bloody war between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The

* See Vol.
I. B. 3. ch.
28. §. 3.

Epirot, when he beheld these powerful and ambitious Republics making swift advances in conquest, and by every step approaching nearer to each other, could have no difficulty to foresee that they would soon become enemies; and, as he might with reason believe that the *Romans* would finish the reduction of *Italy*, before the *Carthaginians* could totally subdue *Sicily*, the conjecture was natural, that this country would be the seat of the war between them. He himself had gone thither, on the invitation of the people of *Syracuse*, to guard them against the *Carthaginian* encroachments; and he was, doubtless, persuaded, that, in a short time, they would find themselves under a necessity of suing to the *Romans* for the like succour. The occasion however of the first rupture, between *Rome* and *Carthage*, was not any distress of the *Syracusans*; it was an event singular and unexpected; and as it has left ground for a dispute, whether the *First Punic* or *Carthaginian War* was justly undertaken by the *Romans*, it may be proper, for the reader's satisfaction, to state the case as fully as possible; and, in order thereto, we must recall some passages of the former * part of this History.

• See Vol.
I. B. 3. ch.
25. §. 1. &
ch. 29. §. 5.
Strabo. l. 6.
p. 268.
Polyb. l. 2.
c. 7.
D. N. Scit.
in E. 1. 3.
p. 365.

A considerable body of soldiers, *Campanians* by birth, and called *Mamertines*, had been mercenaries to *Agathocles* King of *Syracuse*; upon whose death, finding themselves no longer welcome there, they marched away with all their effects to *Messina*. Admitted here, and kindly entertained as friends, they treacherously massacred one part of the citizens, expelled the rest, and seized, for their own use, upon the lands, houses, and even wives of those unfortunate men.

Some time after this, when *Pyrrhus* was just landed in *Italy*, the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, that their city might neither fall into the hands of the *Epirot*, nor become a prey to the *Carthaginians*, who were masters of the sea, and whose fleets appeared frequently off the coast, requested of the *Roman* Senate, to furnish them with a garrison. A Legion of 4000 *Romans*, raised in *Campania*, was, under the command of *Decius Junellius*, appointed to that service. At first, they demeaned themselves suitably to the intention of those who employed them: but, at length tempted by the wealth of the place, emboldened by the example of the *Mamertines*, and strengthened by their aid, they acted the same perfidious and cruel part towards the *Rhegians*, which the other had acted towards the people at *Messina*.

As these cities are parted only by that narrow sea (now called the *Faro*) which separates *Italy* from *Sicily*, it was easy for the two bands of robbers mutually to assist each other in the defence of their usurpations; for which purpose they entered into a strict confederacy.

The *Romans*, though they found their honour greatly stained by the outrageous wickedness of the garrison, with which they had furnished their good allies, were then too much engaged in affairs more urgent, to take immediate revenge on the offenders: Nor in truth did they turn their thoughts that way till four years after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italy*, and the old enemies of *Rome* were all subdued. Then they marched an army to *Rhegium*, and besieged it; in which enterprize *Hiero* of *Syracuse*

cuse lent his aid. The traitors, hopeless of pardon, defended themselves with an obstinate resolution, yet the town was at length carried by assault: All those who escaped the sword of the assailants, being led in chains to *Rome*, were, by a decree of the senate, first beaten with rods, and then beheaded: And the *Rbegians* were restored to their former liberty and estates.

About six years after this execution of justice, the fame of which had sounded honourably through all quarters of *Italy*, came messengers to *Rome* from the *Mamertines* in *Sicily*, imploring help against the *Syracusians*, under whose power they were ready to fall, and who they feared, would inflict on them the like punishment for the like crimes: A most impudent request from the thieves of *Messina*, to ask protection of the very judges who had condemned to death their fellow-thieves of *Rbegium*! Nevertheless, from a view of their present situation, we shall perhaps be induced to conclude, that the *Mamertines* took this step in consequence of sober reflection, and were not without a reasonable hope of assistance from *Rome*.

These usurpers of *Messina*, so long as they could get succours from their friends at *Rbegium*, had not only lived fearless of any danger, but had often been aggressors on their neighbours the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians*, putting many towns and villages under contribution. The posture of their affairs received a mighty change by the destruction of their *Italian* allies: Of whose wonted aid being deprived, they were overthrown in battle by the *Syracusians* under the conduct of *Hiero*^d, Prætor of that state, and their army almost totally cut off. Humbled
and

Polyb. I.
1. c. 8.
and 9.

^d *Hiero*, on his return to *Syracuse*, was elected King. He was the son of *Hierocles*, and by him descended from *Gelo*, who had formerly reigned in *Syracuse*; but his mother was a slave. He distinguished himself early from those of his own years by his expertness in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He gained the esteem of *Pyrrhus*, and was honoured with several rewards from his hand. Extremely handsome, of great bodily strength, smooth and engaging in his address, equitable in business, and gentle in command, he seem'd to want nothing kingly but a kingdom. Pulchritudo ei corporis insignis, vires quoque in homine admirabiles fuere; in alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus; prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse, præter regnum videretur. *Justin*, B. 23. chap. 4.

He was chosen Prætor by the soldiers on occasion of a quarrel between them and the citizens: Nevertheless, the latter, on

account of the great gentleness and humanity with which he proceeded on his first accession to power, confirmed him in that office. He aspired however to something yet higher, as was easily discerned by the quick-sighted from the very beginning of his administration. For *Hiero* knowing that the citizens, whenever the troops with their leaders went into the field, were apt to fall into factions and seditions, and that *Leptines*, a man in high repute for his probity, had the greatest sway with the people, he made an alliance with him, by taking his daughter to wife, proposing by this means to secure to himself the fidelity of the *Syracusians* at home, during his expeditions with the army abroad. As to the soldiery, the veteran mercenaries having lost their discipline, and being on all occasions prompt to mutiny, and to raise new commotions, he took the following method to get rid of them. Under colour of a design to extirpate the
usur-

Polyb. I.
1. c. 8.

ca, and some part of *Spain*, but were masters of *Sardinia*, and the adjacent isles on the coast of *Italy*, and had even extended their dominion far in *Sicily*,

Solinus reckons 737 years from the first year of *Carthage* to its total destruction, which if placed in the 607th of *Rome*, *Carthage*, according to him, was built before *Rome* 130 years.

According to Sir *Isaac Newton*, *Carthage* was founded by *Dido* 883 years before the beginning of the Christian Era. This Computation will fall in with that of *Solinus*, as to the age of *Carthage*, but not as to the juniority of *Rome*; which Sir *Isaac* supposes to be younger than her rival by 256 years.]

The new City grew in a short time into a flourishing condition; *Iarbas*, a neighbouring Prince, demanded *Dido* in marriage, threatening the *Carthaginians* with war in case of refusal. *Dido*, to avoid this marriage, without drawing a calamity upon her people, put an end to her own life with a poniard. She was afterwards worshipped as a Goddess so long as *Carthage* subsisted.

THE FIRST WAR^a waged by the *Carthaginians* in *Africa* seems to have been on account of the annual tribute they had bound themselves to pay to the *Africans* for the ground on which their city stood. In this war their arms prospered under the conduct of one *Malchus*.

But *Mago* who succeeded *Malchus*, is consider'd, by *Justin*, as the first builder of the *Carthaginian* empire, because it was he that introduc'd an exact discipline among the troops. After his death his two sons *Hafdrubal* and *Hamilcar* had the command of the army. These brothers left each three sons, who shared among them the chief authority in *Carthage*. They made war against the *Moors* and *Numidians* with success, and obliged the *Africans* to relinquish all claim to the tribute; which they had demanded sword in hand.

[Six commanders out of one and the same family, and who governed all affairs both at home and abroad, seemed dangerous to a free State. It was a jealousy of the exorbitant power of this family of *Mago*, which induced the *Carthaginians* to elect an hundred judges out of the Senators, to whom the Generals were to give an account of their conduct after their return from the war.]

When the *Carthaginians* had made considerable conquests in *Africa*, there arose a^b war between them and the people of *Cyrene* (a powerful city, standing to the East of the greater *Syrtis*) concerning the limits of their respective jurisdictions. After many bloody conflicts by land and sea, it was agreed (as the story is told) that two men should set out from each of the two cities at the same instant, and that the place of their meeting should be the boundary to the two States. The men from *Carthage* (who were brothers of the name of *Philanus*) either made more expedition than those from *Cyrene*, or, as *Valerius Maximus* relates, began their course before the appointed time. Be that as it will, the *Cyrenians* complained of deceit, and refused to stand to the agreement, unless the two brothers (in proof of their innocence) would consent to be buried alive in the place of meeting. The *Philani*, readily acquiescing in the proposal, were buried quick in that spot; and the *Carthaginians* erected there two altars to their memory. The place from that time was called *The Altars of the Philani* [*Aræ Philenorum*] and was ever after the eastern boundary of the *Carthaginian* Empire, which in time comprehended the whole extent of the northern coast of *Africa*, from those Altars to the *Pillars of Hercules*.

History does not inform us at what times the *Carthaginians* first carried their arms into SICILY, SARDINIA, or SPAIN.

SPAIN had sufficient allurements to draw the *Carthaginians* thither. It abounded with mines of gold and silver, enchanting baits to their avarice, and it was peopled by a martial race of men, who (if once reduced to be subjects of *Carthage*) would furnish her with brave troops for the conquest of other nations, and free her, in part, from the necessity of employing foreign mercenaries in her wars. For the genius of the *Carthaginians* being more turned to commerce than war, they had constantly recourse (at least in the latter ages of their state) to that dangerous expedient of hiring strangers to fight their battles.

The

^a *Justin*, B. 18. ch. 7. B. 19. c. 1.

^b *Sallust*, de Bell. Jugurth. *Val. Maxim.* B. 5. c. 6.

Sicily, these things gave them very uneasy apprehensions. For they plainly foresaw, that unless they interposed to prevent it, *Messina* would soon fall into the hands of those formidable neighbours; who would then be able speedily to invade *Syracuse*, and all the other parts of the island, not yet in their obedience. They considered likewise, that the *Carthaginians*, when once in possession of *Messina*, might make use of it almost as a bridge to pass into

* The occasion of the first descent made by the *Carthaginians* on *Spain*, was, to defend the inhabitants of *Gades*, (a colony from *Tyre*, and more ancient than those of *Carthage* and *Utica*) against the *Spaniards*.

Encouraged by success in this enterprize, they became aggressors, and made conquests in *Spain*. It is plain however, by what *Polihus* and *Livy* tell us of the wars of *Amilcar Barca*, *Asdrubal*, and *Hannibal*, that, till the times of these generals, (that is, till after the end of the first *Punic War*) the *Carthaginians* did not penetrate far into that country.

[Some account of *Spain* will be given in a more proper place, when the Romans carry their arms thither.]

Diod. Sic.
L. 5.

Sicily, the largest island in the *Mediterranean*, was anciently called *Trinacria* and *Tripuscula*, on account of its triangular form.

b Pz. Taro.
c Cape di
Faro.

The eastern side, which faces the *Ionian* or *Græcian* sea, extends from Cape ^a *Pachynum* to ^b *Pelerus*. The chief cities on this coast were *Syracuse*, *Taurinæm*, and *Messina*.

On the northern coast, looking towards *Italy*, and reaching from Cape *Pelerus* to Cape *Lilybaeum*, the most noted cities were *Mile*, *Hymera*, *Panormus*, *Eryx*, *Drepanum*, *Lilybaeum*.

The south-west side, opposite to *Africa*, extends from Cape *Lilybaeum* to *Pachynum*. Its principal cities were *Selinus*, *Agrigentum*, *Gela* and *Camarina*. The passage from *Lilybaeum* to the promontory of *Mercury* in *Africa* is about 137 miles.

Diod. Sic.
B. 11. p.
1. 2.

ABOUT the year Ant. Chr. 480. the *Carthaginians*, in consequence of a league made with *Xerxes* King of *Persia*, raised an army of more than 300,000 men, and equipped a fleet of 200 ships of war, and 3000 transports, in order to attack and expel all the *Greeks* who were settled in *Sicily* and *Italy*, while *Xerxes* himself was to invade *Greece*.

This mighty army, which landed at *Panormus*, and under the command of a general named *Hamilcar*, laid siege to *Hymera*, was, before that place, totally routed and destroyed by *Gelo* governor of *Syracuse*; and this on the very day of the famous action of *Thermopylae*, when *Leonidas* fell with his 300 *Spartans* in defending that pass against the numberless forces of *Xerxes*.

* AFTER the memorable defeat of the *Athenians* under *Nicias* at *Syracuse*, the people of *Segesta* (a city not far from *Eryx*) who had de-

* B. J. C. 413.
Diod. Sic. B.
13. p. 169.

clared in favour of the *Athenians* against the *Syracusians*, fearing the resentment of the latter, and being attacked by the inhabitants of *Selinus*, implored the aid of the *Carthaginian* Republic, under whose protection they put themselves and their city. The *Carthaginians*, allured by the prospect of possessing a place, very convenient for them, promised succour to the people of *Segesta*.

The conduct of this war was given to *Hannibal*, grandson to *Hamilcar*, who had been killed before *Hymera*. At the head of a great army, he besieged *Selinus*, and took it by assault. He treated cruelly all whom he found in the place, but suffered those, who had fled, to return and possess the city, paying a tribute to the *Carthaginians*. He afterwards took *Hymera* by assault, and, to revenge the death of his grandfather, not only razed the city, but caused 3000 prisoners to be murdered on the very spot where *Hamilcar* had been slain.

Hannibal, after these expeditions, returned to *Carthage*; but his successes having rekindled the ambition of the *Carthaginians* to get possession of all *Sicily*, they, with this view, 3 years after his return, appointed him a second time to be their General, and allotted him an army of 120,000 (some say 300,000) men. On his pleading his

great

into *Italy*, the conquest of which had been long their ambition. All this was well weighed by the *Romans*; and yet, as *Polybius* reports, the

Conscript

great age, to excuse himself from commanding in this enterprize, they gave him for his Lieutenant *Imilco*, son of *Ilanno*, of the same family.

The *Syracusians* and their allies prepared themselves to give the enemy a warm reception.

Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of *Agrigentum*. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one side, he employed his whole force on that one side. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls, and made use of the rubbish and ruins of the tombs, which he had found standing round the city, and which he had demolished for that purpose. The plague soon after infecting the army, swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the General himself. The *Carthaginians* interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the Gods for the injuries done to the dead, whose ghosts they fancied they saw stalking before them in the night. They forbore therefore to demolish any more tombs, and endeavoured to appease the Gods: a child was sacrificed to *Saturn*, and many victims thrown into the sea in honour of *Neptune*.

The besieged after eight months were so pressed by famine, that they resolved to abandon the place in the night. Men, women, and children, all but the aged and sick, retired to *Gela*, the nearest city to them.

Imilco entered *Agrigentum*, and massacred all who were found in it. The plunder of the place was immensely rich. It had contained 200,000 inhabitants, and had never before been besieged, nor consequently plundered. An infinite number of pictures, vases, and statues of an exquisite taste were found in it, and among other curiosities the famous Bull of *Phalaris*, which was sent to *Carthage*.

Imilco having quartered his troops during the winter in *Agrigentum*, and totally ruined it, laid siege to *Gela* in the beginning of the spring. He took this place notwithstanding the succours brought to it by *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who had seized the government of *Syracuse*. A treaty, which the *Carthaginians* afterwards made with *Dionysius*, put an end to the war. The conditions of this treaty were, that *Carthage* should remain mistress of her anci-

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ent colonies, and of the territories of the *Sicanians*; that the people of *Selinus*, *Agrigentum*, and *Hymera* should be subject to her; that those of *Gela* and *Comarina* should inhabit their own dismantled cities, but be tributary to *Carthage*; that the *Leontines*, *Messenians*, and all the other *Sicilians* should enjoy their own laws and liberties, except the *Syracusians*, who were to continue subject to *Dionysius*.

These articles being ratified, the *Carthaginians* returned home, having lost one half of their army by the plague, which raging afterwards in *Africa*, multitudes perished both of the people of *Carthage*, and of their confederates.

Dionysius had concluded the late peace with the *Carthaginians* in no other view, but to get time to establish his new authority, and make the necessary preparations for a vigorous war against them. These things being accomplish'd, he called the *Syracusians* together, and represented to them the dangerous ambition of *Carthage*, which, he said, aimed at nothing less than the subduing of all *Sicily*, an enterprize which only the havoc made in *Africa* by the plague did at present suspend; and he exhorted them to seize the favourable opportunity they had of being the aggressors.

The tyrant was no less odious than his tyranny to the people of *Syracuse*; nevertheless, the implacable hatred they bore to the *Carthaginians* made them receive his harangue with applause. *Dionysius* hereupon, without any previous complaint of treaties violated, or so much as a declaration of war, gave up to the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the *Carthaginian* merchants, who in great numbers were then residing in *Syracuse*, and were there trading securely on the faith of treaties. These unhappy men were not only plundered of all their effects, but made to undergo the utmost ignominy and cruelties that could be devised, under pretence of retaliation for what the *Carthaginians* had formerly done to the people of *Sicily*: and this example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed in many parts of the island. The Tyrant, after this strange beginning of hostilities, sent deputies to *Carthage*, to demand the restoration of all the

C

Sicilian

would not be greater than the reproach they should suffer for so inconsistent a conduct. But the people having been greatly impoverished by the

he was in a condition to take the field, and give the enemy battle. He gained a victory over the *Syracusians*, so considerable, as to produce an honourable peace for the *Carthaginians*. By the conditions of the treaty, they not only kept all their possessions, but acquired some additional places, and had also a thousand talents from *Dionysius*.

After the death of this *Dionysius*, and in the time of the younger (his son and successor) *Carthage* took part in the troubles wherein *Syracuse* was involved, endeavouring to make advantage of them for

establishing there her own domination. *Timoleon* from about the Y. *Corinth* rescued the *Syracusians* from this danger, and reduced the *Carthaginians*

to sue for peace, which was settled on the following terms: The river *Halycus* (or *Lycus*) near *Agrigentum* was to be the boundary of the *Carthaginian* territory in *Sicily*; all natives of the cities subject to the *Carthaginians* were to be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to *Syracuse* with their effects; and lastly, the *Carthaginians* were not to assist, or to have any correspondence with the several tyrants who at this time pretended to the lordship of that city.

It was probably about the same time that *Hanno*, one of the most considerable citizens of *Carthage*, formed the

design (but without success) of making himself Tyrant of his country, by poisoning the whole Senate at a banquet. His stratagem being discovered, he was put to death by torture; and his children, and all his relations, were at the same time cut off without mercy, tho' they had no share in his guilt.

Some years after this, the *Carthaginians* were terribly alarmed for their possessions

in *Sicily*, by the growing power of the formidable *Agathocles*. This man, who is said to have been the son of

a potter, owed the wonderful rise of his fortune in a great measure to the beauty of his person, his distinguished courage, and his en-

terprising genius; but chiefly to his consummate wickedness, the arts of treachery, and the practice of the most unbounded cruelties. He was now absolute lord of *Syracuse*. Not content with this elevation, he aspired to be King of all *Sicily*, and had made so swift a progress in subduing the island, that *Carthage* was obliged, in self-defence, to dispatch a very numerous army thither, to put a stop to his conquests. *Hamilcar* commanded it; he gave the Tyrant a total overthrow near the *Hymera*, pursued him even to *Syracuse*, and closely besieged him in that capital of his dominion.

The cruelties of *Agathocles* had made him universally detested by the *Sicilians*; he was now therefore deserted by all his allies, and he knew at the same time that his own forces were too weak to preserve the place. In these distressful circumstances he formed an enterprize worthy of the most accomplished Hero; To make a descent upon Africa, invade the dominion of his victorious enemies, and transfer the seat of the war to the very seat of their empire. His great foresight and judgment to discern that this design was practicable, and also the courage and prudence he displayed in the execution of it, are much admired by the historians, but cannot be enlarged upon here. Let it suffice to mention, that leaving under the command of his brother *Anander* a sufficient number of his troops to defend the city for some time, he put to sea with the remainder, without letting any body know his design, or what course he intended to steer: But, before his departure, to encourage the *Syracusians* to behave themselves with constancy during his absence, he assured them, that the siege would be but of short duration, and that he had found an infallible way to victory.

The forces which *Agathocles* took with him in this expedition amounted to about 14,000 men. Having landed these troops safely in *Africa*, he immediately called them together, opened to them his design, with the motives of it, and made them understand, that the only way to deliver their own country from its present distress was to carry the war into that of their enemies. He represented to them, that the citizens of *Carthage* were a luxurious and effeminate people,

the late wars, and it being represented to them by those who were to command the army, in case of an expedition into *Sicily*, how profitable it would

utterly unable to cope with the *Syracusans*, incured to the toils of war; that the unexampled boldness of his enterprize would alone disconcert and terrify them; that they were wholly unprepared to repel an enemy at their gates; that the *Africans*, always hating the *Carthaginians*, would infallibly join him upon the first notice of his landing; and, in a word, he promised them the whole wealth of *Carthage* as the certain reward of their courage in the present expedition. The soldiers received his harangue with applause and acclamations, and fancied themselves already in possession of that rich city. Taking advantage of their present sanguine temper, and the high hopes he had inspired them with, he then persuaded them to burn all their ships in honour to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, pretending, that in the passage to *Africa* he had secretly made a vow so to do, if those deities would grant him a prosperous voyage. When by thus destroying his fleet he had brought his soldiers under a necessity of placing all their confidence in their courage, he led them on to action.

Two considerable cities he successively attacked, and carried by assault in a short time; the latter was *Tunes*, not many miles from *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, terribly alarmed at the swift progress of this unexpected invader, hastily armed their citizens, to the number of above 40,000, and sent them out under the command of *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, men who had been long at variance about family-interests. A pitched battle quickly ensued; *Hanno* was slain in it, the *Carthaginians* routed, and their camp taken. It is said, that *Bomilcar* might have restored the battle after the death of *Hanno*, if for private reasons of self-interest he had not chose rather to quit the field to *Agathocles*. After this victory many fortified places surrendered to the conqueror; and great numbers of the *Africans* revolted to him.

D. S. E. It was at this time that an embassy came
17 Q. Car. to *Carthage* from the *Tyrans*, to implore
B 4 succour against *Alexander* the Great, who besieged their city; a request which the *Carthaginians*, now willing soever, could by no means comply with in the present melancholy situation of their affairs.

The unhappy condition, to which the *Carthaginians* *Diod. Siculus*, were reduced, they ascribed B. 20. to the anger of the Gods, provoked at some neglect of duty. It had been a custom from the very infancy of *Carthage*, and was become a part of their religion, to send annually to *Tyre* (the mother-city) the tenth, or what was so called, of the public revenue, as an offering to *Hercules*, the patron and protector of both *Tyre* and *Carthage*. But from the time that this revenue grew considerable, the whole tenth was not fairly remitted: Remorse seized the *Carthaginians*; and, to expiate their guilt, they now sent to *Tyre*, presents of a prodigious value.

Another custom had prevailed at *Carthage* of a most barbarous and bloody superstition, that of sacrificing great numbers of children to *Saturn*. Anciently those children were chosen out of the best families; of late the children of slaves and beggars had been substituted in the room of the nobly born; a fraudulent impiety, for the expiation of which, two hundred children of the first rank were now thrown into the fire, an offering to the God: And, as *Diodorus Siculus* reports, three hundred of the citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves on this occasion to pacify the same Deity.

After these expiations expresses were dispatched to *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, with the news of what misfortunes had befallen the Republic in *Africa*, and to urge him to send speedy succours to *Carthage*. *Hamilcar* commanded the deputies not once to mention the victory of *Agathocles*, but on the contrary to report, that his forces had been all cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the *Carthaginians*. The Senate of *Carthage* had sent to *Hamilcar* by the messengers all the beaks of *Agathocles's* ships which had been burnt, that by shewing them he might the more easily gain credit to this report. The stratagem had like to have proved successful. *Hamilcar* summoned the besieged to surrender, and shewed the beaks. The ruin of *Agathocles* being generally believed in *Syracuse*, the majority of the citizens, and *Antander* himself, were disposed to capitulate.

But

would be, not only to the public in general, but to each man in particular, they passed a decree in favour of the enterprize; and *Appius Claudius*,

But *Eurymnon*, an *Ætolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left behind him to counsel his brother, by much persuasion prevailed with them to hold out till they had certain intelligence of the truth. A galley of thirty oars arrived soon after in the port, and brought the news of *Agathocles's* victory, which at once restored life and resolution to the inhabitants. *Hamilcar* made a last effort to carry the city by assault, but without success. He then raised the siege, and sent 5000 men to the relief of his distressed country. Returning afterwards in hopes to surprize the city in the night, his design was discovered, his army defeated, and he himself taken prisoner. The *Syracusians* cut off his head, and sent it into *Africa*, a welcome present to *Agathocles*.

The confusion, into which all these disasters threw the *Carthaginians*, encouraged *Bomilcar* their General to attempt the execution of a design he had long harboured in his breast; it was to make himself monarch of the *Carthaginian* state. He had gained over some of the citizens to his interest, and had secured a body of the foreign mercenaries to assist him. The conspiracy nevertheless proved abortive; he was overpowered, and being made prisoner, was crucified for his rebellion.

While *Bomilcar* was pursuing his wicked design against the liberties of his country, *Agathocles* was busy in a treachery of another kind. He had won over to his cause *Ophellas*, King of *Cyrene*, by pretending that he would leave him the empire of *Africa*, and that he had no view in his present expedition, but to draw the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*. *Ophellas* brought a considerable army to the assistance of the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles*, to get the absolute command of these troops, slew their leader by surprize, after which by fair words and large promises he engaged the *Cyrenians* to follow him.

His affairs being now in a flourishing condition, he thought it proper to leave them a while under the conduct of his son *Archagathus*, and return into *Sicily*, to take some care of his interests at home. His renown and the report of his victories flew before him. On the news of his arrival in *Sicily* many towns revolted to him; but it was not long before

ill news recalled him into *Africa*. His absence had entirely changed the face of things in that country, and all his arts and endeavours proved ineffectual to restore them to their former condition. His army had been defeated, his strong holds had surrendered to the enemy, and his troops were mutinous for want of pay. He attacked the *Carthaginians* after his landing, but was repulsed and routed: he lost 3000 men in the action. After this defeat, and another disaster, by which he lost 4000 of his men, the *Africans* of his army all deserted him. Not thinking himself therefore in a condition to maintain the war any longer, he resolved to leave *Africa*; and not having ships sufficient to transport his troops into *Sicily*, he would have stole away with only a few of his friends, and his younger son *Heraclides*; for he fear'd lest his elder son *Archagathus*, being a daring man, and having been too familiar with his step-mother, would attempt something against his life. *Archagathus* discovered his design, caused him to be arrested and put in chains. A sudden panic soon after seized the army, believing that the enemy was just ready to fall upon them. The guard, who had the King in custody, being in the same consternation with the rest, and in their fright coming out with their prisoner bound, the soldiers were so moved at this sight, that they all cried out, *Unloose him, let him go*. *Agathocles* was no sooner freed from his chains, but, consulting only his own safety, he got on board a small vessel, and set sail for *Sicily*, leaving his two sons to the fury of the enraged soldiers, who slew them both upon the first discovery of his departure. The *Syracusan* troops, tho' thus forsaken by their leader, made an honourable treaty for themselves with the *Carthaginians*, with whom also *Agathocles*, after his return into *Sicily*, concluded a peace upon equal terms, notwithstanding his late disasters and disgrace.

After the death of *Agathocles*, and when *Syracuse* was again involved in civil war, the *Carthaginians* renew'd their attempt once more to subdue the whole island of *Sicily*. They possessed themselves of many cities belonging to the *Syracusians*, and invested *Syracuse* itself. This common danger obliged the

Y. R.
S. B.
C. C.
H. C.
F. C.
C. C.

drus, one of the Consuls, was ordered to conduct an army into *Sicily* to the relief of *Messina*.

the contending parties in the city to unite, and call in King *Pyrrhus* to their aid. *Pyrrhus* (as was mentioned in the former volume of this history) by repeated victories over the *Carthaginians*, deprived them in a short time of all their possessions in *Sicily*, except the city of *Lilyæum* only. By his own conduct he afterwards lost all the fruit of his successes, being abandon'd by his *Sicilian* allies, and obliged to quit the island to preserve himself and his *Epirians* from total destruction. The *Carthaginians*, who before his departure had brought a mighty army into *Sicily*, not only recovered all their ancient possessions, but endeavoured to enlarge their dominion by new conquests. *Hiero* being chosen to the government of *Syracuse*, opposed the progress of their arms, till the affair of *Messina* united the two powers in one enterprise, drew the *Romans* into *Sicily*, and gave commencement to the first Punic War.

The form of the CARTHAGINIAN GOVERNMENT.

The government of *Carthage*, like that of *Rome*, was composed of three different authorities, which balanced each other; the authority of the two supreme magistrates, called *Suffetes* (from the *Persian* word *Sagarta*, which signifies *Judge*), that of the Senate, and that of the Assembly of the People. To this was afterwards added the Council of the Hundred.

THE SUFFETES.

The *Suffetes* were annual magistrates, and their authority much the same with that of the Consuls of *Rome*. By the same name they are frequently called Kings, Dictators, Consuls. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. It is more was to be chosen, and to preside in the proceedings of the Senate, and to be the chief judges in public and private causes. By their authority the laws were executed, and they functioned as the executive power.

THE SENATE.

The number of senators of *Carthage* was not fixed, but was certainly not less than one hundred, for an hundred persons were selected from it to form a

separate council. In the Senate all public affairs were debated, the letters from Generals read, the complaints from the Provinces heard, Ambassadors admitted to audience, Peace and War determined. When the Senators were unanimous, there lay no appeal from their decision; but whenever they were divided in opinion, the affair devolved to the People; a regulation which seems well contrived to prevent divisions, and a factious opposition to reasonable councils; for it was not to be supposed, that any member of an assembly, which had the prerogative of judging decisively in affairs, would willingly suffer them to be carried before another tribunal.

THE PEOPLE.

It appears from *Aristotle's* *Elogium* on the Government of *Carthage*, that, so low as *Aristotle* B. 2. de Rep. ch. 11. to his time, the People spontaneously left the chief administration of public affairs to the Senate. And *Polybius* remarks, that, while the Senate governed, the *Carthaginians* were successful in all their enterprises. But at length riches and extensive conquests made the people insolent; and then forgetting that they owed their prosperity to the wise conduct of that venerable body, they not only interfered in the government of the State, but arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period the public affairs were transacted wholly by cabals and factions; and *Polybius* assigns this as one of the chief causes of their ruin.

THE TRIBUNAL of the HUNDRED.

This council was composed of 104 persons, tho' 100 of *Carthage* for gravity sake they are 487. called the Hundred, and was intended to be a check upon the *Carthaginian* Generals, who had used before to exercise an absolute and uncontrollable power when at the head of armies in the field; they now became accountable to these judges for their actions on their return from the campaign.

Of these 104 Judges, five had a particular jurisdiction superior to that of the rest, and were the Council of Ten in the *Venetian* Senate. A vacancy in their body could be filled by none but themselves. They had also the power of choosing those who composed the Council of the Hundred.

Appian,

Appius, to learn the posture of the enemy and the true state of things in that place, is reported ^a to have ventured over thither in a fisher-boat, and to have so happily conducted himself there, as by some means to make

^a *Primò ad explorandos hostes fretum piscatoria navi trajecit Appius Claudius Caudex] et cum duce Cl. Laginientium egit, ut præsidium ar. dederet. Rhegium regressus, &c. Zonar. l. i. c. 37.*

That the Consul in person went over privately to *Messina*, seems to be supported by the word of *Polibius*, who speaks of the *Mamertines* sending for *Appius*, and surrendering their city to him, as of a transaction previous to the passage of the Roman army to *Messina*. But, according to this author, they had either by art or force rid themselves of the *Carthaginian* officers, before they called over *Appius*. *Pol.* b. l. i. c. 11.

If we may believe *Zonaras*, the person who went over privately to *Messina* to learn the state of affairs in that city was not *Appius Claudius* the Consul, but only *Claudius* a Legionary Tribune, whom the Consul dispatched on that commission.

Zonaras differs in some particulars from *Polibius* concerning the origin of the first Punic War, and has many circumstances which are not mentioned by any writer but himself. He tells us, that the two Republics were mutually jealous of each other; each thought its own safety depended on subduing its rival. This was the true cause of the war. Thus far he agrees with other writers. But he adds, that the *Romans* assigned, for their motive to the war, some assistance which the *Carthaginians* had formerly given the *Tarantines* against *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* on the other hand alledged as their ground of quarrel, that the *Romans* had made a friendship with *Hiero* when he was at war with *Carthage*.

As to the affair of *Messina*, his relation is, in substance, as follows. The *Mamertines*, being besieged by King *Hiero*, ask succour from the *Romans*. The *Romans* knowing that, if this request should be refused, they would give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, who might then be able to pass into *Italy*, readily promise to send the succour desired. This promise however not being speedily performed, and the *Mamertines* being still oppressed by the enemy, they apply for aid to the *Car-*

thaginians, who thereupon make peace with *Hiero*, both for themselves and for the *Mamertines*, as the most effectual means to hinder the *Romans* from coming into *Sicily*; and under a leader named *Hanno* they take upon them the guard of the city and of the straits. In the mean while *Claudius*, a Legionary Tribune, whom the Consul had sent before him with a few ships, comes to *Rhegium*, but finding that the enemy had a much stronger fleet at sea, and therefore not daring to attempt the passage with his ships, he sails over privately in a small boat to *Messina*, and has a conference with the *Mamertines*; but through the opposition of the *Carthaginians* is obliged to return without effecting any thing. Afterwards, when he hears that the *Mamertines* are in some commotion (for tho' they would not consent to be subject to *Rome*, they were weary of the *Carthaginians*) he goes over again, and promises that the *Romans*, if admitted into the place, shall return home as soon as they have restored *Messina* to a state of security. He then bids the *Carthaginians* quit the place, or give a good reason for staying. The *Mamertines* are silent through fear; the *Carthaginians* make him no answer, because they hold the city by force, and despise him. The silence of both, cries *Claudius*, shews that the *Carthaginians* act unjustly, and that the *Mamertines* desire liberty; for if they cared for the *Carthaginians*, they would promise to stand by them. The *Mamertines* applaud his words. He then returns to *Rhegium*, and endeavours to pass from thence to *Messina* with his fleet. In this attempt he loses some of his ships by stormy weather, others are taken by the *Carthaginians*, so that he is forced to return once more to *Rhegium*. The *Carthaginian* Admiral coming on the coast of *Italy* offers to restore the ships he had taken, but at the same time declares, that the *Straits* belong to the *Carthaginians*, and that he will not suffer the *Romans* even to wash their hands in them. *Claudius* hearing this, rejects the offer with indignation, repairs his fleet, and seizing a favourable opportunity, passes safely with his troops to *Messina*. *Hanno* was now retired into the straits, and had quieted the city thro' a distrust of the inhabitants.

Claudius

make the *Carthaginian* officer and his soldiers evacuate the citadel; after which the Consul returned to *Italy* to prepare for the embarkation of his troops.

Claudius persuades the *Mamertines* to invite *Hanno* to an amicable conference. The *Carthaginian*, tho' with great reluctance, comes to the assembly, lest the *Mamertines*, who already complained of his injustice, should begin hostilities against him. After much altercation between him and *Claudius*, he is seized by a *Roman* officer, and carried to prison, the *Mamertines* approving of the action. Thus *Hanno* is reduced to the necessity of entirely abandoning *Messina*. The *Carthaginians* punish him for his ill conduct, and send a herald to signify to the *Romans* to quit *Messina* and all *Sicily* by a certain day; which demand not being complied with, they in the first fury of their resentment murder all the *Italian* mercenaries in their service; and

then, assisted by King *Hiero*, lay siege to *Messina*.

Such is the account given us by *Zonaras*, of what passed in relation to *Messina* before the Consul went thither. But I do not find the least mention of the voyages or management of the Tribune *Claudius* in any other author. Only that the *Romans* sent some troops to *Messina*, as *Zonaras* relates, before *Appius* went thither with the main army, is supported by a fragment of *Diodorus Siculus*, who speaks of an agreement between *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* to make war upon the *Romans*, unless they would immediately withdraw all their forces out of *Sicily*; and this is previous to the arrival of the Consul with the Legions.

C H A P. II.

First, second, and third Years of the War.

The Consul Appius Claudius Caudex transports an army into Sicily to the relief of Messina, besieged by the Carthaginians and Syracusians. He forces them to raise the siege. His successors make peace and an alliance with Hiero, King of Syracuse. The next year's Consuls, assisted by Hiero, take Agrigentum from the Carthaginians.

235. B.
236. B.

THE people of *Carthage*, upon the news of their officer's having quitted the citadel of *Messina*, were so highly offended, that they condemned him to be crucified, as both a traitor and a coward. They ordered at the same time a fleet and a land-army to besiege the place. *Hiero*, the new King of *Syracuse*, having now a fair prospect of exterminating the usurpers of *Messina*, entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and joined his forces to theirs: so that the *Mamertines* were intirely closed up within their city, the *Carthaginians* lying with a navy at sea, and with an army on one side of the place, while the *Syracusians* lay before it on the other.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Consul to *Regium* with an army appointed for their relief: but how to pass from thence to *Messina* was a difficulty that seemed insurmountable. Not that he wanted transports; for he had borrowed from the *Tarentines*, *Neapolitans*, and other neighbours, a sufficient number of *triremes* and boats of fifty oars, wherein to waft over his men: but the *Carthaginian* fleet was in the way, and was by much superior in strength to that of the Consul.

He

He was obliged therefore to have recourse to stratagem. He pretended to give the enterprize entirely over as a thing impracticable, and, the better to deceive the enemy, steered his course towards *Rome*. This motion made the *Carthaginians* watch the *Streits* less narrowly; and then the Consul tacking about on a sudden, and being favoured by a dark night, passed to *Messina* without opposition ^a.

Frontin. de
Strat. l. 1.
ch. 4.

His

^a *Pelybius* (from whom this account of the origin of the first *Punic* War is chiefly taken) tho' he does not directly charge the *Romans* with injustice in their beginning this war, yet declares (L. 1. c. 10.) that it would be difficult to justify them. Sir *Walter Raleigh* is clearly of opinion, that the *Romans* in this enterprize were unjust. His words are these.

“ Now in this place I hold
B. 5. ch. 1. “ it seasonable to consider of
§ 3. “ those grounds whereupon

“ the *Romans* entered into
“ this [the first *Punic*] war; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to
“ rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprize was much to their benefit, tho' as much to their shame) but how allowable in
“ strict terms of lawfulness, whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yield themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot find; neither can I find how the messengers of these folk, who of one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the public name of all.

“ If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawful surrendry of themselves and their possessions, were become subject to *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines* against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanes* against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt is lost in all histories, doubtless it is, that no company of pirates, thieves, cut-throats, murderers, or such other malefactors, can by any good success of their villainy, obtain the privilege of civil societies, to make league or truce, yea to require fair war, but are by all means, as most pernicious vermine,
VOL. II.

“ to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of some Civilians, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a position of ill consequence. Thus I hold, that no one Prince or State can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their crimes. Wherefore we may esteem this action of the *Romans* so far from being justifiable by any pretence of confederacy, made with them, as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of murderers and thieves into their protection, they justly deserved to be waited upon themselves by the people of *Sicily*, yea altho *Messina* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all slain, ere any news of the confederacy had been brought unto the besiegers.”

To this reasoning of our learned countryman I take leave to answer:

Whether the messengers, who went to *Rome* from *Messina* from one part only of the *Mamertines*, could be enabled to treat in the name of all, or whether the *Mamertines* made such an absolute surrendry of their possessions to the *Romans*, as the people of *Capua* had formerly done, seems not material to the present purpose. Neither the *Romans* nor the *Carthaginians* could acquire any right to *Messina* in virtue of any such surrendry, whether made by a part or by the whole body of the *Mamertines*, these having themselves no right to the town, if they are to be considered as a nest of pirates, murderers, and outlaws, which is the light in which Sir *Walter* considers them.

In the next place, tho' it be granted, that no one Prince or State can give protection to pirates, thieves, and murderers, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their crimes; I say, tho' this be granted, it will not affect the present question. For that the *Romans* did not grant their protection to the

D

Mamertines,

P. 1. B. 1.
17. 17.

His arrival, however, did not discourage the besiegers; for they far exceeded him in number of men, and the whole island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at sea to hinder any supplies from getting into the town. All this *Appius* well understood; and therefore apprehending both danger and dishonour in the enterprize, he dispatched ambassadors to the *Carthaginians* and *Hiero*, to treat of an accommodation, and obtain peace for the *Mamertines*.

Mamertines, in the circumstance above described, is evident from what our author himself relates. He tells us, that the *Carthaginians* (and they were the principals in the present war, *Hiero* was only an auxiliary) upon the news of their officer's being driven out of the citadel of *Messina*, sent a fleet and an army to besiege the place, as a town that had rebelled, having once been theirs. These preparations were to punish rebellious subjects, not to punish the *Mamertines* as pirates and murderers, not for the injuries they had done to the lawful proprietors of *Messina*. It would indeed have been shameful in the *Carthaginians* to pretend the latter after they had made a league with the usurpers, treated them as a civil society, and consented to protect them against King *Hiero*.

From the whole then it would seem, that our author has not assigned sufficient reasons for passing so rigorous a sentence of condemnation against the *Romans*.

B. 1. ch. 1.
§ 3.

CHEVALIER FOLARD, who in his Comment upon *Polybius* entirely differs in opinion from Sir *Walter*, makes very short work with the present question.

A necessary war (says he) is always just. A war, without which the rights and liberties of a people must be greatly endangered, is a necessary war: This was the case of the *Romans* at the present juncture; and he cannot therefore believe, that the Senate of *Rome* were really so scrupulous as *Polybius* represents them to be, about accepting the offer made them by the *Mamertines*.

Nay the Chevalier declares, that not only the consideration of a present danger to our liberties, but even the prospect of a distant one, an allowable motive to begin a precautionary war; and that the too great power of any Prince will justify the neighbouring powers in making war upon him; because Liberty is a thing, which by both divine and human laws we are allowed to have

so tender a concern for, that the apprehension of being deprived of it justifies whatever we do for its preservation.

As I shall not contend with the force of this argument, so neither can I think it necessary to have recourse to it to justify the *Romans* in the present war.

If the *Mamertines* are to be considered as a civil society, the *Romans* acted nothing contrary to justice in making an alliance with them, or in succouring them when in that alliance. *Rome* (if we may believe *Polybius*) had made no treaty with the *Carthaginians*, or with *Hiero*, whereby she was bound not to concern herself in the affairs of *Sicily*. *Polyb. B. 3. c. 26.*

If the *Mamertines* are not to be considered as a civil society, but as a gang of robbers and pirates, *Messina* would then belong to the first civil society that should get possession of it; and the *Romans* having acquired the right of first possession, the *Carthaginians* must be considered as the aggressors; for I presume, that the latter cannot be deemed to have acquired the right of first possession even of the citadel, by the bare admission of their officer with a few men into it, since they did not enter the citadel as taking possession of it for themselves, but to guard it for the usurpers against King *Hiero*.

As to the conduct of the *Romans* in protecting the *Mamertines*, who had been guilty of the same crimes for which the Senate had punished the *Campanian* Legion, it must undoubtedly at first, as *Polybius* observes, have a strange appearance; but certainly, when by sparing the most notorious offenders a national good is to be obtained, much greater than could accrue from punishing such offenders, there is no doubt but the arm of vengeance may wisely and lawfully be stayed. And this appears plainly to have been the motive on which the *Romans* acted in the case now before us, even according to *Polybius's* relation of the matter.

The

The answer ^b from King *Hiero* was, that the *Mamertines* for their cruelty and wickedness in getting the possession of *Messina*, and for diverse other barbarities committed in *Sicily*, were most justly besieged; and that it did not become the *Romans*, so famed for their justice and faithfulness, to protect such bloody villains, who had contemptuously broken all the ties of faith and truth among men: That if the *Romans* began a war in defence of such wicked invaders, it would be evident to all the world, that *succour to the distressed* was but a pretence to cloke their covetousness, when in truth their aim was to gain *Sicily*.

Diod. Sic.
in Polyb.
l. 274.

The Consul finding his negotiation fruitless, and that he was under a necessity of fighting, took at length the bold resolution to sally out into the field, and make the enemies know, that his coming to *Messina* was to drive them from the town, and not to be by them besieged within it.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 11.

In executing this determination it was very advantageous for him, that the confederate armies lay incamped in such a manner, as not to be well able to assist one another in distress. *Appius* sallied out first against *Hiero*, and drawing up the Legions in order, presented him battle. This brave Prince (says a learned writer, well skilled in military affairs) must certainly have wanted good advice on the present occasion; otherwise he would not have hazarded all his power against an enemy, of whom he had made no trial, when it had been easy for him, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own camp. With great readiness and gallantry he accepted the challenge, and met the enemy; but after a long and bloody conflict, the *Syracusians* were defeated, and driven to save themselves within their intrenchments. The *Romans* returned triumphantly with the spoils of the dead into *Messina*.

Sir W. Raleigh.

The King, by this disaster, learnt a point of wisdom very useful both to him and his kingdom during the remainder of his life. Had *Messina* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* itself must have sought help from *Rome* against those friends whom it now so diligently assisted. *Hiero* had (in respect of those two mighty States) but a small stock, which it behoved him to manage frugally; such another loss would have almost ruined him. He therefore quietly broke up his camp in the night, and retired home; intending to leave those to try the fortune of the war, who had hopes to be gainers by the event of it ^c.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 11.

Appius receiving intelligence of the King's retreat, and finding the courage of his men greatly raised by their success in the late action, resolved to attack the *Carthaginians* without loss of time. Having caused

c. 12.

^b According to *Diodorus Siculus*, the Consul's embassy was sent from *Rhegium* before he passed the *Straits*.

^c *Diod. Siculus* writes, that when the Consul landed at *Messina*, *Hiero*, suspecting that the *Carthaginians* had made way for him, fled himself to *Syracuse*.

Florus says, that *Hiero* confessed he was conquered before he saw the enemy.

Zonaras, B. 8. makes *Appius* to land with his forces, not at *Messina*, but some place near it, and to attack the *Syracusians* before he entered that town.

the soldiers to take their repast at a very early hour, he sallied out by break of day, surprized the enemy, and routed them with great slaughter; those who escaped flying for refuge to the neighbouring towns. The *Romans* after this action made inroads upon the country as far as to the territory of the *Syracusians*, and at length set down before *Syracuse*. It does not appear, however, that the Consul made any progress in the siege: remitting the conduct of this enterprize to his successors, he returned to *Rome*^c.

Polib. B. 2.
Eutrop. B. 6.
Silius Ital. B. 6.
Appian B. 2.
Dionys. B. 10.
Livy B. 27.
Cicero B. 2.
Cassiodor. B. 2.
Cassiodor. B. 2.
Cassiodor. B. 2.
Cassiodor. B. 2.
Cassiodor. B. 2.

§. II. THE *Romans* being animated by the victories of *Appius* to pursue the war with more than ordinary vigour, it was decreed, that the Consuls for the new year, *Manius Valerius* and *Manius Otacilius*, should both go into *Sicily*, and should take with them four Legions, each consisting of 4000 foot and 300 horse. Upon the arrival of these forces in *Sicily*, most of the towns and castles, that had submitted to the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians*, gave themselves up to the *Romans*; insomuch that the King of *Syracuse* found it high time for him to endeavour after a

^c According to *Eutropius*, B. 2. and *Silius Italicus*, B. 6. *Appius Claudius* had a triumph for his victories; but the *Copetiline* Marbles say nothing of it.

He acquired his surname of *Caudex*, if we may believe *Seneca*. (*de Brev. Vit.*) from his having transported the *Roman* army from *Italy* to *Sicily* in small boats, which the ancients called *Caulices*.

Mr. *Verrius*, perhaps on no other authority, says, that this General was the first who by the means of some Rafts transported troops into *Sicily*, which got him the surname of *Caudex*, as having found the art of fastening planks together, so as to make transports of them.

Chevalier *Foixard* rallies the Abbot on this passage of his history, and wants to know his voucher. Doubtless the Chevalier has good reason to dispute the fact. It would have been madness for the Consul to have attempted to waft an army cross those straits on such transports; neither had he any occasion to have recourse to that dangerous expedient, all the ships in the ports of *Italy* being at his disposal; and *Polibius* expressly tells us, that *Appius* embarked his men on vessels of fifty oars, and on *triremes* borrowed of the *Tarentines*, *Locrians*, &c. This relation of *Polibius* is decisive also against *Seneca*.

The Chevalier will have it, that *Appius's* surname of *Caudex* was on account of a dull,

stupid air, the word *Cedex* signifying a block-head.

Father *Catreu*, in the large *Roman History*, speaking of *Appius's* surname, keeps clear of Mr. *Verrius's* Rafts and *Seneca's* Little Boats; but then he wants a reason for *Claudius's* surname of *Caudex*. He says, that when *Appius* undertook to cross the *Straits* with his fleet, he went himself on board a sorry galley, hastily and clumsily built (*une mauvaïse galere tumultuairement construite & sans art.*) This enterprize happily executed, the *Romans* thought it so fine an exploit, that they gave the Consul the surname of *Caudex*, which word, adds the Father, signified then *un mauvais batteau fait de planches mal arrangées & précipitemment réunies*.

But what reason in the world can be imagined why *Appius* should make choice of such a transport, wherein to convey his own person to *Sicily*, when he might have chosen the best *Triremis* in the fleet? I cannot find, that the Reverend Father has any authority for this fact.

If *Appius* did really acquire the surname in question, from the bad built and fashion of any vessel in which he crossed the *Straits*, I should conjecture it was from that fisher-boat (which might be a *Caudex*) wherein, as *Aurelius Victor* reports, he courageously ventured over to *Messina*, to learn the state of things there before he transported his army thither.

peace

peace with an enemy so formidable, and that came now to besiege him in his capital. He perceived, says *Polybius*, that the designs and hopes of the *Romans* were better founded than those of the *Carthaginians*, and in conclusion therefore sent ambassadors to the Consuls to treat of peace and an alliance with *Rome*. *Valerius* and *Otacilius* readily embraced the overture, and the more readily, on account of the difficulties they were under with regard to their convoys. The *Roman* troops had the last year been driven to great straits, and there was good reason to apprehend lest the *Carthaginians*, who were masters of the sea, should be able totally to debar them of all supplies of provision. The Consuls nevertheless made the King purchase the alliance which he sought, with an hundred talents of silver.

Diodorus Siculus reports, that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* General was by this time come with a fleet to *Xiphonia* (not far from *Syracuse*) to the assistance of the King, but that hearing of what was done, he instantly retired^a.

In Belg.
p. 875.

Hiero after this treaty continued ever a firm and useful friend to the *Romans*; and being a Prince who not only made the prosperity of his subjects his chief aim, but always pursued that aim by measures honest and noble, he enjoyed a long and happy reign, dear to his people, beloved of his allies, and universally esteemed by all the *Greek* nations.

§. III. THE treaty with the *Syracusan* King being ratified by an ordinance of the *Roman* People, it was now thought adviseable to abate of the number of troops in the service, and to send into *Sicily* under the command of the new Consuls (*L. Posthumius Megellus* and *Q. Mamilius Vitulus*) only two Legions; which, through *Hiero's* friendship, they trusted, would live in plenty of all things necessary.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 17.
Y. of R.
491. Bef.
J. C. 261.
100 Com.
ful-p.

As for the people of *Carthage*, when they learnt that *Hiero*, of a friend was become an enemy, and when they considered that the *Romans* were now superior to them in strength, they turned their thoughts to provide

^a We find by the *Capitoline* Marbles, that a Dictator was created this year at *Rome* to drive the Nail, probably on account of some prodigies, or to stop the plague; from the same Marbles we learn also, that *Valerius* at his return to *Rome* was decreed a triumph, and that he acquired the surname of *Messala*; which || *Seneca* and || *De Brev. Vit.* || *Macrobius* tell us was given || *Saturn. B. 1.* him for the conquest of *Messina*, (then called *Messana*.) It is hard to reconcile this with *Polybius's* account, unless we suppose that the enemy got possession of that place after the return of *Appius Claudius* into *Italy*. The *Jesuits* believe rather, that *Valerius* performed some notable exploit in

the defence of *Messina*, while *Otacilius* was other ways employed, and that this occasioned the distinction with which he was afterwards honoured above his colleague. *Pliny* authorizes this conjecture, when he tells us, (*B. 35. ch. 4.*) that *Valerius* brought with him from *Sicily* a picture representing the battle wherein he had vanquished *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* before *Messina*. He fixed it up in the old place of King *Tullius Hostilius*, where the Senate used to assemble. The same author reports also, (*B. 7. ch. ult.*) that *Valerius* brought with him from *Sicily* another novelty, an horizontal sundial, and that he placed it on a pedestal in the *Comitium* near the *Rostra*.

Year of R.
509. B.C.
1. C. 201.
The Cons.
1000.
1. Called M.
to Agrigens,
now Ger-
gani.

a force that might be sufficient to preserve those acquisitions which they still possessed in the island. To this end they hired a great number of troops in *Gaul* and in *Liguria*, but principally in *Spain*; and having resolved to make *Agrigentum* † (a strong place, distant about eighteen furlongs from the sea, on the south coast of *Sicily*;) the rendezvous of their armies, and their chief magazine, they transported the mercenaries to that city.

The Consuls *Pestumius* and *Mamilius* were now arrived in *Sicily* with the Legions, and having got intelligence of the designs of the *Carthaginians*, and of the preparations they were making in *Agrigentum*, came to a resolution to march directly with their forces towards that place, and invest it. They pitched their camp about a mile from the town, and totally blocked it up.

It happening to be the time of harvest, the *Roman* soldiers, who foresaw that the siege would be a long one, dispersed themselves abroad to forage; and this they did in so unguarded a manner, that it tempted the besieged one day to sally out upon them. The *Carthaginians* not only fell upon the reapers in the fields, but made a furious attack upon the *Roman* advanced guards, not without hopes to force the very camp. And here (says *Polybius*) the *Romans*, as on many other occasions, owed their preservation to that discipline in which they excelled all nations; for being accustomed to see those punished with death who deserted their post, or fled in battle, they diligently rallied, and bravely sustained the shock of the enemy, tho' superior in number. And though many of the *Romans* fell, the loss was much greater on the enemies side, who being at length surrounded when they had almost forced the *Roman* entrenchment, were with great slaughter driven back to their works. After this action the *Romans* became more wary in their foraging, and the *Carthaginians* less forward to make sallies. The Consuls however, the better to secure themselves, cut a deep trench between the walls of the city and their camp, and another on the side towards the country, to prevent any surprize that way; which double fortification also hindered the besieged from receiving any supplies whatsoever. At the same time provisions and all necessaries were brought to the besiegers by their *Sicilian* allies to *Erbessus*; and from that town, which lay not far from their camp, their convoys passed without impediment.

Third Sicilian
E. 1. 1. 1.
S. 1. 1. 1.
E. 1. 1. 1.

Affairs continued five months in this posture, neither party gaining upon the other any considerable advantage, their engagements being for the most part only in slight skirmishes. The besiegers received daily reinforcements from the *Sicilians*, and, in all, amounted to above 100,000 men. In the mean time the city being stuffed with a garrison of 50,000 soldiers began to be much straitned for provisions, *Hannibal*, who commanded there in chief, dispatched frequent advices to *Carthage*, representing the extremities to which they were reduced, and demanding speedy succour. The *Carthaginians* therefore embarking on board their

their fleet what soldiers and elephants they could readily muster, sent them into *Sicily* to *Hanno*, their other General in that country. *Hanno* having assembled all his forces at *Heraclea*, a maritime town a little to the west of *Agrigentum*, marched directly to *Erbesus*, where he had a secret correspondence, and which was put into his hands by treachery. By this loss the *Romans* not only were deprived of their wonted supplies, but became themselves almost as closely besieged by *Hanno*, as *Agrigentum* was by their troops; and they must unavoidably have quitted their enterprise, if King *Hiero* had not relieved them in their distress. He found means to convey provisions to their camp, tho' not in great quantity, nor sufficient to prevent those distempers among the soldiers, which are the usual consequences of scarcity.

Y. of R.
491. B. f.
J. C. 261.
100 Com-
sul-p.

Hanno having intelligence of the bad condition of the *Roman* army, that the soldiers were enfeebled by want, and their number diminished by diseases, believed he might now be able to cope with them. He marched with fifty elephants, and all the rest of his forces from *Ileracea* (whither he had returned after the affair of *Erbesus*) sending his *Numidian* horse before, with orders to approach to the enemies camp, and endeavour to draw the *Roman* cavalry to a battle, in which they were to retreat till they joined the main body. The *Numidians* punctually performed their instructions. They marched up to the entrenchment of the enemy, and being attacked by the *Roman* horse, retired before them till they joined *Hanno* with the army, which almost encompassing the *Romans*, slew many of them, and drove the rest back to their camp. After this exploit, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two months, but lay strongly encamped on an eminence about ten furlongs from the *Romans*, waiting for some opportunity to fight with advantage.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 19.

In the mean time *Agrigentum* was reduced to the utmost extremity by famine. *Hannibal* gave notice to *Hanno*, as well by signals from the town, as by frequent expresses, that the garrison were no longer able to sustain the wants they laboured under, and that many of the soldiers were compelled by hunger to desert. This brought *Hanno* to resolve upon a decisive action, to which the *Romans* were no less disposed, on account of their inconvenient situation. The two armies therefore drawing out, came to an engagement on the ground between their camps. The success was long doubtful; but *Hanno's* elephants being at length disordered by his own van-guard, which the *Romans* had broke and put to flight, those unruly beasts threw his whole army into confusion. The *Carthaginians* suffered a great slaughter; some few got into *Heraclea*, but the *Romans* took most of the elephants, and all the enemies baggage.

And now *Hannibal* turned all his thoughts to make his escape from *Agrigentum*, which he despaired of holding any longer; and perceiving that the *Romans* after their victory, wearied with labour, and grown secure by their good fortune, kept negligent watch, he rushed out of the place at midnight with all his foreign troops, and filling the *Roman* trenches

17. 17. 7.
18. 18. 8.
19. 19. 9.
20. 20. 10.
21. 21. 11.

trenches with faggots, passed over their works unhurt and unperceived. The Romans saw not their error till the morning, when they contented themselves with a short pursuit, and presently returned to take possession of the town; which they entered without resistance, unmercifully despoiling the inhabitants both of their riches and of their liberty.

C H A P. III.

The fourth and fifth Years of the War.

The Romans, to accomplish their designs upon Sicily, find it necessary to provide themselves with a naval force. They build a considerable fleet, and by the help of a new-invented engine for grappling and boarding the enemies ships, gain a memorable victory over the Carthaginians at sea near Milæ, now Milazzo.)

17. 17. 7.
18. 18. 8.

Y. 17. R.
21. 21. 11.
22. 22. 12.
23. 23. 13.
24. 24. 14.

GREAT joy there was at Rome on the news of the taking of *Agri- gentum*, and every body's courage and hopes were raised. They now thought it not enough to have rescued *Messina*, and enriched themselves by the war; they proposed nothing less than the entire expulsion of the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*; nay, and this was to be done the very next year by *L. Valerius* and *T. Otacilius*, their newly elected Consuls. However, they soon became sensible, that the task was too difficult to be accomplished in so short a time. For tho' a great number of the inland towns of *Sicily* had, after the reduction of *Agri- gentum*, readily submitted to the Romans, who were evidently superior to their enemies by land; yet many places situate on the coast had revolted from them through fear of the *Carthaginian* strength by sea. And indeed this advantage on the side of *Carthage* made the success of the war still doubtful; which being well considered by the Romans, as also that the coast of *Italy* lay exposed to the depredations of the *Carthaginians*, who made frequent descents upon it whilst *Africa* felt none of the calamities of war, they at length resolved to apply themselves diligently to maritime affairs, and even, at their first essay, to make provision of such a fleet, as should be able to contend with the naval power of *Carthage*.

Polybius, in speaking on this subject, cannot forbear to express his admiration of the magnanimity of the Romans, so void of fear in enterprizes of the greatest hazard and moment; and it is in truth an astonishing instance of the resolute bravery of this people, that being hitherto extremely ignorant in all the arts relating to navigation, they should now at once determine upon a naval battle with the *Carthaginians*, who had held uncontested, from time immemorial, the dominion of the sea.

The

The same author tells us, that the *Romans* were not at this time masters ^f of one single galley, no not even of a bark, and were so little skilled in ship-building, that if fortune had not favoured them, it would have been almost impossible for them to put their design in execution. A *Carthaginian* galley cruizing on the coast of *Italy*, and venturing too near the shore, happened to be stranded; the *Romans* seized her before the crew could get her off, and, by the model of this galley, their first fleet, which consisted of 100 ^g *quinqueremes* and 20 *triremes*, was built.

While these vessels were upon the stocks, the men appointed to be the rowers were taught the use of the oar in the following manner. Seats were raised on the sea-shore in the same fashion and order as they were to be in the galleys, and the mariners being placed thereon, an officer who stood in the midst of them, instructed them, by signs with his hand, how at once and all together to dip their oars, and in like manner to recover them out of the water. They afterwards spent some time in practising upon the water what they had been learning at land, adventuring first along the coast of *Italy*.

Before the finishing ^h of this naval armament, the Consul *Fasces* were transferred to *Cn. Cornelius Asina* and *C. Duilius*. It fell to *Cornelius* to be the *Roman* Admiral. Leaving orders with the pilots to make the best of their way to the *Straits* so soon as all the new vessels should be equipped, he with only 17 of them repaired to *Messina* to give directions for the reception and security of the main fleet. He had not been long there, when, deceived by some false intelligence, he thought he had a fair

c. 21.

Y. R. 493.
E. f. Chi.
249.
192d Conf.

^f Doubtless *Polybius* goes too far, when he affirms that the *Romans* had no ships before the first *Punic* war; the antient treaties between *Rome* and *Carthage*, which he himself presents us with, evince the contrary; nay, it appears by the former part of this history, that they had ten ships of war at the time of the rupture with the *Tarentines*. And as to what he says of the loss the *Romans* would have been at to build a fleet, if they had not seized a *Carthaginian* vessel, which chanced to be stranded, his meaning, to be consistent with himself, must be, either that without this accident they would have had no good model whereby to build any ship of war, or would have had no model at all of a *quinqueremis*. For he tells us in the very same part of his history, that some of the vessels in which they transported their troops the first time to *Messina* were *triremes* (and these were ships of war) borrowed from their neighbours the *Tarentines*, &c.

^g Of the antient ships of war the most considerable were the *naves longæ* (long ships, or

gallies) so named from their form, which was the most convenient to wield round or cut their way; whereas the ships of burden were generally built rounder and more hollow, that they might be more easy to load, and might hold the more goods. The most remarkable of the *naves longæ* were the *triremis*, the *quadriremis*, and the *quinquiremis*, exceeding one another by one bank of oars, which banks were raised sloping one above another. Some indeed fancy a different original of these names, as that in the *triremes*, for example, either there were three banks one after the other on a level, or that three rowers tugged all together at one oar; but this is contrary not only to the authority of the classics, but to the figures of the *triremes* still appearing in antient monuments. *Kennet's Antiq.* part 2. b. 4. ch. 20.

^h According to *Florus*, B. 2. and *Orosius*, B. 4. ch. 7. the *Romans* were but sixty days in building and equipping their fleet, reckoning from the time that the necessary timber was prepared.

Y. R. 473.
E. C. C.
189.
1890 C. C. C.

P. B. B. 1.
C. C. C.

occasion of surprizing *Lipara*¹. Thither he went with his squadron, and drew up under the walls of the town. *Hannibal*, who commanded at sea for the *Carthaginians*, and was now at *Penormus*, having notice of this design, immediately dispatched away 20 galleys under the command of one *Boodes* a Senator, who arriving in the night, blocked up *Cornelius* in the harbour. As soon as day appeared, the *Roman* mariners, in their first fright, to save themselves, got with all diligence ashore. The Consul in this distress seeing no remedy, yielded himself prisoner; and the *Carthaginians* possessing themselves of the 17 vessels, and the principal *Roman* officers, made the best of their way back to *Hannibal*.

Such is *Polybius*'s account of this affair: But according to *Livy*'s Epitome, B. 17. *Cornelius* was made prisoner by treachery, being decoyed from his ship by the pretence of a parley, to which the *Carthaginian* commander invited him in order to a peace.

Not long after this adventure of *Cornelius*, *Hannibal* himself was very near falling into a like disaster by an equal indiscretion. For having received advice that the *Roman* fleet was at sea, and coasting along *Italy*, he would needs be himself a witness of the number and posture of the enemy; and to that end went in search of them with only fifty of his galleys. The *Romans* happened to be nearer than he was aware of, and just as he doubled a promontory on the *Italian* coast, surprized him with their whole fleet in order of battle. In this encounter he lost the greater part of his squadron, and escaped narrowly himself, when every body despaired of his safety.

The *Romans* continued their course towards *Messina*, pursuant to the instructions they had formerly received from *Cornelius*, of whose defeat and captivity having got advice, they immediately sent the news of it to *Dulius* (who then had the command of the land-forces in the island) and while they waited the coming of the Consul, they prepared for a new engagement with the enemy, whose fleet they heard was not far off. And considering that their own ships were heavy and slow, not having been built with great art, they turned their thoughts to contrive some new invention which might compensate for this disadvantage; and then was devised that famous machine which they afterwards called the *Corvus*.

[The C. w.]

The learned cannot agree concerning the exact form of this engine. *Polybius*'s description of it has not been found sufficient to make it clearly understood. It appears to have been a kind of draw-bridge, so framed on the prow of the vessels, that being let fall upon an enemy's ship, it served both to grapple her and to render the boarding her more easy.

Dulius, upon the first notice of what had happened to his colleague, remitting the conduct of the land-army to his Tribunes, hastened to the fleet; where hearing, on his arrival, that the enemy were cruising on the coast near *Myse*, which was not far from *Messina*, he made the best of his way

c. 23.

¹ A town in a small island of the same name, not far from *Syracuse*, to the north.

with

with all his galleys to encounter them. Their fleet consisted of 130 ships, and was commanded by the same *Hannibal* who had escaped with his army by night from *Agrigentum*. His own vessel was a *septiremis*, or galley of seven banks of oars, belonging formerly to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*.

Y. R. 493.
Bel. Chr.
2 co.
192d Class.

The *Carthaginians* greatly rejoiced when they descryed the *Romans*, whom they held in such extreme contempt, that they advanced with their prows directly upon them, careless of any order of battle, and dreaming of nothing but certain victory. But when they drew near, they became much astonished at the sight of the engines before mentioned, having never seen the like before, and not being able to conjecture the design of them. However, they staid not long in suspense, nor did the novelty of what they beheld lessen their presumption. The headmost of their vessels made a furious attack upon the *Romans*, who grappling with them by means of their engines, entered them at once, fighting upon deck hand to hand with their enemies, as upon firm ground. And now neither the lightness of the *Carthaginian* galleys, nor the skill of their mariners, availed any thing; all was carried by the advantage of weapon and superiority of valour, and both these were on the side of the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians* lost in this first encounter thirty of their vessels, of which *Hannibal's* galley was one, he himself escaping in a small boat, when he was by all given for lost. At length the rest of the fleet came up; but having perceived the terrible effect of the new engines in the defeat of their first squadron, they used all their endeavours to avoid them, nimbly rowing round the *Roman* galleys, to find an opportunity of attacking them with safety; but when they observed, that which way soever they approached, those machines were traversed and opposed to them, they were at length compelled to yield the honour of the day to the *Romans*, retiring with the loss of fifty more of their ships.

Hannibal with the remainder of his fleet stood away for *Africk*, but fearing lest crucifixion should be his fate, he sent before him one of his friends, a man well chosen for the commission, who being introduced into the Senate, *Your Admiral*, said he, *desires to know your opinion, whether, in case the Romans appear at sea with a numerous fleet, he should give them battle? Doubtless he ought to fight*, they all cried out unanimously. The messenger then added, *He has fought, and is vanquished*. And thus *Hannibal* escaped the danger that hung over him; for they were no longer free to condemn an action which they had already approved.

Val. Max.
B. 7. ch. 3.
in Extern.

As for *Duilius*, the courage of whose men was greatly raised by their late surprising victory, he landed his forces on the island, and marched to the relief of *Segesta*, which the enemy at that time closely besieged. He not only forced them to raise the siege of this place, but took from them *Macella* by assault. After these exploits leaving the land-army behind him, he returned to *Rome*, to receive the recompence due to his valour and conduct. A victory at sea so unexpected, so complete, and so important, made all former victories at land to be in a manner forgot.

Polyb. B. 1.
ch. 24.

Y. R. 433.
Bef. Cons.
250.
1923 Cons.

Cin. in Cons.
251.
F. 1923, B. 2.
4. C. 1923.
Ref. 1923.

The conqueror, beside the usual honour of the *Triumph*, which was decreed him, was suffered to assume a new one of his own invention. During the rest of his life, whenever he had supped abroad in the city, he caused himself to be attended home with flambeaux and music. Medals were struck by the *Romans* to perpetuate the memory of his exploit; and to the same end they erected in the *Forum* a \dagger Rostral Pillar of white marble. This pillar was in the last century accidentally dug up out of the ground, in that part of *Rome* which was formerly the *Roman Forum*. There are yet the figures of six *Reques*, or *Prows* of *Roman* galleys sticking to it, and a long, but imperfect inscription on the pedestal.

CHAP. IV.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth Years of the War.

The Romans invade Corsica and Sardinia with success, reduce some places in Sicily, and come to an engagement at sea with the Carthaginians near Tyndaris.

Y. R. 434.
Bef. Cons.
251.
1923 Cons.
On. 1923, B. 4.
251.
Zim. B. 8.

THE Consuls for the following year were *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Aquilius Flarus*. While the former employed himself on the coast in getting the fleet ready for new enterprizes, the latter was detained at *Rome* on occasion of a conspiracy then on foot to plunder and burn the city. Four thousand *Sammites* being appointed, contrary to their inclination, to serve as rowers in the galleys, had united with three thousand discontented slaves in this design; but a certain commander of auxiliaries, whom they had chosen to be their leader, and who seemed at first to go heartily into their measures, had no sooner learnt their whole secret, than he discovered it to the Senate, who took effectual care to avert the mischief and punish the offenders.

Before this domestick disturbance was quite over, *Cornelius* weighed anchor and put to sea. Ambitious of signaling himself by some exploit yet unattempted, he made a descent first upon *Corsica*, and then upon *Sardinia*, and in a short time made considerable progress in the conquest of those islands, the possession of which was of great importance to the *Romans*, who now aspired to the empire of the seas.

P. 1923, B. 1.
251.

Aquilius went late into *Sicily*. The affairs of the *Romans* had suffered much in that island since the departure of *Duilius*. For a dispute had arisen between the *Roman* and *Sicilian* troops about the post of honour; which dispute was carried so far as to produce a separation. *Hamilcar* (the *Carthaginian* General by land, who was then at *Panormus*, having intelligence of this division, surprized the *Sicilians* as they were about to encamp between *Perseus* and *Thermas*, and slew four thousand of them. He had also taken *Enna* and *Camarina*, and had fortified *Drepanum*.

Aquilius staid in the island all the winter in quality of Pro-Consul, and by his able conduct brought affairs into a better posture.

In

In the mean time his colleague held the *Comitia* for the new elections, where *A. Atilius Calatinus* and *C. Sulpicius Paternulus* were chosen Consuls. The command of the land-army fell to the former, the fleet to the latter. Soon after the arrival of *Calatinus* in *Sicily*, *Misistratum*, which the Proconsul *Aquilus* had reduced to the last extremity, surrendered to him. From thence he marched towards *Camarina*; but in his way, not taking sufficient precaution, he brought his army into a valley, where he was shut in, and surrounded by the *Carthaginians* under the command of *Hamilcar*. In this desperate situation *Calpurnius* ^b *Flamma*, a legionary Tribune, undertook, with the Consul's consent, an action of bravery much extolled by the historians. With three hundred chosen men, he, to make a diversion, seized an eminence, where he knew the *Carthaginians* would soon attack him, and from whence he could have little hope to escape. He promised himself, that by this motion he should give the enemy so much employment, that they would not be able to obstruct the Consul's march. The stratagem succeeded. The *Carthaginians*, in their attempt to dislodge him, met with so obstinate a resistance, that they were forced to bring almost the whole body of their army to the charge; and in the mean time the Consul with his legions got safely through the pass with little opposition. Of the three hundred *Romans* *Calpurnius* was the only person that escaped: He was found miserably wounded, but still breathing, under a heap of dead bodies; and his wounds being carefully dressed, he recovered. A *Crown of Gramen* was the reward of his exploit.

Calatinus after this escape continued his march towards *Camarina*, and by the help of engines, sent him by King *Hiero*, made himself master of it. *Enna* betrayed her garrison, and opened her gates to him. He took *Sittanum* by assault; and then many other towns surrendered without standing a siege, and, among the rest, *Erbesus* in the country of the *Agri- gentines*. Flushed with this success he undertook the siege of *Lipara*, expecting for the future to meet with no resistance wherever he appeared: But *Hamilcar* having got notice of his design, had stolen with some troops into the place; and when the *Romans*, who saw none but citizens upon the ramparts, confidently began to scale the walls, they were on a sudden surprized by a sally of the *Carthaginians*, and shamefully repulsed with considerable loss. And thus *Calatinus* finished his campaign, which by the mixture of good and bad success, gained him but little honour.

As for the other Consul, *Sulpicius*; he had conducted the fleet like an able commander. He had not only assisted his colleague in the reduction of the maritime towns of *Sicily*, but had much advanced the conquest of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. However, this did not satisfy his passion for glory; he burnt with a desire of distinguishing himself by a naval victory: And because no *Carthaginian* fleet appeared at sea, he spread a report, that he

Y. R. 495.
Def. Chr.
257.
194 Conf.

Zon. P. 8.
Orosius,
Florus,
Aurel.
Victor, c. 39.
Liv., epit.
B. 17.
Liv., B. 22.
c. 60.

Pliny, B. 22.
c. 6. and
Died. in
Ecl. g. p.
876.

Zon. B. 8.

^b He is called by some writers *Cæditius*, by others *Laberius*.

intended

Y. R. 495.
Bel. Car.
257.
194 Cons.

Polys. B. 1.
c. 24.

Y. R. 496.
Bel. Car.
256.
195 Cons.

c. 25.

intended to go and burn the ships of the *African* Republic in their harbours. This news alarmed the *Carthaginians*, and they trusted *Hannibal* once more with the command of a considerable fleet. He found *Sulpicius* with his not far from the coast of *Africa*. But when both sides were preparing for an engagement, a storm separated them, and drove the ships of both fleets into the ports of *Sardinia*. After this, *Sulpicius* surprized the *Carthaginian* admiral in a harbour of that island, and took many of his gallies; which misfortune begetting a mutiny in the remainder of his fleet, the mariners seized on his person, and crucified him.

The year following, when *C. Attilius Regulus* and *Cn. Cornelius Blasio* were Consuls, the former being with the fleet at *Tyndaris*, descried the *Carthaginian* fleet standing along the coast in a confused and careless manner; whereupon he hastened with a squadron of ten gallies to give them chase, directing at the same time the rest of his ships to follow him. The *Carthaginians* observing that the detached squadron was advanced a good distance from the enemies main fleet, tacked about on a sudden, and surrounding the ten ships, quickly sunk them all, except the admiral galley, which escaped only by her lightness, and the force of her oars. But the rest of the *Roman* fleet coming up soon after in order of battle, amply revenged this disgrace; for the *Carthaginians* were forced to fly to the island of *Lipara* with the loss of eighteen of their vessels, of which eight were sunk, and the other ten taken.

Little was performed this year by land, the armies engaging in no action of importance, and the contending powers being chiefly solicitous about the increase of their naval strength, which for good reason, as we shall presently see, was by each side deemed to be more than ever its principal affair.

C H A P. V.

The ninth Year of the War.

The Romans, under the conduct of Marcus Attilius Regulus and L. Manlius, defeat the Carthaginians in the memorable sea-fight of Ecnomus; after which they make a descent upon Africa. Carthage, though reduced to great extremity, rejects the hard conditions of peace proposed by Regulus.

Polys. B. 1.
c. 26.

THE struggle between the rival Republics for the dominion of *Sicily* had now lasted eight years, and *Carthage* had already lost the greater part of her acquisitions in that island, when the *Romans*, to make her relinquish the rest, undertook to transfer the war into *Africa*. They imagined, that they should hereby reduce the *Carthaginians* to the necessity of calling home all their forces for the defence of their own country. The naval preparations of the *Romans* the last year had been wholly in view to the execution of this design; and the fleet which they now put to sea under

under the command of their new Consuls, *Marcus Attilius* || *Regulus* and *L. Manlius*, was suitable to the importance of the enterprize; for it consisted of no less than 330 ships of war.

Y. R. 497.
Esf. Chr.
255.
196 Conf.

On the other hand the *Carthaginians*, who well knew how easy it was for an enemy, who had once got footing in their country, to subdue the inhabitants on the coast, and to march even to the walls of *Carthage*, had determined to exert their utmost strength in opposing the intended descent. Fully bent upon a sea-engagement, they had equipped a fleet that was still more numerous than that of the *Romans*. They arrived at *Lilybæum* with 350 galleys. From this place they went afterwards to *Heraclea Minoa*, where they staid at anchor, waiting the motions of the enemy.

|| 2d time.

The *Roman* fleet had touched at *Messina*, and had thence steered its course along the coast of *Sicily* that lay to the right, and having doubled the promontory of *Pachinum*, was come to *Ecnomus*, where their land-forces then were. From these the Consuls selected the ablest of the soldiers for the present service, providing all things necessary either for a battle with the enemy by sea, if it should be offered, or to make an irruption into *Africa*, if their voyage thither should not be obstructed. Each galley in the *Roman* fleet had 300 rowers and 120 soldiers, so that the whole army amounted to near 140,000 men. As the *Carthaginians* exceeded their enemies in number of ships, so was their army proportionably greater, consisting of above 150,000 mariners and soldiers. And now, says *Polybius*, who could behold or but barely hear of such fleets and armies, and of the hazard to which these contending States were exposed, without being astonished at the mightiness of their power, and without taking part in the danger with which they threatened each other?

Ecnomus was not far from *Heraclea*; the two parties were obstinately determined, the one to *invade*, the other to *defend*; it was easy therefore to foresee they would soon come to a battle.

The *Romans* considering the advantage which the *Carthaginians* had over them in the lightness and ready working of their galleys, took especial care to draw up their fleet, that it should be difficult to break its order. They divided their ships into four squadrons, to three of which they gave the names of *the first*, *the second*, and *the third fleet*; and these, in three lines, composed the form of a wedge or triangle, pointing towards the enemy.

The *first fleet* to the right, and the *second* to the left (keeping the prows of their vessels turned outwards) made the sides of the triangle; and at the head of these two lines, that is, at the point where they met, were the Consuls *Regulus* and *Manlius*, in two galleys abreast of each other. The *third fleet* made the base of the triangle, and towed the vessels of burden, which carried the horses and baggage.

In the rear of all was the fourth division, which they called the *Triarii*, a term taken from the land-forces. This squadron was drawn up
in

Y. R. 497.
 Bef. Car.
 255.
 156 Cons.

in a line parallel to the base of the triangle, but was stretched so far in length, that its two extremities extended a good way beyond those of the base.

The several divisions of the *Roman* fleet being thus disposed, the whole, says *Polybius*, was fit for action, and very difficult to be broken.

P. H. B. 1.
 257.

The *Carthaginian* fleet was commanded by *Hanno*, who had succeeded so ill during the siege of *Agrigentum*, and by *Hamilcar*, who had fought near *Tyndoris*. These admirals observing how the *Roman* galleys were drawn up, and rightly conjecturing the intention of such a disposition, turned their thoughts to disappoint it, by the order in which they should dispose their own vessels, and by stratagem. Having divided their whole fleet into four squadrons, they drew three of them up in one long line frontways, their prows pointing directly on the enemy. *Hanno* was with the squadron which formed the right of this line, and which stretched a great way out into the sea. He had with him all the best rowing galleys, such as were proper to attack and retreat, and could row round the *Romans* at pleasure. *Hamilcar* was with the squadron in the left of the line. The third squadron, which made the center, was designedly drawn up very thin, that the *Romans* might be tempted to begin the attack there, in which case this squadron had orders to retreat, thereby to engage the *Roman* galleys, which made the two sides of their triangle, in a pursuit, which would separate them from the base.

The fourth division of the *Carthaginian* fleet, in form of a Tenail, kept close under the shore which lay to the left of their long line of battle.

The stratagem above mentioned, and which *Polybius* imputes to *Hamilcar*, succeeded. The *Romans* began their attack on the *Carthaginians* in the middle of their line. The galleys that were attacked pretended to fly through fear, and the assailants, that is to say, the first and second fleets of the *Romans*, pursuing them warmly, disjoined themselves from their third fleet (which towed the baggage) and from the *Triarians* in the rear of all.

When the *Carthaginians* judged that the *first* and *second* fleets of the *Romans* were sufficiently distanced from the rest, the signal was given from *Hamilcar's* galley; whereupon those that were chased by the *Romans* immediately tacked, and made head against the pursuers, *Hamilcar* with his squadron charging them at the same time. And now the battle grew warm; for though the *Carthaginians* had the advantage in the lightness and ready working of their vessels, yet the *Romans* lost not their assurance of success in the end; they found themselves better men when they came to the sword's point, and they had great trust in their engines, with which they grappled and boarded the enemy; besides, the soldiers were animated by the presence of their Generals, in whose eye they fought, and who themselves engaged in equal hazard with the rest.

a. 28.

During this conflict, *Hanno*, who commanded the squadron which had formed the right of the *Carthaginian* line, bearing down upon the *Roman* *Triarians*,

Triarians attacked them vigorously, and succeeded so well, as to reduce them to very great extremities.

Y. R. 497.
Bef. Chr.

255.
196 Conf.

At the same time the fourth squadron of the *Carthaginians*, which in form of a Tenaïl had been posted close under the shore, ranged themselves into a front, and advanced against that squadron of the *Romans* which they called their *third fleet*, and which had made the base of their triangle. This fleet was therefore obliged to cast off the vessels they had in tow, which having done, they received the *Carthaginians*, and fought them with great bravery. So that now might be seen three naval battles at one and the same instant.

The fortune of the day was for some time doubtful, and would at length have infallibly declared for the *Carthaginians*, if *Hamilcar's* courage had been equal to his skill in stratagem, and if, with his two squadrons of the left and the center, he had only maintained the fight against the *first* and *second fleets* of the *Romans*, so as to hinder them from going to the assistance of their other fleets; but he, after some loss, shamefully fled out of the battle. And now while *Manlius* employed himself in towing away such ships as had been taken, *Regulus*, who perceived the great danger the *Triarians* were in from *Hanno's* attack, advanced with all diligence to their relief, taking with him those ships of his colleague's squadron which had not suffered any thing in the engagement with *Hamilcar*. The *Triarians* hereupon, though now almost quite vanquished, recovered heart, and renewed the battle with alacrity. *Hanno* seeing himself thus assaulted, contrary to all expectation, both in front and rear, betook himself to his oars, and made off to sea, yielding the day to the *Romans*.

About the same time *Manlius* coming up, and joining *Regulus*, they both hastened to the succour of their *third fleet*, which had been forced under the shore by the *fourth squadron* of the enemy, and was in a manner besieged there. This *third fleet* would have been in great danger of destruction, before the Consuls could have come to its rescue, if the *Carthaginians* had had the courage to push their advantage; but their dread of being grappled by the *Corvi*, and of coming to a close fight with the *Romans*, was so great, that they contented themselves with driving their enemies against the shore, and there keeping them beset. And now they were themselves entirely surrounded by the *Romans*, who took fifty of their ships with all their equipage. Such was the event of this last combat in particular. The *Romans*, every where victors, took in all sixty-four of the *Carthaginian* galleys, and sunk thirty. Of their own fleet they lost but twenty-four galleys, and these perished against the shore, not one was taken.

The Consuls, after this victory, returned into the ports of *Sicily* to take in provisions and fresh troops, and prepare anew for a descent upon *Africa*.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 29.

Whilst they were thus employed, *Hanno* made no scruple to go in person to amuse them by conferences about peace, which *Hamilcar* had re-

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fused

V. R. 497.
Bef. Chr.
355.
196 Cons.

fused to do, for fear he should be treated as the *Carthaginians* had treated *Cornelius Afina* five years before. *Hanno's* confidence was founded upon a different judgment of the temper of the *Romans*; and experience on the present occasion shewed that he judged rightly. For when a certain legionary Tribune cried out, *That he ought to be detained prisoner by way of reprimand for the treachery practised towards Cornelius*, both the Consuls immediately ordered him silence; and then turning to *Hanno*, *The faith of Rome secures thee from that fear*. The *Carthaginian* was dismissed in safety, but his proposals were rejected, and the Consuls pursued their enterprize.

Pol. B. 1.
c. 29.

The *Romans* had a fortunate voyage, and landed in the neighbourhood of *Chyrea*, near the promontory of *Mercury*. Having made themselves masters of that town, they would not advance any further till they had received fresh instructions from *Rome*: For such was the dependance of the Consuls upon the Senate at this time, that they did little more than execute the orders of the Fathers; most of whom being experienced soldiers, and having commanded armies, were very capable of directing the conduct of their Generals. The Consuls however did not continue in a perfect inaction; they fortified *Chyrea* after the *Roman* manner, and detached parties to ravage the rich territory all around, and plunder the fine houses of the *Carthaginian* nobles. These detachments, meeting no opposition, brought away an immense booty, besides 20,000 prisoners, who were made slaves.

V. R. MAX.
B. 6. c. 6.

When the Consuls messenger came back from *Rome*, he brought orders for *Manlius* to return to *Italy* with the fleet, and for *Regulus* to continue in *Africa* with a sufficient number of troops to carry on the war. The people of *Rome* depended greatly on the courage and abilities of *Regulus*, and the city was in universal joy upon the publishing of this regulation. But when the news of it came to *Regulus*, he was much afflicted. His pretext was, the bad condition of his little farm of seven acres of land. He represented to the Senate, that upon the death of the husbandman, to whom he had committed the care of his farm, the management of it had fallen to a day-labourer, who had since stolen his instruments of husbandry, and carried off all his stock; so that his presence was necessary at home to provide for the subsistence of his wife and children. Upon this the Senate gave orders that his losses should be repaired, his farm taken care of, and his family maintained at the public expence; but he himself was directed to stay in *Africa*. *Manlius* leaving behind him forty ships, 15,000 foot, and 500 horse, returned to *Italy* with the rest of the army, and with all the prisoners which had been taken upon the continent of *Africa*.

Pol. B. 1.
c. 29.

Regulus made incursions into the country, and pushed on his conquests with prodigious rapidity. All the towns in his way, that were unfortified,

Flor. B. 2.
Zon. B. 8.

* *Regulus*, in the progress of his conquests, river that discharged itself into the sea not encamping on the banks of the *Boğradia*, a far from *Carthage*, is said by many authors

tified, he took by assault, and those that were fortified, by siege; and now at length he sat down before *Adis*, a city of great importance, and pressed the siege of it with vigour.

V. R. 497.
Bef. Chr.
255.
196 Cont.

Hitherto the *Carthaginians* had brought no army into the field to oppose his progress. Upon the first notice of their terrible defeat at sea, apprehending a sudden invasion from the *Romans*, they had dispatched away some troops to keep guard upon the coast; but this care was over, so soon as they learnt that the *Romans* were landed. They proceeded therefore with all possible application to reinforce their army with new levies, and make due provision both for strengthening the city, and securing the country. They named two Generals to command their forces, *Bostar*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Hanno*; they afterwards sent orders to *Hamilcar*, who was then at *Heraclea*, to return home with all expedition. *Hamilcar* brought with him to *Carthage* 5000 foot and 500 horse, and being there named third General of the Republic, and having consulted with *Asdrubal*, it was determined no longer to endure that the *Romans* should make such spoil upon the country, and to hasten to the relief of *Adis*. They advanced with their army, and encamped upon an eminence, which, tho' it overlooked the *Roman* camp, was a very incommodious situation; for, as their greatest strength lay in their horse and elephants, to abandon the plain country, and post themselves in high and steep places, where neither elephants nor horse could be of any use to them, was in effect to point out to their enemies the method to destroy them. *Regulus*, who saw their mistake, gave them no time to rectify it. At break of day he marched against the enemy, his troops ascending the hill on both sides. The mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* behaved themselves gallantly on this occasion, and repulsed the first legion of the *Romans* which charged them in front; but being presently after attacked in the rear by the soldiers who had got up the hill on the other side, they could no longer maintain the fight. The whole army disbanded itself, and in the utmost confusion fled out of the camp. The elephants and the horse, which had been wholly useless during the action, gained the champaign country and escaped. The *Romans* having pursued the foot for some space, returned and pillaged the camp; after which they proceeded to make incursions as before, spoiling the country, and taking towns without opposition. Among others, they seized upon *Tunes*, and there

c. 30.

Val. Max. B. 1. thors to have met there
A. Gell. B. 6. with a monstrous serpent of
Plin. B. 8. 120 feet long, which much
infested his army, seizing
his men, and swallowing them whole when
they went to draw water. The skin of this
animal was so tough, and its scales so thick,
as to be impenetrable by the *Roman* weapons,
inasmuch that they were forced to
employ their battering-engines, called *Bal-*

istæ, to destroy it. And even when they had
killed it, the stench of its carcase infected
the air and the water to such a degree, that
the *Romans* were forced to decamp. Many
other extraordinary things are related by the
historians of this serpent, which was proba-
bly nothing more than an overgrown croco-
dile, a creature common in *Africa*, but to
which the *Romans* were at this time strangers.
Catrou.

Y. R. 49.
Bef. Chr.
= 55.
126 Conf.

Pol. h. B. 1.
- 51.

they pitched their camp within the walls of it; this being of all places the most commodious for distressing *Carthage* itself, and the country about it.

The *Carthaginians*, who had so unfortunately managed their affairs both by sea and land, not so much through the cowardice of their armies, as the insufficiency of their chiefs, began now to despair. For over and above the calamities that have been related, the *Numidians*, their implacable enemies, taking advantage of the present troubles, had entered their provinces with fire and sword, and compelled the inhabitants to fly for refuge to the capital, whither they brought both fear and famine, a mighty multitude of all sorts flocking at once thither.

It is not surprizing therefore, if in such extremity the *Carthaginians* were overjoyed to receive a message from the *Roman* General, exhorting them to think of an accommodation. What moved *Regulus* to make this step was the apprehension lest a successor, who was expected from *Rome*, should deprive him of the glory of putting an end to the war. The Senate of *Carthage* with great readiness dispatched away some of their principal citizens to confer with him; but these were so far from yielding to his proposals, that they could not with patience even hear them mentioned. For *Regulus* would have had them esteem it as a singular grace and benefit, that he granted them peace upon any terms whatsoever; and those he demanded were so infamous for the *Carthaginians*, that in their imagination nothing worse could befall them, should they be entirely conquered. The deputies therefore returned to *Carthage*, not only without having consented to any thing, but full of indignation at the intolerable insolence of the *Romans*. The Senate likewise, when the report was made to them of what had passed at the conference, shewed so much courage and greatness of mind, that tho' they were almost at the brink of despair, they determined rather to abide any adversity which their worst fortune could bring upon them, than stain the nobility of their name and actions by so shameful a treaty.

C H A P. VI.

Xantippus, a Commander of Greek mercenaries in the service of Carthage, by his excellent advice and conduct gives a wonderful turn to affairs in Africa. The Roman army is totally defeated, and Regulus taken prisoner.

- 52-

IN the height of this distress, to which the victories and obdurate pride of *Regulus* had reduced the *Carthaginians*, there fortunately arrived at *Carthage* a body of recruits which they had hired in *Greece*. Among these was a certain *Lacedæmonian* named *Xantippus*, an officer well skilled in military affairs according to the *Spartan* discipline. This man having informed himself of the circumstances of the late overthrow, and of the number of horse and elephants which yet remained, concluded within himself, and freely said it among his friends, that the *Carthaginians* had
not

not been vanquished by the enemy, but by the ignorance of their own leaders. This discourse, being spread among the people, came at length to the ears of the magistrates, who thereupon commanded him to be brought before the great council. *Xantippus* offered such strong reasons in support of what he had advanced, that it was impossible to resist the force of them. He shewed plainly, that if instead of encamping upon the high grounds, they would keep in the open champaign country, they might not only banish all fear of the enemy, but even be assured of victory. The whole assembly, the Generals not excepted, applauded what he said, and it was unanimously agreed to place him at the head of their troops; the only example of the kind in all history, and a sure proof that the *Carthaginians* were in the utmost perplexity and consternation.

Y. R. 497.
Bef. Chr.
255.
196 Conf.

The soldiers had already begun to conceive a favourable opinion of this stranger, and to hope for some advantage from him: but when, after he had led them without the walls of the city, they saw in what manner he drew them up, and the new exercise he taught them according to his rules, displaying such a skill in the art of war, as they had never seen in any of their former Generals, they were quite transported with joy: they pressed earnestly to be led against the enemy, being assured that they could not fail of success under the conduct of *Xantippus*. The army in a few days began to march. It consisted of 12,000 foot, 4000 horse, and about 100 elephants.

The *Romans* were at first a little struck with the novelty, to see their enemies boldly marching in the open flat country, but having no doubt as to the event, they advanced with all expedition to meet them, and incamped within about 1200 paces of them. Next day, the *Carthaginians* held a council of war, to determine how they should proceed, while the soldiers assembling in great numbers, and proclaiming every where the name of *Xantippus*, demanded with much earnestness to be led against the enemy. The officers observing this forwardness of the army to fight; and being urged by the pressing instances of *Xantippus* not to let the ardour of the soldiers cool without action, directions were presently given to prepare for battle, and the whole conduct of it was committed to the *Spartan*, who disposed his troops in the following manner.

c. 33.

He drew up all his elephants in one rank, and behind these, at a reasonable distance, he placed the *Carthaginian* infantry in one phalanx. The foreign troops were posted one part of them in the same line with the phalanx, to the right of it; the other part, composed of light-armed soldiers, was placed in the intervals of the squadrons of horse, which made the two wings of the army.

On the part of the *Romans*, as the chief care of *Regulus* was to guard against the elephants, he to this end placed in front his *Velites*, or light-armed soldiers, that these with their darts or other missive weapons might drive back those huge beasts upon the enemy, or at least hinder them from rushing with their usual violence upon the legions. It was also out
of

Y. R. 497.
B. C. 217.
195 Cons.

of fear of the same animals, that he made his battalions deeper in file than he had been accustomed to do; an excellent precaution, says *Polybius*, against the shock of the elephants; but then, by narrowing his front, he left himself more exposed to be attacked in flank by the enemies cavalry, which greatly outnumbered him.

It does not appear of what number of men *Regulus's* army consisted; but supposing him to have lost none of those which his colleague left him, they amounted but to 15,000 foot and 500 horse.

P. A. B. I.
1154

The two armies being thus drawn up, and the signal being given by *Xanthippus*, the first onset was made by the elephants, which met with so little resistance from the *Velites*, that they presently broke into the *Roman* main body, making great destruction amongst the foremost ranks of it. However the rest of that body stood firm for some time, by reason of its depth. But the *Carthaginian* horse, having quickly driven those of *Regulus* out of the field, began now to charge his battalions both in flank and rear, which put them into great distress, for they were forced to face every way, and could neither pass forward, nor yet retire, and had much to do, to make good the ground on which they stood. In the mean while such of the *Romans*, as with great difficulty had made their way through the elephants, and had left them at their backs, met with the *Carthaginian* phalanx, which not having yet engaged, and being therefore quite fresh and in good array, obtained an easy victory over a body of men already in disorder, and wearied with wounds and labour. These being entirely cut off, and the phalanx advancing, there was no longer any resource for the *Romans*. Surrounded on all sides, the greater part of them were crushed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants, or slain in their ranks by the arrows of the horse. Some attempted to escape by flight, but being in an open country, they were easily overtaken by the cavalry, and either cut off, or made prisoners. Five hundred who followed *Regulus* fell alive with him into the enemies hands^b.

Of the whole *Roman* army there escaped only 2000 men, who had been posted in the left point of their main body, and who in the beginning of the action, to avoid the shock of the elephants, had wheeled round them, and charged the mercenaries that were to the right of the enemies phalanx, putting them to flight, and pursuing them even to their intrenchments. These 2000, as it were by miracle, got safely to *Clypea*, when the rest were all slain or taken.

On the enemies side were killed but 800 men, of whom the greater part were of those mercenaries that had been attacked by the 2000 *Romans*.

^b Chevalier *Fabert* is of opinion, that the loss of this battle was wholly owing to the mistake of *Regulus*, in not leaving (as *Scipio* did afterwards at the battle of *Zama*) sufficient spaces between the columns of his main body, for the elephants to pass freely through them. That if, by this precaution, the *Roman*

infantry had shunned the mischiefs, which for want of it they suffered from the elephants, they would have had nothing to fear from the *Carthaginian* horse, which could have made no impression on them, (formed as they were) even after the *Roman* cavalry were driven out of the field.

The

The *Carthaginians*, having spoiled the dead, marched back to their city, leading in triumph the *Roman* General and the 500 other prisoners.

Y. R. 497.
Bef. Chr.
255.
196 Conf.

Whoever, says *Polybius*, reflects seriously on this adventure, will gather from it excellent instruction for the conduct of human life. The misfortune of *Regulus* affords us an admirable lesson of moderation, and teaches us to be always on our guard against the inconstancy of fortune. We see him who but a few days before was so elated by success, so haughty and inexorable, reduced at once to be the scorn of a people whom he had despised and insulted, and to stand in need of that clemency from his enemies, which he had with pitiless pride refused them in their misery. We learn wisdom, says our author, two ways; by our own experience, and by the experience of others. The first is the more convincing, but the other is the easier and safer. And this is the great benefit we reap from the study of History. Without any peril to ourselves, we gather rules of conduct from a view of the miscarriages and misfortunes of other men.

c. 35.

Polybius also observes, that the event which has been just related, confirms that saying of *Euripides*, *That one wise Head is of more value than a great many Hands*. For it is manifest in the case now before us, that the counsel and abilities of one single person subdued the *Roman* legions that were esteemed invincible, restored a sinking and despairing Commonwealth, and revived the courage of a spiritless army, grown stupid by their defeats.

The *Carthaginians*, whose affairs had prospered to their wish, expressed their joy by solemn thanksgivings to the Gods, and by congratulations and mutual good offices to one another. As for *Xantippus*, who had had so great share in restoring the Commonwealth, he shortly after (an admirable example of judgment and wisdom) took his leave and departed from *Carthage*, well foreseeing that his services, too great for a reward, would draw upon him both envy and calumny, against which a native perhaps might have been able to guard himself by the means of relations and friends, but which would in all probability bring ruin upon a stranger, who had nothing to support him but his merit.

ch. 36.

Polybius tells us, that some authors give a different account of *Xantippus's* departure, and promises to take notice of it in another place: but that part of his history has not been transmitted to us. According to *Appian*, the *Carthaginians*, fearing lest the honour of the victory should be ascribed to the *Lacedæmonians*, feigned a gratification of their General, made him magnificent presents, and appointed a convoy of their own ships to conduct him to *Sparta*, but with secret instructions to the commanders of the galleys to throw him and his *Lacedæmonians* over-board, so soon as they could come into the open sea. Such, says our author, was the end of *Xantippus*, and such the recompence he received for so noble an exploit. But surely this is a very senseless account, or the *Carthaginians* must have been a very senseless as well as ungrateful people, first to do publick honour to the *Spartan*, as the known and un-

*Appian. De
Bell. Pun.
c. 3.*

doubted

Y. R. 497.
 Bef. Chr.
 255.
 196 Conf.

doubted author of the victory, and then to imagine they could rob him of that glory, and conceal their obligation to him, by treacherously throwing him into the sea.

C H A P. VII.

From the 9th to the 14th Year of the War.

The Romans, after the misfortune of Regulus, vanquish the Carthaginians in a sea-engagement on the coast of Africa; but withdraw their forces from that country. In their return home they lose their own fleet by tempest. They build a new one, and this is also destroyed by the like misfortune. Hereupon they resolve to think no more of naval enterprizes; but after two years, in which their land-forces perform nothing of moment, they change that resolution, and, while a third fleet is building, they gain a signal victory at land over the Carthaginians, near Panormus.

Polyb. B. 1.
 c. 36.

THE Romans, having received an account of the miserable condition of their affairs in *Africa*, applied themselves with all diligence to repair and equip their fleet in order to rescue out of danger the 2000 soldiers, who after the late battle had escaped to *Chyrea*. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, to reduce those remains of *Regulus's* army, laid siege to that place, and used their utmost efforts to carry it; but so brave and so obstinate was the resistance they met with, that they were forced at length to abandon the enterprize and retire. And now hearing of the naval preparations of the *Romans*, for a new expedition to *Africa*, they fitted out in a short time about 200 galleys, and put to sea to watch the arrival of the enemy.

Y. R. 498.
 Bef. Chr.
 254.
 197 Conf.

Early in the summer, the new Consuls *Fulvius* and *Æmilius*, with a fleet of 350 sail appeared off the promontory of *Mercury*, and there came to an engagement with the *Carthaginians*, who, not being able to sustain the very first shock, were entirely defeated, and lost 114 of their vessels. The *Romans* pursued their course, arrived at *Chyrea*, took the garrison on board, and then steered back towards *Sicily* ^a.

They

^a There are two parts of the *Roman* conduct in this war, which Mr. *Rollin* and Chevalier *Folard* think very hard to be accounted for.

1. Why did the *Romans*, after their victory at sea near *Ecnomus*, and the fortunate descent made in *Africa* in consequence of that victory, leave so small a number of troops under *Regulus* to carry on the war in that country?

Mr. *Rollin* says, it was a manifest renouncing of the advantages gained by sea;

and the Chevalier declares, that it is enough to distract a commentator, and wonders that *Polybius* makes no remark on this strange proceeding.

Again, 2. Why did the *Romans*, just after this new victory at sea, near the coast of *Africa*, entirely abandon that country, instead of attempting to complete the conquest of it? *Polybius* relates this fact also without any remark upon it, to the great amazement of Chevalier *Folard*.

But as to both these difficulties, may it not

They had a prosperous voyage till they came near the *Sicilian* coast, in the territory of *Camarina*; but then so terrible a tempest overtook them, as no words are able to describe. Of above 400 vessels, only four-score escaped destruction; the rest either foundered at sea, or were dashed to pieces against the rocks; so that the whole coast from *Camarina* to cape *Pachynum* was covered with dead bodies and fragments of ships. History affords no example of a more deplorable shipwreck. And this calamity was owing, not to fortune, but to the obstinacy of the Consuls. For the pilots had often represented to them, that the season was come when it was no longer safe to navigate on that coast of *Sicily* which looks towards *Africa*: but they being full of expectation, that the towns situate thereon, terrified by the late victory, would readily submit to them on their first appearance, despised the admonition, to pursue an interest that was by no means worthy of the hazard. But such, as *Polybius* tells us, was the character of the *Romans*; impetuous, presumptuous, and obsti-

Y. P. 468.
B. C. Chr.
254.
197 C. Chr.

c. 37.

not be answered, that the only object of the *Romans* in this war, was the conquest of *Sicily*? To alarm *Carthage*, and induce her to withdraw her forces out of that island, are the reasons assigned by *Polybius* for the descent made by the *Romans* on *Africa*. But they were disappointed as to the effect of this measure; for the *Carthaginians* judging by the small army left with *Regulus*, that the enemy, in making their descent, had no farther view, than to cause a diversion, did not recal their troops out of *Sicily*; but seeing, as *Polybius* says, that the war would go on slowly, named two Generals, *Bostar* and *Ajdrubal*, to command the forces they had at home; and when afterwards *Hamilcar* was sent for from *Sicily* to join those Generals, he brought with him but 5500 men.

It is plain therefore from the conduct of both the contending powers, that neither the *Romans* intended, nor the *Carthaginians* feared, any serious attempt upon *Carthage* by *Regulus*, when he began the war in *Africa*.

But why did not the *Romans* resolve to attempt *Carthage* after the victory at *Ecnomus*? I answer: Because from their knowledge of its great strength, and of the many resources its prodigious wealth furnished, they judged the conquest of it impracticable at this time, and before *Sicily* was subdued. And that they judged right, one may fairly conclude from *Polybius*'s not reproofing their policy, and from the difficulties they afterwards met with in that enterprize, even when masters of *Sicily*, and of all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*.

But after the total defeat of *Regulus*'s army by means of the elephants, the difficulty of succeeding in an *African* war was become infinitely great. We find, that the legions were possessed with such a dread of those animals, that for some years they durst not come to a pitched battle with the *Carthaginians* even in *Sicily*, where the *Romans* had many advantages which they must have wanted in *Africa*.

In a word, *Sicily* was the present object of the *Roman* ambition, and the only reasonable object it could now have; and we shall see by what follows, that they had need of all their forces for the reduction of this island: so that their leaving *Africa* after the victory at sea by *Fulvius* and *Æmilius*, ought not perhaps to have so greatly astonished the *Chevalier Folard*.

If we may credit some authors, we have a shorter way of getting rid of the *Chevalier*'s difficulties, which is, to deny the facts that give occasion to them. According to these writers, *Regulus*'s army was not so inconsiderable, as from *Polybius*'s account it seems to have been. *Appian* and *Orosius* make it 30,000 strong; and *Eutropius* reckons 47,000 men, of whom 30,000 were slain, and 15,000 taken prisoners, in the battle with *Xantippus*.

And as to the *Romans* quitting *Africa* after the victory at sea by *Fulvius* and *Æmilius*, the last named author [*Eutropius*] represents them, not as making this retreat by choice, but as being constrained to it by famine.

Y. R. 493.
Bel. Car.
254
197 Cons.

nate, they would carry every thing by mere violence; they would force all nature to their will: to them nothing was impossible which they could desire; nay, it must of necessity come to pass, if they had once decreed that it should be done. And indeed, *adds our author*, in their enterprizes by land, and where they had to do only with men and the works of men, this inflexible audaciousness of spirit for the most part (not always) carried them through every obstacle to the end proposed; but in their naval expeditions, when they foolishly imagined that the winds and the seas must be complaisant to their wishes and projects, they were sure to be chastised for their overweening presumption; and of this they had frequent experience.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 35.

The *Romans*, though extremely afflicted, were not discouraged by the ruin of their fleet; they ordered a new one of 220 sail to be speedily built: and, which is almost incredible, this powerful armament was completely equipped in three months time.

Y. R. 499.
Bel. Car.
259.
198 Cons.

The Consular *Fajces* had been transferred to *A. Attilius* and *Cn. Cornelius Asina* (the same *Cornelius* who was formerly made prisoner at *Lipara*, and had lived some time in captivity.) These commanders having passed the *Straits* with the new fleet, and touched at *Messina* to take with them the eighty vessels which had escaped the late storm, shaped their course for *Cephalidium*, which was delivered to them by treachery; thence they sailed to *Drepanum*, and began to besiege it; but upon succours being brought thither by *Carthalo* the *Carthaginian* General (who had retaken *Agrirentum*, and demolished the walls of it) they drew off and sailed to || *Panormus*, which, according to *Polybius*, was then the capital city of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. The Consuls besieged this place, and having carried the out-works by assault, the besieged capitulated, and surrendered the town. The inhabitants of *Selinus*, *Tyndaris*, and other places, did the like, having first driven out the *Carthaginian* garrisons. After these conquests, the *Romans* leaving a strong body of troops in *Panormus*, returned to *Rome*.

Diod. Sic.
in Eclog.
p. 877.

|| Palermo.

Y. R. 500.
Bel. Car.
260.
199 Cons.

Early the next summer the succeeding Consuls, *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Sempronius*, sailed over to *Sicily* with all their naval force, and from thence soon after stood for the coast of *Africa*, where they made several descents, and brought away some booty, but performed nothing of moment. Coming at length near the island of the *Lotophagi*, (which was called *Melinix*) not far from the lesser *Syrtis*; and, being unacquainted with the coast, they ran upon some banks of sand, and there stuck fast: the sea ebbing left them dry, and they were utterly at a loss what to do, apprehending the destruction of the whole fleet. But the flood returning some hours after, and they lighting the vessels by throwing their booty overboard, made a shift to get off. Immediately they stood away for *Sicily*, as if they were flying before an enemy, and, having doubled the cape of *Libyæum*, arrived safely in the port of *Panormus*. But from thence steering their course homewards at a time unskilfully chosen, they lost 150 of their vessels by a storm that overtook them in the passage.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 39.

So.

So terrible a destruction of two fleets by tempest totally discouraged the *Romans* from all naval enterprizes. No more than sixty vessels were to be equipped for the future, and these were to be employed only to transport the troops with the baggage and ammunition into *Sicily*. Their thirst of glory and empire was not abated, but they determined to rely wholly on their land-forces for the achievement of the conquest they had in view. This conquest however could not be effected by land-armies alone, while the maritime towns in the possession of the *Carthaginians* were open to receive provisions and recruits by sea, as occasion should require. Nay, ever since the defeat of *Regulus* by means of the elephants, the *Roman* soldiers were afraid of coming to any engagement by land, where they should have to do with those huge and furious animals.

The *Carthaginians* had dispatched *Asdrubal* with 140 elephants to *Lilybæum*, and had strengthened the army which was there with troops drawn from other places; and they had sent after him 200 ships of war. *Asdrubal*, after his arrival, having first applied himself diligently to discipline his soldiers and elephants, had boldly taken the field with a resolution to offer the enemy battle. But though the armies were on several occasions encamped within five or six furlongs of each other, sometimes in the territory of *Selinus*, sometimes about *Lilybæum*, the *Romans* for the space of two years together had not once the resolution to come to an engagement with the enemy; nor durst they descend into the open champaign country. So that during the Consulship of *C. Aurelius*^b and *P. Servilius*, and that of *L. Cecilius Metellus* and *C. Furius*, no progress was made in their affairs, except the taking of two towns, which they could besiege, still keeping themselves posted in high and inaccessible places. This terror among the legions made the Senate of *Rome* at length change their measures, and resolve to try their fortune once more at sea. And accordingly, after the election of *C. || Atilius* and *L. † Manlius* to the Consulate, they ordered the building fifty new vessels, and that suitable levies should be made of men fit for that service.

In the mean time *Asdrubal* having observed the dread that possessed the *Roman* army, whenever he presented them battle; and having intelligence that *Furius* was returned to *Rome* with one half of the army, and that *Cecilius* with the other was at *Panormus* to protect his allies while they gathered in their harvest, he marched from *Lilybæum*, and came with all his forces to the borders of the territory of *Panormus*, hoping to provoke *Cecilius* to fight. But the *Roman*, who well understood his own business, kept close within the town, and pretending fear, suffered the *Carthaginians* to advance, and pillage the country without opposition, till with all their elephants they had passed a river which ran within a mile of the place. He then sent out some light armed troops, to skirmish and

^b In this Consulate *Tib. Coruncanius* was chosen *Pontifex Maximus*, the first instance of a Plebeian raised to that high station.

Y. R. 500.
Bet. Chr.
252.
199 Conf.

Y. R. 501.

Y. R. 502.

Y. R. 503.[†]
|| A 2d time.
† A 2d time.
c. 49.

Y. R. 503
 Bef. Chr.
 249
 2023 Conf.

draw the enemy farther on, supporting his first detachment by others as occasion required, till by this management he had brought the whole *Carthaginian* army as near the town as he wished them to be. At a proper distance from the walls he had caused a trench to be cut, which the elephants could by no means pass; and he had given his dartmen orders, in case those animals advanced against them, to retire by slow degrees till they came to that trench, into which they were then to leap down, and from thence to gaul the elephants with their darts as much as possibly they could. He ordered the town's people at the same time to furnish themselves with great quantities of darts, and post themselves at the foot of the walls. *Cæcilius* himself, with the main body of his forces, remained in readiness at a certain gate of the town, which was opposite to the left wing of the enemy. When the battle grew warm, the leaders of the elephants, being desirous to have the chief honour of the victory, advanced in order upon the *Romans*, whom, retiring before them, they pursued to the very brink of the trench above mentioned. There they were at a stand, and the elephants being terribly gauled with the darts both of those who leaped into the trench, and of those who were on the other side of it, began presently to grow unruly, and turning back furiously upon their own infantry, utterly disordered them. And now *Cæcilius*, who saw his advantage, sallied out with all his troops, fresh and in good order, and charging the enemy in flank, easily put them to the rout. The *Carthaginians* suffered a great slaughter; some of their elephants^c were killed, and the rest were all taken.

Polyb. B. 1.
 41.

The news of *Cæcilius's* exploit caused great rejoicings at *Rome*, not so much on account of the taking the elephants, tho' that was a very terrible blow to the enemy, as because by the victory obtained against those formidable animals, the courage of the *Roman* soldiers was entirely restored, and they no longer feared to keep in the open country. It was resolved therefore diligently to pursue the design of sending the new Consuls into *Sicily* with a naval force, and by vigorous efforts both by land and sea, to put an end, if possible, to this destructive war.

^c *Cæcilius*, according to *Pliny*, B. 8. ch. 6. caused the elephants to be transported to *Italy*, where they were baited to death in the *Circus* at *Rome*.

C H A P. VIII.

Regulus is sent to Rome with some Ambassadors from Carthage to negotiate a peace. His behaviour on this occasion, and the consequences of it.

THE defeat of *Asdrubal's* before *Panormus* threw the people of *Carthage* into discouragement; they began now to think seriously of peace;

^d This General, according to *Zonaras*, was crucified for his misconduct.

and

and believing that if *Regulus*, a man so much esteemed by his countrymen, engaged in the affair, an accommodation might be easily effected, they sent him to *Rome* with the ambassadors appointed for this negotiation; having first taken an oath of him to return to *Carthage*, in case there should neither be peace nor an exchange of prisoners. When after his landing in *Italy* he came to the gates of *Rome*, he would by no means enter the city, alledging, that he was no longer a *Roman* citizen, but a slave of a foreign power, and that he did not come to infringe the laws and custom of his native country, which forbade the Senate to give audience to strangers within the walls; nor, when his wife *Marcia* with her children ran to meet him, did he shew any signs of joy, but fixed his eyes upon the ground, as one ashamed of his servile condition, and unworthy of their caresses. So extraordinary a behaviour raised the admiration both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, and all were impatiently curious to know how he would conduct himself in the Senate. The *Fathers* being at length assembled without the walls, the ambassadors were admitted to an audience, and made their proposals; and then *Regulus*, whose turn it was to speak next, only added, *Conscript Fathers, being a slave to the Carthaginians, I come on the part of my masters to treat with you concerning a peace and an exchange of prisoners.* He said no more; and when he had uttered these few words, sought to withdraw and follow the ambassadors, who could not be present at the deliberations. In vain the Consuls pressed him to stay, and give his opinion as a Senator and Consular Person; he absolutely refused to take his place among the *Conscript Fathers*. However, he obeyed his *African* masters who directed him to continue in the assembly. There he remained in a modest silence till the oldest Senators had declared their opinions, and then he expressed himself to the following effect: "*Romans,*
 " I am sensible, that the fatigues and expence of so difficult a war put
 " your virtue to a severe trial; but what great enterprize can ever be at-
 " chieved without a steady fortitude? I am an eye witness of the distress
 " of *Carthage*. 'Tis nothing but the impossibility of maintaining the
 " war that makes the *Carthaginians* solicit for a peace. You have
 " lost one battle, (it was when I commanded) a misfortune which
 " *Metellus* has repaired by a notable victory. Except two cities, *Sicily* is
 " entirely yours; and your new fleet spreads a terror throughout
 " the seas. You govern your allies in tranquillity, and they serve
 " you with zeal. *Carthage*, drained of her wealth, can depend but
 " little on the provinces of her dominion. With how much ease did I
 " bring them into a revolt! Your armies are composed of soldiers of
 " one and the same nation, united by mutual esteem and affection: the
 " troops of *Carthage* are chiefly made up of strangers who have no tie
 " to her but their pay, and whom the example of *Xantippus* will deter
 " from engaging in her service. My opinion therefore is absolutely against
 " a peace with our Enemies; nor do I think it for your interest to make
 " an exchange of prisoners. Among the *Carthaginian* captives you have
 " thirteen

Y. R. 503.
 Bef. Chr.
 249.
 202d Conf.

Appian. in
 Punic.
 Bell. c. 3.
 Livy Epi-
 tom. B. 18.
 Eutrop.
 P. 2.
 Cic. de Of-
 fic. P. 3.
 Sol. J. L.
 P. 6.
 Val. Max.
 T. 1. c. 1.
 & P. c. 2.
 A. Gell. B.
 6. c. 4.
 Avel.
 Vit. c. 40.
 Zon. B. 8.

Y. R. 505.
Bell. Car.
249.
2nd ed. Corz.

“ thirteen considerable officers, young, and capable of commanding one
 “ day the armies of the enemy. As for me, I grow old, and my mis-
 “ fortunes have made me useless; add to this that the number of *Car-*
 “ *thaginian* captives of an inferior rank infinitely exceeds that of the *Ro-*
 “ *man* prisoners, so that the exchange must be to your disadvantage.
 “ And after all, what can you expect from soldiers who have been van-
 “ quished and reduced to slavery? Will they serve the Republic with the
 “ courage of men whose reputation is entire and untouched? No, they
 “ will rather be like timorous deer, that have escaped out of the toils of
 “ the hunter, ever ready to fly at the approach of danger.”

This discourse filled the Senators with admiration and compassion, and tho’ they approved his advice concerning the proposals made by the *Carthaginians*, yet they knew not how to consent to the ruin of a man whose contempt of life made him the more worthy to be preserved. The *Pontifex Maximus* being consulted, declared, that his oath having been extorted from him, he might without perjury continue at *Rome*. They pressed him therefore not to return to *Africk*; but *Regulus* was offended with these solicitations. “ What! have you then resolved to dishonour me? I am too well acquainted with the inconstancy of the people’s favour, to trust them with the care of my reputation. At my first return they are full of good will, touched with a fresh remembrance of my misfortunes: this fit of joy once over, and I am no longer thought of. Nay, I doubt not but my stay here would be reproached me by those who have seemed the most afflicted for my absence. How often shall I be called Slave! May not *Rome* herself disdain to own me for one of her Citizens? I am not ignorant, that death and the extremest tortures are preparing for me; but what are these to the shame of an infamous action, and the wounds of a guilty mind? Slave as I am to *Carthage*, I have still the spirit of a *Roman*; I have sworn to return, it is my duty to go; let the Gods take care of the rest.”

The Senate, by the same decree which refused the *Carthaginian* ambassadors both peace and an exchange of prisoners, left *Regulus* at liberty to continue at *Rome*, or return to *Carthage*, as he should think fit. This was all that *Marcia* could obtain from the *Fathers* by her tears and solicitations. *Regulus*, to free himself from all farther importunity of his friends, assured them, that before his departure from *Africk* the *Carthaginians* had given him a slow poison, and that he could not long survive the negotiation. As soon as it was ended, he quitted his native country, to go and resume his chains at *Carthage*, with the same serenity as if he had been going to a country seat for his recreation.

Those authors who have celebrated the heroism of *Regulus* on this occasion, tho’ they all concur in reporting that he suffered at his return into *Africa* some cruel death from the revenge of the *Carthaginians*, yet are by no means agreed concerning the particular kind of torment he was made to undergo.

The

The most current opinion is, that they cut off or sewed back his eyelids, and then bringing him out of a dark dungeon, exposed him to the sun at mid-day : That after this, they shut him up in a kind of chest or press stuck full, on the inside, with iron spikes, and there left him to die in torment *.

Y. R. 503.
Bet. Chr.
249.
202d Conf.

The

* Although this story of the cruel revenge which the *Carthaginians* took of *Regulus* after his return to *Carthage* be found in many of the best *Roman* authors, and although it be not expressly contradicted by any antient writer; yet the reasons that are offered by some moderns against the truth of it may perhaps excuse our incredulity, should we look upon it as a mere fiction.

Palmerius, in a note upon *Appian*, offers two very weighty arguments for rejecting the account as fabulous.

1. The total silence of *Polybius* concerning every thing that happened to *Regulus* after his defeat and captivity.

How can we account for that author's silence upon matters of so interesting a nature, in his *History of the First Punic War*; a History, which in many parts of it is written rather with prolixity than brevity; I say, how can we account for this, but by supposing, that *Polybius* for good reasons disbelieved the tradition which had been greedily embraced by the *Romans* concerning *Regulus's* death, and therefore disdained to record it; and that nevertheless he was unwilling to offend them by contradicting such a favourite story? It was hence, doubtless, that he avoided saying any thing of *Regulus's* voyage to *Rome*, his behaviour there, and his return to *Carthage*; because had he mentioned these, without speaking of his death, (the supposed immediate consequence of them) an affected silence in this particular only, would have amounted to a direct condemnation of the prevailing opinion.

2. A fragment preserved by *Valesius*, of the 24th book of *Diodorus Siculus*.

This fragment (speaking of *Regulus's* wife and sons, into whose custody *Bostar* and *Hamilcar*, two captive *Carthaginian* Generals, had been given) begins thus:

“ — But the mother of the young men
“ [the *Attilii*] grievously laid to heart the
“ death of her husband, and thinking [or
“ imagining] that he had lost his life
“ [ἢ ἀμείλιαν] for want of good looking after,

“ stirred up her sons to use the captives
“ cruelly.”

Then it relates, that the captives being thrust together into a close place, where they could hardly stir, and being kept from food, *Bostar*, after five days of extreme misery, expired: That *Hamilcar*, who yet held out, telling the wife of *Regulus* how careful he had been of her husband, with tears implored her compassion; but that she, far from being touched with the least sense of humanity, kept him five days after this in the same hole, shut up with the carcass of his companion, giving him only so much sustenance as would serve to prolong his life in misery: That by means of some servants in the house, a report of this horrible cruelty came to the ears of the Tribunes of the people: That the magistrates having well assured themselves of the fact, summoned the *Attilii*, and threatened them with the severest punishments, if for the time to come they did not take all due care of the prisoners; nay, that they were very near pronouncing sentence of death upon the young men, for having brought a dishonour upon the *Roman* name: That the *Attilii*, to excuse themselves, laid the blame upon their mother. That they burnt the body of *Bostar*, and sent the ashes to his relations, and for the future cherished *Hamilcar*, whom they had so barbarously treated.

Palmerius's conjecture from the whole is this:

That *Bostar* and *Hamilcar* being taken prisoners, [probably in that sea-fight on the coast of *Africa*, where the *Carthaginians* lost 114 ships, because no mention is made of them in the war after that time,] the Senate, to console the wife and sons of *Regulus*, put those captive Generals into their hands, that they might have the price of his ransom in their possession.

That *Regulus* died of some distemper in captivity, whereat the wife being extremely vexed, as having lost the pleasing hope of recovering her husband by exchange, treated the captives cruelly; that the magistrates being

V. R. 503.
E. S. Chr.
222.
2nd Cens.

The news of this barbarity no sooner reached *Rome*, but the Senate, by way of retaliation, gave up the chief of the *Carthaginian* captives to be treated at the discretion of *Marcia*, the widow of *Regulus* who condemned them to the same kind of death her husband had suffered.

C H A P.

being angry at this conduct, she, to give a colour of justice to her cruelty, told this fable of her husband's perishing by hunger, want of sleep, and other torments, to her neighbours and gossips; that hence the story by degrees spread far, gathering strength as it went, and easily obtained credit through the hatred borne to the *Carthaginians*.

Palmerus might have added, That as some women have imaginations very creative, and as, especially where their passions are concerned, they easily believe the real existence of what mere imagination exhibits, the wife of *Regulus* might possibly have persuaded herself without any ground, that her husband had lost his life through the hardships of his imprisonment. And this is conformable to the fragment of *Diodorus*, which says, that she ~~thinking~~ that he had lost his life through neglect, stirred up her sons, &c.

3. A third argument against the story of *Regulus's* death by torture may be drawn from the disagreement among those who report it, concerning the kind of torture he was made to undergo. Did he perish by being kept from sleep? Was he starved to death? Was he crucified? Or did he end his life in a chest or barrel stuck with spikes? All these are reported by different authors. If it were certain that the *Carthaginians* put him to death by torture, is it not strange that the kind of torture should not be more certainly known? *Florus* doubts whether he died by the hardships of his imprisonment, or upon a cross.

4. Where there is any good reason to suspect the evidence to a fact, the improbability arising from the situation of things, makes strongly against the belief of such fact. Now it seems highly improbable, that the *Carthaginians* should treat *Regulus* in the manner pretended, at the very time when two of their Generals, and many of their inferior Officers, as well as multitudes of their common Soldiers, were in the hands of the *Romans*.

5. We may observe, that the Senate's giving up the *Carthaginian* prisoners to be

treated at the discretion of *Regulus's* sons, upon the news of the cruel death he had suffered, a fact reported by *A. Gellius*, and which, if true, would be the strongest argument in favour of the common opinion, is absolutely inconsistent with what *Diodorus* relates of the anger of the *Roman* magistrates at the conduct of the *Attila* with regard to the captives.

Thus much concerning the credibility of the story of *Regulus's* sufferings. Before we take leave of him, let us see Sir *Walter Raleigh's* judgment of that part of his behaviour, which is supposed to have drawn upon him the *Carthaginian* resentment, and brought him to so miserable an end. Sir *Walter's* words are these :

" The death of *Attilius Regulus* the Consul
" was very memorable. He was sent from
" *Carthage* to *Rome* about the exchange and
" ransom of prisoners on both sides, giving
" his faith to return if the business were not
" effected. When he came to *Rome*, and
" plainly saw that his country should lose
" by the bargain, so far was he from urg-
" ing the Senate unto compassion of his own
" misery, that he earnestly persuaded to
" have the prisoners in *Africa* left to their
" ill destinies. This done, he returned to
" *Carthage*, where for his pains taken he was
" rewarded with an horrible death. For this
" his constancy and faith all writers highly
" extol him. But the *Carthaginians* seem
" to have judged him an obstinate and ma-
" licious enemy, that neither in his prosper-
" ity would hearken to reason, nor yet in
" his calamity would have the natural care
" to preserve himself and others, by yield-
" ing to such an office of humanity as is
" common in all wars (not grounded upon
" deadly hatred) only in regard of some
" small advantage. Whatsoever the *Car-*
" *thaginians* thought of him, sure it is, that
" his faithful observance of his word given
" cannot be too much commended. But
" that grave speech which he made in the
" Senate against the exchange of prisoners,
" appears, in all reason, to have proceeded
" from

C H A P. IX.

From the 14th to the 18th year of the war.

The Romans, flushed with their late victory at land, imagine, that, with the assistance of their new fleet, they shall now be able to take Lilybæum, and thereby put an end to the war in Sicily. After considerable progress made in the siege, they are forced to turn it into a blockade: And, not long after, their whole navy is utterly destroyed. More fortunate by land, they take Eryx from the enemy. Amilcar Barcha is sent from Carthage to command the forces of that republic in Sicily.

WHEN the Consuls *Attilius* and *Manlius* had got all things ready for their expedition into *Sicily*, they put to sea with a fleet of 200 sail, and arrived on the coast of *Lilybæum*, in the neighbourhood of which place their land forces were already assembled.

Y. R. 503.
Bef. Chr.
249.
202d Conf.

It was the strongest, and except *Drepanum* (about 15 miles from it northward) the only city of importance, which the *Carthaginians* possessed in the island; and the *Romans* had therefore resolved to besiege it, as knowing that, could they make this conquest, it would be easy for them afterwards to transport the war into *Africa*.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 41.

Lilybæum stood almost at the extremity of the cape of the same name, and was surrounded by a strong wall, and a deep ditch, filled with water from the sea. The *Romans* sat down before it, and having fortified themselves by an entrenchment which ran from sea to sea, made their first approaches against some towers of defence. These they soon beat to the ground; after which they filled up the town ditch, and by their battering engines, and by mining, so weakened the wall in many parts of it, that the besieged began to be extremely terrified; although the garrison, without reckoning the inhabitants, consisted of more than 10,000 men. *Himilco*, who commanded in the place, performed the part of a gallant and able officer. He repaired the breaches, made countermines, and was in a manner every where present, watching an opportunity to set fire to the enemies wooden towers, and engines of battery; and, in this view, making frequent sallies by night and by day with a boldness little short of temerity; on which occasions the slaughter was sometimes not less than what commonly happens in ranged battles, in the field.

c. 42.
Diod. Sic. in
Eclog. p.
879.
Zon. B. 8.

In the mean while, though they were ignorant at *Carthage* of what passed at *Lilybæum*, yet concluding that the garrison must be sorely distressed,

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 44.

“ from a vain-glorious Forwardness, rather
“ than from any necessity of State. For the
“ exchange was made soon after his death;
“ wherein the *Romans* had the worse bar-
“ gain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was

“ worth. As for the authority of all His-
“ torians, that magnify him in this point;
“ we are to consider that they lived under
“ the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Cartha-*
“ *ginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise.”

Y. R. 503.
Bell. Cn.
240.
2022 Cn.

they dispatched an officer, named *Hannibal*, with 10,000 men on board a fleet of 50 gallies to their relief. *Hannibal* being arrived at the island of *Egusa*, lying a little off of *Lilybaeum*, waited there for a favourable and brisk gale, which no sooner presented, but crowding all his sails he came to the entrance of the port, having ranged his soldiers in a fighting posture on the decks of the vessels. The *Romans*, (whose ships were stationed on each side of the mouth of the haven) partly through surprize, and partly through fear of being forced by the wind into the port with the enemy, made no motion to attack them, but contented themselves to look on and wonder at their harry attempt. Thus *Hannibal* without any opposition made his way into the haven, where he landed his men, to the great joy of the besieged, who were yet more pleased with the consternation, in which they beheld their enemies, than with the succour they themselves received.

Publ. B. 1.
c. 45.

Himilco observing the alacrity and good dispositions, both of the inhabitants, whose courage was raised by the reinforcement, and of the new comers, who had yet suffered nothing of the hardships incident to a town besieged, resolved now to make a general sally and attempt what he had long meditated, the burning of the enemies towers and engines. The conflict on this occasion was extremely bloody, all the forces on both sides being engaged in it, and fighting with the utmost obstinacy and emulation. In conclusion the *Romans* happily preserved their works; for at the very instant when they were beginning to despair of it, *Himilco*, seeing great numbers of his men slain, and his purpose not effected, founded a retreat, and put an end to the fight.

c. 46.

After this action, *Hannibal* sailing away in the night, went with his fleet to *Drepanum*, there to consult with *Ascherbel*, who was his intimate friend, and who commanded in that place for the *Carthaginians*.

But now the *Romans* kept *Lilybaeum* so straitly shut up, and watched the entrance of the haven so narrowly, that nobody durst make an attempt to come out of it. In the mean while they were very impatient at *Carthage* to have some account of the condition of the besieged; and at length a certain *Rhodian*, named *Hannibal*, a man of distinction, undertook to satisfy their desire. Having prepared a light galley expressly for this enterprize, he put to sea from *Carthage*, (or perhaps from *Drepanum*) and got under covert of one of those islands lying off of *Lilybaeum*. Early the next morning, with a fair and fresh gale, passing in view of the enemy, who could not thrust from the shores on either side time enough to stop him, he got by ten o'clock into the Port. The *Romans* doubted not, but this bold adventurer would soon attempt to return. The Consul therefore, to keep a better guard, posted at the entrance of the Port ten of his nimblest vessels (on each side five) which with their oars displayed like wings kept themselves ready to fly upon the expected prey. The *Rhodian* nevertheless in broad day light made his passage safely through these guards, and not only so, but, when he was got out

to sea, turned about, and, lying upon his oars, with an insulting mockery, challenged any one of them to come and fight him. In this manner he passed and repassed several times, bringing orders and carrying intelligence, to the great encouragement of the besieged, and the amazement of the *Romans* at so successful a temerity. But the boldness of the *Rhodian* was founded on his perfect knowledge of the channel, and how to keep clear of the rocks and sand-banks on each side. His success so often repeated, encouraged others, who had the same skill, to follow his example: which the *Romans* finding to be of very ill consequence, they undertook to choak up intirely the mouth of the haven. For this purpose they filled a great number of round ships (or ships of burden) with huge stones, and sunk them in the channel; but the force of the stream carried the most of these away. However they grounded so many of them in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heap, like a ragged island, in the passage. A certain *Carthaginian* galley coming out of the port in the night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran herself aground upon it, and so fell into the enemies hands. The *Romans* immediately manned her with chosen soldiers and their best rowers, and then placed her on the watch to catch the *Rhodian*. He had happily got into the port by night, and was returning in open day, when he found himself chased by a galley that gathered upon him. He soon perceived what she was by her form and her swiftness, and as he was not able to run from her, had no way left but to turn about and fight with her. This he resolutely did, but she being too well manned for him, he was presently taken; after which no more attempts were made to go in or out of the port of *Lilybæum*.

Y. R. 603.
Bef. Chr.
249.
202d Cons.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 47.

The besieged however were not so disheartened by this disadvantage, as to remit any thing of their attention to a vigorous defence; and though they had lost all hope of destroying the works erected against their fortification, they continued indefatigable in repairing the breaches made in it. And now a favourable accident, when they least expected such good fortune, delivered them at once from the fear of those wooden towers which overtopped their walls, and of all the battering engines of the besiegers. So violent a tempest arose on a sudden, as made the galleries of the *Romans* totter, and threw some of their towers to the ground. This was thought by some *Greek* soldiers, in the service of *Carthage*, an opportunity which ought not to be neglected, to attempt once more the burning of the enemy's works of battery. Having communicated the project to their commanding officer (who both approved it, and prepared every thing necessary for its execution) out they rushed and set fire to the works in three places. The flames spread themselves with great swiftness, by reason of the violence of the wind and the dryness of the timber, the works having been long erected. The *Romans*, all in confusion and surprize, knew not which way to turn themselves; for they were blinded by the smoke and the sparks of fire which the wind drove in their faces,

c. 48.

Y. R. 503.
 Bef. Chr.
 246.
 2033 Conf.

so that many of them were slain before they could approach the places where help was wanted. On the other hand, the wind favouring the *Carthaginians*, not only they could see clearly, and so take their aim, but whatever they threw either against the enemy, or against their batteries, was carried with the greater violence to the mark, while the darts of the *Romans* could take no effect. In a word, the fire became irresistible, and spreading every way, it consumed to ashes all the *Roman* works, and even melted the brazen heads of their battering rams.

The besiegers by this blow were totally discouraged from the thoughts of renewing their attacks. They turned therefore the siege into a blockade, encompassing the place with a rampart and a ditch, and patiently hoping to obtain by some happy turn of fortune, or by starving the enemy, what they now despaired of carrying by assault.

Polyb. B. 1.
 c. 49.

But when the news came to *Rome* that great numbers both of the sea and land forces had been lost in fighting to defend the works, and in the other service of the siege, the people were only the more animated by it to pursue the enterprize with vigour, insomuch that 10,000 of them voluntarily offered themselves to go and serve before *Lilybæum*. Upon the arrival of these troops at the camp, *Claudius Pulcher*, who was then in the Consulate, (with *L. Junius Pulus*) and had the command of the forces in *Sicily*, having called his officers together, proposed to them instantly to embark and sail with all the fleet to *Drepanum*. To engage their approbation of this project, he represented to them, that *Adherbal* the Governor of that place had not a sufficient strength to resist them; that he knew nothing of the reinforcement they had received, and would never imagine they could be masters of a naval army, after the losses they had sustained in the siege. The design being generally approved, the seamen, both old and new comers, were ordered forthwith to embark, together with the bravest soldiers of the legions, who readily offered themselves for this expedition, not doubting but they should enrich themselves with the plunder of *Drepanum*.

Y. R. 504.
 Bef. Chr.
 248.
 2033 Conf.

For this place then the fleet, consisting of 124 gallies, set sail about midnight; and at break of day the headmost of the vessels were descried from the town. *Adherbal* was at first struck with the unexpected appearance of the enemy, but soon recovering himself, he determined to run any hazard, rather than endure a siege, with which he plainly saw that he was threatened. Instantly he called together, upon the sea shore, all his seamen and soldiers, both those that were on board his gallies and those that were in the town, and set before them in few words how easily they might be victors in a naval battle, if they would but resolve to behave themselves with courage; and, on the other hand, what dreadful calamities (the consequences of a siege) they must unavoidably undergo, if on the present occasion they let themselves be intimidated by the apprehension of danger. The army unanimously declared their readiness to follow him, whithersoever he should please to conduct them.

Hereupon

Hereupon he instantly ordered them all on board, and embarking himself, directed them to keep their eyes on his galley (which should lead the van) and to do as she did. Then putting to sea he brought his fleet out of the port, and hid them behind some rocks which lay on the side of the haven opposite to that by which the *Romans* were going to enter.

The headmost of the *Roman* vessels were already entering into the port, other gallies were entering, and others were not far off, when *Adherbal*, quitting his concealment, appeared on a sudden with his fleet out at sea, and in a posture to give battle. At this sight *Claudius*, extremely surprized and disappointed, made a sign to his foremost gallies to tack and stand back again; but when those that had entered the port, or were in the haven's mouth, began to hasten back, they encountered with others that were yet standing in, so that falling foul of one another, many of the ships received great damage, and were in danger of perishing. At length, in such manner as they could, they drew out; and as fast as they got clear and obtained room, put themselves in order of battle along the shore, with their prows pointing towards the enemy. *Claudius*, who had been in the rear of his fleet, now placed himself in the left of his line. He had it once in his power (as some report) to sheer off, but was obstinately bent to try an engagement; insomuch that when the sacred chickens were consulted and refused their meat, he threw them cage and all into the sea; *If they wont eat*, said he, *let them drink*, not reflecting that such a contempt of religion might discourage those who were witnesses of it.

In the mean while *Adherbal*, having with five great vessels passed the left wing of the *Romans*, turned the prow of his own galley upon the enemy, making a signal for the rest of his fleet, which followed, on the same line, to do the like. And now the whole *Carthaginian* fleet being drawn up in front, advanced against the *Romans*, who, as was before said, were drawn up along the shore, a situation than which none could be more dangerous. As soon as the two fleets were near each other, the flags of defiance were hoisted by the two admirals, and the battle began. At first the conflict was equal on both sides, each fleet having on board the hardiest men they could pick out of their land forces. But victory by degrees began to declare for the *Carthaginians*, who indeed had many advantages above the *Romans*, by the lightness of their vessels, the expertness of their rowers, and especially by the wise precaution they had taken to have sea room, wherein to work their vessels as occasion required; for at any time when they were pressed by the enemy, they could at pleasure retire, spread themselves, or draw close together, in which movements the lightness of their gallies greatly availed. Moreover when any of the *Roman* gallies (heavily built and unskilfully managed) chased any of theirs, and thereby separated themselves from their own fleet, those who were chased could tack upon the pursuers, and

Y. R. 504.
Esf. Chr.
248.
203¹ Conf.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 50.

Cic. B. 2.
de Nat.
Deor. Val.
Max. B. 1.

c. 4.
Polyb. B. 1.
c. 50.

c. 51.

Y. R. 574.
 B. 4. C. 10.
 228.
 229. C. 10.

and intercept them, or rowing round them, come upon their flank with their prows and sink them. All these benefits were wanting to the Romans; but their greatest evil was their situation; because when any of their vessels were hard pressed, they could by no means retire for the shore; they must either run aground upon the flats, or bulge against the rocks.

C. 10. 11.
 B. 4. C. 10.

The Consul at length, observing the distress of his fleet, that some were split upon the rocks and others stranded, stood away to the left, and with only thirty vessels that were the nearest to him, escaped out of the battle. The rest, to the number of ninety three, fell into the enemies hands, together with all the men, except a few soldiers who had got ashore, after their vessels were run aground or broken to pieces. Eight thousand of the Romans are said to have been slain, and 20,000 taken prisoners.

F. 1. B. 1.
 C. 10.

This was a glorious action for *Alberbal*, to whom the *Cartaginians* did very great honour, ascribing the success to his sole virtue and bravery; while on the other hand, *Claudius* was recalled to *Rome*, where he was reproached with his shameful defeat, and with the loss his country had sustained, as entirely owing to his folly and temerity. Nevertheless when he was ordered to name a Dictator, he, to insult the senate, nominated to that supreme dignity one *Claudius Glycia*, a mean fellow who had been his viator or tipstaff: but this mock dictator^c did not hold the place: *M. Atilius Calatinus* was substituted in his room. After which the Consul now deposed was brought to a formal trial for his misconduct, and was loaded with a rigorous sentence.

S. 1. 1. 1.
 C. 10. 11.
 228. C. 10.

F. 1. B. 1.
 C. 10.

As for the other Consul, *Junius Pullus*, he had been dispatched over to *Sicily* with order to supply the camp before *Lilybæum* with provisions and all necessary stores; for the safe convoy of which, he had a squadron of 60 gallies. Being arrived at *Messina*, he there augmented his fleet with what ships had been sent thither from *Lilybæum*, and from other places in the island, and then set sail for *Syracuse*; his whole fleet now consisting of 120 ships of war and 800 storeships. From *Syracuse* he dispatched his Quæstors with one half of his vessels of burthen, and some of his gallies, that they might without delay furnish the camp with necessaries, while he himself staid at this port, waiting the arrival of that part of his fleet which had not been able to keep him company, and was not yet come up, as also to receive the corn which the Islanders, in the alliance of *Rome*, had provided for him.

C. 10. 11.

About this time *Alberbal*, studious to make the best advantage of his victory, and having sent away to *Carthage*, the ships and the prisoners taken in the battle, delivered 30 of his gallies to *Carthalo*, who had already under his own command 70, with which he was lately arrived, and sent him to try what mischief might be done to the *Roman* fleet in the harbour of *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* suddenly entered the mouth of the haven, and finding the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged,

^c According to *Liv. Epit.* he was suffered afterwards to wear the prætexta at the publick shows.

than

than to the defence of their fleet, without difficulty seized and towed away some of the galleys and set fire to others. The *Roman* camp took the alarm, and the soldiers hastened to the rescue: but *Himilco* governor of the town sallying out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* in great distress, gave *Corbalo* leisure to go through with his enterprize. After this exploit the *Carthaginian* ran all along the south coast of *Sicily*, with a view to obstruct, what in him lay, the succours that were coming to the *Roman* army. And receiving advice by his scouts, that a great fleet of all sorts of vessels was approaching, and was not far off, he advanced with much joy to encounter them; for both he and his men were full of courage by reason of their late victories. The fleet which had been descried was that under the conduct of the *Roman* Quæstors; who when they got notice that the *Carthaginians* were at hand, not conceiving themselves of sufficient strength to hazard an engagement, presently made for the coast, and drew up their vessels under covert of a poor town belonging to their party. Here was indeed no safe harbour, yet they found some sort of shelter in certain coves, and small retreats among the rocks; and the town having furnished them with engines for casting stones and shooting arrows, they waited here, in a posture of defence, the attack of the enemy. But *Corbalo* knowing that they could not long ride under those rocks, but would be forced by any great change of wind either to put out into the deep, or to abandon their ships in order to save the men, he, after he had taken some few of their vessels, would not pursue the assault any further, but retired into the mouth of a neighbouring river, and there lay waiting for an opportunity to seize the rest, without hazard to himself.

Y. R. 5. 4.
Euf. C. 1. r.
2. 8.
20 3d Conf.

In the mean while the Consul *Junius*, having dispatched those affairs which had detained him at *Syracuse*, departed thence, and doubling the cape of *Pachynus*, shaped his course for *Lilybæum*, totally ignorant of what had happened to his Quæstors. The *Carthaginians* perceived his approach, and quitting their station sailed away to attack him before he could join the other part of his fleet. *Junius* was yet a great way off when he first descried the enemy; yet finding himself too near to fly, and too weak to fight, he also, like his Quæstors, ran in close on a part of the coast that was quite harbourless and full of rocks, imagining no danger so great as that of the enemy. *Corbalo* did not care to attack him in a place where it was difficult to work a ship with safety; he betook himself therefore to a station between the two fleets, and there watched to see which of them would first stir, resolving to assault that which should first dare to put out to sea. Thus all the three fleets were on the south coast of *Sicily*, between the cape of *Pachynus* and *Lilybæum*, a tract exceedingly dangerous when the wind stormed at south. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest and their signs, and who now perhaps observed some swelling billow, or some other such like indication of an approaching storm, immediately weighed anchor, and made all haste to double the cape of *Pachynus*, thereby to cover themselves from the rage they

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 54.

Y. R. 504.
E. C. 23.
2 S.
203 Conf.

they feared. This, though with great difficulty, they effected, and secured their ships. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to navigate, remaining exposed on that rocky coast, were so terribly assaulted by a boisterous south-wind, that not a single ship of either fleet escaped being dashed to pieces.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 55.

In this manner was *Rome* once more deprived of all her naval force; and, thus deprived, she renounced once more the empire of the seas.

Notwithstanding all these disasters the *Romans* were still superior to their enemies by land, and though driven to hard shifts for provisions, they continued the blockade of *Lilybæum*, firmly fixed to abide the utmost extremity rather than abandon their enterprize. As for the Consul *Junius*, who had not lost his men when his ships were destroyed, he repaired with all expedition to the camp, full of anxious thoughts, how to retrieve his honour, by some remarkable service. Between *Panormus* and *Drepanum*, on the side of a mountain, the highest in all *Sicily*, except *Ætna*, stood the city of *Eryx*; and on the top of the mountain was the temple of *Venus Erycina**, the fairest and richest temple in the whole island. *Junius* formed a design upon these, and, being assisted by the treason of some of those who had been appointed to defend them, got possession of them by surprize. The city was difficult of access, the only way to it being steep and narrow; and the Consul, the better to secure his conquest, built a fort at the entrance of the passage to it, where he placed a garrison of 800 men. He also posted another body of men on the top of the mountain, not doubting but by these precautions he should keep quiet possession both of the city, and of the whole mountain.

Zon. B. 8.

Zonaras reports, that *Junius*, after this, was taken prisoner by *Carthago*; but *Cicero* and *Val. Maximus* tell us that he killed himself to avoid an ignominious sentence at *Rome*, for his losing the fleet.

Upon the death or disgrace of the two Consuls, the Dictator *Calatinus* passed into *Sicily* to command the army, the first instance of a *Roman* Dictator appearing out of *Italy*. He performed no exploit.

Y. R. 505.

In the following year^a nothing very memorable was done by either party. *Zonaras* relates, that *Carthago*, to draw one of the Consuls out of the island, made a descent on the *Italian* coast, but without success: for hearing that the Prætor of *Rome* at the head of an army was advancing against him, he presently reembarked and returned to *Sicily*. Here his troops (whom he had not been able to satisfy with the plunder of the *Roman* territories) began to murmur for want of their pay. To put a stop to the mutiny he punished the most clamorous with rigour; but this exasperating even those who were more peaceably inclined, a general sedition would probably have ensued, to the ruin of the *Carthaginian* cause,

* It does not appear at what time the *Carthaginians* made themselves masters of these places; it was probably after the defeat of *Claudius Pulcher*; for according to *Polybius* they had nothing in the island but

Drepanum and *Lilybæum* at the time when the latter was first besieged by the *Romans*.

^b *C. Aurelius Cotta*,
P. Servilius Geminus, } Consuls.

if he had not been seasonably recalled, and a captain of much greater credit and abilities appointed to succeed him. This was *Amilcar Barcha*, the father of the famous *Hannibal*.

Y. R. 505.
Bef. Chr.
247.
204 Cont.

C H A P. X.

From the 18th year of the war to the end of it, in the 23d or 24th year after its commencement.

Amilcar Barcha, by his masterly conduct, hinders the Romans, during five years, from making any progress in the conquest of Sicily. They at length provide themselves, once more, with a naval force as the only means to accomplish their enterprize; and this new fleet, under the conduct of Lutatius Catulus, obtaining a complete victory over the fleet of Carthage, (commanded by Hanno) the Carthaginians are constrained to yield to their enemies the whole island, by a treaty of peace.

IT was in the eighteenth year of the war, that *Amilcar Barcha* became commander in chief of the *Carthaginian* forces by sea and land. Having quieted the discontents of the army, he began his expeditions by sailing with the fleet to the coast of *Italy*; where making a descent he pillaged and laid waste the territories of the *Locrians* and *Bruttians*. After this he landed his troops in *Sicily*; and, because the *Carthaginians* were not masters there of any walled town so situated, as he could from thence infest the *Romans*, he took possession of a commodious piece of ground near the sea coast, between *Panormus* and *Eryx*. It was a mountain invironed on all sides with rocks and precipices, and on the top of it was a plain of at least twelve miles in compass, the ground yielding both good pasture and good corn. To this mountain the avenues were only three, one from the sea, and two from the land; and being by nature strait and difficult, it required but little fortification to secure them.

Plin., B.
l. c. 56.
Y. R. 505.

Here^b then the brave *Amilcar* encamped his forces to confront as well those of the enemy, who were in *Panormus*, as those who were posted about *Eryx*, putting himself between the two armies with admirable resolution. And though he was thus in the midst of his enemies, and had no ally from whom he could hope for succour, he nevertheless gave the *Romans* great and frequent alarms, obliging them to a constant exercise of all their courage, vigilance and severest discipline. For, as the place he was in had the command of a port^c, he made use of the opportunity, with which

^b *Chevr. Falar* understands the words of *Polybius* to mean that *Amilcar* posted himself in the avenue from the sea to the mountain.
VOL. II.

^c *Frontinus* (in lib. 3. *Strat.*) reports, that *Amilcar*, in order to supply *Lilybæum* with provisions, made use of a stratagem to draw the

Y. R. 506.
P. C. 1.
P. C. 1.
P. C. 1.

P. C. 1.
P. C. 1.

which this furnished him, to scour all the coast of *Italy* with his fleet, as far as to the territory of *Cambræ*: and, when afterwards in *Sicily*, the *Romans* had brought their camp within five furlongs of his army, on the side towards *Pactolus*, he gave them battle so often, and had such variety of encounters with them, that as *Taliesin* tells us it would be scarce possible to relate all the particular actions. We must judge, says he, of this war, as we do of a combat between two strong and vigorous gladiators, who in close conflict have been incessantly giving and receiving wounds. Neither the spectators nor the combatants themselves would be able to recount every point and every stroke, and to say how and why they were made: but we judge of the skill, strength, and resolution of the parties, by their perseverance in maintaining the fight, and by the event. So with regard to the war in question, a minute detail of the various stratagems, surprizes, advances, attacks, which were daily practised on both sides, would be very difficult to an historian, and not very useful to the reader. A general relation of what was performed, with the success of the whole, will suffice to make us know the worth and abilities of the commanders.

In a word then, no stratagem which could be learnt from history, no new one which present circumstances and opportunity could suggest, none that required even the utmost hardiness and impetuosity to execute it, was neglected: and yet, all this while, nothing decisive was done. The strength on both sides being equal, the camps impregnable, and the space between them very small, it hence came to pass that there were every day skirmishes and encounters between parties, but a general action never. For in all the engagements, so soon as one party found themselves hard pressed by the other, the weaker instantly threw themselves behind their entrenchments, where they knew they had a secure shelter; and from whence they presently returned to the charge.

c. 33.

In this manner was the war carried on for almost three years^d; till at length (as our author speaks) Fortune, who presided as an impartial umpire at this contention, transported the combatants to another theatre, where

the *Roman* fleet out of the harbour. But according to *Polybius*, the *Romans* had no fleet at this time, or if any, none that was able to contend with *Amilcar*, and oblige him to have recourse to stratagem.

† A. Gell.
B. 10. ch.
6. Val.
Max. B. 5.
ch. 1.
Suet. in. Life
of Tib.
Liv. Epit.
B. 19.

Polybius tells us, that the *Romans* abstained from all naval preparations for five years. And therefore when *Florus* speaks of a battle gained at sea by the *Romans* during this time, it seems to be a tale without foundation.

† Y. of R. 506. { L. Cæcilius Metellus,
2d time.
N. Fabius Butco.

Y. of R. 507. { M. Otacilius Crassus,
2d time.
M. Fabius Licinius.
Y. of R. 508. { N. Fabius Butco.
C. Atilius Balbus.

|| In the year 507 there happened at *Rome* an accident, which serves to shew how much it behoved even persons of the highest rank to avoid all petulance of speech, and not by any indecent words to violate the dignity of *Rome* *disgrace*. *Claudia*, the daughter of the famous *Claudius the Blind*; and sister to that *Claudius Pulcher*, who lost the battle of *Drepanum*, wherein many thousand

where shutting them up in yet closer lists they were engaged in a more perilous conflict.

The *Romans* (as has been before observed) had placed garrisons on the top and at the bottom of mount *Eryx*. *Amilcar* nevertheless found a way, lying towards the sea, by which he conveyed his men (before the enemy had the least notice of it) into the city of *Eryx*, that was about the middle of the ascent. By this means the *Romans*, who held the top of the mountain, were in a manner besieged, and it is wonderful with what resolution and constancy they sustained all the hardships to which their situation exposed them: but it is yet more wonderful, that the *Carthaginians* should be able to defend themselves, when hard pressed by the enemy both from above and from below, and when deprived of all means of subsistence, except by one avenue from the sea. And here again on this new stage of action were exerted, on both sides, all the art and vigour that can possibly be conceived, in an infinite variety of stratagems and assaults. Nor was an end put to this fierce struggle (as the historian *Fabius* falsely reported) by the failure of strength in the contending parties, exhausted by the sufferings they underwent; for they sustained famine, fatigue, and all the hardships incident to sieges, with so unwearied a fortitude, that they scarcely seemed to feel them: but a conclusion was given to the war after a different manner, and before either party in *Sicily* had gained any superiority over the other. *Polybius* compares the rival powers to two valiant birds, that, weakened by a long combat, and unable any more to make use of their wings in the fight, yet support themselves by their sole courage, and with joint consent coming close together, peck and maul each other with their bills, thus mutually striving by these last efforts to obtain the victory.

Two whole years were wasted by the *Romans*, in fruitless attempts to dislodge the invincible *Amilcar* from *Eryx*. And now the Senate of *Rome*, who had hoped every thing from the bravery of their land forces, became perfectly convinced that they should never atchieve the conquest of *Sicily* without the help of a naval strength. If, by means of a fleet, they could once get the mastery of the sea, it would then be impossible for the *Carthaginian* General to hold out much longer, because his supplies of provision would be totally obstructed. But where to find money at this time for a naval armament of sufficient strength, was a difficulty

*Polyb. B. 1.
c. 59.*

thousand *Romans* perished, returning in her chariot from the public show, happened to be stopped in her way by the multitude that thronged the street. The Lady proud and impatient, cried out, *Gods, how this city is over-crowded! I wish my brother Claudius would arise again, and had the command of another Fleet!* These words, even from a woman, were thought unpardonable. She

was brought into judgment for them by the *Ædiles*, before the *Tribes*, and was there fined 25,000 asses of brass, [80*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* *Arbutnact.*]

‘ Y. of R. 509. { *A. Manlius Torquatus.*
 C. Sempronius Blæsus,
 2d time.
Y. of R. 510. { *C. Fundanius.*
 C. Sulpicius.

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that seemed not easy to be surmounted; for the expence would be great, and the public treasury was exhausted. On this pressing occasion the richest of the citizens shewed a laudable zeal for their country's service. They built each of them a *Quinqueremis* at his own cost; and this example had so good an effect, that those, who were not able singly to do the like, yet concurring, two or three of them fitted out a galley at their joint expence. In short, a fleet of 200ⁱ *Quinqueremes* was thus put to sea by private citizens, who required no other condition, but to be reimbursed when the state of the public affairs would allow of it. And this armament was vastly better than any of the former, in as much as all the new galleys were built upon the model of that light vessel, which had been taken from *Hannibal* the *Rhesian*.

Y. R. 512.
B. 2. C. 2.
221.
210 C. 25.

Liv. Ep. 2.
B. 12.

The Consuls chosen for the new year were *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Posthumius*. The latter being at the same time High-Priest of *Mars*, the *Pontifex Maximus* declared it unlawful for him to abandon his priestly functions; nay, he absolutely forbade it, accompanying his prohibition with threats, and *Posthumius* was obliged to submit. But this religious scruple occasioned the creation of a new magistracy in the republic. The senate and people, not thinking it advisable to trust the command of their army to one general alone, nor yet to expose themselves to the inconveniences which might arise from the too long absence of the *Prætor of Rome*, to whom it naturally fell to supply the place of *Posthumius* in the field, they created a second *Prætor* for that purpose. This officer they stiled *Prætor Peregrinus*; and he was not only to assist the general abroad, but to judge or appoint judges in all civil causes between *Roman* citizens and strangers. The former *Prætor* took the title of *Prætor Urbanus*; and it was now regulated, that his residence should be at *Rome*, and his jurisdiction confined to the cognizance of causes between *Roman* citizens only. It was also decreed, that the persons who were to fill these offices should be chosen annually in the *comitia by centuries*, but their different provinces be determined by lot.

Or. 6 B. 4.
C. 10.

Polih. B.
1. c. 59.

Valerius Falto, the first *Prætor Peregrinus*, embarked with the Consul *Lutatius*, on board the new fleet for *Sicily*. They began the campaign with the siege of *Drepanum*, and they very soon made a breach in the wall; nevertheless they did not carry the place; for as the Consul at the head of his men was mounting to the assault, he received a dangerous wound in his thigh; whereupon the soldiers quitted the enterprize, to take care of their general, whom they carried back to the camp. After this the siege was discontinued; for *Lutatius* being persuaded, that the *Cartaginians* would soon appear with a fleet upon the coast, and that a victory over them at sea, would contribute much more than any other exploit towards the entire conquest of *Sicily*, turned all his thoughts to discipline his men, and prepare them for a naval engagement.

ⁱ Three hundred, according to *Lactantius*, B. 2. c. 27.

The *Carthaginians* greatly surprized at the news of a *Roman* navy at sea, had dispatched away a ^b fleet, with all expedition, under the conduct of an eminent commander named *Hanno*; of whose character, because of the share he will have in several important events of this history, it may not be improper to give some features: An able pen, on the present occasion, has thus described him.

Y. R. 511.
Bef. Chr.
241.
210 Conf.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 60.

“ —A man wise in picture, exceedingly formal, and skilful in the art
“ of seeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I do not find,
“ but it was upheld by a factious contradiction of things undertaken by
“ men more worthy than himself. This quality procured to him (as it
“ has done to many others) not only approbation among the antient sort,
“ whose cold temper is averse from new enterprizes, but an opinion of
“ great foresight, opinion confirmed by every loss received. More par-
“ ticularly he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the
“ most grievous oppressors of their subject provinces; whereby he procu-
“ red unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithal such hatred,
“ as turned it all to their great loss. He had before this been employed
“ against the *Numidians*, and wild *Africans*, who, in making war, were
“ more like rovers than soldiers. Of those fugitive nations he learned to
“ neglect more manly enemies, to his own great dishonour, and to the
“ great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct than
“ by his malicious counsel, when having shewed himself an unworthy cap-
“ tain, he betook himself to the long robe. Yet is he much commended
“ in *Roman* histories as a temperate man, and one that studied how to
“ preserve the league between *Rome* and *Carthage*: In which regard how
“ well he deserved of his own country, it will appear hereafter; how be-
“ neficial he was to *Rome*, it will appear hereafter, and in his present
“ voyage, wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessity of
“ accepting, upon hard conditions, *that* P E A C E, which he thenceforth
“ commended ^c.”

Sir W. R.

Hanno had well furnished his navy with all necessary provisions for the soldiers at *Eryx* (for dexterity in making such preparations, was the best

^b Of 400 sail, according to *Eutropius*.

^c It is proper to inform the reader, that though Sir *W. R.* is here followed, in supposing that the *Hanno*, who now commanded the *Carthaginian* fleet, was the same with that *Hanno*, who afterwards headed the faction against *Amilcar Barca* and his son *Hannibal*, there is some reason to doubt it. *Polybius*, indeed, says nothing from which we can infer, that they were different persons; and the importance of the present expedition makes it probable, that the *Carthaginians* would not commit the charge of it, but to a man in the highest reputation and esteem, as he, whom Sir *W. R.* charac-

terises, was at this time. Yet by some words which *Livy* (as we shall see hereafter) puts into the mouth of that *Hanno*, who signalized himself by his opposition to *Hannibal's* measures, one would think that the speaker could not be the person who lost the battle at sea against *Lutatius*. For the historian makes the enemy of *Hannibal*, on two several occasions, remind the *Carthaginians* of that shameful and fatal overthrow, as an event which they ought never to forget.

And if we may believe *Zonaras*, the *Hanno* who suffered the defeat at the *Ægates*, was crucified at his return home for his misconduct.

Y. B. 111.
L. 111.
111.
111.
111.
111.
111.
111.
111.
111.

of his qualities) but he had neglected to man his galleys with able mariners, trained to the practice of sea fights; he had taken the first that presented themselves; and his soldiers were raw men that knew nothing of service. He had been careless in these matters, through a foolish contempt of his enemies; not remembering that it was the resistless force of tempests, rather than any other strength of opposition, which had made them forsake the seas. Yet in one thing he judged right, or at least had been well instructed; for his intention was, first of all to sail to *Egæ*, and there to discharge his ships of their loading, and when he had thus lightened them, to take on board the choice of the land-forces together with *Amilcar* himself; and then to offer the enemy battle. This was an excellent course if it could have been performed. But the Consul *Lutatius*, who, on the first notice of *Hanno's* being at sea, had sailed from *Drepanum* to the island of *Ægæa*, (one of the *Ægates**) used all possible diligence to prevent the execution of the enemies design; not that he was informed of their design, but that he knew it was, for them, the best which they could have, and because he feared no danger so greatly as an encounter with *Amilcar*. For these reasons, though he was not yet cured of his wound, and though the weather was very rough, and the seas went high, when, the next morning he descried the *Carthaginian* fleet, coming with a flown sheet from the island of *Hiera*†, (where they had put in, he chose rather to fight with the enemy, who had the wind of him, than upon unlikely hope of better opportunity, to suffer their convoy to pass to *Egæ*.

§ 61.

All that *Hanno* should have done, *Lutatius* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in rowing; he had lightened his galleys of all unnecessary burthens, and he had taken on board the best men of his land-forces. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the very first encounter, were utterly broken and defeated: Fifty of their galleys were sunk and seventy taken, the rest by a sudden change of wind escaping to the island of *Hiera*. The Consul after the battle stood away with the fleet for *Lilybæum*, there to dispose of his prizes and prisoners; of which latter the number amounted to near ten thousand.

When, at *Carthage*, they received the news of *Hanno's* defeat, so contrary to all expectation, they were greatly at a loss what measures to take. If, to have their revenge, nothing had been necessary but courage and emulation, they were never better provided than at this juncture, to prosecute the war. But what could they do? *Amilcar*, on whose valour and judgment the honour and safety of the commonwealth depended, was surrounded by his enemies, and could not be relieved. For as the *Romans* were now masters of the sea, it was not possible for the *Carthaginians* to send either provisions or reinforcements to their armies in *Sicily*. In this extremity they could fix upon nothing better than to send by an express

* Islands lying off of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*.

† Another of the *Ægates*.

fell powers to the General himself, to take what course he should think most proper; and this they did, leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsel.

Y. R. 511.
L. A. Chr.
271.
210 C. 56.

Amilcar, who had done every thing that could be expected from the most intrepid courage, and the most consummate wisdom, and whom no adversity, accompanied with the least hope or possibility of recovery, had ever vanquished, but who yet knew when to yield as well as when to resist, began now to turn his thoughts wholly to the preservation of the army under his conduct; for he plainly saw, that *Sicily* was lost. He dispatched therefore an Ambassador to the Consul, with an overture of peace. *Lutatius*, having well considered it, gathered so many arguments from the present poverty of the *Roman* state, exhausted beyond expectation by the war, that he readily listened to the proposal. At first he demanded, that *Amilcar* and his soldiers should deliver up their arms; but this the *Carthaginian* absolutely refused, declaring that he would rather perish than undergo so great an infamy; and the Consul acquiesced. In short, a treaty was concluded on terms to this effect.

Corn. Nep.
in Amilc.
c. 1.

“ There shall be peace between *Rome* and *Carthage* (provided the *Roman* people approve of it) on the following conditions.

Polyb. B.
1. c. 62.

“ The *Carthaginians* shall evacuate all *Sicily*.

“ They shall deliver up all the *Roman* prisoners ransom free.

“ They shall pay to the *Romans*, within the space of twenty years next following, 2200^b talents of silver, whereof one thousand shall be paid immediately.

“ They shall not make war upon King *Hiero*, nor upon any of the allies of *Rome*; nor shall the *Romans* molest any of the allies of *Carthage*.

“ Neither of the contracting powers shall raise any fortrefs, or levy any soldiers in the dominions of the other.

“ Nor shall either of them enter into confederacy with the allies of the other.”

These articles being brought to *Rome*, and not being entirely approved there, ten commissioners were sent into *Sicily* to terminate the affair. These added 1000 talents to the former sum, and shortened the time for payment to ten years; and they also required, that the *Carthaginians* should not only leave *Sicily*, but withdraw their troops from all the Islands between *Sicily* and *Italy*. *Amilcar* not thinking it advisable to break off the negotiation for the sake of these new demands, the treaty was ratified in form: but (probably) not in the Consulate of *Caius Lutatius*, but of his successors *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* in the year of *Rome* 512.

c. 63.

Livy, B.
30. c. 41.
Y. R. 512.

Such was the end of the First Punic War, after it had lasted 23^c or 24

^b 437250*l.* *Arbutnot.*

^c *Polybius* makes this war to have lasted

24 years, and so do others: But *Eutropius* puts a conclusion to it in the 23d year; which

Y. R. 512.
B. 1. C. 6.
240.
211 Consul

P. 1. C. B.
1. C. 64

24 years: A war (*says Polybius*) the longest, the least interrupted, and the greatest (that is, the most abounding with great actions and events) of any to be met with in history. The *Romans* in the course of it lost 700 ships of war, and the *Carthaginians* about 500^b; the greatness of which losses sufficiently prove the greatness of the two states, and of the war itself, wherein (according to the same author) the *Romans* in general shewed themselves the braver nation, and *Amilcar* the ablest Captain.

S. 1. C. 11.

AND now the great affair at *Rome* was to determine the fate of *Sicily*, the manner in which it should be governed, and the emoluments which the republic should draw from so fine a conquest. The whole island, excepting the little kingdom of *Syracuse*, was declared a *Roman Province*, that is to say, a province that should be ruled by *Roman* laws and *Roman* magistrates. A *Prætor* was to be annually sent thither to be its Governor; and a *Quæstor* to take charge of the revenues. These revenues were either fixed or casual. The fixed were called *tributes*, and were a certain sum, which the province was obliged every year to pay into the publick treasury. The casual were the tenths of the product of the lands, and the duties upon merchandize exported and imported. And these tenths and customs were generally farmed by the publicans^c.

Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 8.

Caius Lutatius the Consul, and *Q. Valerius* the *Prætor*, had both of them the honour of the triumph at their return to *Rome*. The Consul indeed disputed the pretensions of the latter to it, because *Valerius* had not acted in a post of equal authority with him; and upon a reference to

which reckoning agrees with the *Capitoline Marbles*, since, according to them, *Appius Claudius Caudex*, who began the war, was Consul in the year 489, and *C. Lutatius Catulus*, who made the treaty with *Amilcar*, was Consul in 511.

Livy, towards the close of his 30th book, says, the First Punic War ended when *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manius* were Consuls. These were the successors of *C. Lutatius*; and perhaps their Consulate was begun when the ten commissioners came into *Sicily* and the peace was ratified.

^b How came it to pass, that in *Polybius's* time, when the *Romans* were arrived at almost universal empire, they could not build such fleets, and make such naval preparations, as in the time of the first Punic War? This question is on the present occasion started by *Polybius* himself; who adds, that a plain and satisfactory reason may be assigned for the change, but defers giving it, till he shall come to speak of the form of the *Roman* common-

wealth. His discourse on this latter subject not being transmitted to us, we are at a loss to know how the difficulty may be resolved.

^c Among the advantages which *Rome* gained from her wars in *Sicily*, may be reckoned an improvement of her taste for letters, and juster notions of poetry. *Sicily* abounded with excellent poets. In the first year after her peaceable possession of this island, when *C. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls, appeared *L. Livius Andronicus*, the reformer of the Latin theatre. He introduced upon the stage connected fables after the *Greek* manner, instead of the buffooneries, and rambling discourses, with which the people were before entertained.

About this time was born at *Rades*, a city of *Calabria*, *Ennius*, the famous poet and historian. He was the inventor of Hexameter verses among the *Latins*; but his *Life of Scipio Africanus*, which was his master-piece, he wrote in Choraicks. He is thought to have eclipsed the poet *Nævius*, his contemporary.

the

the arbitration of *Atilius Calatinus*, the point was decided against the *Prætor*; nevertheless, as his conduct in the war had been uncommonly meritorious, he obtained his suit by a decree of the people.

Y. R. 512.
Bef. Chr.
240.
211 Conf.

But the public joy at *Rome*, for the late important conquest, was greatly damped by two misfortunes, which about this time followed close upon one another. The *Tiber* on a sudden overflowed with such violence, as to overturn a great number of houses in the lower grounds; where the water continuing a considerable time, it much damaged also the foundations of many others.

After this there happened a greater calamity by fire, which breaking out in the night destroyed not only numberless houses, but an incredible multitude of people. It consumed all the buildings within the circumference of the forum. *Cæcilius Metellus* the *Pontifex Maximus* signalized his pious zeal on this occasion: For when the fire had seized the temple of *Vesta*, and when the *Virgins* in a fright had all deserted it, he ventured his life to save the *Palladium*: Making his way through the flames, he brought it safely out of the sanctuary. One of his arms was much hurt in the attempt, and he entirely lost his sight. To reward so heroic an action of piety, it was decreed by the people, that he should have the privilege of being carried to the senate house in a chariot, as often as he went thither; a distinction which had never been granted to any man before.

Val. Max.
B. 1. c. 4.

It is probable that the *Roman* tribes (by the addition of those called *Velina* and *Quirina*) were about this time augmented to 35, which number was never after increased.

Liv. Epit.
B. 19.

C H A P. XI.

The Falisci in Hetruria rebel against the Romans, but are quelled in a few days. Carthage is reduced to great extremities in a war, which for more than three years is carried on against her by her foreign mercenaries, in conjunction with her African subjects. The conduct of the Romans on this occasion.

THE peace between *Rome* and *Carthage* was hardly ratified, when both these states found themselves on a sudden engaged in new and unexpected wars at home, by the rebellion of their own subjects.

Polyb. B.
1. c. 65.

The *Falisci* in *Hetruria*, through some unaccountable levity or madness, rose up in arms, and declared war against the *Roman* power. This intestine commotion caused a great alarm and terror throughout all *Italy*; and it occasioned no less wonder, by the speedy issue to which it was brought. The Consuls *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius*, at the head of the legions, are said to have quelled the rebels in six days. Two battles were fought. In the first, the success was doubtful; but in the second, the *Romans* obtained a complete victory. The *Falisci* having lost 15,000 men in the action, humbly submitted themselves, and sued for peace. They were despoiled of their arms, horses, household-goods, slaves, and

Y. R. 512.
Eutrop. B.
2. Liv. Ep.
B. 19. Zonaras.

Y. R. 512.
Bef. Chr.
240.
211 Conf.

half their territory. Their city, strongly situated in a steep craggy place, was ordered to be demolished; and the inhabitants to build a new one for themselves in the flat open country. Nay, the people of *Rome* were meditating a more severe revenge against a nation that had so often rebelled; but they restrained their wrath by the advice of a venerable *Roman* named *Papirius*, whom the Consuls had employed to draw up in writing the form of the rebels surrendry. He represented to the multitude, that the *Falisci* had yielded themselves, not to the power but the faith or honour, of the *Romans*^b; and this sacred name of public faith had such a prevalency on the minds of the people, that they readily acquiesced in what had been agreed upon.

CARTHAGE, not so fortunate as *Rome*, had a much longer and more dangerous conflict to sustain at the very gates of the capital.

The avarice of a republic of merchants, who better understood the value of money, than the merit of brave soldiers, was the source of this intestine mischief. They would needs persuade those foreign troops, who had fought so gallantly under *Amilcar* in *Sicily*, and had endured so steadily all the hardships of war, in the defence of a state, to which they had no tie but their wages; they would needs, I say, persuade these strangers to remit, out of affection to that state, some part of what was due to them from it, by compact, for their services: whereas in truth they ought rather to have rewarded them with rich gratuities beyond their stipulated pay. In the pursuit of this penurious project they fell into strange imprudences. It could not be well imagined, that a proposal to foreign mercenaries, to contribute out of their pay to the expences of the war, would be very cheerfully received or easily digested. Nevertheless, that they might hear the grave oratory of *Hanno* on this head, the *Carthaginians* suffered these strangers, amounting to 20,000 men, to assemble all in one place, in the neighbourhood of the capital; and this at a time, when *Carthage* had not, on foot, a sufficient body of her own people to resist such an army in case of a mutiny. And they committed a yet greater mistake, as *Polybius* observes, in constraining the soldiers to take with them from the city, to the place of rendezvous, their wives and children; because these, had they remained in *Carthage*, would have served as hostages for the good behaviour of the fathers and husbands.

In a word, the rhetoric of *Hanno* had no effect but to kindle the highest resentment. The mercenaries turned their arms with fury against their late masters; the *African* subjects of *Carthage*, easily drawn into rebellion, because greatly oppressed, took this opportunity to attempt the recovery of their freedom; and the *Numidians*, the old enemies of the republic, and greedy of her destruction, joined their forces to the rebels.

^b *Faliscos non potestati, sed fidei se Romanorum commisisse.* Val. Max. B. 6. ch. 5.

In this war†, which lasted three years and almost four months, it was not with the *Carthaginians*, as in former times, when they fought for glory, or to give a wider extent to their empire; it was no sportive enterprize of ambition; all was at stake; the very being of their government, their estates, their lives, were all in the utmost peril, from the desperate fury and close attacks of the most cruel and implacable enemies they had ever contended with. *Amilcar* saved his country. Superior by his skill and courage, not only to the impetuous force of multitudes, but to the cautious bravery of an army, which he himself had trained, and disciplined, it was through his abilities, that his republic remained victorious in the conclusion of this *inexpiable* war; a war that was never to be ended but by the total destruction of one of the contending parties.

Y. R. 512.
Bef. Chr.
240.
211 Conf.

The African War, or War of the Carthaginians with their Mercenaries.

† This war being a very curious part of history, and serving greatly to give us a more perfect knowledge of the character of that Rival State, whose destruction alone could establish the *Roman* greatness, it may neither be unseasonable, nor disagreeable to the reader, if the substance of *Polybius's* account of it be here inserted.

‘ **W**HEN *Amilcar* had finished the treaty, which put an end to the
‘ *First Punic War*, he led his troops from *Eryx* to *Lilybaeum*, and
‘ there committed to *Gisco* (Governor of the place) the care of transport-
‘ ing them into *Africa*. *Gisco*, as foreseeing what might happen, acted in
‘ this affair with great caution. For, instead of embarking the forces all
‘ at once, he shipped them off successively, and in small parties, allotting
‘ so much time between the embarkations, as might suffice for his pru-
‘ dent purpose; which was, that those who were first sent might be paid
‘ off and dismissed to their own countries, before the others should arrive.
‘ The *Carthaginians*, however, whose treasury was much exhausted, did
‘ not correspond to the intention of *Gisco*, but hoping they should be
‘ able to obtain from the whole army, when assembled, a remission of
‘ some part of what was due to them, detained at *Carthage* the several di-
‘ visions as they came.’

Polyb. B.
1. c. 66, &
seq. and Sir
W. R. B. 5.
ch. 2.

Polybius does not assign any reason, nor does any reason readily occur, why it should have seemed more easy to obtain this *remission* from the whole army together, than from the parts when disjoined. “ One would
“ think, (as a judicious historian * observes) that to persuade any small
“ number of men, lodged in so great a city as *Carthage*, to have some
“ consideration of the distress and poverty of the state, would have been
“ no hard matter; and if the first comers had been thus persuaded, and
“ had been friendly discharged, it would have left a good precedent to

* Sir W. R.

“ the second and third, whilst their disjunction had made them unable
 “ to recover their whole due by force.” Perhaps the best conjecture to-
 wards accounting for the conduct of the *Carthaginians* in this particular,
 is, That they had really no intention to disband these troops, and yet
 were unwilling, for good reasons, to let their design of keeping them on
 foot be known, before they were all safely arrived in *Africa*. And though
 avarice had determined the senate to try whether the soldiers could be
 persuaded to remit some part of what was due to them, there was no de-
 sign to refuse them their full payment in case they insisted upon it. They
 never dreamt that the bare proposal of such a remission as they desired
 would have the sudden and fatal consequences, which it had.

Prob. L. 3.
 9.

Com. Nep.
 Amilc. c. 1.

That the leading men at *Carthage* had resolved to continue these troops
 in the service, may, I think, be fairly collected from *Polybius*, who as-
 sures us that *Amilcar* left *Sicily* with firm resolution to renew the war
 against *Rome* without delay; and that he would have executed his purpose,
 if it had not been hindered by the revolt of the mercenaries. Now is it
 in the least probable, that the *Carthaginian* General, with this project of
 speedy revenge at his heart, would consent to break a veteran army,
 which he himself had disciplined, legions animated with the same spirit
 as himself?

‘ Be this as it will, the *Carthaginians* did not follow the scheme of *Gisco*.
 ‘ They detained the first and second comers, telling them, that they
 ‘ would make a fair reckoning with all together. Thus every day the
 ‘ number increased, and many disorders (incident among soldiers) were
 ‘ committed, which much disquieted the city, not accustomed to the like.
 ‘ It was thought fit therefore to remove them all to some other place,
 ‘ where they might be less troublesome; and *Sicca*, a little town at no
 ‘ great distance, being pitched upon for this rendezvous, the officers
 ‘ were civilly requested to conduct all their men thither, who, while they
 ‘ there waited the coming of their fellow soldiers from *Sicily*, should re-
 ‘ ceive, each of them, a piece of gold to bear his charges.

‘ This motion was accepted, and the soldiers began to dislodge; leav-
 ‘ ing behind them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as
 ‘ intending very soon to fetch all away when they came back for their
 ‘ pay. But the *Carthaginians*, who wanted to rid the city entirely of
 ‘ these ungovernable guests, and who feared, that if the women and
 ‘ children remained there, it would be difficult to hinder some of the sol-
 ‘ diers from staying behind, and others from returning, which would
 ‘ frustrate the intention of the measure now taken, they prevailed with
 ‘ them to march away with all that belonged to them, wives and chil-
 ‘ dren, bag and baggage.

‘ To *Sicca* then they all removed, and there lay waiting for news of
 ‘ their fellows arrival, and their own pay. Business they had none to do,
 ‘ and therefore might easily be drawn to mutiny, the whole argument of
 ‘ their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was,
 ‘ how rich they should be, when all their money came in; how much
 ‘ would

‘ would fall to every single share, and for how long a time the city was
‘ behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeti-
‘ cians; and he was thought a man of worth, who could find most rea-
‘ son to encrease their demands to the very highest, even beyond their
‘ due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the encourag-
‘ ing words and promises of their Captains leading them forth to any
‘ dangerous fight, were called to mind as so many obligations, not to be
‘ cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some extraordinary
‘ bounty.

‘ In this manner passed the time away, till at length, the whole army,
‘ being arrived and united, *Hanno* (chief magistrate of *Carthage*) appear-
‘ ed at *Sicca* to clear the accompt. Now was the day come, when they
‘ were all to be made rich, especially if they could hold together, in
‘ maintaining resolutely the common cause. Full of these thoughts and
‘ expectations they assembled themselves to hear what good news this
‘ messenger had brought; with firm purpose to help his memory in case he
‘ should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them,
‘ which were all to be considered in the reckoning.

‘ *Hanno* begins a very formal oration, wherein he bewails the poverty of
‘ *Carthage*; tells them how great a sum of money is to be paid to the *Ro-*
‘ *mans*; reckons up the excessive charges the commonwealth had been at,
‘ in the late war, and in conclusion desires them to be contented with *part*
‘ of their pay, and out of the love which they bore to the city, to remit the rest.

‘ Few of the hearers understood this Orator’s discourse: For the *Car-*
‘ *thaginian* army was composed of sundry nations, as *Greeks*, *Africans*,
‘ *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others, all of different languages. But
‘ when such as conceived the whole tenor of his speech had informed the
‘ rest what message he brought, they all broke out into such a storm of rage,
‘ that nothing would serve to appease them. The insurrection and revolt
‘ were universal, each nation at first caballing apart, and then all the se-
‘ veral nations joining together in a general sedition; of which the dif-
‘ ference of languages greatly encreased the tumult and confusion.

‘ *Hanno* would fain have asswaged their fury, but he knew not how:
‘ for he less understood their dissonant loud noises, than they did his ora-
‘ tion. An army, collected out of so many countries, that have no one
‘ language common to all, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor ea-
‘ sily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Han-*
‘ *no* could do, was to use the help of their own officers as his interpreters
‘ and messengers; but these interpreters mistook his meaning, some for
‘ want of skill, others on purpose; and such as delivered his errands in
‘ the worst sense were the best believed. In short, nothing was to be seen
‘ but fluctuation of mind, jealousies, distrusts and caballing. Among
‘ the other causes of the soldiers anger, was this also, that the *Carthagi-*
‘ *nians*, instead of sending to them some one of those officers, under whom
‘ they had served in *Sicily*, who knew their merits, and who so often had
‘ promised them rewards, had sent a man who had not been present in
‘ any of those actions where they had signalized their courage. In short,
‘ they

‘ they considered themselves as not only wronged, but insulted. Full
 ‘ of indignation therefore they hastily left *Sicca*, and to the number of
 ‘ 20,000 men advanced towards *Carthage*, as far as *Tunes*, where they took
 ‘ up their quarters, about 15 miles from the capital. And now when it
 ‘ was too late, the *Carthaginians* became convinced of their mistakes; for
 ‘ it was a mighty fault in them to permit such a body of strangers to as-
 ‘ semble all in one place; and it was yet a greater error to turn out of
 ‘ their city the wives, children, and goods of these poor soldiers,
 ‘ which had they retained them in shew of kindness, they might have used
 ‘ as hostages for their own safety, and as means to bring the army
 ‘ to their own terms: But now the terror they were in from the neigh-
 ‘ bourhood of their mutineers carried them to yield to every demand,
 ‘ though never so unreasonable. They furnished a market at *Tunes* for
 ‘ the soldiers, whom they suffered to buy what they pleased, and at what
 ‘ price they pleased. Deputies out of the body of the senate were from
 ‘ time to time dispatched to them, to assure them, that all their demands,
 ‘ if possible to be performed, should be satisfied. The soldiers easily
 ‘ perceived the cause of this change; and taking advantage of the fright
 ‘ the city was in, they every day invented some new article to insist upon;
 ‘ and their insolence was the greater from the persuasion, that having ser-
 ‘ ved with honour against the *Romans* in *Sicily*, neither the *Carthaginians*
 ‘ nor any other people would have the courage to face them in the field.
 ‘ No sooner therefore had they adjusted their demands of pay, but they
 ‘ proceeded further to exact satisfaction for the horses they had lost in the
 ‘ service. When that was agreed to, the next demand was on ac-
 ‘ count of short allowance of provisions for many years. They would be
 ‘ paid for the deficiency; and, in this reckoning, the corn should be va-
 ‘ lued at the highest price it had at any time born during the whole
 ‘ war.

‘ In short, as there were many factious and seditious spirits in the ar-
 ‘ my, these incited the multitude to make new and exorbitant demands,
 ‘ such as it was impossible for the republic to comply with; nevertheless,
 ‘ as the *Carthaginians* promised to do every thing in their power to satisfy
 ‘ them, it was at length agreed, that the difference should be referred to
 ‘ some one of the Generals who had been in *Sicily*, and that the soldiers
 ‘ should chuse the arbitrator. Accordingly they pitched upon *Gisco*, part-
 ‘ ly out of affection to him, who had shewn himself at all times a friend-
 ‘ ly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were
 ‘ to be transported into *Africa*; and partly out of a dislike they had con-
 ‘ ceived of *Amilcar*, because he had not visited them in all this busy time.

E. W. R. ‘ [It is probable that *Amilcar* had no desire to be used as an instrument
 ‘ in defrauding his own soldiers of their wages; especially considering,
 ‘ that as he could best bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant,
 ‘ that means to content them were not wanting, had the citizens been
 ‘ willing to do it.]

‘ *Gisco* then embarks and comes among them, and to please them the
 ‘ better brings money with him. He calls to him first of all the princi-
 ‘ pal

pal officers, and then the several nations apart, rebuking them gently for what had passed; advising them calmly concerning the present, and exhorting them to continue their affection to a state, which had long entertained them in its pay, and would be always mindful of their good services. He then offered to give them their whole pay in hand, proposing to defer the consideration of other reckonings to a more convenient time. This might have been well accepted, and might have served to restore things to quiet, if two seditious ringleaders of the multitude had not opposed it.

Among the mutineers there happened to be one *Spendius* a Campanian, who had been a slave to a *Roman* master. He was strong of body, and in all occasions of danger very forward; this fellow fearing to fall into the hands of his master, (for by the custom of *Rome* his fault was punished with death) laboured both with words and actions, to trouble and perplex the treaty they were upon; and to hinder by all means possible their agreement with the *Carthaginians*. Another there was whose name was *Matko*, an *African*, of free condition, and a soldier among them, who having been an active stirrer in this conspiracy, and fearing punishment, joined with *Spendius* to obstruct the accommodation, possessing the *Africans* with the belief, that as soon as the strangers should be paid, and dispatched to their own countries, it would be their lot to pay for all; and that the *Carthaginians* would take such revenge on them, for what they had done, that all *Africa* should tremble at it. The soldiers grew hereupon enraged anew, and in regard they were not likely to receive of *Gisco* any other satisfaction than their arrears of pay, what was due for their horses and bread being respited to another time, they therefore took thence occasion of fresh disorders, and ran together in a mutinous manner. To *Spendius* and *Matko* they lent a willing ear, who railed both against *Gisco* and the *Carthaginians*, and if any one presumed to offer them temperate counsel, he was forthwith stoned to death, even before it could be understood what the purport of his discourse was, whether for or against *Spendius*; and now great slaughter was made both of officers and private soldiers, and nothing was heard during the tumult but *throw, throw, down with him*; and what greatly augmented the rage of those people, was the excess of wine they had drank, having newly risen from their repast. So that the word *throw* was no sooner heard, but the person against whom it was designed, was immediately slain. At length there appearing no one who presumed to open his mouth to divert their determinations, they chose *Spendius* and *Matko* for their Leaders and Commanders in chief.

Gisco was not without a due sense of the danger he was in among these people, but he let that consideration give place to the duty he owed his country. He foresaw that if this mutiny once came to a head, the commonwealth would be driven to great straits; to prevent which, he was willing to be exposed to any hazard. He therefore with great constancy of mind pursued his purpose of reducing them to their duty

‘ duty by all means possible : Sometimes treating with the officers, some-
 ‘ times with the sundry nations apart. It happened, that the *Africans*
 ‘ coming rudely to *Gijco* to demand the corn-money, which they pretend-
 ‘ ed was due to them ; he to reprove their insolence, bid them in a con-
 ‘ temptuous manner go ask their captain *Matbo* for it. This answer put
 ‘ all into a flame. Without any hesitation they tumultuously ran, and
 ‘ seized on the money, which had been brought in order to their pay-
 ‘ ment.

‘ *Matbo* and *Spendius* fomented with all their art and industry this au-
 ‘ dacious proceeding of the multitude, being persuaded, that to do some
 ‘ outrageous act, in violation of the treaty they were upon, and contrary
 ‘ to the law of nations, would be the surest way to put things past accom-
 ‘ modation, and to kindle the war they so much desired. Thus there-
 ‘ fore, not only the money and baggage of the *Carthaginians* were seized
 ‘ by the mutineers, but *Gijco* and all the *Carthaginians* who accompanied
 ‘ him were arrested, put in irons, and thrown into prison ; and these vio-
 ‘ lences were immediately followed by an open declaration of war against
 ‘ *Carthage*.

‘ AND now *Matbo* dispatched deputies to the cities round about, ex-
 ‘ horting them to lend him succours, enter into confederacy with him,
 ‘ and bravely recover their liberty. It was not needful for the deputies
 ‘ to use much persuasion, the very fame of this rebellion sufficing to draw
 ‘ the whole country into it. The merciless impositions of the *Carthaginians*
 ‘ upon their *African* subjects, were the cause of this universal proneness to
 ‘ a revolt. They had taken from the country people during the late
 ‘ war one half of their corn, and had doubled the tributes paid by the
 ‘ inhabitants of the cities, not exempting even the poorest from these ex-
 ‘ actions. When new magistrates were to be elected for the provinces,
 ‘ the choice never fell on those who were likely to govern the people with
 ‘ lenity and moderation, but on such whose rigour promised the Electors
 ‘ the richest fruits of oppression. *Hanno*, for example, was of this sort,
 ‘ and therefore a great favourite at *Carthage*.

‘ All these things considered, it is no wonder that the *Africans* were
 ‘ not backward to rebel. Not only such as could bear arms readily ten-
 ‘ dered their service in this commotion, but the very women (who had
 ‘ seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison by the tax-gatherers)
 ‘ brought forth their jewels and other ornaments, offering all to sale for the
 ‘ maintenance of so just a quarrel. And by this great forwardness, and
 ‘ liberal contribution, *Matbo* and *Spendius* were supplied with a strong
 ‘ reinforcement of 70,000 *Africans*, and were moreover furnished with
 ‘ money, not only to give the soldiers the arrears of their pay, (which
 ‘ to engage them in the revolt they had promised) but sufficient to carry
 ‘ on the war begun, though it should be of long continuance.

‘ The Mercenaries using the advantage of their present strength, laid
 ‘ siege to *Ulica* and *Hippo*, two maritime cities of great importance, ly-
 ‘ ing to the west of *Carthage*, and not far from it ; nor did they abandon
 ‘ their

‘ their camp at *Tunes*, which on the other side, lay commodiously to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the country that way.

‘ *Carthage* was situate on a Peninsula, which is bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by a lake. The *Isthmus* that joins this Peninsula to the continent is about three miles broad. *Utica* stood on that side of *Carthage* which regards the sea, *Tunes* on the other side, upon the lake: so that the enemy, from those two posts, marching sometimes by day, and sometimes by night, to the very walls of the capital, filled the inhabitants with extreme terror. The *Carthaginians*, in this distress, appointed *Hanno* to be their General. He had gained some reputation in that capacity, when employed to conquer that part of *Africa* which lay towards *Heccatompolis*. *Hanno* did not fail to make with diligence all needful preparations (for that was his talent :) He got together whatever was necessary, as well to relieve a town besieged, as to batter and assail any place defended against him. With these provisions and with a hundred elephants he came to *Utica* so suddenly, that the mercenaries, as men surprized, forsook their trenches and retired to a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his huge beasts.

‘ *Hanno*, having been accustomed to make war with the *Africans* and *Numidians*, who upon any defeat were wont to fly for two or three days together, imagined that the enemy he had only routed, were utterly ruined even beyond a possibility of recovery; neglecting therefore to keep guard, and leaving his men at liberty, he immediately entered the town, there to recreate and divert himself. But those old soldiers, with whom he was now at war, had learned of *Amilcar* to sustain such shocks as they had just suffered, without being discouraged, and to retire and to fight again many times in one day, as occasion required. Wherefore as soon as they perceived that *Hanno* knew not how to make use of a victory, they instantly rushed down from their retreat, assailed their own camp, and with great slaughter drove the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within the walls of *Utica*; and they also got possession of all the stores that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the town. Nor was this the only occasion wherein *Hanno* gave marks of his insufficiency. Twice he might have defeated the enemy in pitched battle, and twice by surprize, yet he unaccountably neglected these opportunities, and even suffered the enemy to take possession of all the passes in the *Isthmus*, which joins the Peninsula, whereon *Carthage* stood, to the firm land.

‘ The *Carthaginians*, dissatisfied with the conduct of *Hanno*, had now recourse to the undisputed abilities of *Amilcar*, whom they sent into the field with 10,000 men and 70 elephants. *Amilcar* was for some time at a loss how to meet with the enemy upon equal ground. For, beside the other places of advantage, which the mercenaries had seized, *Hanno* had suffered them to get possession of the only bridge by which the river *Macar* or *Bagrades* was passable to those who were to travel from *Carthage* into the Continent. This river had not many fords, and the

' few it had were so well watched, that it was not easy for even a single
 ' man to get over without being seen. As for the bridge itself, the ene-
 ' my guarded it with the utmost vigilance, and had built a town close by
 ' it, for the more commodious lodging of the troops that were appointed
 ' to that service. *Amilcar*, having in vain tried all means possible to force
 ' a passage, at length bethought himself of an expedient to gain one by
 ' stealth. He had observed that upon the blowing of certain winds, the
 ' mouth of the *Macar* used to be choaked up with sand and gravel, which
 ' formed a kind of bar across it. Marching therefore to the mouth of
 ' the river, he there waited, without communicating his design to any
 ' body, the blowing of those favourable winds; which no sooner happen-
 ' ed, but he passed the stream with his army by night unperceived, and
 ' the next morning appeared in the plain, to the great astonishment both
 ' of the *Carthaginians* and of the enemy.

' *Spendius* and his followers were extremely troubled as well as amazed at
 ' this news, as knowing that they had no longer to deal with the im-
 ' provident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able captain, even their own
 ' master in the art of war, whom they still admired though they hated
 ' him. *Amilcar* marched directly towards those of the enemy, who guard-
 ' ed the bridge. *Spendius* advanced to meet him with 10,000 men, whom
 ' he drew out of the town that was near it. He had ordered 15,000 to
 ' come from before *Utica* and join him. Upon the arrival of this rein-
 ' forcement, the fear with which the mercenaries had been struck was
 ' changed into presumption. They thought to surround *Amilcar*, and
 ' bear him down by numbers. *Amilcar* had disposed his elephants in the
 ' front, his cavalry and light armed infantry in the second line, and
 ' his heavy armed foot in the rear of all. He had || probably ex-
 ' pected that the 15,000 men from *Utica* would have fallen upon
 ' his rear, instead of joining the forces with *Spendius*; and this ex-
 ' pectation was the reason of his placing his main strength in the
 ' rear. But when he saw, that the enemy, neglecting their advantage,
 ' had joined their two bodies of troops together, he immediately changed
 ' the order of his battle, making his horse wheel about and go to the
 ' rear, and his infantry advance. This sudden retreat of the *Carthaginian*
 ' cavalry was mistaken by the mercenaries for a real flight and a mark of
 ' fear. They advanced therefore briskly to the attack without observing
 ' any order, and in full confidence of victory. But no sooner did they
 ' perceive that cavalry, which they had thought routed, appear again in
 ' good array, covering the whole body of the *Carthaginian* foot, (for by
 ' the general's order, the horse wheeling from the rear to the right and
 ' left, had now placed themselves in the same line with the infantry) than
 ' their astonishment at this movement quite took away their courage.
 ' They instantly turned their backs and fled, and being warmly pursued
 ' by the horse and elephants of *Amilcar*, suffered a very great slaughter.
 ' In this overthrow, 6000 of the mercenaries were slain, and 2000
 ' taken prisoners; the rest escaped, some to the camp before *Utica*, others
 ' to the town by the bridge, whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that
 ' he easily possessed himself of that place, the enemy not having sufficient-

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ly

ly recovered their spirits to make a defence, but flying thence to *Tunes* at his approach. After this he speedily reduced several other towns, partly by force, partly by composition, and by this happy progress gave the *Carthaginians* some better hopes of their affairs.

As for *Matbo*, he still continued the siege of *Hippo*, advising *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, chief captain of the *Gauls*, to follow *Amilcar* so as never to lose sight of him, yet always to keep the higher grounds, or the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the horse and elephants of the *Carthaginians*. He also sent into *Numidia* and *Africa*, admonishing the people to furnish those two commanders with supplies, and to exert themselves on this occasion for the recovery of their freedom. *Spendius* with six thousand men, chosen out of the several nations encamped at *Tunes*, and with 2000 *Gauls*, that followed *Autaritus*, (these being all that remained of those who had served under this captain in *Sicily*, the rest having deserted to the *Romans* at *Eryx*) pursuant to the counsel of *Matbo*, continually coasted the *Carthaginians*, but always keeping the foot of the hills. One day, when *Amilcar* was encamped in a plain encompassed on all sides with hills, the succours which *Spendius* had waited for arrived, and the *Carthaginian* general was not a little embarrassed thereby; for he had now to deal with a body of *Africans* in front, and another of *Numidians* behind him, while the army of *Spendius* lay on his flank. In this difficulty the fame of *Amilcar's* personal worth was of great benefit to his country. In the enemies troops there happened to be a certain *Numidian*, named *Naravasus*, a man of distinction both for his birth and courage. He had inherited from his father an inclination to the *Carthaginians*, and it was much increased by what he had heard of *Amilcar's* merit. Thinking that he had now an opportunity of gaining the friendship of this people, he came to the camp attended by about 100 *Numidian* horse. Having halted near the lines without any shew of fear, he there made a sign with his hand. *Amilcar* not a little wondering at the hardiness of the action, sent out to him a horseman; to whom *Naravasus* signified, that he desired a conference with the general. The latter not readily complying with the motion, the *Numidian* no sooner perceived his distrust, but dismounting, he gave his horse and arms to those who were with him; and with a noble confidence, entered the camp alone. Every body wondered at the bravery of the man, but received him amicably. Being conducted to *Amilcar*, he told him, he wanted not good inclinations for the *Carthaginians* in general; but that his principal motive of coming there was to engage in a friendship with *him*; which if he approved, he should find him for the future a faithful friend, both in counsel and in action. This discourse, together with the manly assurance and ingenuous simplicity with which it was spoken, filled *Amilcar* with unspeakable joy; insomuch, that he not only consented to make him his companion in all his enterprizes; but to purchase his fidelity to the *Carthaginians*, promised him his daughter in marriage.

‘ After this conference and treaty, *Naravasus* brought to the camp 2000
 ‘ *Numidians*, that were under his command; with which reinforcement
 ‘ *Amilcar* offered the enemy battle. *Spendius*, on his part being strengthened
 ‘ by the *Africans*, advanced boldly into the plain, where the battle was ob-
 ‘ stinately fought. *Amilcar*, in the end, had the day: the elephants did
 ‘ great service; and *Naravasus* signalized himself most eminently. *Spendius*
 ‘ and *Autaritus* escaped by flight, about 10,000 of their men being slain, and
 ‘ 4000 taken prisoners. *Amilcar* received kindly all those of the prisoners,
 ‘ that were willing to take his pay, and serve under him, and he armed them
 ‘ with the spoils of the dead. As for those that were not willing to serve,
 ‘ he assembled them all, and then told them, that he freely pardoned their
 ‘ past fault, and gave them their liberty; but bid them remember, that if
 ‘ ever they were taken again in arms against the *Carthaginians*, they were to
 ‘ expect no mercy.

‘ During these transactions, the mercenaries that were in garrison in *Sar-*
 ‘ *dinia* mutinied, after the example of *Matbo* and *Spendius*; and having shut
 ‘ up *Bostar* their chief commander in the citadel, they at length murdered
 ‘ both him and all the *Carthaginians* with him. Hereupon the republic, in
 ‘ order to quell these mercenaries, dispatched from *Carthage* into that island
 ‘ a body of troops, which, if we may judge from their proceedings, were
 ‘ also mercenaries (a strange policy of the magistrates.) These soldiers no
 ‘ sooner arrived, but they entered into the views of the mutineers, and
 ‘ joined the revolt. The united forces seized on the leader of the new
 ‘ comers and crucified him; they likewise in the most cruel manner mur-
 ‘ dered all the *Carthaginians* they could meet with, possessed themselves of
 ‘ the towns, and remained masters of the whole island; until at length a
 ‘ quarrel happened between them and the natives, who prevailing, con-
 ‘ strained them to leave the country, and fly for refuge into *Italy*. But
 ‘ thus *Sardinia* became entirely lost to the *Carthaginians*.

‘ To return to the mercenaries in *Africa*.

‘ *Matbo*, *Spendius* and *Autaritus* having advice of the clemency which
 ‘ *Amilcar* exercised towards the prisoners, and fearing the effect it might
 ‘ have upon the *Africans*, and their other troops, resolved to engage them
 ‘ in some new act of villainy, such as should put them past all hopes of in-
 ‘ demnity. With this view they assembled the whole army. A messenger
 ‘ presently arrives with a pretended letter from those who had followed
 ‘ their steps in *Sardinia*. This letter admonishes them to be careful in
 ‘ guarding *Gisco*, and the rest of the prisoners (whom they had seized at
 ‘ the treaty of *Tunes*) there being some prisoners in the army, who held se-
 ‘ cret intelligence with the *Carthaginians* for their release. *Spendius* took oc-
 ‘ casion from this letter to warn the soldiers not to rely on the specious hu-
 ‘ manity of *Amilcar* towards those who had fallen into his hands; whose
 ‘ real intention, he said, was not to spare them, but by a feigned clemency
 ‘ to draw the rest to submission; to the end, that having all at his mercy,
 ‘ he might at once take vengeance upon all. He likewise counselled them,
 ‘ to be especially watchful not to suffer *Gisco* to escape; who being a prin-
 ‘ cipal leader, and in great authority, would prove one of their most dan-
 ‘ gerous

'gerous enemies. *Spendius* had hardly ended his discourse, when a second
 'courier, pretending to come from *Tunes*, arrived with a letter pressing
 'the same matter that was contained in the other. Upon this *Autaritus*,
 'the *Gaul*, immediately stepped forth and declared to the assembly, that
 'their safety and success could only be found in renouncing all hopes of re-
 'conciliation with the *Carthaginians*; and that whoever should appear to
 'have turned his thoughts that way, ought to be distrusted as a traitor to
 'the common cause, and as being in secret correspondence with the enemy;
 'and he advised them to be guided wholly by those, who were for carry-
 'ing things to the utmost extremity against the *Carthaginians*. After this
 'he gave it as his opinion, that they ought to put to death by torments,
 'not only *Gisco* and all the *Carthaginians* then in their custody, but all those
 'that should hereafter fall alive into their hands. *Autaritus* was always in
 'these assemblies of the soldiers a leading man, having the advantage, by
 'his knowledge of several languages, of being able to make himself un-
 'derstood by the greatest part of his hearers. His proposal was received
 'with almost universal applause; nevertheless there were some of every
 'nation, who joined in one common request, that in regard to the many
 'benefits they had received from *Gisco*, he might at least have the favour
 'to suffer only death, and not be put to torment. As they spoke in several
 'languages, and all at once, it was not presently understood what they de-
 'manded; but no sooner was their intention known, and some one in the
 'assembly had cried out, *down with them, knock them all on the head*, but
 'these intercessors were stoned to death by the multitude. Then, by or-
 'der of *Spendius*, was *Gisco* with the other *Carthaginian* prisoners, to the
 'number of 700 persons, brought out to suffer the sentence pronounced
 'against them. The executioners (beginning with *Gisco*, that same *Gisco*,
 'whom but a little before the whole army had owned for their benefactor,
 'and whom they had made choice of to be arbitrator of their differences
 'with the republic) cut off their hands, broke their legs, and then threw
 'them alive into a ditch, there to expire in misery. The *Carthaginians* re-
 'ceiving intelligence of this cruelty, and being deeply affected with the sad
 'fate of so many of their citizens, sent orders to *Amilcar* and *Hanno*, to use
 'their utmost diligence to revenge it. They likewise dispatched heralds to
 'the mercenaries, to demand the bodies of the dead; but the villains were
 'so far from complying with this demand, that they threatened to treat
 'whatever messengers should hereafter be sent to them, in the same man-
 'ner they had treated *Gisco*. And in fact it became an established law
 'among them, that all *Carthaginian* prisoners they took should be tor-
 'mented to death; and that those who were allies of the *Carthaginians*
 'should have their hands cut off, and in that condition be sent back to
 'them; and this law was afterwards rigorously executed.

' *Amilcar*, seeing no means left to put an end to the unbounded audaci-
 'ousness of the enemy, but by utterly exterminating them, sent to *Hanno*
 'to come and join him with the forces, which, without performing any thing
 'worthy of notice, he had hitherto separately commanded. It was hoped
 'that with their united strength they might be able to give a happy issue to

‘ the war. And in the mean time it was resolved, that in return for the
 ‘ barbarity practised by the enemy, all those of them, who should fall alive
 ‘ into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, should be thrown to wild beasts to
 ‘ be devoured.

‘ But now when affairs began to have a promising aspect, a dispute, that
 ‘ arose on a sudden between the two generals, was carried so far, that by
 ‘ it they lost many fair occasions of beating the enemy, and even gave them
 ‘ frequent advantages in the war. Upon the news of this division, the ma-
 ‘ gistrates of *Carthage* came to a resolution, that one of the two should
 ‘ quit his command, and that the option should be left to the army.

‘ This quarrel so unseasonable, and its consequences above-mentioned,
 ‘ were not the only misfortunes that befel the *Carthaginians* at this time. A
 ‘ convoy from *Emperium* with provisions, and other stores, much wanted for
 ‘ the army, was lost by tempest at sea: and to fill the measure of their ad-
 ‘ versity, the towns of *Utica* and *Hippo*, that had hitherto stood firm to the
 ‘ *Carthaginian* party, not only in this war, but even in the time of *Agathocles*,
 ‘ and when the *Romans* made their descent on *Africa*, now abandoned
 ‘ them on a sudden, without any plausible motive; and not only entered into
 ‘ a league of fast friendship with the *Africans*, but conceived an implacable
 ‘ hatred against the *Carthaginians*; which they sufficiently testified by mur-
 ‘ dering all those they had of that nation in garrison, and throwing their bo-
 ‘ dies over the walls, without suffering them to be buried. These events en-
 ‘ couraged *Matbo* and *Spendius* to think of laying siege even to *Carthage* itself.

‘ The *Carthaginian* army having declared in favour of *Amilcar*, *Hanno*
 ‘ was constrained to relinquish his authority, and was succeeded by *Hanni-
 ‘ bal*, whom the Senate appointed to command in his stead. Assisted by this
 ‘ new colleague, and especially by *Naravasus*, who was eminently useful in
 ‘ all expeditions, *Amilcar* scoured the country, and endeavoured to cut off
 ‘ all means of subsistence from the enemy, who now invested *Carthage*.

‘ The city, blocked up on all sides by land, was forced to have recourse
 ‘ to her allies. *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, who had all along had a watchful
 ‘ eye upon the events of this war, and had supplied the republic with eve-
 ‘ ry thing she had desired of him, was now, in her greatest distress, more
 ‘ than ever diligent to assist her; as being well aware, that to maintain his
 ‘ own authority in *Sicily*, and his alliance of friendship with the *Romans*, it
 ‘ was necessary that *Carthage* should be preserved in a condition to ballance
 ‘ their power; otherwise he himself might soon be at their mercy, and in-
 ‘ stead of their friend become their subject.

‘ In this, says *Polybius*, he acted wisely, for it greatly behoves a Prince
 ‘ not to neglect a mischief of this kind, in the beginning, nor to suffer the
 ‘ exorbitant growth of a neighbouring power, till he is no longer able to
 ‘ contest with it for his own indisputable right.

‘ Not only king *Hiero*, but the *Romans* also, (faithfully observing their
 ‘ treaty of peace) supplied the *Carthaginians* with such provisions and stores
 ‘ as they wanted; so that the city, being thus succoured, was in a condi-
 ‘ tion to defend itself against the efforts of the besiegers.

‘ In the mean time *Amilcar* was so active and diligent in preventing any
‘ supplies from going to the camp of *Matho* and *Spendius*, that he at length
‘ reduced them to great straits for provisions, and in the end constrained
‘ them to raise the siege. And now *Spendius*, assisted by one *Zarxas* an *Af-*
‘ *rican* leader, and by *Autaritus* the *Gaul*, issued into the field, at the head
‘ of 50,000 chosen men, to try the fortune of war against *Amilcar*, (*Matho*
‘ was left at *Tunes*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care
‘ of the business.) The elephants of *Carthage* and the horse of *Naravasus*
‘ made *Spendius* afraid of descending into the plains, so that he betook
‘ himself to his former method of keeping the hills and rough grounds, or
‘ occupying the streight passages, wherein the desperate courage of his
‘ men might shew itself with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar*, having more
‘ skill than he in the trade of war, artfully contrived to draw him to many
‘ skirmishes; in all which the success was such, as added courage to the
‘ *Carthaginians*, and abated the strength and spirit of their enemies. Thus
‘ he continued alarming and provoking them by night and by day; and,
‘ through his skill in laying ambushes, never failed to entrap some of them,
‘ when they engaged in small parties, nor to cut off great numbers when
‘ the action was more general; and those who fell alive into his hands he
‘ gave to be devoured by wild beasts.

‘ At length he surprized them in a place that was very commodious for
‘ his own army, and very disadvantageous to theirs. They presently saw
‘ their disadvantage, and therefore had not heart to fight. *Amilcar* pru-
‘ dently foreseeing that necessity might draw them to attempt the most
‘ desperate enterprizes, took the opportunity of their present fear, and shut
‘ them close up with a trench and rampart. There they waited miserably
‘ and in vain for succour from *Tunes*; and having spent all their provisions
‘ were so pressed with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their pri-
‘ soners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing they had not deserved
‘ any favour from *Carthage*; and hoping still that their friends at *Tunes*
‘ would not neglect them. But when at length they were driven to such
‘ extremity, as to be forced to devour their own companions, and yet saw
‘ no appearance of relief, then was their obstinacy quite broken, and they
‘ began to threaten their captains. *Spendius*, *Zarxas* and *Autaritus* having
‘ therefore consulted together, came to a resolution to yield themselves to
‘ *Amilcar*, if required, as the condition of peace. They sent a herald to de-
‘ mand a pass, which being granted them, they came in person to the *Car-*
‘ *thaginian* general. What they could say to him is hard to conjecture;
‘ yet by the conditions that *Amilcar* granted, it would seem that they took
‘ the blame upon themselves, and begged pardon for the multitude. The
‘ conditions were, *That the Carthaginians should chuse out of the whole num-*
‘ *ber of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion;*
‘ *and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in one single coat.* When the
‘ treaty was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told *Spendius*, and those who were with
‘ him, that he chose them as part of the ten; and then immediately ordered
‘ them to be seized and secured. The army receiving intelligence that their
‘ leaders were detained, and not knowing that a treaty was concluded for
‘ them.

‘ them upon such gentle terms, presently imagined they were betrayed. In
 ‘ amazement therefore they all ran to arms. But now they wanted cap-
 ‘ tains to order and conduct them; and the same astonishment that made
 ‘ them break the covenants of peace, of which they were ignorant gave
 ‘ *Amilcar* both colour of justice in accomplishing revenge, and facility in
 ‘ doing the execution. They were all slain, being 40,000 or more in number.

‘ The news of this exploit, (as may well be supposed) gave new life and
 ‘ spirit to the people at *Carthage*, and was terrible to the revolted cities.
 ‘ *Amilcar*, with *Naravasus* and *Hannibal*, carried the war from town to town,
 ‘ and found all places ready to yield, except *Utica*, *Hippo*, and *Tunes*,
 ‘ the two first standing out through fear of deserved vengeance, and the
 ‘ last being held by *Matto*, with the remainder of the rebel army. It was
 ‘ thought fit to begin with *Tunes*, where lay the chief strength of the ene-
 ‘ my. Coming before this town, they brought forth *Spendius* with his fel-
 ‘ lows, and, in view of the garrison, crucified them under the walls, to
 ‘ terrify those of his old companions, that were still in arms. With this
 ‘ rigour the siege began, as if speedy victory had been assured. *Hanni-
 ‘ bal* quartered upon that side of *Tunes*, which lay toward *Carthage*;
 ‘ *Amilcar* on the opposite side; too far asunder to help one another in
 ‘ sudden accidents. It behoved them therefore to be more circumspect.
 ‘ Nevertheless *Hannibal*, secure, as if all danger were past, neglected to
 ‘ keep good guard. *Matto* perceived it, and, using his advantage, sal-
 ‘ lied out with unexpected fury against that part of the *Carthaginian*
 ‘ army, and so successfully, that, after a great slaughter of the enemy,
 ‘ he put the rest to flight, forced their camp, pillaged it, and took *Han-
 ‘ nibal* himself prisoner. After the victory, having caused the dead body
 ‘ of *Spendius* to be taken down from the cross, he ordered *Hannibal* to be
 ‘ fixed alive in his place, and executed him with unspeakable torments.
 ‘ The rest also of the noblest of the *Carthaginians*, who had fallen into his
 ‘ hands, were by his command slain round the body of *Spendius*. Of all
 ‘ this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he strength
 ‘ enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the siege; but was
 ‘ obliged to break it up, and remove to the mouth of the river *Bagra-
 ‘ das*, where he encamped.

‘ The terror in *Carthage*, upon the news of this disaster, was not less
 ‘ than had been the joy for the late important victory. All that could
 ‘ bear arms were sent into the field under *Hanno*; and the Senate com-
 ‘ missioned thirty principal men of their body to labour with all the force
 ‘ of persuasion, to bring *Amilcar* and him to a reconciliation. This could
 ‘ not be effected presently. *Amilcar* was perhaps nearly touched in his
 ‘ honour, that the carelessness of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed to him,
 ‘ by sending his enemy to share with him the conduct of affairs, and be
 ‘ a check upon his proceedings. Nevertheless, after many conferences,
 ‘ the authority of the Senators prevailed; and the two Generals passed
 ‘ their words to live in friendship, and act in concert for the public good.
 ‘ And thenceforward all affairs were successfully managed to the satisfac-
 ‘ tion of their fellow citizens.

‘ *Matto*

‘ *Matbo*, during these transactions, was come abroad into the field,
 ‘ wisely purposing to make advantage of the reputation of his late suc-
 ‘ cess, while it gave some life to his cause. But this *African* Leader
 ‘ wanted the necessary skill to cope with *Amilcar*, who in all skirmishes
 ‘ and encounters between parties never failed to worst him, and thereby
 ‘ to diminish both his strength and his credit. *Matbo*, sensible of this
 ‘ growing mischief to his affairs, resolved therefore to try the fortune of
 ‘ one battle, whereby either his ambition should be accomplished, or his
 ‘ cares at an end. The *Carthaginians* were no less disposed to a general
 ‘ action, having many advantages above their enemies, and especially
 ‘ (which was worth all the rest) such a commander, as was not easily to
 ‘ be matched in that age. Both parties being thus agreed, the confede-
 ‘ rates and friends of both were called together, and the towns drained
 ‘ of their garrisons to augment the armies. At length with joint consent,
 ‘ in time and place, the battle was fought. The *Carthaginians* won the
 ‘ day. The greatest part of the *African* army was slain upon the spot;
 ‘ the rest fled to a town, that not being defensible quickly surrendered;
 ‘ *Matbo* himself was there taken alive. Immediately upon this victory
 ‘ all the *African* cities which had been in the rebellion, submitted to their
 ‘ old masters, *Utica* and *Hippo* only excepted, these, by their treacherous
 ‘ and outrageous proceedings, having cut off from themselves all hopes
 ‘ of pardon. However, these also were constrained to surrender at mer-
 ‘ cy. *Matbo* and his companions, being led in triumph to *Carthage*,
 ‘ were put to death by all the torments that revenge could devise.

‘ Thus was a period given to this *inexpiable* war, which had lasted three
 ‘ years and near four months, and had abounded with more acts of wick-
 ‘ edness and cruelty, than any other to be met with in story.’

ROME during all this time took no advantage of her rival’s distress to
 promote her ruin, but continued faithfully to observe the treaty of peace with
 her; and even assisted her as a friend in many instances. Once indeed there
 seemed to be some danger of a rupture. For as the *Carthaginians* at the be-
 ginning of this war, made prize of all vessels that came on the coast of
Africa to supply the rebels with provisions, it happened that they had
 at one time in custody 500 *Italians*, whom they had taken carrying on this
 traffic for the profit of private merchants. The *Romans*, offended at the
 detaining of these traders in prison, began to turn their thoughts to revenge;
 but they were soon appeased by a respectful embassy from *Carthage*, who
 restored the prisoners in so frank a manner, that the *Romans*, not to be be-
 hind her in courtesy, enlarged, without ransom, all the *Carthaginian* captives,
 that yet remained of those who had been taken during the *Sicilian* war.

Y. R. 515.
 Bef. Chr.
 237.
 214 Conf.

- ‘ Part of the Y. of R. 512. *Q. Lutatius*, and *A. Manlius*.
 Y. of R. 513. *C. Claudius*, and *M. Sempronius*.
 Y. of R. 514. *C. Mamilius*, and *Q. Valerius*.
 Part of the Y. of R. 515. *Tib. Sempronius*, and *P. Valerius*.

Y. R. 515.
 Ref. Chr.
 257.
 214 C. 116.

They also permitted their merchants to supply *Carthage* with whatsoever she stood in need of, and prohibited all commerce with her enemies. Nay, more than this, when the people of *Utica*, having revolted from the *Carthaginians*, would have put that city into the hands of the *Romans*, the latter rejected the overture; as they also did an offer made them of the Island of *Sardinia* by the mercenaries there, who, following the example of those in *Africa*, had turned their arms against the masters in whose pay they were, and had forcibly seized upon that Island.

Sir W. R.

This behaviour towards a rival power (says a learned writer) might have served as a notable example of *Roman* faith to all posterity, had not the issue proved that it proceeded wholly from the hope of greater profit thereby, than could reasonably be expected from an open violation of the treaty of peace. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended, at that time, upon the virtue of *Amilcar*, and had he been overthrown by the rebels in one main battle, that mighty city must either have fallen into the hands of merciless villains, or have humbled herself under the protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately contended for superiority. She was once, during the war, reduced by the rebels to so great extremity as not to be far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking ship, to run herself aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*, then did ambition put off her goodly vizour. Though the *Romans* had formerly refused this Island, when offered them by the mercenaries, (who were afterwards driven thence by the natives) they now resolved to take possession of it by force of arms. One of the Consuls passed thither with an army, and denounced war against *Carthage*, under the shameless pretence, *That the preparations made* (by that enfeebled and impoverished city) *to reduce Sardinia, were indeed designed against Rome.* The *Carthaginians* were in no condition at this time to enter upon a new war with so potent an enemy: yielding therefore to necessity, they relinquished all pretensions to the Island for ever; and not only so, but submitted to the exactions of the Consul, who further demanded of them, as the price of a peace, the sum of * 1200 talents: Detestable injustice and extortion, which, as *Livy* assures us, were the chief cause of that bloody war, in which *Hannibal* afterwards, with hereditary hatred and an implacable spirit of revenge, pushed the *Romans* to the very brink of destruction.

Polih. B.
 1. c. 88.

Sinnies
 Capto apud
 Pump.
 Fati. in voce
 Sardi
 Venales.

* 242500 L.
 Arbuthnot.

C H A P. XII.

Wars of the Romans with the Boian Gauls, Ligurians, Sardinians and Corsicans.

DURING the three years and some months that the war of *Carthage* with her mercenaries had lasted, the *Roman* Consuls had no affairs abroad, and seem to have chiefly employed their thoughts to establish

bliss good order in *Italy*, and to secure the frontiers against the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, by planting colonies in their neighbourhood. The Republic however would gladly have engaged in some quarrel, if she could have found a plausible pretence for it. *Entropius* tells us that after the conclusion of the war in *Sicily*, she sent Ambassadors to *Ptolemy Evergetes*, King of *Egypt*, to offer him her assistance against *Antiochus* of *Syria*, surnamed *the God*: but the *Egyptian* having got rid of his enemy before the Ambassadors arrived, his answer was only a compliment of thanks. And we have seen, that after the conclusion of the *African* war, in which *Carthage* was triumphant, the *Romans* would have renewed hostilities against that hated rival, on account of *Sardinia*, if they had not been prevented in this project, by an unwilling cession of that Island to them.

Y. R. 515.
Eef. Chr.
237.
214 Conf.

Entrop. l. 3.
c. 1.

But about the same time these ambitious and restless spirits found sufficient opportunity to keep their hardy legions in exercise. In the Consulate of *Tib. Sempronius*, and *P. Valerius*, those *Italic Gauls* who were called *Boii*, and who, after infinite losses and calamities sustained in their struggles with the *Romans*, had continued quiet 45 years, resolved at length, upon some very trivial pretences, to break the peace, which had been so long maintained with the republic. The old men, all those who had felt the hardships and sufferings of the former wars, being extinct, the young men, their successors, who had experienced nothing of those miseries, and feared nothing from fortune, began, according to the nature of man, to grow turbulent and desirous of some change in their condition; and this was the true source of their rash enterprize.

See B. 3.
ch. 25. §.
1, 2. Polyb.
L. 2. c. 21.

The *Ligurians* also (whom *Rome* had not yet begun to subdue) being in motion, and seeming to threaten her with war, the Consuls for the year were obliged to divide their forces.

Liv. Epit.
20.

Valerius led a consular army against the *Gauls*, and was vanquished in his first battle with them, in which he lost 3500 men. Upon the news of this defeat, the *Romans* immediately dispatched *M. Genucius Cippus*, one of the Prætors, from the city, with a reinforcement for the Consul. *Valerius* looking on this precaution as a personal affront, and believing that he was still strong enough to cope with the enemy, notwithstanding the blow he had received, hastened to attack them again, before *Cippus* could arrive. His soldiers were no less zealous than himself to recover their honour; and being animated by this motive behaved themselves so gallantly that they slew 14,000 of the *Gauls* and took 2000 prisoners. However, this victory did not obtain the Consul a triumph, because he had been rash in the attempt, and had not paid sufficient deference to the sentiments of the senate and people.

Orof. B. 4.
c. 12.
Val. Max.
B. 5. c. 6.

In the mean time *Sempronius*, the other Consul, gained a battle, (though not a decisive one) against the *Ligurians*.

These wars were continued by the next year's Consuls *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Fulvius* acquired no honour by the

Y. R. 516.

* *Liguria* comprehended at this time the whole extent of country between the *Arno*, the *Apennines*, the country of the *Ananes*, the *Po*, the maritime *Alps*, and the *Ligurian* sea (now the sea of *Genoa*.)

Y. R. 516.
Bef. Chr.
236.
215 Conf.

Zon. B. 8.

Eutrop. B.
3. c. 1.

Ken. Antiq.
Part 2. B. 5.
c. 7.
Lib. II.
cap. 4.
Miscel.
cap. 38.

* De Die
Natali,
cap. 17.

campaign. It was with great difficulty that he preserved his camp from being forced by the *Gauls*, whose country on this side of the *Po* he had entered; he was obliged to keep within his intrenchments, and to act entirely on the defensive.

Cornelius had better success against the *Ligurians* near *Hetruria*. He obtained a victory, for which he was rewarded with a triumph.

During these wars, preparations were made at *Rome* to celebrate the 'secular games: *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* came to see the show, and brought with him 200,000 *Modii* (measures containing a peck and a half) of wheat, that the vast concourse of people might not cause a scarcity of provisions.

* *Ludi Seculares*, the most remarkable games that we meet with in the *Roman* story. The common opinion makes them to have had a very odd original, of which we have a tedious relation in *Valerius Maximus*, of the Antients, and *Angelus Politianus* of the Moderns. Monsieur *Dacier*, in his excellent remarks on the secular poem of *Horace*, passes by this old conceit as trivial and fabulous, and assures us, that we need go no farther for the rise of the custom, than to the *Sybilline* oracles, for which the *Romans* had so great an esteem and veneration.

In these sacred writings, there was one famous prophecy to this effect; that if the *Romans*, at the beginning of every age, should hold solemn games in the *Campus Martius* to the honour of *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, *Juno*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Ceres*, and the *Parce*, or three fatal sisters, their city should ever flourish, and all nations be subjected to their dominion. They were very ready to obey the oracle, and, in all the ceremonies used on that occasion, conformed themselves to its directions. The whole manner of the solemnity was as follows: In the first place, the heralds received orders to make an invitation of the whole world to come to a feast which they had never seen already, and should never see again. Some few days before the beginning of the games, the *Quindecimviri*, taking their seats in the capitol, and in the *Palatine* temple, distributed among the people purifying compositions, as flambeaux, brimstone and sulphur. From hence the people passed on to *Diana's* temple on the *Aventine* mountain, carrying wheat, barley, and beans, as an offering; and after this they spent whole nights in devotion to the destinies. At length, when the time of the games was actually come, which continued three days and three nights, the people assembled in

the *Campus Martius*, and sacrificed to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, the *Parce*, *Ceres*, *Pluto*, and *Proserpine*. On the first night of the feast, the Emperor accompanied by the *Quindecimviri*, commanded three altars to be raised on the bank of *Tiber*, which they sprinkled with the blood of three lambs, and then proceeded to burn the offerings and the victims. After this they marked out a space which served for a Theatre, being illuminated by an innumerable multitude of flambeaux and fires: here they sung some certain hymns composed on this occasion, and celebrated all kinds of sports. On the day after, when they had been at the capitol to offer the victims, they returned to the *Campus Martius*, and held sports to the honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. These lasted till the next day, when the noble matrons, at the hour appointed by the oracle, went to the capitol to sing hymns to *Jupiter*. On the third day, which concluded the feast, twenty-seven young boys, and as many girls, sung in the temple of *Palatine Apollo*, hymns and verses in *Greek* and *Latin*, to recommend the city to the protection of those deities whom they designed particularly to honour by their sacrifices.

The famous secular poem of *Horace* was composed for this last day, in the secular game held by *Augustus*. *Dacier* has given his judgment on this poem, as the masterpiece of *Horace*; and believes that all antiquity cannot furnish us with any thing more happily compleat.

There has been much controversy, whether these games were celebrated every hundred or every hundred and ten years. For the former opinion, *Censorinus** alledges the testimony of *Valerius Antias*, *Varro* and *Livy*; and this was certainly the space of time which the *Romans* called *saeculum*, or an age. For the latter he produceth the authority

The year of the *secular games* was not a year of tranquillity. The new Consuls, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varus*, were obliged to take the field to oppose the *Gauls*. The confidence of their leaders being raised by the multitudes of men they had assembled, and by the expectation of a strong reinforcement of their countrymen from the other side the *Alps*, they demanded the restitution of *Ariminum*, formerly taken from them by the *Romans*. *Lentulus* and *Varus*, to gain time (not having their troops compleat) referred the matter to the determination of the senate, and in the interim agreed upon a truce with the enemy, whose commanders were very ready to consent to a cessation of arms till they should be joined by the forces they expected from *Transalpine Gaul*. When these forces arrived, their number proved so great as to give umbrage to those whom they came to assist. The *Cisalpine Gauls*, more afraid of the new comers than of the *Romans*, turned their arms against them and put them to flight, but first slew their own two Generals (or Kings) *Ates* and *Gelates*, for having of their own head, and without consulting the nation, invited such dangerous allies to cross the *Alps*. The enemy being thus defeated by themselves, two consular armies were no longer necessary to repress them. *Lentulus* with his legions alone, not only reduced the *Boii* to yield a part of their country as the condition of a peace; but took a great number of forts from the *Ligurians*, partly by force and partly by composition.

Y. R. 517.
Bef. Chr.
235.
216 Conf.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 21.

In the mean time, *Varus* made preparations for going to the Island of *Corfica*, which, by the secret intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, had been in-

Zon. B. 8.

thority of the registers, or commentaries of the *Quindecimviri*, and the edicts of *Augustus*, besides the plain evidence of *Horace* in his secular poem; 21.

Certus undenos decies per annos, &c.

This last space is expressly enjoined by the *Sybilline* oracle itself; the verses of which, relating to this purpose, are transcribed by *Zosimus* in the second book of his history.

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ αἱ μέγιστα ἔκη χροῖα ἀνθρώπων
Ζῶντες, εἰς ἑταίρῳ ἰκατὸν δίκαια κύκλον ὀδεύον,
&c.

Yet according to the ancient accounts we have of their celebration in the several ages, neither of these periods are much regarded.

The first were held *A. U. C.* 245, or 298.

The second *A.* 330, or 408.

The third *A.* 518.

The fourth either *A.* 605, or 608, or 628.

The fifth by *Augustus*, *A.* 736.

The sixth by *Claudius*, *A.* 800.

The seventh by *Domitian*, *A.* 841.

The eighth by *Severus*, *A.* 957.

The ninth by *Philip*, *A.* 1000.

The tenth by *Honorius*, *A.* 1157.

The disorder, without question, was owing to the ambition of the Emperors, who were extremely desirous to have the honour of celebrating these games in their reign; and therefore upon the slightest pretence, many times made them return before their ordinary course. Thus *Claudius* pretended that *Augustus* had held the games before their due time, that he might have the least excuse to keep them within sixty-four years afterwards. On which account, *Suetonius* tells us, that the people scoffed at his cryers, when they went about proclaiming games that nobody had ever seen, nor would see again; whereas there were not only many persons alive who remembered the games of *Augustus*, but several players, who had acted in those games, were now again brought on the stage by *Claudius*. *Sueton. Claud. 21.*

What part of the year the secular games were celebrated in, is uncertain; probably in the times of the commonwealth on the days of the nativity of the city, *i. e.* the 9, 10, 11. *Kal. Maii*, but under the Emperors, on the day when they came to their power.

Mr. Walker
of Coins, p.
168.

duced

Y. R. 517.
Bef. Chr.
236 C.

Zon. B. 8.

Dio. apud
Vellei. p.
593. Val.
Max. B. 6.
c. 5. §. 3.

Zon. B. 8.
Eutrop. B.
3. c. 2.

Orosius. B.
4. ch. 12.

Dio. in
Excerpt. xi.
p. 922.

Y. R. 518.
Bef. Chr.
234
217 C.

duced to throw off the *Roman* yoke. The Consul, not finding a fleet ready to transport his whole army, sent away before him a small number of ships with a detachment under the command of that *Claudius Glycias*, who had formerly been named to the Dictatorship in derision. *Claudius* had served, since that time, with good reputation, in several posts of a lower order, but had never commanded in chief. Seeing himself now at the head of a part of the Consular army, his ambition was raised, and fancying it would be much for his honour to gain this Island to the republic without bloodshed; he, without the consent of Consul or Senate, made a shameful peace with the *Corficans*. The Consul, at his arrival, annulled the treaty, renewed the war, and subdued the Island by force of arms. As for *Claudius*, by a decree of the senate, he was delivered up to the resentment of the *Corficans*, for having drawn them, as it was alledged, into a bloody war by a fallacious peace: In which sentence the republic, beside the punishing a breach of duty and order, had the further view of preventing the reproach that might have been cast upon the Consul, for having made war on a people who depended on the faith of a treaty. However, the *Corficans* disdained this reparation, and sent *Claudius* back to *Rome*. There he was put to death in prison, and then his body, being first carried to the top of the steps called *Scala Gemonia*, on which the bodies of the greatest malefactors used to be exposed, was thence dragged away with an iron crook and thrown into the *Tiber*.

This execution of *Claudius* did not satisfy the *Corficans*, who had been amused by a treaty of peace, only to give their enemies the better opportunity to subdue them by a war. The near neighbourhood of *Sardinia* made it easy for them to communicate their discontent to the people of that Island; and it is said, that *Carthage* under-hand excited the *Sardinians* to revolt from the *Romans*; and that *Rome*, for this reason, made preparations for a new war with the *African* Republic. Alarmed at this news the *Carthaginians* sent ambassador after ambassador to negotiate an accommodation; but all in vain. At length they dispatched to *Rome*, for the same end, ten of the principal members of their state, among whom was one *Hanno*, a young man of great spirit and vivacity. When these new deputies had for a while employed the lowest submissions and the humblest entreaties to procure a reconciliation, and all to no effect, *Hanno*, weary of so much cringing, and full of indignation at the rough and haughty answers of the Senate, cried out, with an air of confidence and dignity, “ Well then, if you are resolved to break the treaty, restate us in the condition we were in before it was concluded. Restore to us SICILY and SARDINIA. With these we bought of you, not a Short Truce, but a Peace that was to be perpetual.” The Senators, ashamed, dismissed the Deputies with a milder answer.

After this the Consuls for the new year, *C. Attilius Balbus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, drew lots for their provinces; the former continued in *Italy*, while the latter easily recovered *Sardinia*, and settled peace there, but without reducing it to a *Roman* province.

And

And now the temple of *Janus* was shut up for the first time since the reign of *Numa Pompilius*. For near 450 years the *Romans* had been almost continually in arms : And so steady was their ambition, and so unwearied their constancy in pursuing its dictates, that in the succeeding parts of this history we shall see them, in spite of numberless misfortunes, still forming new enterprizes upon the neighbouring nations, and never ceasing to push their conquests till they have attained to universal empire.

The present tranquillity lasted but a few months. In the following Consulship of *L. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius*, three armies were raised to act against the *Sardinians*, *Corficans* and *Ligurians*, who had (probably) engaged themselves, by secret treaties, mutually to assist one another. *Posthumus* succeeded against the *Ligurians*; but the *Prætor Cornelius*, who commanded in *Sardinia*, was, with many of his soldiers, carried off by distemper. *Carvilius* (from *Corfica*) transported his *Legions* thither, gained a victory over the *Sardinians*, and then returned to *Rome* in triumph.

In this Consulship, the *Censors*, observing the number of the *Citizens* to be considerably lessened, and imputing it to mens marrying only with a view to interest, deserting their own wives for fear of having many children to maintain, and carrying on unlawful intrigues with other women, they obliged all the citizens to swear, that they would not marry with any other view, than that of increasing the subjects of the republic. This oath raised many scruples; and caused many ruptures between husbands and wives. Among the rest, one *Carvilius Ruga*, a considerable man, thought himself bound by his oath to divorce his wife whom he passionately loved, because she was barren; and accordingly he put her away, contrary to his inclination, and married another; the first instance of divorce at *Rome* in 519 years, notwithstanding that the laws had always allowed it. And it was on this occasion that marriage-contracts were first introduced, to secure women's portions in case of divorces, which we shall see hereafter grow scandalously frequent, as a corruption of manners prevailed in the republic.

The fresh revolts of the *Sardinians* and *Ligurians* obliged the new Consuls, *M. Pomponius Matko* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, (the same *Fabius* who afterwards acquired so much glory in the wars of *Hannibal*) to divide the *Roman* forces. It now falling to *Fabius's* lot to make war with the *Ligurians*, he drove them out of the flat country, and forced them to take shelter under the *Alps*. In the mean time, his colleague *Pomponius* sailed for *Sardinia*, and gained some victories there, for which a triumph was granted him at his return home.

It is conjectured, that about this time the *Æbutian Law* (so called from the two *Æbutii*, Tribunes of the people, who proposed it and got it passed) was promulged. It retrenched many frivolous customs, ordained by the twelve tables to be observed in processes relating to civil affairs, and it also directed that three able and judicious men should be

chosen

Y. R. 518.
B. 1. C. 12.
217 Conf.

Entrep. B.
3. c. 7.
Vell. Pat.
B. 2. c. 38.
Oros. B. 4.
c. 12.
Liv. B. 1.
c. 19.
Y. R. 519.
Bef. Chr.
237.
218 Conf.

Zon. B. 8.
Liv. epit.
20.
Tab. Tri-
umph.

Gell. B. 4.
c. 3. and
B. 17. c. 21.
in fine.
Sulp. de
dotibus.
D. Hal. p.
93.

Y. R. 520.
Bef. Chr.
232.
219 Conf.

Plut. life of
Fab.

Tab. Tri-
umph.

A. Gell. B.
xvi. c. 10.

Pompon. de
orig. Juris

chosen out of each *tribe*, to form a new *tribunal*, which subordinate to the Prætors, might assist them, and remedy the inconveniencies often occasioned by their absence from *Rome*. These new judges were called, for brevity's sake, *Centumvirs*^b, though they were 105 in number; and when they were afterwards augmented to 180, they still kept the same name.

Y. R. 521.
Bel. Chr.
232
233 Cons.

Cic. in.
Bruto, c. 14.
Polyb. B. 2.
c. 24.

The establishment of this new *tribunal* made no change as to the direction of state affairs, which continued wholly in the Senate and *Comitia*. *Flaminius*, one of the *Tribunes*, made a motion to the Commons, at this time, to distribute a fruitful country lately taken from the *Gauls*, among the poor citizens of *Rome*. All motions of this kind had ever been opposed by the Senators, out of private interest; and now they had indeed a better reason to unite their strength, in order to hinder *Flaminius's* motion from passing into a law. They foresaw that the *Gauls*, on both sides the *Po*, would impatiently bear the distribution proposed of those lands. Neither the threats of the present Consuls, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *M. Publius Malleolus*, nor the entreaties of the Senate, nor yet the tears of his own father, whom the *Patricians* had gained over to them, could prevail with *Flaminius* to desist. On the day appointed for proposing the law to the *Comitia*, he mounted the *Rostra* and spoke to the people in favour of it; but in the midst of his harangue, his father appearing on a sudden, ascended the *Rostra*, took him by the arm, and *commanded* him to follow him home; and then *Flaminius* immediately obeyed without reply; and, what is most extraordinary, not the least noise nor murmur was heard in the assembly. Nevertheless, the affair was *now* only postponed; it was afterwards carried into execution; and what the Senators had apprehended came to pass; a dangerous war from the angry *Gauls*.

Val. Max.
B. 5. c. 4.
& 5.
Cic. de Inv.
Rhet. B. 2.
c. 17.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 21.

Y. R. 522.
Bel. Chr.
232
233 Cons.

Zon. B. 8.

Fab. Cap.

In the following year the new Consuls, *M. Pomponius Matho*, and *C. Papirius Majo*, entirely finished the conquest of the two islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, which were then reduced to the state of a *Roman Province*, upon the same foot as *Sicily*. It is probable, that after this regulation *Pomponius* continued in the new province to govern it in quality of *Pro-Consul*, or *Prætor*, when the year of his Consulate, which was not far from a conclusion, should expire; but *Papirius* returned to *Rome*. At his arrival he found the grand elections over; a Dictator had been created to hold the *Comitia*, so that during the few remaining days of his magistracy, he had nothing to do, and he also quickly perceived, upon trial, that he had no more credit than business. The Senate, dissatisfied with him for some reason unknown, refused him a triumph. This provoked him to take a method entirely new, to do himself honour. At the

Pha. Jun.
B. 5. Epist. 2.
Cicero de
Orat. B. 1.
c. 28.

^b They were divided into four courts or chambers. The causes, which fell under their cognizance, were such as related to prescriptions, guardianships, degrees of consanguinity, or affinity, damages occasioned by inundations, contents about building or

repairing middle walls, the windows a man might open upon his neighbour, with an infinite number of other matters, that often raised disputes between the inhabitants of the same city.



head of his army he marched to the temple of *Jupiter Latialis* on the hill of *Alba*, with all the pomp with which triumphant victors were wont to march to the Capitol; he made no alteration in the ceremony, except that instead of a crown of laurel, he wore a crown of myrtle, on account of his having defeated the *Corficans* in a place where was a grove of myrtles. This example of *Papyrius*, was afterwards followed by many Generals to whom the Senate refused the honour of a *Triumph*.

Vol. Max.
B. 3. c. 6.
Pliny, l.
15. c. 25.
Festus, l.
v. c. Myr-
ta.

C H A P. XIII.

The first Illyrian War.

THE next year *M. Æmilius Barbula*, and *M. Junius Pera*, being Consuls, the republic engaged in a new war out of *Italy*. *Illyricum*, or rather that part of the country so called, which lies upon the *Adriatic*, and confines upon *Macedon* and *Epirus*, was at this time governed by a woman, named *Teuta*, the widow of King *Agron*, and guardian to her son, *Pineus*, under age. The success of her late husband's arms, who had vanquished the *Ætolians*, made her vain and presumptuous; and being governed by evil councils, she, instead of prudently managing the affairs of her ward in peace, commissioned her subjects to practise piracy on the sea coast, and seize all the places they could; which was, in a manner, declaring herself a common enemy to all nations. Her pirates had taken many ships belonging to the *Roman* merchants, and she was now besieging the island of *Issa* in the *Adriatic*; the inhabitants of which, had put themselves under the protection of the Republic. Upon the complaints of those merchants, and to protect the people of *Issa*, the Senate dispatched two ambassadors, *Caius* and *Lucius Coruncanius*, to the *Illyrian* Queen, to require of her that she would restrain her subjects from infesting the seas with their piracies. To this demand the Queen answered, that she would take care, that no injury should be done to the *Romans* by the *Illyrian* NATION, but that she thought it was never the custom of Princes to hinder *private subjects* from making what advantages they could from the sea. But the *Romans* (replied the younger of the ambassadors) *have an excellent custom, which is, to punish private injuries by a public revenge, and to relieve the oppressed*. *Teuta, by the help of the Gods, we shall find means to make you speedily reform your royal institutions*. The proud Queen, angry to excess at these words, secretly contrived to have the ambassadors murdered in their return homeward. Upon the news of this cruel breach of the law of nations, the Senate, having first done honour to the *manes* of the ambassadors, by erecting, as was usual in such cases, statues, three feet high, to their memory, equipped a fleet with all expedition to begin the war. *Teuta*, alarmed with these preparations, dispatched an embassy to *Rome*, to disown her

Y. R. 523.
Bef. Chr.
229.
222d Conf.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 2.
Appian in
Illyri

Zon. B. 8.
Dio. in Ex-
cerpt. xii.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 8.

Pliny, B.
34. c. 6.

Dio. in Ex-
cerpt. xii.

Zon. B. 8. having had any share in the murder: Yet, when the *Romans* demanded that the murderers should be delivered up, she peremptorily refused it.

Y. R. 524. The Consuls therefore for the new year, *P. Posthumius Albinus*, and
 Bef. Chr. Cn. *Fulvius Centumalus*, both embarked for *Illyricum*. *Fulvius* had the
 228. command of the fleet, consisting of 200 gallies, and *Posthumius* of the
 2233 Conf. land-forces, which were 20,000 foot, and a small body of horse. The
 Polyb. B. 2. Queen, in the beginning of the spring, had augmented her fleet, and
 C. 12. sent it to plunder the coasts of *Greece*. One part sailed to *Corcyra* *;
 * N. a. Car- (a small island lying near *Pharos* in the *Adriatic*) the rest anchored be-
 2012. fore *Epidamnum*. These, who had thought to surprize the town, having
 failed of their hope, rejoined the squadron that lay before *Corcyra*;
 the people of which place had called in the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* to
 their assistance. Nevertheless, the *Illyrians*, being assisted by the *Acar-
 manians*, had the victory in a brisk action by sea: so that *Corcyra*, being
 no longer in a condition to defend itself, capitulated; and received an
Illyrian garrison, commanded by *Demetrius* of *Pharos*: after which,
 the conquerors sailed to *Epidamnum*, and renewed the siege of that
 place.

Fulvius sailed directly for *Corcyra*; and tho' he learnt by the way that
 the city had surrendered, he pursued his course, having a secret intelli-
 gence with *Demetrius*; who, knowing that some ill offices had been done
 him with *Teuta*, and fearing her resentment, had promised the Consul to
 deliver up the place to him; and this he did with the consent of the *Cor-
 cyreans*, who thought it the only means of getting a protection from the
 insults of the *Illyrians*.

By the advice and assistance of the same *Demetrius*, the *Romans* (after
Posthumius had landed his forces) made themselves masters of *Apollonia*
 (a great city, and one of the keys of *Illyricum* on the side of *Macedon*) and
 of many other places; of which, to reward his services, they appointed
 him governor. *Teuta* was quickly constrained by *Posthumius*'s army to
 retire for safety to the inner part of *Illyricum*; while *Fulvius*, with his
 naval forces, cleared the sea of her pirates.

Y. R. 525. Upon the election of *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Verrucosus*, to the
 Bef. Chr. Consulate, *Fulvius* was recalled from *Illyricum* with the greater part
 227. of the fleet, and of the land-forces; and *Posthumius* received orders to
 222 Conf. stay there with the remainder, in quality of Pro-consul. *Teuta*, who
 perhaps had built some hopes on a change of the *Roman* magistrates,
 finding that *Posthumius* not only wintered in *Illyricum*, but was raising
 fresh troops to pursue the war, sent, early in the spring, from *Rhizon*,
 (whither she had retired) an embassy to *Rome* to divert the storm. The
 Polyb. B. 2. Senate granted her a peace on these conditions. That she should pay an
 C. 12. annual tribute to the *Romans*. Surrender to them all *Illyricum*, a few
 in Illyr. places excepted. (*Appian* mentions *Corcyra*, *Pharos*, *Issa*, *Epidamnum*
 (or *Dyrrhachium*) and the country of the *Atintanes* as yielded to the *Ro-
 mans*.)

mans.) And (which principally concerned the Greeks) *that not more than two of her ships, and these unarmed, should be permitted to sail beyond Lissos, a sea-port on the confines of Illyricum and Macedon.* Thus ended the first *Illyrian* war, which had not lasted quite two years. As for *Teuta*, whether out of shame, or compelled to it by a secret article of the treaty, she abdicated the Regency, and *Demetrius* took her place.

Y. R. 526.
Bef. Chr.
227.
224 Conf.

Posthumius, after this, sent ambassadors to the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*, to lay before them the reasons for which the *Romans* had undertaken the war, what had been the events of it, and upon what terms a peace had been concluded. The ambassadors, having performed their commission, returned to *Corcyra*, much pleased with the courteous reception they had met with from those states. In reality, the treaty was of great benefit to the *Greeks*, and delivered them from vexations and perpetual fears: for all *Greece* had been plagued and infested with the *Illyrian* piracies.

Polybius remarks, that this was the first time that any *Roman* troops cross the sea into *Illyricum*; and the first time that there was any intercourse by ambassadors between the *Greeks* and the *Romans*. The latter, about the same time, sent ambassadors to *Corinth* and to *Athens*. They were honourably received. The *Corinthians*, by a public act, decreed that the *Romans* should be admitted to the celebration of the *Isthmian* games. And *Zonaras* tells us, that the *Athenians* declared the *Romans* *Citizens of Athens*, and decreed them the privilege of being admitted to the mysteries of *Eleusis*; that is, of the festival of *Ceres* celebrated at *Eleusis*, a city of *Attica*.

Polyb. B. 2.
C. 12.
Zon. B. 2.

C H A P. XIV.

The Romans vanquish the Gauls on both sides the Po.

BEFORE the *Illyrian* war was well ended, the *Italic Gauls* on both sides the *Po* began to be in motion. Nevertheless it does not appear, that *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, the Consuls for the new year, took the field against them, or performed any military exploit^a.

Y. R. 526.
Bef. Chr.
226.
225 Conf.

The *Romans* had the extremest dread of those enemies, who had formerly reduced their state to the very brink of total destruction. There was a prophecy, at this time current at *Rome*, *That the Gauls and Greeks should one day be in possession of it.* This prophecy is said to have been found in

^a Some authors say, that the first establishment of two *Provincial Prætors*, one for the government of *Sicily*, and one for that of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, was in this Consulate, and not at the time before mentioned. Be that as it will, it was in this year, that, at the motion of two Tribunes, *Villius*, and

Titius, a law passed, empowering the *Roman* Prætors to appoint, as well in the provinces belonging to the Republic, as at *Rome*, guardians to those women and children who had none. This law was called *Villia-Titia*. *Catrou.*

Pomp. de
Orig. Juris.
Justinian.
Inst. B. 1.
Ulpian.
c. 11. de
tutelis.

V. R. 327.
Euf. C. 17.
226.
226 C. 17.

Zon. B. 3.
Oros. 4.
B. 4. c. 13.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 24.

the *Sylline* books. The completion of it seemed now to approach, when the states of the Republic were bounded on one side by the *Greeks*, and on the other by the *Gauls*. The succeeding Consuls therefore, *M. Valerius Maximus*, and *L. Apustius Fulvius*, consulted with the *Pontifices*, how to quiet the apprehensions of the people; and immediately an edict was published by the *Decemvirs*, who had the care of the *Sylline* books, commanding that two *Greeks*, a man and a woman, and two *Gauls*, a man and a woman, should be buried alive in the Ox-Market; and by this they persuaded the people, that the prophecy was fulfilled, and that the *Gauls* and *Greeks* had taken possession of *Rome*.

The difficulties raised by superstition being thus surmounted, the *Romans* applied themselves to create divisions among the *Gauls*, and to levy a prodigious force; which (according to *Polybius*^b) amounted to near
700,000

	Foot.	Horse.
^b The numbers found upon the muster, as recorded by <i>Polybius</i> , are as follow. With the Consuls marched four legions of <i>Romans</i> , each legion consisting of 5,200 foot, and 300 horse.	20,800	1,200
They had also with them, of the allies,	30,000	2,000
Of the <i>Sabines</i> and <i>Hetrurians</i> were sent, under the command of a Prætor, to the frontiers of <i>Hetruria</i> ,	50,000	4,000
Of the <i>Umbrians</i> and <i>Sarcinates</i> (from the <i>Appennines</i>) 20,000, and as many of the <i>Veneti</i> and <i>Cenomani</i> were appointed to invade the <i>Boii</i> , in order to oblige them to keep a part of their forces at home, for their own defence,	40,000	
At <i>Rome</i> were kept ready to march, (on any exigence) of the citizens,	20,000	1,500
These were strengthened by a body of the allies, amounting to	30,000	2,000
On the muster rolls sent to the Senate, from the allies were,		
Of the <i>Latins</i> ,	80,000	5,000
Of the <i>Samnites</i> ,	70,000	7,000
Of the <i>Iapyges</i> , and <i>Messapyges</i> ,	50,000	16,000
Of the people of <i>Lucania</i> ,	30,000	3,000
Of the <i>Marfi</i> , <i>Marrucini</i> , <i>Ferentini</i> , and <i>Vestini</i> ,	20,000	4,000
The <i>Romans</i> had also in <i>Sicily</i> and <i>Tarentum</i> two legions, consisting each of 4,200 foot and 200 horse,	8,400	400
Beside all these, of the common people, in <i>Rome</i> and in <i>Campania</i> , were mustered, as fit to bear arms,	250,000	23,000
	699,200	69,100

Polybius, on occasion of this muster, expresses his admiration of the hardy enterprise of *Hannibal*, to attack an empire of such prodigious strength with an army of scarcely 20,000 men.

But Sir *Walter Raleigh* observes, that this muster seems to have been like to that which *Ludovic Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the XIIth invaded *Milan*; at which time, the better to encourage himself and his subjects, he took a roll of all persons able

to bear arms within the Dutchy, though indeed he was never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certain it is, (adds our historian) that the battles of *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not consume any such proportion as was answerable to this large account. Yet were the *Romans* fain to arm their slaves, even for want of other soldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified

700,000 foot, and near 70,000 horse, so great was the terror which the threatened invasion from these Barbarians spread over all *Italy*. The *Gauls* nevertheless, with only fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, began the hostilities, entered *Hebruria*, pillaging and laying waste the country without opposition.

The Republic had promoted *L. Æmilius Papus*, and *C. Attilius Regulus*, to the Consulship. The latter went into *Sardinia*, to quiet some commotion there; while *Æmilius* took upon him the conduct of the war with the *Insubrian* and *Boian Gauls*, joined by a numerous army, from the other side of the *Alps*, of the *Gæsatæ* so^c called (says *Polybius*) because they served for pay, the word having that signification. They were commanded by two kings, *Concolitanus*, and *Aneroestus*.

Æmilius being uncertain what rout the *Gæsatæ* would take after they had passed the *Alps*, had led his troops to *Ariminum*, to hinder the enemy from entering upon the *Roman* lands by the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea. At the same time a Prætor, with a body of 50,000 foot, and 4000 horse, had been ordered into *Hebruria*, to defend the frontiers of that country. But in his march he missed of the enemy; who were advanced to the neighbourhood of *Clusum* (within three days march of *Rome*) when they heard that a *Roman* army was behind them, and would soon be at their heels. They immediately turned back to meet the Prætor and give him battle. It being about the close of day, when the two armies came in sight of each other, they both encamped. But in the night, the leaders of the *Gauls*, having meditated a stratagem, marched away with their infantry towards *Fæsula*^a, leaving only their cavalry to appear in the field, when day should return. In the morning, the Prætor seeing nothing but horse to oppose him, sallied out of his entrenchments and attacked them. The *Gallic* cavalry, according to their instructions, instantly gave ground, and took the road to *Fæsula*. Their flight drew the *Romans*

terrified with the report of such a multitude: For, all heads are not fit for helmets; though the *Roman* citizens were, in general, as good fighting men as elsewhere might be found.

Another reason may be also assigned why *Hannibal* should not be much frightened at these muster rolls, even supposing the far greater part of the men, there registered, to be fit to bear arms. *Polybius* tells us, that the people of *Italy*, terrified at the approach of the *Gauls*, did not consider themselves now as being to fight only as allies of *Rome*, and for the preservation of her empire, but for their own proper safety, their families, their fortunes, all that was dear to them; and that it was for this reason they so readily executed the orders that were sent to them from the Senate. The contest with the

Gauls was looked upon as the common cause of all *Italy*.

But when *Hannibal* passed the *Alps*, the case was widely different; for we may well conclude from the neutrality and cold behaviour generally observed by the allies of *Rome*, on that occasion, that they looked upon this war as regarding her only, and in which they themselves had little concern.

^c According to the *Jesuits*, the *Gæsatæ* were not a particular people of *Transalpine Gaul*, but probably *Germans* dispersed through all the *Gallic* nations, whose profession was arms, and who hired themselves to whoever would employ them in war. They had their name from a weapon they bore, called *Gæsum*.

^a A city of *Hebruria*, at the foot of the *Apennines*.

Polyb. B. 2. c. 25.

Y. R. 528. Def. Chr. 224. 227 Conf.

B. 2. c. 22.

B. 2. c. 26.

c. 25.

Y. R. 525.
B.C. Chr.
227.
227. Con.

after them, never suspecting that they should find the enemy's infantry in their way. The latter on a sudden appeared and fell vigorously upon the Prætor's troops already fatigued with the pursuit. 6000 of his men were killed upon the spot; the rest in disorder fled to a neighbouring hill, where they entrenched themselves. The first thought of the *Gaulic* Generals was to force the enemy immediately in this post; but considering afterwards that their own troops were wearied with the former night's march, they thought it best to give them some repose, and defer the attack till the next day.

P. L. B. 2.
c. 24. 10
c. 31.

In this distress of the Prætor's army, the Consul *Æmilius* came seasonably to their relief. Being informed of the approach of the *Gætæ* towards *Rome*, he had instantly quitted his camp at *Ariminum*, and had marched with expedition to the defence of his country. He was now encamped within a small distance from the enemy; and the Prætor's troops seeing the fires in his camp, and conjecturing the truth, took courage. The *Gauls*, perceiving the same fires, were greatly alarmed at the Consul's unexpected arrival; and being unwilling to hazard by a battle the loss of the rich booty they had got, they, by the advice of their King *Mercobus*, decamped in the night, purposing to march home through *Lybria*; and when they had secured their booty, to return to the war. In their march they kept along the shore of the *Ætrurian* sea. *Æmilius*, though his army was now strengthened by the remains of the Prætor's troops, did not think it adviseable to hazard a pitched battle; but chose rather to follow the enemy close, and watch his opportunity to harass them in their retreat, and, if possible, to recover some part of the spoils they were carrying off. It luckily happened, that his colleague *Attilius*, having put a speedy end to the troubles in *Sardinia*, had, in his return home, landed with his army at *Pisa*, and was now marching along the coast of the *Ætrurian* sea towards *Rome*: he was overjoyed when, near *Talemon*, a little port of *Ætruria*, he learned, by his scouts, the situation of things. And, in order to intercept the *Gauls*, he immediately drew up his infantry, making as wide a front as he could; and then commanded them to advance slowly to meet the enemy. He himself hastened with his cavalry to the top of a hill, by the foot of which the enemy must necessarily pass. His ambition was to have the chief glory of the success; and he persuaded himself, that by being the first to begin the battle, he should obtain that advantage.

The *Gauls* imagined at first that this body of *Roman* horse was only a detachment from *Æmilius*'s army, and therefore ordered their cavalry to advance and drive them from their post. As for *Æmilius*, as soon as he perceived fighting at a distance, he concluded it was his colleague *Attilius*, attacking the enemy in front, for he had been informed of his landing at *Pisa*. He immediately detached all his horse to fetch a compass and join those of *Attilius*. Upon the arrival of so powerful a reinforcement the *Romans* renewed the attack with more briskness than ever.

ever. *Attilius* fighting with the utmost intrepidity was killed in the engagement. A *Gaul* cut off his head, and sticking it on the top of a lance, carried it through all the files of the *Gallic* troops. However the death of this brave man proved no advantage to them. One of his lieutenants took his place, and the action was continued as before. The *Romans* in the end had the victory, and kept possession of their post.

Y. R. 523.
E. C. 1.
274.
227 Cont.

During the conflict between the cavalry, on both sides, the *Gallic* Generals had time to form their infantry. Having two consular armies to deal with, one in their front, the other in their rear, they divided their battallions pretty equally, one half of them turning their backs to the other half; and to avoid being attacked in flank, they placed all their waggons and other carriages on the wings. Their plunder they had carried to a neighbouring hill, where they left it under a good guard.

The *Gesatae* who made the first line of the troops that faced *Æmilius*, confiding in their gigantic stature and strength, and observing that the plain where they were drawn up was full of bushes and briars, to avoid being incommoded in the battle by the thorns catching in their clothes, stripped themselves naked, keeping only their arms. But this vain confidence proved their destruction. For having only small bucklers, which were not sufficient to ward their huge bodies from the darts that were unexpectedly showered upon them by the *Romans* at a distance, they presently fell into discouragement and perplexity. Some transported with rage and despair threw themselves madly upon the enemy, where they found certain death; others, pale, discomfited and trembling, drew back in disorder, breaking the ranks that were behind them. And thus were quelled at the very first attack the pride and ferocity of the *Gesatae*.

And now the *Roman* dartmen retiring within the intervals of the army, the cohorts advanced to encounter the *Insubrians*, *Boians*, and *Tauriscans*, who fought with great resolution; for though they were hard pressed, and covered with wounds, they sustained the shock and kept their post, and may be truly said to have been inferior to the *Romans* only in their arms. Their shields were not so large as those of the *Romans*, and their swords were made only for cutting. Nevertheless they maintained the fight till the *Roman* cavalry, who had been victorious on the eminence, driving at once full speed upon them, put an end to the struggle. The defeat was general; 40,000 of the *Gauls* remained dead upon the field of battle, and 10,000 were made prisoners, together with *Concolitanus*, one of their kings. The rest escaped by flight, but *Aneroestus* their other king, the bravest soldier, and most experienced commander of all the *Gauls*, cut his throat afterwards in rage and despair. *Æmilius* after this victory marched his army into the country of the *Boian Gauls*, enriched his soldiers with booty, and then returned to *Rome*, where he had a magnificent triumph.

Diod. Sic.
B. 25. in
Eclog.

The

Y. R. 529.
P. 100.
223
P. 100.
B. 2.
The fear of the *Gaulic* war was over, but the desire of revenge remained; and the next year's Consuls therefore, *T. Manius Tergentius*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, had *Gaul* assigned them for their province. But these great men did not succeed, to the expectation of the *Romans*, nor pass the *Po*, as it was hoped they would. Their marches were retarded by violent rains, and a plague infected their army, which latter calamity not suffering them to return to *Rome* at the usual time, the famous *Cæcilius Metellus* was created *Dictator*, to hold the *Comitia* in their absence, for the new elections.

Y. R. 530.
P. 100.
223
P. 100.
B. 2.
C. *Flaminius Nepos*, and *P. Furius Philo*, being chosen *Consuls*, put the design of their predecessors in execution, and notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the *Gauls*, passed the *Po*, and entered *Insubria*; but having suffered much both in their passage, and afterwards, and finding they could perform nothing of moment, they made a truce with this people, and retired into the territory of their friends the *Cænomani*. There they continued a while augmenting their army with auxiliaries; and then renewed their incursions on the *Insubrian* plains at the foot of the *Alps*. Hereupon the princes of this nation, perceiving the fixed determination of the *Romans* to subdue them, resolved to put all to the hazard of a battle; and having collected all their strength, which amounted to 50,000 men, marched against the enemy, and encamped within sight of them.

Z. 10. B. 5.
P. 100.
223
B. 2.
It happened a little before this that the *Romans* were much frightened by various prodigies in the heavens, in the waters, and upon the earth. In *Ettruria* extraordinary lights appeared in the air. At *Ariminum* three moons were seen at the same time. A river of *Picenum* rolled waters as red as blood. The *Italians* felt the violent earthquake that overturned the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*. At *Rome* a vulture lighted in the middle of the *Forum*, and staid there a considerable time. The *Augurs* being consulted upon these prodigies declared that there must have been some defect in the ceremonial at the election of the *Consuls*: upon which, a courier was immediately dispatched from the Senate, with letters commanding them to return to *Rome*. But when these letters arrived, the *Consuls* being on the banks of the river *Addua*, were in sight of the powerful army of the *Insubrians*; and *Flaminius* either guessing at the substance of the letters, or having been informed of it by his friends, prevailed with his colleague not to open the packet till after the battle.

Y. R. 531.
P. 100.
223
B. 2.
The *Romans*, being sensible that the enemy exceeded them in numbers, had intended to use the aid of those *Gauls* with whom they had reinforced their army. But now, remembering the faithlessness of these people, who were to be employed against troops of the same nation, they could not resolve to trust them in the present important conjuncture. At the same time it was by no means proper to express a diffidence of them, in such a manner as should give them occasion to quarrel. *Flaminius*, to free himself from this perplexity, made his *Gauls* pass to the other side

side of the river on a bridge of boats; and then, by causing the boats to be hawled to his own side, put it out of the power of those suspected troops to do him any harm during the action. By this means also his own army was left without any hopes but in victory; for the river which they had at their backs was unfordable. Thus far the conduct of *Flaminius* appears commendable: but he was guilty of a great oversight in drawing up his army too near the brink of the river; for he left so little space between that and his rear, that had the *Romans* been ever so little pressed during the engagement, they had no whither to retire but into the water. However this defect of the Consul's management was supplied by the bravery and skill of his soldiers, instructed by their Tribunes. These officers had observed in former conflicts, that the *Gauls* were not formidable but in the ardour of their first attack, and that their swords were of such a fashion and temper as, after two or three good cuts, to stand bent in their hands, and so become useless to them if they had not time to streighten them on the ground with their foot. The Tribunes therefore furnished the first line of the *Roman* troops with the arms of the triarii, or third line; that is to say, with long javelins, like our halberts, and ordered the soldiers, first to make use of these, and then to draw their swords. These precautions had the desired success. The swords of the *Gauls* by the first strokes on the *Roman* javelins became blunted, bent, and useless; and then the *Romans* closing in with them, stabbed them in the face and breast with their pointed swords, making a terrible slaughter. Nine thousand of the enemy were killed, and seventeen thousand taken prisoners.

V. R. 530.
Bef. Chr.
222.
229 Conf.

After the action the Consuls opened the packet. *Furius* was for immediately obeying the order; *Flaminius* insisted on pursuing the war: *The victory*, he said, *was a sufficient proof that there had been no defect in the auguries, and that the letters of revocation were wholly from the envy of the senate; that he would finish his enterprize, and would teach the people not to be deceived by THE OBSERVATION OF BIRDS, or any thing else.* Pursuant to this resolution he attacked and took several castles, and one considerable town, with the spoils of which he enriched his soldiers, to prepare them for his defence in that quarrel which he knew would arise between him and the Senate. His colleague would not accompany him in these expeditions, but continued encamped, waiting to join him when he should return from his incursion.

Omf. B. 4.
c. 13.

Zon. B. 8.

When the two colleagues came back to *Rome* with their armies, the people as well as the Senate at first showed their resentment, by a very cold reception; but the troops of *Flaminius*, whom he had enriched, found means to prevail with the former to grant both the Consuls the honours of the triumph. The Senate, however, obliged these magistrates afterwards to depose themselves; such a respect, says *Plutarch*, had the *Romans* for religion, making all their affairs depend on the sole

Life of
Marcellus.

will of the Gods, and never suffering, even in their greatest prosperities, the least contempt or neglect of the antient oracles, or of the usages of their country; being fully persuaded, that what most contributed to the welfare of their state was not the success of their arms, but their steady submission to the Gods.

Y. R. 531.
Bell. C. 2.
231
231 C. 2.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 34.

The *Comitia* being held by an interrex, *M. Claudius Marcellus* (of a *Plæbeian* branch of the *Claudian* family) who became afterwards so famous, was raised to the *Consulate*, with *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. They were scarce entered upon their office when a deputation came to *Rome* from the *Insubrians*, to implore a peace; but the Senate, at the instigation of the new *Consuls*, who represented those *Gauls* as an untractable people, on whom there could be no dependance, dismissed their deputies with a refusal. Upon this they resolved to bring into *Italy* a fresh inundation of *Gælatæ*, who were always ready to fight for hire. Thirty thousand of these mercenaries crossed the *Alps* under the command of their king, *Viridomarus*.

Plut. life of
Marcellus

Early in the spring the *Consuls* passed the *Po*, and laid siege to *Acerræ*, a place near that river, and in the neighbourhood of *Cremona*. The *Gauls* were now ninety thousand strong, yet they thought it more advisable to oblige the *Romans* to raise the siege of that frontier town, by making a useful diversion, than to hazard a battle. *Viridomarus* therefore with ten thousand men passed the *Po*, entered the *Roman* territories, and advanced towards *Clastidium* in *Liguria*. Upon the news of this motion of the *Gauls*, *Marcellus* followed by only two-thirds of the *Roman* cavalry, and about six hundred of the light-armed infantry, left his camp and came up with the enemy near the place before named. He drew up his little army all in one line, giving it as much extent as he could. The *Gauls* seeing the infantry of the *Romans* so inconsiderable, and always despising their cavalry, had no doubt of the victory. But when the two armies were just ready to join battle, *Viridomarus* advancing before his troops, desired the *Roman* general to single combat. *Marcellus* joyfully accepted the challenge (for single combat was his talent) rushed upon his enemy, killed him and stripped him of his armour: and then the *Gælatæ* were so disheartened that the victor, with his handful of *Romans*, put them intirely to flight.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 34.

Entrep. B.
3. c. 6.

Zon. B. 3.

Vide Pigh.
ad Ann.
531.

During the absence of *Marcellus*, his colleague had taken *Acerræ*, and laid siege to *Milan* (or *Mediolanum*) the chief city of *Insubria*, but was himself besieged by the *Gauls*, while he lay before the town. The return of the victorious *Consul* changed the scene; the *Gælatæ* quite discouraged broke up their camp, fled, and repassed the *Alps*; and *Milan* immediately surrendered at discretion. *Como* was reduced to the same necessity; and, in short, the whole nation of the *Insubrians* submitted to receive law from the republic. *Insubria* and *Liguria* were now made one province, and called *Cisalpine Gaul*: and thus did all *Italy* become subject to *Rome*, from the *Alps* to the *Ionian* sea.

The

The Senate decreed *Marcellus* a triumph, and it was said in the decree to be, *for having conquered the Insubrians and Germans*, which makes it probable that the *Gæsatae* were originally *German*. The *Consul*, in his triumphal procession, carried on his shoulders a trophy of the spoils of *Viridomorus*; and this was the third and last triumph in which any *opima spolia* were seen at *Rome*. As for *Cornelius Marcellus's* colleague, he was continued in the new province as *Pro-Consul*, to regulate the affairs of it; and the same *Comitia* which allotted him that post, chose *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio Asina*, to be the *Consuls* for the new year. The conquest of *Istria*, on the borders of the *Adriatic*, was the only military exploit during their magistracy.

Plut. life
of Marcell.

Fast. Cap.

See vol. i.
B. i. c. 2.
§. xii. & B.
2. c. 33.
§. 1.

Y. R. 532.
Bef. Chr.
220.
231 Conf.

Eutrop.
B. 3. c. 7.

C H A P. XV.

The second Illyrian war.

ABOUT this time *Demetrius of Pharos*, whom the *Roman* republic had placed in the government of *Illyricum*, and guardianship of the young king *Pinaxus*, seeing the *Romans* engaged in a troublesome war with the *Gauls*, and that *Carthage* wanted only a fair opportunity to break with them, had despised their orders, forced the *Atintanes* to renounce their alliance with the republic, and sent fifty ships of war beyond *Lyffos* to pillage the Islands, called *Cyclades*, in the *Archipelago*.

The new *Consuls*, *L. Veturius Philo*, and *C. Lutatius*, would have sailed for *Illyricum*, if they had not been forced to depose themselves upon some defect found in the ceremony of their election. They were succeeded by *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *M. Valerius Levinus*; but the season was now too far advanced to begin the expedition, so that it was postponed to the next *Consulship*. [By a *Census* taken this year, the number of *Roman citizens* fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred seventy thousand, two hundred and thirteen. The *Census*, as usual, was followed by a *Lustrum*, the forty-third from its institution.]

BOTH the *Consuls* of the new year, *M. Livius Salinator*, and *L. Æmilius Paulus*, embarked for *Illyricum*. *Demetrius* had assisted *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, (while a minor under the tuition of his uncle, *Antigonus Dofon*) in his wars with the *Lacedæmonians*, and had thereby secured himself a retreat with that prince, in case of a disaster. He had also fortified *Dimalum*, a city of importance in *Illyricum*; and having assembled the choicest of his troops in the Island of *Pharos*, his own country, held his court there. Early in the spring *Æmilius* sat down before *Dimalum*, and by surprising efforts took it in seven days; upon which all the old allies of *Rome*, who had been compelled to submit to the tyrant, returned joyfully to their former engagements. The next attempt was upon *Pharos*, the last refuge of the traitor. As the en-

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 16.

App. Illyr.
Dio. in E-
clog. 9. ap.
Valef.

Y. R. 533.
Bef. Chr.
219.
232 Conf.

Vit. Pigh.
ad Ann.
533.
Liv. Epit.
20.

Y. R. 534.
Bef. Chr.
218.
233d Conf.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 16. c. 18,
19.

Y. R. 534.
Bef. Chr.
218.
2559 Conf.

terprize was difficult, *Æmilius* thought it necessary to join artifice to valour. The *Roman* fleet had two *Consular* armies on board it; one of them was ordered to land in the Island, in the night, and hide itself in forests, and behind rocks. This done, a detachment of the fleet appeared off *Pharos*, in open day, as it were with design to land some forces there. *Demetrius* drew his army out of the town, to the sea-shore, to hinder the descent; which when the *Legionaries*, that were already landed, perceived, they left their ambush, and marching silently seized an eminence between the city and the port. It was of the last consequence to *Demetrius* to drive the *Romans* from this post, and therefore having encouraged his men he led them strait to the attack.

Pol. B. 4.
c. 66.

This gave the *Consuls* on board the fleet an opportunity to make their descent, and then the *Illyrians* finding themselves invested on all sides presently took to flight. As for the regent he made his escape to *Macedon* in a bark kept ready for that purpose.

B. 3. c. 19.

The defeat of the *Illyrian* army was followed by the taking of *Pharos*, which the *Romans* first plundered and then levelled with the ground. Thus *Rome* became a second time mistress of *Illyricum*. However, she did not reduce it to the state of a *Roman* province, having some compassion for the young king, who had been embarked in these affairs merely by the fault of his guardians.

App. in
Illyr.

Auth. of
the lives of
illust. men.
c. 50.

The *Consuls* returned to *Rome* and obtained a triumph for their victories. Their conduct, nevertheless, had not been, in all respects, pleasing to the people, as appeared after the expiration of their magistracy*. *Livius* and *Æmilius* were then accused before the *Tribes* of having applied a great part of the spoils taken from the enemy to their own use, and of having distributed the rest of the booty partially among the soldiers. *Æmilius* upon his trial was acquitted, but *Livius* was condemned by all the *Tribes*, except the *Mæcian*, an affront which he resented to excess, as we shall see hereafter when he comes to be *Censor*.

Front.
Strat. B. 4.
c. 1. § 45.
Liv. B. 29.
c. 37.

Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 3.
§ 3.

In this Consulship the Senate observing, that the great concourse of strangers from *Egypt* and the *Levant* had introduced into the city the worship of *Isis* and *Osiris*, to whom several sanctuaries were already built, ordered these to be all demolished, agreeably to one of the *twelve Tables*, forbidding the worship of strange Gods. No workman, however, would venture the guilt of sacrilege by doing it, such credit had their worship gained among the people. The *Consul* *Æmilius* therefore, full of zeal for the religion and laws of his country, laid aside his *Consular* robe, took a hatchet and beat down those oratories to the ground.

Plin. B. 19.
c. 1.

* It was at this time *Archagathus* of *Pe-
loponnesus* introduced surgery into *Rome*. At
first he met with great applause, and a
shop was built for him at the public charge,
in a part of the city where four streets met:

But as his constant practice in the cure of
wounds was to make large incisions, which
are painful remedies, his art soon fell into
disrepute.

But

But the most important transaction of this year was the planting colonies at *Placentia* and *Cremona* in the *Gallic* territories; this being the chief motive which inclined the *Boians* and *Insubrians* to favour *Hannibal* in his attempt upon *Italy*, that memorable and surprizing event which is next to engage the reader's attention.

Y.R. 534.
Bef. Chr.
218.
233d Conf.
Liv. Epit.
B. 20. Liv.
B. 21.
C. 25.

C H A P. XVI.

The second *Punic* war, or the war of *Hannibal*.

Its causes and commencement.

TWENTY-TWO years were now past, since *Carthage*, bending to the superior fortune of *Rome*, had with shame and reluctance submitted to the hard conditions of that treaty, which put an end to the FIRST PUNIC WAR. To relinquish the fair Island of *Sicily* to an imperious rival was a sore and grievous article; and perhaps the payment of those large sums, that were further exacted for the peace, was a yet more sensible mortification to a republic of avaritious merchants: But necessity compelled; nor could even the courage and abilities of the incomparable *Amilcar* furnish any remedy, in the then distressful situation of affairs. For after the defeat of *Hanno* at the *Ægates*, which made the *Romans* masters of the sea, neither the army of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, nor the garrisons of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum* could receive any supply of provisions or military stores. *Sicily* therefore was unavoidably lost: The army might be preserved; but the only visible way to preserve it was by a peace with the enemy. *Amilcar's* immediate object in the treaty was this preservation of the troops. Yet even this neither he nor they would consent to purchase at the expence of their honour as soldiers. They chose rather to perish than to give up their arms. As for the annual sums which the Consul *Lutatius* demanded from *Carthage*, *Amilcar*, on the part of his republic, readily yielded to that imposition. Nor did he much hesitate in complying with the further demands of money, which the ten commissioners from *Rome* insisted upon, before they would ratify the peace. What rendered him so tractable on this head, was doubtless (beside the danger of his army) the resolution he had secretly formed, that no more of the stipulated tribute should be paid, than was required to be paid at the time of the ratification. For as we learn from *Polybius*, he was determined to renew the war against *Rome* as soon as it should be possible to do it. Whatever fears some of the citizens of *Carthage* might have of the war's being transferred from *Sicily* to their own gates, if a peace were not concluded, it is evident that *Amilcar*, with that army of hardy veterans he then commanded, feared no enemy but famine; and could

Y. of R.
534.

See p. 62.

B. 3. c. 9.

Y. R. 114.
P. 1. C. 1.
2. 1. 1.
2. 1. 1. C. 1.

Polyb. L.
3. 1. 1.

could he have found means to transport those troops safely into *Africa*, without a peace, he would have entered into no treaty with the *Romans*.

The indignation of *Amilcar*, when he was thus constrained to leave *Egy* and abandon *Sicily*, is assigned by *Polybius* for the first cause of that memorable war which we are going to enter upon: For though this implacable enemy of the *Romans* did not live to attempt that vengeance, which to his last breath he was ever meditating, we shall presently see, that his spirit of revenge was not extinguished by his death.

P. 1. 1. 1.

P. 1. 1. 1.
3. 1. 1.

The dreadful and destructive conflict at home, to which on his return thither from *Sicily* he was obliged to give all his attention during more than three years, unavoidably suspended the execution of his purpose against *Rome*. And when that domestic disturbance was happily quelled, the treasury and strength of *Carthage* were too much exhausted to furnish what was necessary to support her in so arduous an enterprize. The *Romans* sensible of her weakness took advantage of it (as we have seen) to extort from her not only the cession of *Sardinia*, but the sum of 1200 talents; a fine shamelessly demanded for the reparation of an injury they had not received. And this odious extortion is held to be the second and the principal cause of that war which followed it at almost 20 years distance. For so barefaced an injustice, so insulting a procedure, as it furnished *Carthage* with a just ground to attack the *Romans* whenever she should be in a condition to do it, so it also brought all the *Carthaginians* in general to concur with their brave captain in his resentment and designs; it being now sufficiently manifest that they must either resolve to become obedient subjects of *Rome*, or take some effectual measures to render themselves the more potent republic.

With this view *Amilcar*, soon after the re-establishment of tranquillity at home by the suppression of the mercenaries and rebels, had a new army committed to him, to be employed in extending the *Carthaginian* empire in *Spain*; a country that both abounded with riches and was able to supply the republic with a sufficient number of brave troops, to make head against those multitudes of soldiers with which *Italy* furnished the *Romans*.

C. 1. 1.

How deeply *Amilcar's* hatred to *Rome* had rooted itself in his heart, and that revenge was his chief aim in this expedition, we have a singular and incontestible proof, in what he did just before his departure from *Africa*. His son *Hannibal*, at that time about nine years old, was with him, when he performed a sacrifice to *Jupiter* for the success of his intended voyage. The rites being all ended, and *Amilcar* having ordered the rest of the assistants to withdraw, he called his son to him, and tenderly caressing the boy, asked him, whether he were willing to accompany him into *Spain*? The boy not only most readily declared his consent, but with all the blandishments and eager vivacity peculiar to children, begged of his father, that he would permit him to go. *Amilcar* then taking him by the hand led him to the altar, made him lay his hand upon

upon it, touch the sacrifice, and swear, *that he would never be in friendship with the Romans.*

THE CARTHAGINIAN passed the Straights of *Hercules*, and landed with his army on the western coast of *Spain*. Nine years he conducted the war in this country with uninterrupted success, reducing ^b many nations to the obedience of his republic: but at length, in a battle which he fought with the *Vettones*, a people of *Lusitania*, (defending himself a long time with admirable resolution) he was encompassed and slain: carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and reputation, which by many signal victories he had acquired, together with the name of a *second Mars*.

This happened about the time when the *Romans* made their first expedition against the *Illyrians*.

Upon the death of *Amilcar* the command of the army was given to his son-in-law *Asdrubal*, at that time admiral of the galleys. He was no bad soldier, and a very able statesman; by his wisdom and gentle manners attracting the good-will of many princes of that country, and gaining more subjects to *Carthage* by his wonderful address in negotiation, than his predecessor had done by the sword. He also built new *Carthage*, (the present *Cartagena*) a town commodiously situated to be a magazine of arms, and to receive succours from *Africa*.

ROME began now to be alarmed. Her jealousy of *Carthage* had been asleep during *Amilcar's* remote conquests in *Spain*: but the formidable growth of her rival's power under the management of *Asdrubal* awakened it. She did not dare, however, to exact any thing of the *Carthaginians* very grievous, or to commence hostilities against them, being at this time in extreme dread of the *Gauls*, who threatened her with an invasion. Ambassadors were therefore sent to ^c *Asdrubal*, to draw him by fair words into a treaty, wherein he should covenant, *that the Carthaginians would confine their arms within the Iberus*. No mention was made of any other part of *Spain* in this treaty.

As the *Spanish* affairs had no relation to the peace between the two states, this demand was unreasonable; and the *Romans* seem to have

^b According to *Zenaras*, in the Consulate of *Q. Fabius* and *M. Pomponius*, [in the 520 of *Rome*, when *Amilcar* had been about five years in *Spain*] the *Romans* believing that the wars they had to sustain against the *Ligurians* and *Sardinians*, were owing to the secret practices of the *Carthaginians*, sent to these some ambassadors, who demanded of them in harsh terms, certain sums of money due by treaty, and that they should forbear touching at any of the Islands in the *Roman* jurisdiction: and to gain the readier compliance to these demands, the ambassadors presented a ca-

duceus and a javelin, the one a symbol of peace, the other of war, bidding the Senate take their choice. The *Carthaginians*, nothing terrified at this menace, answered, *that they would chuse neither, but would readily accept whichever they should think fit to leave them.*

If this story [which does not seem probable] be true, the boldness of the *Carthaginians* proceeded doubtless from the great success of *Amilcar* in *Spain*.

^c According to *Appian* the treaty was made at *Carthage*, but the sequel proves this to be false.

Y. R. 534.
Bef. Chr.

218.
233d Conf.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 1.

Portugal,

Liv. B. 21.
c. 10.

See p. 90.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 13.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 2.

See p. 91.
Polyb. B. 2.
c. 13.

V. R. 554.
Bef. Chr.
= 18.
233d Conf.

sought by it a *pretext of quarrel*, when by freeing themselves from the *Gauls*, they should be in a condition to begin a new war with *Carthage*. For should *Asdrubal* refuse to engage, or engaging not perform, they would in either case be furnished with such a pretext, though perhaps in neither would the pretext be just ^a.

Asdrubal was full of the same spirit as *Amilcar*, and had the same designs ever at heart. However he made no difficulty to comply with the motion of the ambassadors, having much to do, before he could pass that boundary which the *Romans* were for fixing to his conquests.

Sir W. R. By this treaty, *Rome* acquired some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the *African* republic, which sought to be mistress over them, stood herself in fear of a more potent state, they began to turn their eyes hither for protection; and the *Saguntines*, whose city was on the south-side of the *Iberus*, entered into a confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly received.

Polih. B. 2.
c. 36.

WHEN *Asdrubal* had governed in *Spain* for the space of eight years, he was treacherously murdered ^a by a certain *Gaul* whom he had provoked by some injury. The *Carthaginians*, upon receipt of this news, suspended the nomination of a new commander, till they could learn the inclinations of the army; and they no sooner understood that the soldiers had unanimously made choice of *Hannibal* for their leader, than they called an assembly, and with one voice ratified the election.

222 B. 3.
c. 33.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 3.

Hannibal

^a This will be explained when we come to the proper place for it.

^b *Livy* and *Appian* say, that *Asdrubal* was killed in revenge by a slave, whose master he had put to death.

^c It is surprising that the judicious Mr. *Rollin* (in his *Hist. Anc.* 380,) should follow *Livy*, in relating an idle story full of absurdity, and which he afterwards (following again the same author) manifestly contradicts.

The *Latin* Historian reports, “ that *Asdrubal* [about three years before his death] wrote to *Carthage* to have *Hannibal*, who was then *hardly at the age of puberty*, sent to him, that the young man might be trained up to war, so as one day to imitate his father’s prowess. He adds, that *Hanno* and others opposed this motion in the Senate, imputing to *Asdrubal* dishonest intentions with regard to the lad; but that it was carried by a majority. That *Hannibal* arriving in *Spain*, drew all eyes upon him; and that the old soldiers observed in his person and manner, a wonderful resemblance to

“ his father, &c. That he served three years under *Asdrubal*, and was then declared general of the army.” Now is there the least probability, either that *Hannibal* should arrive at such a masterly knowledge in the art of war in three years service; or that the *Carthaginians* should trust the conduct of their army and their empire in *Spain* to a young man of so short experience? That *Livy* was very careless in delivering this tradition, appears sufficiently from the age he gives to *Hannibal*, at the time of his being sent into *Spain*, at *Asdrubal*’s request, *HUNC VIX DUM PUBEREM*, when he was scarce fourteen. By the historian’s own account *Hannibal* was nine when *Amilcar* went into *Spain*; *Amilcar* lived there nine years; and *Asdrubal* had commanded near five years, before he sent for the young man.

Mr *Rollin*, aware, I suppose, of this inconsistency, drops the *vix dum puberem*, and makes *Hannibal* to be twenty-two at the time of his going from *Carthage* to *Asdrubal*; and by this indeed he avoids the anachronism: but then he seems not to have been

Hannibal, soon after his confirmation in the command of the troops, undertook the reduction of the *Olcades*. The success was answerable to his desires. Having amassed much treasure by the sale of the booty taken in several towns, he marched to New *Carthage*, which he made his winter quarters; where liberally paying the soldiers who had served under him, and promising them farther gratifications, he both gained their affections, and inspired them with extraordinary hopes.

Y. R. 554.
Pct. Ch.
218.
253d C. n. l.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 13.

Early the next spring he led his army against the *Vaccæi*, and made a fortunate expedition: but in his return home, being attacked by the *Carpetani*, whom great numbers of the fugitive *Olcades* and *Vaccæi* (driven out of their own countries) had joined, he was reduced to very great straits. Could the enemy have compelled him to a pitched battle, he had inevitably been undone; but he, with great skill, making a slow retreat, till he had got the river *Tagus* between him and them, so judiciously disposed his horse and elephants, as entirely to defeat their endeavours to cross the river after him, which they attempted to their prodigious loss, by several fords at one and the same time. After which, passing the river himself, and pursuing his advantage, he, with terrible slaughter, routed this army of 100,000 *Barbarians*.

c. 14.

The *Vaccæi* being thus vanquished, there remained *no nation on that side the Iberus*, who durst think of opposing the *Carthaginians*, except the *Saguntines*. *Hannibal* had hitherto carefully forbore all hostility against this people, being ever mindful of his father's advice, which was, to avoid giving occasion to the *Romans* to declare war against *Carthage*, until such time as by the enlargement of her dominion and strength she was in a condition to cope with them. This time was now at hand; and the great success of the *Carthaginian* arms in *Spain*, under the conduct of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal*, and *Hannibal*, is therefore assigned by *Polybius* for the THIRD CAUSE of the SECOND PUNIC WAR.

B. 3. c. 10.

While *Hannibal* was meditating the first blow he intended to give, and was clearing the way for the attack, by the several enterprizes above-mentioned, the *Saguntines* dispatched frequent messengers to the *Romans*, partly out of apprehension of their own impending danger, and partly out of friendship to their allies, that they might be perfectly informed of the progress of the *Carthaginians*. Little attention was given, at *Rome*, to these advices, for a long time; but at last it was judged proper to send some ambassadors into *Spain*, to examine into the truth of the facts.

c. 15.

Hannibal having carried his conquests as far as he had proposed that year, returned to take up his winter-quarters in New *Carthage*, which

been aware that the whole story is overthrown by what *Hannibal* says in the Senate of *Carthage* at the end of the second

Punic war, That he had never before been at home since he was nine years old. See *Livy*, B. 30. and *Mr. Rollin*, Vol. I. p. 486.

was then become the seat of the *Carthaginian* government in *Spain*. There he found the *Roman* ambassadors; and, giving them audience, was by them admonished, upon no account to attempt any thing against the *Saguntines*, a people received into the protection of *Rome*; and also to leave the army, with *Asdrubal*, and to forbear passing the river *Iberus*.

Hannibal, young, full of martial fire, fortunate in his enterprizes, and mortally hating the *Romans*, answered with a careless and haughty air, pretending a friend to the *Saguntines*. That a sedition having formerly happened among the citizens of *Saguntum*, the *Romans*, to whose arbitration they referred the dispute, had unjustly condemned to death some of the magistrates; and that he would not suffer this injustice to go unpunished; for it had ever been the custom of the *Carthaginians* to undertake the cause of those who were wrongfully persecuted.

The ambassadors departing with this answer, failed to *Carthage* (pursuant to their instructions, in case of such a reception from *Hannibal*) there to expostulate upon the matter with the Senate; though they well saw, that a war was unavoidable. Little indeed did they imagine that *Italy* would be the theatre of it; but concluded that *Saguntum* and its territory would be the scene of action.

Hannibal at the same time sent to *Carthage* for instructions how to proceed with regard to the *Saguntines*, who, as he said, encouraged by their confederacy with *Rome*, committed many outrages against those who were in alliance with *Carthage*. According to *Livy*, these allies of *Carthage* were the *Turdetani*, between whom and the *Saguntines*, *Hannibal* had contrived to raise a quarrel, that he might have a pretence, in quality of friend to the former, to attack the latter.

What answer the *Roman* ambassadors received from the *Carthaginian* Senate is not recorded; but we may well gather from the sequel, that it was by no means satisfactory. The Senate of *Rome*, nevertheless, being in the same prepossession as their ambassadors, concerning the seat of the war, that it would be in a remote country; and considering also that the war when once begun would probably be carried to a great length, resolved, before they entered upon it, to give a period first to their affairs in *Illyricum*, and punish the perfidy of *Demetrius*; believing that they should be able to effect this, and yet have sufficient opportunity to defeat the designs of *Hannibal*.

But these proved vain deliberations; for *Hannibal* was too much in earnest. He marched with his army towards *Saguntum*, at the same time that the *Roman* Consuls embarked for *Illyricum*; and before the Consuls had finished their expedition, *Saguntum* was taken.

The *Carthaginian* used the more diligence in attacking this strong and wealthy city, for many weighty considerations. The reduction of *Saguntum* would probably deprive the *Romans* of all hope of making war in *Spain*: The nations, he had already conquered, terrified by this

new success of his arms, would be held in better obedience; and those who were yet unconquered would stand in greater awe of his power. And, what was still of greater importance, he should be able to pursue his enterprizes with more security when he had no enemy at his back. He farther considered, that this town, should he take it, would yield him large supplies of treasure for carrying on the war; that his army would be more at his devotion when he had enriched them with booty; and that he should be enabled to secure to himself friends at *Carthage*, by sending thither a part of the spoil.

Y. R. 534.
Bef. Chr.
218.
2331 Conf.

From all these motives he was indefatigable in pressing the siege; which nevertheless lasted many months. The *Roman* Senate no sooner received advice of his having begun it, but they sent ambassadors into *Spain* with instructions to give him warning to desist, and, in case of his refusal, to sail to *Carthage* and there demand of the Senate, the delivering up of their general to the *Romans* by way of compensation for the breach of the league between the two states.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 6.

HANNIBAL hearing of the arrival of these ambassadors on the coast of *Spain*, dispatched some messengers to meet them at the sea-side, and to signify to them, *that neither would it be safe for them to come to his quarters; nor had he leisure to give them audience.* And, as he knew very well to what place they would direct their course, after receiving such a message, he without delay sent proper emissaries to *Carthage* to prepare the chiefs of the *Barchine* faction for the occasion.

c. 7.

Livy reports that *Hanno*, the avowed enemy of *Amilcar's* family, and the head of the opposite faction, was the only man, in the *Carthaginian* Senate, who was for complying with the demands of *Rome*; and that he spoke to this effect:

c. 10.

“ How often have I conjured you by those Gods, who are the witnesses and arbiters of leagues and treaties, not to suffer any of *Amilcar's* race to command your armies! How often have I told you, that neither the manes nor the progeny of that man would ever be at rest, and that no friendship, no peace with the *Romans* could be preserved inviolate, so long as there remained one alive of the *Barchine* name and family! *Hannibal* is an aspiring youth, proudly ambitious of being a monarch; and who thinks nothing so conducive to his purpose, as to draw upon us war after war, that so he may live in arms, and be always surrounded with legions: And you, by making him the general of your armies, have furnished fuel to his fire; you have fed the flame which now scorches you. Your forces at this time besiege *Seguntum*, contrary to the faith of treaties. What can you expect, but that *Carthage* be soon invested by the *Roman* legions, under the conduct of those very Gods, who in the former war took vengeance on us for the like ^s perfidiousness?

“ Are

^s *Hanno* refers here (as he afterwards explains himself) to some attempts of the *Carthaginians* upon *Tarentum*, [at the time, I suppose, when *Pyrrhus's* troops held that city.

Y. R. 534.
B.C. 218.
218. C. 534.

“ Are you yet to learn what kind of enemies they are whom you provoke? Are you still strangers to yourselves? Are you ignorant of the fortunes of the two Republics?

“ Your worthy general would not vouchsafe the ambassadors of your allies a hearing; he has violated the law of nations. The ambassadors of our friends, worse treated than the messengers from an enemy were ever known to be, have now recourse to you. They demand satisfaction for the unjust violation of a treaty. They would have you clear the body of the nation from the shame of so odious a breach of faith, by giving up into their hands the author of the crime. The more moderate they are at present, the more exasperated, I fear, and the more implacable will they be hereafter. Remember the *Ægates*, and the affair of *Eryx*, with all the calamities you suffered for four and twenty years together. And yet we had not then this boy at the head of our armies, but his father, *Amilcar* himself, a second *Mars*, as some are pleased to style him. But we could not then forbear making attempts upon *Tarentum* in violation of treaties, as we do now upon *Saguntum*. The Gods declared themselves against us in that war, and, in spite of all our pretences of right, made appear by giving victory to our enemies, which of the two nations had unjustly broken the league.

“ ’Tis against *Carthage* that *Hannibal* now plants his mantelets and erects his towers; it is her wall that he now shakes with his battering rams. The ruins of *Saguntum* (I wish I may prove a false prophet!) will fall upon our heads; and the war begun with the *Saguntines* must be maintained against the *Romans*.

“ But, say you, shall we then deliver up *Hannibal* into the hands of his enemies? I know that my opinion will have little weight with you, because of the old animosities between his father and me: Yet I must declare, that, as I rejoiced when *Amilcar* fell, because, had he lived, he would have engaged us before now in a war with the *Romans*, so I hate and detest this youth as a fury and the firebrand to kindle a *Roman* war. Yes, I think it fit, that *Hannibal* be delivered up to expiate the breach of the league; and, if no-body had demanded him, I should vote to have him transported to the remotest corner of the earth, whence his name might never reach our ears to disturb the repose of our state.

“ My conclusion therefore is, that deputies be forthwith sent to *Rome* to pacify the Senate; others into *Spain*, with orders to the army to raise the siege of *Saguntum*, and deliver up their general to the

city. See Vol. I. p. 601.] In the Epit. of Livy, B. 14. it is said, that the Carthaginians came with a fleet to the succour of *Tarentum*, whereby they broke their league with the *Romans*. And this doubtless is the foundation whereon *Zenaræ* builds his re-

port, that the motive assigned by the *Romans* for their beginning the first Punic war, was the assistance which the Carthaginians had given the *Tarentines* against *Rome*. See p. 15. of this Vol.

“ *Romans*;

“ *Romans*; and a third deputation to the *Saguntines* to make reparation for the injuries they have sustained ^h.”

Y. R. 534.
Bef. Chr.
218.
233d Conf.

The Senate, though they heard this orator with respectful attention, as a man of authority and reputation among them, paid no regard to his remonstrance, invective, or advice on the present occasion. Nay, the Senators in general exclaimed, that he had spoken more like an enemy than a subject of *Carthage*. As for the *Roman* ambassadors, they were dismissed with this answer, *That the war was begun by the Saguntines and not by Hannibal. And that the Romans would act injuriously to Carthage, if to her ancient alliance with them, they preferred the later friendship of the Saguntines.*

Liv. B. 21.
c. 11.

Hannibal was all this time pressing the siege of *Saguntum* with uninterrupted diligence. He animated his soldiers in person, working in the trenches among them, and mingling with them in all hazards. The defence was brave even to obstinacy; and it is said to have lasted eight months. When the besieged could no longer hold out, many of the citizens, rather than listen to the hard terms of peace which *Hannibal* exacted, (as the giving up their arms, leaving their city to be demolished, and moving off with nothing more of all their substance than two suits of apparel) threw themselves into a great fire, where they had first cast all their most valuable effects. While this was doing, it happened that a tower which had been much battered and shaken, fell down on a sudden. A body of *Carthaginians* immediately entered at the breach; and *Hannibal*, upon notice of this accident, seizing the opportunity, made a general assault and carried the place without difficulty. He gave orders, that all who were found in arms should be put to the sword; an unnecessary order, for they themselves were firmly determined to die fighting: many of the inhabitants shut themselves up, with their wives and children, and burnt the houses over their heads. But notwithstanding all this destruction of men and effects, the place yielded to the conquerors great store of wealth and many slaves. The money he appropriated for carrying on the war against *Rome*; the slaves he divided among the soldiers; and all the rich household stuff he sent to *Carthage*.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 17.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 14.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 17.

The *Roman* ambassadors who had been dispatched to the *Carthaginian* Senate, brought the answer they had there received, to *Rome*, about the same time that the news arrived of the destruction of *Saguntum*.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 16.

Livy tells us, that the compassion of the *Romans* for this unfortunate city, their shame for having failed to succour such a faithful ally, their indignation against the *Carthaginians*, and their apprehension of the main

^h The reader, I am persuaded, will not easily believe, that a speech of this tenor was really delivered either by *Hanno* or any other *Carthaginian* Senator. The greater part of the matter of it doubtless belongs

to *Livy* no less than the form. However, thus much we may conclude from the party spirit of *Hanno*, that he disapproved the proceedings of *Hannibal*, and was against a rupture with *Rome*.

event of things, as if the enemy were already at the gates of *Rome*;) all these various passions, and other circumstances, that at first they only mourned and trembled, instead of consulting for the common safety.

But it being now no longer a question whether they should enter into a war, they quickly began to make the necessary preparations for action. The Consul *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and the Prætor *Sempronius Longus* drew lots for their provinces. *Scipio* was to sail to *Sempronius*, and *Spain* to *Cornelius*. *Sempronius* with two *Roman* legions, consisting each of 4000 foot and 300 horse, and with 12,000 foot and 1800 horse of the allies, on board a fleet of 100 galies, was to go first into *Sicily*, and thence into *Africa*, in case the other Consul should prove strong enough to hinder the *Carthaginians* from sailing into *Italy*. *Cornelius* for this purpose had two *Roman* legions, with 12,000 foot and 1600 horse of the allies committed to his conduct; and, with a fleet of 60 quinqueremes, he was to sail to *Spain*, and endeavour to prevent *Hannibal's* leaving that country. The Consul had no stronger a navy appointed him, because it was supposed that the enemy would not come by sea, nor chuse to fight in that kind of service. And his army was also the less numerous, because the Prætor *Mambrius* had two *Roman* legions, with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse of the allies, to guard the province of *Gaul*. The whole number of the forces raised by the republic on this occasion was 24,000 *Roman* foot and 1800 horse, 40,000 foot, and 4400 horse of the allies; and their ships of war amounted to 220.

These extraordinary preparations sufficiently shew the terror the *Romans* were in at the approaching war. And indeed it will not appear to be ill grounded, if we consider that the *Carthaginians*, ever since *Amilcar's* going into *Spain*, had been fighting and conquering, and that the *Spaniards*, by whom their army was strengthened, were men steady even to obstinacy. Besides, the *Roman* republic had now no general equal to *Hannibal*, a man of immense views; ever judicious in his enterprizes; a wonderful genius for seizing the critical moment to execute his designs; the greatest master in the art of appearing not to act, when he was most busy; inexhaustible of expedients; as skillful in recovering himself out of danger, as in drawing an enemy into it. He had been bred up to arms from his infancy, and though now only in the flower of his age, had the experience of several years command of an army. For *Asdrubal* being himself no great warrior, had committed to him the conduct of all dangerous and difficult enterprizes. So that no general then living had had more exercise than he; nor were any troops better disciplined than his. *Hannibal's* design of carrying the war from the remote parts of *Spain* into the very center of *Italy*, is said, by an ingenious writer, to be the boldest project that ever captain durst conceive, and what was justified only by the event. But this does not seem to have been the opinion of *Polybius*, who tells us, that *Hannibal*

nibal had taken all prudent measures for facilitating his march, and for securing the assistance of the *Gauls* about the *Alps* and about the *Po*, which it was the easier to do, because he and they had one common interest with respect to the *Romans*, the hated enemies of both.

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234. Conf.

Though the *Romans* made the preparations above mentioned for war, as a thing certain and unavoidable, yet that nothing might be wanting to the exact observance of forms, they dispatched¹ a third embassy to *Carthage*, to demand once more, what they did not expect would be yielded, *That Hannibal and his council should be delivered up to them*; and the ambassadors were also now instructed to declare war in case of refusal.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 20.
Livy. B. 21.
c. 18.

When they were come to *Carthage*, and admitted to audience, the Senate heard the haughty demand they brought with a coldness approaching to contempt. Nevertheless, one of the Senators best qualified, was directed to speak in maintenance of the *Carthaginian* cause. This orator, without taking the least notice of the treaty made with *Asdrubal*, (as if no such treaty had been made, or, if made, was nothing to the purpose, because made without authority) dwelt wholly on that which was concluded at the end of the *Sicilian* war; in which, as he alledged, there was no mention of *Spain*. He al-

Polyb. L. 3.
c. 21.

¹ *Polybius* mentions only two embassies from *Rome* to the *Carthaginians* on the affair of *Saguntum*, one before the siege, another after the town was taken. *Livy* also mentions only two; but, according to him, the first was during the siege, when (he tells us) *Hannibal* refused the ambassadors an audience; the second, after the reduction of the place. That we may not reject *Polybius's* authority, who relates an audience which *Hannibal* before the siege of *Saguntum*, gave at *Carthago* to some ambassadors from *Rome*; nor yet accuse *Livy* or his vouchers of inventing the story of *Hannibal's* refusing audience, and of all that followed thereupon at *Carthage*, we have supposed (what seems most probable) that there were three embassies from *Rome* in relation to *Saguntum*, the first before the siege, the second while it was carrying on, the third after the place was taken.

To the first ambassadors *Hannibal* gave audience and a haughty answer, of which they made complaint to the *Carthaginian* Senate. Those who came next were refused audience by him, and they also carried their complaints to *Carthage*. The last embassy was sent only to *Carthage*.

Father *Catrou*, not liking, I suppose, that the *Romans* should appear in so disadvantageous a light as they do, upon this occasion, is angry with *Livy*, for making them send even twice to *Carthage* before they declare war; though if any thing may be depended on in the *Roman* story, this fact has a title to credit.

It may indeed seem hard to be accounted for, that the *Romans*, contrary to their former methods of proceeding, should so shamefully neglect to succour their allies, the *Saguntines*, and, when the case required the most vigorous measures, should lose so much time in vain and fruitless embassies to a people they had formerly vanquished and rendered tributary. Chevalier *Fénelon* conjectures, that the *Romans* were really intimidated by *Hannibal's* superior genius and skill in war, being conscious of their having no general of equal ability with the *Carthaginian*. And may we not also reasonably suppose, that at the time when *Hannibal* began to threaten *Saguntum*, the *Roman* republic was not in a condition to send by sea into *Spain* an army of sufficient strength to make head against the numerous and victorious troops of *Carthage*?

Y. R. 516.
E. C. 17.
217.
234 C. 71.

lowed indeed, that it was there covenanted, that neither of the contracting parties should make war on the allies of the other, but added, that the *Saguntines* were entirely out of the question, they not being at that time in alliance with *Rome*; and he caused the articles of the treaty to be read.

Y. R. 511.
E. C. 12.
212.
234 C. 71.

The *Romans* refused absolutely to enter into a verbal discussion of this point. They said, there might have been room for such a discussion, had *Saguntum* been then in the same state as formerly, but that this city having been sacked contrary to the faith of treaties, the *Carthaginians* must either clear themselves of perfidy, by delivering up the authors of the injustice, or confess themselves guilty, by refusing the satisfaction required. And finding that the Senate would give no answer to the question, whether *Saguntum* was besieged by public or private authority, but would confine the debate to the justice or injustice of the action, the eldest of the ambassadors, gathering up the skirt of his gown, and making a hollow in it, *Here*, said he, we bring you Peace and War, take which you will. At which they all cried out with one voice, Give us which you please. I give you War, then, said the Ambassador, letting his robe loose again. We accept it, they all answered, and with the same spirit that we accept it, we will maintain it.

L. B. 21.
119.

A mutual denunciation of war being thus made, the ambassadors did not return directly homeward, but, pursuant to their instructions, passed into *Spain*, to solicit the states and princes of that country, who were on the north side of the *Iberus*, to enter into an alliance with *Rome*, or at least not to contract any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. They were courteously entertained by the *Bergusians*. But when they came to the *Volscians*, they received from this people an answer, which being reported all over the country, was a means to turn away all the other nations from siding with the *Romans*. With what assurance, said they, can you ask of us to prefer your friendship to that of the *Carthaginians*, after we have seen the *Saguntines*, who did so, more cruelly betrayed by you, their allies, than destroyed by their open enemies. Go seek for confederates among those who never heard of the ruin of *Saguntum*. The miserable fate of this city will be a warning to all the nations of *Spain*, never to repose confidence in Roman faith or amity. The same kind of reception they met with from all the *Spanish* states to which they afterwards addressed themselves. So that finding their negotiations in this country fruitless, they passed into *Gaul*, endeavouring to persuade the several nations there, not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to march through their territories into *Italy*. The first public assembly of *Gauls*, to whom they made this proposal, burst into so loud a laughter, mixt with a murmur of indignation, that the magistrates and seniors could hardly still the noise of the younger sort, so impudent and foolish did it seem, to request of them, That they would suffer their own lands to be ravaged and spoiled, to preserve those of other men who were utter strangers to them. But silence

C. 22.

at

at length being made, the ambassadors were answered, *That neither had the Romans deserved so well, nor the Carthaginians so ill at their hands, that they should take arms, either in behalf of Rome, or against Carthage. That, on the contrary, they had heard, that some of their countrymen had been driven out of their possessions in Italy by the Romans, constrained to pay tribute, and made to undergo other indignities.* The like answers to the like demands were made in the other public councils of *Gaul*. Nor did the ambassadors meet with any thing like friendship or even peaceable disposition towards them, till they came to *Marseilles*, which was in alliance with *Rome*; and where, upon careful enquiry made by their allies, they learnt that *Hannibal* had been beforehand with them, and by the force of gold, of which the *Gauls* were ever most greedy, had gained them over to side with him. And with this unpleasing news they returned to *Rome*.

V. B. 119.
Bel. Car.
217.
214. C. 11.

Hannibal was all this time extremely busy in settling the affairs of *Spain*, and in taking all the proper measures his foresight could suggest, for the happy execution of his great designs. After the reduction of *Saguntum*, he had retired into winter quarters at *New Carthage*. And the better to dispose his *Spanish* soldiers to his service, he had given them permission to return to their respective homes till the beginning of the spring, when, he told them, he expected their appearance again. In the mean while, as one of his chief cares was to provide for the safety of *Africa*, he transported thither, of *Spaniards*, (raised among the *Thersives*, *Mastii*, and *Olcades*) 13,850 foot, and 1200 horse, together with 800 slingers of the *Baleares*. And while he thus furnished *Africa* with *Spanish* troops, he took order for the security^k of *Spain*, by sending for a supply of near 15,000 *Africans*, to be commanded by his brother *Asdruba*, whom he intended to leave governor in his absence. He furnished him also with 50 quinquereines, 4 quadriremes, and 5 triremes, that he might be in a condition to oppose any descents that should be attempted there by the *Romans*.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 33.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 21.

Livy and *Polybius* commend the prudence of the *Carthaginian* in this exchange of troops; because both the *Africans* and *Spaniards* would probably prove the better soldiers for being thus at a distance from their respective countries, and they would be a kind of pledges or hostages for the mutual fidelity of the two nations.

Besides these precautions, *Hannibal* (as has been already hinted) had dispatched ambassadors to the *Gauls* on both sides the *Alps*, to sound their dispositions, and to engage them to take part with him in his enterprise. For this end he was extremely liberal, not only of his promises,

Polyb. B. 5.
c. 34.

^k *Livy* reports, that *Hannibal* selected 4000 young men out of the chief cities in *Spain*, and of the best families, and caused them to be brought to [*New*] *Carthage*, there to remain as hostages for the fidelity

of the *Spaniards*. These were probably the same youths which are afterwards said to be left by him in *Saguntum*, as we shall see in its proper place.

Y. 3. 55.
B. 6. 35.
— C. 6.

but of his gold, believing it would be a main step towards a happy issue of his undertaking. In, by avoiding war in his way to *Italy*, he could lead his army entire against the *Romans*. The answers he received were favourable to his wishes; *For the Gauls most willingly agreed to his proposal, and expected him with impatience.* They also sent him word, that though the passage of those mountains was difficult, it was not insuperable. Animated with new hope by these reports, he began early in the spring to march his troops out of their winter quarters; and having now the concurrence of the Senate and people of *Carthage* to his purpose, he began openly to discourse of his intended war against *Rome*, exhorting the soldiers (whom he assembled for this purpose) cheerfully to engage in the expedition; and telling them, in order to raise their indignation against the *Romans*, that they had impudently demanded a surrender of both him and all his chief officers into their hands. He also expatiated on the fertility of the country which he purposed to invade, the good will of the *Gauls*, and the confederacies he had made with their princes: and when the army had loudly declared their readiness to go whithersoever he was disposed to conduct them, and he had, with thanks, applauded their fidelity, and prefixed the day for their march, he dismissed the assembly.

Polyb. B.
3. 6. 35.

The *Spaniards*, whom *Hannibal* had permitted to visit their families during the winter, being returned to their service, and the day¹ appointed for the general rendezvous being come, the whole army took the field. It consisted of 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse, and with this mighty force the *Carthaginian* immediately began his march from *New Carthage* towards the river *Iberus*.

BUT now, before the reader accompanies *Hannibal* into *Italy*, he may perhaps be willing to make a pause, and enquire into the justice of the cause that leads him thither.

E. 3. c. 35.

“ If the destruction of *Saguntum* (says *Polybius*) be considered as the
“ CAUSE of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, we must necessarily determine,
“ that the *Carthaginians* engaged in it very unjustly: Whether regard
“ be had to the treaty of *Lutatius*, whereby each party became bound
“ to offer no violence to the allies of the other: Or regard be had to the
“ treaty of *Adrubal*, in which it was stipulated that the *Carthaginians*
“ should not carry their arms beyond the *Iberus*.

See p. 63.

See p. 103.

“ But if, for the CAUSE of the war made by *Hannibal*, we assign the
“ seizure of *Sardinia* by the *Romans*, and the money which they extorted
“ from *Carthage* at that time, we shall be obliged to confess, that the

¹ According to *Livy*, *Hannibal*, before he began his expedition against the *Romans*, went from *New Carthage* to *Gades*, there to discharge some vows he had made to

Hercules, and to bind himself by new ones, in order to obtain success in the war he was going to enter upon. *Polybius* says nothing of the matter.

“ *Carthaginians*

“ *Carthaginians* acted not unjustly in entering upon this war. For they
 “ did no more than lay hold of a favourable opportunity to revenge
 “ themselves on those, who had taken advantage of their distresses, to
 “ iniure and oppress them.”

*T. R. c. 5.
 Bet. C. 1.
 217.
 214. C. 6.*

Here then *the question of right* is decided by our author. For he had
 before declared, and enlarged upon it, that *the siege of Saguntum* and the
passing the Iberus were only the *beginnings* of the war and not the *causes*;
 and that *the affair of Sardinia*, and the *money extorted* at that time were
 the *principal cause* of it. And he now declares, that this *principal cause*
 is sufficient to justify the *Carthaginians*.

B. 3. c. 6.

Our author nevertheless, in another part of his history, observes, that
 though *Hannibal* had a just motive to begin the war, and though he did
 begin it from that just motive, yet because he did not publicly assign
 that motive for beginning it, but made use of a false pretext, his enter-
 prize seemed contrary to justice. After relating the haughty and eva-
 sive answer of *Hannibal* to the first ambassadors that were sent to him
 from *Rome*, he adds,

Sec p. 126.

“ Thus *Hannibal*, transported by a violent hatred, acted in every thing
 “ without consulting his reason, and, instead of declaring the true motives
 “ of his proceeding, had recourse to false pretexts, after the manner of
 “ those, who, prepossessed by their passion, do what they have deter-
 “ mined, without regard to equity or honour: Otherwise, had it not
 “ been better to have demanded of the *Romans* the restitution of *Sardinia*,
 “ and the money, which, during the weakness and distress of the *Cartha-*
 “ *ginian* republic, they had extorted from her, and, in case of refusal,
 “ to declare war against them? But as he concealed the true cause, and
 “ made use of the false pretext of injuries done to the *Saguntines*, he seem-
 “ ed to enter into that war without reason, and contrary to justice.”

*Polyb. B. 3.
 c. 15.*

The reader observes, that *Polybius* here takes it for granted, that *Han-*
nibal, in attacking *Saguntum*, made war upon the *Romans*. Now *Han-*
nibal and the *Carthaginians* denied that the treaty with *Lutatius* could
 be broke by the siege of *Saguntum*. They alledged, that, as the *Sagun-*
tines were not allies of *Rome* at the time of making that treaty, they
 could not be comprehended in it. *Polybius* indeed thinks, that *future*
 allies as well as *present* ought to be understood to be comprehended in that
 treaty; and so said the *Romans*. But what then? It was surely a point
 that might well bear a debate. Yet the *Roman* ambassadors (as we
 have seen) would enter into no discussion of this matter with the *Cartha-*
ginians, but, upon their refusal to give up *Hannibal* as having unjustly
 violated that treaty by the siege of *Saguntum*, declared war.

And this makes it difficult to conceive why *Polybius*, on the present
 occasion, mentions the treaty with *Asdrubal*; that treaty, according to
 him, relating only to the *Carthaginians* passing the *Iberus*, which river
Hannibal did not attempt to pass till after the declaration of war by the

Romans.

Reverend. *Polybius* never speaks of the *Saguntines* as concerned in that treaty, but expressly that, when it was concluded, *no mention was made in it of any other part of Spain*, i. e. of any part on the south of that river; consequently no mention of the * *Saguntines*.

Livy indeed tells us, that the *Saguntines* were included in the treaty with *Asdrubal*, and makes the *Carthaginians* confess it; which, if true, we must suppose that a new article in favour of the *Saguntines* was inserted into that treaty, after *Rome* had entered into an alliance with them.

Livy adds, that the *Carthaginians*, in their conference with the *Roman* ambassadors, would have evaded the obligation of the treaty with *Asdrubal*, by saying, that it was concluded by him without authority from *Carthage*, and that, in paying no regard to it, they did but follow the example of the *Romans*, who had refused to abide by the first treaty of *Lutatius* in *Sicily*, for the like reason. Doubtless, if the *Carthaginians* employed this subterfuge, it was weak and trifling, because (as the same author, from *Polybius*, observes) in the treaty of *Lutatius* this clause was added, *That it should be firm and inviolable, if ratified by the people of Rome*; but in *Asdrubal's* treaty there was no proviso of like import.

But it is possible that *Asdrubal* might make an absolute treaty, and yet have no authority for so doing. At least, it was a common practice with the *Roman* generals, to make such treaties; and it was as common with the *Roman* Senate to break them, as having been concluded without sufficient authority.

To return to the main question, the justice of the war made by *Hannibal*:

It is plain that if the treaty of *Sicily* could not be construed to extend to future allies as well as present; and if *Asdrubal's* treaty was made without sufficient authority from *Carthage*, (both which the *Carthaginians* pleaded) there can be no pretence to charge *Hannibal* with beginning a war against *Rome*, by his attacking *Saguntum*.

But let us suppose, with the *Romans*, that the *Saguntines* were unquestionably within the treaty of *Sicily*; and also, that *Asdrubal*, in his treaty, acted with ample authority. What will follow? Not, that the second *Punic* war is to be imputed to the injustice of *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*, or that they were the first violators of the treaty of peace

* *Livy*, in making the *Carthaginians* use this plea at the time of the conference in question, seems to found himself on *Polybius*; and perhaps *Polybius* ought to be so understood: But as the *Greek* historian tells us, that the *Carthaginian* orator past over the treaty of *Asdrubal* in silence, as if no such treaty had ever been made, or, if made, was nothing to the purpose; I imagine, that the plea above-mentioned was not employed at the time of

the conference; but that afterwards, when they used to speak of the justice of their cause, they urged among other things the nullity of *Asdrubal's* treaty: For, as *Polybius* relates, the *Roman* Ambassadors did not, at their audience in the *Carthaginian* senate, object that treaty, nor set forth their rights, or pretensions of right, till after the war was begun. B. 3. c. 29.

between the two nations. No: The *Romans* had scandalously violated that treaty by their seizure of *Sardinia*, and extortion of the 1200 talents; and all conventions between *Rome* and *Carthage* following that first violence and breach of the peace, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this menace, on the part of the *Romans*, *Do whatsoever we require; otherwise we will make war, without regard to our oath, which we have already broken.* And as their engaging *Asdrubal* to covenant, that he would not pass the *Iberus*, was a new breach of the peace of Italy, and a new insult upon *Carthage*; because *Rome* had as yet no foot in *Spain*, on the one side of that river, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side, held almost all the country: So the alliance, which the *Romans* made with the *Saguntines*, was in reality a breach of their treaty with *Asdrubal*. For the *Romans* could have no sort of colour for requiring that *Asdrubal* should not pass the *Iberus*, but an implicit covenant that this river should be a boundary, over which they themselves would not pass in any discovery or conquest by them intended to be made upon *Spain*; and that the *Carthaginians* should be free to push their conquests as far northward as to this limit. And so *Livy* says expressly, that by *Asdrubal's* treaty, *the river Iberus was to be the boundary between the two empires.* Only he adds (inconsistently with *Polybius's* account) that the *Saguntines* were included in that treaty.

It would seem then that the *Carthaginians* were not obliged, by any treaties with *Rome*, or by any consideration of justice, to abstain from the war which *Hannibal* began. And as to that open declaration of his true motives, the want of which made his enterprize seem dishonourable, he could not have made that declaration without throwing a bar in the way to the execution of his main design, *the marching into Italy.* For by demanding the restitution of *Sardinia*, and of the 1200 talents, he would have discovered the extent of his meditated revenge, and would thereby have put the enemy on such preparations for war, as might have disappointed all his views of doing justice to his country. It was to avoid this inconvenience, that he would seem at first to have no design but against the *Saguntines*; and we find his policy had its effect: For the *Romans* (as has been observed) had not the least apprehension of his intending so soon to invade *Italy*, but imagined that the seat of the war, they should have with him, would be in *Spain*.

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.
Sir W. R.

B. 21. c. 22

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 16.

C H A P. XVII.

The march of Hannibal, from the Iberus in Spain, to the Po in Italy: and how the Roman arms were employed in the mean time.

First Year of the War.

T. R. 111.
E. C. 111.
217.
212 C. 111.

P. 111. E. 111.
C. 111. A. 111.
L. 111. B. 111.
S. 111. A. 111.

HANNIBAL, having passed the *Iberus*, subdued in a short time all those parts of *Spain*, which he had not before entered, and which lie between that river and the *Pyrenees*. His successes however cost him many hard conflicts, in which he lost abundance of men. Of this newly conquered country he appointed one *Hanno* to be governor, instructing him to have a particular watch over the *Bargusians*, of whom he had the greatest jealousy, on account of the friendship they had contracted with the *Romans*. And for the support of his government, he left under his command 10,000 foot and 1000 horse; and he committed likewise to his keeping all the heavy baggage of the main army, who left it behind them, that they might march light and disencumbered.

Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, 3000 of his *Spanish* soldiers (not so much from fear of the war, as of the fatigue of so long a march, and of passing over the *Alps*, returned home without asking leave; which that others might not also do or attempt, he courteously dismissed above 7000 more, who seemed willing to be gone; a condescension that made the journey seem less tedious to those that did follow him, as not being enforced by compulsion. His army consisted now of but 50,000 foot and 6000 horse; but they were good men, and had been long trained, and in continual action during the wars in *Spain*, under the ablest captains that *Carthage* could ever boast. With these he passed the *Pyrenees* and entered into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls*, that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in arms to forbid his entrance into their country. However by gentle words and rich presents to the leaders, he gained them over to favour his expedition, which he assured them was not designed against them; and he continued his march without any dangerous molestation, till he arrived upon the banks of the *Rhone*.

Polyt. B. 3.
C. 42.

Here he bought up from the *Gauls*, (who, on the west side of the river, favoured his passage for money and to get rid of him) all the boats large and small he could meet with, whereof the inhabitants, practising commerce, had a great number; and he also amassed prodigious quantities of timber for making floats, of which the soldiers, labouring in that employment with great diligence, in two days time made abundant provision. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* found that it would be impossible to compass his passage without some stratagem, be-
cause

cause of the opposition of the *Gauls* on the east side of the river, who, in great multitudes, had determined to defend their bank. Wherefore, after three days deliberation, he in the night detached an officer named *Hanno* with a considerable part of the army, to go a good way up the river, then cross it, and endeavour to get behind the enemy. *Hanno* passed the stream about 25 miles from the *Carthaginian* camp, made silent marches towards the camp of the *Gauls*, and, in the morning after the fifth night, by smoke in several places, (the appointed signal,) gave notice of his approach to *Hemilal*, who thereupon immediately began to attempt his passage. He put into the larger boats a part of his cavalry, ready for action. The horses of the rest, which could not be embarked, swam in tow after the small boats, one man, on each side of a boat, holding three or four horses by the bridles. The horsemen and the infantry went in small vessels and on floats; and that their passage might be the easier, the largest vessels were so disposed, a little higher up the stream, as to break the force of the current. When the *Gauls* perceived the *Carthaginians* advancing on the river, they by dreadful howlings (according to their custom,) signified, that they waited the attack with resolution. But when they heard a great noise behind them, saw their tents on fire, and themselves assailed in rear, as well as front, they made but a short resistance. Vanquished and broken, they fled every man to his own village.

It has been already observed, that the *Romans*, without waiting the return of their ambassadors from *Carthage*, had ordered the Consul *P. Cornelius Scipio* into *Spain*, and *Tib. Sempronius* into *Sicily*, from whence he was to go into *Africa*.

Cornelius, though, before he set out, the news arrived that *Hannibal* had passed the *Iberus*, was still in hopes he should be able to hinder him from marching out of *Spain*. For this end having embarked his forces at *Pisa*, on board the fleet of sixty galleys, which had been assigned him, he steered along the coast of *Liguria**, and in five days arrived at *Marseilles*. Learning here that *Hannibal* had already passed the *Pyrenees*, he proceeded no further in his voyage than to the nearest mouth of the *Rhone*, where he landed his men, with intention to wait for the enemy on the banks of that river, and there put a stop to their further progress. The difficulties of the way from the *Pyrenees*, and the divers nations, through which *Hannibal* was to make his passage, induced the Consul to conclude, that he was yet a great way off. The *Carthaginian* however was at this time actually employed in passing the *Rhone*, at the distance of about four days march † from the sea. The Consul heard a report of this; but it seemed so incredible, that he could not believe it. Nevertheless, thinking it advisable to endeavour after such intelligence as he might rely on, while the army lay to refresh themselves after the fatigue of their voyage, he commanded out

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 43.

See p. 110.
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 40.

c. 41. & 42.

* Genoa.

† A little above Avignon.

Y 2. 300. 1000 of horse to make discovery, giving them, for guides, some Gauls in the service of Hannibal.

1000. 1000. This discovery was made with a party of 500 Numidian horse, not far from the Consul's camp. For Hannibal, the next morning after his passage, and some Numidians were waiting over the elephants, having received intelligence of the Consul's arrival at the mouth of the Rhone, had sent this party out to bring him an account of the strength and situation of the enemy. The conflict between the Romans and Numidians was very bloody, an hundred and sixty of the former were left dead upon the spot, and more than two hundred of the latter. The Romans had the honour of the day, forcing the Numidians to quit the field, and pursuing them so near their entrenchments as to be eye-witnesses of what they were sent to learn. After which they returned with all diligence to carry the news to the Consul.

1000. 1000. Scipio, while these things passed, was giving audience, in the presence of his whole army, to Magilus a Gallic Prince, who was come to him from the countries about the Po. Magilus (with whom the Consul's son had before had a private conference) assured him by an interpreter, that the Gauls impatiently expected his arrival, and were ready to join him; and that he himself would be the guide to conduct the army through places, where they would find every thing necessary, and by a road, which would bring them speedily and safely into Italy. When the Prince was withdrawn, Hannibal in a speech to his troops reminded them of all their exploits to that time, and of the success they had met with in every occasion of danger, by following his counsels. He exhorted them to continue their confidence in him, and to fear nothing for the future; since having passed the Rhone, and secured such good allies as they found the Gauls to be, the greatest obstacles to their enterprize were now surmounted. The soldiers applauded all he said, expressing great willingness, and even ardour, to follow him whithersoever he should lead the way. He commended their good dispositions, made vows to the Gods for the preservation of all his troops, admonished them to refresh themselves well, and prepare to march next day, and then dismissed the assembly.

1000. 1000. Just at this time the Numidians, who had survived the skirmish, returned with an account of their adventure. Hannibal, as he had before resolved, broke up his camp, the next morning as soon as it was day, and posting his horse as a body of reserve, a little down the river, ordered his infantry to march. He himself staid behind, waiting the arrival of the elephants that were not yet all waited over the stream.

1000. 1000. The method of doing it was this. From the bank of the river they threw a large float of timber, which, being strongly held by great ropes twisted about some trees, they covered over with earth, that the elephants might be deceived by this appearance, and take it for firm ground.

At

At the end of this first float was fastened a second, but so, as it might be easily loosened from it. The female elephants were brought upon the first float, the males followed them; and when they were all got upon the second float, this was loosened from the first, and by the help of small boats towed to the opposite shore. It does not appear how many of these animals were transported at a time. But when the first were landed, the float was sent back to fetch others, and so on till the whole number was brought over. Some of them being unruly fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore; not a single elephant was drowned, though some of their conductors were.

And now *Hannibal*, making his horse and elephants the rear-guard to his infantry, marched along the banks of the river *northward**, (though that was not the shortest way to the *Alps*) being resolved to avoid an engagement with *Scipio*, that he might lead his troops as entire as possible into *Italy*.

Scipio, upon the information brought him by his *discoverers*, having immediately ordered all the baggage on board his ships, was coming by long marches with his whole army to attack the *Carthaginians*; but he did not arrive at the place where *Hannibal* had passed the *Rhone*, till three days after he was gone from thence. Despairing therefore to overtake him, he made haste back to his fleet, embarked his army, dispatched his brother *Cneius* with the greatest part of it into *Spain*, to carry the war into that country, and set sail himself for *Italy*, in hopes, by the way of *Hetruria*, to reach the foot of the *Alps* before *Hannibal* could arrive there.

The *Carthaginian*, after four days march, arrived in a country which, from its situation, was called *the Island*, being washed on two sides by the *Rhone*, and another^m river which runs into that. Its form is triangular,

^m It has been much disputed whether this other river was the *Arar* [now called the *Saone*,] or the *Isara*, [the *Isere*.]

“ The text of *Polybius*, says *Mons. Rollin*,
“ as it has been transmitted to us, and
“ that of *Livy*, place this island at the
“ conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saone*,
“ that is, in the place where the city of
“ *Lyons* now stands. But this is a manifest
“ error. It was, in the Greek, *Σαῶνος*,
“ instead of which *ἰσᾶρος* has been substituted. *J. Gronovius* says, that he had
“ seen in a manuscript of *Livy*, *Bisarat*,
“ which shews, that we are to read *Isara*,
“ *Rhodanusque amnes*, instead of *Arar*, *Rhodanusque*; and that the island in question
“ is formed by the conflux of the *Isara* and
“ the *Rhone*.”

VOL. II.

Chevalier Folard, who knows perfectly well the road from the place where *Hannibal* passed the *Rhone* (which is agreed to be between *Orange* and *Avignon*) to *Lyons*; and who also knows perfectly well what an army like *Hannibal's* is capable of doing, maintains, that it was absolutely impossible for it to march to *Lyons* in four days, it being 35 leagues; and, though he does not omit the reasons brought by *Mr. Rollin*, he lays the main stress of his argument (in behalf of the *Isere*) on the length and badness of the way to the *Saone*, there being three rivers to pass, and almost the whole way being through defiles.

I know not whether some aid to this cause might not be drawn from the time employed in *Scipio's* march, who was so

R

eager

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

* *Polybius*
(c. 47.) says
Eastward,
but this
agrees not
with the
context.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 31.
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 49.

Y. R. 335.
B.C. 187.
370.
214 C. 1.

gular, and resembles the *Delta* of *Egypt*, with this difference, that the country here spoken of, is bounded on it's third side by high mountains,

eager to come up with the *Carthaginians*, and give them battle. It is said that he did not arrive at the place where *Hannibal* passed the *Rhone*, till three days after he was gone from *Liens*. Now it is reasonable to suppose that he began his march the very same morning that *Hannibal* began his: the fourth between the parties having happened the morning before, and there being time enough for *Scipio* to receive intelligence by his scouts where the enemy was: and though, to get to that place, he had not half the way to make, that *Hannibal* had, to reach *Liens*, it cost him, with all his expedition, three days march.

On the decision of this question, another is made very much to depend, *Over what part of the Alps the Carthaginian army passed into Italy? Whether over the Alpes Pennine, that stand a good way to the north of Turin, or over the Alpes Cottia, that stand a little to the south of that city? Livy* is for the latter, and wonders that this fact should ever be questioned, since it is agreed that the part of *Italy* which *Hannibal* first entered, was the territory of the *Taurini* [the people of *Turin*] into which country the other passage would not have brought him; nor does he believe that passage was then open. He tells us also that the army crossed the *Durance*, in its way to the mountains, which agrees very well with the opinion of its going over the *Alpes Cottia*, as may be seen by the maps. But the rest of *Livy's* account does not well accord with these particulars, nor indeed with common sense.

Chevalier *Felard*, who is well acquainted with the *Alps*, and all the roads thither, is sure, that *Hannibal* went the shortest road, from the country of prince *Proculus* to *Turin*; not only because it was the shortest, but because it was the safest and the best. He won't allow, that *Hannibal* went so far northward, along the banks of the *Rhone*, as even to the conflux of that river and the *Ijere*. He says, there was no occasion to do it, on account of any danger, either from *Scipio* or any allies of *Rome*. According to the chevalier, *Hannibal*, leaving *Genève* on his left, passed the *Dia* [which runs into the

Ijere] over against *Vizille*. Thence he successively marched to *Bourg d'Osson*, *Le Mont de Lens*, *Le Lausaret*, *Briançon*, *Le Mont Genèvre*, *Suzanne*, *Le Mont Sestrières*, *Suze*, *Cel de la Fenestre*, and *Pignerol*; at a small distance from which last he encamped in the plains.

The fathers *Catrou* and *Renillé* differ from the chevalier in both these questions. According to them, *Hannibal* crossed the *Rhone*, at its conflux with the *Saone*, and then turning eastward marched along the *Rhone*, on its north-side; then crossed it again, marching on its South-side to the *Durance* (which they suppose to be *Livy's Durance*) and thence to the foot of the *Alpes Pennine*, which they passed, by the *Great St. Bernard*.

As to the objection of the 35 leagues march, in four days, they think it is sufficient to say, that *Hannibal* was in haste to get out of *Scipio's* way.

And as to *Σαγας* [*Sceras*] (the supposed † antient name of the *Ijere*) "It can only impose, say they, on those who don't know that the *Saone* was antiently called *Scene*, and by corruption *Saucona*. *Amianus Marcellinus* calls it so, and it had the name of *Matijona*, because *Maven* is situated upon its banks. So that here is correction for correction. Is it not more natural and more probable that *Sceras* should be changed into *Sceras*, than that *Sceras* should be changed into *Ijara*?"

But the main strength of their argument is from *Polybius*, who tells us, that *Hannibal continued his march along the Rhone EASTWARD*. "Now, say the reverend Fathers, it is evident by a cast of an eye on the map, that if the *Carthaginian* army marched up the *Rhone* from west to east, it must first have marched along it as far as to *Liens*." The necessity of this consequence I can't see. However, much doubtless might be built on this passage of *Polybius*, if we did not meet with it at a time when it is impossible it should be true; but it is just when *Hannibal* is setting out to go NORTHWARD along the river, and even 35 leagues northward, if he went to the conflux of the

† Culture-
Flak

* E. g. c.
47.

tains, whereas the *Delta*, which the *Nile* washes on two sides, is bounded on the third by the sea.

Here he found two brothers disputing for the kingdom, and the nation engaged in a civil war. The two armies were just ready to give battle when *Hannibal* arrived. At the request of the elder brother (named *Brancus*) he assisted him, and forced the younger to retire. *Hannibal* had foreseen, that it would be very advantageous to him to have the friendship of a prince of this country; and he immediately reaped many benefits from it. The *Gaul* furnished his troops, not only with provision and arms, but with clothes; for they were in a tattered condition, most of them barefoot, and very ill provided for a march over the snows and ice of the mountains. But the most essential service he did was by putting his troops in the rear of *Hannibal's* army, (which could not without great dread enter the territories of the *Gauls* called *Allobroges*;) and escorting it to the place where it was to ascend the *Alps*.

Hannibal, thus attended, marched 100 miles in ten days without molestation. So long as he was in the flat country the petty princes of the *Allobroges* made no opposition to his progress, either fearing the *Carthaginian* cavalry, or being held in respect by the *Gauls* that were in the rear of the army. But when these had retired to go home, and the *Carthaginians* began to ascend the mountains, they perceived that the mountaineers had possessed themselves of the highest cliffs that commanded the streight through which the army was to pass, with a resolution to oppose its passage. Here *Hannibal* therefore was obliged to make a halt and encamp. Had the mountaineers, says *Polybius*, concealed their designs till the *Carthaginian* army was advanced a good way into the narrow passes, it had been inevitably destroyed. *Hannibal* having learnt by the means of some of those *Gauls*, who served him for guides, that the

Y. R. 575.
E. C. Chr.

217.
234 Conf.

Polyb. B. 3.
C. 19.
Liv. B. 21.
C. 31.

Polyb. B. 3.
C. 5.

the Rhone and the Saone. Casaubon seems to have been shocked at this inconsistency; for in his translation he has neglected the words *πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν*. (along the river.)

As to the PASSAGE OF THE ALPS,
"There are six reasons, say the Jesuits,
"which incline us to believe that *Hannibal*
"crossed the *Alps* by the Great St. Bernard,
"[one of the *Alpes Penninæ*.]"

I shall mention only three of them.

"1. *Livy* and *Polybius* say, that this general, to encourage his troops, shewed them from the top of the mountain the rich plains of *Italy* that lay near the *Po*. Now supposing he had marched by the *Alpes Cotticæ*, as *Livy* pretends, he could not possibly from thence discover those plains; other mountains would have intercepted his view."

"2. *Polybius* reckons 1400 stadia, or about 175 miles from the place where *Hannibal* passed the *Rhone* to the foot of those *Alps* which he ascended to go into *Italy*. And if we say with *Livy*, that he passed any of the *Alpes Cotticæ*, it is impossible to make out that distance."

"3. *Polybius* tells us, that *Hannibal* passed the *Alps* near the place where the *Rhone* rises. Consequently he passed over the *Alpes Penninæ*."

These reasons seem decisive, as to the passage of the *Alps*, (whatever becomes of *Scoras*, and the 35 leagues march) *Polybius's* authority being unquestionable, since, as he tells us, he made a journey on purpose to visit the places where *Hannibal* had passed, that he might be the better able to give an account of them.

V. P. 55.
 E. 1. 55.
 254. 55.
 254. 55.

Polyb. B. 5.
 c. 51.

enemy quitted their posts every night, retiring to a town not far off, he took his opportunity with a detachment of his best men (leaving the greatest part of his forces with the baggage) to advance by night and seize those posts, before the return of the *Barbarians*; who in the morning were extremely surprized to find themselves thus dispossessed. However, as they perceived the cavalry and beasts of burden moving forward in the streights at a great distance, they ran thither and fell with fury upon the rear-guard of the army. The *Carthaginians* suffered a great loss of men, horses, and beasts of burden upon this occasion; which destruction was owing more to the difficulty of the passage, than the swords of the enemy. For the horses, when wounded by the mountaineers, or frightened by their howlings, rushed upon the beasts of burden, oversetting them and every thing else that stood in their way, and hurrying all down the precipices that bordered the road.

Hannibal, being sensible that the loss of his baggage would alone be sufficient to destroy his army, hastened with his detachment to the succour of the troops that were thus embarrassed. Falling on the enemy from the higher ground he slew most of them, and put the rest to flight, yet not without sustaining considerable loss of men himself. What remained of his horses and beasts of burden now passed the streight, but with much difficulty, because of the ruggedness of the way. After which, taking with him those of his men who were the least fatigued with the combat, he attacked the town from whence the enemy had sallied upon him, and he easily made himself master of it, the inhabitants having been almost all drawn out of it by the hopes of plunder. This conquest proved of great advantage to him. For he recovered a good number of men, horses, and beasts of carriage which had fall into the enemy's hands. He also found a sufficient quantity of corn and cattle to sustain his army for two or three days. And he gained this farther benefit, that the mountaineers of these parts were now so struck with dread, that they thought no more of interrupting his march.

6. 55.

Here he encamped and staid a whole day to refresh his troops. He then pursued his march, which for some days was unmolested. On the fourth, the people inhabiting the places near the road, having contrived a stratagem to attack him by surprize, came to meet him with olive branches and garlands, the usual signals of peace among these nations. *Hannibal*, mistrusting them, was very inquisitive concerning the intention of their coming. They told him, that having been informed of what had happened to their neighbours, and being themselves unwilling either to do or to suffer any injury, they were come to assure him of their peaceable dispositions; of which if he doubted they would give him hostages for his security.

Hannibal was for a while in suspense what resolution to take: But considering that if he accepted their offer with condescension, they might possibly become more easy and tractable, and that, if he rejected it,

it, he should have them immediately for open enemies, he at length pretended a great willingness to be upon terms of friendship with them.

Y. R. 535.
Bel. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

Upon which they brought him hostages, furnished him with cattle, and seemed to place entire confidence in the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* seeing this, and either having, or seeming to have a better opinion of them, told them, they should be his guides to conduct him through the remaining part of his way over the mountains. Thus for two days they marched at the head of the army. But when it was got into a hollow way, overlooked by steep and craggy rocks, these faithless friends, in concert with others of their countrymen who had lain concealed, fell suddenly upon the troops in front, flank and rear. The greatest number attacked the rear. The army would have been utterly destroyed, says *Polybius*, if *Hannibal*, who all along retained some diffidence of these Barbarians, had not taken his precautions to guard against them, by placing his baggage and his cavalry in the van, and his heavy armed infantry in the rear-guard. These sustained the shock of the enemy. Nevertheless he lost a great number of men, horses, and beasts of burden. For the *Gauls* having possessed themselves of the cliffs, and advancing thereon as the *Carthaginians* advanced in the hollow way, rolled down upon them huge stones, which occasioned an exceeding terror among them. *Hannibal* was obliged, with one half of his army, to remain all night in the open air, upon a rock, to defend the horses and beasts of carriage, as they filed along through the streight below; for which movement that night was hardly sufficient, the train was of such a length.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 53.

The next day, the enemy being retired, *Hannibal* rejoined his horse and baggage, and continued his march. The *Gauls* after this made no more attempts upon him, except in small parties, that, sallying out by surprize from their lurking places in the hollows of the rocks, sometimes upon his van, sometimes upon his rear, seldom failed to carry off a part of his baggage, which was their chief purpose. The elephants were of great use to the *Carthaginians* on these occasions, for wherever they chanced to appear, they struck such a terror into the mountaineers as made them instantly take to their heels.

Hannibal at length, after nine days march from the first ascent, gained the summit of the mountain. Here he staid two days, that those of his men, who with infinite toil had climbed to this height, might take breath; and that his sick and wounded, who were still behind and moving slowly on, might have time to crawl up. And *Polybius* adds, that while the troops continued here, they had the agreeable surprize of seeing many of the horses and beasts of burden which had fallen in the way, or had by fear been driven out of it, and were thought lost, arrive safely at the camp, having followed the track of the army.

It

It was now about the end of autumn, and abundance of snow was newly fallen on the top of the mountain. *Hannibal* perceiving his soldiers to be extremely discouraged by the sufferings they had already undergone, and by the apprehension of those that were to come, called them together, that he might try to revive their hope. Having led them to a convenient spot for taking an extensive view of the plains below; "There," said he, "cast your eyes over those large and fruitful countries. The Gauls who inhabit them are our friends. They are waiting for us, ready, and impatient to join us. You have scaled, not only the ramparts of *Italy*, but the walls of *Rome* itself. What remains is all smoothness and descent. One battle gained, or two at most, and the capital of *Italy* will be ours."

The next day he broke up his camp and began to descend. But now, though he had no enemies to encounter except a few lurking robbers, he is said to have lost almost as many men and horses in going down the mountain as in coming up. The way was so steep and slippery in most places, that the soldiers could neither keep on their feet, nor recover themselves when they slipped; and the ground being covered with snow, it was difficult to hit the right path, and if they missed it, they fell down frightful precipices, or were swallowed up in depths of snow. Nevertheless being inured to such dangers, they supported this with fortitude. But at length they came to a place much worse than any they had before met with, and which quite took away their courage. The path, for about a furlong and a half, naturally very steep and craggy, was rendered much more so by the late falling away of a great quantity of earth: so that neither elephants nor horses could pass. Here therefore they stopt short. *Hannibal* wondering at this sudden halt, ran to the place, and having viewed it, plainly saw there was no advancing farther that way. His first thought was to try another, by fetching a compass. But he quickly desisted from this attempt, it being found impracticable. For though the snow that had last fallen, being soft and of no great depth, yielded good footing enough for the soldiers and horses that marched foremost; yet when this had been so trampled upon, by them, that the feet of those who followed came to the hard snow and ice under it, the latter could by no means advance, or even keep upon their feet. And when they endeavoured to sustain themselves on their hands and knees, they often slid down and were lost in pits and precipices. And as for the horses and beasts of burden, when they struck their feet into the ice to preserve themselves from falling, they could not draw them out again, but remained there as if they had been themselves frozen. It was necessary therefore to seek some other expedient.

Hannibal having caused all the snow to be removed that lay upon the ground near the entrance of the first way, he there pitched his camp;

camp; and then gave orders to cut out a winding path in the " rock itself; and this work was carried on with so great diligence and vigour, that at the end of one day the beasts of burden and the horses were able to descend without much difficulty. He immediately sent them forward, and, removing his camp to a place that was free from snow, put them to pasture. It now remained to enlarge the way, that the elephants might pass. This task was assigned to the *Numidians*, and it took up so much time, that *Hannibal* did not arrive with his whole army in the plains below, on the confines of *Insubria*, till four days after he began to descend. He had been fifteen days in passing the *Alps*, and these included, five months and a half in his march (of about 1000 miles) from *New Carthage*.

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

Of the thirty-eight thousand foot with which the *Carthaginian* general had crossed the *Rhone*, he had now but 12,000 *Africans*, and 8000 *Spaniards*; and his eight thousand horse were reduced to about 6000. This enumeration is according to *Hannibal's* own register, which he afterwards caused to be engraved on a column near the promontory of *Lacinium* in *Calabria*.

c. 56b

His first care, after entering *Italy* and pitching his camp in the plain at the foot of the mountain, was to refresh his men, who stood in great need of it. Famine and fatigue had so disfigured them, that they looked like Savages. But as soon as he saw that both men and horses had recovered their strength, and were fit for action; he marched against the *Taurini* *, who were at that time in war with the *Insubrians*, and who had rejected his repeated solicitations to enter into an alliance with him. He sat down before their chief city and took it in three days, putting all who had opposed him to the sword. This expedition struck such a terror into the *Gauls* of this neighbourhood, that they came of their own accord and surrendered themselves at discretion. The remoter *Gauls* of the plains about the *Po* would have also been glad to join him, as they had long intended to do. But as the *Roman* legions had passed beyond those plains, and had escaped the ambushes there laid

c. 60.

* The people of *Taurin*.

" Mr. *Rollin* seems very loth to part with *Livy's* VINEGAR, which was poured upon the rock to soften it, after this had been first made red hot under flaming piles of huge trees. " Many, says Mr. *Rollin*, " reject this fact as fabulous. *Pliny* observes, that vinegar has the force to " break stones and rocks. *Saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens.* " *Lib. 23.* For which reason he calls " vinegar *Succus rerum dormitor.* *Lib. 33. c. 2.* *Dio*, speaking of the siege of *Eleuthera*, says, that the walls of it were made " to fall by the force of vinegar. *L. 36. p. 8.*

" It is likely, [apparemment] adds Mr. *Rollin*, what makes people question the " truth of *Livy's* account, is the difficulty " that *Hannibal* would have to procure in " those mountains a sufficient quantity of " vinegar for the operation." Doubtless the unbelievers do imagine this to be an insuperable objection to the story. But this is not all. For a better authority than *Livy* assures us, that *Hannibal* had no wood to make a fire with; *That there was not a tree in the place where he then was, or near it.* *Polybius, B. 3. c. 55.* Τὸν γὰρ Ἀλκιὺν τὰ μὴ ἄκρα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερῶνας ἀνιχνύει, τελευτᾷ ἀδυνατεῖ καὶ ψυχὰ παύει ἐστὶν.

for

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

for them, these *Gauls* thought it better now to keep quiet; nay some of their nation were constrained to take arms for the *Romans*. *Hannibal* therefore judging that he had no time to lose, resolved to march into their country, and endeavour by some exploit to raise the courage of a people who were so well disposed to favour him.

Pol. B. 3.
c. 51.

Lit. B. 21.
c. 39.

He was full of this design when he received intelligence that *Scipio* had passed the *Po* with his army, and that he was not far off. The two Generals are said to have conceived a high opinion of each other. *Hannibal's* name had been long renowned, even before the taking of *Saguntum*; and, that *Scipio* must be a captain of eminent worth, the *Carthaginians* had well concluded, from the *Romans* having chosen him, preferably to all others, to be his opponent. But this mutual impression was now become much stronger, by the *hardy enterprize* of the one to march over the *Alps*, with the *happy execution* of it: and the expeditious courage of the other in coming from the banks of the *Rhone*, to meet him, at the foot of those mountains.

But nothing had ever so astonished the people of *Rome*, as the news of the *Carthaginians* being so near. They had scarce ordered one of their Consuls into *Africa* to attack *Carthage*, and another into *Spain* to stop *Hannibal*, when they hear, that this same *Hannibal* is in *Italy* at the head of an army besieging towns. Such terror seized them, that they immediately dispatched an express to the Consul *Sempronius*, then at *Lilybæum*, to postpone every other affair, and come with all expedition to the defence of his country.

Pol. B. 3.
c. 41. and
L. B. 21.
c. 40. &
105.

Sempronius, to whom a considerable army, and a fleet of 160 galleys had been committed, and who had made mighty preparations at *Lilybæum* for a descent upon *Africa*, was so elated with ambitious hope, that he thought of nothing less than laying siege to *Carthage* itself, when he had first cleared the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily* of the *Carthaginian* fleets: Before he went into *Sicily*, the *Roman* prætor of that province had gained some considerable advantages by sea over the *Carthaginians*, and had disappointed a design formed by ~~him~~ to possess themselves of *Lilybæum* by surprize. When the Consul arrived at *Messina*, he was there met by king *Hiero*, who, continuing his friendship to the *Romans*, not only clothed the legions and furnished them with corn at his own expence, but with his fleet accompanied theirs to *Lilybæum*. From this place *Sempronius* made a successful attempt upon the Island of *Malta*; a conquest which served to cover *Sicily* on that side. After which, being returned to *Lilybæum*, and having learnt there, that a *Carthaginian* fleet was ravaging the coasts of *Calabria*, he made preparations to drive the enemy from thence; but while he was getting ready for this expedition, he received the order above-mentioned to return into *Italy* to the assistance of his colleague. Hereupon he gave one part of his fleet to his lieutenant *Pomponius*, to guard the coast of *Italy*, another to *Æmilius* prætor of *Sicily*, and with the rest, having embarked his army, set sail for *Ariminum* in the *Adriatic*.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Battle of the TICIN.

WHILE the forces of *Sempronius* from *Sicily* were in their voyage, *Hannibal* and the Consul *Publius Scipio* were advancing to meet each other. *Scipio* (as was before * observed) had, from the mouth of the *Rhone*, sent almost all his own consular army, under the conduct of his brother *Cnecius*, into *Spain*. The forces which he now commanded were chiefly the remains of an army † which had been assigned to the Prætor *Manlius*, to guard the province of *Gaul*, and which had since been defeated by the *Boii*.

Y. R. 535.
P. C. 5.
217.
234 C. 5.

† Scip. 121.
‡ Scip. 121.
119.

For these *Gauls* had no sooner heard of *Hannibal's* passing the *Iberus*, in his way to *Italy*, but, regardless of the hostages they had given at the conclusion of the last war with *Rome*, they rose in arms against her, and drew the *Insubrians* into the revolt. What made the *Boii* so forward in this matter, was their extreme dissatisfaction with the republic, for planting two colonies in their neighbourhood at *Placentia* and *Cremona*; an affair which, though long intended, was not quite finished when the *Carthaginian* began his march from *Spain*. The *Boii* fell first upon those lands which had been destined for the new colonies, pursuing the *Romans* who fled before them, to *Mutina**, another *Roman* colony. In this place, which they besieged, were three *Romans* of great distinction, (one of them having been Consul, and the other two, Prætors) who had been commissioned to make the partition of the lands. The *Gauls*, contrary to their faith given, seized upon the persons of these commissioners at a conference for an accommodation, hoping by this treachery to recover their hostages. The news of it roused the Prætor *Manlius*. He hastened to the relief of *Mutina*: But the *Gauls* having got notice of his approach, fell upon him by surprise, in his passage through a forest, and cut off a great part of his army, he himself narrowly escaping with the remainder to *Tanetum*, a small town on the banks of the *Po*. To this place the enemy pursued him, and there held him invested, till the Prætor *Attilius*, with a legion, that had been raised for *Spain*, and 5000 men of the allies, were sent from *Rome* to his assistance. Upon the approach of these troops the *Gauls* raised the sieges of both *Mutina* and *Tanetum*, and retiring thence dispersed themselves about the country.

Polib. B. 3.
c. 40.

* Modena.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 26.

The forces of *Manlius* and *Attilius*, which had been thus employed, composed the army, which *Scipio* (who had landed at *Pisa*, and gone thence to *Placentia*) led against *Hannibal*. Having passed the *Po*, he turned to the left, and advanced to the *Ticin*^a, over which he caused a

Polib. B. 3.
c. 56.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 39. & 40.

^a A small River on the north side of the *Po*, and running into it.

V. R. 555.
B. C. 117.
317.
B. C. 117.

bridge to be laid. But before he marched further, he thought it proper to assemble his soldiers, and endeavour to animate their courage for the approaching occasion. He spoke to them in words to this effect.

“ Were *you*, Soldiers, the same army, which I had with me in
“ *Gaul*, I might well forbear saying any thing to you at this time.
“ For, what occasion could there be to use exhortation to a CAVALRY,
“ that had so signally vanquished the squadrons of the enemy upon
“ the *Rhone*; or to LEGIONS, by whom that same enemy, flying before
“ them to avoid a battle, did in effect confess themselves conquered?
“ But, as those troops, having been enrolled for *Spain*, are there with
“ my brother *Cneius*, making war under my auspices (as was the will
“ of the Senate and people of *Rome*) I, that you might have a Consul
“ for your captain against *Hannibal* and the *Cartaginians*, have freely
“ offered myself for this war. *You* then have a *new general*, and I a
“ *new army*. In this circumstance a few words from *me* to *you* will be
“ neither improper nor unseasonable.

“ And that you may not be unapprized of what sort of enemies you
“ are going to encounter, or of what is to be feared from them, they
“ are the very same, whom in a former war, you vanquished both by
“ land and sea; the same from whom you took *Sicily* and *Sardinia*,
“ and who have been for these twenty years your tributaries. You will
“ not, I presume, march against *these* men with only that courage,
“ with which you are wont to face other enemies, but with a certain
“ anger and indignation, such as you would feel, if you saw your
“ slaves on a sudden rise up in arms against you. Conquered and en-
“ slaved, it is not boldness but necessity that urges them to battle: un-
“ less you can believe that those, who avoided fighting when their army
“ was entire, have acquired better hope by the loss of two thirds of
“ their horse and foot, in the passage of the *Alps*.

“ But you have heard perhaps, that, though they be few in number,
“ they are men of stout hearts and robust bodies, heroes of such strength
“ and vigour, as nothing is able to resist.—Meer effigies! nay sha-
“ dows of men! wretches emaciated with hunger, and benumbed with
“ cold! bruised and battered to pieces among the rocks and craggy
“ cliffs! their weapons broke, and their horses weak and foundered!
“ Such are the cavalry, and such the infantry with which you are going
“ to contend; not enemies, but the fragments of enemies. There is
“ nothing which I more apprehend, than that it will be thought, *Han-*
“ *nibal* was vanquished by the *Alps*, before we had any conflict with
“ him. But perhaps it was fitting that so it should be; and that with
“ a people and a leader, who had violated leagues and covenants, the
“ Gods themselves, without man’s help, should begin the war, and
“ bring it near to a conclusion; and that we, who, next to the Gods,
“ have been injured and offended, should happily finish what they
“ begun.

“ I need not be in any fear, that you should suspect me of saying
 “ these things merely to encourage you, while inwardly I have
 “ different sentiments. What hindered me from going into *Spain*?
 “ *That* was my province; where I should have had the less dreaded
 “ *Asdrubal*, not *Hannibal*, to deal with. But hearing, as I past along
 “ the coast of *Gaul*, of this enemy’s march, I landed my troops, sent
 “ the Horse forward, and pitched my camp upon the *Rhone*. A part
 “ of my cavalry encountered and defeated that of the enemy; my in-
 “ fantry not being able to overtake theirs which fled before us, I return-
 “ ed to my fleet, and with all the expedition I could use in so long a
 “ voyage by sea and land, am come to meet them at the foot of the
 “ *Alps*. Was it then my inclination to avoid a contest with this tre-
 “ mendous *Hannibal*? And have I lit upon him only by accident
 “ and unawares? Or am I come on purpose to challenge him to
 “ the combat? I would gladly try, whether the earth, within these
 “ twenty years, has brought forth a new kind of *Carthaginians*; or
 “ whether they be the same sort of men who fought at the *Ægates*;
 “ and whom, at *Eryx*, you suffered to redeem themselves at 18 * *denarii*
 “ *per* head: Whether this *Hannibal*, for labours and journies, be, as
 “ he would be thought, the rival of *Hercules*; or whether he be what
 “ his father left him, a tributary, a vassal, a slave of the *Roman* people.
 “ Did not the consciousness of his wicked deed, at *Saguntum*, torment
 “ him and make him desperate, he would have some regard, if not to
 “ his conquered country, yet surely to his own family, to his father’s
 “ memory, to the treaty written with *Amilcar*’s own hand. We might
 “ have starved them in *Eryx*; we might have passed into *Africa* with
 “ our victorious fleet, and in a few days have destroyed *Carthage*. At
 “ their humble supplication we pardoned them; we released them when
 “ they were closely shut up without a possibility of escaping; we made
 “ peace with them when they were conquered. When they were
 “ distressed by the *African* war, we considered them, we treated them
 “ as a people under our protection. And what is the return they make
 “ us for all these favours? Under the conduct of a hair-brained young
 “ man, they come hither to overturn our state and lay waste our country.
 “ —I could wish indeed, that it were not so; and that the war we are
 “ now engaged in, concerned only our glory and not our preservation.
 “ But the contest at present is not for the possession of *Sicily* or *Sardi-*
 “ *nia*, but of *Italy* itself. Nor is there, behind us, another army
 “ which, if we should not prove the conquerors, may make head against
 “ our victorious enemies. There are no more *Alps* for them to pass,
 “ which might give us leisure to raise new forces. No, Soldiers, here
 “ you must make your stand, as if you were just now before the walls
 “ of *Rome*. Let every one reflect, that he is now to defend, not his
 “ own person alone, but his wife, his children, his helpless infants.

Y. R. 535.
 Ref. Chr.
 237.
 234 Conf.

* 118. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$
 Arbuth.

V. R. 444.
Be. Chr.
217.
224 C. J.

“ Yet let not private considerations alone possess our minds; let us re-
“ member that the eyes of the Senate and people of *Rome* are upon us,
“ and that as our force and courage shall now prove, such will be the
“ fortune of that City, and of the *Roman* empire.”

This discourse, supported by the authority of the speaker, the certainty of some things he had said, and the probability of others, had the wished for effect on the minds of the hearers.

R. 2.
217.
224 C. J.

On the other side, *Hannibal* made use of a new kind of rhetoric to inspire his soldiers with resolution. He had taken prisoners, some young men of the mountaineers who opposed his march over the *Alps*; and, to prepare them for his purpose, had caused them to be treated in the severest manner, loaded with irons, tormented with hunger, and macerated with stripes. In this miserable condition he had them brought into the presence of his whole army; where, shewing them such weapons as the *Gallie* Princes were accustomed to use in single combat, and placing also before their eyes horses and handsome suits of apparel, he demanded, Who of them would be willing, with those weapons, to fight in duel one against another, to the death of one of the duellists, on the condition, that the victor should have his liberty, and the prizes they beheld? There was not a single wretch of these prisoners, who did not instantly and eagerly call out for the arms; for, at worst, they were sure of this advantage, to be by death delivered from all their miseries. *Hannibal* hereupon directed that they should draw lots for entering the lists. At the hearing of this order, all the young men lifted up their hands to heaven, each conjuring the Gods that he might be of the number of the combatants; and all those, whose fortune it proved to be so, exceedingly rejoiced and exulted, while the rest were as much dejected.

When these duels were over, those of the prisoners who had been only spectators seemed to envy the conquered, no less than they did the conquerors.

The spectacle had made the like impression on the greater part of the *Carthaginians*, who comparing the fortune of the dead with that of the living, who had not fought, compassioned these, and thought the others happy.

Hannibal, having thus brought his soldiers to the temper and disposition he desired, advanced into the midst of them, and then spoke in the following manner.

“ If in the estimation of your own fortune, you will but bear the
“ same mind which you just now did, in contemplating the fortune of
“ others, the victory, Soldiers, is ours. What you have seen, was not
“ a meer show for amusement, but a representation of your own real
“ condition. I know not whether you or your prisoners be encom-
“ passed by fortune with the stricter bonds and necessities. Two seas
“ inclose

“ inclose you on the right and left;—not a ship to fly to, for escaping.
 “ Before you is the *Po*, a river broader and more rapid than the *Rhone*;
 “ behind you are the *Alps*, over which, even when your numbers were
 “ undiminished, you were hardly able to force a passage. Here, then,
 “ Soldiers, you must either conquer or die, the very first hour you meet
 “ the enemy. But the same fortune which has thus laid you under the
 “ necessity of fighting, has set before your eyes those rewards of victory,
 “ than which no men are ever wont to wish for greater from the im-
 “ mortal Gods. Should we by our valour recover only *Sicily* and *Sar-*
 “ *dinia*, which were ravished from our fathers, those would be no in-
 “ considerable prizes. Yet, what are those? The wealth of *Rome*,
 “ whatever riches she has heaped together from the spoils of nations,
 “ all these, with the masters of them, will be yours. You have been
 “ long enough employed in driving the cattle upon the vast mountains
 “ of *Lusitania* and *Celtiberia*; you have hitherto met with no reward
 “ worthy of the labours and dangers you have undergone. The time
 “ is now come to reap the full recompence of your toilsome marches
 “ over so many mountains and rivers, and through so many nations,
 “ all of them in arms. This is the place, which fortune has appointed
 “ to be the limit of your labours; it is here that you will finish your
 “ glorious warfare, and receive an ample recompence of your com-
 “ pleted service. For I would not have you imagine that victory will
 “ be as difficult as the name of a ROMAN WAR is great and sounding.
 “ It has often happened that a despised enemy has given a bloody bat-
 “ tle, and the most renowned kings and nations have by a small force
 “ been overthrown. And if you but take away that glitter of the
 “ *Roman* name, what is there, wherein they may stand in competition
 “ with you? For, (to say nothing of your service in war for twenty
 “ years together with so much valour and success) from the very pillars
 “ of *Hercules*, from the ocean, from the utmost bounds of the earth,
 “ through so many warlike nations of *Spain* and *Gaul*, are you not come
 “ hither victorious? And with whom are you now to fight? with raw
 “ soldiers, an undisciplined army, beaten, vanquished, besieged by the
 “ *Gauls* the very last summer, an army unknown to their leader, and
 “ unacquainted with him.

“ Or shall I, who, I might almost say, was *born*, but certainly *brought*
 “ *up* in the tent of my father, that most excellent general, shall I, the
 “ conqueror of *Spain* and *Gaul*, and not only of the *Alpine* nations, but,
 “ which is greater yet, of the *Alps* themselves, shall I compare myself
 “ with this half-year-captain? A captain before whom should one place
 “ the two armies, without their ensigns, I am persuaded he would not
 “ know to which of them he is *Conjul*? I esteem it no small advantage,

V. R. 535.
 Bef. Chr.

217.
 234 Conf.

^b Here we have another proof from *Livy* himself of his own inadvertency in delivering the idle story mentioned, p. 104.

“ Soldiers,

Y. R. 333.
B.C. 217.
234 Cons.

“ Soldiers, that there is not *one* among you, who has not often been an
“ eye-witness of my exploits in war; not *one*, of whose valour, I myself
“ have not been a spectator, so as to be able to name the times and
“ places of his noble achievements; that with soldiers, whom I have a
“ thousand times praised and rewarded, and whose pupil I was, before I
“ became their general, I shall march against an army of men strangers
“ to one another.

“ On what side soever I turn my eyes, I behold all full of courage
“ and strength; a veteran infantry, a most gallant cavalry; you, my
“ allies, most faithful and valiant; you, *Carthaginians*, whom not only
“ your country's cause, but the justest anger impels to battle. The hope,
“ the courage of assailants is always greater, than of those who act upon
“ the defensive. With hostile banners displayed you are come down
“ upon *Italy*; you bring the war. Grief, injuries, indignities fire your
“ mind, and spur you forward to revenge.—First they demand *me*,
“ that I, your General, should be delivered up to them; next, *all you*,
“ who had fought at the siege of *Saguntum*; and we were to be put
“ to death by the extremest tortures. Proud and cruel nation! Every
“ thing must be yours, and at your disposal? You are to prescribe to
“ us, with whom we shall make war, with whom we shall make peace?
“ You are to set us bounds, to shut us up within hills and rivers; but
“ *you*, you are not to observe the limits which yourselves have fixed?
“ *Pass not the IBERUS*. What next? *Touch not the SAGUNTINES*;
“ *SAGUNTUM* is upon the *IBERUS*; move not a step towards that city.
“ It is a small matter then, that you have deprived us of our ancient
“ possessions, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; you would have *Spain* too? Well, we
“ shall yield *Spain*; and then—you will pass into *Africa*. Will pass,
“ did I say?—This very year they ordered one of their Consuls into
“ *Africa*, the other into *Spain*. No, Soldiers, there is nothing left for us
“ but what we can vindicate with our swords. Come on then. Be men.
“ The *Romans* may with more safety be cowards; they have their own
“ country behind them, have places of refuge to fly to, and are secure
“ from danger in the roads thither: But for *you* there is no middle for-
“ tune between death and victory. Let this be but well fixed in your
“ minds, and once again I say, *you are CONQUERORS*.”

* *Livy's* expression is, *Genereffimorum gentium equites frænatos & infrænatos*, horsemen that ride with bridles, and those that ride without bridles, by the latter meaning the *Nuridians*, who had no bridles nor saddles to their horses, and who in action resembled the modern *Hussars*.

† By the words which *Livy* here puts into the mouth of *Hannibal*, it is plain, that the *Saguntines* were not included at first

in the treaty with *Asdrubal*; that this treaty only restrained the *Carthaginians* from passing the *Iberus*, as *Polybius* declares; and that the alliance of the *Romans* with the *Saguntines* was posterior to it, and a real infraction of it. See pag. 116, 117.

* *Hannibal*, the more to incense his hearers against the *Romans*, makes these assert an impudent falsehood, that *Saguntum* is upon the *Iberus*.

Livy

Livy reports, that *Hannibal*, further to animate his men, assured them, that they should have every one of them lands in property, either in *Africa*, *Spain*, or *Italy*, or else an equivalent in money, if they preferred money. And these assurances he ratified in form. Taking a flint in one hand, and holding a lamb with the other, he said, *Great JUPITER, and all ye Gods, if I do not perform my promise, slay me as I do this lamb!* at which words he broke with the flint the skull of the lamb; a solemnity which much augmented the confidence of his troops.

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 45.

The next day the two armies advanced towards each other along the *Ticin*, on that side of it which is next the *Alps*, the *Romans* having the river on their left, the *Carthaginians* the same river on their right. The day following each army receiving intelligence by its foragers that the enemy was near, encamped in the place where it then was. The third, *Scipio* with his cavalry and light armed foot marching forward to discover the strength and situation of the *Carthaginians*; and *Hannibal*, with his cavalry only, coming on with the like intention, they soon perceived each other's approach by the dust they raised in the plain, and there-upon immediately prepared for battle. The *Roman* General sent before him his *Gallic* horse, assisted by his dartmen to begin the fight, he himself with the rest of his cavalry in one line following slowly in good order. The *Gauls* behaved themselves courageously, but the foot, that should have aided them, shrunk at the first onset, or rather fled cowardly through the intervals of the squadrons without casting a dart, fearing to be trodden down by the enemy's horse. Nevertheless the *Gauls* maintained the fight, as presuming they should be well sustained by the *Roman* horse behind them. Nor did the Consul neglect his part, but hazarded his person so far, that he received a dangerous wound, and had been left upon the place, if his son^f, a mere youth, (afterwards the great *Africanus*) had not, by a surprizing effort of courage, brought him off. Whilst the *Romans* were busied in assisting their Consul, an unexpected storm came driving at their backs, and obliged them to look to their own preservation. For *Hannibal* had ordered his *Numidians*, who were in the wings, to wheel and give upon the *Romans* in flank and rear, while he with his *Spanish* and other horse sustained their charge in front. The *Numidians* performed their instructions, and having first cut in pieces the scattered foot that had run away at the beginning of the action, fell instantly upon the backs of the *Roman* cavalry, who by this impression were intirely broken and forced to betake themselves to their speed, leaving to their enemies the honour of the day.

Polyb. B. 39
c. 65.

Scipio the night following decamped secretly, and marched with expedition over the plains to the *Po*, which he now repassed, retiring to

c. 66.

^f So *Livy* is inclined to believe, with the greater number of authors; but adds, that *Celius* the historian gives the honour of the Consul's rescue to a *Ligurian* slave.

the

Y. R. 515.
B. 3. c. 37.
217
218 C. 37.

the neighbourhood of *Placentia*. For he thought it not safe, wounded as he was, to stay in a flat open country, with an enemy so near, that was much superior to him in horse. *Hannibal*, who had expected to have an engagement with the enemies infantry, no sooner learned that the *Romans* were retired, but he followed them as far as to their bridge upon the *Ticin*. Here he surprized and made prisoners 600 men who had been left behind to destroy the bridge so soon as the army should be passed. The work was however effected; the boats which had composed the bridge being loosed from one another were floating down the stream; which *Hannibal* perceiving, and hearing also that the *Romans* were far advanced in their march, he immediately turned back, went down the *Ticin*, and then up along the banks of the *Po*, to find a convenient place where he might lay a bridge of boats over this river. After two

* *Livy* says that *Scipio* retired to *Placentia*; which if true, *Placentia* must have had a different situation from what it has now, and must have been, not on the east but the west side of the *Trebia*. For we find, that *Scipio*, after his first retreat, passed the *Trebia* to get further from *Hannibal*. *Polybius*'s words import no more than that the *Romans* retired to the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, viz. westward.

* *Livy*, who, in this part of his history, plainly borrows from *Polybius*, seems to have misunderstood him with regard to the *Bridge*, at which *Hannibal* is said to have arrived in his pursuit of the *Romans*. The Latin Historian makes it to be their bridge over the *Po*, as if they had no river to pass in their way to the *Po*; which, if true, we must say, that the battle was fought on the east side of the *Ticin*, the side towards *Placentia*: For *Polybius* expressly affirms that *Scipio* at the head of the battle had the *Ticin* to his left, and *Hannibal* the same river to his right. Yet, that the battle was fought on the west side of the *Ticin*, we have *Livy*'s own authority. He makes *Scipio*'s march, in order to meet *Hannibal*, to have been from *Placentia* to that river, over which he passed by a bridge, before he gave battle to the *Carthaginians*. *Ponte peracto traducit Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium*, B. 21. c. 45. And in this he does not disagree with *Polybius*. Now, if the battle was fought on the east bank of the *Ticin*, and *Scipio* had this river to his left, it is evident that the *Carthaginians* were between him and the *Po*, and that he could not steal a march to the *Po* (in the way to *Placentia*) without first repassing the *Ticin*; which

Hannibal must also have crossed in the pursuit of his enemy to the *Po*. But not one word is any where said of *Hannibal*'s passing, or attempting to pass, the *Ticin*.

The bridge therefore to which *Hannibal* came, in pursuit of the *Romans*, must have been their bridge over the *Ticin*; at the entrance of which, according to *Livy*, *Scipio* had raised a fort and placed a guard. And it was this guard which *Hannibal* surprized.

The reason which *Polybius* assigns for *Hannibal*'s turning back, when he came to the broken bridge, is the distance of the enemy: He heard that the *Romans* were got a great way off (too far to be overtaken.) This furnishes another proof, that the river in question was the *Ticin* and not the *Po*. For as he had determined to pass the *Po* with all expedition, how could he find a more convenient time to lay his bridge, than when he had no enemies to oppose him? But the distance of the enemy was a good reason why he should not lay a bridge over the *Ticin*; since this would be only loss of time and labour, and could not in the least further his intention of passing the *Po*, or coming up with the *Romans*. And what necessity could he be under of spending two days (as *Livy* says he did) in search of a convenient place to lay a bridge over the *Po*, if he was already at that very place where the *Romans* had laid their bridge over that river. Chevalier *Felard*'s translator of *Polybius*, understands him as *Livy* does. Yet the chevalier, in his comment, regardless of his text, speaks of the bridge in question, as the bridge over the *Ticin*, tom. 4. p. 129.

days

days march, a proper place being found, and the bridge formed, he ordered *Asdrubal* to lead over the army, while he himself was employed in giving audience to ambassadors come to him from the *Gauls* of the neighbouring countries, who, after his success at the *Ticin*, retaining their first design, now offered to join their forces to his, and to furnish him with whatever he wanted.

Y. R. 525.
B.C. 217.
254 Cont.

When the army was all passed, the *Carthaginian* took his march down the river, and at the end of the second day came within view of the *Romans*. The third, he drew up his forces in *battlea*, in the face of the enemy: But finding his challenge not accepted, he retired and pitched his camp about six miles from them.

At this time certain *Gauls*, to the number of 2000 foot and 200 horse, who served in the Consul's camp, observing the fortunate state of *Hannibal's* affairs, plotted together to desert to him. After supper they retired to their tents, and there kept quiet till towards day-break; but then, having suddenly armed themselves, they fell upon the sleeping *Romans*, who lay nearest to them, slew a great number and wounded many others; after which they fled out of the camp, carrying with them to *Hannibal* the heads of those they had slain. The *Carthaginian* received these traitors kindly, exhorted them to continue their zeal, and promised them rewards proportionable to their services; but distrusting perhaps their fidelity, he did not enrol them among his troops, but dismissed them to their respective towns and villages, that they might publish among their countrymen the success of his arms, and exhort them to enter into alliance with him. There was in truth little need, for that end, of the exhortations of these emissaries, whose recent treachery alone sufficed to put the rest of the *Boii* under a necessity of siding with the *Carthaginian*. A party of them at this very juncture, brought to *Hannibal's* camp the three *Roman* commissioners, whom, contrary to faith given, they had seized at a conference (as was before mentioned) and they put them into his hands. *Hannibal*, after many kind words and promises to these *Gauls*, made a treaty with them, and then restored to them the three captives, whom he advised them to keep under strict guard, and to make use of (as they had at first proposed) to recover their hostages from the *Romans*.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 6.

Scipio, alarmed at the bloody treason of his *Gallic* deserters, and not doubting but the *Gauls* in general would quickly declare themselves in favour of *Hannibal*, thought it adviseable to retire into a country where the friendship of the inhabitants was more to be depended upon. He decamped therefore about three hours after midnight, to pass the *Trebia*, and take post upon the eminencies near that river, where he believed the enemy would not have the boldness to attack him. *Hannibal*, upon notice of this motion of the *Romans*, detached his *Numidian* cavalry after them,

c. 68.

¹ A small river running northward into the *Po* near *Placentia*.

Y. R. 535.
L. C. 5.
277.
277 C. 5.

he himself soon following with the rest of the army. The *Numidians*, finding the *Roman* camp deserted, stopt to set fire to it, a delay very fortunate to the *Romans*, who, had they been overtaken in the plain, and before they had got their baggage over the river, would have been extremely embarrassed. But when the *Numidians* came up, the main body of the Consul's army, together with the baggage, had already passed the stream. There remained on the other side some of his rear guard only, of which the enemy slew a part and took the rest prisoners.

The Consul having fortified himself in his new camp, resolved to wait there the arrival of his colleague *Sempronius* with the troops from *Sicily*, and, in the mean time, to attend carefully to the cure of his wound, that he might be in a condition to act, when, after the junction of the two armies, a favourable opportunity should present. *Hannibal* advanced, and pitched his camp about five miles from that of the Consul, the *Trebia* running between them. Great numbers of *Gauls* from the circumjacent country flocked to the *Carthaginians*, and supplied him abundantly with arms and provisions.

C H A P. XIX.

The Battle of the TREBIA.

Hannibal passes over the Apennines into Hetruria.

Pol. B. 3.
a. 62.

WHEN the news came to *Rome* of the action upon the *Ticin*, though the publick expectation was much disappointed by the ill success, yet they endeavoured to account for it by reasons that would leave no discouragement upon their minds. Some imputed the misfortune to rashness in the Consul, stimulated by too eager a desire of fighting: others to perfidy in the *Gauls* of his army, whom they supposed to have designedly suffered themselves to be vanquished; a conjecture founded on the subsequent treachery of some of their countrymen: and as the *Roman* infantry remained unbroken, no danger to the republick was yet apprehended, from a defeat which the horse alone had sustained. The arrival of *Sempronius*, from *Sicily*, at *Ariminum*, with his legions, confirmed this confidence. It was imagined that when these had joined the forces of *Scipio*, the very appearance of so powerful an army would alone be sufficient to put the *Carthaginians* to flight.

Sempronius marched with all diligence from *Ariminum* to join his colleague. Having pitched his camp near him, and refreshed his legions, which had been fatigued by their voyage ^k, and march from *Lilybæum* to

^k *Livy* sends the troops of *Sempronius*, all the way from *Lilybæum* to *Ariminum*, by sea. *Polybus* represents them traversing the

city of *Rome*, and marching from thence to *Ariminum*.

Ariminum, which took up forty days, he gave orders to get all things ready for battle. While these preparations were going forward, he made frequent visits to *Scipio*, enquiring of him all the circumstances of the late action upon the *Ticin*, and consulting with him upon future measures.

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

In the mean time *Hannibal* found means to get possession of *Clastidium*, a small town on the confines of *Liguria*, where the *Romans* had formed a magazine of arms and provisions. To give an impression of his clemency, and engage more of his enemies to have recourse to it, he treated the garrison with all gentleness. And as the governor had betrayed the place to him, he most richly rewarded him, in hopes thereby to allure other officers intrusted by the *Romans* to the like treachery.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 69.

Soon after this, having notice that certain *Gauls* who inhabited between the *Trebia* and the *Po*, and who had made alliance with him, continued nevertheless (that they might have a refuge in all events) to hold a secret correspondence with the enemy, he detached 2000 foot and 1000 horse to pillage and lay waste their lands. His orders were punctually executed, and the booty proved considerable; the plundered *Gauls* flocking to the *Roman* entrenchments to ask succour.

Sempronius, who had impatiently waited an occasion of fighting, seized this pretext. He sent out the greater part of his cavalry with a thousand light armed foot, who expeditiously passing the *Trebia*, attacked the pillagers that were carrying off the booty, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire within their entrenchments. But a vigorous sally being made from thence, the pursuers were repulsed, and obliged in their turn to fly to their camp. Hereupon *Sempronius* put all his cavalry and all his light armed troops in motion, so that the enemy were once more forced to retire. *Hannibal*, who was not prepared for a general action, and who thought it not the part of a prudent commander, to hazard one lightly, and without a premeditated design, contented himself with stopping the flight of his men, and making them face about. He forbade them by his officers, and by his trumpets, either to charge or pursue the enemy; who after they had continued some time upon the place, retreated to their camp.

The loss of men had not been very considerable on either side; but as the *Romans* had lost fewer than the *Carthaginians*, *Sempronius*, much elated with this trivial advantage, could think of nothing now but a decisive action. Nevertheless, he continued to observe the decency of advising with his colleague. *Scipio's* opinion was, that in prudence they ought to avoid fighting, till the troops, having been trained and exercised during the winter, might more reasonably be depended upon than at present: He added, that the *Gauls* were naturally too fickle and inconstant to keep long in friendship with the *Carthaginian*, and would infallibly turn against him, if they found him out of a condition to enterprise any thing of importance; and he therefore intreated *Sempronius* to

c. 70.

F. R. 535.
Bel. Chr.
217.
234 C. 26

lay aside, for some time, all thoughts of a *general battle*; an occasion, in which (he modestly added) he himself, when his wound was healed, might perhaps be of some use. *Sempronius* could not but be sensible, that this advice was judicious; but his passion to distinguish himself overpowering his reason, and begetting a confidence of success, he, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of his colleague, bent his whole mind to bring on a general action, as soon as possible; that so neither *Scipio's* cure, nor the election of new Consuls (the time for which drew near, might prevent his acquiring the sole glory of finishing the war. And thus, says *Polybius*, as he considered not what was seasonable for the publick, but for himself, it was impossible but he must take wrong measures.

Hannibal formed the same judgment as *Scipio* upon the situation of things, and was therefore no less desirous than *Sempronius* of coming to a decisive battle without delay. He was well aware of his present advantages in the favourable disposition of the *Gauls* to him, the inexperience of the *Roman* troops, and the inability of *Scipio* to be in the action: But his strongest motive was the necessity an invader is under of being almost incessantly active, and of performing repeated exploits, if he would preserve to himself the esteem, and keep alive the hopes of his confederates.

Polyb. B. 3.
C. 72

The *Carthaginian* had viewed and fully examined the ground between the two armies. It was an open plain, through which ran a winding rivulet. The banks of this small stream being pretty high, and also thick set with bushes and brambles, *Hannibal* perceived that it was easy not only for foot, but even for horsemen to be there concealed. Having imparted to his chief officers the design he had formed, and finding it universally approved, he after supper sent for his brother *Mago*, a young man of great spirit and a good soldier, and directed him to choose out a hundred horse and a hundred foot of the bravest men in the army, and to bring them before night to his tent. This done, and the general having exhorted the two hundred to behave themselves gallantly in the post he should assign them, he bid each man go and choose out of the corps to which he belonged, nine others, such as he knew to be the stoutest soldiers in it, and then to repair to him at a certain place in the camp. The whole number came, a thousand horse, and a thousand foot. He furnished them with guides, and under the conduct of his brother, to whom he signified the time when they should fall upon the enemy, sent them to the place he had chosen for the ambush.

The next morning, at day break, he assembled his *Numidian* cavalry, a hardy people inured to fatigue; and when he had promised ample rewards to every one that should distinguish himself in the discharge of his duty, he ordered them instantly to pass the *Trebia*, brave the enemy in their camp, skirmish with them if they sallied out, and, in skirmishing, retire and repass the river.

Hannibal's

Hannibal's view in making this movement so early in the morning, was to provoke the *Romans* to an engagement while they were yet fasting, thoughtless of fighting, and unprepared for it.

Sempronius no sooner saw the *Numidians* approach, but he sent out his cavalry to attack them. The cavalry were followed by 6000 dart-men; and the general himself not long after came out of his entrenchment with all the rest of his army. His numerous forces, and the light advantage he had gained the day before, made him vain enough to think, that there needed little more than his appearance in the field to secure the victory.

It was yet winter, it snowed, the weather was extremely cold, and the soldiers had begun their march before they had eaten any thing to sustain them. And therefore though they moved forward briskly at first, and with an eager desire of fighting, yet when they came to ford the river, which being swelled by the rain of the night before, was breast-high, they began to shrink; and when they had waded through it (the day being then pretty far advanced) they found themselves extremely pinched and weakened both with cold and hunger: Whereas on the other hand the *Carthaginians* had, by *Hannibal's* order, taken a good repast in their tents, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their arms before the fire.

When *Hannibal* perceived that the *Romans* had passed the *Trebia*, which was the favourable moment he had waited for, he instantly sent out, to the succour of his *Numidians*, the slingers of the *Baleares*, and his other light-armed infantry, to the number of 8000; after which he led forth his main army. His foot consisted of 20,000 men, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and *Africans*. His cavalry, including the *Gauls* his allies, amounted to above 10,000. He drew up the whole horse and foot, in one line, about a mile from his camp, posting the horse on the wings. His elephants he placed before the points of his body of infantry.

In the mean time, *Sempronius* by a signal called off his cavalry that were fatiguing themselves to little purpose against the *Numidians*. For it was the custom of these to attack briskly; then on a sudden break their ranks, turn their backs and fly; and presently after return to the charge in as good order, and with as much boldness as at first: A manner of fighting, which being entirely new to the *Roman* cavalry, perplexed and disconcerted them.

The Consul's infantry consisted of ¹ 16,000 *Roman* legionaries, and 20,000 foot of the allies. He formed his battle after the usual manner of the *Romans*, the infantry in three lines, and the horse, amounting to 4000, upon the wings. In this order he advanced slowly towards the enemy. The light-armed troops on both sides began the action, much to the advan-

V. R. 117.
Bel. Carth.
217.
234 Conf.

Polib. B. 3.
c. 72.

¹ *Livy* says 18,000. He adds, that the Consul's army was strengthened by a body of the *Cenomani*, the only nation of the *Gauls* that continued faithful to the *Romans*.

Y. R. 333.
B.C. 217.
217.
217.

tage of the *Carthaginians*: for the dartmen of the *Romans*, having suffered cold and hunger ever since the morning, and having spent the most of their darts against the *Numidians*, were by no means a match for those of *Hannibal*, who had but just left their camp well armed, fresh and vigorous.

When these straining troops had retired through the intervals of the respective armies to which they belonged, a general charge ensued. The *Roman* cavalry being soon routed and driven from their ground by the superior numbers of the *Carthaginians*, left the wings of their infantry exposed to be attacked in flank. The *Numidians* who had been employed to provoke the battle, and the light armed troops who had begun it, were ready on the part of *Hannibal* for this service, having, after their retreat, posted themselves to the right and left behind the *Carthaginian* cavalry; falling furiously therefore on the two wings of the *Roman* infantry in flank, they put them into great disorder, and disabled them from defending themselves against the elephants, that attacked them in front. These wings, utterly broken and put to flight, were chased into the river.

Y. R. 333.
B.C. 217.

At the same time the 2000 men, who had lain in ambush in the brook before-mentioned, came out, and fell upon the rear of the *Roman* legions in the center, which caused a terrible confusion there. The foremost ranks of this center were the only troops of the Consul's army that could keep their ground. They fought a long time with undaunted bravery against the heavy armed forces of the enemy, and at length, urged by necessity, broke their way through them with great slaughter. But seeing that their wings were defeated, and not thinking themselves able either to succour them, or to return to their camp, by reason of the enemies numerous horse and the river that were in the way, they formed themselves into a close compact body, to the number of 10,000, and took the direct road to *Placentia*. Hither they retreated without the least danger, or opposition; and they were followed by all those of the rout, horse and foot, that could escape out of the field, without passing the river. Of the remainder of the *Roman* army, some had the good fortune to get safely over the stream to their camp; but the greater part perished on the banks of it, either trodden down by the elephants or slain by the horse. The *Carthaginians* pursued the enemy no farther than to the river, which the rigour of the season restrained them from passing. They returned to their intrenchments. Their victory was complete, and their loss inconsiderable. A few only of the *Africans* and *Spaniards* remained upon the field; the *Gauls* suffered most. Yet after this victory the *Carthaginians*, through the inclemency of the weather, lost a great number both of men and horses; and of the elephants all died but oneⁿ.

As

ⁿ *Livy*, B. 21. c. 58. speaks of seven elephants, that, after this time, perished of cold, in a fruitless attempt which *Han-*

nibal made to pass the *Apennines*, being forced back from the top of those hills by a hurricane. The same author relates a battle

As for the Consul *Scipio*, and those that were with him, they stole away from their camp, the very night after the battle, crossed the *Trebia* upon boats or upon rafts, and got safe to *Placentia*; the enemy either not perceiving their flight, or not being able to pursue them, for cold and weariness.

Sempronius, to conceal the shame of his defeat, sent messengers to *Rome*, whose tidings imported only, that there had been a battle, and that the severity of the weather had snatched the victory out of his hands. This report passed currently at first, but the true situation of affairs was quickly known; that the *Roman* forces had been utterly vanquished; that the rout had fled to the neighbouring colonies for refuge; that *Scipio* after his flight to *Placentia*, not to ruin that place by keeping too great a number of soldiers there, had crossed the *Po* with his part of the army, and retired to *Cremona*; that the troops had no provisions but what were brought by sea and up the *Po*; and lastly, that all the nations of the *Gauls* had declared for *Hannibal*.

The people of *Rome* were yet in their first fright and consternation at all this bad news, when *Sempronius* himself, after escaping many dangers from the enemies cavalry that were dispersed, in parties, over the country, arrived in the city. His business was to hold the *Comitia* by centuries, for electing new Consuls.

Notwithstanding the late disasters and the present distress, party favour had a greater share in the elections, than a due regard to the exigencies of the state. For (with *Cn. Servilius*) was raised to the Consulate *C. Flaminius*, a rash hot-headed man, who, when in the same station six years before, had signalized himself by his disobedience to the senate, and his contempt of religion. His merit with the people, and what now procured him the falces, was his having been the only man of the *Conscript Fathers*, that assisted in promoting a law, which enacted, that no Senator, nor father of a Senator, should have a ship at sea, carrying above eight ton or thereabouts. A vessel of that burthen was thought sufficient for transporting to *Rome* the produce of any man's lands; and it was intended by this law to confine commerce to the *Plebeians*.

Sempronius's year not being yet expired, he immediately after the elections returned to his winter quarters at *Placentia*.

The Senate provided for the next campaign. They made new levies amongst the allies, ordered troops into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, put garrisons into *Tarentum*, and other places where they were most wanted, and sent provisions to *Ariminum* and into *Uetruria*; through which country the army was to march against *Hannibal*. They also dispatched ambassadors to ask assistance of King *Hiero*, who furnished them with 500 *Cretan*

battle that presently followed *Hannibal's* return into the plains, and was terminated by the night's coming on, when there had been no great slaughter on either side. *Po-*

lybius says nothing of all this, and there is nothing of probability in the story, but a good deal of poetry.

archers,

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 56.
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 75.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 56.

See p. 96,
and 97.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 63.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 75.

archers, and 1000 other light armed soldiers. And lest the *Carthaginians* should from *Africa* attempt to land troops in *Italy*, they equipt sixty quinqueremes to guard the coast. In a word, they omitted nothing that was necessary for carrying on the war with the utmost vigour, it being the peculiar character of the *Romans*, says *Polybus*, that they are then most to be feared when they are most afraid.

On the side of *Spain* all was safe; for in that country during the late unfortunate campaign in *Italy*, the arms of the republic, under the conduct of *Cn. Scipio*, had prospered beyond expectation. He had entirely defeated *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* General, and reduced almost all the nations between the *Atlas* and the *Pyrenees*, to the obedience of *Rome*.

As for *Hannibal*, he did not remain inactive after his victory at the *Trebia*. Wounded and repulsed in an attack upon one town belonging to the *Romans*, he assaulted and took another called *Vicumetia*, in *Liguria*, and gave it up to be plundered by the soldiers.

The *Carthaginian*, during his winter quarters among the *Gauls*, with whose levity he was well acquainted, and who, he feared, might repent of their newly contracted alliance with him, is said to have put in practice some of his *Punic* arts, to preserve himself from their snares. He not only wore false hair, but at different times the habits of different ages, frequently changing his dress in order to disguise himself. And because the *Gauls* were extremely dissatisfied that their country continued to be the seat of the war, and were impatiently desirous (from a hatred, as they pretended, to the *Romans*, but in truth, from an eagerness to enrich themselves with plunder, or being led into the territories of the allies of *Rome*, he resolved to pass as soon as possible over the *Apennines* into *He-truria*. Just before he entered upon this expedition, he assembled all his captives that were of the *Roman* allies, and when he had assured them that he was come into *Italy*, not as their enemy, but their friend, to restore them to liberty and to the possession of the towns which the *Romans* had taken from them; and when he had exhorted them to join with him in the common cause, and to engage their countrymen to do the same, he dismissed them all without ransom.

After this, having made enquiry about the several roads into *He-truria*, he learnt that there was one much shorter than any of the rest, but very difficult to pass, as it led through marshy grounds; the other roads more easy, but known to the enemy, and in their possession. *Hannibal* for these reasons, or perhaps because he had naturally a turn for those dangerous enterprizes, which are apt to raise mens admiration of a general, and strike his enemies with terror, chose the difficult road, which was now rendered more so by the overflowing of the *Arno*. Having passed the *Apennines*, he entered the marshes. His *Africans* and *Spaniards*, who were inured to this sort of fatigue, and who marched first, went into the water without hesitation, and kept their order. The *Gauls* had more difficulty the way being made much worse by the

multitudes

multitudes of men and beasts of burthen that had gone before them) and many of them were killed with the fatigue: for to add to the distress, they were obliged to march thus in mire and water four days together, with but very little sleep, such as they could get lying upon their baggage, or upon the beasts which had carried it, and had perished in the mud. *Hannibal* himself was not without his share of the inconveniences of this march, for though he rode upon an elephant (the only one remaining) his continual watchings, and the unwholesome damps, brought such a defluxion upon his eyes that he lost one of them. When he was come out of the marshes, he halted for some days that he might refresh his army, and enquire into the situation of the country, the strength and designs of the enemy, and the character and disposition of their General.

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 80.

C H A P. XX.

SECOND YEAR of the War.

The BATTLE of the Lake THRASYMENUS.

Fabius Maximus Cunctator is sent against Hannibal; who deceives him by a very singular stratagem.

Transactions in Spain.

FLAMINIUS, as was before observed, had obtained the consulship by the favour of the people, contrary to the inclinations of the Senate. Being apprehensive that the augurs, influenced by his enemies, would, to render his election invalid, pretend some defect in the auspices, he took a bold unprecedented step, left *Rome*, without performing the usual ceremonies of religion, went straight to *Ariminum* (where he had ordered the army to rendezvous) and was there invested in the consulate. The Senate, highly offended at this proceeding, sent two of their body to recal him to *Rome*, that he might perform those ceremonies which he had despised. But the Consul paid no regard to their orders. At the head of four legions (two of which he received from *Sempronius*, and the other two from the Prætor *Atilius*) he crossed the *Apennines*, and encamped his army under the walls of *Aretium* in *Hetruria*; and there he still was when *Hannibal* came out of the marshes.

Y. R. 536.
Bef. Chr.
216.
235 Conf.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 63.

The *Carthaginian* having learnt that *Flaminius's* chief talent was haranguing the people, in whose assemblies he was a leading man, but that he wanted the skill for conducting a war, was of a hasty disposition, easy to be inflamed, and confident of his own abilities, did not

Polyb. B. 5.
c. 80. 82.

T. R. 336.
P. C. 336.
216.
336 C. 336.

1. 2. 3.
C. 336.

C. 336.

P. C. 336.
C. 336.

doubt but he should be able, by provoking his high spirit, to lead him whithersoever he pleased. With this view, having put his army in march, he laid waste, before the Consul's eyes, the fertile fields of *Hetruria*, and in seeming contempt of him, passed by his camp at *Arretium*, and advanced nearer to *Rome*, as if he intended to carry on his devastations to the walls of the capital. *Flaminius* beheld the lands of *Cortona* (one of the most considerable cities of *Hetruria*) in a flame behind him. Enraged at being thus insulted by *Hannibal*, he immediately called a council of war, but would not listen to his officers who advised him to continue in his camp till he was joined by his colleague, and in the mean time content himself with sending out strong parties to hinder the enemy from ravaging the country. He rushed out from the council in great wrath, and gave orders for marching. And when word was brought him, that one of the standards stuck so fast in the ground that they could not pull it out, he asked the messenger whether he had not likewise brought letters from the Senate forbidding him to fight. He added, *Since fear has not left the soldiers strength enough in their hands to pull up the standard, bid them dig it up.* He then began his march with a full resolution to fight *Hannibal* as soon as he could overtake him. And though his officers were greatly dissatisfied, yet the common soldiers applauded the confidence of their General, who to such an extravagant height had raised the hopes of the vulgar, that an immense number of them followed the camp in expectation of booty, and went loaded with chains for the multitude of enemies that were to be taken prisoners.

Hannibal was pursuing his march in the way towards *Rome*, having the lake *Tbrasymentus* (now *Lago di Perugia*) close on his right, and the town of *Cortona* at some distance on his left, when he learnt that the Consul was following him. Upon this advice, he turned his thoughts to seek out a convenient spot of ground where he might draw the enemy into an ambuscade. Nor was it long before he found a place fit for his purpose. He came to a valley, which, extending lengthways from the lake to a hill very steep and difficult of access, was lined on the two sides by ridges of little hills. Upon the steep hill *Hannibal* posted himself with his *Africans* and *Spaniards* in open view. Behind the ridge of hills, on the right of the valley, he placed in a long line the *Baleares* and other light-armed infantry; and behind that on the left, his cavalry and the *Gauls*, who formed a line, the extremity of which reached to a narrow pass, whereby he had entered the valley. These dispositions being made in the beginning of the night, he continued the remaining part of it in quiet and silence in his camp.

It was late before the Consul arrived at the lake; he therefore encamped that night by the side of it. But next morning by break of day, without examining the ground, he marched into the valley through the pass before mentioned. As soon as *Hannibal* was apprised that the *Roman* army were entered, and that their vanguard was not far from him, he gave orders

orders for a general onset. So thick a fog from the lake at this time covered the valley, that the *Romans* found themselves attacked in front, flank and rear, almost before they saw the enemy. Many of them were slain in the order of their march, not having had time to turn themselves for battle: and so closely was the greater part hemmed in, that they could neither fight nor fly". Fifteen thousand were slaughtered in the valley, among whom was the Consul *Flaminius*. Great numbers being pushed into the lake, perished there. A body of six thousand men forced their way through the enemy. Could these brave legionaries have seen (says *Polybius*) what passed, they might, by facing about, and falling upon the backs of the *Carthaginians*, have given a turn to the fortune of the day. But they expecting to encounter new enemies, continued advancing on till they arrived at the summit of a hill: From which, when the fog was dispersed, seeing the total defeat of the rest of the army, they retreated to a neighbouring village. The *Carthaginian* General detached *Mabarbal* after them with a large body of horse and foot, to whom they surrendered next day upon a promise of their lives, and, if we may credit *Livy*, their liberties: Whence he takes occasion to reproach *Hannibal* with breach of faith, because when the next day he had assembled all his prisoners to the number of 15,000, and had separated the *Romans* from the other *Italians*, he delivered the former as his soldiers, to be kept in chains, and released only the latter. *Polybius* tells us that *Hannibal* declared he did not think himself bound by the promise which *Mabarbal* had made, as being without authority from him: but then according to the same historian, that promise was only of their lives, which, if true, *Hannibal* cannot on this occasion be charged with breach of faith, whether he was in reality bound by *Mabarbal's* promise or not. The loss on the side of the *Carthaginians* amounted only to 1500 men, most of them *Gauls*.

The first report of the defeat of the *Roman* army spread an unspeakable consternation in *Rome*. The people flocked in crowds to the forum, calling upon their magistrates to give them an account of the battle. It being impossible for these to conceal or disguise the truth for any long time, the Prætor *Pomponius*, towards sunset, mounted the *rostra*. All he said was, *We are vanquished in a great battle*. And the people, little accustomed to misfortunes in war, much less to hear their magistrates plainly and publickly own that they were conquered, could not bear this so heavy a calamity with patience and moderation. In this universal dejection the Senators alone preserved their steadiness. The Prætors assembled them, and kept them sitting several days together from sun-

ⁿ *Livy* and *Plutarch* tell us that this battle was fought with so much eagerness and fury on both sides, that the combatants were not sensible of an earthquake, which happened during the engagement,

and which ruined many cities in *Italy*, overturned mountains, and changed the course of rivers. *Livy*, B. 22. c. 5. *Plut.* life of *Fabius*.

N. P. 536.
Esf. C. ...
211.
235 C. 16.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 6.

P. P. B. 3.
c. 5.

Y. R. 336.
B. C. 216.
275 C. 216.

rising to sun-set. Before they came to any fixed resolution in what manner to oppose the conqueror, they were alarmed with the news of a second defeat. The Consul *Servilius* having heard at *Ariminum* that *Flaminius* was following *Hannibal* with an intention to give him battle, had detached *C. Centenius* with 4000 horse to strengthen the Roman army. But this reinforcement had come too late. And *Hannibal*, after the action, hearing of *Centenius's* approach, had sent *Maharbal*, with the light armed foot, and part of the cavalry, to encounter him. Near 2000 Romans were killed in the engagement; the rest fled to a rising ground, but being invested by the enemy, were next day obliged to surrender.

It was thought by the Senate that the present exigency required a magistrate with dictatorial authority. Yet because there was no precedent of the people's naming a Dictator, and because their only Consul *Servilius*, to whom that nomination legally belonged, was absent, and all communication between him and Rome cut off by the enemy, it was agreed that the Comitia should create a magistrate, whose authority should be superior to the Consular, but somewhat inferior to the Dictatorial; and that he should be styled Pro-Dictator. *Fabius Maximus* was the person pitched upon; and the only privilege he seems to have wanted of those belonging to a Dictator, was that of naming his General of the horse. To this office the people appointed *M. Minucius Rufus*, a young man much in their favour. *Fabius* was a Senator distinguished for the coolness of his temper, and the great caution with which he proceeded in all his actions. He was as wary and circumspect in his conduct, as *Sempronius* and *Flaminius* had been rash and impetuous. The Pro-Dictator began the exercise of his office by acts of religion. The Sybilline books were consulted to know the causes of the present calamities; and the guardians of those oracles declared, that the misfortunes of the republic were owing to the undue performance of a vow to *Mars*; that it ought to be repeated, and four new vows made to several Deities, besides a dedication to Jupiter of all the pigs, lambs, kids and calves which should be produced in one spring. This last required the authority of the people: the other were made by the proper magistrates. This done, *Fabius* and *Minucius* immediately applied themselves to repair the fortifications of the city. They also posted guards in proper places, caused the bridges over the rivers to be broke down, and sent orders to the people all over the country through which it was thought *Hannibal* would pass, to burn their houses, destroy the fruits of the ground, and retire into places of strength and safety.

Before the Pro-Dictator took the field, he advised with the Senate concerning the troops that should serve under him. They allotted him the army of *Servilius*, and decreed that he should make what new levies he pleased, either at Rome or amongst the allies. *Fabius* raised but two new legions, which having commanded to repair to *Tibur* upon

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L. E. 22.
C. 3.

the *Anio*, he set out for *Oricum*, a city of *Umbria*, there to meet the troops from *Ariminum* under the Consul *Servilius*. These forces he himself led to *Tibur*, where he was joined by the new recruits. And having been informed that a *Carthaginian* fleet had taken, near the coast of *Liguria*, some *Roman* ships of burthen which were carrying provisions to the army in *Spain*, he sent the Consul *Servilius* to equip with all diligence what vessels were at *Rome* and *Ostia*, and with them to take upon him the guard of the coast of *Italy*. After these regulations *Fabius* began his march towards *Hannibal*, in which he proceeded with great caution, carefully searching all the places through which the army was to pass.

Y. R. 530.
B. C. 216.
235 C.

The *Carthaginian*, immediately after the defeat of *Centenius*, had led his army through *Umbria* and *Picenum* to the territory of *Adria*, a considerable town on the *Adriatic*, destroying the country wherever he passed, and putting to the sword all the *Romans* he found in his way, that were able to bear arms; such was his hatred to the *Roman* name. Here he halted for some time, because the country abounded with good provisions and store of old wines, which served to recruit the strength of his exhausted troops, who had contracted distempers from bad food, and the fatigues they had undergone. He armed his *Africans* after the *Roman* manner, out of the spoils he had taken from the enemy. And being now near the sea, for the first time since his coming into *Italy*, he laid hold of the opportunity, and sent to *Carthage* an account of his success. Then having ravaged the territories of *Arculan* and *Adria*, he proceeded to the countries of the *Prætutiani*, the *Marfi*, the *Marucini*, the *Peligni* and *Frentani*. Last of all he entered *Apulia*, and was laying waste this country, when *Fabius* arrived and pitched his camp upon the hills near ^o *Æce*, within six miles of him. *Hannibal* instantly led his army to the *Roman* entrenchments, and offered battle to the enemy. But the Pro-Dictator remaining quiet in his camp, the *Carthaginian*, after waiting some time, drew off his men, openly reproaching the *Romans*, (says *Livy*) that at length their martial spirit was broke, that the war was at an end, and that they plainly owned themselves vanquished. Nevertheless he was inwardly grieved to find he had to do with a General very different from *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*, and was much more afraid of *Fabius's* prudence than his strength. He had not yet tried his constancy. To provoke him to battle he made frequent incursions into the countries of the *Roman* allies, and destroyed them with fire and sword; employing likewise all his arts by sudden marches and counter-marches to ensnare him. All was to no purpose; he could neither surprize *Fabius*, nor make him leave his hills, where he kept himself continually on his guard against so active an ene-

Polyb. 2.
3. c. 29.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 12.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 50.

* A town on the borders of *Apulia*.

Y. B. 374.
179.
1790.

may. He did not suffer his soldiers to stir out of their camp, except in large bodies; he followed the *Carthaginians*, but at a considerable distance, because he would on no account hazard a pitched battle; yet he had frequent skirmishes with the enemy, and intercepted such parties of them as ventured too far from their camp. And indeed this was the surest method to ruin *Hannibal*. The *Romans* were in no danger of wanting men or provisions in their own country; whereas the *Carthaginian* could only subsist by pillage, and when his men dropped off, had but small opportunities of recruiting. While the Pro-Dictator was thus baffling his enemy, he had the continual murmurs of his General of the horse, and of his soldiers to contend with. *Minucius* being a favourite of the people, and ambitious of the chief command, openly accused *Fabius* of real cowardice concealed under the appearance of prudence. But neither the invectives of this seditious man, nor the fresh devastations of *Hannibal*, who passed over the *Apennines* into *Samnium*, could make him alter his wise measures.

The *Carthaginian* having ravaged *Samnium*, and taken the town of *Telisia*, resolved to penetrate into *Campania*, one of the finest countries in the world, and at the same time the most inaccessible. Except on one side where it is bounded by the sea, it is encompassed by a chain of high mountains through which there are but three passes, and those very narrow and difficult. It was a bold step in *Hannibal* to undertake this expedition in sight of a *Roman* army commanded by an expert General; but he had his reasons for it. He would thereby either force the enemy to a battle, or shew plainly to the neighbouring nations that he was master of all the open country; by which means he hoped to draw over some of the towns to his party, not one of which had hitherto fallen off from the republic. Add to this, that the cities of *Campania* were the richest of any in *Italy*, and their trade the most considerable. *Hannibal* entered *Campania* by a pass at the foot of mount * *Callicula*°, near the *Vulturnus*, and encamped on the banks of that river. *Fabius* was indeed surprized at the boldness of the *Carthaginian*, but *Minucius* and the rest of the army, transported with rage at the being thus insulted, impatiently demanded to be led to battle, insomuch that the Pro-Dictator was forced to pretend the same eagerness to fight, and march with much greater expedition than usual. But when he came near the enemy, he returned to his former conduct, encamped upon mount *Massicus*, and from thence quietly beheld the

• Polyb.
2. 22. 13.
Encl. 11.

* *Livy* tells us (B. 22. c. 13.) that *Hannibal* designed to enter *Campania* by a pass near *Casertum*, a town of *Latiens*, beyond the *Liris*, because by guarding that pass he was told he might prevent the *Romans* from assisting their allies. But the *Carthaginian* not pronouncing the word *Casertum* well, his

guides thought he had said *Casilinum*, and accordingly led him to that town, which was situated on the *Vulturnus*, at the foot of mount *Callicula*. *Hannibal* was so enraged at the mistake, that he immediately ordered the chief of his guides to be crucified, for a terror to the rest.

Carthaginian

Carthaginian army gathering the fruits and rich harvests of the *Falerian* fields. This so provoked his soldiers, that they called him in derision *the Pedagogue of Hannibal*. And *Minucius* joining in the insolent raillery, said, their General had chosen for them a fine theatre, from whence they might conveniently behold the ravages of *Italy*. He then asked the friends of *Fabius*, whether the Pro-Dictator did not think the earth an unsafe place for him, and was therefore going to pitch his camp in heaven, and cover himself with the clouds. When these things were told *Fabius*, he only replied, that he should be indeed more cowardly than they made him, if he changed his resolution through fear of idle raileries or reproaches. He added, *it is no inglorious thing, to fear for the safety of our country. That man is not fit to rule others who will be influenced by foolish calumnies, or subject himself and his government to the caprice of those whom he ought to command.* *Fabius* continued the same conduct the whole summer, though he was not ignorant that his caution was blamed at *Rome* as well as in the army.

Y. R. 536.
Bef. Chr.
216.
235 Conf.

Plut. life
of Fabius.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 15.

Hannibal despaired of bringing the *Romans* to a battle, and therefore having got an immense booty, he began now to look out for a place in which to secure it, and where he might likewise take up his winter quarters; for though *Campania* abounded with fruits and wine, it yielded not corn sufficient to subsist a numerous army for any considerable time. For these reasons *Hannibal* began to draw towards the pass by which he had entered this country. *Fabius* perceiving his design, detached 4000 men to seize the streight, which being commanded by mount *Callicula*, he encamped the rest of his army towards the top of that hill. From thence he sent a garrison into *Casilinum*, a town on the *Vulturnus*, on the other side the pass, and ordered *L. Hostilius Mancinus*, with 400 horse, to observe the enemy. This young officer rashly engaging with a party of *Numidians*, was himself slain together with the greatest part of the detachment. The same day *Minucius* joined *Fabius*. He had been sent to guard a pass at *Terracina*, a city of *Latium*, to hinder *Hannibal* from penetrating that way into the territory of *Rome* ^p.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 92.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 15.

The *Carthaginian*, not being able to dislodge *Fabius*, contrived the following stratagem to be executed in the night. Being encamped at the foot of mount *Callicula*, he ordered *Asdrubal* to pick out 2000 of the strongest oxen, to cause faggots of dry wood to be tied to their horns, and then to keep the cattle, with the herdsmen, ready without the camp. After supper, when all things were quiet, the oxen were brought to the foot of an eminence not far from the pass, that was guarded by the 4000 *Romans*. Upon a signal given, the wood on the horns of those beasts was

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 93.

^p *Hannibal*, according to *Livy*, advanced towards *Fabius*, and sent his light horse to try once more to provoke him to battle. But though the Pro-Dictator had greatly the advantage of the ground, he would not

hazard a general action, but contented himself with skirmishing with the enemies cavalry, of whom he killed eight hundred, with the loss of only two hundred of his own men.

set

V. R. 336.
B. C. 216.
213 C. 216.

set on fire, and the herdsmen, who had been instructed to drive them if possible to the top of the eminence, immediately set out, being followed by the light armed infantry. These had orders to assist the herdsmen as long as the cattle kept together, but upon their dispersing, to seize the top of the hill, making as great a noise as they could, and be in readiness to defend themselves in case they were attacked by the enemy. In the mean time *Hannibal* led his army to the very entrance of the pass. The *Africans* marched first, next followed the cavalry, then the booty, and last of all the *Spaniards* and *Gauls*. The *Roman* detachment seeing the fires approach the top of the eminence, thought *Hannibal* was endeavouring to escape that way; they therefore left the pass in all haste, and marched up in order to oppose him. But as they came nearer the cattle, which now were running up and down, firing the bushes wherever they went, they knew not what to think of these lights, their imaginations suggesting to them a thousand fears. In this perplexity they began to skirmish with the *Carthaginians* on the top of the hill, but the cattle running in among the combatants separated them; after which both parties continued quiet waiting for day-light. *Fabius* was surprised at what he saw, but suspecting it to be some stratagem of the enemy, would not stir from his camp, lest he should be entrapped, or, contrary to his intention, be forced to hazard a general action. *Hannibal* finding the pass open, marched safely through it with his army and baggage: but that his light armed foot might not be overpowered by the *Romans* on the eminence, he, as soon as it was day, sent his *Spaniards* to their assistance, who brought off the detachment, with the slaughter of a thousand of the enemy. The *Carthaginian* continued his march to the neighbourhood of *Alife*, a city on the confines of *Samnium* and *Campania*.

L. B. 22.
C. 18.

Fabius, though rallied by his soldiers by being thus over-reached, kept steady to his first resolution; he marched directly after *Hannibal*, but encamped on the eminencies near him. The latter having again pillaged *Samnium* and the country of the *Peligni*, returned to *Apulia*, where he took *Geronium*, the houses of which he turned into granaries, and pitched his camp under the walls. From thence he sent out two thirds of his army to forage; part of the remainder he kept to guard the camp, and the rest he disposed in different stations to protect his foragers. As these were in great number, and the country was very fertile, vast quantities of provisions were brought in daily. The Pro-Dictator, continuing to follow him, at length encamped in the territory of *Larinum*, in the country of the *Frentani*. From thence he was recalled to *Rome* to perform a solemn sacrifice which required his presence. Both the Senate and people were at this time much discontented with him. For beside that his caution had not succeeded to their wishes, *Hannibal*, by sparing the lands of *Fabius* in the general devastation, had rendered him suspected at *Rome* of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy. And as he had, without consulting the Senate, agreed upon an exchange of

of prisoners with *Hannibal*, and to purchase the redemption of 247 captives which the *Carthaginian* had more than he, the Senate refused him the money. *Fabius*, determined to keep his word and release his countrymen, directed his son to sell his lands, and pay the sum stipulated. And though most of the prisoners afterwards offered to reimburse him their respective ransoms, he would not consent to it.

Y. R. 536.
Euf. Chr.
216.
235 Comf.

Plut. life of
Fabius.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 94.

Fabius, upon his leaving the army, had advised, entreated, and by his authority commanded his General of the horse not to fight during his absence. But *Minucius*, even while the Dictator was making his exhortation, had his thoughts wholly intent upon a battle, which he was determined to hazard the very first opportunity. After *Fabius's* departure he indeed staid some time on the hills, in hopes that *Hannibal* would give him an opportunity of coming to an engagement with him there. But in this being disappointed, he marched down into the plain, and drew nearer the enemy. The *Carthaginian*, upon his approach, leaving one third of his army to be employed in foraging, advanced with the rest from *Geronium* to meet him. Between the two camps there was a rising ground, that would be very commodious to which ever party should possess it. A detachment of 2000 *Carthaginian* light armed troops seized it by night. *Minucius* the next day drove them from it, and there entrenched his forces. As *Hannibal's* principal affair at this time was to provide abundantly not only for his men but for his horses, that they might be in good condition for action the next summer; and as the *Romans* did not for several days stir from their camp, the *Carthaginian* detached great numbers of his soldiers to forage. *Minucius* laid hold of this advantage, and marched his legions to the very entrenchments of the enemy, at the same time sending out his horse and the light armed men, in parties, to attack their foragers, who being dispersed over the fields, and loaded with booty, could make no resistance. Nor had *Hannibal* sufficient strength within his camp to venture out against those that assailed it. He was induced to keep upon the defensive, till *Asdrubal*, informed of the danger by those who had escaped the *Roman* horse, came from *Geronium*, with 4000 men, to the assistance of his General. Upon the arrival of this succour he sallied out, and *Minucius* retired. The *Carthaginian* fearing lest the *Romans* should attack his camp at *Geronium*, and make themselves masters of the plunder and provisions he had laid up in it, returned thither, and after this time became more cautious in sending out parties to forage.

When *Minucius's* success was known at *Rome*, his friends took advantage of it to extol his bravery and abilities above those of *Fabius*. *M. Metilius*, a tribune of the commons, assembled the people, and made a speech to them full of injurious reflections upon *Fabius's* conduct, and concluded with a motion to give the General of the horse an equal authority with the Pro-Dictator. The latter thought it to no purpose to defend himself in the assemblies of the people, since he had

Liv. B. 24
c. 25.

Y. R. 196.
P. C. 196.
195 C. 196.

not a favourable hearing even in the Senate. There he endeavoured to convince the *Fathers* that their losses had been owing to the rashness of their Generals; and he did not scruple to say, that if the Dictatorial power continued in him, he would call *Minucius* to an account for disobeying his orders; that he hoped soon to make it evident to all the world, that fortune was of small moment to an able General, and that reason and good conduct sufficed; adding, that for his part he thought it a greater glory for a General to preserve his army (if he did it without ignominy) than to destroy many thousands of enemies. Having assisted at the sacrifice to which he had been called, and presided at the election of a new Consul, (*M. Atilius Regulus*, who was substituted in the room of *Flaminius*) he left the city the night before the *comitia* were to determine in his affair, that he might not be present at the affront which was going to be put upon him. Next day, when the people were assembled, though they were prejudiced against *Fabius*, and zealous for *Minucius*, yet scarce any one had courage enough to harangue them in favour of *Metilius's* proposal. *C. Terentius Varro* was the only man that seconded the Tribune. *Varro* was the son of a butcher, had been a shopkeeper, then a pleader, undertaking poor mens causes right or wrong. By this practice, and by railing at the nobility, he had ingratiated himself with the multitude, and by their favour obtained successively the offices of *Quæstor*, *Ædile* and *Prætor*, and was now aiming at the Consulship. The motion in short was carried, *Minucius* was put upon an equal foot with *Fabius*, and the Senate confirmed the decree of the people.

P. C. 196.
3. C. 196.

Fabius being arrived at the camp, it was agreed between him and his late Master of the horse, now his colleague, to divide the army equally between them. The former kept on the hills, and *Minucius* posted himself at the distance of 1500 paces below him. Between the entrenchments of *Minucius*, and those of the *Carthaginian* at *Geronium*, was an eminence from whence either camp might be annoyed. This post *Hannibal* resolved to seize, not doubting but *Minucius* would attempt to dispossess him; and he hoped to draw him into a snare. With this view he had over night chosen out 5000 foot and 500 horse, divided them into bodies of 200 and 300 men each, and hid them in several cavities at the foot of the hill. And lest his ambush should happen to be discovered, he, to fix the attention of the *Romans* another way, sent a detachment to take possession of the eminence as soon as it was light. When *Minucius* perceived the *Carthaginians* upon the top of the hill, to dislodge them, he sent first his light armed foot, then his cavalry, and last of all (seeing that *Hannibal* sustained his own men by successive detachments) he followed in person with the legions. When the battle became general, the ambush, upon a signal given, rose on all sides. *Minucius's* army was quickly routed, and would have been entirely destroyed, but that *Fabius* had too much zeal for his country to let himself be swayed by private resentment. *We must make haste*, said he to those that were

Part. Life of
Fabius.

were about him, to rescue Minucius, who is a valiant man, and a lover of his country. And if he has been too forward to engage the enemy, we will tell him of it at another time. Instantly he gave orders to march to the relief of his colleague and his routed troops, who at his approach began to rally, and retire to him for protection. Hannibal, seeing a fresh army advancing against him in good order, was obliged to give over the pursuit and found a retreat. He is reported to have said to some of his friends while he was retiring, *Have not I often told you, that that cloud which hovered upon the mountains would one day break upon us in a storm?* The Carthaginian, after the battle, having possession of the eminence, fortified it, and placed a guard on it to secure his camp on that side.

V. R. 536.
Bel. Chr.
216.
235 Conf.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 105.

Plot. life of
Fabius.

Minucius and Fabius returned each to his entrenchments. The latter did not drop a word which favoured of contempt for his colleague, and Minucius, now convinced of his error, did justice both to Fabius and himself. Having assembled his troops, he ingenuously owned to them that he had learnt by experience, he was not fit to command, adding, that both he and they for the future ought to obey the orders of Fabius. Then marching them to the Pro-Dictator's camp, he presented himself before him, made his acknowledgments, and resigned the dignity last conferred on him by the people. Fabius received him with great kindness, the soldiers embraced one another, and there was an universal joy. The Pro-Dictatorship being almost expired, Fabius sent for the Consuls Servilius and Atilius to take upon them the command of the army.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 30.

Servilius, with a fleet of 120 ships, had made an expedition into Africa, where as he was ravaging the coast, he fell into an ambuscade, and was forced to retire to his fleet with the loss of a thousand of his men. Weighing anchor in all haste, he sailed to Lilybæum in Sicily, and from thence, after delivering up the fleet to the Prætor Otacilius, was returned to Italy.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 31.

The Consuls following the advice and example of Fabius, no action of moment happened between the two armies, though Hannibal still continued at Geronium, and the Romans held their camp so near him as to watch all his motions.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 106.

THE SAME YEAR, while the war was thus carried on in Italy, Cn. Scipio had great success, both by sea and land, against the Carthaginians in Spain^a. Ambassadors came to him from all the nations between the
Iberus

Liv. B. 22.
c. 20.
vid. infr. p.
229.

^a The Romans at first divided this country into *Hither Spain* and *Further Spain*. Augustus Cæsar afterwards divided *Further Spain* into two provinces, *Bætica* and *Lusitania*, and gave the name of *Tarracenia* to *Hither Spain*.

Bætica, so called from the river • *Bætis*, which runs through the middle of it, was the most southern province, and comprehended the present kingdom of *Granada*, *Andalusia*, part of *New Castile*, and *Estremadura*. *Cadix*, called by the
X-2
ancients,

• Guadalquivir.

Y. R. 536.
Ref. Chr.
216.
235 Conf.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 22.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 93.

Iberus and the *Pyrenees*, and a hundred and twenty cities surrendered to him. To add to this good fortune, his allies, the *Celtiberians*, defeated *Asdrubal* in two battles, killed 15,000 of his men, and took 4000 prisoners. This was the state of the *Roman* affairs in *Spain*, when *P. Scipio*, the brother of *Cneius*, arrived there with the character of Pro-Consul. The view of the Senate in carrying on the war with vigour in this country, was to divide the forces of *Carthage*, who would be more jealous of her conquests in *Spain* than of those in *Italy*, and by sending powerful succours to *Asdrubal*, would be less in a condition to supply his brother *Hannibal*. *P. Scipio* brought with him thirty ships of war, 8000 *Roman* soldiers, and a great quantity of arms and provisions.

Asdrubal being employed in the *Celtiberian* war, the two brothers with joint forces passed the *Iberus*, and advanced to *Saguntum* without seeing an enemy. This city *Hannibal* had rebuilt, placed a garrison in it, and assigned it for the residence of all the young noblemen, whom he had obliged their parents to put into his hands as pledges of their fidelity. There was then at *Saguntum* a *Spaniard* named *Abelox*, of a good family, and considerable interest in his country, and hitherto looked upon as firmly attached to the *Carthaginians*. This man seeing their affairs declining in *Spain*, while the *Romans* were daily gaining ground, began to think of going over to the prevailing party. But considering at the same time that a deserter, how well born soever, makes but an indifferent figure, unless he can gain himself credit, by some important services to his new friends, formed a scheme to put the young hostages into the hands of the *Romans*. At this time *Bostar* commanded the *Carthaginians* in those parts, having been sent by *Asdrubal* to hinder the *Scipio's* from passing the *Iberus*; but not daring to wait

Strabo l. 3.
p. 171.

† Tarragon.

Strab. l. 3.
p. 139-142.

• Scythia.

ancients, *Gades* and *Gadira*, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of *Andalusia*, about nine leagues from *Gibraltar*. It is said that *Hercules* having extended his conquests to the ocean, and imagining he was come to the extremity of the world, raised two pillars near *Gades*, as monuments of his victories. Geographers are not agreed about the place where these pillars were erected. *Bætica* was the most fruitful, the wealthiest and the most populous part of *Spain*. It contained two hundred cities, the chief of which stood on the *Bætis*, *Castulo* towards the source of that river, *Carduba* (the native place of *Lucan* and the two *Seneca's*) lower down, and • *Hispalis* nearest the sea. It's chief inhabitants were the *Turdetani*.

Lusitania was bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river *Durius*,

and on the south by the river *Anas*. Between these two rivers runs the *Tagus*. *Lusitania* included what is now called *Portugal*, together with part of *Old* and *New Castile*.

Terraconia comprehended the rest of *Spain*, that is to say, the Kingdoms of *Murcia* and *Valencia*, *Catalonia*, *Aragon*, *Navarre*, *Biscay*, the *Asturias*, *Gallicia*, the Kingdom of *Leon*, and the greatest part of the two *Castiles*. *Terraco* †, a city on the sea coast, not far from the *Iberus*, gave name to the province. Pretty near this town lay *Barcino*, which from it's name is thought to have been built by *Amilcar Barco* the father of the great *Hannibal*. The chief nations of *Terraconia* were the *Celtiberi* beyond the river *Iberus*, the *Cantabri*, where *Biscay* now lyes, the *Carpetani*, whose capital was *Toledo*, and the *Overtani*, &c. Rollin, *Hist. Anc.* Tom. L. p. 247.

for

for them, he had retired to *Saguntum*, and encamped under its walls. *Bostar* was a good natured easy man, and placed great confidence in *Abelox*, which the latter abusing, insinuated to him that the *Romans* having now passed the *Iberus*, it would be no longer possible for the *Carthaginians* to keep *Spain* in obedience by fear; that *Saguntum* being threatened with a siege, he had an opportunity of attaching all the *Spaniards* to the interest of his republic, by restoring the hostages to their parents, who would think themselves under a perpetual obligation to him for so early providing for the safety of their children, and that if the *Romans* should by force or artifice get them into their hands, they would certainly act the part which he advised him to act, and by that means bring over many nations to their party. *Abelox* added, that if he was sent to conduct the hostages to their respective countries, he did not doubt but he should be able to represent the obligation in such a light to the *Spaniards*, as that they should continue firm to the interest of a Republic, who had given so eminent an example of her regard for her allies. The easy *Carthaginian*, deceived by an appearance of friendship, gave his consent to the proposal. *Abelox* hereupon stole away in the night to the *Roman* camp, acquainted the Pro-consul with what he had done; and it was agreed between them that a detachment of *Romans* should lye in ambush the night following, and intercept the youths with their leader. The project was executed with success; and *Scipio*, by sending back the hostages to their relations, gained to himself a considerable interest in the country.

Y. R. 536.
Bef. Chr.
216.
235 Conf.

To return to *Italy*: The Senate at *Rome* was attentive to every thing that concerned the interest of the Republic. To maintain her dignity, and preserve to her the respect of foreign nations, they sent to *Pineus* the *Illyrian* king for the annual tribute he had engaged to pay, and to *Philip* of *Macedon* to demand the treacherous *Demetrius*, who had sheltered himself in his dominions, and was exciting him to take advantage of the misfortunes of *Rome*, and make a descent upon *Italy*; at the same time she refused to accept a present of forty vases of gold from the city of *Naples*, that the world might see her finances were not exhausted.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 33.

Polyb. B. 5.
c. 101.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 32.

C H A P. XXI.

THIRD YEAR of the WAR.

BATTLE of CANNÆ.

THE time for a new election of Consuls drawing on, and the present Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius* not thinking it safe to leave the army, one of them, at the desire of the Senate, nominated a Dictator

Liv. B. 22.
c. 54.

Y. R. 446.
 215.
 436 Cons.

to hold the *comitia*. *L. Veturius Philo* was the person pitched upon, but as he seems to have been attached to the interests of the people, it was probably for this reason that the Senators made the Augurs find some defect with regard to religion, in his nomination. After fourteen days exercise of his office he was forced to abdicate; and an interregnum ensued. *P. Cornelius Afræ*, one of the *interreges*, convened the *centurians*; and then amongst the candidates for the consulship appeared *C. Terentius Varro*, who had scarce any thing to recommend him but his hatred of the nobility, and the zeal he had lately shewn for advancing *Minucius* the General of the horse to an equal authority with the Pro-Dictator *Fabius*. The *Patricians*, as the most effectual way to disappoint the hopes of *Varro*, set up against him competitors of such known merit, both out of their own body, and from among the *Plebeians*, as must naturally prepossess the people in their favour. But *Varro* happened to have among the tribunes of the commons a relation named *Q. Bebius Herennius*. This man, in a speech to the people, inveighed bitterly against the nobility. He asserted that it was the *Patricians* who had brought *Hannibal* into *Italy*; that an end might have been put to the war had not they fraudulently protracted it; and that the *Carthaginian* would never be conquered till a true *Plebeian*, not such a one as was only *Plebeian* by extraction, and being dignified and ranked among the nobility, had imbibed the patrician spirit, but a new man, not infected with their maxims, was at the head of the *Roman* armies. The people full of these impressions declared *Terentius Varro* Consul, and would name no other that day, that *Varro* might preside in the *comitia* for choosing his colleague. The nobility, vexed at their disappointment, prevailed with great difficulty upon *L. Æmilius Paullus*, an enemy to the *Plebeians* (on account of the affront they had put upon him after his victories in *Thericum*) to offer himself as a candidate; and the other competitors yielding to him, he was chosen Consul in the next assembly. The other offices were bestowed with great judgment. *Servilius* and *Atilius* were directed to remain in quality of Pro-Consuls, at the head of the same armies they at present commanded. *P. Scipio* was continued Pro-Consul in *Spain*, *M. Cl. Marcellus* was appointed Prætor, in *Sicily*, and *L. Posthumius Albinus* in *Cis-Alpine Gaul*. All these, except *Terentius Varro*, had born the same offices before; so careful were the *Romans* to have men of experience to conduct their affairs at so critical a time.

Y. R. 447.
 216.
 436 Cons.

See p. 100.

The Senate also in the present exigence augmented the army to eight legions (each consisting of 5000 foot and 300 horse) without reckoning the allies.

E. 3. c. 107.

The usual practice (says *Polybius*) is to raise yearly but four legions, each of 4000 foot and 200 horse; and it is only in the most important conjunctures that these numbers are increased to 5000 and 300. The infantry furnished by the allies is only equal to that of the legions,

but

but the *cavalry* ¹ twice the number of the *Roman* horse. Generally speaking each Consul has two legions and one half of the auxiliary forces, and commands his army separately, against a different enemy. It rarely happens that the four legions, with proportionable number of auxiliaries, are employed in the same expedition. But in *this* the *Romans* employed not only four but eight legions, so great was their apprehension of the impending danger.

Y. R. 537.
Bef. Chr.
215.
236 Conf.

Though the Republic would not receive any presents from her dependents in *Italy*, she readily accepted at this time a very rich one from King *Hiero*, a statue of Victory of massy gold, and of great weight, 75,000 bushels of wheat, 50,000 bushels of barley, and a 1000 dartmen and slingers to oppose the *Baleares* and *Numidians*. The King's present was accompanied with an exhortation to the Senate to employ a fleet and some land forces to make a descent upon *Africa*. The *Conscript Fathers* returned him a grateful answer, and in pursuit of his advice ordered a reinforcement of twenty-five quinqueremes to *T. Otacilius* the Pro-prætor in *Sicily*, (for *Marcellus* was not yet arrived there) giving him permission to carry the war into *Africa* if he thought proper. Before the Consuls took the field, the soldiers (which had never been done before) were *required* to take an oath to this effect, that they would assemble at the command of the Consuls, and not depart afterwards without leave; and whereas they had been accustomed *voluntarily* to swear that they would not forsake their ensigns through fear, nor go out of their ranks unless to take up a weapon, or to smite an enemy, or to save the life of a citizen, this oath also was now enjoined them by authority.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 37.

While these preparations were making at *Rome*, the army under the Pro-Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius* continued to observe the motions of *Hannibal*. As those Generals had received orders from the Senate not to venture a battle, but only to train and discipline their men, and harass the enemy by frequent skirmishes, all the spring passed, as the winter had done, without any considerable action on either side.

Polyb. B. 5.
c. 106.

But the time of harvest being come, *Hannibal* decamped from *Geronium*, and to drive the enemy to the necessity of fighting, seized upon the castle of *Cannæ*, where the *Romans* had lodged the ammunition and provisions they had brought from *Canusium*. The town of *Cannæ* had been destroyed the last year; the castle was left standing, and *Hannibal*,

¹ We read *thrice* in *Polybius*, doubtless through a mistake of the copyist. *Livy* says *twice*, and this must be the truth, otherwise the cavalry of the *Roman* army at the battle of *Cannæ* (which is going to be related) would have amounted to 9600, and *Polybius* himself says they were little more than 6000. Here again there must be some mistake, it should be *little more than 7000*: for reckoning 300 horse to each of the

eight legions, and supposing the allies to have furnished double the number that the *Romans* did, the whole amount will be 7200, and so *Livy*, who frequently copies *Polybius*, seems to have understood him in this place. Some historians, says he, write, that when the battle of *Cannæ* was fought the *Romans* were 87,200 strong (i. e. 80,000 foot and 7,200 horse.) B. 22. c. 36.

Y. R. 537.
 Bef. Chr.
 215.
 236 Cons.

by possessing himself of it, threw the *Roman* army into great perplexity: for beside being master of those provisions, he was now in a post which by its situation commanded all the adjacent country. The Pro-Consuls dispatched messenger after messenger to ask instructions from the Senate, concerning the measures they should take. In their letters they represented that the country all around was ruined, that it was impossible to advance near the enemy without being obliged to fight; and that all the allies, attentive to the uncertain state of things, were in suspense waiting the event. The Senate judged it expedient to come to a decisive action with the enemy, but wrote to *Servilius* and *Atilius* to defer it, till the Consuls (whom they now sent from *Rome*) were arrived in the camp. Great dependance had the *Fathers* on the virtue and abilities of *Æmilius*; and indeed his known prudence, and the eminent services he had done his country some years before in the *Illyrian* war, justified the confidence they reposed in him. At his departure from *Rome*, when they had represented to him the great importance of the present occasion, they urged him to exert himself, as a true citizen mindful of the majesty of the *Roman* name. Nor was *Æmilius* wanting either of a just sense of his country's danger, or of the warmest zeal for its preservation: So that when he was arrived at the camp, and had assembled the soldiers to impart to them the pleasure of the Senate, he made use of all the arguments he could think of to restore their courage, much abated by so many preceding disasters. He told them that several good reasons might be assigned for the defeat of the former armies; but that no excuse could be found if *this* should fail of victory. That the soldiers of those armies were new-raised men without discipline or experience, and entirely unacquainted with the sort of enemy they had to deal with: That those who fought at the *Trebia* were not recovered from the fatigue of their voyage from *Sicily* when they were led to battle: That at the lake *Thrasymenus* the *Romans*, so far from seeing the enemy before the battle, did not even see them during the conflict: That in none of the preceding engagements had there been two Consuls with two consular armies; but that now all circumstances were changed: "By frequent skirmishes with the enemy
 " you have learned their manner of fighting. You have not only both
 " the Consuls of the present year to conduct you, but both the Consuls
 " of the last year, who have consented to continue with us and share
 " the fortune of the day. With equal numbers you have seldom failed
 " of beating the enemy in small engagements: It would be strange
 " therefore, nay I think it impossible, that now when you are double
 " their number you should be vanquished by them in a general action.
 " But what need of further exhortation? The fate of *Rome*, the pre-
 " servation of whatever is dear to you, depends at this time upon your
 " courage and resolution."

The

The next day the Consuls put their army in march towards the place where the *Carthaginians* were posted, and the day following pitched their camp within six miles of them. As it was a smooth plain, and the *Carthaginian* cavalry were far superior to the *Roman*, *Æmilius* judged it not proper to come to a battle in that situation. He was for drawing the enemy, if possible, to some ground where horse would have little opportunity to act. But the next day, it being *Varro's* turn to command, he, in spite of all that his colleague could say to dissuade him from it, decamped and drew nearer the enemy. *Hannibal* with his cavalry and light-armed foot advanced to meet him, fell furiously upon the *Romans* in their march, and put them into great disorder. *Varro*, when he had sustained this first shock by means of some of the heavy-armed foot, commanded his horse and dartmen to charge, and he had the prudence to mingle with these some of his legionaries; this gave him the advantage in the combat, to which the night at length put an end.

The day following, *Æmilius*, who was against fighting, and yet could not safely retreat, encamped two thirds of his army along the *Aufidus*¹, which lay to their left. The other third he led over the river, and made them intrench themselves at the distance of about 1300 paces eastward from his greater camp, and somewhat more than that distance from the camp of the enemy, which lay to the south. By this disposition he could protect his own foragers and distress those of the *Carthaginian*.

Hannibal foreseeing that these movements of the *Romans* would infallibly bring on a general action, thought it adviseable, before he came to that hazard, to animate his soldiers for the occasion; lest their late repulse should have left some impression of fear upon their minds. Having called them together, he bid them cast their eyes over the country all around, and then tell him, "Whether, being superior as they were to the enemy in horse, they could possibly, had the Gods consulted their wishes, have desired any thing more to their advantage than to come to a decisive battle on such a spot?" They all agreed that they could not have chosen better. He added, "Thank the Gods then

¹ *Livy* differs from *Polybius* with regard to the particulars that happened before the battle of *Cannæ*. The *Latin* historian tells us that *Hannibal* had not yet removed from *Geranium* when the Consuls began their march from *Rome*; that he had then scarce ten days provisions in his camp, that the *Spaniards* were ready to desert him, and that he himself had thoughts of running away into *Gaul* with his cavalry, and leaving his infantry to shift for themselves. He adds several other circumstances as little worth relating as these.

And, indeed, the accounts that he, *Appian*, and the later writers, give of these affairs, are intermixt with so many things evidently fabulous, and often inconsistent with one another, that in the text *Polybius* has been chiefly followed, who wrote the nearest to the times he speaks of, was himself a soldier, and whose history is the most consistent and the most judicious.

² The *Aufidus* runs through the *Apennines* into the *Adriatic*, and is the only river in *Italy* which takes that course.

Y. R. 517.
Bef. Chr.
215.
236 Conf.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 106.

Y. R. 537.
 Bel. Chr.
 215.
 236 Conf.

“ who have brought your enemies hither, that you may triumph over
 “ them; and remember also your obligation to me, for having reduced
 “ the *Romans* to the necessity of fighting: for, advantageous as the
 “ ground is to us, here fight they must, there is no avoiding it.” He
 concluded with reminding them of their former exploits, and with assur-
 ing them that one victory more would give a period to all their labours,
 and put them in possession of all their hopes, the wealth of *Rome*, and the
 dominion of *Italy*.

The *Carthaginian* after this entrenched his forces on the west side of
 the *Aufidus*, where lay the greater camp of the *Romans*, and the next
 day but one drew out his army and presented battle. *Æmilius* not
 liking the ground, and being persuaded that want of provisions would
 very soon oblige *Hannibal* to quit his post, declined the challenge, but
 took great care to have his two camps well fortified and guarded. *Han-*
nibal, after waiting a while in the field, returned to his intrenchments,
 and detached some of his *Numidians* to pass the *Aufidus*, and fall upon
 certain parties that from the *Roman* lesser camp were coming to the river
 for water. The *Numidians* having easily put these to flight, advanced
 so far as to brave the *Romans* in their very camp; an insult so offensive
 to the soldiers in general as well as to *Varro*, that had it not been *Æmi-*
lius’s turn to command, those of the greater camp would have instantly
 crossed the river to join their fellows, and offer battle to the enemy.
 “ Their impatience to fight, says *Polybius*, was extreme; for when men
 “ have once resolved upon a difficult and dangerous enterprize, no time
 “ seems so tedious as the space between the determination and the exe-
 “ cution.”

The same author tells us, that when the news came to *Rome* of the
 armies being near each other, and of their daily skirmishing and picqueer-
 ing, the people, remembering their former defeats, were universally in the
 utmost anxiety and fear, well foreseeing the fatal consequences of a new
 overthrow; that they talked of nothing but oracles, extraordinary ap-
 pearances, prodigies seen both in temples and in private houses; and that
 their whole time was spent in vows and supplications: He adds, “ for in-
 “ all public calamities and dangers the *Romans* are extremely careful to
 “ pacify the anger of the Gods; nor of the many religious ceremonies pre-
 “ scribed for such occasions, is there one, of which, how frivolous and im-
 “ pertinent soever it may appear, they think the practice unbecoming.”

At sun-rise in the morning after the insult by the *Numidians*, *Varro*,
 having the command, led his troops of the greater camp over the *Au-*
fidus, and joining them to those of the lesser, drew them up in the
 plain after the accustomed manner *, excepting that, in all the three
 lines, the battalions stood closer, and those in the first line were deeper
 than usual. The *Roman* knights, commanded by *Æmilius*, formed the
 right wing close to the river; the cavalry of the allies, under *Terentius*
Varro, made the left. The Pro-Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius* led the
 main

The battle
 of Cannæ.
 Polyb. E. 5.
 c. 11.
 * See Vol. I.
 B. 3. c. 10.
 § 6.

main body consisting of 70,000 foot; for *Varro* had left 10,000 men in the greater camp, with orders to attack that of *Hannibal* when the armies should be engaged.

V. R. 537.
Bul. Chr.
215.
250 Conf.

The *Carthaginian* ^a no sooner perceived the *Romans* in motion, but he sent over the *Aufidus* his slingers and the other light-armed foot. The rest of the army followed, passing the river at two different places. He drew up his forces in one front. To face the *Roman* knights he posted his *Spanish* and *Gallic* cavalry in his left wing; next these were placed one half of his *African* infantry, then the *Spanish* and *Gallic* foot, then the other half of his *Africans*; and the *Numidian* horse made his right wing.

The *Africans* were armed after the *Roman* manner, out of the spoils taken from the enemy in former battles. The *Gauls*, naked from the waist upward, and the *Spaniards*, clothed in linen jackets trimmed with purple, were armed each after the manner of their country. They had shields alike; but the *Gauls* used long broad swords fit only for cutting strokes, and at a certain distance; the *Spaniards* short and well pointed blades proper both for striking and thrusting. The cohorts of these two nations being ranged alternately, this medley of troops of such different appearances, is said to have been terrible to behold. Strong of body and furious in charging were the *Gauls*, but accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt; the *Spaniards* less eager and more wary, were neither ashamed to give ground when over-matched, nor afraid to return and renew the fight whenever it was practicable. As the impetuosity of the one, and the patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper, so the place which they held in this battle added confidence to them both: For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked by the *Africans*, whose name was grown terrible in *Spain* by their conquests, and in *Gaul* by this their present war. *Asdrubal* commanded the cavalry of the left wing, *Hanno* * the right, and *Hannibal* with his brother *Mago* took the conduct of the main body: This amounted to about 40,000 foot; the horse were 10,000. The armies were neither of them incommoded by the rising sun, the *Romans* facing to the south, their enemies to the north.

* Livy says
Maharbal.

^a *Plutarch* reports that *Varro's* confidence and his numerous army alarmed the *Carthaginians*; that *Hannibal* with a small company went out to take a view of the *Romans*, and that one of his followers, called *Gisco*, saying to him, that the number of the enemy was very astonishing; *Hannibal* with a serious countenance answered, *There is something yet more astonishing which you take no notice of, That in all that multitude there is not one man whose*

name is Gisco. This jest made all the company laugh, who telling it to every one they met in their return, the laughter was continued till they reached the camp. The army seeing *Hannibal* and his attendants come back laughing, imagined that without doubt this mirth proceeded from the good posture of their affairs, and their contempt of the enemy; which did not a little raise the spirits of the soldiers.

The action
 began with
 the skirmishing
 of the velites
 or light armed
 troops, with
 little advantage
 to either side.

Sir W. R.

The action began with the skirmishing of the velites or light armed troops, with little advantage to either side. During this skirmish the Roman knights came to an engagement with the *Spanish* and *Gaulic* cavalry. Being shut in by the river on one side, and by their own infantry on the other, they could practise none of the evolutions and returns commonly used in fight by the horse in those days. There was no way but to bear forward in a right line; and both parties rushing violently on, the men came at length to grapple with one another, and many of them, their horses running from under them, fell to the ground, whence starting up again, they fought on foot. In conclusion, the Roman cavalry were overborn and forced to recoil. This the Consul *Emilius* could by no means remedy, for *Adrubal* with his boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards* was not to be resisted by the Roman knights, unequal both in number and horsemanship. The greater part of them, after they had defended themselves with the utmost bravery, were slain upon the spot, and most of the remainder, in their flight along the river; for *Adrubal* gave no quarter.

Before this rout was quite finished, the heavy armed infantry on both sides joined battle. *Hannibal*, in advancing against the enemy, had caused his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who held the middle of his line (and probably * made nine tenths of it, to march, some faster some slower, so as by degrees to form the figure of a *crescent*, the *convex* side towards the *Romans*, and the extreme points touching the *Africans* to the right and left. The middle or most prominent part of the curve being the thickest † (as its figure of a *crescent* implies) and the best strengthened against all impression, sustained the shock of the enemy for some time with great bravery and steadiness; till the *Roman* center, reinforced by some battalions from the wings, compelled, by its very weight, the curve to yield: but by the artful management of *Hannibal*, this curve so yielded and bent inward as at length to form a new curve, the *concave* side towards the enemy. The *Roman* legions following their supposed victory, and pressing still forward against the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who continued retiring before them, came insensibly between the two bodies of *African* infantry, which had not yet moved from their posts, and the depth ‡ of whose files was, perhaps, at first concealed by the sides

* The reason for this opinion will be given hereafter.

† *Polybius* (B. 3. c. 115.) tells us that the *Gauls* were *thinly* ranged, and therefore easily broken. But if this be meant of the *convex* *crescent*, how will it accord with the stout fight which he himself says the *Gauls* maintained, or with the necessity which the *Roman* center, already deep, was under of being strengthened by draughts from the

wings, in order to break that *crescent*. I imagine therefore, that *Polybius* speaks here of the *sides* only of the *crescent*, the parts towards the horns, and not of the middle part, which though thick and strong, was already broken by the superior weight of the *Roman* center.

‡ Neither *Livy* nor *Polybius* say any thing of the proportion which the number of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* bore to that of the *Africans*;

sides of the concave into which the *Romans* entered, and was but gradually discovered in proportion as the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* recoiled. The two bodies of *Africans*, as the conjuncture itself dictated, facing one to the right, the other to the left, attacked the *Romans* in flank, so that these could fight no longer in the order of a phalanx (which form they had taken during the conflict) but were obliged to divide themselves into platoons or small bodies, to make head against those unexpected enemies.

The Consul *Emilius*, after the defeat of his cavalry, seeing that all depended upon the foot, had by this time put himself among the legionaries, animating them both by words and example. *Hannibal* acted the like part among the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, the conduct of whom he had taken upon himself from the beginning.

Hitherto there had nothing of moment happened between the *Numidian* horse and the cavalry of the *Roman* allies, commanded by *Varro*; for the former would neither give nor sustain any charge: yet by making frequent offers, they kept their enemies so employed as to hinder them from assisting the legions. But now the last and fatal blow, which completed the destruction of the *Roman* army, was given by the same hand that gave the first. For *Asdrubal*, having cut in pieces almost all the horse of the *Roman* right wing, hastened to the assistance of the *Numidians*. The cavalry of the *Roman* left wing, perceiving his approach,

Africans; nor whether the *African* battalions were longer in rank or in file. Nor do they give us any light concerning those wonderful movements, by which *Hannibal* could, without confusion, form his center from a straight line into a crescent, the convex to the enemy; and afterwards, without confusion, invert its figure.

² Chevalier *Felard* (tom. 4. p. 377.) from this expression of *Polybius*, triumphantly concludes that the *Romans* were originally drawn up by *Varro* in a phalange coupée, that is, says the Chevalier, in columns with small intervals between them. The inference is not well deduced. For, supposing the *Romans* to have been ranged at first in three lines as usual, yet *Polybius* might well speak of them as in the order of a phalanx at this time. It was the constant practice for all the three lines to form themselves into one phalanx, whenever it happened that neither the first alone, nor the first and second united, could make any impression on the enemy. And that this was the present case with the center of the *Roman* army is plain from the necessity the Generals were under of bringing some battalions from the wings to strengthen

it. If the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarii* of the center, united in one phalanx, had not failed in the attempt to break *Hannibal's* crescent, what occasion could there be of adding strength to them from the wings?

⁴ According to *Livy*, when the two armies were just ready to join battle, 500 of these *Numidians* came galloping away from their fellows, with their shields cast behind their backs (as was the manner of those that yielded) and throwing down their arms, surrendered themselves. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them, but thinking them really disarmed, ordered them behind the lines. In the heat of the battle, these pretended deserters, having short swords under their jackets, flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, while all eyes and thoughts were bent another way, so that they did great mischief, and caused yet a greater terror: *Polybius* mentions nothing of this, which he would hardly have omitted had there been any foundation for it. Nor does he say any thing of a certain wind called *Vulturnus*, which, according to the *Latin* historian, proved very pernicious to the *Romans*, by blowing dust in their eyes.

did.

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Ref. Chr.
215.
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Y. R. 437.
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215.
236 Cons.

did not wait to be attacked. They immediately fled. Hereupon *Asdrubal* ordering the light *Numidians*, as fittest for that service, to pursue them, turned with his *Spanish* and *Gallic* horse upon the rear of the *Roman* main body, which by this means was entirely surrounded. Then was the slaughter dreadful, and then fell the Consul ^b *Æmilius* quite covered with wounds, nobly discharging in this conclusion of his life, as in all the former parts of it, the duties of a good citizen. The *Romans*, encompassed on all sides, faced every way, and held out for some time: But the outermost ranks of their orb being still mowed down, they were gradually forced into a narrow compass, and becoming at length a mere throng, unable to wield their arms, were all put to the sword ^c.

During

^b *Livy* tells us, that *Æmilius* had been wounded in the action between the cavalry, yet being assisted by those of the *Roman* knights who had escaped from *Asdrubal*, he made head against *Hannibal*, and restored the fight in several places. At length, unable through weakness to manage his horse, he was obliged to dismount; his attendants did the like; and it being told *Hannibal* that the Consul had ordered his cavalry to quit their horses, he is reported to have said jestingly, *I had rather be had delivered them to me bound*. *Livy* adds, what is hard to be conceived, that some of the *Roman* knights, when they saw the battle irrecoverably lost, remounted their horses and escaped. One of them, *Cn. Lentulus*, a legionary tribune, galloping along, found the Consul covered with blood, and sitting upon a stone. *Lentulus* entreated him to rise and save himself, offering him his horse; but *Æmilius* refused it, exhorting the tribune to trust for himself, and not to lose time, adding, that it was not his purpose to be brought again into judgment by the people; be an accuser of his colleague, or be himself charged with that day's loss. He further desired *Lentulus* to give the Senate notice to fortify *Rome*, and to tell *Fabius* that he had been mindful of his counsel to the last. The Consul had no sooner uttered these words, but first a multitude of his own men in the rout, and then the enemy in the pursuit, came upon him: the latter, not knowing who he was, dispatched him with their darts. *Lentulus* escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

^c THE ACCOUNTS transmitted to us by *Polybius* and *Livy* of the battle of *Cannæ*,

are not sufficiently full and clear to convey to those who read them at this distance of time, distinct and satisfactory ideas of what passed in that memorable day; but have left much room for conjecture.

In the plans that are commonly given by the moderns of this battle, the infantry of the two armies are equal in front. *Hannibal's* center which he formed into a crescent, the convex side towards the enemy, makes but one third of his line of foot. How then came it to pass, that this crescent, when it yielded and retreated, so as gradually to invert its figure, and present a concave to the enemy, drew after it, and within it, more of the *Roman* infantry than had stood opposite to it, when the armies first faced each other? This may be answered from *Polybius*, who tells us, that during the conflict between the centers of the two armies, the *Romans*, by draughts from their wings, thickened or deepened their center, which therefore broke, by its very weight, the *Carthaginian* center or crescent, consisting of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*. He adds, that the *Romans* pressing unwarily after these *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, came at length between the two bodies of *African* infantry; which by a conversion, one to the right, and the other to the left, instantly pressed the *Romans* on their flanks; and that *Asdrubal* soon after came thundering upon their backs with his victorious cavalry.

All this is conceivable and credible: and we here see how not only the cohorts that were originally in the *Roman* center, but those which were drawn from the wings to deepen it, became totally encompassed by

During the slaughter of the *Roman* foot, the *Numidians* were pursuing *Terentius* and the horse of the left wing. Of all the *Roman* cavalry

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by the enemy; by the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* in front, by the *Africans* in flank, and by *Asdrubal* in the rear.

But the great difficulty still remains: For it is generally agreed (and indeed *Polybius*'s words seem to import) that the *whole*, or almost the *whole* of the *Roman* infantry, in one deep phalanx, pressed after the retiring *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, and so became at length wedged between the two bodies of *Africans*. Now, how could this happen, if the *space between those two bodies* was but *one third* of *Hannibal*'s line of foot? For is it credible, that the *Roman* Generals could be so infatuated as, in the heat of the battle, to contract the front of their army to one third of its first extent, draw ALL the battalions of the wings to the center, and leave no troops to oppose the two wings (two thirds) of *Hannibal*'s line, that were standing before them in battle array? And if those Generals, to deepen their center, only *thinned* their wings (as *Chevalier Folard* supposes) what advantage could *Hannibal* hope from drawing the *Roman* center within his two wings? Since these wings, while employed in attacking the flanks of that center, would themselves be exposed to be attacked both in flank and rear by the remainder of the *Roman* wings; which, if we suppose them diminished by *one half*, were still equal in number of men to the *Carthaginian* wings.

It would seem therefore that the plans which represent *Hannibal*'s crescent, as making but *one third* of his line, must be extremely faulty.

Chevalier Folard, though he speaks as if he were a perfect master of the subject, is as unsatisfactory in his account of the battle as any writer before him. His plan of it (tom. 4. p. 391.) represents *Hannibal*'s curve, as but *one third* of his line of foot: but being aware of the *small number* of *Africans* in the *Carthaginian* army, much too small to make the other *two thirds* of the line (as they do in the *Jesuits* plan) he represents the curve as consisting of only a *part* of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*; the remainder of which troops stand extended to the right and left from the horns of the crescent, and between it

and the *Africans*, who make only the extremities of the line, or the outer parts of the wings.

The employment which the *Chevalier* finds for these wings, is not to give upon the flanks of the *Romans* that were advanced within the hollow of the inverted curve, but to wheel, extend themselves, and attack both in flank and rear the *Roman* wings, which he supposes to be still subsisting, though much weakened by the imprudence of their leaders.

This account of the action has not the least foundation in *Polybius*, who does not say, that the *Romans* of the center, by rashly pursuing the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* of *Hannibal*'s crescent, came between other *Gauls* and *Spaniards* of his wings (as they must do according to the *Chevalier*'s plan) but between the two bodies of *Africans*. The *Africans* are the only troops the historian speaks of as coming upon the flanks of the *Romans*. Nor does he say any thing of the *Africans* wheeling and extending themselves to attack the *Roman* wings in flank and rear, but that turning or inclining (*κλινάμενοι*) one part of them to the shield, the other to the spear, i. e. one facing or turning to the right, the other to the left, they pressed upon the flanks of those *Romans* that were pursuing the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* of *Hannibal*'s crescent or center.

The *Roman* wings, says the *Chevalier*, still subsisted, though much weakened by the draughts made from them. I know not how much the *Chevalier* would allow them to be weakened. But if we suppose them to be diminished by one half, they were still equal, (as I said before) in number of men to the *Carthaginian* wings; and it is hardly credible that the *Roman* wings having at this time no enemies to contend with but the *Carthaginian* wings, should stand still while these were wheeling and extending themselves to come upon their flank and rear; or that the *Carthaginians* should find their account in such an attempt.

I shall observe, by the way, that *Polybius* never speaks of any part of the *Roman* army being attacked in rear by the *Carthaginian* foot. This was left for *Asdrubal* and his horse.

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L. 111.
111.
111.

cavalry twenty only escaped with the Consul to *Venusia*, and about three hundred more into other neighbouring towns, two thousand were taken prisoners, the rest were slain.

The

But, who could hardly have performed this part without riding over the *Africans*, had been behind the *Africans* behind.

What seems to have drawn the Cavalry to all their dangers from his author, is the fatal mistake of forming *Hannibal's* crescent out of but *one third* of his line.

• Sept. 12. • That *Walter* has gone into the other error of the account for the whole Roman army's being engaged by the enemy, he supposes that *Hannibal's* crescent was of such extent, as to make his whole front; that the Romans saw nothing before them but a crescent; that the *Africans* (deep in file) were hid behind its two corners, and not discovered by the Romans till they were attacked by them. "For it is agreed," says he, that the Romans were overcome, passed unopposed, and that they behaved themselves as men who thought upon no other work than what was found them by the Gauls. Neither is it credible, that they would have been so mad, as to run headlong with the whole bulk of their army into the throat of slaughter, had they seen those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashness of inferior captains: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in war, being vanquished in haste, had put himself among the legions, it cannot be supposed that he and they did wilfully thus engage themselves."

That *Hannibal's* crescent of Gauls and Spaniards made the whole of his front, cannot be reconciled with *Polibius* or *Livy*, who expressly relate, that the Carthaginian drew up all his infantry in one line, of which the *Africans* made the two points or wings; and *Polibius* more than once in describing the action, calls this crescent *ex parte* the middle or center of *Hannibal's* battalia, and the *Africans* are spoke of, not as hid, but as appearing to the enemy armed after the Roman manner.

But it is not credible, says Sir *Walter*, that the Romans would have been so mad as to run

with the whole bulk of their army between the *Africans*, had they seen them at first.

I will not pretend to remove this difficulty. All I can aim at, is, in some measure to lessen it.

Hannibal's infantry is said to have consisted of about 40,000 men, extended at first in one straight line. Of this line the Gauls and Spaniards (who afterwards formed themselves into a crescent) made the middle or center, and the *Africans* the wings. Now if that middle part, instead of being but *one third*, was at least *nine tenths* of the line, as there is good reason to believe, it will much lessen our wonder, that the Romans, when they had forced that middle part to give ground, should imagine themselves secure of the victory, and unwarily engage themselves between the *Africans*, who made so narrow a front, as only a *small* of the Carthaginian line, that is to say, at each extremity a *twentieth*.

That the *Africans* made but a very narrow front, in respect of the rest of the line, may, I think, be fairly collected from the small number to which we are obliged to reduce them, and from the manner in which it is reasonable to believe they were drawn up.

It cannot be supposed that the *Africans* amounted to above 8000 men. *Hannibal* brought into Italy but 20,000 foot, of which number 12,000 only were *Africans*, and the other 8000 Spaniards. At the battle of the *Trebia*, his heavy armed infantry, Spaniards, *Africans*, and Gauls, were but 20,000 in all. He lost some of his *Africans* in this battle, some at the lake *Thrasymenus*; and doubtless the *Africans* suffered with the rest of the troops in their march through the fens of *Hetruria*, and in their other fatigues. *Hannibal* had now been three years in Italy, and had received no recruits from *Africa*; and from all these considerations we may well conclude, that his *Africans* were diminished by one third at least, before the battle of *Cannæ*.

Now supposing the *Africans* to be but 8000 of *Hannibal's* 40,000 foot, and supposing his battalia to be every where of equal

The whole of the infantry that had been in the battle, was cut off except about 3000^d who fled, most of them to *Canusium*. Among the dead were, beside the Consul *Æmilius*, the two Pro-Consuls *Servilius* and *Attilius*, *M. Minucius* late master of the horse to *Fabius*, two military Quæstors, twenty-nine legionary Tribunes, with eighty persons who had either been Senators, or had born such offices as entitled them to be chosen into the Senate. Those of the infantry who were taken prisoners had not been in the fight. *Varro*, by the advice of *Æmilius*, had left 10,000 foot in his greater camp, with orders to attack the camp of *Hannibal* during the battle. The Consul's view in this was, to oblige the *Carthaginian* either to abandon his baggage, or to leave a greater part of his forces to guard it than he could well spare from the general action. The design so far succeeded, that *Hannibal* was just upon the point of losing his camp, when (after his victory in the field) he came

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Liv. B. 22.
c. 49.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 117.

equal depth, it is plain that the *Africans* could make no more than one fifth part of the *Carthaginian* front, or one tenth of it at each extremity of the line. But if we consider that *Hannibal's* intention, from the beginning of the day, was to draw the bulk of the *Roman* army between his *Africans*, it is reasonable to believe that he so disposed those *Africans* as to hide their strength as much as possible; and that he gave them no more extent in front, than was necessary to be their depth when they should face, one part of them to the right, and the other to the left, to attack the flanks of the *Romans* pressing after the retiring *Gauls* and *Spaniards*; and if so, it is probable that the front, which the *Africans* made, was not so much as a tenth part of the line, or, at each extremity a twentieth. And this being granted, it will not be so astonishing that the bulk of the *Roman* army should run precipitately between them. That the *subtle* did, strictly speaking, engage themselves between the *Africans*, I do not conceive necessary to be supposed, in order to account for the event of the battle. For it seems from *Polybius's* relation, that none of those who did so engage themselves, escaped destruction. Yet we find according to the same author, that 3000 of the *Roman* foot escaped from the battle, and according to *Livy*, a much greater number. These might be of the troops that were in the points of the *Roman* battalia, and who probably took to their heels as soon as they saw *Asdrubal* with his horse coming upon the rear of the legions.

^d *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* agrees nearly with *Polybius* as to the number of men the *Romans* lost in this battle. Of 6000 horse (says he, *Antiquit. B. 2. p. 37.*) there remained only 370, and of 80,000 foot there escaped somewhat more than 3000. But *Livy* differs from them, and is not very consistent with himself. According to the first account he gives, the sum total of those that were slain and taken prisoners amounts to about 59,400, and of those that escaped to about 5670. In which reckonings (supposing, as he seems to do, that the whole *Roman* army at *Cannæ* consisted of 87,200 men) there are above 18,000 omitted. He afterwards tells us (*B. 22. c. 45, 49.*) that there were got together of the fugitives 10,000 at *Canusium*, and 4070 at *Venusia*. In this case the number of the prisoners and the slain would be 73,130. But (*c. 56.*) he makes *Varro* write to the Senate from *Canusium* (after he had brought to that place those that had fled to *Venusia*) that the whole remains of the *Roman* army were only 10,000 men. And yet in the same book (*c. 60.*) *M. Terquatus* tells the Senate, that if the captives who petitioned to be ransomed, and who (as one of themselves had said a little before) amounted to 8000 men, were added to the forces at *Canusium*, the republic would have there an army of 20,000 men. According to *Appian*, the whole *Roman* army at *Cannæ* consisted of 70,000 foot and 6000 horse, of which 50,000 were slain, a great number taken prisoners, and about 10,000 escaped to *Canusium*.

In Hanni-
bal. c. 523.

Y. R. 577.
1. 4. C. 11.
215.
2. 5. C. 11.

to the assistance of the few troops he had left to defend it. Upon his approach, the assailants fled to their own entrenchments; where being invested, they surrendered themselves prisoners, after they had lost 2000 of their number*.

Hannibal's loss of men on this important day amounted to no more than 4000 *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, 1500 *Africans* and 200 horse†.

Plut. B. 3.
C. 113.

The consequence of this victory (says *Polybius*) was such as both parties had expected‡. *Hannibal* became master of almost all *Great Greece*.

* *Livy* relates that 7000 *Romans* fled out of the battle to the lesser camp, 10,000 to the greater, and that 2000 took refuge in the village of *Cannæ*. These last were immediately surrounded by *Carthago*, and taken prisoners. The soldiers in the greater camp, who were without leaders, and but half-armed, sent a messenger to those in the lesser, desiring they would come over to them in the night, that they might march together and take refuge in *Cannæ*, a city not far distant. But the troops in the little camp could not be prevailed upon to hearken to this proposal, fearing to be intercepted by the enemy in their passage. Nevertheless 600 of them, encouraged by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, a legionary tribune who commanded them, drew themselves up in the form of a wedge, and casting their shields upon their right arms, to defend themselves from the darts of the *Nomidians*, to which they were exposed upon that side, made their way through the enemy to the great camp, from whence, in conjunction with another large body, they escaped to *Cannæ*. Next day *Hannibal* having invested the little camp, the *Romans* surrendered upon terms. They had leave to depart each with one garment, upon paying a certain ransom. In the mean time about 4000 foot and 200 horse escaped from the great camp in straggling parties to *Cannæ*. The rest yielded upon the conditions granted to those of the little camp.

Liv. B. 22.
C. 52.

† According to the *Latin* historian the loss of the *Carthaginians* amounted to 8000 men.

B. 22. C. 52.

‡ *Livy* thinks it might reasonably have been expected that *Hannibal* should have taken *Rome* immediately after the battle of *Cannæ*. When the *Carthaginian* officers (says that author) flocked round their General, congratulating him on his victory, and ad-

vising him to spend the rest of that day, and the following night, in refreshing himself and his wearied Troops. *Maharbal*, on the contrary, pressed him not to lose a moment's time. *That you may know* (said he) *the importance of this victory, follow me, I will instantly march away with the cavalry, and be at Rome before they have notice of my coming. In five days we shall sit in the capitol.* *Hannibal* commended his zeal, but told him that what he had proposed was of too great moment to be suddenly resolved upon, and that he would take time to consider of it. *Nay then* (said *Maharbal*) *I find that no one man is endued by the Gods with all talents. Hannibal knows how to conquer, but he knows not how to make advantage of his victories.* It is generally believed (adds *Livy*) that this day's delay was the preservation of the city and empire of *Rome*.

Several of the ancients have joined with *Livy* in blaming *Hannibal* for not laying siege to *Rome* without delay, but whether justly or not may very well be a question. If the advantages he had gained were, as *Polybius* says, chiefly owing to the superiority of his cavalry, those could be of little use in a siege, and the *Roman* infantry not inferior to his, would be invincible behind walls. *Rome* was provided with every thing necessary to sustain a siege. After the battle of *Thrasymen*, its fortifications had been repaired, (*Liv.* B. 22. c. 8.) and *Polybius* takes notice of the care of the Senate upon the present occasion to put the city in a posture of defence, (B. 3. c. 118.) *Rome* abounded with soldiers well trained to war. *Livy* speaks of four new legions and 1000 horse raised in the city by *Junius Pera*, who was made Dictator immediately after the battle of *Cannæ*. (*Liv.* B. 22. c. 57.) And exclusive of these the same Dictator led out an army of 25,000 men (*id.* B. 23.

Greece^h. Nay, the *Carthaginians* were not without hope, by some sudden stroke, to possess themselves of *Rome*. The *Romans*, on the other hand, despaired of being able to retain the dominion of *Italy*, and, every moment expecting to hear of *Hannibal's* approach, were in the utmost anxiety for themselves and for their country. The Senators nevertheless preserved their fortitude and dignity; they all zealously applied themselves to put the city in a posture of defence, and did every thing that could be done for the common safety. And though the *Romans* were now undoubtedly vanquished, and yielded, for the present, in military glory, to their enemies, yet by their courage, steadiness, and unwearied labours, the wisdom of their counsels, and the constitution of their government, they not only recovered the empire of *Italy*, but totally subdued the *Carthaginians*, and in a few years after became lords of the world.

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B. 23. c. 14.) which he would not have done, had not he thought he had left troops enough in the town to defend it. *Marcellus* had also sent from *Ostia* 1500 men to strengthen the garrison of *Rome* (*Liv.* B. 22. c. 57.)

Now what forces had *Hannibal* to bring against so powerful a city? His army after the battle of *Cannæ* consisted of scarce 45,000 men, 9800 of which were cavalry. He was moreover intirely unprovided of implements for carrying on a siege. And had he marched directly to *Rome*, it is not probable any of the nations of *Italy* would have gone over to him. At most they would have waited the issue of the siege, in which, if he had not succeeded, they would have been the less disposed to venture themselves under his protection. Nor perhaps would it have been prudent in him, when not one city in *Italy* had declared for him, to neglect the other towns (that were beginning to waver in their fidelity to the *Romans*) to go and besiege the capital; especially since his hopes of success in this undertaking must have depended more on the terror of his name, than the force of his arms. And that both these would have been insufficient seems plain from the little effect they had upon *Nola* and *Naples*, which cities were twice in vain attempted by *Hannibal* soon after his victory at *Cannæ*, (*Liv.* B. 23. c. 1, 14, 16) *Nuccria* also and *Casertum*, two inconsiderable towns, gave him a great deal of trouble before he could reduce them. The latter held out more than a whole winter, though defended by

only 960 men. (*Liv.* B. 23. c. 15, 17, 18, 19.)

Add to this, that had *Hannibal* laid siege to *Rome*, it is not likely that the *Latin* nations, and those other of the allies who always continued steady to her interest, would have quietly looked on till the city had been taken, and that these allies were not yet exhausted of soldiers, is plain from the great levies made among them in the course of this war. In the Dictatorship of *Junius Pera*, just after the defeat at *Cannæ*, the *Roman* armies in *Italy* (reckoning the remains of *Cannæ* at 10,000) amounted to above 84,000 men, as appears from *Livy*, B. 22. c. 57. and B. 23. c. 14. The year after, the Republic had twelve legions on foot, and the year after that eighteen legions (*Liv.* B. 24. c. 11.) The third year after the battle they had twenty-one legions, and the fourth, viz. in the Consulship of *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, twenty-three Legions. (*Liv.* B. 25. c. 3.)

Upon the whole, *Livy's* censure of *Hannibal's* conduct seems not well founded, and the rather as we do not find that *Polybius* has any where blamed him upon this article.

^h The nations that revolted to the *Carthaginians*, after the battle of *Cannæ* are thus reckoned up by *Livy* (B. 22. c. 61.) The *Atellani*, *Calatini*, and *Hirpini*, part of *Apulia*, the *Samnites* except the *Penri*, all the *Bruttians*, the *Lucanians*, the *Surrentini*, and almost all *Great Greece*, the *Tarentines*, *Metapontines*, *Crotoniensis*, *Locri*, and all the *Cisalpine Gauls*.

C H A P. XXII.

The extreme terror, with which the Romans were struck, by their defeat at Cannæ. Their reception of Terentius Varro at Rome. They refuse to redeem the prisoners. Hannibal gets possession of Capua, and winters there. He sends to Carthage an account of his victories. The Romans create a Dictator for the sole affair of filling the many vacant places in their Senate.

AMONG those Romans, who had fled from the late battle to *Canusium*, were four legionary Tribunes. Of these the soldiers chose two, to be their chief commanders, *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of the Pro-Consul in Spain. Whilst *Scipio* (who was now about nineteen years of age) was deliberating with his colleague, and some others, what measures to take, notice was brought them, that certain young men of the best families of Rome, at the head of whom was *L. Cecilius Metellus*, giving up all for lost, had resolved to embark at the first port, and fly from Italy. So base a thought stirred up *Scipio's* indignation. Turning therefore to the company, he said, *Let those who value the preservation of Rome follow me.* They all went immediately to the house where the young Patricians were assembled. *Scipio*, as he entered their chamber, *I swear*, said he, drawing his sword, *that I will never abandon the Republic, nor consent that any of her citizens forsake her; I call the great Jupiter to witness this my oath:* And then addressing himself to *Metellus*, he added, *Do you, Metellus, and all that are here present take the same oath, or not a man of you shall escape this sword.* His look, his action, his menaces so terrified them all, that they readily came into the engagements he required.

The consternation and despondency of the people at Rome almost equalled those of *Metellus* and his companions. For it was there currently reported that both the Consuls were killed, and their armies so entirely destroyed, that not an officer, nor hardly a single soldier remained alive; and that *Hannibal* was master of *Apulia*, *Samnium*, and all Italy. The *Conscript Fathers*, the pilots of the state, did not, however, leave the helm because the storm blew high. For want of Consuls the two Prætors assembled them. As *Fabius's* cunctation, that lingering war, he had counselled and practised against *Hannibal*, was discovered, by the present calamity, to have been the dictate of wisdom, he now was principally listened to. He advised, that some horsemen well mounted should be sent out upon the *Ælian* and *Latine* roads, to learn, if possible, of such as they met, the true state of affairs, what was become of the Consuls; to what place the remains of the army, if there were any, had retreated; where *Hannibal* was encamped; what he was doing, and what he designed to do: That the women should be forbid to appear in public, disturbing the city with their lamentations: That

That when any courier arrived, he should be brought privately and without noise to the Prætors; and that no person should be suffered to go out of the city.

Y. R. 537.
Bef. Chr.
215.
236. Conf.

Not long after, a messenger arrived from *Terentius*; his letters imported that the *Roman* army had been defeated; that his colleague *Æmilius* was slain; that he himself was retired to *Canusum*, where he was assembling the remains of the troops; that about 10,000 men of different corps, and for the most part without officers, had joined him; and that *Hannibal* was still at *Cannæ*¹.

At the same time a bark arrived from *Sicily* with advice from the Pro-Prætor *Otacilius*, that one *Carthaginian* Squadron was ravaging the coast of *Syracuse*, while another appeared off the *Ægates* ready to make a descent at *Lilybæum*; and that it was necessary to send a fleet thither with all speed. The *Conscript Fathers*, not dejected at these additional cares, prepared for the defence both of *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Marcellus*, appointed Prætor for the last named province, and now at *Ostia* aboard the fleet, was ordered to resign the conduct of it to *P. Furius Philus*, the Prætor *Peregrinus*, and to go and take upon him the command of the army at *Canusum*. As for *Terentius Varro*, the Senate recalled him to *Rome*; and nothing has been more wondered at, than the respect with which he was received at his arrival. Multitudes of people of all ranks went out to meet him, and the Senate returned him thanks *for that he had not despaired of the commonwealth*. How different this conduct, says *Livy*, from that of the *Carthaginians*, who were wont to put their unsuccessful Generals to the most cruel deaths^k!

Liv. B. 22.
c. 61.

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¹ *Livy* says that *Hannibal*, after this famous battle, acted more like a man that had finished his conquests than one that had a war to carry on, and that he was sitting at *Cannæ* bargaining about his plunder and the captives, in a manner very unbecoming a great General (*Liv. B. 22. c. 56, 58.*) If this be not a calumny, at least the *Carthaginian* did not continue long thus employed; for the same author begins his 23d book by telling us, that *Hannibal*, after the battle of *Cannæ*, having taken and plundered the *Roman* camps, marched immediately (*confestim*) from *Apulia* into *Samnium*.

^k The Reception *Varro* met with at *Rome*, and his being afterwards intrusted with the command of an army, seem to have been the effects of just policy in the *Romans*. This General had done nothing irregular, nothing contrary to orders. The Senate and people had sent him to fight *Hannibal*, not to follow him at a distance like *Fabius*. *Æmilius*, it is true, was against fighting at that time; and he was an able Ge-

neral. But what then? *Varro* was not obliged to follow his advice. In a dispute they had had a little before about marching, *Æmilius* had no officer of his opinion, except the late Consul *Servilius*, as we are informed by *Livy*. And there is reason to think that it was not only the general inclination of the soldiers, but agreeable to the judgment of most of the officers, that *Varro* should fight when he did. No objection is made to the order of his battle. If a fatal error was committed during the action, through the rashness of the infantry imagining themselves victorious, this was no more imputable to *Varro* than to *Æmilius*. In short, as *Varro* does not appear to be chargeable with any thing worse, than the having such a dependence on the number and valour of his troops, as to venture a battle contrary to the advice of his colleague, it ought not perhaps to be so surprising that the Senate and people received him in the manner they did. They could not have treated him with rigour without

Y. R. 537.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 57.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 57.

Fab.

Liv. B. 23.
c. 21.

Fabius, B.
2. c. 6.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 56, 57.

B. 59.

As the present situation of things required an absolute magistrate to govern the state, *M. Junius Pera* was, by the authority of the Senate named Dictator, and *Sempronius Gracchus* to be his General of the horse. *Junius* made it his whole business to put the army in a condition to resist the enemy. Four legions and a thousand horse were raised among the citizens of *Rome*. The two *Latiums*, the *Municipia*, and the colonies furnished their contingents as usual; and to all these were added 8000 slaves, whom the Republic bought of their masters, and who were called *Volentes*, from the word *volo* (I will) which every one returned in answer, when he was asked, whether he would serve in the troops. To recruit the treasury, which was greatly exhausted, and to put the public revenues under a good regulation, three men of eminent prudence and integrity were chosen for that trust. And then, the Senators giving the example, and being followed by the knights, the whole people in general of the *Roman* tribes brought all their gold to the public treasury; the Senators only reserving their rings, and the *bulle* about their childrens necks. The silver coin was now, for the first time, alloyed with copper.

While they were thus employed at *Rome*, *Hannibal*, to get a supply of money, and with the further view of abating the obstinate resolution of the *Romans* in battle, by the hopes of being ransomed, in case they should be defeated and taken, gave leave to his *Roman* prisoners, to redeem themselves. These chose out ten of their body, to send to *Rome*, to negotiate their redemption; and *Hannibal* exacted no other security for their return than an oath. They were accompanied by a noble *Cartaginian*, named *Carthalo*, who, in case he found the *Romans* inclined to peace, was empowered to declare upon what terms *Hannibal* would grant it. Upon the first report of *Carthalo's* arrival, the Dictator sent a lictor to order him out of the *Roman* territory. The ten deputies were admitted to an audience of the Senate. *M. Junius*, the chief of them, pleaded with great earnestness in behalf of the captives. He justified them from the charge of cowardice in having yielded themselves prisoners to the enemy. He alledged that they had been left in the camp to defend it, that they had done nothing cowardly or unworthy the *Roman* name, but by the adverse fortune of the day, the troops in the field being all cut off, they had been under a necessity of surrendering to the conqueror. He cited precedents of the regard had to prisoners in former times, and urged the advantage it would be to the Republic, to have in her army 8000 *Romans*, redeemed at a less price than the purchase of so many slaves would

without discouraging their Generals, which might have been of dangerous consequence at this juncture. Nor is it much to be wondered at that they employed him again. He was very humble after his defeat at *Canna*, and behaved himself to the general satisfaction of both Senate and people. However, they never put him at the head

of a great army; he seldom had the command of above one legion.

¹ The ransom of each horseman he fixed at 500 *denarii* (16l. 2s. 11d.); that of each soldier at 300 (9l. 3s. 9d.); and that of each slave at 100 (3l. 4s. 7d.).*

^m This (says Sir *W. Raleigh*) is but a tale devised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings,

* Liv. B.
22. c. 58.

would amount to. His discourse was seconded by the multitude, whose concern for their relations in captivity had brought them together; and they implored the clemency of the *Fathers* in a suppliant manner.

Y. R. 537.
Ref. Chr.
215.
236 Con..

The Senate debated the matter for some time, being much divided in opinion; but at length they concluded absolutely against the redemption of the captives: For having penetrated into *Hannibal's* views, they would convince their soldiers, that they must either conquer or be at the mercy of their enemies.

Hannibal, after his victory at *Cannæ*, marched without delay from *Apulia* into *Samnium*. *Compsa*, a city of *Hirpini*, almost at the head of the *Aufidus*, surrendered to him, and was the first which fell off from the *Romans*. Having here placed a garrison, together with all his plunder and baggage, he divided his army. One part of it he gave to his brother *Mago* to reduce the towns and fortresses of this country and of all *Bruttium*; and with the other he himself marched towards *Naples*, to get possession, if practicable, of that maritime city, which would open to him an easy communication with *Africa*. But though he drew a part of the garrison into an ambuscade, and cut them off, yet the strength of the place deterred him from laying siege to it.

Liv. B. 23.
c. 1.

From thence he turned towards *Capua*. This city, which had been formerly governed by *Roman* laws, and a *Roman* prefect, was now a *Municipium*, and chose her own magistrates; and the *Capuans* had the uncommon privilege of intermarrying with the *Romans*. After the battle of the lake *Tbrasymenus*, one *Pacuvius Calavius*, a man of the greatest interest among the people, and then governor of the town, had laid a design to assassinate the Senate, who were odious both to himself and the people, and deliver up the place to *Hannibal*: But afterwards he thought that to assume a kind of sovereignty himself there, would be a better scheme, than that of introducing a stranger to usurp it. The only difficulty he had was to engage the Senators, who were universally for adhering to the *Romans*, to favour the project of his ambition. To this end he told them that the people had sworn to cut their throats, and to surrender up *Capua* to the *Carthaginians*; but that if they would leave themselves to his conduct, he would preserve them. The Senators trusted him, upon his oath, and suffered him to

c. 2. & seq.

ings, as if they had been severe, when as indeed they were suitable to the present fortune, poor and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, that *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaves whom he had taken in the camp among their masters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common soldier's ransom: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for slaves might have been made, than was by the state at home, in dealing with

private men; yet must we withal consider, that these private men did only *lend* these slaves for a while unto the commonwealth, and were afterwards contented to forbear the price of them, until the war should be ended. [*Liv.* B. 24. c. 18.] If *Hannibal* would have given such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his chapmen: but seeing he dealt only for ready money, they chose rather to say we *will not* give, than we *can* not. *Hist. of the World*, part 1. B. 5. ch. 3. §. 9.

A

shut them up in the temple, where they were then assembled, and to sit a guard at the door. He then called the people together, and acquainted them, that the Senate were now entirely in his power, and that he would abandon those detestable slaves of *Rome* to their resentment, to be treated according to their demerits; but he insisted that (in order to preserve the old form of government, which ought not to be destroyed as soon as any one of them had received sentence, and before he was executed, the people should name some man of probity, to succeed him; by which stratagem, *Pacuvius* saved the lives of all the Senators; for the multitude could not agree upon this man of probity. Some disqualification or other was still objected to whoever was named; so that in the end, the people finding that they could not rid themselves of their present Senate without choosing a worse, desired that all the prisoners might be released: and from this time the Senate courted the people by all manner of kindness and adulation, and if we may credit *Levy*, *Pacuvius* acquired an absolute ascendant over both.

After the defeat of the *Romans* at *Canne*, the *Capuans* were again disposed to side with the *Carthaginians*. Two reasons restrained them; the intermarriages before-mentioned, and the consideration that the flower of their nobility were in the service of the *Romans*, in *Sicily*, and were therefore as so many hostages for their fidelity. And the relations of these young men prevailed to have a deputation sent to the Consul *Terrontius*, then at *Verusa*, to offer him succours. These deputies found the Consul so dejected and desponding, that, weighing the circumstances of things, they thought the time now come to shake off the *Roman* yoke, and recover their antient liberty. But to do this with the more decency, they first sent ambassadors to *Rome*, with such proposals as they knew would not be received. They demanded, that for the future *Rome* and *Capua* should be upon a perfect equality, and that every year one of the Consuls should be chosen out of the *Capuans*.

The *Conscrip*t Fathers having haughtily rejected the demand, it was carried by a majority of voices, both of the Senate and people of *Capua*, to send deputies to treat with *Hannibal*. They demanded entire liberty and independence, and that three hundred *Roman* knights should be put into their hands, to be exchanged against the same number of *Capuan* youths in the service of *Rome*. *Hannibal* readily granted all that was asked; and then the people contrived to have all the *Romans* in the city shut up in the public baths, and there suffocated. One *Decius Magius*, a man of a *Roman* spirit, and a friend to the *Romans*, loudly declared against these proceedings of his countrymen, warning them not to receive a *Carthaginian* garrison, and putting them in mind of *Pyrrhus*'s tyranny over the people of *Tarentum*; but his discourse was despised. When *Hannibal* was to make his entry, all the town crowded to meet him, except this *Magius*, and some few of the nobility, among whom was *Perolla*, the son of *Pacuvius*, who though not governor of *Capua*

Capua at this time, had been the foul of all the late proceedings. *Perrelius* was afterwards obliged by his father to go and pay his homage to *Hannibal*; nevertheless having deeply imbibed the sentiments of *Magius*, he formed a resolution to stab the *Carthaginian* General, at a magnificent entertainment which *Perucius* and some other of the principal citizens were to give him: But the young man, having communicated the design to his father, was by his tears and entreaties dissuaded from it. The next day the Senate assembled, and *Hannibal* complaining to them of the disaffection of *Magius*, this brave man was delivered up to him, loaded with irons, and put on board a ship bound for *Carthage*. A tempest drove the vessel into the port of *Cyrene*, a city belonging to the kings of *Egypt*; there the prisoner finding means to get to a statue of *Ptolemy Philopater*, and laying hold of it, the *Carthaginians* durst not drag him from that sanctuary. The *Cyrenians* conveyed him to *Alexandria*, where he chose to continue under the protection of *Ptolemy*.

About this time *Hannibal* dispatched his brother *Mago* to *Carthage* with an account of his success. *Mago* reported to the Senate, "That their General had defeated six Consular armies, slain above 200,000 *Romans*, and taken more than 50,000 prisoners; that *Bruttium* and *Apulia*, with a part of *Samnium*, and a part of *Lucania* had revolted to the *Carthaginians*; that *Capua*, the chief city, not of *Campania* only, but (in the present low estate of *Rome*) even of *Italy*, had surrendered to *Hannibal*:" and he concluded with saying, "That for so many and so great victories it was meet to return solemn thanks to the immortal Gods." To verify his report, he spread abroad in the Senate-house, some say one, others three bushels of corn taken from the *Roman* Knights and Senators. Having thus procured the Senate in favour of his brother, he proceeded to solicit large supplies of men, corn, and money, that he might be enabled to carry on so successful a war. The request was universally applauded; and *Himilco*, a Senator of the *Berberine* faction, turning towards *Hanno*, as it were to insult him, "Well, *Hanno*, are you still dissatisfied that we entered into a war against *Rome*? Are you still of opinion that we ought to deliver up *Hannibal*? Come, declare against our giving thanks to the Gods for our success; speak, *Hanno*, let us hear the language of a *Roman* in a *Carthaginian* Senate." *Hanno* rose up; "To day, Fathers, if I had not been compelled to speak, I should have held my peace, that, in this concert of your common gladness, no discordant word might drop from me. But to be silent when thus interrogated by a Senator, would argue either pride or disaffection to the state, a disregard of other mens liberty or of my own. To *Himilco*, therefore, I answer, that I do still condemn the war, and that I never shall cease to blame our invincible General, till I see it ended by a peace upon some tolerable conditions. The exploits which *Mago* has boasted of, have caused much joy to *Himilco* and his friends.

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Y. R. 537.
Lef. Cl. R.
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c. 12.Liv. B. 23.
c. 12.

c. 13.

Y. R. 557.
B. C. 215.
236 C.C.-4

“ To *me* too they may prove matter of joy, if a proper use be made of
 “ them for bringing about an honourable peace. But what is the
 “ ground of all this exultation ? To what does it amount ? *I have slain,*
 “ *says Hannibal, whole armies of enemies : Send me soldiers.* What else
 “ could he have asked had he been vanquished ? *I have taken two camps,*
 “ *full, doubtless, of wealth and provisions : Supply me with corn and money.*
 “ What other demand could he have made, had he lost his own camp,
 “ with every thing that was in it ? And, that I alone may not wonder
 “ at all this, I would have *Himilco* (for as I have answered him, I
 “ have now surely a right to interrogate, ; I say, I would have *Himilco*
 “ or *Mago* answer *me* some questions. The *Roman* empire, it seems,
 “ was overturned at the battle of *Cannæ*, and all *Italy* is revolting : Is
 “ any one, I pray, of the *Latine nations* come over to us ? Has any one
 “ man of the *five and thirty tribes* deserted to *Hannibal* ?” When *Mago*
 “ had to both these answered in the negative : “ There remain then (re-
 “ plied *Hanno*, a huge number of enemies still to be subdued. And this
 “ multitude, what heart, what hope have they ?” *Mago* answered, *That*
 “ *he knew not.* “ And yet (returned *Hanno*) there is nothing easier to be
 “ known. Have the *Romans* sent any ambassadors to *Hannibal* to treat of
 “ peace ? Has intelligence been brought you, that any mention of peace
 “ was made at *Rome* ?” No, said *Mago*. “ Why then (replied the other)
 “ the progress made in this war, is exactly the same, as when *Hannibal*
 “ first entered *Italy*. The vicissitude of our fortune in the first *Roman*
 “ *War* many of us here present can well remember. Our affairs were
 “ never in a more prosperous course both by land and sea, than just be-
 “ fore our defeat at the *Ægates*. Should the like turn of fortune
 “ (the Gods avert the omen !) happen to us again, can we hope to obtain
 “ when vanquished, that peace, which when we are victorious we dis-
 “ dain to think of ? Were it now in debate to *offer* or to *accept* a peace,
 “ I know what I should say : If you ask my opinion concerning the
 “ supplies which *Mago* demands for the army, my answer is, That if
 “ they be truly conquerors, they little need them ; and if they deceive
 “ us with vain hope, they less deserve them.” *Hanno*’s speech made no
 “ impression on the Senate. It was carried by a great majority to send to
 “ *Hannibal* from *Africa*, 4000 *Numidians*, 40 elephants, and 1000 talents
 “ of silver *. And one of the magistrates was immediately commissioned
 “ to go with *Mago* into *Spain*, and there hire 20,000 foot and 4000 horse
 “ for recruiting the armies in that country and in *Italy*. These prepara-
 “ tions however went on slowly, as is usual in times of prosperity. On
 “ the other side, neither the character, nor the present circumstances of
 “ the *Romans* would permit *them* to be dilatory in their proceedings.
 “ The Senate neglected nothing, deferred nothing, that was necessary for
 “ supporting the war. The Consul *Varro* shewed himself extremely dili-
 “ gent in whatever belonged to his office ; and the Dictator *Junius Pera*,
 “ after performing the usual ceremonies of religion, marched out of *Rome*
 “ at

* 197, - 5 = 1

Li. B. 23.
* 24

at the head of 25,000 men. This army was composed of two legions, which had been raised in the beginning of the year for the defence of the city, of some cohorts from *Picenum* and the *Gellic* territory^m, of the 8000 *Velones* before-mentioned, and of 6000 prisoners for crimes and debt, whom *Junius* had released, upon the condition of their enlisting themselves in the troops, and whom he had armed out of the spoils *Flaminius* had formerly brought from *Gaul*.

Y. R. 537.
Dei. Chr.
215.
236 Const.

As for *Hannibal*, having settled his affairs at *Capua*, he made a second attempt upon *Naples*, with as little success as in the first. From thence he marched to *Nola*, in hopes that the populace, who were inclined to his party, would deliver up the town to him. But their Senate, alarmed at the danger, had sent for assistance from *Marcellus*, who commanded the *Roman* army at *Canusium*, and who came in all haste to the defence of the place. *Hannibal*, disappointed here, once more attempted *Naples*. As this city had lately received a *Roman* garrison, under the command of *M. Junius Silanus*, the *Carthaginian* soon despaired of being able to reduce it by force; and he turned his arms against *Nuceria*, a town not far from the other. The inhabitants, for want of provisions, were obliged to capitulate: Yet he could not prevail upon any of them to serve in his army. After he had plundered and burnt *Nuceria*, he again sat down before *Nola*. *Marcellus* sallied out upon him at three several gates, and killed 2300 of his men, with the loss only of 500 of his own. The *Carthaginian* being thus repulsed, laid siege to *Acerra*, a small town on the banks of the *Clanis*, near *Nola*, and took it. Here he learnt that the Dictator was approaching to *Casilinum* with his army. Whereupon being afraid lest the neighbourhood of the enemy might occasion some sinister accident at *Capua*, he drew near to this city, and at the same time sent a part of his forces to attack *Casilinum*. These not succeeding, he himself marched thither with his army, and besieged the town in form. It was not garrisoned by *Campanians*. A body of *Prænestini*, to the number of 500 men, happening to pass that way, had found the inhabitants wavering in their fidelity to *Rome*, and had therefore cut their throats in the night, and possessed themselves of the walls. The *Prænestini*, were afterwards reinforced by about 400 *Perusini* from *Hetruria*, and some *Romans* and *Latines*. All these being men of bravery and resolution, made a vigorous resistance. Winter approaching, *Hannibal* discontinued the siege, intending to renew it in the spring. He left a small body of troops before the town, and retired to *Capua* with the rest of his army.

Liv. B. 23.
c. 15.

c. 17.

Livy and some other historians tell us, that both *Hannibal* and his soldiers were extremely softened by the effeminate life they gave themselves up to, this winter at *Capua*, and are very particular in their descriptions of the luxury of the *Carthaginians*, making *Capua* prove as fatal a place

c. 18.

^m This was a tract of land between the *Rubicon* and the *Esis*, formerly taken from the *Galli Senones*, and divided amongst some *Roman citizens* by virtue of a law lately enacted.

Y. R. 537.
E. A. C. 53.
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235 C. 53.

Lib. B. 23.
C. 13.

C. 20.

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C. 21.

to them as *Cannæ* had been to the *Romans*. It does not however appear by their after behaviour, that they had lost much of their martial ardour. The principal cause of the decline of *Hannibal's* affairs in *Italy* after the battle of *Cannæ*, seems to have been his not receiving supplies from his own country. He had not men enough to oppose so many armies as the *Romans* sent against him, and at the same time to garrison the towns and protect the countries, that had submitted to him. And that his residence at *Catæ* had abated nothing of his wonted activity, seems plain from *Livy* himself, who informs us, that as soon as the rigour of the season began to lessen he renewed the siege of *Casertum*, and this in sight of an army, which without reckoning the allies, amounted to 25,000 men. This army was now under the conduct of *Sempronius*, General of the horse, the Dictator having been recalled to *Rome* on account of some religious affair. *Sempronius* continued quite in his camp; for he had received orders not to fight. *Marcellus* (according to *Livy*) would have gone to the assistance of the besieged, if he had not been hindered by the swelling of the *Vulturius*, and by the people of *Nola*, who feared that the *Catæ* would attack them if the *Roman* garrison should withdraw. In the mean time *Casertum* was reduced to great extremities for want of provisions, insomuch that many of the soldiers threw themselves from the walls, or exposed themselves without defence to the darts of the enemy. *Sempronius* attempted to relieve them, first by throwing barrels of meal into the *Vulturius*, that ran through the town, and afterwards by scattering in the stream great quantities of nuts, which the besieged stopped with hurdles. These convoys of provisions being discovered and cut off, the garrison were reduced to live upon rats, and what other vermin they could find; nay, they pulled off the leather that covered their shields, boiled it in soft water, and eat it. And when *Hannibal*, to hinder them from gathering any weeds or roots that grew close under the wall, had ploughed up the ground, they threw turnip seed out upon the mold; which when the *Carthaginian* heard of, he cried out, *What! am I then to sit here till their turnips are come to maturity?* And from this time he became more willing to grant them terms. They were at length allowed to march out of the town, provided each freeman among them paid seven ounces of gold. The condition was accepted; they remained prisoners till the money was paid, and the *Carthaginian* put a garrison of 700 men into the place.

The inhabitants of *Paestum*, in *Bruttium*, gave likewise a signal proof of their attachment to the Republic, and shewed how agreeable her government was to her subjects. They resolutely stood a siege, though refused assistance from *Rome* on account of the distress she was in; and *Himilco*, one of *Hannibal's* Lieutenants, found almost as much difficulty in subduing them, as the General had met with, in reducing the garrison of *Casertum*.

About the same time couriers arrived from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, with complaints from the Prætors of those two provinces, of the want both

of

of provisions and pay for their armies and fleets. The answer was, that they must shift for themselves as well as they could; for that *Rome* was not in a condition to help them. King *Hiero* supplied the Prætor of *Sicily* with what money he wanted, and six months provisions; and the cities of *Sardinia* in alliance with the Republic raised contributions among themselves for the Prætor of that island.

Y. R. 537.
Bel. Chr.
215.
236 Conf.

And now the Senate began to think of filling up the many vacant places in their assembly. When this matter was in debate, *Sp. Carvilius* proposed that the present opportunity might be taken to oblige the *Latines*, those antient and faithful allies of *Rome*, by admitting two out of each nation of them to sit among the Fathers: but the motion was rejected with indignation; and *Fabius* reproved *Carvilius* for his imprudence in exposing the Senate to a shameful innovation, or to the danger of affronting the *Latines*, at so critical a conjuncture. He added, that it was of the utmost consequence to observe a strict silence upon this head, that so the allies might never know such a proposal had been made. The matter was kept secret; no mischief followed.

Liv. B. 23.
c. 22.

As there were no Censors in being, to fill up the vacancies in question, and the Dictator was now with the army, the Consul *Terentius*, by order of the Senate, nominated *M. Fabius Buteo*, the oldest of the former Censors, to be a second Dictator, whose office should be confined to this affair. And never did Dictator discharge his trust with more modesty and prudence. The first upon his list were all those who since the last Censors had obtained *curule magistracies*, but had not yet been ranked among the Fathers; then all those, without exception, who had been Tribunes of the people, *Plebeian* *Ædiles* or *Quæstors*; and lastly, such of the citizens as could shew the spoils of enemies by them vanquished, or had been rewarded by their Generals with a Civic Crown. By this impartial election the *Romans* had the happiness to see 177 new Senators created without jealousy or contention. *Fabius* was highly applauded for his conduct, and when he had finished his list, he immediately abdicated the Dictatorship, though he had been named to it for six months.

c. 23.

C H A P. XXIII.

The FOURTH YEAR of the War.

A Roman army destroyed by the Gauls. King Philip of Macedon enters into league with Hannibal against Rome. Favourable accounts from Sardinia and from the Scipios in Spain. After the death of King Hiero, Syracuse takes part with the Carthaginians.

THE next affair, at *Rome*, was to appoint the great officers of the state for the new year. *T. Sempronius Gracchus* (General of the horse to the Dictator *Junius*) and *L. Posthumius Albinus*, now at

Y. R. 538.
Bel. Chr.
216.
237 Conf.

the

V. R. 23.
Bel. Can.
23. Consul

L. B. 23.
c. 30.

c. 24.

c. 25.

the head of an army in *Cisalpine Gaul*, were elected Consuls. Then the several Prætors were named, and *Marcellus* had the power and title given him of Pro-Consul; because, of all the *Roman* Generals in *Italy*, he was the only one who had gained any advantage over the enemy since the battle of *Cannæ*. The elections being over, *Junius* returned to his camp in *Apulia*, but *Sempronius* continued in the city, to consult with the Senate about the operations of the approaching campaign. While they were deliberating on these things, news came to *Rome* that *Posthumius Albinus* (one of the Consuls elect) with all his army, was destroyed by the *Gauls**. The fortitude of the *Romans* enabled them to surmount this last calamity of so unfortunate a year. *Sempronius* assembled the Senate, and endeavoured to raise their dejected spirits. "The defeat of *Cannæ* ought to have hardened us against every adversity that can happen in war. Shall we be discouraged by moderate losses, after having supported the greatest calamities? The war with the *Gauls* may be deferred. Let us have no more armies in *Gaul*, but turn all our forces against *Hannibal*! When he is once driven out of *Italy*, the rebellious nations will soon be reduced again." This advice was followed, and all the *Roman* forces were ordered to the provinces near *Hannibal*.

V. R. Max.
E. 2. c. 5.
f. 2.
F. 2.
S. 2.
L. B. 23.
c. 31.

In the new disposition of employments, *Terentius Varro*, notwithstanding his former ill success, was intrusted with the command of an army in *Apulia*, and had the character of Pro-Consul. His behaviour since his misfortune had softened every body to him. He had let his hair and beard grow, and had never taken a meal lying on a bed, as was the manner of the *Romans*. Nay, it is said, he modestly declined the Dictatorship, to which the people, still well affected to him, would have raised him.

L. B. 23.
c. 31.

It now remained to choose a new Consul in the room of *Posthumius Albinus*; and *Marcellus* being sent upon a commission to the army, it was suspected, and complained of in the Senate, that he was kept out of the way on purpose that he might not be present at the *comitia*. *Sempronius* therefore deferred convening the centuries till the return of *Marcellus*, and then he was unanimously chosen Consul. But as it had happened to thunder during the assembly, the augurs laid hold of this accident to declare the election disagreeable to the will of the Gods. Their true reason for opposing it was his being a *Plebeian*, for *Sempronius* also being of that order, should *Marcellus's* election be confirmed, *Rome* would have two *Plebeian* Consuls. Hereupon *Marcellus* abdicated, and *Fabius Cunctator* was chosen (the third time) in his stead.

* According to *Livy* (B. 23, c. 24.) the *Gauls* made use of a very extraordinary stratagem upon this occasion. *Posthumius* being to pass through a wood, they, against his coming, had, on each side the road, felled all the trees so far that a little force would serve to cast them down. When

therefore the whole army had entered this dangerous passage, the *Gauls* that lay about the wood, began to throw down the trees, which falling one against another, those that were nearest the road came upon the heads of the *Romans*, so that scarce ten men of them escaped being crushed.

And

And now the *Romans* began to be in motion. *Fabius* put himself at the head of those troops which the late Dictator had commanded. *Sempronius* was General of the *Volones*, and of 25,000 auxiliaries. The troops that had escaped from *Cannæ*, and which after that battle had served under *Marcellus*, and all the weak soldiers in the army lately under the conduct of *Junius Pera*, had been sent into *Sicily*, there to serve as long as the war should last in *Italy*. In the room of these, *Marcellus* led to his camp near *Suessula* (a city nine miles from *Nola*) two legions that had been raised for the defence of *Rome*. The Prætor *Levinus* was ordered to cover *Apulia* with two legions, which arrived from *Sicily*, and to defend the coast from *Brundisium* to *Tarentum*, with a fleet of twenty-five ships. A like number of vessels was sent under *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, the other Prætor to guard the coast near the capital. The legion under *Varro* being commanded into *Sicily*, he was ordered to make new levies in the country of *Picenum*, and to continue there to protect that and the neighbouring territories.

While the Prætor *Levinus* lay encamped at *Luceria* in *Apulia*, a company of *Macedonians* were to his great surprize brought before him.

At the head of them was an *Athenian* named *Xenophanes*. These strangers had landed not far from the *Lacinian* promontory, and were making their way to *Hannibal's* camp near *Capua*, when *Levinus's* scouts intercepted them. Being examined by the Prætor, the *Athenian* answered that he was commissioned by King *Philip* of *Macedon* to treat of an alliance with the *Roman Republic*. *Levinus* overjoyed at this, shewed great respect to the ambassador, and furnished him with guides to conduct him to *Rome*. It is not known by what artifice he got to *Hannibal's* camp: But the league which, in his master's name, he made with the *Carthaginian*, is preserved to this day°. Having finished his commission

° The form of the league as it is in *Polybius*, B. 7. c. 2. runs thus.

The treaty confirmed by oath, which *Hannibal* the General, *Mago*, *Mircan*, *Barmocur*, and all the Senators of *Carthage* that are with him [*Hannibal*] and all the *Carthaginians* that serve under him, have concluded with *Xenophanes* the *Athenian*, the son of *Cleomachus*, whom King *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, hath sent to us, in his own name, and in name of the *Macedonians*, and of his allies.

In the presence of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and *Apollo*; in the presence of the tutelary Divinity of the *Carthaginians*, and of *Hercules*, and of *Iolaus*; in the presence of *Mars*, of *Triton* and *Neptune*; in the presence of the Gods who accompany our expedition, and of the sun, the moon, and

the earth; in the presence of the rivers, the fields, and the waters; in the presence of all the Gods who rule over *Carthage*; in the presence of all the Gods who rule over *Macedon* and the rest of *Greece*; in the presence of all the Gods who preside over war, and at the making this treaty; *Hannibal* the General hath said, and all the Senators of *Carthage* that are with him, and all the *Carthaginians* that are in his army.

If it seem good unto you and to us, this shall be a treaty of amity and good will between you and us, as friends, allies, and brethren, upon condition that King *Philip*, and the *Macedonians*, and all the other *Greeks* that are his allies, shall preserve and defend the *Carthaginian* Lords, and *Hannibal* the General, and those that are with him, and the Governors of provinces dependent

Y. R. 538.
Ref. Chr.

214.
237 Conf.

Liv. B. 23.
c. 32.

c. 33.

11. 1. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

To return to *Hannibal*. *Campania* was now the chief seat of the war; and the *Campanians* themselves, to assist him, raised an army of 12,000 men. These having, in vain, solicited *Cume*, a city in the neighbourhood, to join with them; endeavoured, with no better success, to surprize the *Comens* by treachery. After which *Hannibal*, at the request of the *Campanians*, laid siege to the place. *Fabius* was then encamped at *Cales*, but durst not cross the *Vulturnus*, to go to the assistance

dent upon the *Carthaginians*; and those that use the same laws with them; and the inhabitants of *Ugent*, and of all the cities and countries subject to the *Carthaginians*, and all the soldiers and allies, and all the cities and nations in confederacy with us in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, and all those in this country who are in friendship and alliance with us. In like manner the *Carthaginian* armies and the inhabitants of *Ugent*, and all the cities and nations subject to *Carthage*, and the soldiers and allies, and all the nations and cities with which we have amity and alliance in *Italy*, in *Gaul*, in *Liguria*, and with which we may contract amity and alliance in this country, shall preserve and defend King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, and all their allies amongst the *Greeks*. We will not secretly devise evil against one another. We will not lay snares for one another. We [the *Macedonians*] with all affection and good will, without guile or fraud [declare that we] will be enemies to the enemies of the *Carthaginians*, except to those kings, cities and ports with which we are in friendship and alliance. In like manner, we [the *Carthaginians*] will be enemies to the enemies of King *Philip*, except to those kings, cities and nations with whom we are in alliance and friendship. You [the

Macedonians] shall engage in the war we have with the *Romans* as it please the Gods to give success to our arms and yours. You shall assist us with what is necessary, according as shall be agreed upon between us. But if the Gods shall not grant to you and us a happy issue of the war against the *Romans* and their allies, and if we be reduced to make peace with the *Romans*, we shall do it in such a manner as that you shall be included in the treaty; and on condition that they shall not be allowed to declare war against you; that the *Romans* shall not be masters of the *Corymbi*, nor of the *Aschamates*, nor of the *Dyrachini*, nor of *Pelous*, nor of *Dymallus*, nor of the *Parthini*, nor of *Antarctia*. They shall likewise restore to *Demetrius Phorus* all his friends and relations who are in the *Roman* dominions. If the *Romans* shall declare war against you or against us, we will assist each other as the occasion shall require. We will act in the same manner in case any other shall declare war against us, except the kings, cities and nations with whom we are in alliance and friendship. If either of us shall judge proper to add any thing to this treaty, or retrench any thing from it, it shall not be done without the consent of both of us.

of

of the besieged, because of unlucky omens and prodigies. *Sempronius* had a little before entered the place, and he defended it. He is said to have slain in a fall 1300 of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* the next day presented battle, in hopes the Consul, flushed with his success, would venture to fight: but the *Romans* keeping close within the walls, he at length drew off his men, and returned to his camp, which was on mount *Tifata*.

Y. R. 538.
B. of Chr.
214.
237 Conf.
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 37.

Whilst *Sempronius Gracchus* was thus defending *Cumæ*, the *Roman* armies prospered in two other places. Another *Sempronius*, surnamed *Longus*, gained a victory over *Hanno* in *Lucania*, and drove him from thence into *Bruttium*. And *Lævinus* retook three cities of the *Hirpini*, which had revolted to *Hannibal*.

About the same time the intercepted ambassador from King *Philip*, and his letters, were brought to *Rome*. And the Senate finding that the treaty was actually concluded, came immediately to the wise and noble resolution of keeping the *Macedonian* out of *Italy*, by carrying the war into his country.

c. 38.

And now *Fabius*, having made expiation for the prodigies, at length passed the *Vulturnus*, and both the Consuls carried on the war in concert together. *Fabius* recovered some towns that had declared for *Hannibal*, and had received *Carthaginian* garrisons. At *Nola*, the people still disaffected to *Rome*, were secretly plotting to destroy their Senators, and betray the city to *Hannibal*. To prevent this, *Fabius* sent *Marcellus* with his army into *Nola*, and he himself removed to the Pro-Consul's camp near *Suessula*. There he continued quiet while *Marcellus* made frequent incursions into the lands of the *Hirpini* and the *Samnites* about *Caudium*. Deputies from these two nations came to *Hannibal* to inform him of the devastation of their country, and to desire relief. They even added reproaches to their complaints. "We believed (said they) that so long as you were safe and our friend, we might have banished all fear, not only of the *Romans*, but (were it lawful so to speak) even of the angry Gods themselves. Yet certain it is, that whilst you are not only safe and victorious, but so near us too, that you can see the burning of our houses, and almost hear the cries of our wives and children, we have been miserably harassed this summer by *Marcellus*, as if he, and not you, had been conqueror at *Cannæ*. The *Romans* give out that you are like a bee that can sting but once^p."

c. 39.

c. 40.

c. 42.

Hannibal

^p The *Roman* historians frequently reproach *Hannibal* with inaction after the winter he spent in *Cepua*, and *Livy* upon this occasion has put very severe reflections upon him into the mouths of the *Samnite* deputies. The truth of the matter seems to be this: The *Romans* had now learnt by their defeats that they were not a match for

Hannibal in the open field. It was a long time before they would yield this point; but the battle of *Cannæ* seems to have convinced them. At first they sent one Consul to oppose him with the usual army of two legions (consisting of about 4000 men each) with a proportionable number of auxiliaries. The misfortune at the *Ticin*, and

Y. R. 538
 Def. Chr.
 214
 237 Conf.

Liv. B. 23.
 c. 43.

c. 44.

Hannibal returned a civil answer to the deputies, and encouraged them to hope for a happy issue of the war. "Of the victories I have gained," said he, the last has always been the greatest. That of the lake *Trafalgar* was more considerable than that of the *Trebia*, and the victory of *Cannæ* surpassed them both. I shall soon gain a fourth victory superior to all the past." With this answer, and rich presents, he dismissed the deputies.

Hannibal, being soon after joined by *Hanno* with some troops from *Bruttium*, invested *Nola*, which was defended by *Marcellus*, who (if we may credit the *Latin* historian) boldly marched his troops out of the town, and came to a pitched battle with the *Carthaginian* before the walls: victory declared for the *Romans*, and *Hannibal* lost 5000 men⁹.

About

and what immediately followed it, obliged them to send the other Consul with his army to join his colleague. These being defeated at the *Trebia*, the Republic increased her armies the next year. *Flaminius* had alone the command of four legions, and his colleague of two. The former being vanquished at the lake *Trafalgar*, and *Fabius's* dilatory arts not having any sensible good effect, the *Romans* seemed resolved to exert their whole strength, and ruin *Hannibal* at a blow. They doubled their legions, increased the number of men in each, and sent both their Consuls at the head of an army of near 90,000 men to fight a decisive battle. The victory over these at *Cannæ* was so complete, that the *Romans* saw plainly they could not hope to conquer the *Carthaginian* in a general battle, and that they must change their manner of carrying on the war. Accordingly they divided their troops into many armies, never risked their whole strength in one action, but contented themselves with wasting *Hannibal's* forces in small engagements, harassing his allies, and protecting their own. This very year they besieged him, as it were, with armies. *Fabius* commanded one at *Literum*, *Sempronius* had another at *Cuma*, and *Marcellus* a third at *Stessula*, all in *Campania* where *Hannibal* was. *Lælius* defended *Apulia*, and *Tarentus Varro*, *Picenum*. Each of these Generals had at least two legions under him, except *T. Varro*, who had but one. beside these, *Livy* mentions a *Sempronius Longus*, who had an army in *Lucania* sufficient to defeat a considerable part of the *Carthaginian* army under *Hanno*, of which 2000 were slain in the action. All these

forces joined together would have made a greater army than the *Romans* had at *Cannæ*, but the Republic had now altered her measures. Nay so steady was she in pursuing this new method of carrying on the war, that though *Hannibal* was many years hemmed in among the *Bruttians*, in a corner of *Italy*, without supplies from his own country, and in great want of men and money, she never ventured to unite her forces, in order to compel him to a general battle. Now considering the small number of his troops, his want of money, the many armies he had to deal with, the towns he had to garrison, and the several allies he had to protect, it is more to be wondered at that he kept footing so long in *Italy*, than that he made no progress in conquest.

⁹ *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and others, relate several victories gained by *Marcellus* over *Hannibal*. But *Corn. Nepos* (in *Vit. Hannib.*) tells us, that the latter was always victorious in *Italy*, and that after the battle of *Cannæ* no one ever ventured to pitch a camp in the plain against him. *Quamdiu in Italia fuit, nemo ei in Acie resistit, nemo adversus eum, post Cannensem pugnam, in Campo Castra posuit.* *Polybius's* history of the Roman affairs after the battle of *Cannæ* is not entire; but we have several considerable fragments of it remaining, none of which mention any victory over *Hannibal* in *Italy*. From a passage in B. 9. c. 3. it is plain, that *Hannibal* was never defeated by any Roman General before the siege of *Capua*, and consequently not by *Marcellus* this year. Who (says the historian) "can help admiring the *Romans*? That they who durst not draw out an army in battle against *Hannibal*, but

"used

About this time, 1272 of his *Spanish* and *Numidian* horse went over to the enemy. These deserters continued faithful to *Rome*, and did her important services, for which they were recompensed with lands in their own countries at the end of the war. The *Carthaginian* General raised the siege of *Nola*, sent *Hanno* again into *Bruttium* with the forces he had brought from thence, marched himself into *Apulia*, and pitched his camp near *Arpi*, where he purposed to winter. As soon as he was gone, *Fabius* made two incursions, with the greatest part of his army, into the flat country of *Campania*, gathered in all the corn, and carried it to his camp at *Suessula*, which he put in a condition to serve him for winter quarters. He then ordered *Marcellus* to keep no more soldiers at *Nola* than were necessary to defend the town, and to send the rest to *Rome*, that they might neither be a burden to the allies nor an expence to the Republic. The Consul *Sempronius* marched his legions from *Cumæ* to *Luceria* in *Apulia*; from thence he dispatched the Prætor *Lævinus* with the army under his command to *Brundisium*, to guard the coast of *Salentum*, and provide what was necessary for the *Macedonian* war.

Y. R. 538.
Bel. Chr.
214.
237 Cont.

Liv. B. 23.
c. 46.

c. 48.

While affairs in *Italy* were in the situation that has been described, good news came to *Rome* from *Sardinia* and *Spain*. The Prætor, *Manlius Torquatus*, had defeated the rebel *Sardinians*, though assisted by an army sent from *Carthage* under the command of *Asdrubal* the Bald. Twelve thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, *Asdrubal* himself, with *Hanno* and *Mago* his chief officers, taken prisoners, and the island entirely reduced.

c. 34, 49.
41.

The *Scipios* had been equally fortunate in their wars in *Spain*. However they wrote to the Senate, that the troops wanted their pay, clothes to cover them, and provisions to subsist them. As to the first indeed, they added, that if the public treasury was exhausted, they would find means to get money from the *Spaniards*; but that the other necessaries might be sent from *Rome*, otherwise they could neither keep the province in obedience, nor support the army. The Senators were all sensible of the reasonableness of the request; but how to comply with it was the difficulty. They considered the numerous forces they already had to maintain both at land and sea, and what a large new fleet must presently be equipped, if a war with *Macedon* should be commenced: That as to *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which, before the war, brought in considerable subsidies to the treasury, they were now scarce able to maintain the forces necessary for the defence of these provinces; and that

c. 48.

“ used to lead their legions, and that with
“ difficulty, along the hills, should venture
“ to lay siege to a strong city, while they
“ themselves were harassed by an enemy
“ whom they dared not to think of en-
“ countering in the field. But the *Car-*
“ *thaginians*, who had been conquerors in
“ every battle, suffered no less than the

“ vanquished, &c.” And in B. 15. c. 16.
he expressly asserts, that *Hannibal* was
never vanquished before the battle of *Zama*.
And in chap. 11. he represents *Hannibal*,
just before that battle, reminding his sol-
diers, that they had been victorious in every
battle they had fought in *Italy*.

Y. R. 55.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 4.
B. 23, 30.

to tax the citizens at home for the supply demanded, would quite oppress and ruin them. The result of all was, *that Fulvius the Prætor found a plan to relieve the people, and by letting them the necessities of the state, and exempting from the public tax those who were grown rich by farming the public revenues, to send the public for a while, a part of what they had gained by it, and furnish the army in Spain with necessaries, under a promise of being reimbursed the first of any of the public creditors, when the treasury should be in a condition to discharge debts.* The Prætor accordingly represented the matter to the people, and also appointed a day when he would bargain for clothes and corn, to be sent to the troops in *Spain*, and for other necessaries to equip the fleet.

When the day came, three companies of nineteen persons each, presented themselves as undertakers; but they insisted on two demands, *That while thus employed, they should be exempted from serving in the war: And That, if what they shipped were taken by the enemy, or cast away by storm, the public should bear the loss;* both which conditions being agreed to, they undertook this affair, so that now the *Roman* armies were subsisted by the purses of private subjects; nor was any thing wanting to carry on the war in *Spain* more than if the treasury had been full.

The *ships*, thus supplied, immediately took the field, and (according to *Livy*), performed strange things, as shall hereafter be related.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 4.
B. 23, 30.

The accounts from *Sicily* were not so satisfactory as those from *Spain* and *Sardinia*. King *Hiero* was dead, and had left his dominions, by will, to his grandson *Hieronymus* (whose father *Gelo* had rebelled against the old King the year before his death, and had come to an untimely end) under the tuition of fifteen guardians; whom he had entreated, a little before his decease, to keep up a good understanding with the *Romans*, as he himself had done for fifty years past. *Hieronymus*, being suffered by his guardians to take the reins of government into his own hands at fifteen Years of age, ran into many excesses of vice and cruelty. He affected an extravagant pomp, was difficult of access, gave audience with an air of contempt, and often adding insulting jests to refusals. Three lords of distinction engrossed his favour, *Asarandorus* and *Zeippus* (his two uncles in law) and *Thraſo* surnamed *Charracus*. This last was a friend to the *Romans*; the other two favoured *Carthage*. *Thraſo* being put to death, upon a false accusation of treason, the uncles easily persuaded their nephew to enter into a negotiation with *Hannibal*. *Ciculus Pulcher*, the *Roman* Prætor in *Sicily*, sent a deputation to the King, to renew the alliance formerly made by his grandfather with the *Romans*. *Hieronymus* insulted the deputies, asking them, *What fortune they had at the battle of Cannæ?* because, said he, *Hannibal's ambassadors have given most incredible accounts of it; and I would fain know the truth, that I may take my measures accordingly.* The *Romans* only answered, that when he had learnt to give audience to ambassadors in a serious manner, they would come to him again; and then

Polib. 2.
Virg. & Vir.
B. 23, 30.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 5, 6.

then having rather admonished, than requested him, not rashly to violate the antient league, they departed and returned to the Prætor. *Hieronymus*, without delay, sent ambassadors to *Carthage*, to ratify a treaty he had already made with *Hannibal*; the substance of which was, that he and the *Carthaginians* should divide *Sicily* between them, when they had jointly conquered the whole island. But being afterwards persuaded to think that he had himself a title of inheritance to all *Sicily*, by being descended from *Nereis*, the daughter of *Pyrrhus* (who had been declared King of it) he sent a new embassy, with instructions to lay before the Senate of *Carthage* his pretended rights, and to conclude only a treaty of mutual assistance with them. The *Carthaginians* were glad at any rate to draw off *Syracuse* from the *Roman* interest, and readily yielded to the proposals.

Y. R. 538.
Ref. Chr.
214.
237 Conf.

Not long after, this foolish King being at *Leontini*, a town situate on the frontiers of his dominions, was there assassinated in the presence of his guards, by some conspirators among his own subjects; an event which promised no great benefit to the *Romans*: for though the *Syracusians*, fond of liberty, seemed much inclined to change the monarchy into a commonwealth, they seemed no less inclined to side with the *Carthaginian* Republic.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 7.

C H A P. XXIV.

FIFTH YEAR of the WAR.

The wise and public spirited conduct of the Romans in several instances. They gain some advantages over Hannibal in Italy, and over King Philip in Greece.

IN *Italy*, the campaign of this year being ended, *Fabius* took the road to *Rome*, to hold the *comitia* by centuries for the new elections. The prudent Consul did not enter the city, but appeared at the assembly in the *Campus Martius*, on the day appointed, in his military habit, and attended by his *Liëtor* with their axes as well as fasces. It fell by lot to the tribe of the *Anio*, to vote first, and of this tribe to a century which consisted of the younger men; and the majority of this prerogative^r century named to the Consulship, *T. Otacilius* (a relation of the president) and

^r After the thirty-five tribes were completed, the Centuries, which formed the *comitia centuriate*, were divided among the tribes, and became parts of them; and then in these assemblies it was decided by lot which of the tribes should vote first, and the tribe upon which the lot fell was called the

prerogative tribe. Then lots were again cast among the *centuries* of this *prerogative tribe*, to determine which of those should vote before the rest; and the Century upon which the lot fell was called the *prerogative century*. *Resin.* p. 406.

Y. R. 538.
 Best. Chr.
 214.
 237 Cons.

Liv. B. 24.
 c. 8.

M. Æmilius Regillus, men, neither of them, of such abilities as the present exigency required. *Fabius* therefore thought fit to interrupt the election, and harangue the assembly. He first excused the irregularity of his proceeding, by the present dangers which threatened the state. He then represented to them the importance of chusing Consuls qualified to enter the lists with *Hannibal*; that *Otacilius* had given no cause to think him equal to that enterprize, not having performed any one thing for which the command of the fleet had, this year, been intrusted to him; and that *Æmilius*, as high-priest of *Quirinus*, could not be absent from *Rome*. Romans (he added) *do you name such Consuls as you would wish to be conducted by, if you were this moment to give Hannibal battle. I pronounce, That the prerogative century give their suffrages again. Herald, proclaim my orders.* *Otacilius* at first made some opposition to this; but the Lictors with their axes surrounded him, and soon forced him to silence. Then the prerogative century returned to the voting place, and gave their suffrages for the president himself, *Q. Fabius Verrucius** (surnamed *Cunctator*, or the *Lingerer*) and *Claudius Marcellus*†, who was absent; and the other Centuries unanimously followed the example of this. *Rome* had never seen two greater men together at the head of her affairs. And though *Fabius*, by an irregular proceeding, had procured his own continuance in the Consular dignity, against law and custom, yet no one accused him of ambition or tyranny, or of being actuated by any motive but a zeal for his country. The *Romans* were convinced of the necessity of continuing the commanders of their armies more than one year in office; and they now therefore made little alteration in the disposition of military employments.

Y. R. 539.
 Best. Chr.
 215.
 238 Cons.

c. 9.
 * 4th time.
 † 3d time.

Liv. B. 34.
 c. 1.

As a law had been made the last year (at the motion of *Oppius*, a tribune of the people) to restrain the luxury of women, forbidding them to wear above half an ounce of gold in toys, and to ride in a chariot within a mile of *Rome*, except to a public sacrifice; so now the Censors, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Furius Philus*, made a strict enquiry into offences committed by the men, to the detriment of the public. *Cæcilius Metellus* and the other young nobles who with him would in despair have left *Italy* after the battle of *Cannæ*, those of the ten deputies from the prisoners taken at that battle, who had not returned to *Hannibal* according to their oath, and about 2000 young men of military age who had neglected, without just cause, to enrol themselves for the service, were all degraded. The Senate also decreed that all who were stigmatized by the Censors, should be sent into *Sicily*, and there be obliged to serve on foot, amongst the runaways from the battle of *Cannæ*, till the war should be at an end. The *Romans* never exerted their virtue and disinterested zeal for their country in a greater degree than in this second *Punic* war; private men voluntarily advanced money for the public works; the masters who had sold their slaves to the Republic, would not accept of payment till the war was ended; scarce a centurion or trooper demanded his

• Liv. B.
 24 c. 18.

his pay, and if any one had so little generosity as to receive it from the Quæstor, he became the jest of his legion. Nay the money of the widow and the orphan was freely brought into the treasury, so great was the confidence in the public faith.

Y. R. 539
Bef. Chr.
213.
238 Conf.

Such being the dispositions of the people, the new levies were soon compleated. Six legions were added to the twelve already on foot. The *Sicilian* expedition seemed to require the most dispatch: and Otacilius was therefore ordered to embark with all diligence for that island, with one legion. And in order to man and equip the fleet, the Consuls, by authority from the Senate, laid a tax upon the rich. Each head of a family, who by the Censor's register was found worth from 50,000 to a 100,000 asses, was obliged to maintain a rower or a sailor, at his own expence, for six months; and the more wealthy three, five, seven, in proportion to their riches. The Senators were obliged each to maintain eight sailors for a whole year.

Liv. B. 24.
C. 11.

What remained now, was to march the land forces, and begin the campaign in *Italy*. *Hannibal*, who had spent the winter in *Apulia*, returned to his camp on the *Tifata*, at the request of the *Capuans*, who thought their city threatened. He had ordered *Hanno*, with an army of 17,000 foot, and 1200 *Numidian* horse, to come from the country of the *Bruttians* and seize *Beneventum*; but *Sempronius*, with his army of *Volones*, prevented him, and possessed himself of that defenceless city. From thence he marched to give *Hanno* battle: and to engage his *Volones* to exert themselves, he promised every man his liberty, who should bring off the head of an enemy. The Senate had given him power to enfranchise whom he pleased. But this promise had like to have ruined his affairs. For though his troops fought bravely at first, they lost much time in cutting off the heads of the enemies they had slain, and the ardour of those who had performed the condition of obtaining their freedom, was immediately abated: so that he was forced to publish a new declaration through all the ranks of his army, *That none should obtain their liberty, unless the Carthaginians were routed*. Hereupon the *Volones* renewed the fight with impetuosity, and gained so compleat a victory, that scarce 2000 of the enemy escaped*. We are told however that 4000 of those legionary slaves did not behave themselves in the battle so well as the rest, and were afraid to pursue the enemy to their camp; and that apprehending punishment for their cowardice, they retired after the action to a hill. *Sempronius* had compassion for their weakness, and sent a Tribune to invite them back: and then, to perform his promise, he pronounced all, without exception, free. Nevertheless, that some distinction might be made between the brave and the cowards, he forbade the latter to eat sitting or lying down, all the time of their service, unless they were sick.

c. 12.
c. 14.

c. 15, 16.

* The reader has been already cautioned concerning *Livy's* tales of *Roman* victories in this war.

Y. R. 522.
E. C. 17.
213.
235 C. 17.

L. B. 24.
C. 17.

In the mean while, *Hannibal* endeavoured to surprize *Puteoli*. Failing in this attempt, he went and pillaged the country about *Naples*. From thence he moved towards *Noia*, whither the populace (who were still in his interest, in opposition to the Senate) had invited him. *Marcellus* being joined by the army from *Syracusa* (now under *Q. Pomponius*) attacked and killed 2000 of his men, with the loss only of 400; and would have entirely ruined him, had *Claudius Nero*, whom the Consul had ordered with some squadrons out of *Noia* to make a tour, and fall upon the *Carthaginians* in the rear during the action, come up in time. *Marcellus* offered *Hannibal* battle again the next day, but the latter declined it, decamped the night following, and marched towards *Tarentum*.

c. 20.

He had entertained strong hopes that this city would open her gates to him, upon his first appearance before it. Some *Tarentine* prisoners, whom he had formerly released without ransom, had engaged a great number of the young men of that place in his interest, and these invited him thither. But *M. Livius*, who commanded in the place, took such effectual measures to prevent the designs of the factious, that *Hannibal* was again disappointed. He quitted the enterprize, and marched towards *Salapia* in *Apulia*, where he resolved to spend the winter. Thither he ordered corn to be brought from *Lucania*; and his foragers having found in *Apulia* about 4000 colts, *Hannibal* ordered them to be broke; and with them he remounted his *African* horsemen. These were all his exploits during the whole campaign.

c. 19.

But whilst the *Carthaginian* was on his march to *Tarentum*, *Fabius* besieged *Casilinum*, and sent to *Marcellus* to come with some legions and cover the siege, apprehending an attack from the *Capuans*. The garrison in the place consisted of 2000 *Campanians* and 700 *Carthaginians*; and they made so vigorous a defence, that *Fabius*, by the daily slaughter of his men, was much discouraged. He would have raised the siege, if *Marcellus* had not represented to him, *That a wise General should well consider all the difficulties of an enterprize before he undertakes it; but that when it is once undertaken, he ought to go through with it: and that to desist now from the siege, would much lessen the credit of the Republic among her allies*. Upon this *Fabius* renews his attacks with more ardour than ever; and the *Campanians* were so intimidated by it, that they sent to him an offer to quit the place, if they might retire in safety to *Capua*. *Fabius* consented; but *Marcellus* taking his opportunity, before fifty of them were come out of the city, seized the gate, entered the place, and put all who opposed him to the sword, without distinction. The prisoners he sent to *Rome*. After the taking of *Casilinum*,

Plot. life of
Fabius.

* This story ill agrees with the character given by the historians of *Marcellus*, but well with his after behaviour at the siege of *Syracuse*.

Marcellus,

Marcellus returned to *Nola*, and *Fabius* marched into *Samnium*, laid waste the country, and took several towns.

Hannibal still depended upon his alliance with the king of *Macedon*, and indeed *Philip* began to draw towards *Italy*. He first besieged *Apollonia*; but not succeeding in this enterprize, he turned his arms against *Oricum*, and took it. The inhabitants sent notice of their misfortune to *Lævinus* at *Brundisium*, who in two days after the news, arrived before the place. The king had left a small garrison in it, and was returned to the siege of *Apollonia*. *Lævinus* easily took *Oricum*, and, while he was there, deputies came to him from the people of *Apollonia*, begging assistance against the *Macedonians*. He sent thither 2000 foot under the command of *Q. Nævius Crissa*, who got into the town without being perceived by the enemy. *Nævius* soon after understanding that the *Macedonian* camp was very negligently guarded, broke into it in the night, and, if his soldiers had abstained from slaughter, might have taken *Philip* prisoner; but the groans of the dying waked others, who carried off the King half naked to his ships. He returned into *Macedon*, and the *Roman* fleet wintered at *Oricum*.

V. R. 539.
Bef. Chr.

213.
238 Conf.

Liv. 3. 24.
c. 40.

C H A P. XXV.

Transactions in Sicily. The Carthaginian interest prevails in Syracuse. Marcellus besieges it, but soon turns the siege into a blockade.

HANNIBAL made himself some amends for his disappointment on the side of *Macedon*, by the troubles he found means to raise in *Sicily*. *Hippocrates*, and *Epicyles*, two brothers of *Syracusan* extraction, whom he had sent to conclude the treaty with *Hieronymus*, had worked themselves into that Prince's favour, and, at the time of his death, commanded a body of 2000 *Syracusians*. Upon the news of the King's assassination, these Generals, being abandoned by their soldiers, repaired to *Syracuse*, as thinking this the safest place for them in the present conjuncture. At their arrival they found that the heads of the conspiracy, who were favoured by the people, had come to an accommodation with *Andronodorus*, the late King's uncle-in-law, and chief of the royalist party, and that he, *Themistius*, and those leaders, had been chosen Prætors to govern the state with the assistance of a Senate. The two *Hannibalists*, doubtless believing that this change of government had changed the dispositions of the *Syracusians* with respect to *Hannibal*, to prevent all suspicion of their designing to raise disturbances, applied themselves to the Prætors, and by their means obtained an audience of the Senate. They spoke to this effect. "We came hither on the part
" of *Hannibal* to treat with his friend *Hieronymus*. We have only
" obeyed the commands of our General, and desire now to return to
" him; but as our journey is not like to be with safety to our persons,

Liv. 7
c. 23.
seq.

Y. R. 339.
 Dec. 10.
 213.
 238 Cons.

“ the *Roman* forces so much infesting *Sicily*, we request that we may “ have a convoy as far as *Locri* in *Italy*.” Their suit was easily obtained; for the assembly had no unwillingness to be rid of these Generals of the late King, men extremely bold and enterprising, of great ability in war, and of narrow fortunes. The Senate however were too dilatory in executing their own desires; and the brothers took advantage of the delay. Sometimes to the soldiers, with whom they were very intimate and familiar, sometimes to the deserters from the *Roman* fleet, and occasionally to the meanest of the populace, they whispered calumnies against the Senators and other principal men of the city, accusing them, that under colour of renewing the league with *Rome*, they designed to betray *Syracuse* to her, in the view, that their own faction, having the sole merit of the pretended new alliance, might lord it over the rest.

These rumours being spread and believed, and drawing every day crowds of people to *Syracuse*, gave not only *Hippocrates* and *Epycides*, but also *Andranodorus*, who at the pressing instances of his ambitious wife *Demerata*, the daughter of *Hiero*, aimed at the royalty, good hopes of changing the government, and effecting their several designs. *Andranodorus* having concerted his scheme with *Themistus*, the husband of *Harmonia*, *Hieronymus*'s sister, unadvisedly imparted the secret to *Aristo*, a tragedian, who discovered it to the Prætors. *Aristo*'s profession was not dishonourable among the *Greeks*: He was a man well descended, and of a good estate, and the Prætors therefore had no reason to reject his testimony; and it being confirmed by several corroborating circumstances, they, in concert with some of the oldest senators, placed guards at the door of the senate-house, who slew *Andranodorus* and *Themistus* as soon as they entered. This extraordinary action, most of the senators being ignorant of the cause of it, raised a great commotion and terror in the assembly. *Aristo* put an end to their fears. Being introduced by the Prætors, he informed the Senate, “ That a plot had been laid to “ cut off all the chiefs of the republic, and to seize ^b *Ortygia* in the “ name of *Andranodorus*, and that this was to have been executed by “ the help of the *Spanish* and *African* mercenaries, who had served “ under *Hieronymus*.” He then entered into the particulars of the conspiracy, declaring the names of all the conspirators, and the several parts they were to have acted. His evidence obtained full belief, and the assembly passed a decree, pronouncing the death of *Andranodorus* and *Themistus* no less just than that of *Hieronymus*. In the mean time the people without doors had taken the alarm at this proceeding; and it was necessary to quiet them. The Senate therefore deputed *Sopater*, one of the Prætors, to harangue the multitude.

This orator began with invectives against *Andranodorus* and *Themistus*, as if he had been accusing them at the bar, charging them, as the tutors and counsellors of *Hieronymus*, with all the injustices, oppressions,

^b A well fortified island to the South of *Syracuse*, and joined to the town by a bridge.

and

and cruelties, committed by the order or authority of that King, and with many other atrocious crimes perpetrated since his death. In the conclusion of his speech he intimated that they had been spirited up by their wives, the ambitious daughter and granddaughter of *Hiero*, to aspire to royalty by the destruction of the people's liberty. At this the whole multitude cried out, that neither of those women ought to live, nor any one of the royal race be suffered to remain on the earth. The Prætors, taking advantage of the people's present fury, immediately put it to the vote, and it was no sooner proposed than carried, *that all who were of the royal family should be destroyed*. In pursuance of this decree certain officers, commissioned by the Prætors, quickly dispatched *Demarata* and *Harmonia*. There was another daughter of *Hiero*, named *Hieraclea*, the wife of *Zoippus*, who had been sent ambassador by *Hieronymus* to King *Ptolemy*, and had chosen to continue at the *Egyptian* court in a voluntary exile from his country, rather than be a spectator of its miseries. This lady with her two daughters the same executioners inhumanly murdered, and with so much expedition, that an express from the magistrates (who on second thoughts relented) came too late to save them. But now the people also began to repent of their own precipitation, and to pity the fate of the dead. Their pity soon turned into rage against the first authors of the cruelty. They furiously called out for an election of Prætors in the room of *Andranodorus* and *Themistus*; an election that was not like to be to the satisfaction of those already in power.

Y. R. 539.
Def. Cl. r.
213.
238 Conf.

When, on the day appointed, the assembly was formed, it happened beyond all expectation, that somebody from the farther end of the crowd named *Epicydes*, and another a little after named *Hippocrates*, and straight almost the whole multitude joined their suffrages for these two agents of *Hannibal*. The Republic, being very young, no method was yet settled for voting; all were indifferently admitted into the voting place, citizens, strangers, and *Roman* deserters. The magistrates in vain opposed the people's choice. Fearing a sedition they gave way to numbers, and *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* were declared Prætors.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 27. &
seq.

The two *Hannibalists* did not immediately discover their intentions. They were much dissatisfied, that deputies had been sent to *Appius Claudius* to renew the ancient alliance between *Rome* and *Syracuse*, yet they thought it best to conceal their dissatisfaction till a more favourable opportunity should present to embroil affairs. *Appius* was then at *Murgantia* with a fleet of a hundred ships, waiting to see what the revolutions among the *Syracusians* would produce.

At *Rome* it had been resolved, from the apprehension that a dangerous war might arise in *Sicily*, to send the Consul *Marcellus* to take upon him the direction of affairs in that island. He was just arrived in his province; and *Appius* referred the *Syracusan* deputies to him for a final answer. The Consul approving the conditions, dispatched ambassadors

V. R. 539.
 Bef. Chr.
 213.
 238 Conf.

to conclude the treaty with the Prætors at *Syracuse*. But those ambassadors found the state of things there very different from what they had expected. A *Carthaginian* fleet had appeared off *Cape Pachynum*, and *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had laid hold of this advantage to attempt something in favour of *Carthage*, by infusing anew into the minds of the people a jealousy of the Partisans of *Rome*, a suspicion of their intending to betray *Syracuse* to the *Romans*. This jealousy was the more readily entertained, as *Appius* to encourage the *Roman* party in the town was come with his fleet to the mouth of the port. The populace ran tumultuously to hinder the *Romans* from landing in case they should attempt it.

In the perplexity occasioned by these commotions, the magistrates thought it proper to call an assembly of the people. The multitude were for some time divided in opinion. At length *Apollonides*, one of the chief citizens, with great calmness, and as a man unbiassed by any private or party views, represented to them “the necessity of unanimously adhering to the one or the other of the rival Republics. “The choice, *he said*, was of much less importance than unanimity in “choosing: yet in his opinion, they had more encouragement to follow “the example of *Hiero* than of *Hieronymus*, and to prefer a treaty with “*Rome*, whose friendship they had happily experienced for 50 years, “to the uncertain advantages of an alliance with *Carthage*, who, in “times past, had not proved very faithful to her engagements. Nor “was it a consideration of small moment, that they must have immediate “peace with the *Romans*, or immediate war with them; whereas “should they reject the friendship of the *Carthaginians*, a war with *them* “might yet be at a great distance.” The more dispassionate *Apollonides* appeared, the greater weight his advice had with the people; and as they were in no condition to support a war with *Rome*, it was in conclusion agreed, that the treaty with that Republic should be renewed, and a deputation sent to *Marcellus* for that purpose.

A few days after, the *Leontines* having demanded of the *Syracusians* a body of troops to defend their frontiers, the government thought this a favourable opportunity to get rid of a multitude of soldiers and officers, who were very turbulent in the city; and it was determined that *Hippocrates* should march to the assistance of the *Leontines* at the head of 4000 men, most of them deserters or mercenaries. This Prætor, glad of an opportunity to create disturbances, readily accepted the commission, and, soon after his arrival among the *Leontines*, began to make stolen incursions into the *Roman* province, laying waste the country. *Appius*, informed of these hostilities, sent a body of soldiers to protect his allies. Those troops *Hippocrates* openly attacked, and put most of them to the sword. Hereupon *Marcellus* ordered deputies to *Syracuse* to complain of the infraction of the treaty, and to remonstrate, that a firm and lasting peace between *Rome* and *Syracuse*, was not to be hoped for so long as

Hippocrates

Hippocrates and *Epicyles* continued in *Sicily*. The latter, fearing to be accused in the absence of his brother, and desirous of having some share in exciting a war, repaired in all haste to *Leontini*. There, in conjunction with *Hippocrates*, he represented to the inhabitants, "that *Syracuse*, while she provided for her own liberty, had expressly covenanted with the *Romans*, that she should have dominion over all the cities formerly subject to *Hieronymus*: But that the *Leontines* had as good a right to liberty as *Syracuse*; and that they ought therefore to refuse acceding to her treaty with *Rome*, unless that covenant were taken out of it." The multitude was easily persuaded; so that when deputies from *Syracuse* complained of the slaughter made of the *Roman* troops, and desired the *Leontines* would concur with the *Syracusians*, to banish *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* out of the island, the citizens haughtily answered, "that they had given no commission to the *Syracusians* to make a peace for them with *Rome*, nor were they bound by a treaty concluded without their participation." The *Syracusians* acquainted *Marcellus* with this answer, and at the same time declared, that they would not only adhere steadily to their engagements with the *Romans*, but would join with them in besieging *Leontini*, on condition that this city after its reduction, were restored to the dominion of *Syracuse*. *Marcellus* agreed to the proposal, assembled all his forces, sent for the Prætor *Appius* to come to his assistance, and prepared to attack *Leontini*.

V. R. 539.
Bef. Chr.
213.
238 Cons.

About this time, a great company of those *Roman* soldiers who had fled from the battle of *Cannæ*, and who had been condemned, by a decree of the Senate, to serve in a separate corps in *Sicily* as long as the war should last in *Italy*, came, with the permission of their commander *Lentulus*, and earnestly begged of the Consul to be incorporated in his legions. *Marcellus* wrote to *Rome* in their favour: The Conscrip Fathers returned answer, that it was their opinion, the Republic ought not to put any confidence in the courage of soldiers who had deserted their companions at the battle of *Cannæ*; yet if *Marcellus* thought otherwise, he might act in this matter as he pleased, provided none of them ever received any military rewards, or were suffered to return to *Italy* before the end of the war.

Plut. life
of Marcel-
lus.
Liv. B. 25.
c. 5, 6, 7.

Leontini was taken upon the first assault, but *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* made their escape to *Erbessus*. A body of 8000 Men from *Syracuse*, under the command of *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the Prætors, marching to join *Marcellus*, were met at the river *Mylas*, by a man who told them, that *Leontini* had been sacked, and all, without distinction, able to bear arms, put to the sword. This false story (occasioned by the execution of 2000 deserters, whom *Marcellus* had taken in the place) made such an impression on the soldiers, that their officers could not prevail with them to proceed to *Leontini*, but were forced to turn aside and lead them to *Megara*. From this place the Prætors marched them soon,

Liv. B. 24.
c. 30. &
seq. Plut.
life of
Marcellus.

Y. R. 539
Det. C. 57
215
217 C. 57

soon after towards *Erbessus*, believing, that the seditious spirit among them would be easily quelled, if *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, the true authors of all the late disturbances, were destroyed, or driven out of the country.

The brothers found themselves now reduced to extremities; yet having some hope in the goodwill of the soldiers, with whom they were well acquainted, and this hope being favoured by the recent report of the massacre at *Leontini*, they left *Erbessus*, in the resolution to yield themselves up to the soldiers at discretion. It happened luckily for them, that a body of *Cretans*, which had formerly served the *Romans* as auxiliaries, and, being taken prisoners at the battle of *Ibraxymen*, had been set at liberty by *Hannibal*, and had since served under *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* in the reign of *Hieronymus*, was marching in the van of the army. To these they addressed themselves in a suppliant manner, presenting them olive branches, and imploring their protection, "That they might not be lost at the mercy of the *Syracusians*, who would quickly deliver them up to be slain by the *Romans*." The *Cretans* immediately cried out to them, to take courage, and promised to defend them: So that when *Sisy* and *Dinomachus*, informed of what passed, came in haste and ordered the *Hannibalists* to be seized, they found no obedience from their troops, but rather a disposition to revolt. In this perplexity, they gave orders for returning to *Megara*, and sent an account to *Syracuse* of what had happened. During the march of the army, a letter forged by *Hippocrates*, but pretended to be written by the Prætors at *Syracuse* to *Marcellus*, and intercepted, was produced and read to the soldiers by the contriver of it. It was to this effect. "The Prætors of *Syracuse* to the Consul of *Marcellus*, health. You have done justly and prudently in sparing none at *Leontini*. All the mercenaries deserve the same fate. Nor will *Syracuse* ever be in peace while any foreign soldiers remain either in the city, or the army. Turn then your arms against those who are with our Prætors at *Megara*, and by their destruction restore us to perfect liberty." This letter kindled such a flame among the soldiers, and their sudden loud clamours so terrified *Sisy* and *Dinomachus*, that they galloped away in all haste to *Syracuse*. Their flight did not quiet the commotion. The mercenaries fell upon the *Syracusan* soldiers that were in the army, and would have put them all to the sword, if the *Hannibalists* had not interposed in their defence, desiring to make use of them as hostages, and also hoping by their means to gain friends in *Syracuse*. Thither they instantly sent a soldier, who had been in *Leontini* when it was taken, to spread the false story of the massacre of its inhabitants. The artifice had the desired effect, even upon the Senate and the chief men in the Republic. They thought it necessary to shut the gates and guard the city against the *Romans*, as against an enemy whose avarice and cruelty would spare nothing. Scarce was this done, when *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* appeared

before the walls at the head of the mercenaries, and, by the assistance of the multitude within (who would not be restrained by their magistrate,) broke open one of the gates and entered the city. The Prætors retired with the *Syracusan* soldiery into that quarter of the town, which was called *Acbradina*, hoping to defend themselves there; but the *Hannibals* being joined by the mercenaries, the deserters and all the soldiers of the late King, took it at the first assault. Those of the Prætors who could not escape in the first confusion of the conflict were massacred, together with many of the citizens; and the next day, liberty being granted to all slaves and prisoners, the mixed multitude declared *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* their Prætors.

Marcellus, upon the news of this revolution, advanced with his army to *Syracuse*. Before he began hostilities, he sent deputies to the *Syracusans*, to assure them, he did not come to make war upon them, but assist those of their fellow-citizens who, having escaped the slaughter in *Acbradina*, had taken refuge in his camp, and those who suffered yet greater wrongs in the city, from tyranny and oppression: That what he therefore insisted upon was, that the refugees under his protection should be restored to their possessions and privileges, the authors of the disturbances given up, and *Syracuse* put in a condition to enjoy peaceably her laws and liberty: And he threatened war against whoever should oppose these demands. The brothers, not thinking it safe to let the deputies enter the town, gave them audience without the walls; and when the latter had made their demands, *Epicydes* spoke to this effect: "If you had brought any message to us, we would have returned an answer. - You may now go back; and when the government of *Syracuse* is in the hands of those to whom you have orders to address yourselves, you may come again. If *Marcellus* is for war, he will find the siege of *Syracuse* an enterprise somewhat different from the siege of *Leontini*." The Consul, upon the return of his deputies, invested the place by sea and land.

Syracuse stood on the south-east side of *Sicily*, and was properly five cities in one; *Ortygia*, *Acbradina*, *Tyche*, *Neapolis* and *Epipolæ*. *Ortygia* was a small island, very near the continent, and might be called the citadel of *Syracuse*; it was joined to *Acbradina* by a bridge. All the attempts of *Marcellus* to carry the town by assault were frustrated by the surprising inventions of *Archimedes*. This great man is said to have once told King *Miero*, that he could move the globe of the earth, provided he had another earth to send upon. And he now contrived machines which cast stones of so prodigious a weight, as to break in pieces all the battering engines of the Romans. Nay, he invented a sort of iron crows fastened to chains, which being let fall upon the Roman gallees (that were brought close to the wall of the town) stuck fast in the prows of them, and then, by means of a counterpoise on that part of the machine which was within the rampart, and let them on one end, or over-

M. P. 539.
vel. Chr.
213.
213. 214.

Y. R. 539.
 Bef. Chr.
 213.
 238 Cons.

overturned them: Infomuch that the *Romans* were utterly discouraged, and *Marcellus* obliged to remove to a further distance. It was resolved in a council of war, to attack the place no more, but shut up all the avenues of it, in order to reduce it by famine.

C H A P. XXVI.

SIXTH YEAR of the War.

The Roman arms prosper in Italy. Syphax a Numidian King is gained by the Scipios to make war upon the Carthaginians in Africa. The blockade of Syracuse is continued, while Marcellus reduces some other towns in Sicily.

Y. R. 540.
 Bef. Chr.
 212.
 239 Cons.

AT Rome, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the son of *Fabius Cunctator*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, were chosen Consuls for the new year, and appointed, in concert with the Prætorian armies in *Italy*, to conduct the war against *Hannibal*. *Marcellus* continued in *Sicily*, and had the government of the country formerly subject to *Hiero*. *Lentulus*, with the title of Pro-Prætor, commanded the *Roman* province in that island, and *T. Otacilius Crassus* guarded the coast with his fleet. The two *Scipios*, *Lævinus* and *Sævola* managed the affairs of *Rome* in the respective countries of *Spain*, *Greece* and *Sardinia*. And the Republic employed this year, in her several armies, twenty-one *Roman* legions, besides the troops of her allies.

All the regulations necessary for beginning the campaign being dispatched, young *Fabius* set out from *Rome*, and took upon him the command of the army at *Suessula*. His father served under him.

Liv. B. 24.
 c. 45.

While the *Fabii* continued here, *Dafius Altinius*, one of the chief men of *Arpi*, who had engaged that city to revolt to *Hannibal*, came and offered, for a reward, to restore it into the hands of its former masters. The affair being brought before a council, some were for treating the villain as *Cemillus* had treated the school-master of *Falerii*; but old *Fabius* represented to them, that though such traitors ought never to be trusted as friends, yet in the present circumstances of the Republic, no discouragement should be given to those of the rebels who were disposed to return to their former obedience; and he advised that *Altinius* should only be kept in an easy confinement till the end of the war, when it would be time enough to judge whether he had made sufficient amends for his revolt. This advice was followed, and the traitor sent to *Cales*, where in the day-time he was suffered to walk abroad with a guard, but confined close prisoner at night. As soon as he was missed at *Arpi*, the inhabitants sent notice of it to *Hannibal*. The *Carthaginian* was in no manner of pain at the news; he had long considered *Altinius*, as a man

man in whom he could place no confidence, and was glad of this pretext to seize his riches, which were very great. But that he might appear to act rather from the motive of revenge than avarice, he sent for the wife and children of *Altimus*, and having put them to the torture, partly to discover the traitor's designs, but chiefly to learn what money he had left behind him, he ordered them to be burnt alive.

Y. R. 540.
Bef. Chr.
212.
239 Conf.

The *Fabii* opened the campaign with an assault upon *Arpi*, in which was a garrison of 5000 men. The *Romans* in a dark rainy night surprised and entered the place on the strongest side, where it was least guarded. Nevertheless the garrison, assisted by 3000 of the townsmen, whom, through suspicion of them, they placed in the front, made a stout defence. At length the citizens, and, after their example, 1000 *Spaniards*, went over to the *Romans*. The *Spaniards*, according to *Livy*, bargained that the rest of the garrison should have leave to depart in safety, which they accordingly did, and joined *Hannibal* at *Salapia*.

In the mean time 112 of the chief men of *Capua* having, under the pretext of pillaging the enemy's lands, got permission to leave the town, went to the *Roman* camp above *Suessula*, and yielded themselves to the Prætor *Fulvius*, upon a promise of being restored to their estates, when *Capua* should be reduced to the obedience of the Republic.

Nothing further of great moment happened in *Italy* this campaign. The Prætor *Sempronius Tuditanus* took *Aternum* by assault, and in it 7000 prisoners, and a good deal of money. *Sempronius* the Consul had several slight skirmishes with the enemy in *Lucania*, and reduced a few towns, but none of any note. Two petty nations of *Bruttium* returned to their former obedience. *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* defeated a Præfect of the *Roman* allies in that country, and cut off almost all his army, which consisted of raw undisciplined men. *Hannibal* marched from *Salapia* to *Tarentum*, in hopes of having that city betrayed to him. He spent the summer near it to very little purpose, only some inconsiderable towns of the *Salentini* revolted to him.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 47.
Liv. B. 25.
c. 1.

In *Spain*, the two *Scipios* not only made considerable progress there, but extended their views even to *Africa*. They engaged *Syphax* King of *Masæsyliæ* (the western part of *Numidia*) to take arms against *Carthage*: And *Statcrius*, one of the three officers, whom the *Scipios* had sent upon the negotiation, continued with the *Numidian* King at his request, to discipline his troops. On the other hand, the *Carthaginians*, alarmed at the motions of the *Masæsylian*, prevailed with *Gala* King of *Masyliæ* (the eastern part of *Numidia*, and the nearest to their territory) to join with them, to divert the threatened storm. *Gala* gave the command of his forces to his son *Masiniſſa*, a youth of about 17 years of age, who, in conjunction with the *Carthaginian* army, defeated *Syphax* in a great battle, and slew 30,000 of his men. The vanquished King retired into *Mauritania*, and made new levies there, intending to pass the streights, and join the *Scipios* in *Spain*: But *Masiniſſa* following him close,

Liv. B. 24.
c. 48.

Y. R. 440.
Bef. Chr.
212.
219 Cons.

Lib. B. 24.
c. 35.

kept him so employed in *Africa*, that he had not leisure to cross the seas.

In the mean while the blockade of *Syracuse* continued. *Marcellus*, not thinking all his forces necessary for that purpose, left two thirds of the army before the place under the command of *Appius Claudius*, and marched with the remainder, to reduce some towns of *Sicily* which had gone over to the *Carthaginians*. *Pelorus* and *Erbessus* surrendered to him, and *Megara* he took by force and plundered. About this time *Himilco* arrived from *Africa*, with an army of 25,000 foot, 3000 horse, and 12 elephants, and soon made himself master of *Heraclea* and *Agri-gentum*. Upon this news, *Hippocrates* left his brother *Epiycles* to command in *Syracuse*, and sallying out of the town with 10,000 foot and 500 horse, broke through the *Roman* lines in the night, and marched to join *Himilco*. This detachment *Marcellus* surprized, as they were pitching their camp near *Arius*, and he cut in pieces the infantry: But *Hippocrates* escaped with the cavalry, and, joining *Himilco*, turned against the Pro-Consul, in hopes of overtaking him before he could reach his camp at *Syracuse*. Disappointed in this expectation, and not daring to attack *Marcellus* in his entrenchments, the *Carthaginian* Generals employed their forces to reduce the *Sicilian* cities that were in the interest of *Rome*. *Murgantia* opened her gates to them, and betrayed the *Roman* garrison into their hands. *L. Pinarus*, the Governor of *Enna*, dreading the like fate, massacred all the inhabitants of that town, and pillaged it. *Marcellus* approved the fact, and granted the plunder of *Enna* to the soldiers of the garrison. The news of this barbarity, committed in a city held in great veneration all over the island, and sacred to *Proserpine* (whom *Pluto* was said to have carried off from that neighbourhood) alienated the minds of the *Sicilians* from *Rome*; and many of their towns embraced the party of the *Carthaginians*. Winter approaching, *Marcellus*, having dismissed *Appius Claudius*, who had a mind to stand for the Consulship, gave the command both of the fleet and the army before *Syracuse* to *Quintilius Crippinus*, and took up his own quarters about five miles from the town.

Lib. B. 25.
c. 1.

During these transactions in *Sicily*, all was peaceable at *Rome*: Only religion suffered by the introduction of foreign Gods and foreign rites, which the superstition of a multitude of people from the country, driven by poverty and fear to shelter themselves in *Rome*, had, in this uncertain state of things, made them prone to receive. Foreign priests and diviners had dispersed among them books, containing prophecies, forms of prayer, and particular methods of sacrificing. The ancient worship was almost forgot. It seemed, says *Livy*, as if a new set of Gods were, on a sudden, come into being; or that a new species of men was risen. The evil became at length so general, that the *Conscrip*t Fathers were forced to interpose. The *Prætor* having assembled the people, read to them a decree of the Senate, and, in conformity thereto, his own edict; which

which commanded all persons, who had books of divination or prayers, or containing instructions about the rites of sacrifices, to bring them to him before the first of April; and forbade all persons to offer sacrifice in public, or in any sacred place whatsoever, according to any new or foreign ceremonies. Thus were the innovations suppressed, and religion settled again upon the ancient footing.

V. R. 540.
P. 1. 1. 1.
2. 1. 1.

C H A P. XXVII.

SEVENTH and EIGHTH YEARS of the War.

*The city of Tarentum betrayed to Hannibal. He besieges the citadel.
Capua besieged by the Romans.
Syracuse taken by Marcellus.
Hannibal marches into the neighbourhood of Rome; retires thence; defeats a Roman army; and marches to Rhegium.
Capua surrenders to the Romans.
They gain some advantages over King Philip in Greece.*

THE time for the elections drawing on, and the present *Consuls* being both engaged abroad in the war, one of them nominated *C. Claudius Centho* Dictator, to hold the *Comitia*. And there *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, were chosen *Consuls* for the new year. It was thought fit to add two legions to the twenty-one already on foot; a surprising multitude of soldiers, to be all raised out of the citizens of *Rome*, and exclusive of the troops of the allies, which were at least as numerous as the *Roman* legionaries! But the making these new levies was interrupted, and the departure of the *Consuls* delayed for some time, by an incident, which revived the hatred of the people to the publicans.

V. R. 541.
Bef. Chr.
211.
240 Cons.

It has been observed before, that the publicans undertook to supply the *Roman* armies in *Spain* with provisions; and the Senate had agreed to indemnify them, in case of losses at sea. *Posthumius*, an avaricious wretch, took advantage of this condition to practise rogueries, and impose upon the public. He placed to their account many shipwrecks which had never happened; he also put small quantities of goods of little value on board old shattered vessels; which, after he had brought off the seamen in boats ready for that purpose, he sunk; and then pretended the cargoes had been extremely rich. By this means he made his losses run very high, and demanded great sums in consideration of them. But his knavery was at length discovered, and two *Tribunes* of the people threatened to have him fined 200,000 *asses* of brass: in order to which they cited him to appear and take his trial before the *Comitia* by

Liv. B. 25.
C. 3.

645l. 16s.
8d. Ar-
butnot.

Y. R. 443.
Ecl. Crv.
211.
240. C. 10.

L. P.
25. C. 3.

Tribes. Hereupon the friends of the accused applied themselves to *Servilius Cæcia*, a relation of *Posthumius*, and one of the Tribunes: But *Cæcia* not daring, through shame and fear of the people, to protest against the proceedings of his colleagues, the publicans, who were all interested in the affair, had recourse to violence, and insulted both the people and their magistrates. And they were just ready to come to blows, when the Consul *Fulvius* said to the Tribunes of the commons, *You see how little respect is shewn to your persons. If you do not dissolve the assembly, the affair will end in sedition;* the Tribunes followed his advice; and, being afterwards authorised by the Senate, changed the nature of the process, and made the affair capital. *Posthumius*, and the other publicans who assisted him in the riot, were cited to appear as criminals before the *Comitia by Centuries*. Some were dragged to prison, for want of the sureties required of them; others went into a voluntary banishment; *Posthumius* left his bail and fled; and *Rome* was delivered from a gang of bold and avaricious villains.

Pol. B. 2.
C. 19.
L. V. B. 25.
C. 2.

In the end of the winter *Hannibal* had surprized *Tarentum*. The inhabitants of this place had long been disaffected to the Republic, and lately provoked by the cruel execution of some hostages, they had sent to *Rome*, and who had attempted to make their escape. Thirteen of the principal citizens entered into a plot to deliver up the city to the *Carthaginian*. *Nico* and *Philomenus* were at the head of them. They made hunting their pretence for night-excursions. The game they brought home, and with which they furnished the table of *Livius*, the commander of the *Roman* garrison, pleased him so much, that without the least suspicion he allowed them the liberty of going out and coming in at pleasure. By this means the conspirators had frequent conferences with *Hannibal*, and having engaged him to promise, *That when he should become master of Tarentum, the inhabitants should enjoy their laws, liberties, and estates, without infringement; that they should not be subject to pay any tribute, or to receive a Carthaginian garrison, without their own consent; and that the effects of the Romans only should be given up as free booty to his troops,* they undertook to bring him into the town. *Hannibal* was at the distance of three days march from *Tarentum*, and feigned himself sick in his camp, that his long stay there might not occasion suspicion. At length *Philomenus* gave him notice, that a favourable opportunity offered to put their project in execution. The *Carthaginian* came away with a detachment of 10,000 men, and concealed himself in a valley fifteen miles from the city. Hither *Philomenus* brought him word, that the next night the *Roman* Governor was to be at an entertainment, and would probably drink to excess; and that when he was fast asleep, it would be the proper time for the attempt.

Pol. B.
2. C. 24.

All preparations being made by the conspirators, both within and without the city, *Hannibal*, conducted by *Philomenus*, approached the walls about midnight. The *Carthaginian*, then giving a part of his forces

forces to the *Tarentine*, silently drew near with the rest to the gate *Temenides*, and gave the appointed signal to *Nico*, who at the head of his party in the town, without much noise made himself master of the gate, slew the guard, and admitted the *Carthaginians*. The General, for the greater security in case of accidents, left 2000 horse without the gate, and advancing with the rest of his troops into the Forum, took possession of it. In the mean time, *Philomenus* had marched with 1000 *Africans* to another gate, at which he used to be admitted when he returned from hunting. He was followed by two young men carrying a wild boar of an enormous size, and when the wicket was opened, and the centinel upon guard stood examining the beast, *Philomenus* ran him through with a hunting spear. Then 30 *Carthaginians* entered in an instant, broke down the gate, and let in their companions, who, as had been agreed upon, joined *Hannibal* in the Forum. After this the general seized the principal posts in the town, sent parties of men into the different quarters, and with each of them several of the conspirators. His view in this was, that the inhabitants might be distinguished and preserved, while all the *Romans* were put to the sword. To draw these out the more effectually, some men, prepared on purpose, sounded a charge in the theatre with *Roman* trumpets, and after the *Roman* manner. The slaughter continued all that night and part of the next day; but *Livius* with his domestics, in the beginning of the tumult, escaped in a bark to the citadel, which was strongly fortified, and where all that remained of the garrison took refuge.

In order to secure the *Tarentines* against all attacks from the *Romans*, *Hannibal* proposed to cast up a rampart over-against the wall of the citadel, and as he knew the enemy would endeavour to hinder the work, he prepared to receive them. The rampart was no sooner begun, than the *Romans* made a vigorous sally. *Hannibal* defended himself but faintly till he observed that the greatest part of the garrison was got over their ditch: then falling furiously upon them, he drove them with such slaughter within their walls that they did not think proper to attack him a second time; and he had leisure to carry on his works. Besides the rampart abovementioned, he ordered a ditch to be drawn, and another rampart to be raised upon the brink of it, and within that a wall, so that the inhabitants might, without the assistance of the *Carthaginians*, easily defend their town against all attempts from the citadel. Having left a part of his troops to finish and guard the works, in conjunction with the *Tarentines*, he encamped with the rest of his army on the banks of the *Eurotas* (otherwise called *Galefus*) five miles from the city. When the fortifications were completed, he returned and besieged the citadel in form; but the garrison having received a reinforcement from *Metapontus*, a *Roman* city on the gulph of *Tarentum*, sallied out, burned his machines in the night, and made him lay aside the thoughts of reducing the place by assault.

However;

Y. R. 541.
Bef. Chr.
211.
240 Conf.

Y. R. 521.
Ecl. Cl.
211.
220 Cons.

However, it was necessary to secure the *Tarentines* a free passage to the sea, which was at present cut off by the citadel, that stood at the entrance of the port. No vessel could safely go out, or come in; and this made the *Tarentines* apprehend a scarcity of provisions. *Hannibal*, who was not to be discouraged by difficulties, formed a scheme which the ancients have much admired, to remedy this evil. There were a good number of ships in the haven of *Tarentum*; and he caused them to be transported to the sea by land, on carriages made for that purpose. These vessels anchored before the mouth of the haven; so that the citadel, which before commanded the sea, could now receive no provisions that way; and the city was supplied. After this, *Hannibal* returned to his winter quarters, leaving the citadel blocked up by sea and land.

L. E. 25.
C. 13.

The Consuls *Fulvius* and *Appius*, when their affairs at *Rome* were dispatched, took the field, and marched with joint forces into *Samnium*. As the *Capuans* expected to be besieged by them, and began already to feel the miseries of famine (for the *Roman* armies had not permitted them to sow their lands) they sent a deputation to *Hannibal*, then near *Tarentum*, to beg he would order them a supply of corn from the towns in their neighbourhood, while the roads were yet open. The *Carthaginian* sent *Hanno* with an army from *Bruttium* to their relief. *Hanno* having pitched his camp near *Beneventum*, gave notice to the *Capuans*, to send their waggons to fetch the corn, which he had collected for them in vast quantities. So indolent and lazy were these effeminate wretches, that they sent but four hundred carts, and a few mules. The *Carthaginian* could not forbear expressing his indignation at such intolerable negligence, and fixed a day when a greater number of carriages should come to remove the rest of the corn. In the mean time the Consuls had notice of what was doing, from the people of *Beneventum*; and *Fulvius* with his troops marched thither with all expedition. He entered the town in the night, and the next morning appeared by break of day before the enemy's camp, while *Hanno* was absent foraging with a part of his army. Two thousand *Capuan* carts were arrived there, and the carters and peasants mixing with the soldiers caused a good deal of disorder. Nevertheless, as the camp was situated upon an ascent, it was very difficult to take it by assault: The *Roman* soldiers signalized their bravery on this occasion, beyond the expectation of their General, who was for quitting the enterprize, or at least suspending it, till his colleague should come to his assistance. One *Vibius*, who commanded a cohort of the *Peligni*, and, after his example, *Pedanius* a Centurion of the third *Roman* legion, threw each a standard over the enemy's rampart, to excite the soldiers to recover them. The stratagem succeeded, the *Carthaginian* entrenchments were forced, and the slaughter was great. As for *Hanno*, having lost his camp, he was forced to return to *Bruttium* with the remainder of his army; and the *Capuans* sent a new deputation to *Hannibal*, to press him to come to their assistance, being now
more

C. 14.

more than ever apprehensive of a siege. The *Carthaginian* answered, that he would take care of *Capua*; and for the present sent them 2000 horse to defend their territory from the enemy's incursions. He had still hopes of reducing the citadel of *Tarentum* by famine; but a convoy of provisions having forced its way through the *Tarentine* galleys, entered the place, and disappointed his expectations. His design upon *Tarrium* succeeded better. *Hannö* and *Mago* defeated the Prætor *Atinius*, who sallied out of the place; after which the inhabitants opened their gates to the conquerors. The *Metapontines* also, when left by the *Roman* garrison, which went to the relief of the citadel of *Tarentum*, submitted to the *Carthaginians*.

V. R. 541.
Ecl. Chr.
212.
240 C. 1. 6.

During these things, the Consuls entered the territory of *Capua* with a design to besiege the city in form; and believing undoubtedly, that *Hannibal* would come to its relief, they ordered *Sempronius Gracchus* to leave *Lucania*, and draw near to *Capua*, with his horse and light armed infantry, that they might be the better able to withstand the enemy's cavalry. *Sempronius* having left his legions under the command of *Cn. Cornelius*, his Quæstor, was preparing for his march, when one *Flavius*, a *Lucanian*, and hitherto zealous in the *Roman* interest, changed his inclinations on a sudden, and in order to recommend himself to the *Carthaginians*, betrayed the Pro-Consul to them. He pretended to *Sempronius*, that the heads of the *Carthaginian* faction in *Lucania* were disposed to a reconciliation with the Republic, and only desired a private conference with him. The *Roman*, not suspecting any deceit, suffered himself, attended only by his lictors and a troop of horse, to be led by the traitor into an ambush, where *Mago* with a body of *Carthaginians* surrounded them; and then *Flavius* went over to the enemy. The Pro-Consul, seeing himself betrayed, dismounted, and wrapping his left arm in his paludamentum, for want of a buckler, rushed sword in hand to the place where he saw *Flavius*, in hopes to kill the traitor before he fell himself; but he perished in the attempt, though the *Carthaginians* endeavoured to take him alive. The body of this brave Pro-Consul was carried to *Hannibal's* camp, who erected a funeral pile for him, and did honour to his memory.

Livy, B. 25,
c. 16.

While the Consuls were pillaging the country about *Capua*, *Mago* with his cavalry and some of the *Capuans* fell upon the *Romans*, of whom he slew 1500. Upon this news *Hannibal* advanced towards the city and offered battle to the enemy. *Appius* and *Fulvius* accepted the challenge, and the engagement was begun, to the disadvantage of the *Romans*, when *Cn. Cornelius* appeared with the *Volones* which had been commanded by *Sempronius*. Each side apprehending, that assistance was coming to the other, immediately sounded a retreat. The Consuls, to draw *Hannibal* from *Capua*, decamped in the night, divided their armies, and marched the one into *Lucania* and the other towards *Cumæ*. The *Carthaginian* next day set out for *Lucania* in pursuit of *Appius*, who had.

c. 18.

Y. R. 441.
 Def. Cbr.
 211.
 220 Cons.

had taken that road, but the latter, fetching a compass, returned by another way to the neighbourhood of *Capua*. There happened to be at this time in *Lucania* one *M. Centenius Pennula*, who by the credit of the Prætor *Cornelius Scylla*, and by promising great things, had obtained of the Senate the command of a body of 8000 men, which he had increased to near double that number. *Hannibal*, missing the Consul *Appius*, turned his arms against *Centenius*, entirely defeated him, and cut off almost all his whole army. The *Carthaginian* then marched into *Apulia*, and attacked the Prætor *Fulvius*, who commanded 18,000 men in that country. The victory was complete, 16,000 of the *Romans* being slain, and their camp taken. And to add to the misfortunes of the present campaign, the *Volones* disbanded themselves. Notwithstanding these discouragements the Consuls were busy at *Casilinum*, preparing all things necessary for the siege of *Capua*. They sent for the Prætor *Claudius Nero*, with the forces he commanded at *Suessula*; and the three Generals with their united armies besieged *Capua* in form.

Liv. B. 26.
 4. 23. & seq.

During this siege, *Marcellus* made himself master of *Syracuse*. He took the opportunity of a festival, when the soldiers and citizens had drunk plentifully, to make a detachment scale the walls of *Tyche*, in that part of it which was nearest to *Epipolæ*, and which was ill guarded*. He presently after possessed himself of *Epipolæ*; whereupon the inhabitants of *Neapolis*, as well as *Tyche*, sent deputies to him, and submitted. *Marcellus* granted life and liberty to all of free condition, but gave up those quarters of the city to be plundered.

Notwithstanding this, there was a great deal yet to do. *Acbradina* and *Ortygia*, which were strongly fortified, still held out; *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* arrived with their troops to the relief of the besieged; and the *Romans* were forced to exert all their bravery and skill to maintain the advantages they had gained.

But now a plague made terrible havock in both armies. At the first breaking out of the pestilence, the *Sicilians*, who served under *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, disbanded themselves, and returned to their respective homes; but all the *Carthaginian* soldiers perished, together with those two Generals. The *Romans* suffered less by the infection, because, having been a long time before *Syracuse*, they were seasoned to the air and water of the country.

About this time *Bomilcar* arrived on the coast of *Sicily* from *Carthage* with a fleet of 130 galleys and 700 ships of burthen, but was long hindered by contrary winds from doubling the cape of *Pachynum*. *Epicides*, fearing the *Carthaginian* might sail back to *Africa*, left the command of *Acbradina* to the Generals of the mercenaries, and went

* Though this account be taken from *cellus* into *Syracuse* by night. Liv. B. 26. Livy, yet he afterward tells us, in two or c. 21, 30 and 31. three places, that *Sofus* a *Brasier* let *Mar-*

to *Bomilcar*, in order to persuade him to fight the *Roman* fleet. The Admiral would not engage, but sailed away to *Tarentum* with all his gallies, ordering his ships of burden to return to *Africa*. *Epycides*, thus frustrated of his hopes, and knowing himself unable to defend a city already half taken, retired to *Agrigentum*; whereupon the *Syracusians* massacred the commanders appointed by him, chose new Prætors to govern in the town, and sent deputies to *Marcellus* to treat of peace. In the mean time the deserters, fearing to be given up to the vengeance of the *Romans*, persuaded the mercenaries that they also would have the same fate. Instantly the soldiers ran to arms, put to death the new Prætors, together with many of the *Syracusians*, and plundered part of the city. After this slaughter, they chose six Generals, three to command in *Acradina*, and three in *Ortygia*. Upon the return of the deputies from *Marcellus*, the mercenaries finding that their case was different from that of the deserters, and that there was no design against their lives, became perfectly satisfied, and the negotiation went on. During the course of the treaty, *Marcellus* found means to corrupt *Mericus*, a *Spaniard*, one of the six Generals chosen by the soldiers, and engaged him to admit the *Romans* into that part of the city where he commanded. *Mericus*, the better to accomplish this design, feigned an extraordinary zeal for the preservation of the place; pretended not to like, that deputies should have leave to go out and in at pleasure; and proposed, that for the greater security of the town, each General should have a distinct quarter assigned him, and be responsible for any neglect of duty in it. The motion was agreed to, and, upon the division, that district of *Ortygia*, which extended from the fountain of *Arethusa* to the mouth of the great port, fell to his care. *Marcellus*, informed of what was done, took his measures accordingly. He sent a body of troops to that side where *Mericus* commanded, and the *Spaniard* admitted them at the gate of *Arethusa*. At the same time the Pro-consul ordered a false attack to be made on *Acradina*, which drawing almost all the soldiers of the garrison thither, *Ortygia* was in a manner left defenceless. Foreseeing this, he had detached another party of soldiers to take advantage of it. These entered *Ortygia* almost without fighting; upon which the deserters made their escape, the *Romans* giving them way; and the *Syracusians* in *Acradina*, thus delivered from the fear of the deserters, immediately opened their gates to *Marcellus*, who thereby became master of the whole city.

And now the conqueror, who is said to have wept, during the siege, with compassion for the inhabitants, gave up both *Ortygia*, and *Acradina*, to be plundered by his army, after he had secured the late king's treasures for the use of his Republic, and the statues, paintings, and principal ornaments of *Syracuse* to illustrate his triumph. The soldiers had orders to spare the lives of the citizens; but they were cruel in their avarice, slew many of them, and, among the rest, the incomparable *Archimedes*.

Y. R. 427.
E. C. 211.
220 C. 211.

3. M. 211.
4. 211.

He was very intent on a demonstration in geometry, and calmly drawing his lines, when a soldier entered the room and clapped a sword to his throat. "Hold!" said *Archimedes*, one moment, and my demonstration "will be finished." But the soldier, equally regardless of his prayer and his demonstration, killed him instantly. There are different accounts of the manner of his death; but all agree, that *Archimedes* regretted it extremely, and shewed singular favour to his relations for his sake.

Y. R. 428.
E. C. 212.
220 C. 212.

The consular year being ready to expire, the Senate ordered, that one of the Consuls should come from *Capua* to hold the *comitia* for the consular elections. *M. Claudius* repaired to *Rome*, and presided in the assembly, which transferred the places to *P. Valerius Galba*, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*. *Spain* was to be their province; while the late Consuls were in quality of Pro-Consuls to continue the siege of *Capua*. But as these proposed to reduce the place rather by famine than force, they turned the siege into a blockade.

Y. R. 429.
E. C. 213.
220 C. 213.

At *Rome*, *Cn. Fulvius*, the late Prætor, was called to account for the defeat he had suffered in *Spain*. One of the Tribunes of the people cited him to appear before the *comitia*, purposing only to get him fined for his cowardice and ill-conduct. When the witnesses came to be examined, the charge appeared so heavy, that all the people cried out, *The prætor's eagle to be made capital*; and a day was appointed for the trial. *Fulvius* sent to his brother, the Pro-Consul before *Capua*, urging him to come to *Rome* and employ all his credit to avert the impending storm. The Pro-Consul would willingly have complied; but the *tribunes* thinking it a case wherein the publick interest was greatly concerned, absolutely refused him leave to come: so that the accused, having no hope, went into exile without waiting for his sentence; and the *comitia*, after his departure, condemned him to banishment.

t. 4

Y. R. 430.
E. C. 214.

In the mean time the *Capuans*, greatly distressed for want of provisions, sent a messenger to acquaint *Hannibal* with their present situation. A *Numidian* horseman had the address to pass undiscovered through the Romans in the night, and carried the message to the *Carthaginian* General. Upon this advice, leaving the greatest part of his baggage behind him, he marched away with all expedition, arrived before *Capua*, and pitched his camp near the *Roman* entrenchments. At first he endeavoured by skirmishes to provoke the enemy to a battle, but this not succeeding, he almost beleagued them in their camp, frequently assailing it with bodies of infantry, which relieved one another, while his troops of horse covered them, and threw darts upon the enemy. In his attempts to draw the *Romans* to a battle, or to break into the town, proved ineffectual: nor was it possible for him to stay long in the neighbourhood of *Capua* for want of forage; because the enemy, foreseeing his coming, had ruined the country all around. Add to this, that there being several armies in the field against him, he

he feared lest they should join and attack him, or cut off his provisions, and so reduce him to extremities. Convinced that it was impracticable to raise the siege by force, he formed a design, much extolled by the ancient writers. He resolved to leave his camp silently, march with all expedition, and appear before the walls of *Rome*. By this means, he hoped the alarm of the citizens might produce some accident in his favour, perhaps might give him an opportunity of surprizing the town: If that should not happen, the Pro-Consuls, he thought, would either quit the blockade of *Capua*, or at least divide their army, and send a part of it to the defence of the capital. In this last case he did not doubt but he should have an easy victory, both over those that staid before *Capua*, and those that marched away. Before he put this scheme in execution, he took care to acquaint the besieged with his intention, lest upon his departure they should in despair surrender the town. Every thing being ready for his expedition, he set out in the night, and, to deceive the enemy, left fires burning in his camp. Having marched through *Scamium*, he crossed the *Anio*, and pitched his camp within five miles of *Rome*, designing to attack the city next day, if practicable. The *Romans*, terrified at his approach, for he had never been so near their walls before, at first imagined he had made his way thither by the slaughter of their army at *Capua*. Their fears however did not lessen their resolution; and it happened luckily for them that the Consuls had already raised one legion, which was to rendezvous at *Rome* that very day, and had also called together the citizens in order to select from amongst them another legion: By which means there was very reasonably a great concourse of men in the town. *Sulpicius* and *Laetius*, the Consuls, marched out with an army, and encamped before the walls. *Hannibal* seeing the *Romans* prepared to make a stout defence, lost all hopes of being able to take the town^a, and therefore fell to pillaging the country. The Consuls boldly advanced, and encamped within ten furlongs of him. The *Carthaginian*, to secure his booty and execute the remaining part of his scheme, decamped in the night, and passed the *Anio* at a ford, the bridges being all broken down. In his passage he was attacked by the *Romans*, and though the *Numidians*, and the rest of his cavalry, covered his retreat, so that he suffered no great loss, yet the enemy regained a part of the spoil, and took about three hundred prisoners. *Sulpicius* and *Laetius*, thinking that *Hannibal* fled before them, followed him, but kept to the hills, for fear of a surprize. He, on the other hand, marched at first in great haste, to intercept any forces, that, on occasion of his march to *Rome*, might have been sent from *Capua*, or in their absence to attack the *Roman* entrenchments before that city.

^a *Livy* says, that when *Hannibal* was before the walls of *Rome*, the ground on which his camp stood was sold at the full price; which so provoked the *Carthaginians*, that he put up to sale the bankers

shops that were round the *Roman* Forum. The account which the *Latin* historian gives of this expedition differs in many particulars from that of *Polybius*, which is followed in the text.

Y. P. 542.
 Sc. C. 27.
 216.
 271 C. 27.

Finding that none of the besiegers had stirred, he turned against the Consuls that were pursuing him, fell upon their camp in the night, and took it with great slaughter. Next morning he saw those that had escaped posted upon a hill, which was very difficult of access; and he would not lose time in attacking them, having formed a project of greater moment. Despairing to raise the siege of *Capua*, he hoped to surprize *Rhegium*. And though it was situated in the remotest corner of *Italy*, he marched with such rapidity through *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and *Bruttium*, and appeared so unexpectedly before the place, that he took prisoners many of the inhabitants who were walking securely without the walls; and was very near getting possession of the town.

L. 3. 26.
 217.

Hannibal's departure left *Capua* without hope of relief. The Pro-Consuls signified to the inhabitants, that they would spare the lives of all those of them who would repair to the *Roman* camp; but not one *Capuan* accepted the offer. The commanders of the *Carthaginian* garrison wrote letters to *Hannibal* full of reproaches, and pressing him not to abandon them to the cruelty of the *Romans*. These letters were committed to the care of some *Numidians*, who pretended to desert, and then sought an opportunity to escape to *Rhegium*. One of them being followed to the *Roman* camp by his mistress, to whom he had disclosed the secret, she betrayed it; and above seventy of the *Numidians* were seized, whipped, had their hands cut off, and were driven back to *Capua*.

The sight of these maimed wretches threw the city into the utmost consternation. The people forced the chief of the Senators, who had for some time withdrawn themselves from public affairs, to assemble with the rest in the Senate-house; where the greatest part were for sending a deputation to the Pro-Consuls to capitulate: But *Vibius Virius*, one of the authors of the revolt, opposed this motion, and made a speech, the whole strain of which was rage and despair. Having represented the implacable hatred of the *Romans* to *Capua*, and exposed the folly of hoping for any favour from them, he thus concluded. *Death is our only refuge. I have prepared an entertainment at my house. When we have finished our repast, a cup shall go round, that will end our days and our misfortunes together. Let all those who are weary of life, or despise it, or despair of preserving it, follow me. Funeral piles are already prepared to burn our bodies. A glorious death will gain us esteem from our enemies; and the persidious Hannibal will lament the loss of allies, who did not deserve to be thus deserted and betrayed.* Twenty-seven of the assembly followed *Virius*, accepted the entertainment to which they were invited, and closed all with a cup of poison.

As to the terms of the treaty, which the rest of the *Capuans* made with the *Romans*, we can only guess at them by what followed. As soon as the latter were in possession of the place, they seized the soldiers of the garrison and the *Capuan* Senators. These they conveyed

to their camp to be tried by the Pro-Consuls. They were first made to discover all their treasures, which amounted to seventy pounds weight of gold, and three thousand two hundred pounds weight of silver; and then fifty-three of them were sent in custody to two *Roman* cities in separate companies; and it was resolved to determine their fate before any thing was decreed concerning the rest of the inhabitants. *Appius* inclined to clemency, *Fulvius* to severity; and the dispute grew warm between them. The former, to put an end to it, wrote to the Senate, and referred the matter to them; but his colleague, without waiting for the Senate's decree, went with two thousand horse, first to *Teanum*, whither twenty-eight of the *Capuan* Senators had been transported, and he caused them to be beaten with rods, and then beheaded by the Lictors. Thence he hastened to *Cales*, and treated with the same rigour the twenty-five Senators who had been conveyed thither, though he might well have spared them, having just before the execution received letters from *Rome*, with orders to suspend it; but he put the letters in his bosom, and would not read them till all was over. Nor did the Republic ever blame him for this instance of severity, being doubtless pleased to have revenge, without incurring the odium of inhumanity among her allies. This charge fell only upon *Fulvius*.

Y. R. 542.
P. C. Chr.
210.
241 Conf

And the impression of this Pro-Consul's cruelty became yet stronger in the minds of the people, by the following incident. One *Jubellius Taurea*, a man, among his own party, reputed brave, had come from *Capua*, and had been present at the late massacre of the Senators. Pierced with compassion, and full of indignation, he thus addressed himself to the Pro-Consul, just as he was going to dismiss the assembly: *Stay one moment, Fulvius, and command me to be murdered; and then thou mayest boast of having killed a braver man than thyself.* *Fulvius* (who had published the Senate's decree) replied, *You come too late to be punished, and are mad with rage. What!* said *Jubellius*, *have I lived to see my country reduced to slavery? Have I stabbed my wife and children to preserve them from insults and dishonour; and when I am come hither, to have my blood mixed with that of my friends and countrymen, do my enemies, after all, deny me death? My own arm shall put an end to this hated life:* As he ended these words he stabbed himself with a dagger he had brought under his robe, and fell dead at the foot of the Tribunal.

Liv. B. 26
c. 15.

In *Greece*, the Pro-Prætor *Laevinus* had, in order to keep *Philip* of *Macedon* employed at home, endeavoured (with the approbation of the Senate) to draw some of the *Greek* States into the interest of *Rome*. He began with the *Ætolians*, who were much discontented, because *Acarnania* had been by *Philip* dismembered from the body of their state, and he assured them that he would reduce it again under its antient government and jurisdiction. These promises of the *Roman* General, were confirmed to the people by *Scopas* their chief magistrate, and by *Dorimachus* a noble *Ætolian*, who with less
modesty,

c. 24.

N. R. 422.
E. C. 11.
112.
113.

P. 113.
114.

modesty, and stronger asseverations, magnified the grandeur, power, and majesty of the people of *Rome*. The main motive however with the *Ætolians* was the hope of recovering *Acarnania*. Articles were therefore drawn up and agreed to, expressing the conditions on which these *Grecians* entered into an alliance with the *Romans*; and a clause was added, *That the Eleans, the Lacedæmonians, Attalus, King of Pergamus in Asia Minor, Pleuratus, a King of Thrace, or perhaps of a part of Illyricum, Scerdilædus, King of the east part of the last mentioned country, should if they pleased be comprised and included in the treaty.* *Polæmus* tells us, that the *Ætolians* sent ambassadors to these several States and Princes, to solicit them to join in a confederacy against *Philip*; and he has transmitted to us the speeches made in the Senate of *Lacedæmon*, by *Columas* an *Ætolian*, and *Lyctas* an *Acarnanian*, two orators, the first an advocate for the *Ætolians*, the second for *Philip*. *Columas's* harangue consisted chiefly of invectives, displaying the tyranny, oppression, and usurpations exercised in Greece by the Kings of Macedonia, from the time of *Philip the father of Alexander*, to the present King; and in the close of his speech he urged the *Ætolians* and *Lacedæmonians* would find in joining themselves with a powerful confederacy as that formed against *Philip*. *Lyctas* on the other hand endeavored to clear the *Macedonian* Kings from the charge brought against them; mentioned several of their laudable actions; loaded the *Ætolians* with the guilt of many violences, outrages, and sacrilegious abominations; and in conclusion represents the danger of making alliances with Barbarians, that these dependents of the *Ætolians* would become their conquerors, and, in time, of all Greece. These apprehensions were not unreasonable; but the *Lacedæmonians* did not at this time look so far forward: it seemed instant for them at present, to come into the alliance proposed by the *Ætolians*; and they declared for that side.

The articles of confederacy between the *Ætolians* and *Romans* ran thus. *The Ætolians shall permit their enter into a war with King Philip of Macedon, and the Romans shall assist them by sea with a fleet of twenty gallies, and by land with a force of twenty thousand men, as to the cities that shall be conquered between the coasts of *Ætolia* and *Corcyra* shall, as to the wells, herds, and lands belonging to them, be possessed by the *Ætolians*; but the Romans shall have the more advantage and plunder. The Romans shall use their endeavours that the *Ætolians* may recover *Acarnania*. If at any time the *Ætolians* make a peace with *Philip*, they shall insert a clause, that the same shall be of no force until such time as *Philip* shall have withdrawn his force employed against the *Romans*, or any of their allies. And on the same manner if the *Romans* make with the *Macedonian King*, they shall make the like provision for the security of the *Ætolians* and their allies. Though these articles were not signed till two years after, the confederates immediately began hostilities against *Philip*. *Lyctas* took the island of *Zagyrus*, and also two cities of *Acarnania*, which he reduced under the dominion of the *Ætolians*; and having thus*

thus kindled a war in *Greece* against the King, and found him sufficient employment at home, to hinder his assisting the *Carthaginians*, he retired with his fleet to *Corcyra*, and there wintered.

Y. R. 52.
Ber. Chr.
210.
241 C. nt.

The news, that the *Ætolians* were in motion, was brought to *Philip* as he lay in his winter quarters at *Pella*. Resolving to invade *Greece* in the spring, he first turned his arms against *Illyricum*, that by the desolation and destruction he should cause there, he might intimidate the rest of his neighbours from attacking *Macedon* in his absence. From thence he marched his troops into *Thrace* against the *Mædi*. In the mean time the *Ætolian* army entered *Acarnania*, where they found that the people of the country were come to the most desperate resolutions for their defence: For, sending away their wives and children, and all who were above sixty years old, into *Epirus*, the rest engaged themselves by a solemn oath never to return from the field but with victory: And they laid the heaviest curses on those of their own nation, who should harbour or relieve any who were vanquished and fled. These desperate measures, together with the approach of *Philip*, whom the *Acarnanians* had earnestly pressed to come from *Thrace* to their assistance, so terrified the *Ætolians*, that they retired into their own territories, and there continued quiet, till *Leænus*, coming in the spring with his fleet to *Naupactus*, put them again in motion. In conjunction with the *Pro-Prætor*, they besieged *Anticyra*, (a city of the *Locrenses*, in the neighbourhood of *Attila*) by sea and land, and reduced it. But *Leænus*, after this, by reason of a dangerous sickness, was obliged to continue there a great while unactive.

Winter now approached, and *Marcellus* returned from *Sicily* to *Rome*, for the first time since the taking of *Syracuse*. He demanded a triumph at his arrival: But having, pursuant to orders, left his army in *Sicily*, and it not being the custom for Generals to triumph when their army was not present to give testimony to their exploits, he was granted only an ovation by the Senate. To do himself justice therefore in the best manner he could, he decreed himself a triumph on *The Hill of Alba*, for which there were some precedents in such cases. Next day he had a very magnificent ovation. A plan of *Syracuse*, statues and paintings of an exquisite taste, costly vases, and immense quantities of gold, silver, and brass, were carried on biers before him. Eight elephants, and all sorts of military engines, used in sieges, made a part of the show. It was at this time that *Marcellus* introduced among the *Romans* a refined taste for paintings, and sculptures; which made some of the old *Romans* uneasy. They feared it would gradually destroy the people's love of husbandry and war, and would be a means to soften and enervate them.

Liv. B. 26.
C. 21.

Plot. life
of Marcellus.
Author of the
lives of illu-
trious
men.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The NINTH YEAR of the War.

Marcellus's conduct complained of before the Senate, by the Sicilians.

Fulvius accused of cruelty by the Capuans. The fate of their city is determined.

The fortune of the campaign in Italy various.

The reduction of Sicily completed.

T. R. 223.
B.C. 212.
242 C. 212.

L. V. B. 26.
C. 22.

THE time for electing new magistrates drawing on, *Fulvius Centumalus* was recalled to *Rome*, to preside in the *Comitia*. The first *Century* that voted, named *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *T. Otacilius*, for *Consuls*. It was not doubted but the rest of the *Centuries* would join in the nomination; and a multitude of people flocked round *Manlius*, to congratulate him upon his election. But he approaching the *Consul's* tribunal, begged that he would call back the *Century* that had just given their votes, and allow him to speak a few words. While all were in expectation of what he would ask, he excused himself, on account of a weakness in his eyes, from accepting the dignity offered him. "A man, said he, must be very shameless to desire to be a pilot or a general, and to have the lives and fortunes of multitudes committed to his care, when he knows that in every thing he does, he must make use of other men's eyes." He therefore entreated the president of the assembly to order the prerogative *Century* to give their votes anew, and desired of them, that in their choice they would have regard to the circumstances of the Republic, remember that the war was still in *Italy*, and that *Rome* was scarce recovered from the terror caused by the late insult of the enemy at her gates. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the *Century*, with repeated cries, insisted upon the choice they had made. "No, said *Manlius*, neither can I bear your manners, nor you my government. Return into the voting place, and consider that *Carthage* is making war in *Italy*, and that *Hannibal* is her General." The *Century* finding these words applauded by all who stood round *Manlius*, and having a real respect for him, made no longer any difficulty to comply with his desire; and *Marcellus* the fourth time, and *Levinus* the second time, were raised to the consular dignity.

Levinus was still lying sick at *Anticyra* in *Greece*. *Marcellus* entered upon his office on the Ides of *March*, and according to custom assembled the Senate that day, but declared he would bring no matters relating to the Republic before the Fathers till the arrival of his colleague. He complained that there were numbers of *Syracusians* in *Rome*, who spread reports

reports about the city to his disadvantage; that *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, the Prætor of *Sicily*, had not only sent over many of these to accuse him, but had also asserted in his letters, that the war was far from being finished in the island [no untruth, as will appear by and by] that he might have the greater glory, in putting an end to it. The Consul added, that he himself would immediately give his enemies an opportunity of laying their accusations before the Senate, were it not that he understood, they affected to be afraid of accusing him in the absence of his colleague; and that, as soon as *Lævinus* should arrive, he would take care they should be heard.

V. R. 543.
Bef. Chr.
209.
242d Conf.

As *Lævinus* passed through *Campania*, in his return to *Rome*, the inhabitants of that country crowded about him, and implored his protection against the tyranny and cruelty of the Pro-Consul *Fulvius Flaccus*. *Lævinus* ordered them to follow him to *Rome*; which when he drew near, the company of *Sicilians*, who were to accuse *Marcellus*, joined him likewise; and he suffered them to enter the city with him. However, before he procured them an audience from the Senate, he gave the Censorial Fathers an account of his own conduct, and the state of affairs in *Greece*. And the next thing to be done, was to assign the Consuls, and the rest of the Generals of the *Roman* armies, their respective provinces, for the ensuing campaign. *Italy* fell by lot to *Lævinus*, and *Sicily* to *Marcellus*. This was no sooner declared, than the *Sicilians*, who were present at the ceremony, made a horrible outcry, and expressed as much terror and consternation as they had done at *Syracuse* when *Marcellus* surprized it. They dressed themselves in mourning, ran to the houses of the Senators, and there declared, they would never return home, rather than be again subject to *Marcellus*: And that it would be better for *Sicily* to perish in the flames of *Ætna*, than to be given up as a prey to her implacable enemy. The affair was mentioned in the Senate, and the Consuls were asked to consult the Fathers about an exchange of provinces. *Marcellus* answered, that, had the *Sicilians* been already heard, perhaps he should not think that motion so equitable; but now, lest it should be said, that fear restrained them from accusing a man who must shortly be their Governor, he was very willing to exchange provinces with his colleague, provided he agreed to it; but begged the Senate would not give him the mortification of interposing a judgment of theirs in the matter; for, said he, if it would have been unjust to give my colleague his option, without casting lots, how much more unjust, nay, what an indignity would it be to me, to transfer my lot to him? The Senate did not interpose their authority, and the exchange was made by the Consuls themselves. Then the *Sicilians* were admitted to bring their complaints against *Marcellus*. Their accusation turned upon his pretended cruelty at *Leontini*, his having sacked *Syracuse*, and his having stripped the citizens of every thing, though

Liv. B. 26.
c. 27.

Fast. Cap.
Livy, B. 26.
c. 28.

Y. R. 443.
L. C. 11.

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As the accusers protested it had been by compulsion, that the *Syracusans* had sided with the *Carthaginians*; and they prayed, that what had been taken from them, and could be recovered, might be restored.

When the accusers had done speaking, *Marcellus* left the *Comitia*, and went to the place where persons accused were wont to make their defence. He laid before the house the matters of fact (as they have been related), and then withdrew, to give the Senators more freedom in their debates. A great many of the Fathers, and among the rest *T. Manius Torquatus*, were of opinion, that the war ought to be considered as having been carried on against the tyrants *Hippocrates* and *Agathocles*, equally the enemies of the *Romans* and *Syracusans*. After a long debate, the majority voted the proceedings of *Marcellus* to have been regular; but added to their decree, that the Senate would take care of the *Syracusans*, and recommended it to the Consul *Lævinus*, to consult their interest, as far as it was consistent with that of the Republic.

When the *Citizens*, being called in, had heard the decree read, they threw themselves at the feet of *Marcellus*, and begged he would forgive whatever, with a view to set forth their miseries and move compassion, they had said against him; and would receive them into his protection. The Consul granted their request; and, in gratitude to him, the people of *Syracuse* ordered, that whenever he or any of his family set foot in *Sicily*, the people should crown themselves with garlands, and celebrate the day with sacrifices; and *Syracuse* was, ever after, under the patronage of the *Marcelli*.

L. C. 11.
1. 1. 1. 1.

The cause of the *Campanians* came on next. Their pleading consisted wholly of a pathetic representation of their miseries. When they had finished their complaint, they were ordered to withdraw. And then *M. Attilius Regulus*, who had served in the army at the taking of *Capua*, was examined, as to the facts. This Senator could say little to the advantage of the *Capuans*; but he moved that the Senate might not determine the affair, till it had obtained the consent of the Tribes; because the *Capuans*, being *Roman* citizens, could not legally be judged by the Senate, without the approbation of the people. Accordingly, a Tribune of the commons was desired to summon the *Comitia* by tribes; and request them, to empower the Senate to pronounce sentence on the *Capuans*. He complied. The *Comitia* answered in that authoritative stile which shewed their sovereignty: *What the majority of the Senate now sitting, after being sworn, shall determine, that we will and command.* The Senate, thus authorised, pronounced judgment: and when the sentence came to be executed, *Campania* was stripped of all the monuments of its grandeur; *Capua* was no longer a city; it had neither Senate, *Comitia*, nor Magistrates of its own; *Rome* sent a *Præfect* thither annually, to preserve order in the place, and to hear causes. Its former slothful

stethful and effeminate inhabitants were transplanted elsewhere, and succeeded by *Roman* colonies of laborious and industrious husbandmen.

And now the Consuls applied themselves wholly to the preparations for the approaching campaign. As the navy wanted great repairs, and the public treasury was exhausted, they published an edict, ordering every man, according to his census, to furnish pay and provisions for thirty days to a certain number of sailors and rowers, agreeably to a precedent on the like occasion. This falling heavy on the poorer citizens, already drained by taxes, since *Hannibal's* invasion, it had like to have caused an insurrection. The people threatened to do themselves justice, if the edict was not revoked in three days. In that time the Consuls, to make matters easy, proposed in the Senate a method which gained them great applause. They moved, that all the dignified persons in the state, and the Senators, should give a good example of zeal for the Republic, by voluntarily carrying into the treasury their superfluous gold, silver, and brass. All present approved the motion; and the Knights and common citizens so readily followed the example of the Consuls and Senators, that there was an emulation who should first enter their names in the register of the contributors. Thus were the *Roman* fleets recruited; and *Rome* put into a condition to support the war on all sides.

When *Marcellus* and *Lævinus* set out for their provinces, there were in the town of *Scapia* in *Apulia* two men of great authority, *Dafus* and *Blafus*; the latter was in the *Roman* interest, and had entered into a negotiation with the Consul to betray the town to him. As this could not be done without *Dafus's* consent, the traitor ventured to open his mind to him, and solicit his assistance, though he knew him to be a zealous *Hannibalist*. *Dafus* immediately informed the *Carthaginian* of the affair, who thereupon cited both to appear before him. But the accuser not being able to bring any proof to support his charge, *Hannibal* imagined the accusation to have proceeded entirely from jealousy and hatred; and would take no farther cognizance of it. After this, *Blafus* gained over his colleague, and they took measures together for the surrendry of the place. *Marcellus* on a sudden appeared before it, and was admitted into the town; and then the *Carthaginian* garrison, which consisted of 500 brave *Numidian* horse, finding themselves betrayed, resolved to sell their lives dear. They quitted their horses, which were of no use to them, and fought on foot, till they were all killed except fifty, who yielded themselves prisoners. This, if we may credit *Livy*, was so great a loss to *Hannibal*, that in all the battles he afterwards fought in *Italy*, his cavalry never gained the superiority over the enemy, as in former engagements.

The *Carthaginian* had still hopes of taking the citadel of *Tarentum*, which he kept blocked up. On the other hand, the *Romans* sent a squadron of ships to supply the garrison with provisions: But this fleet,

Y. R. 445.
Bel. Car.
209.
243d Cons.

before it could enter the port, being obliged to come to an engagement with the *Tarentine* fleet, was utterly defeated, and the Admiral of it killed in the action.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 1.

Marcellus took two more cities in *Sannium*, and in them about 3000 *Carthaginian* prisoners, together with a great quantity of grain. *Fulvius Centumalus*, who commanded as Pro-Consul in *Apulia*, being ambitious of imitating the Consul, without his abilities, drew near to a city called *Herdonea*, in hopes to reduce it by force, or by treaty, but was surprized by *Hannibal*; and though the *Romans* behaved themselves bravely, they were totally defeated, their camp taken, and the General, with eleven Legionary Tribunes, slain in the engagement.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 2.

So complete a victory recovered the affairs and credit of *Hannibal* for some time, and greatly discouraged the people at *Rome*, whose only hopes were now in *Marcellus*. This Consul, knowing how much the people were terrified, wrote to the Senate, in these terms. *I am the same man that I was after the battle of Cannæ. I am going to meet the same conqueror, and have reason to expect the same success. The joy that now swells the mind of the Carthaginian will not be of long duration.* He then marched towards *Hannibal*, and came up with him near *Numistro*, in *Bruttium*. The *Carthaginian* did not decline a battle. The engagement was bloody; and the night alone put an end to it. At sunrise *Marcellus* offered him battle again; but *Hannibal* would not accept the challenge. He decamped; and the Consul followed him from place to place. So that these two great Generals spent the rest of the campaign, the one in seeking for an opportunity to come to a general action, the other in endeavouring to avoid it, and to draw his enemy into an ambush.

• 3.

In the mean time *Fulvius Flaccus* was busy in managing the affairs of the Republic in *Campania*. And the Senate ordered a great quantity of corn to be bought up in *Ettruria*, and carried to the citadel of *Tarentum*. Two thousand men were likewise commanded to the relief of the garrison; and this convoy had a happier passage thither than the last.

From the Consul *Lælius* the Senate received news of the total reduction of *Sicily*. *Agrirentum* had long held out for the *Carthaginians*. *Hanno* had commanded there a numerous garrison; but having through jealousy disobliged, and even broke, a brave *Numidian* officer, named *Mutines*, much esteemed among his countrymen, and who having been sent by *Hannibal* into *Sicily*, to supply the place of *Hippocrates*, had done the *Carthaginians* signal service in that island, the proud *African* could not brook the affront. To revenge himself, he entered into a correspondence with the Consul; and having engaged a body of the *Numidians* in the conspiracy, they opened one of the gates to the *Roman* troops. *Hanno*, with *Epides*, and a few more officers, escaped in a small vessel; but the rest of the garrison were all cut in pieces. After this, twenty towns were betrayed into the hands of the *Romans*, six taken by force, and the rest,

rest, to the number of forty, surrendered voluntarily. *Lævinus*, having settled all affairs in the island, (which from this time became the granary of *Rome*) received an order from the Senate, to return home, to hold the *Comitia* by centuries: For though *Marcellus* was nearer, it was dangerous to interrupt his pursuit of *Hannibal*. However, *Lævinus* was hardly arrived, when he found himself obliged to go back again, to take care of his province, an express coming from *Valerius Messala* (who commanded a fleet in *Sicily*, and had been ravaging the coast of *Africa*) with an account, that the *Carthaginians* were preparing a naval armament, to re-conquer *Sicily*.

Y. R. 543.
Bef. Chr.
200.
2423 Conf.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 4.

The Senate hastened the departure of *Lævinus*, and ordered him to name a Dictator to hold the *Comitia* for the new elections. The Consul did not refuse to obey; but that he might continue the longer in the supreme dignity, insisted upon deferring the nomination till he should arrive in *Sicily*; and he promised that he would then name *Messala*. But it being contrary to antient custom, for a Dictator to be named elsewhere than in *Italy*, the Conscrip Fathers passed a decree, requiring *Lævinus* before he left the city to petition the people to recommend a proper person for the Dictatorship, and enjoining the Consul to name that person; and the decree provided also, that in case the Consul refused to petition, as before mentioned, the Prætor of *Rome* should do it; and if he likewise refused, the Tribunes of the Commons should bring the matter before the *Comitia*. *Lævinus* was obstinate, and forbade the Prætor to offer any petition to the people. Upon this the Tribunes assembled them; and it was determined, that *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, then at *Capua*, should be nominated Dictator. But *Lævinus*, the night before the holding of the *Comitia*, had set out for *Sicily*, so that the Fathers were obliged to write to *Marcellus* to name the Dictator the people had recommended. *Q. Fulvius*, being thus raised to the Dictatorship, named *P. Licinius Crassus*, the Pontifex Maximus, to be his General of horse.

C H A P. XXIX.

TENTH YEAR of the War.

Some of the Roman colonies refuse to contribute to the expences of the war.

Marcellus is vanquished by Hannibal; - but the day following gains a victory over him. Fabius Cunctator gets possession of Tarentum.

THE Dictator *Fulvius*, having artfully carried on his intrigues to promote his own election to the Consulship, called together the *Comitia*, and was there named Consul, with *Fabius Maximus Cunctator*,
by

c. 6.

by the first Century which was, and the rest of the Centuries followed adhered to the same custom. But two of the Tribunes, in opposition, thought, *That it was not expedient to allow a Consul the privilege of being present and voting in the Assemblies of the Comitia to elect Consuls, as the Tribunes were forbidden to do so, and they declared, that they would oppose the election if the Dictator did not curb their intemperance.* *Paculus* however settled the proceedings of the Comitia by a Law made just after the battle of *Clusium*, allowing the people to choose the same men to the consulship as often as they pleased, while the war should last in Italy; and by the examples of *Publius Valerius*, and *Publius Albius*, who at different times being Presidents of the Comitia, had been elected Consul by the assemblies in which they presided. After some time spent in these disputes, it was at length agreed, that the matter should be referred to the Senate. The Conscript Fathers, pleased with the choice that had been made of two such able Generals, declared, that neither the Dictatorship, nor Presidentship of *Paculus* disqualified him for being chosen Consul.

It was necessary at this time to raise recruits, and to send some forces into Italy in the place of two legions drawn from thence to serve in *Italy*; but this affair had like to have occasioned a rebellion. The *Latins* and allies of *Rome* murmured at the continuation of a war, which drained their countries of their people and their wealth. Nay twelve out of thirty *Roman* colonies that had been planted in the provinces conquered by the Republic, absolutely refused to furnish their contingents, either of men or money; alledging that they really were not in a condition to do it. But the other eighteen complied, and declared themselves ready to enlarge their quotas, if necessary. The agents of these faithful and affectionate colonies received the thanks of the Senate, and of the people in full *Comitia*. As for the twelve, it was thought proper, at this juncture, to shew a contempt of them, and to neglect their contributions, rather than extort them by violence, which would probably throw these colonies into the *Carthaginian* interest. To supply the deficiency occasioned by their refusal, recourse was had to a treasure which had been long hoarded up in the exchequer. From the year 356 the Republic had reserved to herself the twentieth part of the purchase-money of every slave's freedom. The produce had been kept against a day of necessity, and was now first applied to the public use. It amounted to four thousand pounds weight of gold, which was all distributed among the Generals for the expences of the war. The *Censors* also requested of the Senate, that the territory of *Campania*, from which the old possessors had been driven, should be disposed of in the best manner, for the benefit of the public. Their petition being referred to the people; the latter decreed, that those vast plains,

plains, and fruitful hills, should be farmed out, and the rents paid into the public treasury.

And now, the season of the year, and the motions of *Hannibal*, drew the *Consuls* from *Rome*. *Fabius* undertook to besiege *Tarentum*, whilst *Pulvius* and *Marcellus* were to oppose the enterprizes of the *Carthaginian*. *Marcellus* thinking himself, of all the *Roman* Generals, the fittest match for *Hannibal*, marched out of his winter quarters as soon as there was grass in the fields, and came up with the enemy near *Cannusum* in *Apulia*. The *Carthaginian* retired, because the country was open and unfit for ambushes. *Marcellus* followed him, pitched his camp near him, and offered battle. *Hannibal* would have avoided a general action, but was at length forced to it. The *Roman* attacked him as he was encamping; and the engagement lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. Next morning, as soon as it was light, *Marcellus* again drew out his forces; nor did *Hannibal* decline the challenge. He harangued his men, putting them in mind of *Thrasymenus* and *Cannæ*, and exhorting them to repress the audacious temerity of their enemies, who would not permit them either to march or to encamp in quiet, or give them time to breathe or look about them. *The rising sun, said he, and the Roman army daily appear to us at the same instant. Shall we bear this? One single victory will free us from an importunate enemy that is more rash than formidable.* The *Carthaginian* soldiers thus animated by their General, and vexed at being continually harrassed by the *Romans*, behaved themselves with uncommon resolution in the battle. *Marcellus* was now vanquished, his whole army routed; he lost two thousand seven hundred men. Not being used to suffer these indignities he shewed his resentment, by bitterly reproaching his troops with cowardice. They readily owned their fault, asked pardon, and protested that they would expose themselves to any danger he should think fit, with a resolution either to die or conquer. *Prepare then,* replied the General, *to perform your promises to-morrow, and to merit the forgiveness you desire.* Next morning the legionaries were ready to march by break of day; *Marcellus* declared that he would place in the first line those manipuli which had behaved themselves dishonourably; and he urged them all to exert themselves in such a manner as to wipe off their shame; *Let not Rome, said he, be informed of yesterday's defeat before she hears of this day's victory.* He then ordered them to refresh themselves well with food, that their strength might not fail, in case the battle should prove long, which done, he marched them out of the camp, and formed them as usual. *Hannibal* surprized at this unexpected challenge from the *Roman* General, *What!* cried he, *we have to do then with a man that can bear neither good nor bad fortune. When victorious he gives his enemy no repose, nor takes any himself when he is vanquished.* Which said, he gave orders for the trumpets to sound, and.

Y. R. 544.
B. f. Chr.
2c 2.
245d Conf.

Plutarch's
life of
Marcellus.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 12, 13.

Plutarch's
Life of Fabius
Maximus.

Plutarch's
Life of Fabius
Maximus.

and drew his men out into the field. This battle was more sharp than that of the day before. At length the *Romans* prevailed by driving the elephants, which *Hannibal* brought against them, back upon his own troops. For by this means the *Cartaginians* were thrown into the utmost confusion; and two of those great beasts falling down just in the gate of their camp, stopped up the entrance of it; so that the runaways were forced to make their way with difficulty over the ditch and rampart, which occasioned a great slaughter of them. *Hannibal* lost eight thousand men. However, *Marcellus* bought his victory dear. Three thousand of his legionaries were killed upon the spot, and almost all the rest wounded; he led his scattered forces to *Venusia*, and could not take the field again that campaign*. *Hannibal* decamped the night after his defeat, retired into *Bruttium*, raised the siege of *Caulonia*, and took the besiegers prisoners. They consisted of 8000 men besides *Bruttian* deserters, and had been sent by *Fabius* upon that enterprize, under the conduct of the governor of *Rhegium*. About this time the *Hirpini*, the *Lucani*, and the *Velentines* submitted to the Consul *Fulvius*. Some of the *Bruttians* also sent deputies to him, who were well received: But this negotiation had little success, probably because of the presence of *Hannibal*.

As for *Fabius*, who had undertaken the reduction of *Tarentum*, (in which *Hannibal* had placed a garrison, consisting partly of his old troops, and partly of new levies raised among the *Bruttians*) while he was with all prudence making his preparations for the siege, a young *Tarentine*, who served in his army, came and discovered to him a secret, which he thought might be of use in the present enterprize. He told the General, That he had a sister in *Tarentum*, whose beauty had captivated the commander of the *Bruttian* troops there; that he believed he could gain over his sister to the Roman interest; and that, if so, she could undoubtedly engage her lover in the same cause. *Fabius* thinking the project feasible, suffered the young man to return to his native city, as a deserter. The *Tarentine* conducted himself with so much art, that he soon gained his point. The sixth night after the attacks began, he returned to the Consul, and informed him of his success, and when and where the *Bruttian* officer

Plutarch's
Life of Fabius
Maximus.

* These battles of *Marcellus*, as they are told by *Livy*, and nearly copied by *Plutarch*, have very much the air of a romance. Three general battles are fought in three days time. In the first, victory inclines to neither side, in the second, *Hannibal* is conqueror, and, in the third, *Marcellus*. And what is as strange, *Marcellus* when conqueror, was less able to keep the field than when he was vanquished. He lay idle all the summer, (for which he was after-

wards impeached at *Venusia*) while *Hannibal*, master of the open country, continued his ravages in *Italy*. *Vagante per Italiam Annibale, media estate, Venusiam, in tecto, milites abduxisset.* Liv. B. 27. c. 20. It is also to be observed, that *Polybius* knew nothing of these *Roman* victories, for he expressly tells us, that *Hannibal* was never vanquished in any battle or engagement till that of *Zama*. *Polyb.* B. 15. c. 11. and 16.

would

would be ready to let the *Romans* into the place. The plot was happily executed; and when the *Romans* had surprized the town, they spared neither *Carthaginians*, *Tarentines* nor even *Bruttians*. Some authors lay the blame of this odious massacre on *Fabius* himself, who, they say, gave these cruel orders, lest, if he spared the *Bruttians*, so important a conquest should be imputed more to treachery, than to his prudence and bravery; a conduct not suitable to his general character.

Y. R. 344.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 16.
240 C. 16.

The riches found in this maritime city were, according to *Livy*, immense: The *Quæstors* received, for the public treasury, eighty-seven thousand pounds weight of gold; but *Plutarch* with more probability reckons the sum at only three thousand talents*. As to the pictures and statues, *Fabius* had not the taste of *Marcellus*; and therefore, when he was asked what he would have done with those master-pieces of painting and sculpture, he answered, *Let us leave to the Tarentines their angry Gods*; alluding to the attitudes, in which the Gods of *Tarentum* were represented: For, after the *Lacedæmonian* manner, they had generally swords in their hands, and were in fighting postures. Nevertheless he carried to *Rome* a brazen colossus of *Hercules*, which had been cast by the famous *Lysippus*; and it was placed in the Capitol, with an equestrian statue of *Fabius* near it.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 16.

* 881 5cl.
Arbuth.

Strabo, p.
278. Plin.
B. 34. c. 7.
Plutarch's
life of Fa-
bius.

The unexpected news of the siege of *Tarentum* drew *Hannibal* from *Bruttium*. He marched night and day, and doubted not to come time enough to relieve it; and it was with the greatest astonishment he received the account, when within five miles of the city, of its being taken: *Nay then*, said he, *the Romans have their Hannibal too: We have lost Tarentum by the same art that we took it.* However, that he might not seem to fly before the enemy, he did not immediately turn back, but encamped on the place where he heard the news. At length he marched to *Metapontus*, a city in his interest, and there invented a stratagem, which had like to have fatally deceived the cautious *Fabius*. He sent two of the inhabitants with letters to the Consul, from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place, and the *Carthaginian* garrison into his hands, if he would promise an oblivion for what was past. *Fabius*, not suspecting the cheat, fixed the day for his march, and would have fallen into an ambush prepared for him, if the *Augurs* and *Haruspices*, who had probably better intelligence than the General, had not detained him in the camp, by declaring that the presages were all unfortunate. *Hannibal*, impatient of *Fabius's* delays, sent new emissaries; but these being arrested, and terrified by threatenings of severe punishment, confessed the secret.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 16.

C H A P. XXX.

The ELEVENTH YEAR of the WAR.

The Consul Marcellus slain, and his colleague at the same time mortally wounded.

Favourable accounts from Sicily and from Greece.

Y. R. 445.
Bel. Chr.
257.
242 Cons.

MARCELLUS had been accused, before the *comitia*, for inaction the last campaign; nevertheless he was chosen Consul for the new year, with *T. Quinctius Crispinus*. When they had taken the field, the latter, ambitious of signalizing himself by the conquest of some important place, cast his eyes on *Locri*, a maritime city of that part of South Italy, now called *Farther Calabria*: But being afraid to engage with *Hannibal*, who advanced towards him, he postponed his expedition, and hastened to join his colleague *Marcellus*. The two Consuls, having conferred together, determined not to drop the enterprize upon *Locri*. They commanded *Cincius*, Admiral of the fleet appointed to guard the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, to invest the place by sea, and at the same time ordered a body of troops, then in garrison at *Tarentum*, to go and besiege it by land: But these latter were surprized by *Hannibal* in their march, two thousand of them killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. The *Carthaginian*, however, declined a battle with the united forces of the Consuls; and watched for an opportunity to deceive his enemies by artifice.

Plutarch's
Life of Mar-
cellus.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 27, 28.

Between his entrenchments, and those of the *Romans*, was a little hill, from which either camp might be annoyed; and the *Roman* soldiers were equally surprized at *Hannibal's* neglect of it, and impatient to take possession of it themselves. They even murmured at their Generals not being so quick as they would have them, to seize such an advantageous post: Hereupon *Marcellus* and his colleague, with a guard of two hundred and twenty horse, went to view the eminence. *Hannibal* had hid a detachment of *Numidians* in the cavities of the hill, and under the bushes, which covered it. His design was to intercept those of the *Romans* that should straggle from their camp. The *Numidians* coming out of their ambush, surprized and surrounded the two Consuls and their guard; and *Marcellus*, in the attempt to retreat, was killed. His son and the other Consul were wounded.

Hannibal, informed of *Marcellus's* death, went immediately to the place where the body lay, and, at the sight of it, shewed no marks of joy, but seemed rather to pity the misfortune of so great a man, who had fallen in a manner unworthy of him. Yet his first care was

to take off the ring, which the dead Consul had on his finger, and with which he used to seal his dispatches. He then caused the body to be laid on a funeral pile, and burnt; and, having gathered the ashes into a silver urn, sent them to young *Marcellus* the son.

Y. R. 545.
B. f. Chr.
207.
244 Conf.

The surviving Consul decamped the following night, retired to the nearest mountains, and posted himself on a steep ascent. And fearing lest *Hannibal* should make a mischievous use of the ring he had taken from *Marcellus*, he dispatched couriers to all the neighbouring cities in the interest of *Rome*, to prevent their being deceived by letters, which might be sent to them in *Marcellus's* name. By this prudent step *Salapia* in *Apulia* was preserved: Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the *Cartaginian* upon himself. He had sent a *Roman* deserter with letters, as from *Marcellus*, to give them notice that he would be there the next night, and that they should prepare to receive him. The *Salapians* seemed to suffer themselves to be cheated, and admitted into the town six hundred of *Hannibal's* men (chosen out of the *Roman* deserters, that their language might not betray the design;) but then on a sudden, the inhabitants letting fall the portcullis, surprized and slew those who had entered, and with a shower of darts from the ramparts drove back the rest.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 28.

This unsuccessful expedition did not so far discourage *Hannibal*, as to hinder him from marching to the relief of *Locri*, now invested by sea and land. And upon the first appearance of his *Numidian* horse, the besiegers were so terrified, that *Cincius*, the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet, embarked the land forces on board his galleys, left all his machines behind him, and sailed away for *Rome*.

In the mean time *Quintius*, whose wounds were mortal, and who, having left his post in the mountains, was now with his army at *Capua*, sent letters to the Senate, acquainting them with the death of his colleague, and that he himself was drawing near his end; and desiring that the Fathers would send some persons to him, of prudence and integrity, with whom he might entrust the affairs of the Republic. Accordingly three Senators were commissioned to receive his last advices; and, at their request, he nominated a Dictator to hold the Comitia for the new elections. He named *T. Manlius Torquatus*.

c. 29.

The *Romans*, during this unfortunate campaign, received the agreeable news from *Sicily*, that *Valerius Lævinus*, who commanded an hundred sail of ships, had made a descent on *Africa*, brought thence much booty, and afterwards defeated a *Cartaginian* fleet off *Cyree*. And the advices from the Pro-Consul *Sulpicius* of the state of affairs in *Greece*, were not unfavourable. The *Ætolians* had received assistance from *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and being also joined by a thousand *Romans*, had ventured to march against *Philip*; and though he defeated them in two battles, he could not prevail with them to desert the interest of *Rome*. He had also

Y. R. 545.
Bef. Chr.
207.
244 Cons.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 32.

Isid. c. 32.

Isid. c. 32.

attacked the *Roman* army, while they were pillaging the country about *Corinth*, and forced them aboard their ships with loss. But *Sulpicius* being joined by the *Ætolians* and *Eleans*, surprized the King near *Elis*, and gained some advantage over him. Next day *Philip* hearing that the country people were gathered together at a fortress called *Pyrgus*, (in order to defend their cattle, which they had driven thither as to a place of safety) he set upon them, took 4000 prisoners, and 20,000 cattle of all kinds. After this he was obliged to return into his own country, to put a stop to the irruptions of the *Dardæans*, which a report of his death had occasioned; so that *Rome* had no reason to fear the *Macedonian's* coming suddenly to join *Hannibal*.

C H A P. XXXI.

The Romans are alarmed by the approach of Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, with an army from Spain.

A history account of the Roman affairs in that country, from the first landing of the Scipios there, to the time of Asdrubal's leaving it.

BUT now the chief care of the Senate was to fill up the vacant Consulship, with two men who would be equal to that important charge, at a time when, beside the difficulties they had already to struggle with, a new and dreadful storm was driving towards *Rome* from the *Alps*. For *Asdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, had left *Spain* with an army of 60,000 men, and was crossing those mountains, in order to join him in the heart of *Italy*; a danger, than which none could have a more gloomy, a more threatening aspect to the Republic.

Vit. p. 155.
156, 157.

The *Roman* affairs in *Spain* have been hitherto but lightly touched. And indeed a credible and consistent account of what passed in that country, while the *Scipios* commanded there, to the departure of *Asdrubal*, is not easy to be formed out of the *Historians* and *Geographers*. Let the collection and observations, made by a judicious and able writer, supply the defect of the present work, in this particular.

cf. Walter
Reliquiæ
Hist. de l'Esp.
V. 2. p. 117.

“ The acts of these two brethren [*L. Ælius* and *Cn. Scipio*] in their
“ province, were very great, and, as they are reported, somewhat
“ marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain* against the
“ *Carthaginians*, whom they vanquished in so many battles, and with-
“ drew from their alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their confederates,
“ that we have cause to wonder how the enemy could so often find
“ means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the
“ *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the country from the tyranny of
“ *Carthage*, might easily win unto their confederacy as many as were
“ galled



“ galled with the *African* yoke, and durst adventure to break it; so
 “ the ancient reputation of the first conquerors might serve to arm
 “ the natives against these invaders, and to reclaim those that had re-
 “ volted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of such ill
 “ success, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto
 “ may be added, the *Carthaginian* treasure, which easily raised soldiers
 “ amongst those valiant, but (in that age) poor and gold-thirsty na-
 “ tions. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spa-*
 “ *niards* had their children, kinsmen and friends abroad with *Hannibal* in
 “ his *Italian* wars, or serving the *Carthaginians* in *Africa*. And per-
 “ adventure, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipios*
 “ were neither so many nor so great as they are set out by *Livy*.
 “ This we may be bold to say, that the great captain *Fabius*, or *Livy* in
 “ his person, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*,
 “ nor *Livy* for him, doth answer; that if *Asdrubal* were vanquished;
 “ as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spain*, strange it was, and as little to
 “ his honour, as it had been extremely dangerous to *Rome*, that the
 “ same vanquished man should invade *Italy*. And indeed it is an in-
 “ credible narration, that *Asdrubal*, being inclosed on all sides, and not
 “ knowing how to escape out of battle, save only by the steep descent
 “ of rocks, over a great river, that lay at his back, ran away with all
 “ his money, elephants and broken troops, over *Tagus*, directly towards
 “ the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; upon which he fell with more
 “ than threescore thousand armed soldiers. Neither do I see how it
 “ hangs well together, that he chose a piece of ground very defensible,
 “ but most incommodious for his retreat, if he should happen to be
 “ vanquished; and yet that he sent all his money and elephants away
 “ before him, as not intending to abide the enemy; or how it could
 “ be true, that these his elephants being so sent before, could hinder
 “ the *Romans* (for so are they said to have done in the last battle
 “ between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his camp. Wherefore
 “ we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this
 “ war, and *Spanish* (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can
 “ know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell
 “ us; unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. In this
 “ regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipios* in *Spain*;
 “ not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great cer-
 “ tainty.

“ *Cn. Cornelius* landed at *Emporia*, a haven town, not far within the
 “ *Pyrenees*, retaining still the name with little inflection *. That by the
 “ fame of his clemency he allured many nations to become subject unto
 “ *Rome*, as the story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I under-
 “ stood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to
 “ give such famous example thereof, being a meer stranger, and hav-
 “ ing no jurisdiction in the country. Yet it is certain that he was a
 “ man.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 60.

Y. R. 535.

* *Ampurias*, a town in *Catalonia*.

“ man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself into
 “ the love of the Barbarians; among whom his dexterity in practice had
 “ the better success, for that he seemed to have none other errand than
 “ setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some; others were
 “ to be hired with money: and some he compelled to yield by force or
 “ fear; especially when he had won a battle against *Hanno*. Into all
 “ treaties of accord made with these people, likely it is that he remem-
 “ bered to insert this article, which the *Romans* in their alliances never
 “ forgot unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Cartha-*
 “ *ginians*, or their superiors, *Majestatem Populi Romani comiter conservent*,
 “ which is, as *Tully* interprets it, *that they should gently (or kindly) uphold*
 “ *the majesty of the people of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing trou-
 “ ble some, yet implied in it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection.
 “ And in this respect it may be true, that the *Spaniards* became *ditionis*
 “ *Romanæ, of the Roman jurisdiction*; though hereafter they will say,
 “ they had no such meaning. That part of the country wherein *Scipio*
 “ landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage towards *Italy*,
 “ and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience: particularly
 “ the *Bargusians*. *Hannibal* had found, at his coming among them,
 “ such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatness, as made him suspect,
 “ that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*.
 “ Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governor over them, as over
 “ the rest of the province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but
 “ made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceive it, for I don’t
 “ think he gave the principality of their country to *Hanno* and his heirs)
 “ he made him not only Lieutenant General over them, in matters of
 “ war, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*,
 “ but took from them all inferior officers of their own, leaving them
 “ to be governed by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had
 “ good cause to rejoice at the coming of *Scipio*, with whom others also,
 “ no doubt, found reasons to join: it being the custom of all conquered
 “ nations in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves in-
 “ discreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse
 “ than the former. This bad affection of this province would not suf-
 “ fer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot and a thousand horse
 “ *Hannibal* had left unto him; besides which, it is like, that some
 “ forces he was able to raise out of his province. Therefore he ad-
 “ ventured a battle with *Scipio*; wherein he was overthrown and taken.
 “ Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Cissa*, a town hard by, and
 “ won it. But *Ajdrubal*, having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late
 “ to the relief of *Hanno*, with 8000 foot and 1000 horse, fell upon the
 “ *Roman* sea forces, that lay not far from *Tarracon*, whom he found
 “ careless as after a victory, roving abroad in the country; and with
 “ great slaughter drove them aboard their ships. This done, he ran
 “ up

Liv. B. 21.
 c. 62.
 P. B. 3.
 c. 12.

“ up into the country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* * from the Roman
 “ party, though they had given hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean Liv. B. 21.
c. 61.
 “ season was gone to visit and aid his fleet: where having set things in
 “ order, he returned back, and made towards *Asdrubal*, who durst not
 “ abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over the *Iberus*.
 “ So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force, having lost *Athanagia*, their
 “ chief city, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of
 “ their hostages. The *Ausetani* likewise, confederates of the *Carthaginians*,
 “ were besieged in their chief town, which they defended thirty
 “ days; hoping, in vain, that the sharp winter, and great abundance
 “ of snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* dislodge. But they
 “ were fain at length to yield, and for this their obstinacy they were
 “ amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came
 “ to help their distressed neighbours, and were beaten home by *Scipio*,
 “ leaving 12,000 of their company dead behind them. I cannot but
 “ wonder how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which em-
 “ braced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remem-
 “ bred, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next news we hear
 “ of them. As also it is strange, that all the sea coast northward of
 “ *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ, subject*
 “ *unto Rome*, should, in continuance of the story, after a few lines, hold
 “ war against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Nei-
 “ ther can I believe, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a charm, stirred up
 “ the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their hostages, and
 “ take arms in his quarrel; whilst himself had not the daring to stand
 “ against *Scipio*, but ran away, and saved himself beyond the *Iberus*.
 “ *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* writer, would have told it
 “ thus: that *Scipio* adventuring too far into the country, was beaten
 “ by *Asdrubal* back to his ships, whence he durst not stir until winter
 “ came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned to the heart of his
 “ province, leaving some few garrisons to defend those places, that
 “ after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for, through a
 “ deep snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the rest, we may
 “ reasonably think, that they sought their own benefit; helping them-
 “ selves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*, and con-
 “ trariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more
 “ grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these
 “ new masters, hearkening again unto the comfortable promises of those
 “ that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under
 “ their own country laws, and not under governors sent from *Rome* or
 “ *Carthage*, their demeanour in all ages following may testify; even from
 “ henceforth unto the days of *Augustus Cæsar*, till when they were never
 “ thoroughly conquered.

* *Polybius* says nothing of the rebellion of the *Ilergetes*, *Ausetani*, or *Lacetani*. The Historian follows *Livy*.

Y. R. 136.

P. B. 3.

L. B. 22.

c. 20.

“ The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory against the *Carthaginians* in fight at sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships that ran not too far on ground he took; and thereby grew master of the whole coast, landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended: After this victory above a hundred and twenty nations, or petty estates in *Spain*, are said to have submitted themselves unto the *Romans*, or given hostages: whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to fly into the utmost corners of the land, and hide himself in *Lusitania*. Yet it follows, that the *Ibergetes* did again rebel, that *Asdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having easily vanquished the *Ibergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him hostages. These took from the *Carthaginian* three towns, and vanquished him in two battles, wherein they slew 15,000 of his men, and took 4000 prisoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio* with a supply [of 8000 men and a fleet of thirty galleys;] and henceforward the two brethren jointly administered the business in *Spain*.

“ The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian* war; the two *Scipios* did *bead curiaster*, without loss fear or doubt, pass over *Iberus*, and besieged ^o *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cneius* had already subdued many nations beyond it, and among many others the same *Celtiberians*, who with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Asdrubal*. *Bostar*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himself [as has been before related, p. 156.] to be persuaded by one *Abelox*, a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the country, was by freely restoring unto them their hostages, as resting without any pledge assured of their faith: But the crafty *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message, and restitution of the hostages, carried them all to the *Roman* Generals, persuading them, as he had done *Belar*, to make the liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchased much love, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this, we find, that all the *Spanish* hostages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can believe so few. But since we find no better certainties, we must content ourselves with these.

“ The year following was like unto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten again. The two *Scipios* divide their forces: *Cneius* makes war by

^o Neither *Livy* nor *Polybius* say that *Saguntum* was besieged. The *Romans* seem to have designed it, but winter coming on, hindered them. *Saguntum pergitur ire:—* *Asdrubalem oritur [Hispani] dare, armisque circumplecti, ut hinc—intervenisset.*

Livy. B. 22. c. 22. *Saguntinorum urbi appropinquarent, 5 milia ab oppido—castra facerent.—Qua autem instabat hyems, utrique [Rom. & Hispani] in hyberna, juco exercitus dimiserunt.* *Polyb.* L. 3. c. 97, 99. *Cajaub.* trad.

“ land,

“ land, *Publius* by sea. *Asdrubal* with much labour and entreaty hath
 “ gotten 4000 foot and 500 horse out of *Afric*. He repairs his fleet,
 “ and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chief seamen
 “ and masters of his ships revolt unto the *Romans*, because they had
 “ been chidden the last year for their negligence, which had betrayed
 “ the navy. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion
 “ the *Carpestians* or *Carpetani*, an in-land people, about *Toledo*, in the
 “ very center of *Spain*. These do much mischief, so that *Asdrubal* is
 “ fain to make a journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some
 “ of them that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they
 “ making head, so valiantly assail him, that they drive him, for very
 “ fear, to encamp himself strongly on a high piece of ground, whence
 “ he dares not come forth to give them battle. So they take a town by
 “ force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions, and shortly make
 “ themselves masters of the country round about. This good success
 “ breeds negligence, for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes upon
 “ them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the most of them,
 “ and disperseth the rest; so that the whole nation yieldeth to him the
 “ next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should
 “ lead his army forth into *Italy*; which we may wonder why the *Car-*
 “ *thaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his
 “ letters in what hard case he was, and had so weakly supplied him,
 “ as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported, and that upon the
 “ very rumour of his journey, almost all *Spain* was ready to fall to the
 “ *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, that
 “ this must not be so; or if they will needs have it so, that then they
 “ must send him a successor, and well attended with a strong army,
 “ which to employ they should find work more than enough, such
 “ notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage*
 “ is not much moved with this excuse. *Asdrubal* must needs be
 “ gone: *Himilco* with such forces as are thought expedient for that
 “ service, both by land and sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*.
 “ Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himself
 “ with store of money, that he might have wherewithal to win the
 “ friendship of the *Gauls*, through whose countries he must pass, as
 “ *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to
 “ blame for not remembring to ease him of his care. But since it can
 “ be no better, he lays great impositions upon all the *Spaniards* his sub-
 “ jects; and having gotten together as much treasure as he could,
 “ onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipios*, hearing these
 “ news, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so
 “ called of the river's name running by it) the richest town in all
 “ those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*, who thereupon
 “ steps aside to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battle
 “ with him, which they win the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*,
 Vol. II. H h “ his

Y. R. 537.

Y. R. 537. " his followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory,
 " and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slain, and few
 " should have escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away ere the battles
 " were fully joined. Their camp the *Romans* take and spoil, whereby
 " 'questionless, they are marvelously enriched; all the money that
 " could be raked together in *Spain* being carried along in this *Italian*
 " expedition. This day's event joins all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any
 " part of the country stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so far
 " from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him small
 Liv. B. 29. " hope of keeping himself safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertise-
 C. 23. " ment is sent to *Rome*, and letters to the Senate from *P. and Cn. Scipio*,
 Sen. p. 157. " whereof the contents are, that they have neither money, apparel, nor
 " bread, wherewith to sustain their army and fleet; that all is wanting;
 " so as unless they may be supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold
 " their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the province. These
 " letters come to *Rome* in an evil season, the state being scarcely able,
 Sen. p. 158. " after the loss at *Cannæ*, to help itself at home. Yet relief is sent.
 Y. R. 538. " At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipios* pursue *Asdrubal*, and
 " hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we think, that
 " remember the last news of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his
 " own safety? They find him, and *Mago* and *Hamilcar*, the son of
 " *Bernicar*, with an army of threescore thousand men, besieging * *Illiturgi*,
 " (which the learned *Ortelius* and others probably conjecture to
 " have stood where *Carinena* is now in the kingdom of *Aragon*; for
 " there was *Illiturgi* *, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way)
 " a town of the *Ilergetes*, their nearest neighbours, for having revolted
 " to the *Romans*. The town is greatly distressed; but most of all for
 " want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore break through between the
 " enemy's camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them; and
 " having victualled the place, encourage the townsmen to defend their
 " walls as stoutly as they should anon behold them fighting manfully
 " with the besiegers in their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen
 " thousand against threescore thousand, and killing more of the enemies
 " than themselves were in number, drove all the three *Carthaginian* com-
 " manders every one out of his quarter, and took that day, besides pri-
 " soners and other booty, fifty and eight ensigns.
 " The *Carthaginian* army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon
 " *Ircibis*, that stood a little southward from the mouth of *Ilerus*.
 " The *Spaniards* are blamed as too greedy of earning money by war,
 " for thus reinforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be won-
 " dered whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them; since *As-*

* Father *Reuillé* (B. 29. p. 203. Note 6.) and *Cælius* (Vol. I. p. 69.) seem rightly to have placed *Illiturgi* on the river *Betis*, near *Cádiz*. But that the *Carthaginians*

should, after being beaten from thence, go and lay siege to *Ircibis*, which stood where Sir *H. Raleigh* places it, is not easy to be credited.

“ *drubal* was lately driven to poll the country, wanting money of his
 “ own; and being beaten in his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages,
 “ when his camp was taken after the battle by *Ibera*. Howsoever it
 “ happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custom) are beaten again
 “ at *Incibili*, where there were of them above 13,000 slain, and above
 “ 3000 taken, besides two and forty ensigns, and nine elephants. After
 “ this (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Ro-*
 “ *mans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or some other historian, to
 “ whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year^a, by win-
 “ ning famous victories, whereof these good Captains *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*
 “ perhaps were not aware.

Y. R. 539.

“ The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of dominion, win-
 “ ter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year,
 “ great armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*, and are over-
 “ thrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make
 “ great haste over the river. At^b *Castrum Altum*, a place in the mid-
 “ way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, *Publius Scipio* encampeth;
 “ and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as in-
 “ tending to make it his seat for a while. But the country round about
 “ is too full of enemies: The *Carthaginian* horse having charged the
 “ *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon
 “ some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march,
 “ they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought
 “ behoveful to retire unto some place more assured. So *Publius* with-
 “ draws himself unto^c *Mons Victorie*, that rising somewhat eastward
 “ from *Incibili*, overlooketh the southern outlet of *Iberus*. Thi-
 “ ther the *Carthaginians* pursue him. His brother *Cneius* repairs unto
 “ him; and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, with a full army arrives to
 “ help his companions. As they lye thus near encamped together, *P.*
 “ *Scipio*, with some light armed, going closely to view the places
 “ thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies, who are like to take him,
 “ but that he withdraws himself to a high piece of ground; where
 “ they besiege him, until his brother *Cneius* fetched him off. After
 “ this (but I know not why)^d *Castulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence
 “ *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joineth with the *Romans*, though
 “ being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the river
 “ *Bætis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus* to be-
 “ siege *Illiturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to

*Livy, B. 24.
 C. 12.
 Y. R. 539.*

^a Not twice in the same year according to *Livy*.

^b *Rouillé* (note 54. p. 238. B. 29.) says it is the same with *Valeria*, which he and *Cellarius*, V. 1. p. 103. place at the head of the *Sucro*.

^c According to *Rouillé*, *loc. cit.* note 56.

this hill was part of mount *Orospeida*, between the *Sucro* and the *Anas*. But then *Publius* instead of retiring was advancing farther into the country.

^d *Castulo* is upon the *Bætis*, not far from *Orospeida*.

Y. R. 539.

“ take it by famine. We may justly wonder what should move them
 “ to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* army lying so
 “ close by them, and to seek adventures farther off, in that very place,
 “ wherein they had been so grievously bearen the year before. But
 “ thither they go; and thither follows them *Cneius Scipio* with one le-
 “ gion; who enters the town by force, breaks out upon them the next
 “ day, and in two battles, kills above twelve thousand, and takes more
 “ than a thousand of them prisoners, with six and thirty ensigns. This
 “ victory (doubtless) is remarkable, considering that the greatest *Roman*
 “ legion at this time consisted of no more than 5000 men. The
 “ vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigerra*, but that siege is also
 “ raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Munda*,
 “ where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great battle
 “ fought, that lasteth four hours, wherein the *Romans* got a notable
 “ victory, and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio*
 “ been wounded. Thirty-nine elephants are killed, and twelve thou-
 “ sand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty en-
 “ signs. The *Carthaginians* fly to *Auringes*[†], and the *Romans* pursue
 “ them. *Cn. Scipio* in a litter is carried into the field, and vanquishes
 “ the *Carthaginians* again, but kills not half so many of them as before;
 “ good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Not-
 “ withstanding all these overthrows, the *Spaniards*, a people framed
 “ even by nature to set war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops
 “ of *Asdrubal*, who having also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures
 “ once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten
 “ again, and loseth eight thousand of his men, besides prisoners, ele-
 “ phants, ensigns, and other appurtenances. After so many victories,
 “ the *Romans* are even ashamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the
 “ *Carthaginians*, since, in behalf of that city, they had at first entered
 “ into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had
 “ not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that, long
 “ before this, they had won all the country once and again. But it
 “ must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*;
 “ and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: So as that they
 “ need not to blush for having so long forbore to do that, which ere
 “ now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the pre-
 “ sent they win *Saguntum*, and restore the possession thereof unto
 “ such of the poor dispersed citizens as they can find out. They also
 “ waste and destroy the country of the *Turdetani*, that had ministered
 “ unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel against the *Saguntines*. This last

[†] *Bigerra*, according to *Rouillé* (who fol-
 lows *Ptolemy*) and *Cellarius*, V. 1. p. 103.
 fixed in the country of the *Baſſetani*, a peo-
 ple in the east part of *Bætica*.

[‡] *Munda*, *Cellarius*, p. 73. places near the

sea, not far from the Straits of *Gibraltar*.

[§] According to *Cellarius*, *Aurinx*, or *O-
 ringi*, is not far from *Iliturgi* on the *Bætis*,
 but nearer the sea. *Cellar.* V. 1. p. 75.

“ action (questionless) was much to their honour; and wherein we may
 “ be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them if they
 “ had been able. Y. R. 59.

“ But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories,
 “ which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all
 “ their brave exploits we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Sa-*
 “ *guntum*, excepting the stopping of *Asdrubal's* journey, which was in-
 “ deed of the greatest importance, but appertaining to their own de-
 “ fence. For they have landed at *Emporiæ*, an haven town, built and
 “ peopled by a colony of the *Phocæans*, kin to the *Massilians*, friends
 “ to the *Romans*. They have easily won to their party, lost, recover-
 “ ed, and lost again some petty bordering nations of the *Spaniards*,
 “ that are carried one while by persuasion, other-whiles by force, and
 “ sometimes by their own unsettled passions; and now finally they have
 “ won a town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who
 “ had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily be-
 “ lieve, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by surprize;
 “ which is to be suspected, since in this action we find no particulars
 “ remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they
 “ had gotten the better of their enemies in some notable fight. In like
 “ sort also must we think, that all those battles lately remembered, after
 “ every one of which *Asdrubal* sat down before some place that had
 “ rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the *Car-*
 “ *thaginians*. For it is not the custom of armies vanquished, to carry
 “ the war from town to town, and beleaguer cities of their enemies;
 “ but to fortify themselves within their own places of strength, and
 “ therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely
 “ if the *Romans* had been absolute masters of the field, when they
 “ won *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole year follow-
 “ ing in practising only with the *Celtiberians*, the next adjoining peo-
 “ ple. Yet made they this little less than two years business. Of these
 “ *Celtiberians* we hear before, that they have yielded up themselves
 “ unto the *Romans*; for security of their faith given hostages to *Scipio*;
 “ and, at his appointment, made war, against the *Carthaginians*, with
 “ their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus
 “ hardly wrought, and not without express condition of a great sum,
 “ hired to serve in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I
 “ cannot perceive, unless perhaps in those days it were the *Roman*
 “ custom, or rather the custom of some bad author, whom *Livy* fol-
 “ lows, to call every messenger or straggler, that entered their camp,
 “ an hostage of that people from whom he came.

“ The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an army
 “ of thirty thousand men to help the *Romans*, out of which three
 “ hundred^b, the fittest, are chosen and carried into *Italy*, there to deal.

^b *Livy* does not say these 300 were *Celtiberians*, *nobilissimos Hispanos* 300, l. 24. c. 49.

“ with

Y. R. 540.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 49.

Y. R. 541.

Liv. B. 25.
c. 32. &
seq.

Y. R. 1. 1. " with their countrymen, that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any
 " of these three hundred^c return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared that
 " he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of *Hannibal's*
 " men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow
 " *Asdrubal*, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into *Italy*.
 " Therefore we find more than probability when these mercenary *Cel-*
 " *tiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* army in the field. The two *Scipios*,
 " presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek
 " out the enemies, who lie not far off with three armies. *Asdrubal*
 " the son of *Hamilcar* is nearest at hand, even among the *Celtiberians*,
 " at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order:
 " But the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being
 " destroyed, *Mago* and the son of *Gisco*, hearing the news, will make use
 " of their distance, which is five days march, and, by running into the
 " farthest parts of the country, save themselves from being overtaken.
 " *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the
 " better soldiers, that is two parts of the old *Roman* army; leaving the
 " third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. He that hath
 " the longer journey to make comes somewhat the sooner to his life's
 " end. *Mago* and *Aidrubal* the son of *Gisco* are not studying how to
 " run away: They find no such necessity. They join their forces to-
 " gether, meet with *Publius Scipio*, and lay at him so hardly, that he
 " is driven to keep himself close within his trenches, wherein he thinks
 " himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masniſſa*, Prince
 " of the *Massylii*, *Numidians* bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the re-
 " gion now called *Tremizen*; to whom the chief honour of this service
 " is ascribed, for that he becomes afterwards confederate with the
 " *Romans*. In this dangerous case, *Publius Scipio* gets intelligence that
 " *Indibilis*, a *Spanish* Prince, is coming with 7500 of the *Suessetani*^e to
 " join with his enemies. Fearing therefore to be strait shut up, and
 " besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the
 " way; leaving *T. Forteus* his lieutenant, with a small company to de-
 " fend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*, but is not able, according
 " to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues
 " so long, that the *Numidian* horse appear (whom he thought to have
 " been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all
 " sides: Neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind, but come so fast

^c These 300 were sent into *Italy* the year before the siege of *Capua*, and three years after the battle of *Canna*. It may therefore be questioned, whether *Hannibal's* soldiers were so rich as *Sir Walter* represents.

^d It is not agreed where *Anitorgis* stood. *Rozellé* places it near the *Anas* (n. 24. p. 286. B. 31.) *Cellarius*, V. 1. p. 77. seems to think it the same with *Cuxisbergis*, which

Strabo calls a town of the *Celticæ*, but which *Appian* places in *Lusitania*. The *Anitorgis* here mentioned by *Livy*, must have been near the *Iberus*; for according to him, *Publius Scipio's* camp, which *Forteus* and *Marcus* possessed after the General's death, was near that river.

^e The *Suessetani* were a people on the north side of the *Iberus*.

" upon

“ upon him in rear, that *Publius Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn,
 “ yet fighting and animating his men, where need most requireth, is
 “ struck through with a lance, and slain; very few of his army escap-
 “ ing the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like
 “ end hath *Cælius Scipio* within nine and twenty days after. At his
 “ meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* mercenaries all forsake him,
 “ pretending that they had war in their own country. If *Antiochus*,
 “ where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it,
 “ a *Celtiberian* town, this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth.
 “ But we may justly believe that they were won by *Asdrubal*, and easily
 “ persuaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should have
 “ had for hazarding their lives. *Cneius Scipio* therefore being unable to
 “ stay them, and no less unable without their help, either to resist the ene-
 “ my, or to join with his brother, maketh a very violent retreat; herein
 “ only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *As-*
 “ *drubal* presseth hard upon him; and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the son of
 “ *Gisco*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother
 “ after him. *Scipio* steals from them all by night; but is overtaken the
 “ next day by their horse, and arrested in an open place, of hard stony
 “ ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of
 “ his legions against such enemies. Yet a little hill he finds of easy
 “ ascent on every side, which he takes for want of a more commo-
 “ dious place, and fortifies it with pack-saddles, for default of a better
 “ palisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in
 “ sunder, and breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive,
 “ that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods ad-
 “ joining, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp,
 “ as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which
 “ no man escapes. Yet how they that were thus hemmed in on every
 “ side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them,
 “ could break out and shroud themselves within woods adjoining, I
 “ should much wonder, did not a greater miracle following call away
 “ mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *Publius Scipio*’s camp on the
 “ north side of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life,
 “ since his General, with two parts of the *Roman* army, had little
 “ hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Marcus*, a
 “ young *Roman* gentleman of a notable spirit; who having gathered
 “ together the scattered soldiers, and drawn some companies out of
 “ their garrisons, makes a pretty army. The soldiers being to choose a
 “ General by most voices, prefer this *L. Marcus* before *Fonteius* the
 “ lieutenant, as well they may. For *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*
 “ coming upon them, this *L. Marcus* so encourageth his men (fondly
 “ weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more

‘ *Livy* says it cost them a great deal of trouble, and they were a long while about it.
 B. 25. c. 36.

T. R. 341. "honourable Generals lately slain) and admonished them of their pre-
 sent necessity, that he beats the *Cartbaginians* into their trenches.
 "A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely
 "sounds the retreat, reserving the fury of his soldiers to a greater oc-
 "casion. The *Cartbaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence
 "this boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished, and now again
 "little better than taken. But when they see that the *Roman* dares
 "not follow his advantage, they return to their former security, and
 "utterly despising him, let neither corps de garde nor sentinel, but
 "rest secure, as if no enemy were near. *Marcus* therefore animates
 "his soldiers with lively words, and tells them that there is no adven-
 "ture more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being
 "undertaken. They are soon persuaded to follow him in any desperate
 "piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steals upon
 "the camp of *Asdrubal*; where finding no guard, but the enemies fast
 "asleep, or very drowsy, he enters without resistance, fires their ca-
 "bins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted the *Cartbagi-*
 "nians run head-long one upon another, they know not which way.
 "All passages out of their camp *Marcus* hath prepossessed; so that
 "there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the rampart; which
 "as many do as can think upon it, and run away towards the camp
 "of *Asdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, that lay six miles off. But *Mar-*
 "cius hath way-laid them. In a valley between their two camps he
 "hath bestowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of
 "horse; so that into this ambush they fall every one, and are cut in
 "pieces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the
 "alarm before his coming, *Marcus* hastens to be there as soon as they.
 "By which diligent speed he comes early in the morning upon this fur-
 "ther camp, which with no difficulty he enters, and partly by
 "apprehension of danger which the enemies conceived, when they be-
 "held the *Roman* shields foul and bloodied with their former execu-
 "tion, he drives headlong into flight all that can save themselves from
 "the fury of the sword. Thirty-seven thousand of the enemies perish
 "in this night's work, besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty
 "taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antias* adds, that the camp of
 "*Mago* was also taken, and 7000 slain, and that in another battle
 "with *Asdrubal*, there were slain 10,000 more, besides 4330 taken
 "prisoners. Such is the power of some historians. *Livy* therefore
 "hath elsewhere well observed, that there is none so intemperate as
 "*Valerius Antias* in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battles.
 "That whilst *Marcus* was making an oration to his soldiers, a flame
 "of fire shone about his head, *Livy* reporteth as a common tale, not
 "giving thereto any credit; and temperately concludeth, that this
 "Captain *Marcus* got a great name; which he might well do, if
 "with so small forces, and in such distress, he could clearly get off
 "from

“ from the enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far
“ less than that which is here set down. Y. R. 542.

“ Of these occurrents *L. Marcius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting
“ his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise
“ as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their
“ vicegerent in *Spain*, which the better to intimate unto them, he
“ stiled himself Pro-Prætor. The Fathers were no less moved with
“ the tidings than the case required, and therefore took such careful
“ order for supplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came
“ to the gates of *Rome*, ere the companies levied to serve that province
“ could be sent away, yet could they not stay a tide for defence of
“ the city itself, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for the Liv. B. 26.
“ title of Pro-Prætor which *Marcius* had assumed, they thought it too c. 11.
“ great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it;
“ foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the
“ soldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should
“ command armies and provinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was c. 17.
“ dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into *Spain*, carrying with
“ him about 6000 of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*,
“ with 300 *Roman* horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

“ It happened well that about these times the affairs of *Rome* be-
“ gan to prosper in *Italy*, and afforded means of sending abroad such
“ a strong supply, otherwise the victories of *Marcius* would ill have
“ served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian*
“ armies from marching towards the *Alps*. For when *Claudius*, landing
“ with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the army,
“ which was under *Marcius* and *Fonteius*, he found surer tokens of the
“ overthrows received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof
“ *Marcius* had made his vaunts to the Senate. The *Roman* party was
“ forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends, whom how to reclaim, it
“ would not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards
“ *Asdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, whom he found among the *Au-*
“ *setani**, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*,
“ out of which there was no issue, but only through a straight, whereon
“ the *Roman* seized at his first coming. What should have tempted any
“ man of understanding to incamp in such a place, I do not find; and
“ as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said that

* The *Ausetani* were indeed near enough at hand. *Pliny* mentions a people of that name near *Emperia*. *Livy*, as quoted by *Cellarius*, V. 1. p. 116. places them near the *Iberus*. But the *Lapides atri* (the black rocks) according to the same *Cellarius*, p. 99. were between *Illiturgi* and *Mentisa*, or *Mentissa*, on the *Bætis*. *Livy* also says the *Lapides atri* were between *Illiturgi* and

Mentissa, but then he places these towns in the country of the *Ausetani*, which agrees to the situation Sir *Walter Raleigh* gives to *Illiturgi*. *Asdrubal ad Lapides atri Castra habebat in Ausetanis, is locus est inter oppida Illiturgim & Mentissam*. Liv. L. 26. c. 17. *Reuillé* (N. 33, 34. p. 320. B. 32.) agrees with *Cellarius*.

Y. R. 521.

“ *Aidrubal*, seeing himself thus locked up, made offer to depart forth-
 “ with out of all *Spain*, and quit the province to the *Romans*, upon
 “ condition that he and his army might be thence dismissed; that he
 “ spent many days in entertaining parly with *Claudius* about this busi-
 “ ness, that night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time)
 “ through very difficult passages out of the danger, and that finally
 “ taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his horse
 “ and elephants, leaving his camp empty. If we consider, that there
 “ were at the same time, besides this *Aidrubal*, two other *Carthaginian*
 “ Generals in *Spain*, we shall find no less cause to wonder at the sim-
 “ plicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a
 “ country, with one of these three chieftains, than at the strange nature
 “ of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep
 “ out by night, the horse and elephants easily following them in a
 “ dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is
 “ needful that we suppose both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians*
 “ were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have
 “ been of far less value. Howsoever it was, neither this nor ought
 “ else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in
 “ *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it
 “ is, that the old soldiers, which had chosen *Marcus* their Pro-Prætor,
 “ took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts,
 “ had repealed their election, and sent a Pro-Prætor whom they fancied
 “ not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a
 “ Pro-Consul, and, perhaps, young *Scipio* by name, as if a title of
 “ greater dignity were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*, and
 “ the beloved memory of *Cælius* and *Publius* likely to do good, were
 “ it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these or upon
 “ other reasons, *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the province, and *Publius*
 “ the son of *P. Scipio* sent Pro-Consul into *Spain*.

“ This is that *Scipio*, who afterwards transferred the war into *Afric*,
 “ where he happily ended it to the great honour and benefit of his
 “ country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well
 “ conditioned, especially he excelled in temperance, continency, bounty,
 “ and other virtues that purchase love; of which qualities what
 “ great use he made shall appear in the tenor of his actions following.
 “ As for those things that are reported of him, favouring a little too
 “ much of the great *Alexander's* vanity: How he used to walk alone
 “ in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*:
 “ How a dragon (which must have been one of the Gods, and in
 “ likelihood *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his
 “ mother, entering her chamber often, and vanishing away at the
 “ coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the
 “ rumour by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables,
 “ devised by historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of
 “ *Rome*;

“ *Rome*; that this noble city might seem not only to have surpassed
 “ other nations in virtue of the generality, but also in great worth of
 “ one single man. To this end nothing is left out that might serve
 “ to adorn this *Roman* champion. For it is confidently written as mat-
 “ ter of unquestionable truth, that when a Pro-Consul was to be chosen
 “ for *Spain*, there durst not any Captain of the principal citizens offer
 “ himself as petitioner for that honourable but dangerous charge; that
 “ the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; that when the
 “ day of election came, all the princes of the city stood looking one
 “ another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure
 “ himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *Publius*
 “ *Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age^r,
 “ getting up upon an high place, where he might be seen of all the
 “ multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred
 “ upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L.*
 “ *Marcus* no better than dreams; and either very unreasonable was the
 “ fear of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*,
 “ that not long before was gone into *Spain* Pro-Prætor, or very bad
 “ intelligence they had out of the province, which *Asdrubal* the *Cartha-*
 “ *ginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these
 “ incoherences, which I find in the too partial *Roman* historians, I do not
 “ willingly insist.

“ *P. Scipio* was sent Pro-Consul into *Spain*, and with him was joined
 “ *M. Junius Silanus* as Pro-Prætor and his Coadjutor. They carried with
 “ them 10,000 foot and 1000 horse in thirty quinquere gallies. With
 “ these they landed at *Emperia*, and marched from thence to *Tarracon*
 “ along the sea coast. At the fame of *Scipio*’s arrival, it is said, that
 “ embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the province,
 “ which he entertained with such a majesty, as bred a wonderful
 “ opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him,
 “ and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they
 “ could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we
 “ needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be; for very
 “ little cause there was to be terrified with the fame of so young a man
 “ which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or,
 “ as some think, all the next year) he did nothing, but spent the time
 “ perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His
 “ first enterprise was against new *Cartbage*, upon which he came unex-
 “ pected, with 25,000 foot and 2500 horse; his sea forces coasting
 “ him and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived
 “ there together with him. He assailed the town by land and sea, and

Polyb. B. 10.
c. 6. & seq.
& Liv. B.
26. c. 19.

Liv. B. 26.
c. 20.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 7.
Y. R. 544.

Polyb. loc.
cit. &—
Liv. B. 26.
c. 42. & seq.

^r Polyb. B. 10. c. 3. says upon the au-
thority of *C. Lælius*, from whom he heard
it, that *Scipio* was seventeen years of age
at the battle of the *Ticin*, and (c. 6.) twenty

seven when he went into *Spain*. But if
he was seventeen at the battle of the *Ticin*,
and went to *Spain* this year (as *Livy* and
Pigebius say) he was now only twenty-four.

Y. R. 334

“ won it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it by their too
 “ much confidence upon the strength of it, which caused them to man-
 “ it more slenderly than was requisite. Yet it might have been well
 “ enough defended, if some fishermen of *Tarracœ* had not discovered
 “ unto *Scipio* a secret passage unto the walls, whereof the townsmen
 “ themselves were either ignorant, or thought, at least, that their
 “ enemies could have no notice. This city of new *Carthage* resembled
 “ the old and great *Carthage* in situation, standing upon a demi-island,
 “ between a haven and a great lake. All the western side of the walls
 “ and somewhat of the north was fenced with this lake, which the
 “ fishermen of *Tarracœ* had sounded, and finding some part thereof a
 “ shelf, whereon at low water men might pass knee deep, or, at most,
 “ wading up to the middle, *Scipio* thrust therein to some companies of
 “ men, who recovered the top of the walls without resistance, the
 “ place being left without guard, as able to defend itself by the natural
 “ strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians*
 “ within the city, easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the
 “ *Roman* army. What booty was found within the town⁹, *Livy* him-
 “ self cannot certainly affirm, but is fain to say, that some *Roman* histo-
 “ rians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that
 “ small proportion of riches, which was afterwards carried by *Scipio*
 “ into the *Roman* treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity
 “ it was to say, that all the wealth of *Afric* and *Spain* was heaped up
 “ in that one town. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* hostages¹,
 “ or at least of the adjoining provinces, whom *Scipio* intreated with sin-
 “ gular courtesy, restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such
 “ gracious manner as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit.”

Polyb. B.
 10. c. 15.
 Liv. B. 26.
 49.

A procedure so generous encouraged a woman of a majestick mein, to come and throw herself at his feet. (She was the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*.) With tears in her eyes she besought him, that he would order his *Romans* to be more civil to their captives than the *Carthaginians* had been. Her modesty hindered her from expressing herself more clearly; and *Scipio* misunderstood her meaning. Imagining that she and her companions had been hardly treated with respect to the necessities of life, he gave her an assurance, that, for the future, they should want nothing. *That*, returned the noble matron, *has no part in my concern. Cares of another kind disturb my thoughts, when I consider the age of these about me.* *Scipio* casting his eyes upon her nieces (the daughters of *Indibilis*) and other beautiful captives of like quality, who were with her, and seemed to

⁹ Polyb. B. 10. c. 19. says, *Scipio* found in the town 600 talents of the public money; and that he had brought with him 400 talents from *Rome*, for the expence of the war.

¹ *Scipio* promised to send home the hostages, provided their friends would enter into an alliance with *Rome*. Polyb. Lib. 10. c. 18.

regard

regard her as a mother, understood the nature of her petition. Moved with compassion for young Princesses, whose honour had been exposed to so much danger, tears dropped from his eyes; and, reaching out his hand to raise the suppliant, he replied, "For my own sake, and for the
" sake of the *Roman* people, I would suffer nothing, that is any where
" esteemed sacred, to be violated amongst us. But that virtue and dignity,
" which you have preserved under all your misfortunes, oblige me to be
" more particularly attentive to your protection." He then appointed men of known probity to have the charge of the fair captives and their conductress, and commanded, that they should be respected as his sisters and daughters.

A second adventure made it believed, that it was not mere policy, but virtue, which moved *Scipio* to such generous actions. His officers, knowing that he loved women, brought to him a young virgin of surprising beauty. Wherever she appeared she charmed the eyes of all; and *Scipio* was struck at the sight of her. Nevertheless he gave this answer to the officers. "Were I in a private station, you could
" not make me a more agreeable present; nor, in the post I now fill,
" a present less acceptable." Then, having asked the lady concerning her birth, country, and circumstances; and finding, that she was contracted to a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, named *Allucius*, he sent for her father, and for the Prince. When they came into his presence, he thus addressed himself to the lover of the captive. "*Allucius*, we are both
" young, and may therefore speak freely to one another of our sentiments. My soldiers have brought me hither a virgin, who, I hear
" is your mistress, and that you passionately love her. Her beauty
" makes me easily believe it; and would the business with which I am
" entrusted by our Republic allow me to think of such pleasures, I
" should be glad to be indulged in them, while they did not exceed the
" bounds of justice and honour. Your love I can favour, and am
" pleased with an opportunity to do it. Your mistress has been with us,
" as if she had been with her own parents, or yours, that I might
" make you a present worthy of me and of you. The only return
" I ask, is this: *Be a friend to the Roman people*. If you believe me to
" be an honest man, such as my father and uncle were esteemed in these
" countries, Know, that *Rome* has many citizens like us; and that there
" is not at this day, in the world, a nation, whom you and your country-
" men would think a more terrible enemy, or a more desirable friend." At these words he put the fair captive into the hands of the *Celtiberian* Prince; and, as her parents had brought a rich present of money for the Pro-Consul, he gave that likewise to *Allucius*, as an addition to his wife's portion. This action did the *Roman Republic* great service in *Spain*. *Allucius* published in *Celtiberia*, *That there was come among them a young hero, terrible and beneficent as the immortals, all conquering by his benignity as by his sword.*

The

V. R. 544

S. J. W. R. 1.

B. J. C. 3.

§ 11.

L. J. B. 11.

L. J. B. 11.

The grateful Prince soon after brought to *Scipio* a reinforcement of one thousand four hundred horse; “ and two petty Kings of the “ *Iergetes* and *Lacitanis*, nearest neighbours to *Terracœn*, and dwelling “ on the north side of the *Larus*, forsook the *Carthaginian* party, “ and joined with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indiöilis*, King of “ the *Iergetes*, is much commended for that he did not vaunt “ himself, as commonly fugitives use, of the pleasure which he did “ unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies, but rather ex- “ cused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by the “ injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honourable dealing “ of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship “ was indeed no unsure token that it should be long lasting. But if the “ *Iergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the *Car- “ thaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*, “ then could nothing have been devised more vain than this oration of “ *Indiöilis*, their King, excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, “ when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, “ formerly contracted with the father and the uncle. Most likely “ therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipios* had gotten some “ few places among these their neighbours, and held them by strength; “ yet were the *Romans* never masters of the country, till this worthy “ commander, by recovering their hostages from the *Carthaginians*, “ and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himself “ the assured love and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* “ Generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry, yet never- “ theless they set a good face on the matter, saying, that a young man, “ having stolen a town by surprize, was too far transported and over- “ joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in “ mind of his father and uncle, which would alter his mood, and bring “ him to a more convenient temper.

“ Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture, I should be “ bold to say, that the *Carthaginians* were at this time busy in setting “ forth towards *Italy*, and that *Scipio* to divert them, undertook new “ *Carthage*, as his father and uncle, upon the like occasion, sat down “ before *Ileræ*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not “ been much amiss, if the passage over the lake had been undiscovered, “ and the town held out some longer while. For howsoever that par- “ ticular action was the more fortunate in coming to such good issue “ upon the first day, yet in the generality of the business between *Rome* “ and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be “ stayed from going into *Italy*, than that half of *Spain* should be taken “ from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do that should “ hinder his journey, *Mago* and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, were “ thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingering war of taking “ and retaking towns, whilst the main of the *Carthaginian* forces, “ under.

“ under *Asdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, went to a greater enterprize, even
“ to fight in trial of the empire.

“ But the *Roman* historians tell this after another fashion, and say, Y. R. 545.
“ that *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*, whither he ran for fear, as
“ thinking himself ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might
“ but hear the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming upon *Asdrubal*,
“ his vant-currers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horie, that they
“ drave them into their trenches, and made it apparent, even by that
“ small piece of service, how full of spirit the *Roman* army was, and
“ how dejected the enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out
“ of that even ground, and occupied a hill, compassed on three sides
“ with the river, very steep of ascent, and not easy of access on the
“ foreside, by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the
“ *Romans*. On the top of it there was a plain, whereon he strongly en-
“ camped himself, and in the midway, between the top and the root
“ of the hill, was also another plain, into which he descended, more
“ upon bravery, that he might not seem to hide himself within the
“ trenches, than for that he durst adventure his army to the hazard of
“ a battle, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage
“ of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climbed up the
“ hill to him, they recovered even footing with him, drove him out
“ of this lower plain up into his camp on the hill top, whither although
“ the ascent were very difficult, and his elephants bestowed in the
“ smoothest places to hinder their approach, yet compassing about,
“ and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found, but much
“ more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got
“ up before them, they drave both men and elephants headlong, I
“ know not whither, for it is said, that there was no way to fly. Out
“ of such a battle, wherein he had lost 8000 men, *Asdrubal* is said to
“ have escaped, and gathering together his dispersed troops, to have
“ marched towards the *Pyrenees*, having sent away his elephants ere the
“ fight began^a. Nevertheless *Mago* and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, Liv. B. 47.
c. 20.
“ are reported after this to have consulted with him about this war,
“ and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to
“ carry all the *Spaniards*, as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*.
“ How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming
“ into *Italy*, whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs have
“ too long detained us.”

^a *Polybius*, B. 10. c. 35, 36. relates this battle somewhat different from *Livy*, whom Sir *W. Raleigh* follows.

C H A P. XXXII.

The TWELFTH and THIRTEENTH YEARS of the WAR.

Asdrubal vanquished in the battle of the Metaurus. Hannibal is forced to confine himself within Bruttium.

Y. R. 545.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 33.

634

THE approach of *Asdrubal* (as was before observed) made it incumbent on the *Romans* to be very careful in their choice of Consuls to succeed *Marcellus* and *Quinctius*. The Conscrip̄t Fathers cast their eyes on *C. Claudius Nero*, who had formerly served in *Spain*; a man of approved courage and ability: But where to find him a proper colleague was the difficulty; for *Nero* being somewhat hasty, and extremely enterprising, it seemed necessary to join with him, in the command, some person whose slegm may temper his vivacity. It happened about this time, that the reputation of one *M. Livius Macatus* was attacked in the Senate. His kinsman *M. Livius Salinator* spoke in his defence. *Salinator* had discharged the office of Consul with great prudence twelve years before; yet was afterwards unjustly censured by the people for a pretended unequal distribution of the spoils of *Illyricum*. Piqued at the affront, he retired from all public business to his country farm; and though *Marcellus* and *Lævinus* obliged him to return to the city, he lived there like a man in disgrace, his beard long, his hair neglected, and his dress slovenly, till the Censors forced him to shave himself and take his place in the Senate: and even then he continued to shew his resentment of the affront he had received, giving his opinion only by an Aye or a No, or by moving from one side of the house to the other. The cause of his friend now engaged him to speak; this drew upon him the attention of the fathers. They called to mind his merit and his past services, were surprized at themselves for having so long neglected a man of his worth and abilities, and judged him a proper person to be joined with *Nero* in the Consulship. But, when the Comit̄ia met, *Livius* himself opposed his own election: *If I am worthy, said he, to be chosen Consul a second time, why was I condemned? Or if my condemnation was just, why should I be placed again at the helm?* However, he was at length prevailed upon to accept of the dignity offered him. It fell to his lot to march against *Asdrubal*, and to *Nero's* to oppose *Hannibal* in *Bruttium*: But the rest of the winter was spent in the celebration of games, processions, and other religious ceremonies, to render the Gods propitious.

When the spring came, the Consuls began to make new levies with extraordinary vigour. Five out of seven maritime colonies, which had
been

been hitherto exempted, by treaty, from furnishing their contingents of troops, were deprived of that immunity, which was confirmed only to *Ojia* and *Antium*. The *Volones* were enrolled in the legions, and *Sipont* sent from *Spain* to *Livius* two thousand legionaries, eight thousand *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, and eighteen hundred horse, partly *Numidian*, and partly *Spanish*.

Asdrubal had come from *Spain* to *Italy* in a much shorter time than *Hannibal*. He had found means to gain the good will of the *Gauls*. A great number of the *Arverni* had lifted themselves in his service; and even the mountaineers of the *Alps*, being by this time sensible, that there was no design upon their cottages and possessions, and that their hills were only a road by which one powerful state marched its armies to attack another, at a great distance from them, had been so far from opposing his march, that many of them had joined his army. The *Carthaginian*, after passing the *Alps*, laid siege to *Placentia*. While he was before the town, the Consuls in great haste set out for their respective provinces. *Nero* found, as *Livy* would have us believe, that the Prætor *Hostilius* (who met him at *Venusia*, and there resigned the command of the troops to him) had, with some light armed cohorts, attacked all *Hannibal's* army on a march, killed 4000 of his men, and taken nine standards. The same author adds, that *Nero* obtained a victory over *Hannibal*, by means of an ambush he placed behind the *Carthaginian* army, slew 8000 of them and four elephants, and took 700 prisoners, with the loss only of 500 men; and in a second engagement cut in pieces 2000 of the enemy. Soon after this, four *Gallie* and two *Numidian* troopers, who had been dispatched with letters to the *Carthaginian* General from *Asdrubal*, missing their way, fell into the hands of some *Roman* soldiers, in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, who carried them before *Q. Claudius*, the Pro-Prætor; and when dread of torture had made these messengers confess their errand, *Claudius* sent them under a guard, with the letters unopened, to the Consul *Nero* at *Canusium*. *Nero* having caused these letters to be interpreted, and finding the import of them to be, *That Asdrubal was repairing to Umbria, and desired his brother to join him there*, he sent them straight to the Senate, signifying to them by the same express, that he was resolved to march with 6000 foot and 1000 horse of his choicest troops to reinforce his colleague, and give *Asdrubal* battle, before *Hannibal* could come to his assistance. This step was contrary to the laws, which forbade Generals to make war out of their own provinces, or to enter those of their colleagues: But the Consul imagined, that the present perilous circumstances would justify his conduct.

The messenger dispatched, *Nero* sent orders to the people of the several provinces through which he was to march, to have provisions, horses, carts, and all other accommodations, in readiness. Then having caused a report to be spread, that he was going to force a *Car-*

Y. R. 246.
Bef. Chr.
206.
245 Conf.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 45.

thaginian garrison in a neighbouring city of *Lucania*, he left the command of the body of his army with one of his Lieutenants, and in the night took the road to *Picenum*. When he was got to a considerable distance from his camp, he discovered his intention to the detachment he had taken with him, and encouraged them to the enterprize by the prospect of the glory they would acquire by a victory over *Asdrubal*, in which, notwithstanding the smallness of their number, they would be undoubtedly thought to have had the greatest share.

c. 44.

Nero's design, when known at *Rome*, threw the people into a consternation; some thought, that to leave an army without its General, and deprived of its bravest soldiers, in the neighbourhood of *Hannibal*, was too bold a step; others approved the enterprize; and the least equitable suspended their judgment, till they should see the success.

c. 45.

In the mean time the Consul drew near his colleague's camp, by whose advice he entered it in the night, to conceal his arrival from the enemy. A council of war was immediately held, in which many were for giving *Nero's* troops time to refresh themselves after so long a march; but the General himself opposed this motion, being in hopes to defeat *Asdrubal*, and return to his camp at *Canusium*, before *Hannibal* should discover his absence, or be able to take any advantage of it.

Zen. B. 9.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 47.

Notwithstanding the precautions used by the *Romans* to conceal from the enemy the arrival of *Nero*, *Asdrubal* the next morning perceived that *Livius* had got a reinforcement; and imagining that *Hannibal* had been defeated, and that the victorious army was come against him, he declined a battle, though he had already drawn out his men in order to engage; and the next night, under favour of the darkness, he decamped and took the road to *Insubria*, resolving to wait there for an answer from his brother, with certain intelligence of his situation. The two guides whom the *Carthaginian* chose to conduct him, proved unfaithful, and on a sudden disappeared: So that the army was bewildered, and knew not what rout to take. They marched all night along the banks of the *Meturus*, a river in *Umbria*, *Asdrubal* designing to pass it as soon as it was light: And while he pursued his tedious march along the winding stream, the *Romans* had time to come up with him. He was forced to give battle in a disadvantageous situation, and when his men were faint with thirst, hunger, and want of rest. Nay, he had lost a great number of his soldiers in the night, especially of the *Gauls*, who, not able, or not willing to endure the fatigue of so painful a march, had laid themselves down to sleep. He ranged his elephants, which, according to *Papianus* were ten in number, in the front of his battle, before the center, which consisted of his *Ligurians*. His *Gauls* he posted in the left, on an eminence near the river; and, in the right, his *Africans* and *Spaniards*, which were the strength of his army; and the whole was drawn up very deep in file. The main body of the *Romans* was led by *L. Percius*, the Prætor, of *Gaul*, who with his forces had joined *Livius* before

Polab. B.
11. c. 1.
and Liv.
B. 27. c. 45.

before the arrival of *Nero* : This last took upon him the command of the right wing, and *Livius* of the left. *Asdrubal*, knowing that his *Gauls* were secured by the advantage of their situation, made his greatest efforts against the left of the enemy. There the battle continued obstinate a long time. At length *Nero*, unable to mount the eminence to attack the *Gauls*, and impatient of inaction, chose out the stoutest of his soldiers, and having led them round the rear of their own army, fell upon the *Africans* and *Spaniards* in flank and rear. Victory then declared for the *Romans*; and *Asdrubal* (after having performed all the duties of a great General) seeing the entire rout of his troops, and unwilling to survive their defeat, threw himself into the midst of a *Roman* battalion, and was slain. There were more elephants killed by the *Carthaginians* than by the enemy: for when the beasts grew unruly, their riders drove a sharp iron into the joint, where the head is set on to the neck. This (says *Livy*) was found to be the quickest method of dispatching those animals, a method invented by *Asdrubal*. According to the *Latin* Historian, the *Carthaginians* had 56,000 men killed in the battle, and 5400 taken prisoners; above 4000 *Roman* captives were found in the enemy's camp; the *Romans* lost, in the action, 8000 men. But *Polybius* says, that of the *Carthaginians* there died only 10,000 men, and of the *Romans* 2000. *Livy* reports that the conquerors were so fatigued with slaughtering their enemies, that the next day, when advice was brought to *Livius*, that a large body of *Ligurians* and *Cisalpine Gauls* (who either had not been in the battle or had escaped from it) were going off in great disorder, without leaders and without ensigns, and that it would be very easy to put them all to the sword; *No matter*, said he, *let some remain to carry the news of their own defeat, and of our bravery*. *Nero* set out from the camp of his colleague the night after the battle, and in six days time reached his own camp at *Canusium*.

The joy of the people at *Rome*, on the news of this success, was equal to the fears they had been in, on account of *Nero's* march. It quite changed the face of the city: from this time the citizens ventured to make contracts, to buy and sell, lend money, and pay debts, as securely as in a time of peace. *Nero*, at his return to his camp, ordered *Asdrubal's* head, which he had brought with him, to be thrown before the advanced guards of the enemy, and some *African* prisoners to be exposed in chains to their view. Two of these prisoners he set at liberty, and sent them to *Hannibal's* camp, to give him an account of the victory. The *Carthaginian*, struck with a blow so fatal to his Republic and his family, is said to have cried out, *It is like the fortune of Carthage*. He immediately decamped, and retired into *Bruttium* with all his forces. Thither he transplanted the *Metapontines* and all those of the *Lucanians* who still adhered to him; preparing to defend this corner of *Italy*, since he was obliged to abandon the rest of it.

Y. R. 546.
Bef. Chr.
206.
245 Conf.

Polyb. B.
11. c. 3.
Orosius, B.
4. Liv. B.
27. c. 50,
51.

Y. R. 226.
 Bef. Chr.
 226.
 225 Cons.

To add to the good fortune of the Republic this year, the Pro-Consul *Sulpicius*, in conjunction with *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* and the other allies, had kept *Philip* employed in *Greece*, and thereby secured *Italy* from an invasion from that quarter. And *Latinus* had gained a victory over the *Carthaginians* at sea, and sent a large supply of corn from *Sicily* to *Rome*.

From some motive not known, the *Romans* were desirous of having a Dictator to preside at the approaching elections. *Nero* named his Colleague *Livius* to that dignity. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *L. Veturius* *Maximus*, who had both distinguished themselves by their valour in the last campaign under *Livius*, were chosen Consul.

Y. R. 227.
 227.
 227 Cons.

These new Generals had orders to carry on the war jointly in *Italy* against *Hannibal*. And now, strange as it may appear, the *Carthaginian* made himself feared, even in the low condition to which the defeat and death of his brother had reduced him: He gained some advantages over the Consuls, in the plains of *Consentia*; and they durst not attack him in his camp. *Hannibal* never appeared greater than in his adversity. Who, (says *Polybius*) that considers attentively *Hannibal's* conduct, how many great battles he fought, how many lesser actions he was engaged in, the prodigious number of towns he took, the various turns of fortune he experienced, and the difficult situations in which he often found himself, during the course of a sixteen years war, which he alone supported against the most powerful state in the world: Who that considers these things can help admiring his extraordinary talents as a General? And though, during all that time, he kept the field with his army, and that army was a mixture of *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greeks*, differing in their laws, customs and languages, and having no other bond of union but his command; and though they were often in want of necessaries, [especially, adds *Livy*, when confined to *Bruttium*, a country little able to sustain them in its prosperity, much less when exhausted by so long a war, and when its inhabitants were forced to leave tilling their lands, to enlist as soldiers] such was the excellence of *Hannibal's* discipline, that no sedition ever happened amongst his troops, no mutiny against the General.

Polyb. B.
 11. c. 17.

Livy. B. 23.
 c. 12.

Polybius adds, that had the *Carthaginian* invaded the other parts of the world first, and reserved *Italy* for his last attempt, it is not to be doubted, but he would have succeeded in all his undertakings: But having begun where he should have ended, his illustrious actions found their period on the same theatre, where they had their commencement.

* According to *Appian* [in *Syr. c. 91.*] he took no less than 200 in *Italy*.

^b *Polyb. de Virt. & Viti. Excerpt. ex Lib. 9.* tells us, that *Hannibal* was the sole spring and director of the second *Punic* war.

“ He carried it on in *Italy* by himself; in *Spain* by his brother, *Hannibal*, then *Mago*; in *Sicily* by *Hippocrates*, and afterwards by *Mago* [*Mutines*]; and in *Greece* by King *Philip*.”

C H A P. XXXIII.

The continuation of the events of the war in Spain, after the departure of Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, from that country.

THE next day after the battle in which *Scipio* is said * to have defeated *Asdrubal*, and driven him over the *Pyrenees*, he assembled the prisoners, amounting to 10,000 foot and 2000 horse: He ordered the *Africans* to be sold, but the *Spaniards* he dismissed, without ransom. This act of generosity had such an effect upon the *Spaniards* in general, that they with one voice saluted him King. The *Roman* answered, that “to him the greatest title was that of *Imperator*, which his soldiers gave him; that the name of King, so much respected in other places, was intolerable at *Rome*: That, if to have a royal soul was in their estimation the highest character among men, they might silently think of him as they pleased, but he desired they would forbear the appellation.”

Y. R. 545.

— See p.
229, and
247.

There seems to have been no more action this year in *Spain*. The *Carthaginians* had two Generals in that country, *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*, and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, each with an army. *Mago* resigned his troops to *Asdrubal*, and went into the *Baleares* to make new levies there, while the latter posted himself in *Lusitania* near the Straights of *Gades*. *Scipio* wintered at *Tarraco*.

The year following, *Silanus*, the Pro-Prætor under *Scipio*, with a detachment of 10,000 foot and 500 horse, routed the united forces of *Mago* and *Hanno*, which latter had been sent from *Africa* with an army to supply the place of *Hannibal's* brother *Asdrubal*. *Hanno* was taken prisoner in the action, but *Mago* escaped with his broken troops to *Asdrubal* (the son of *Gisco*.) These with their united strength, marched from *Gades* into *Bætica*, in order to protect their allies in that country, but at the approach of *Scipio*, were obliged to return to the place from whence they came. Upon their departure, the Pro-Consul sent his brother *Lucius* to besiege *Oringi*, a city of importance at the head of the *Bætis*, and after the reduction of that town, retired to *Tarraco* for the winter.

Y. R. 546.

Mago, having employed himself for some time in making levies among the *Spaniards*, brought such recruits to *Asdrubal*, that the army consisted of 54,000, some say 74,000 men. With these forces the two Generals, in conjunction with *Masiniſſa*, marched the following spring in quest of the *Romans*, and encamped in a vast plain near a town called *Silpia*, on the confines of *Bætica*. *Scipio*, upon the news of the enemy's surprizing preparations, thought it necessary for him also to arm the *Spaniards*; but remembering the misfortune that befel his father

Y. R. 547.

Y. R. 547.
Ber. Chr.
225.
246 C. 256.

father and uncle, by relying on them too much, he resolved to be cautious of employing them on critical occasions. Having swelled his army to 45,000 foot and 3000 horse, he moved from *Tarraco*, marched towards the *Carthaginians*, and pitched his camp in the same plain with them.

P. 55. L.
21. C. 22.

The two armies were frequently drawn up before their entrenchments; and as *Scipio* observed, that *Asdrubal* always placed his best troops, which were his *Africans*, in the center, and his *Spaniards* in the two wings, he constantly posted his *Spaniards* in the wings, and his *Romans* in the center. But this he did to deceive the enemy. For when the day came, on which he resolved to give battle, he changed this disposition, and placed his legionaries in the two wings, and the *Spaniards* in the middle. In this order he marched out of his camp very early in the morning, and sent his cavalry and the light armed foot to provoke the enemy; insomuch that *Asdrubal* was obliged to draw out his men before they had taken their usual refreshment. In the mean time *Scipio* advanced with his infantry. At his approach, his cavalry and *Velites*, pursuant to orders, ceased the fight, and retired through the intervals of the foot. He then directed his center to move on slowly, but his wings to advance very fast, the cavalry and light armed men at the same time moving from the rear, and extending themselves to fall upon the enemy in flank. Thus the bravest of his troops came to an engagement with the weakest of the opposite army, and defeated them before the two centers could join battle. And the great prudence of the *Roman* General, in this conduct, was visible, when after he had routed the enemies wings, he came to attack their center; for the *Africans* made so stout a resistance, as almost quite disheartened the *Romans*; insomuch that *Scipio* (as one author relates) was forced to dismount, and throw himself, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy's battalions, before he could engage his men to make the necessary efforts to complete the victory. But then the *Africans* gave ground, and the slaughter was terrible. *Asdrubal*, with the run-aways, gained the camp; but the *Spaniards* deserted him so fast, that he laid aside the thought of fortifying himself there, and retired in the night towards the shore of the ocean. *Scipio* pursued, and came up with him; and, after a second slaughter, the three chiefs, *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Masiniissa*, had no more than six thousand men left about them, and these for the most part disarmed. With all expedition they gained the summit of a steep hill, and there entrenched themselves as well as they could. *Asdrubal* perceiving that these remains of his army continually lessened, abandoned them in the night. The sea was near, he found ships ready to sail, and embarked for *Gades*. *Scipio* being informed of *Asdrubal's* flight, left *Silanus* with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to besiege the enemy's camp, and he himself with the rest of his forces marched back to *Tarraco*. After his departure, *Masiniissa* had

Appian in
Judea.

had private conferences with *Silanus*, and entered into engagements to favour the *Roman* cause. *Mago* escaped to *Gades* with some ships which *Asdrubal* had sent him; and the soldiers abandoned by their Generals, either went over to the enemy, or dispersed themselves up and down the country.

V. R. 54.
Esf. Cl. 1.
2. c.
2:6 Cl. 11.

The *Carthaginian* power in *Spain* was now almost totally reduced; but the Pro-Consul did not confine his views to *Spain* alone. He began to think of paving his way to *Africa*. *Syphax*, King of *Masæsyliæ*, was now in alliance with the *Carthaginians*; and, as *Scipio* knew that the *Numidian's* friendship to them would not be more constant than their good fortune, he sent his friend *Lælius* to persuade him to break the treaty. *Lælius's* arguments wrought conviction; but he being only a subaltern in *Scipio's* army, the King insisted, for his greater security, upon having a personal conference with the Pro-Consul himself; and he protested, that if *Scipio* would come into *Numidia*, he should be received there with honour, and dismissed with satisfaction. The *Roman* considered the hazard of such an enterprize; but being above the fear of danger, when he had the interest of his Republic in view, (leaving *Marcus* at *Tarraco*, with a part of his troops, and ordering *Silanus* with the rest to *New Carthage*,) embarked with *Lælius* for *Africa*, and arrived at the capital of King *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* happened to arrive there the same day from *Spain*; and nothing could be more agreeable to the *Numidian* Prince, than to see two Generals of the two most powerful nations in the world, at his court, at the same time; and both come to seek his alliance. He first put on the person of a mediator, and would have had *Scipio* enter into a conference with the *Carthaginian*, in order to an amicable accommodation. But *Scipio* excused himself, as not having received any commission from his Republic to treat of peace. However, he accepted of an invitation to dine at the King's table with *Asdrubal*. And then not only *Syphax*, a stranger to the *Roman* manners, but even *Asdrubal* a *Carthaginian*, a mortal enemy, was charmed with his conversation. The latter is reported to have said, "That he did not question but *Syphax* and his kingdom " would soon be at the devotion of the *Romans*, such an art had *Scipio* " of conciliating to him the hearts of men: That the *Carthaginians* " need not enquire how *Spain* was lost, but how *Africa* might be pre- " served: That *Scipio's* voyages were not voyages of pleasure; that " he would not have crossed the sea with only two vessels, nor put " himself in the power of a King whose honour he had never tried, " but with a view to gain all *Africa*." *Asdrubal* judged rightly. *Syphax* entered into a treaty with *Scipio*; and, lest the *Roman*, in his return to *Spain*, should be attacked at sea by *Asdrubal's* galleys, kept the *Carthaginians* with him, and amused them till the Pro-Consul was safely arrived at *New Carthage*.

Liv. B. 28.
c. 17.

Livy, B. 28.
c. 18.

Appian in
Ibericis.

His

Y. R. 47.
B. C. 187.
225.
226 C. 187.
L. P. 23.
C. 12.

His chief business now was to punish the nations and cities which had signalized themselves against the *Romans*, and to keep the *Spaniards* in awe by examples of severity. He marched in person to besiege *Illiturgi*, and sent *Marcus* to invest *Cástulo*. The former, which, *Livy* says, had revolted to the enemy after the death of the two *Scipios*, was taken by assault, sacked and burnt; and men, women, and children, put to the sword. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. From *Cástulo*, *Marcus* went and appeared before *Astapa*, a city obstinately devoted to the *Carthaginians*. The inhabitants, being desperate, brought all their moveables, and threw them in a heap in the market-place; and then putting their wives and children on the top of the pile, and encompassing it with faggots, they chose out fifty of the most steady of the citizens, to guard this dear depositum; and spoke to them in the following manner: *Be assured, we will either repay the Romans, or die in the attempt. If we are overcome, do you, upon the first news of the enemy's approach, save the honour and liberty of our wives and children. First make use of your swords, and then of fire, to preserve the remains of an unfortunate people from captivity and insult.* After this they did not wait to be attacked, but marched out at one of the gates, in good order, to give battle; and all died fighting. And the news of this slaughter produced another in the heart of the city: The fifty *Astapans* discharged their trust, and then threw themselves into the flames.

L. B. 23.
C. 22.

L. B. 23.
C. 22.

Whilst *Marcus* was executing vengeance on these cities, *Scipio* returned to *New Carthage*, where he entertained his army with a fight of gladiators, in honour to the manes of his father and uncle, pursuant to a vow he had made. On this occasion two *Spanish* Princes are said to have fought in duel with each other for a principality. During these diversions, some deserters arrived from *Gades*, the only city of *Spain* in the *Carthaginian* interest; and upon their report of a conspiracy, among the *Gallians*, to put the *Romans* into possession of the place, *Scipio* dispatched *Marcus*, with some troops by land, and *Lælius* by sea, with eight ships, to carry on the enterprize. But *Lælius*, in his passage, having met and defeated eight *Carthaginian* triremes, learnt from the prisoners, that the conspirators at *Gades* had been discovered, and sent in chains to *Carthage* to be tried there. Whereupon he gave *Marcus* notice of it, advising him to lead back his troops; and he himself likewise returned to *New Carthage*.

L. P. 23.
C. 22.

And now it appeared, how necessary *Scipio's* presence was, both to preserve his conquests in *Spain*, and to maintain discipline in the army. He happened to fall dangerously sick; and *Fame* made his case worse than it was; nay, a report prevailed that he was dead; and this had such an effect, that not only *Indibilis* (a petty King before mentioned), and his brother *Mandonius*, who had not been rewarded suitably to their expectations, immediately revolted from the *Romans*, and stirred up the *Carthaginians*

Celtiberians against them; but eight thousand *Roman* legionaries, who were incamped on the banks of the *Sucro*, to keep that part of *Spain* in awe, mutinied, cast off their leaders, (who would not enter into their measures) and chose two insolent common soldiers, *Atrius* and *Albius*, to conduct them. And the madness of these two fellows rose to such a height, that they usurped the consular dignity, and ordered *Lictors* to walk before them. The pretence for the mutiny was want of pay, which they had not received for six months. They also demanded to be led against the enemy, or if *Spain* was already reduced, to be permitted to return to *Italy*.

Y. R. 547.
Bef. Ch.
23.
246 Conf.

The Pro-Consul recovered his health; but was much embarrassed how to manage the mutineers, so as not to push them to extremities, and yet to make such examples as should keep his troops in their duty. He at length decoyed them to *New Carthage*, by promising to pay them their arrears there, and by giving such orders as deceived them into a belief, that the troops with him were immediately to go, under the command of *Silanus*, upon an expedition against *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*; which would leave the Pro-Consul absolutely at the mercy of the malcontents. Full of these hopes, they entered the city. *Scipio* had before sent seven Tribunes to them, to supply the place of those whom they had driven away. And these, who had by an artful conduct gained the confidence of the rebels, were ordered each of them to invite five of the most guilty to his house, make them drink plentifully, then bind them, and give the general notice of the success. Thirty-five of the mutineers were thus secured, without the knowledge of the rest. The next morning, by break of day, *Silanus*, who was to lead away the faithful troops, pretended to make preparation for his march, and drew up his manipuli near the gates: But he had secret orders to return into the heart of the city, upon a signal agreed on. *Scipio*, at a proper time, gave the usual notice for his soldiers to assemble in the market-place; and upon the first sound of the trumpet, the seditious all ran thither without their arms, as the laws required. *Silanus*, at the same time, brought back his armed troops, and surrounded the assembly. The Pro-Consul, in a long harangue, expostulated with the mutineers on the baseness and folly of their late proceeding, when the sum of their grievances could amount to no more than this: *That their General, being sick, had neglected to pay them at the usual time.* As soon as he had ended his speech, the names of the thirty-five chiefs of the revolt who had been already condemned by a council of war, were called over; they appeared before the Tribunal half naked, were whipped, and afterwards beheaded by the *Lictors*. Then the Herald called over the names of all the rest of the mutineers; the General took the military oath of them anew; and thus ended the sedition.

Liv. B. 28.
C. 25.
Polyb. B.
11. c. 23.
---25.

Liv. B. 28.
C. 27.

Y. R. 547.
Bef. Chr.
205.
246 Cons.
L. v. B. 28.
c. 32.

Pol. B.
21. c. 29.

Li. B. 28.
c. 34.

c. 35.

Scipio was yet at *New Carthage*, when he received an account that *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had raised an army among their subjects and allies, of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, and were living upon free quarter, in the territories of the friends of *Rome*. It was necessary to put a stop to the progress of these faithless Princes, and to employ the seditious troops (who were now quiet, and had received their pay) jointly with the rest, in the expedition. *Scipio* therefore having assembled all in the market-place, spoke to this effect: *The resolution I have taken to punish the perfidious Spaniards, gives me much less uneasiness than the vengeance I was forced to execute on the late mutineers. Among these, I found none but citizens of Rome, or Latines, old soldiers who had been attached to my father, and the companions of my victories. I could not do justice upon them without tears. But among those I am going to punish, I shall find none but strangers and ingrates, robbers and their leaders, who lay waste the fields of our allies, and burn their houses. Let us go then and clear the plains of these Banditti; nor let it be said, that in this province so happily subdued, we left in arms one single enemy of the Roman name.* Whilst the Pro-Consul was speaking, he saw alacrity and joy painted on every face; and taking advantage of the present disposition of his soldiers, he immediately began his march. In fourteen days he came up with the enemy in the country of the *Sedetani*, and there gained a complete victory. The *Spaniards* lost about two thirds of their army, the rest escaped with *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*. These brothers had now no resource but in the clemency of the conqueror. *Mandonius* came and fell at the Pro-Consul's feet, begging pardon for the King, and for himself. He laid the blame of their revolt on the misfortunes of the times, and the unaccountable effect which the report of *Scipio's* death had caused in the minds of men, even of the *Romans* themselves. The Pro-Consul gave him the following answer: *Both Indibilis and you have deserved to die; live nevertheless, and owe your lives to my favour, and the favour of the Roman people. I shall not disarm you: That would look as if I feared you. Neither will I take vengeance upon your blameless hostages, should you again rebel, but upon yourselves. Consider therefore whether you shall like better to feel the effects of our clemency in peace, or to experience the severity of our revenge.* *Scipio* carried his resentments no farther; only he obliged the two Princes to furnish him with a large sum of money. Then he divided his army into two parts; gave one to *Silanus*, to conduct it to *Tarraco*; and ordered *Marcus* to lead the other to the shores of the ocean. He himself joined the latter soon after near *Gades*.

The Pro-Consul's chief design in this journey was to fix *Masiniſſa* in the interest of *Rome*: The *Numidian*, who was then at *Gades* with *Mago*, delayed concluding an alliance with the Republic, till he should confer with *Scipio* in person, and have his sanction to the treaty. Upon the approach of the *Roman* General, *Masiniſſa* representing

ing to *Mago*, that the cavalry were not only a burthen to the island, but would be ruined by inaction and want of forage, obtained leave to transport them to the continent. He was no sooner landed, but he sent three *Numidian* chiefs to the Pro-Consul; who, with them, fixed the time and place for an interview. *Masiniſſa* had already conceived a high opinion of *Scipio*, and was confirmed in that opinion by the first sight of him. The Pro-Consul had an equal mixture of majesty and sweetness in his countenance; he was in his full strength, and in the bloom of manly beauty. His hair flowed down his back to a great length. There was nothing affected, or too negligent about him; his habit plain, but neat, and such as became a soldier, who despised the studied elegancies of dress. The *Numidian* began with a compliment of thanks for *Scipio's* having formerly sent him back his nephew, taken prisoner in battle; assuring him, that ever since that time he had been seeking the opportunity which now presented itself, and desired nothing more earnestly than a strict union with *Scipio* and *Rome*. He added, that if the Republic would send the Pro-Consul into *Africa* at the head of an army, he did not doubt but the domination of *Carthage* would soon be at an end. *Scipio* returned these advances with dignity and politeness; and was extremely pleased to engage in his interest a prince, who, in every battle, had been the soul of the enemy's cavalry; and whose very aspect promised a man of spirit. The treaty concluded, *Scipio* set out for *Tarraco*. The *Numidian* concealed the true design of his excursion, by pillaging some part of the continent, before he went back to *Gades*; and *Mago* soon after abandoned the place, having received orders to go to the assistance of his brother *Hannibal* in *Italy*.

Y. R. 547.
Bel. Chr.
209.
246 Conf.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 36, 37.

The *Carthaginian* signalized his departure from *Gades*, by cruel exactions and oppressions. He stripped the temples, plundered the public treasury, and forced private persons to give him their gold and silver. His view was, with this money to raise new levies among the *Ligurians* in *Cisalpine Gaul*. But as he coasted along *Spain* in his way thither, he formed a rash design of surprizing *New Carthage*, and in the attempt lost eight hundred men. After this misfortune he returned to *Gades*, where finding the gates shut against him, he retired to *Cimbis*, a neighbouring city. From thence he sent deputies to the *Gaditani*, (who were themselves a colony of *Phœnicians*, as well as the *Carthaginians*) to complain of their proceedings. The chief magistrate and the treasurer of the city went out to him, and assured him, that the refusal he had met with was owing wholly to the populace, whom the *Carthaginian* soldiers had plundered at their departure. This civility *Mago* returned with cruelty, causing the deputies to be inhumanly scourged, and afterwards crucified. He then steered his course towards the *Baleares*, landed at the island now called *Minorca*, forced two thousand of the inhabitants into the service of his Republic, and sent them to *Carthage*. Winter approaching, he did not sail for *Italy* till the spring.

V. R. 547.
Esf. Chr.
205.
246 Conf.

Zon. B. 9.
c. 11.
Liv. B. 28.
c. 38.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 1.

As soon as *Mago* had left *Spain*, the *Gaditani* submitted to the *Romans*; and *Scipio's* conquest was complete. Before he got back to *Tarraco*, two new Pro-Consuls, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Manlius Acidinus*, arrived in the port with commissions from the Senate, one to govern *Hisber Spain*, the other *Further Spain*. *Scipio* surrendered up the fasces; and attended by his brother *Lucius*, and his friend *Lælius*, immediately set sail with ten ships for *Italy*.

Scarce was *Scipio* gone, when *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, despising the new Pro-Consuls, revolted, and engaged several of the *Spanish* nations to take arms to recover their independence. They got together 30,000 foot, and about 4000 horse. *Lentulus* and *Acidinus* endeavoured to bring them back to obedience by negotiations. These proving ineffectual, a battle ensued; *Indibilis* was slain, the confederate army totally routed, 13,000 of them killed, and 800 taken prisoners.

The *Spaniards*, to preserve their countries from the ravages of the enemy, seized *Mandonius* with the other heads of the revolt, and sent them in custody to the camp of the Pro-Consuls, who had insisted on this as a condition of their shewing mercy to the vanquished. Thus was the confederacy broken; and *Spain* continued for some years in tranquillity.

C H A P. XXXIV.

FOURTEENTH YEAR of the War.

Scipio chosen Consul, goes into Sicily to prepare for invading Africa. He surprises Locri. The cruelties exercised by the Pro-Prætor Pleminius in that city. The Romans send for the Goddess Cybele from Pessinus in Phrygia. A miracle wrought at her landing.

Liv. B. 28.
c. 38.

WHEN *Scipio* arrived from *Spain*, he did not immediately enter within the walls of *Rome*, but according to the established custom of Generals, continued in the suburbs, till the Senate, assembled in the temple of *Bellona*, had heard the relation of his expeditions. He gave them a detail of his exploits, told them how many battles he had fought, how many towns he had taken, and what nations he had subdued, adding, that though he had found in *Spain* four *Carthaginian* Generals at the head of four flourishing armies, yet he had not left in the country one *Carthaginian* in arms. But though *Scipio* deserved a triumph, he demanded it but faintly, as knowing that the laws were against his having that honour: His appointment to the Pro-

Pro-Consulship had been extraordinary, and out of rule: He had not passed to it from the Consulship, nor had he taken the command of an army under the sanction of *the Greater Auspices*, like the Consuls. However, he adorned his entry into *Rome* by a great quantity of silver, which he had brought from *Spain* for the public treasury, and which was carried before him in the procession.

V. R. 648.
B.C. Cnr.
264.
217 Cons.

And now the *Comitia* being held for electing new Consuls, it is not to be expressed with what zeal the Centuries gave their suffrages in favour of *Scipio*, though he had not yet attained to the years customarily required for that dignity, being only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age. The Collegue appointed him was *P. Licinius Crassus*, surnamed *Dives*, who being at this time *Pontifex Maximus*, an office which confined him to *Italy*, the province of *Sicily* was given to *Scipio* without drawing lots. But *Scipio* could not be satisfied, unless he had also a commission to go immediately with an army into *Africa*. The matter was debated in the Senate. *Scipio* depending upon the favour of the people, had not scrupled openly to give out, that he had been appointed Consul, *Not only to carry on the war, but to finish it; that this could be done no other way than by his transporting an army into Africa, and that if the Senate should oppose this design, he would have recourse to the people, and put it in execution by their authority.* These unguarded words had given great offence to the Fathers. Old *Fabius*, now president of the Senate, declared loudly against the pretensions of the young Consul, and employed all his eloquence to hinder his being sent into *Africa*. In a long and studied harangue he set forth the difficulties of such an enterprize, the fatal consequences which might attend it, and the necessity of driving *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, before the war could safely be carried into the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. He said it would be endless to enumerate all the instances of Kings and Generals, who, by rash invasions of foreign countries, had ruined themselves and their armies. He mentioned the irreparable mischief which had happened to the *Athenians*, by their descent upon *Sicily*, in pursuance of the advice of *Alcibiades*, a noble youth, and an expert General. But he insisted especially on the more recent and interesting example of *Atilius Regulus*, the catastrophe of whose fortune, fair in its beginning, ought to be a useful lesson to them. And *Fabius* took great pains to guard against the suspicion of his being actuated by emulation or jealousy of another's glory in this opposition to *Scipio's* desires. "I, said he, am grown old in the possession of honours. Two Dictatorships, five Consulships, the success of my counsels, many victories raise me above any rivalry with a young General, not yet come to the years of my son. When I was Dictator, and in the full career of glory, and when my General of the horse, a man incessantly declaiming against me, was put upon an equality with me in the command, (an unprecedented hardship) no one heard me, either in the Senate or

Liv. B. 28.
c. 40. &
seq.

Plut. life
of Fabius

" in.

Y. R. 228.
 B.C. 187.
 24th C. 21.

“ in the assemblies of the people, refuse to acquiesce. And is it likely
 “ that now, in my old age, when weary of public affairs, weary of
 “ the world, and even of life itself, I should enter into an emulation
 “ with a youth, a general in the prime of life, full of vigour and
 “ activity; or that I expect to have the province of *Africa* assigned
 “ to me, if it should be denied to him? No, I am content with the glory
 “ I have acquired. It is enough for me to have hindered *Hannibal*
 “ from completing his conquest, that by younger Captains, you that
 “ are in the flower of your age and strength, he might be after-
 “ wards entirely overcome. But you will pardon me, *P. Cornelius*, if
 “ I, who, for the sake of the commonwealth, always neglected popular
 “ applause, and my own private advantage, cannot now to the real
 “ welfare of the Republic prefer the imaginary interests of your glory.
 “ I say, imaginary interests. For no sooner will you have a view of
 “ that coast, whither you are so eager to sail, than you will be sensible
 “ that your exploits in *Spain* were but sport and play, in comparison of
 “ what you will have to do in *Africa*. In *Spain* you landed at *Emporie*,
 “ a confederate port; and, through countries in alliance with *Rome*, or
 “ guarded by *Roman* troops, you marched safe and undisturbed to
 “ *New Carthage*, which you had opportunity to besiege, without fear
 “ of molestation from any one of the *Carthaginian* Generals, who were
 “ then all at a great distance. In *Africa*, no friendly port to receive
 “ your fleet, no ally to add strength to your army—unless you trust to
 “ *Syphax* and the *Numidians*. You trusted them once; let that suf-
 “ fice: Rashness is not always fortunate. The fraudulent sometimes
 “ procure themselves credit by fidelity in small things, that they may
 “ afterwards the more easily deceive in matters of moment, and
 “ when it can serve a weighty interest. *Syphax* and *Masiniissa*, it is not
 “ to be doubted, would gladly be more powerful in *Africa* than the
 “ *Carthaginians*; but it is as little to be questioned, they had rather
 “ *Carthage* should have the superiority there than strangers. Emula-
 “ tion prevails amongst those powers, while the fear of foreign arms is
 “ yet remote: Let them but once see the *Roman* banners displayed in
 “ *Africa*, and they will all run together as to extinguish a fire, that
 “ threatens the general destruction. What if *Carthage*, confiding in
 “ the strength of her walls, the fidelity of her allies, and the unani-
 “ mity of all the States around her, should resolve, when she sees *Italy*
 “ no longer guarded by you and your troops, to pour in upon us a
 “ new army from *Africa*? Or order *Mago*, who is even now with a
 “ fleet on the coast of *Liguria*, to join his brother *Hannibal*? We
 “ should then be in the same terror as when *Asdrubal* invaded *Italy*,
 “ that *Asdrubal*, whom you, who, with your army, are to invest not
 “ only *Carthage*, but all *Africa*, suffered to slip through your hands into
 “ this country. You will say, *you vanquished him*. Be it so. But I
 “ could

“ could wish then, for your own sake, as well as for the sake of the
 “ Republic, that you had not opened a passage for the same van-
 “ quished man to come into *Italy*. However, let us ascribe to your
 “ wise conduct every enterprize of yours that prospered, and all your
 “ ill success to fortune and the chance of war. The more brave and
 “ the more worthy you are, the more it concerns your country and all
 “ *Italy* to retain such a protector. That where-ever *Hannibal* is, *there*
 “ is the principal seat of this war, you yourself allow, since to draw him
 “ into *Africa* is your sole pretence for passing thither. With *Hannibal*
 “ therefore you purpose to contend, whether here or there. And will
 “ you be stronger in that country, and alone, than here, when joined by
 “ your Collegue and his army? Will *Hannibal* be weaker in the neigh-
 “ bourhood of *Carthage*, and supported by all *Africa*, than now, when
 “ he is confined to a corner of *Bruttium*, and in want of supplies, which
 “ he has long, but in vain, demanded from his country? Would a
 “ prudent man chuse to fight where the enemy is double his number,
 “ when he may with *two* armies attack *one*, and this one already fatigued
 “ and exhausted by many battles and a distressful war. Consider how
 “ different your conduct is from your father’s. He, though on his
 “ way to carry the war into *Spain*, returned to meet *Hannibal* at the
 “ foot of the *Alps*: You, while *Hannibal* is in *Italy*, are preparing to
 “ leave the country, not because it is advantageous to the Republic,
 “ but because you think it for your glory; as when, being General
 “ for the *Roman* people, you, against law, and without authority from
 “ the Senate, left your province and your army, and with only two
 “ ships sailed to *Africa*, hazarding in your person the interest of the
 “ public, and the majesty of the empire. My opinion, Conscript
 “ Fathers, is, that *P. Cornelius* was created Consul, not for himself,
 “ but for us and for the Republic; and that the armies were raised for
 “ the defence of *Rome* and *Italy*, and not that the Consuls might, out
 “ of pride, like Kings, transport them into whatever countries they
 “ pleased.”

Y. R. 548.
 Bcl. Chr.
 254.
 247 Conf.

Notwithstanding what *Fabius* had said of his own integrity, and his unmixed zeal for his country’s good on the present occasion, *Scipio* did not fail to observe, that *while the old man was proving himself free from all jealousy or emulation, he had taken particular care to extol his own actions, and to depreciate those of a young man, with whom, nevertheless, it was impossible he should have any competition for glory.* He then proceeded to justify his design of going into *Africa*. “ *Fabius* tells us, that it is
 “ an inaccessible coast, that there is no port open to receive us. He
 “ reminds us of *Atilius Regulus*, taken captive in *Africa*; as if *Regulus*
 “ had failed in attempting a descent on that country. He forgets, that
 “ this unfortunate Commander found the *Carthaginian* havens open,
 “ performed many noble actions the first year, and, to the last, remained
 “ unconquerable by any *Carthaginian* General. But, it seems, we are
 “ to.”

Y. R. 223.
 B. C. 207.
 223.
 227. C. 207.
 * See p. 11.

“ to take warning from the example of the *Athenians*. If we have
 “ leisure, Conscrip Fathers, to hearken to *Grecian* tales, why does he
 “ not rather speak of *Agathocles*, King of *Syracuse*, who, when *Sicily*
 “ was distressed by the *Carthaginians*, transferred * the war from that
 “ island to the very gates of *Carthage*?” He then asserted that no method
 could be so effectual to force *Hannibal* out of *Italy* as to carry the war
 into *Africa*, whither *Carthage* would undoubtedly recal him in so pres-
 sing a danger. He argued, that since the allies of *Rome* had deserted
 her after the battle of *Cannæ*, and this in greater numbers than *Hannibal*
 himself could have expected, certainly the *Carthaginian* Republic, im-
 perious and oppressive to her subjects, and faithless to her allies, had
 little reason to depend on the constancy of the *Africans*. That as she
 had no inherent strength, and was obliged to trust absolutely to merce-
 naries, or to allies, whose very character was inconstancy, she would not
 be able to support the war like *Rome*, potent by her own strength, and
 whose citizens were all soldiers. He concluded with these words, “It
 “ would be tedious, and what no way concerns you, Conscrip Fathers,
 “ if, as *Q. Fabius* has made light of my actions in *Spain*, I should at-
 “ tempt to lessen his merit, and extol my own. I shall therefore do
 “ neither: In moderation at least, and in continence of speech, if in
 “ nothing else, young as I am, I will surpass this old General. Such
 “ has been the constant tenor of my life and actions, both in public
 “ and private, that I can be silent on this subject, and easily rest con-
 “ tented with the opinion which you have formed of me.”

Scipio’s discourse was not favourably received by the Senate. The
 report that he intended to have recourse to the people, had preju-
 diced the assembly against him. *Fulvius*, who had been twice Consul
 and once Censor, desired him to declare frankly, whether he would
 refer the affair of the provinces to the deliberation of the Fathers, and
 acquiesce in their decree, or, in case he should not like it, appeal from
 it to the people. *Scipio* answered, that he would do what he thought
 most conducive to the public welfare. To which *Fulvius* replied:
 “ When I asked you these questions, I was not ignorant either of what
 “ you would answer, or of what you would do; for it is plain your de-
 “ sign is rather to sound than consult the Senate; and unless we im-
 “ mediately decree you the province you desire, you are prepared to lay
 “ the matter before the people.” Then turning towards the Tribunes
 of the Commons, “I refuse, said he, to declare my opinion; because,
 “ should it be approved by the Senate, the Consul would not submit
 “ to their determination: And I desire you, Tribunes, to support me
 “ in this refusal.” *Scipio* contended, that it was not equitable for the
 Tribunes to obstruct a Consul in his demanding the opinion of any Sena-
 tor. They nevertheless pronounced, That, if the Consul would refer the
 matter in question to the Senate, the Senate’s decree should stand; nor
 would they suffer an appeal from it to the people; but if he would not
 refer

refer the matter to the Senate, they would support all those who should refuse to declare their opinions. *Scipio* desired one day's time to consult with his Collegue. To this they consented. The day following the assembly met again, and then, the Consul submitting the affair to the determination of the Conscript Fathers, without appeal, they decreed, That *Scipio* should have *Sicily*, and the fleet of thirty ships of war, now commanded by the Prætor of that island; and that if he thought it for the advantage of the Republic, he might sail to *Africa*. As for *Licinius*, he was directed to carry on the war against *Hannibal* in *Bruttium*.

S. R. 548.
Bef. Chr.
204.
247 Cons.

Though *Africa* was not assigned to *Scipio* as his province, nor any levies granted him for the enterprize which he had in view; nevertheless, he obtained leave to take with him into *Sicily* as many volunteers as he could assemble; and also permission to ask of the allies all necessaries for building and equipping a new fleet. Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves, in order to furnish him, not only with materials for the ships, but with arms and provisions for the marines. So that in five and forty days time after bringing the timber from the forest, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, and about seven thousand volunteers^b.

Liv. B. 28.
c. 45.

About this time *Mago* (the brother of *Hannibal*) with twelve thousand foot and near two thousand horse, landed at *Genoa* and took it: And finding two nations of *Liguria*, the *Ingaunians* and *Intemelians*, at war, he joined the former, his army increasing daily by the great number of *Gauls* that flocked to him from all parts. These advices from *Spurius Lucretius*, who commanded in *Cisalpine Gaul*, caused a general alarm in the Senate: They ordered *M. Livius* to march his army, of *Volones*, then in *Ætulia*, to *Ariminum*; and *Levinus*, to lead the legions appointed for the defence of *Rome*, to *Arretium*. Other advices came, that *Octavius* the Prætor of *Sardinia* had taken fourscore ships of burden belonging to the *Carthaginians*. In *Bruttium* no remarkable action happened between the armies this campaign. The plague raged in *Licinius's* camp; and *Hannibal's* troops were afflicted with pestilence and famine at the same time.

c. 46.

^a From this decree, and the after conduct of the Senate, it is not improbable what *Livy* hints, [speaking of the transactions of the next year] that their design was to make preparations for carrying the war into *Africa*, without doing it by public authority; and to lull the *Carthaginians* into security, by making them believe, that these preparations were only the effect of *Scipio's* ambition, which the Senate would not fail to oppose. *Quoniam nondum aperte Africa provincia decreta erat* (occultantibus id, credo, Patribus, ne præsciscerent *Carthaginenses*) tamen in eam sperem creta civitas erat, in Africa eo anno debellatum iri, finemque bello Punico adesse. Liv. L. 29. c. 14.

^b According to *Plutarch*, *Fabius* would have engaged the Consul *Licinius*, to obstruct *Scipio's* measures: Not succeeding herein, he dissuaded the *Roman* youth from following him into *Sicily*, as volunteers; and he had before, by his influence in the Senate, hindered any funds being assigned to *Scipio*, for the expence of his armament.

Y. R. 548.
Bef. Chr.
204.
247. Conf.

Scipio was busy in *Sicily*, forming an army for his *African* expedition. In his choice of men, he preferred, before all others, the veterans who had served under *Marcellus* at the siege of *Syracuse*. He refitted the old galleys he found in the island, gave the command of them to *Lelius*, and commissioned him to make a descent on *Africa*, and pillage the country.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 4.

Lelius landed near *Hippo*, and laid the territory about it waste; which threw the people of *Cartbage* into a great consternation: For they falsely imagined, that *Scipio* was come with a formidable army. When their fright, upon better information, was over, they sent ambassadors to *Sypbax*, and other princes of *Africa*, to renew their treaties with them; and also to King *Philip* of *Macedon*, offering him two hundred talents of silver, if he would invade either *Italy* or *Sicily*. Messengers were dispatched to *Hannibal* and *Mago* with instructions to these two brothers, to hinder, if possible, the departure of any troops which *Scipio* expected from *Italy*; and a reinforcement of six thousand foot and eight hundred horse was sent to *Mago* in *Liguria*, with large sums for hiring troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*.

Masiniſſa having learnt the arrival of *Lelius* in *Africa*, came to confer with him. He assured him, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity to attack *Cartbage*; and expressed his surprize that *Scipio* had lingered so long in *Sicily*. The King added, that though he was by violence dispossessed of the throne of his ancestors, yet he could still bring some troops into the field, and would join the Consul at his landing. He also told *Lelius*, that he believed a *Cartbaginian* fleet was already sailed out of the port to intercept him; and advised him to hasten his departure. *Lelius* took the Prince's counsel, weighed anchor the next day, and arrived safe in *Sicily* with his booty.

c. 5.

In the mean time, *Mago* received the reinforcement from *Cartbage*, with orders to raise as numerous an army as possible, and hasten to join his brother: Upon which he called a council of the chiefs of *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul*, and endeavoured to persuade them to declare openly against *Rome*; and furnish him with troops. The *Ligurians* complied; but the *Gauls* durst not follow their example; because there were actually two *Roman* armies (under *Livius* and *Lucretius*) in their neighbourhood. However, they consented to his levying men privately in their country; and supplied him with provisions and forage. *Livius* led his army from *Hebruria* into *Gaul*, intending, if *Mago* approached *Rome*, to march in conjunction with *Lucretius*, and give him battle; but to post himself near *Ariminum*, in case the *Cartbaginian* should continue in *Liguria*; which it is probable he did, since we hear of no action in that part of *Italy* this campaign.

While *Scipio* was at *Messina*, he received information, that a plot was formed by some *Locrians*, then in exile at *Rhegium*, to surprize their native

native city (which stood on the sea coast in *Bruttium*) and put it again into the hands of the *Romans*. He sent *Pleminius* with two Tribunes, and three thousand men, to assist in the enterprize. There were two citadels belonging to the place; and, when the *Romans* had made themselves masters of one, the *Carthaginians* retired into the other, leaving the inhabitants in sole possession of the city. These favoured the *Romans*; so that when *Hannibal* came to invest the place, they let in *Scipio* (who had hastened to their relief) privately in the night: The next morning he made a vigorous sally, and repulsed the assailants. *Hannibal* having learnt, that *Scipio* was in person at the head of his troops, immediately retired to his camp near the *Alex*, sending orders to the *Carthaginians* in the citadel to provide for their safety as well as they could. Hereupon, setting fire to the houses, they escaped amidst the confusion, and joined their general before night.

Y. R. 548.
Bef. Chr.
204.
247 Cons.

Scipio left the government of *Locri* to *Pleminius*, who treated the inhabitants more cruelly than if their city had been taken by assault: He rifled the temples of their Gods, and seized the treasure in the sanctuary of *Proserpine*. The two Tribunes were no less rapacious. Their soldiers, in a scuffle with those of the Pro-Prætor, about plunder, happened to wound some of them; of which these having made their complaint to him, he ordered the Tribunes to be whipt. But the Tribunes were rescued by their followers, who not only mauled the Lictors, but pulled *Pleminius* himself from off his tribunal, dragged him into a private place, beat him severely, cut off his nose and ears, and left him weltring in his blood. This accident made it necessary for *Scipio* to return to *Locri*. He took the part of the Pro-Prætor, put the Tribunes in chains, and ordered them to be carried to *Rome* to be judged. But this did not satisfy *Pleminius*: As soon as the Consul was gone, he of his own authority condemned the Tribunes to die by the most cruel torments, and their bodies to be left unburied; and, not yet content, he exercised the same cruelty towards those of the inhabitants who had complained to *Scipio* of his rapines and brutalities. The odium of these horrible actions fell in some measure upon the Consul: He had indeed been too indulgent to the guilty Governor; for which (as we shall see hereafter) his enemies, in the Senate, did not fail to inveigh against him, when occasion offered.

The time for the elections drew near: The Consul *Licinius* being sick of the plague, in his camp, could not go to *Rome*, to preside in the Comitia. He therefore, with the approbation of the Senate, named a Dictator for that purpose; and his choice fell upon *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who, in the quality of Pro-Consul, was commanding a second army in *Bruttium*. In this army also the plague so raged, that *Licinius* pressed the Senate to recall the troops, assuring them, that otherwise there would not be a soldier left alive.

Y. R. 548.
Bef. Chr.

204.
247 Conf.

Liv. B. 29.

C. 10.

App. in

Annib.

Ovid. Fast.

Liv. B. 29.

C. 11.

Liv. B. 29.

C. 14.

App. in

Annib.

345.

Many prodigies happening this year, and the *Sybilline* books being consulted for the proper expiations, the *Decemvirs* found it written in those oracles, *That if a foreign enemy invaded Italy, he might be vanquished and driven out of it, if the Goddess Cybele were brought to Rome from Pessinus in Phrygia.* This same *Cybele* (stiled the Mother of the Gods) was nothing more than a shapeless stone, which, as was pretended, had fallen down from Heaven upon Mount *Ida*. The *Consul* Fathers sent five ambassadors, men of distinction, to obtain by negotiation this powerful protectress. And, because the *Romans* had little commerce with the *Asiatics*, the ambassadors were to engage *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* in their interest. They went by the way of *Delphi*, and there consulted the Oracle; from which they received this answer, *That by the help of Attalus they should infallibly obtain what they desired; but that, when they had carried the Goddess to Rome, they should put her into no hands, but of the most virtuous man in the Republic.* King *Attalus* was so obliging as to conduct the ambassadors himself to *Pessinus*, where the inhabitants, with equal complaisance, granted them the stone they so earnestly desired. One of them sailed away before the rest, to give notice at *Rome*, that the Goddess was coming; and to report the answer of the *Delphic* Oracle. And now the great difficulty was, to find out that man of superior probity, who alone was worthy to receive the sacred and important stone, at its landing. History has not told us the remarkable virtues which gained *P. Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, the preference before all others: but this young man, cousin-german to the great *Scipio*, and son to *Cneius Scipio*, (who lost his life in *Spain*) was the person who obtained the honourable distinction. Attended by such of the ladies of *Rome*, as were in the highest veneration for their virtue, he went to meet the Goddess. Some of the *Vestals* likewise accompanied him, and particularly *Quinta Claudia*; of whom it is related, that when the vessel, on which the Goddess was imported, unfortunately stuck upon a bank of sand near the mouth of the *Tyber*, and neither the mariners, nor several yoke of oxen, were able to move it, she, pulling it only by her girdle tied to it, easily set it afloat. *Claudia* is said to have been suspected of incontinence; and it is added, that this miracle was wrought in answer of her prayer to the Goddess, to give a testimony of her innocence. There are not wanting Fathers of the church, who allow the fact, but they piously impute it to good angels, sent by God, to destroy the unjust aspersion cast upon the *Vestal*. The day on which *Cybele* arrived at *Rome* became a solemn annual festival, distinguished by games, called *Megaleses*. She was deposited in the temple of *VICTORY*.



C H A P. XXXV.

FIFTEENTH YEAR of the War.

Scipio is continued in his command in Sicily.

He is accused in the Senate, by his Quæstor, Cato, of profuseness and idleness.

He is also accused of partiality to the cruel Pleminius.

Commissioners are appointed to enquire into his conduct. Their report favourable to him.

Syphax declares for the Carthaginians.

Scipio makes a descent on Africa. Masinissa joins him.

A remarkable quarrel between the Censors at Rome.

BEFORE the arrival of the Goddess, the Dictator Q. Cæcilius Metellus had held the Comitia by Centuries, where M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, were chosen Consuls. Sempronius was then Pro-Consul in Greece. The Romans having, for two years past, (i. e. from the year 546,) neglected their affairs in Greece, Philip had forced the Ætolians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms. Soon after this, Sempronius arrived at Dyrrachium with 10,000 foot, 1000 horse, and 35 ships of war. He was very angry with the Ætolians, for having, contrary to the league, made peace without consent of the Romans. Yet, not daring to venture a battle with Philip, he was easily prevailed upon to come to an agreement with him, by the mediation of the Epirots. The treaty was confirmed by the people of Rome. In this treaty were included, on Philip's side, Prusias King of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bæotians, Thessalians, Arcarnanians and Epirots; and, on the side of the Romans, the Ilienses, King Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians. Sempronius returned to Rome, after which the following distribution of offices was agreed upon. The Consul Cornelius had the command of the forces in *He-truria*; his Collegue Sempronius was ordered into *Bruttium* with new levies, to act against *Hannibal*; and *Licinius* continued at the head of two legions, in that country, in quality of Pro-Consul. *Pomponius Matbo* had the Prætorship of *Sicily*; *Scipio*, the army and fleet he before commanded; and *M. Livius* and *Sp. Lucretius* remained in *Gaul* to oppose *Mago*. There were also two other armies in *Italy*, one at *Tarentum*, under *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the other at *Capua*, under *Hostilius Tubulus*.

About this time, young *Marcellus* dedicated a temple to Virtue. His father had formerly vowed one to Honour and Virtue, intending to place the statues of both under one roof. But the Pontifices opposed this, declaring, that it was not lawful to worship more than one God in one temple; and they likewise urged, that if lightning fell upon the

Y. R. 549.
Bef. Chr.
203.
248 Conf.
Liv. B. 29.
c. 12.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 11. & B.
27. c. 25.

V. R. 149.
Ecl. Chr.
203.
248 Conf.

the building, or any prodigy should happen in it, it would be impossible to discover to which of the two divinities expiatory duties should be paid. The temple therefore, which *Marcellus* had designed for both divinities, was dedicated only to Honour, and another built in all haste to VIRTUE.

L. B. 29.
C. 16.

And now the Republic being to recruit her armies, she thought proper to call to account the twelve *Roman* colonies, who, about six years before, had with impunity refused their contingents of men and money. The Senate determined, that each colony should furnish double the number of foot it had done in any year of the war, and a hundred and twenty horse. If any of them could not raise the number of horse required, they were to send three foot soldiers in the room of each horseman wanting. The Fathers also imposed a new yearly tax upon each colony, and ordered its census to be taken according to the form used at *Rome*. This decree was put in execution with rigour. It was followed by another in favour of those private persons, who, in the Consulship of *Levinus*, had lent the Republic the sums requisite to supply her pressing wants. At the motion of *Levinus*, the Senate ordered these debts to be discharged at three payments; the first to be made immediately, and the last within five years.

C. 13.

Such instances of equity in the Conscrip't Fathers embolden all, who were oppressed; to demand justice; and particularly the *Locrians*, who the last year had been so ill treated by *Pleminius*. From this people, ten deputies, in a neglected and sordid dress, (the mark of grief and distress among the ancients) and with olive branches in their hands, came to *Rome*, and laid before the Senate, in a long and pathetic harangue, the grievances and miseries they had suffered under the tyranny of the Pro-Prætor. When the *Locrians* had done speaking, *Fabius* asked them, whether they had made their complaint to *Scipio*; to which they answered, that deputies had been sent to him for that purpose, but that he was then busy about his preparations for war, and that now he was either gone for *Africa*, or intended to sail in a few days; that they had seen, in the quarrel between the Tribunes and *Pleminius*, how much *Scipio* favoured the latter, whom, though equally criminal, if not more so, he had continued in his government, while he ordered the Tribunes to be laid in irons. After the deputies had withdrawn, some of the chief Senators not only inveighed against *Pleminius*, but began to take *Scipio's* character to pieces. Among these was *M. Porcius Cato*, the first of his family who distinguished himself at *Rome*. He had been Quæstor to *Scipio* in *Sicily*, and had reproved him for his profuseness to his soldiers, to which the General had answered, "that he did not want
" an exact Quæstor; that he would make war at what expence he
" pleased, nor was he to give an account to the *Roman* people of the
" money he spent, but of his enterprizes and the execution of them." *Cato*, provoked at this answer, had left *Sicily*, and returned to *Rome*.

Plin. in
Cato. Maj.

He

He now declaimed against *Scipio*, accusing him of making great and useless expences, of passing his time boyishly at the Theatre and the Gymnasia, as if he had been commissioned, not to make war, but to celebrate games. Others of the Senators added, that the Pro-Consul had laid aside the *Roman* habit, publicly appeared in the *Greek* cloak and sandals, and that the reading of *Greek* books, and the pleasures of *Syracuse*, had made him intirely forget *Hannibal* and *Carthage*, while his army, grown as effeminate as their general, was become more terrible to their allies, than their enemies. *Fabius* called *Scipio*, a man born to be the corrupter of military discipline. "He acted, said the old man, the like part in *Spain*, where we lost not much less by sedition than we did by the war. One while he indulges his soldiers in all licentiousness, and then cruelly tyrannizes over them; as if he were a King and a foreigner." *Fabius's* sentence was as harsh as his invective. "That *Scipio* should be recalled home, for having quitted his province without orders from the Senate; and that the Tribunes should be desired to move the Comitia, to depose him from the Pro-Consulate. That *Pleminius* should be brought to *Rome* in chains, and, in case the crimes laid to his charge were proved, be executed in prison, and his goods confiscated. And lastly, that the Senate should disavow the ill-treatment of the *Locrians*, and give them all the satisfaction possible for the wrongs they had suffered."

Y. R. 549.
Bef. Chr.
203.
248 Conf.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 19.

The debate was carried to such a length, that the opinions of all the Senators could not be taken that day. In the next assembly, the Fathers concurred in opinion with *Q. Metellus*. He approved the proposals of *Fabius*, with regard to *Pleminius* and the *Locrians*, but urged, that it was unreasonable, upon dubious accusations, to recall a general, whom *Rome* had chosen Consul, in the expectation of being by him delivered from *Hannibal*, and of becoming mistress of *Africa*: And he moved, that two Tribunes of the people, one *Ædile*, and ten other commissioners, out of the Senate, should be sent into *Sicily* with *Pomponius* the Prætor of that island, to take cognizance of *Scipio's* conduct in the affair of *Pleminius*; and, if they found him an accomplice in that Pro-Prætor's crimes, to send him to *Rome*; but in case *Scipio* had already sailed for *Africa*, the Tribunes, the *Ædile*, and two of the commissioners should follow him thither, the last to assume the command of the army, if the Pro-Consul should be ordered home. The Commissioners, who were to embark at *Rhegium*, went first to *Locri*.

c. 20.

^b *Externo & regio more, & indulgere licentiæ militum, & jœvire in eos.* Liv. B. 29. c. 19.

^c Perhaps this pompous embassy was rather designed to enquire into the state of *Scipio's* army, and to see whether it was yet a proper time for the Senate to give him openly a commission to carry the war

into *Africa*. This conjecture seems confirmed by the conduct of the Commissioners, who even after the *Locrians* had cleared *Scipio*, or dropt the accusation, went nevertheless into *Sicily*; though the decree of the Senate, as it is in *Livy*, had confined their commission to the affair of *Pleminius*.

There

Y. R. 438
Bef. Chr.
201.
248 C. 101.

There they seized the guilty Governor, and thirty two of his accomplices, put them in irons, and sent them to *Rome*. They also made reparation to the *Lacrians* for their losses, and having examined them concerning *Scipio's* conduct, received answer, "That though the Pro-Consul had not shewn great concern at the miseries of their city, yet he was a man they had much rather have for a friend than an enemy: That they persuaded themselves so many heinous crimes had not been committed by his command, or with his approbation; that he had only given too much credit to *Pleminius*, and too little to them; and that such was the disposition of some men, they were more willing to believe people innocent, than disposed to punish them when guilty." This declaration pleased the Commissioners, as it freed them from the invidious office of beginning a criminal process against a man so much in favour with the people of *Rome*. And, when they came into *Sicily*, they were thoroughly convinced, by the vast preparations *Scipio* had made for his intended expedition, and the fine appearance both of his army and fleet, that the General had not spent his time wholly at the theatre, and in amusements. Go, said they, into *Africa*, and the Gods give you that success which the Roman people promised themselves from your virtue and abilities, when they chose you Consul. Such a General and such an army will conquer the Carthaginians, or they are invincible.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 22.

The report of the Commissioners at their return to *Rome*, raised the glory of *Scipio*. The Senate passed a decree, that he should immediately go into *Africa*, and take with him such of the *Roman* troops in *Sicily* as he thought fit for his enterprize. And, as for the people, the favour in which he stood with them, made them tender even to the guilty *Pleminius*, for whom they imagined the Pro-Consul had some regard. Their compassion for the criminal was likewise raised, by seeing the miserable figure he made, without his nose and ears; so that, though he was often produced before them, he was never condemned. He died in prison, or, as some say, was, long after this, executed for attempting to set fire to *Rome*.

c. 23.

Appian. in
Punic. 6.

It has been before observed, that *Scipio*, in order to pave his way to *Carthage*, had gained over to the *Roman* interest the two *Numidian* Kings, *Sypbar* and *Mafiniffa*. The *African* Republic endeavoured to destroy the engagements which those Princes had entered into with her enemy: And *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, by the means of his daughter *Sophonisba*, drew off *Sypbar*. The Historians represent her as a woman of excellent beauty, accompanied

^a According to *Appian* (in *Punic*. c. 6.) *Asdrubal* had promised his daughter in marriage to *Mafiniffa*: But, *Sypbar* being in love with her, the *Carthaginians*, to bring him off from the alliance of *Rome*,

gave him *Sophonisba*, without the knowledge of her father, who was then in *Spain*. *Mafiniffa*, in revenge, privately entered into a league with *Scipio*. Upon hearing this, *Asdrubal* (says the same Historian) was indeed

accompanied with graces and a manner irresistibly winning; love for her country, the ruling passion of her soul, with a courage to execute whatever that love could dictate. This lady being given in marriage to *Syphax*, his passion for her made him forget his engagements with *Rome*; and he readily entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with *Carthage*. Prompted by *Asdrubal*, he wrote a letter to *Scipio*, to dissuade him from making a descent upon *Africa*, acquainting him at the same time with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the *Carthaginians*, and the necessity he should be under of taking part with them, in case they were attacked.

Y. R. 549.
Bef. Chr.
203.
248 Conf.

The Pro-Consul received this letter at *Syracuse* with some surprize; and, to conceal the contents of it from his army, sent back the messenger immediately, with a short answer to the *Numidian* Prince, advising him to beware how he offended both Gods and men, by a violation of public faith: After which, assembling his troops, he bid them prepare for a voyage to *Africa*: *Formerly*, said he, *Masiniſſa complained to Lælius of my dilatoriness; and now Syphax presses me to hasten my departure; and desires, that if I have changed my resolution, I will let him know it, that he may provide for his own safety.* He then ordered his ships of war and transports to *Lilybæum*; and thither he, in person, marched the land forces, purposing to set sail with the first favourable wind. All the troops shewed an incredible ardour to follow him in this expedition, especially those legionaries, who had run away at the battle of *Cannæ*, and had therefore been condemned to stay in *Sicily*, for the whole time that *Hannibal* should continue in *Italy*. As they were old soldiers, and had been in many battles and sieges, the Pro-Consul, notwithstanding their disgrace, took with him as many of them as were fit for service.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 24.

Lælius commanded the fleet. It is uncertain what number of men were embarked; but never was embarkation made with more order and solemnity; and the concourse of people, who came from all parts to see it, and to wish the Pro-Consul a prosperous voyage, was incredibly great. Just before he weighed anchor, he appeared on the poop of his galley, and after a herald had proclaimed silence, addressed this prayer to Heaven: *O all ye Gods and Goddeſſes of earth and sea, I intreat and implore you to make whatever I have done, am doing, or ſhall do, in my command, prosperous to me, to the people and commons of Rome, to the allies and the Latine name, to all thoſe who eſpouſe the cauſe of the people of Rome and*

c. 25.

c. 27.

indeed sorry for the injury done to the young prince, but resolved to have him murdered, because it was for the interest of *Carthage*. Accordingly he sent guards with him under pretence of conveying him into his dominions, but gave them secret instructions to kill him. *Masiniſſa* having

discovered the design, found means to escape. *Zenaræ* tells us, that *Asdrubal* promised his daughter to *Masiniſſa*, but afterwards broke his word, and gave her to *Syphax*; thinking it of greater consequence to gain this Prince to the interest of *Carthage* than the other.

Y. R. 542.
Bef. Chr.
248 C.

L. E. 29.
C. 29.

mine, and follow my command and auspices by land, by sea, and on rivers: to favour all these enterprizes, and increase them with good success: Bring us all home safe and unhurt, victorious over our enemies, adorned with spoils, loaded with booty, and triumphant: And enable us to execute upon Carthage all that we designed against Rome. When he had ended this prayer, he caused a victim to be slain, and the entrails to be thrown into the sea; and then the trumpets sounding, he weighed anchor, and with fifty galleys and four hundred ships of burden, set sail, with a favourable wind, for Africa. As he drew towards the coast, he asked the name of the nearest land then in view, and being told it was called the *Fair Promontory*, he liked the omen, ordered his pilots to direct their course thither, and safely landed his army. Soon after, *Masiniſſa*, the only African Prince in the interest of Rome, came and joined him. The Historians have left us the following relation of the adventures of this young King.

Gala, King of *Massyliæ**, and father of *Masiniſſa*, had, according to the laws of *Numidia*, been succeeded by his younger brother *Oesalces*. And when the latter died, his son, *Capuſa*, had mounted the throne. *Capuſa* was slain in a battle against his rebellious subjects, headed by one *Mezetulus*, a factious man of the blood royal, and a constant rival and competitor of the Kings of *Numidia*. The Conqueror, though he durst not assume the title of King, made himself tutor to *Lacumaces* the younger brother of *Capuſa*, and seized the government, as in right of his ward. And, to secure himself in his usurped authority, he not only entered into an alliance with king *Syphax*, but married his pupil's mother, who was niece to *Hannibal*; hoping thereby to gain the *Cartaginians* to his interest.

C. 32-33.
32, 33.

Masiniſſa was then in *Spain*; where hearing of *Capuſa*'s death, he passed into *Africa*, and asked assistance of *Bocchar*, King of *Mauritania*. *Bocchar* lent him 4000 men to convoy him to the frontiers of *Massyliæ*. There, being joined by a small body of *Numidians*, and having advice, that *Lacumaces* was marching into *Massyliæ*†, to ask succours of King *Syphax*, he surprized the young prince near *Tbapsus*, routed his forces, and took the town; but *Lacumaces* escaped to *Syphax*. This success engaged many of the *Numidians* to side with *Masiniſſa*; and particularly the soldiers who had served under his father *Gala*. Encouraged by these veterans, he ventured, though inferior in number, to attack *Mezetulus*, who was now in the field with a great army, *Lacumaces* having brought him a reinforcement of 15000 foot from *Syphax*. *Masiniſſa*'s superior skill in war, and the bravery of his troops, gave him the victory. *Lacumaces*, with his tutor, and the small remains of their forces, fled for refuge into the territories of *Carthage*; and the conqueror took possession of

* A part of *Numidia*.

† A part of *Numidia*.

the vacant throne. But now, apprehending he should have a much more difficult war to sustain against *Syphax*, he thought it advisable to come to an accommodation with his kinsman. He offered to place him in the same rank *Oxalces* had held at *Gala's* court, pardon *Mzetulus*, and restore to him all his effects. The Princes preferring a moderate, but certain fortune, in their own country, to uncertain hopes, in exile, accepted the proposals, notwithstanding all the industry of the *Carthaginians* to hinder it.

At this time *Madrual*, happening to be at *Syphax's* court, insinuated to him, that *Masinissa* was an ambitious enterprizing youth, who would not be contented, like his father *Gala*, or his uncle *Oxalces*, with the dominion of *Massyliæ*, and if not crushed in the beginning, might one day prove a dangerous neighbour, both to him and the *Carthaginians*. *Syphax*, instigated by these suggestions, marched an army against *Masinissa*: A pitched battle was fought, in which the *Massylians* were totally vanquished; the king himself narrowly escaped, with only a small guard of horse, to *Mount Balbus*. Thither some families of his own subjects followed him, with all their cattle, (wherein the riches of the *Numidians* chiefly consisted,) and there being plenty of pasture and water round the mountain, he lived on the milk and flesh of their flocks. The rest of the *Massylians* submitted to the conqueror.

Masinissa having, in this retreat, got some troops together, began to make nocturnal incursions upon the frontiers of the *Carthaginians*; and, in a short time, his forces augmenting, he ventured in open day to penetrate farther into their country, destroyed their inhabitants, and brought thence a considerable booty. *Carthage*, to put a stop to his devastations, had recourse to *Syphax*. The King disdaining to go in person to reduce a band of robbers, dispatched away *Bocchar*, one of his officers, with four thousand foot and two thousand horse. These surrounded the mountain, where *Masinissa* was lodged, hindered the return of the detachments he had sent out, and forced him to the top of the hill.

Bocchar, thinking that he had his enemy secure, sent back all his troops, except five hundred foot and two hundred horse. Soon after, he surprized *Masinissa* in a narrow pass, attempting to get away by stealth. The Prince, with only fifty horse, escaped by flight. *Bocchar*, and his two hundred horse, pursued him, came up with him near *Clypea*, and cut in pieces all his guard, except four. With these *Masinissa*, though wounded, fled full speed; and finding a river in their way, they leaped horse and man into it. Two of them were drowned in crossing the stream; but the Prince, and the other two, gained the opposite bank, and hid themselves among some bushes. *Bocchar*, who pursued them to the river, imagined they had all perished, and went no farther; and from that time it was reported at *Carthage*, and the court of *Syphax*, that *Masinissa* was dead. In the mean while, he hid him-

V. R. 223
B. C. 223
223 C. 1.

self in a cave, dressed his wound with herbs, and lived on the prey which his two companions brought him.

Dethroned Princes, who have any spirit, do not easily relinquish the hopes of a restoration. *Mafiniffa*, as soon as his wound would suffer him to mount on horseback, left his cave, and took the road to his own country. In a few days after his appearance there, some of his people, to the number of six thousand foot and four thousand horse, gathering about him, he not only possessed himself of *Maffylia*, but made dreadful ravages in the territories of the *Carthaginian* allies, and King *Sypbax*. The latter thinking the affair serious, came in person with an army to stop the enemy's progress. During the battle which followed, *Vermina*, the son of *Sypbax*, having with a large detachment fetched a compass, fell upon the *Maffylians* in the rear. By this means *Mafiniffa* was again defeated*. With only sixty horse he fled to the sea coast near the lesser *Syrtis*; and there he continued, for the most part, till the arrival of *Scipio*; by which time he had augmented his troop; for he joined the Pro-Consul with two hundred, some say, two thousand horse.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 28.

The alarm and terror which *Scipio's* descent caused among the *Carthaginians*, made them think it necessary to strengthen the fortifications of their capital. They had no general in any degree qualified to oppose him in the field. *Asdrubal* (the son of *Gisco*) the best they had, is spoken of by *Livy*, as a man of great quality and wealth, but as excelling in no military talent, except that of saving himself by a swift retreat*; nor were they provided with disciplined and experienced soldiers.

c. 34.

Scipio, having ordered his fleet towards *Utica*, encamped on certain eminences, not far from the sea coast. Next day, a body of five hundred *Carthaginian* horse, commanded by *Hanno*, a young warrior, who had been sent to watch the motions of the enemy, fell in with the advanced guards of the *Roman* camp, who routed them, and slew their commander.

Appian. in
Punic. 9.

This first success was a good *Augury*; and *Scipio* drew near to *Locha*, a city which seemed to promise his soldiers a rich booty. He had no sooner planted his ladders for the assault, than the inhabitants being terrified, sent a herald to ask their lives, with liberty to retire. Hereupon the General sounded a retreat; but the soldiers, greedy of plunder, would not

* *Appian* makes no mention of this second battle. According to him, after *Mafiniffa* was once driven from his kingdom, he continued dispossessed of it, till *Scipio's* arrival in *Africa*; at which time *Sypbax* and the *Carthaginians*, to draw him off from the *Romans*, pretended to be reconciled to him, and restored him to his kingdom. Though *Mafiniffa* was sensible, that they were not sincere, yet he pre-

tended to come into their measures, and joined *Asdrubal* with his cavalry. However he held secret intelligence with *Scipio*, and only waited a favourable opportunity to go over to him, which he did soon after, betraying at the same time, a party of *Carthaginian* horse into the hands of the *Romans*. *Le Punic.* §. 7. & seq.

* — *Asdrubale, fugacissimo Duce.* *Liv.* B. 30. c. 28.

obey: They forced the town, and put all, even women and children, to the sword. It was necessary to punish so signal a disobedience; and the centurions being the most guilty, as having encouraged the soldiers to it, the Pro-Consul decreed that three of them should die as lots should determine. The soldiers were deprived of the booty they had taken. After some few expeditions of small moment, *Scipio* undertook the siege of *Utica* with all his army. But *Asdrubal*, who commanded 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse, being joined by *Sypbax* with 50,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, obliged the *Roman* to dislodge, after he had been before the place forty days. He retreated to a promontory, under which his fleet rode at anchor, entrenched himself there, and waited the return of the spring to renew the war. *Asdrubal* lay encamped near him, and *Sypbax* at a little distance from the *Carthaginian*. We shall leave them here a while, and return to the affairs of *Italy*.

Y. R. 549.
Bef. Chr.
203.
248 Conf.

THE Consul *Sempronius*, who marched into *Bruttium* against *Hannibal*, was worsted in his first engagement with him, and lost, 1200 men: But, in a second, being assisted by the forces of the Pro-Consul *Licinius*, it is said, he defeated the enemy, left four thousand of them dead upon the spot, and retook several towns after the victory.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 36.

On the other hand, the Consul *Cetbegus*, who was to act against *Mago*, kept *Hetruria* in awe. By commencing legal processes against those who had entered into a correspondence with the enemy, he prevented the insurrections which the *Carthaginian* endeavoured to raise in that country. The guilty would not appear upon the summons, but went into a voluntary banishment; and their estates were confiscated.

While the Consuls were thus employed abroad, the two Censors at *Rome*, *Livius Salinator*, and *Claudius Nero*, drew a contempt on themselves by a most ridiculous behaviour. Though their quarrels with each other had formerly been very great, yet the distress of the Republic, during their Consulship, had reconciled them in appearance for some time; but now their mutual hatred broke out afresh. It was customary for the Censors, just before leaving their office, to draw up a list of the Senators, review the *Roman* Knights, assemble the Tribes, and set a mark of infamy on such persons as deserved it. As to the first, *Livius* and *Nero* were equitable in their proceedings; but when they came to review the Knights, of which body they both were, *Nero* ordered his Colleague's name to be struck out of the list, on pretence that he had been formerly condemned by the people for a misdemeanor. And *Livius*, when *Nero's* name was called over, passed the like sentence against him: *My reasons*, said he, *are, that he has borne false witness against me; and that his reconciliation with me was not sincere.* Their passion and folly appeared yet more extravagant, when they came to take an account of the Tribes. *Nero* ranked his Colleague among those whom he declared *ÆRARIJ*, i. e. Persons deprived of the rights

c. 37.

Y. R. 449.
B. C. 229.
249 C. 229.

rights of *Roman* Citizenship, but still obliged to pay the public taxes. And *Livius* not only did as much for *Nero*, but disfranchised all the thirty five Tribes, except the *Mecien*; (which was the only one that had formerly voted for him upon his trial) *for*, said he, *it must be owned they acted unjustly either once when they condemned me, or twice, when they conferred upon me the Consulship and Censorship*. Among the effects of *Livius's* anger against the People, may be reckoned a tax he laid, during his Censorship, upon salt; ordering that it should be sold dearer in some places than others. It was hence that he got the name of *Salinator*. These Censors however were very exact in taking an account of the number of *Roman* Citizens, and sent to the most distant of the camps abroad, for that purpose. The number appeared to be two hundred and fourteen thousand fit to bear arms.

C H A P. XXXVI.

SIXTEENTH YEAR of the WAR.

Scipio attacks the two camps of Syphax and Asdrubal.

The Carthaginians attempt to burn the Roman fleet.

Syphax taken prisoner, Masinissa's conduct towards Sophonisba; and Scipio's censure of it. Her unhappy fate. Hannibal recalled from Italy. He arrives with his army in Africa.

Y. R. 450.
B. C. 228.
249 C. 228.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 1.

WHEN the Comitia had elected *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Servilius Geminus* Consuls for the new year, and came to appoint the Pro-Consuls, they nominated *Scipio* for *Africa*, directing that he should continue there, in that capacity, till the end of the war.

Polyb. B.
14. c. 1.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 3.

Early in the spring, *Scipio*, knowing the levity of the *Numidian*, and hoping (says *Polybius*) that he might by this time be tired both of his wife, and of the *Carthaginians*, employed some persons to sound his inclinations. Finding that the King insisted on the *Romans* leaving *Africa*, and *Hannibal's* returning from *Italy*, as the conditions of a treaty, the Pro-Consul formed a new design. He pretended to be very desirous of a peace; and, to carry on the negotiation, frequently sent deputies to the *Numidian*. These deputies were attended by officers, who understood the art of war, and who, in the habit of servants, acted the part of spies, and observed exactly the state and disposition of both the enemies camps. The *Romans* seemed so fond of an accommodation, that *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* (for *Scipio* had desired the King to consult with the *Carthaginian*) started new pretensions; and the discussion of these demands gave the spies all the time they could desire, to make their observations. They at length returned, and made their report

report to *Scipio*: who thereupon sent the *Numidian* this answer: "That he himself was earnest for the treaty, but that none of his council approved the conditions. That the King must therefore come over to the *Romans*, or expect no peace." This declaration put an end to the truce, and *Scipio* was at liberty to execute his project.

In order thereto, he first sent a detachment to take possession of the ground where he had posted himself the last autumn, when he besieged *Utica*. This he did to secure his camp from being attacked, in his absence, by the garrison of *Utica*; and to make *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* believe, that he intended to renew his enterprize upon that town. He then assembled the ablest and most faithful of his officers, and told them, that his design was to set fire to the two camps of the enemy the following night, an enterprize which might be easily effected, the barracks in which the *Carthaginians* had wintered being made of wood, and those of the *Numidians* of reeds. The project was universally applauded. Whereupon *Scipio* divided his troops, and gave the command of one part to *Masinissa*, and of another to *Lælius*, with orders to assail the camp of *Syphax* on different sides. He himself with the rest of his forces marched towards *Asdrubal*, but resolving not to begin the attack on his camp till he saw that of the *Numidian* actually in flames. The whole scheme was happily executed. The *Romans* surprised and burnt both camps, and destroyed forty thousand of the enemy by fire or sword. *Syphax* fled to *Abba*; *Asdrubal* to a city named *Abda*; whither being pursued by *Scipio*, and finding the inhabitants wavering in their resolutions, he would not venture to stand a siege. He retired to *Carthage* with two thousand foot and five hundred horse.

Great was the consternation of the people in that city, when they saw him arrive there with those poor remains of his routed army. The *Suffetes* (whose office in the *Carthaginian* Republic, resembled that of the *Consuls* at *Rome*) convened the *Senators*. Divided in opinion, some were for sending immediately for *Hannibal*; others for proposing a truce with the enemy: But the *Barchine* faction insisted upon continuing the war, and would hearken to no expedient which tended to the recalling *Hannibal* from *Italy*; and these prevailed. The Senate ordered levies to be made both in the city and in the country, and dispatched ambassadors to *Syphax*, pressing him to steadiness in the cause of the Republic. *Syphax*, still at *Abba*, was greatly at a loss what measures to follow. The ambassadors assured him, that ^b *Asdrubal* would speedily take the field with a considerable army, and that a large body of *Celtiberians* from *Spain*, hired into the service, were already landed,

Y. R. 550.
E. C. Chr.
202.
249 C. C.

Appian in
Punic.
Liv. B. 30.
Polyb. B. 1.
14. C. 2.

Liv. B. 30.
C. 5.

^b *Appian* differs widely from *Polybius* and *Livy*. He tells us, that the *Carthaginians* condemned *Asdrubal* to death for his misconduct, and appointed *Hanno*, the son of *Bemilcar*,

V. R. 3:2
Esf. Chr.
202
849 Conf.

Polyb. B.
14. c. 7.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 8.

Polyb. B.
14. c. 9.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 9.

Liv. B. 30.
c. 10.

landed, and on their march to *Abba*. By these assurances, but chiefly by the tears and intreaties of his wife *Sophonisba*, he was fixed in the interest of *Carthage*.

Scipio was busy in the siege of *Utica*, when he received intelligence that the enemy, having got together near thirty thousand men, were encamped in a place called *The Great Plain*, about five days march from him. He immediately turned the siege into a blockade, and hastened to attack them. After some slight skirmishes, the two armies came to a general battle, in which the *Romans* obtained a complete victory. However, the stout resistance, made by the *Celtiberians*, gave the *Africans* the better opportunity to escape by flight. *Asdrubal*, with the remains of his army, retired to *Carthage*, and *Sypbax*, with the best part of his cavalry, into his own country.

The Pro-Consul having called a council of war, it was there agreed, that *Lælius* and *Masimissa* should pursue *Sypbax*, and not give him time to recruit his forces; and that *Scipio* should apply himself to reduce the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. *Tunis*, from whence the capital could be seen, opened her gates to him; the garrison, upon his approach, having deserted the place.

And now *Carthage* herself, expecting to be besieged, prepared for a long defence; and the Senate dispatched messengers into *Liguria* and *Bruttium*, with orders for *Hannibal* and *Mago* to return home with all possible expedition. In the mean time the *Cartbaginians* formed a design to burn the *Roman* fleet, which lay in shelter under the promontory near *Utica*. *Hamilcar*, with an hundred galleys, equipped in a few days, sailed away to execute this enterprize. The course which the *Cartbaginian* steered was perceived by *Scipio* from *Tunis*: He made all haste to his fleet, and got thither by land before the enemy arrived. To preserve his galleys, he drew them up as near to the shore as he could, and made a triple or quadruple defence before them of his ships of burden moored together, but with spaces between, for small vessels to launch out against the enemy. Over these spaces he laid bridges, for the conveniency of sending assistance from one row of ships to another; and in the ships he placed a thousand chosen men, with great quantities of missive weapons. Had *Hamilcar* been expeditious, he might have destroyed all the *Roman* fleet, but, it being night before he came up, he was obliged to lie by; so that *Scipio* had time sufficient to prepare for his reception. Next day the attack began: The *Cartbaginian* broke the chain of ships in the first line, and took six of them: But he had not courage to pursue his advantage; he returned with his small prize to *Carthage*.

Hamilcar, to command the army in his room; and that the former being then at *Arde*, got together a body of 8000 foot, and 3000 horse, and carried on the war against the *Romans*, as an independent General. *App. in Punic. l. 13.*

In

In the mean time, *Masiniſſa* and *Lælius*, with a third part of the *Roman* legions, were in purſuit of *Syphax*. In fifteen days they arrived in the heart of *Numidia*; and, when *Masiniſſa* had taken poſſeſſion of his own kingdom, he carried the war into the dominions of his enemy. *Syphax*, with a numerous army, advanced confidently to meet him; but, in a general action which enſued, was defeated and made priſoner together with one of his ſons.

After this, the victorious *Numidian*, with the approbation of *Lælius*, who was to follow by eaſy marches, haſtened to appear before *Cyrtba*, the capital of *Syphax*'s dominions, whom he took with him. On the appearance of their King in chains, thoſe of the inhabitants who were upon the walls deſerted them in a fright; others, to gain the favour of the Conqueror, opened the gates to him. Quickning his horſe, he rode directly to the palace to take poſſeſſion of it. In the entrance of the portico ſtood *Sophonisba* the wife of *Syphax*. When ſhe ſaw *Masiniſſa*, judging by the richneſs of his armour, and other marks of diſtinction, that he was the King, ſhe fell down at his feet, and ſaid: “ The Gods, your valour, and your good fortune, have given you all power over us. But, if a captive woman may be allowed to ſupplie cate the arbiter of her life and death, if ſhe may be permitted to touch your knees and this victorious right hand, I beg and implore you by the regal Maſteſty—with which *we* alſo, it is not long ſince, were inveſted;—by the name of *Numidian*, common to you with *Syphax*; by the Gods of this palace (may they receive you more auſpiciously than they have ſent *Syphax* hence!) to grant me this favour, *that you yourſelf will determine my fate, and not abandon me to the pride and cruelty of any Roman*. Were it only that I am the wife of *Syphax*, I would rather be at the mercy of a *Numidian*, a native of *Africa*, as I am, than of an alien and a ſtranger. I need not ſay what a *Carthaginian*, what a daughter of *Aſdrubal* has to fear from *Roman* enmity. If you can no other way ſave me from falling into their hands, do it by my death, I beſeech you, I conjure you.” Surpaſſingly beautiful was the ſuppliant, and in the richeſt bloom of life: She claſped the Prince's hand, ſhe embraced his knees; and her pleading, when ſhe ſued to him for a promiſe, that he would not give her up to the *Romans*, was more like the blandiſhments of love, than the prayer of wretchedneſs. The victor, melting not only to pity, but to love, gave her his right-hand, the pledge of aſſured protection. *Masiniſſa* promiſed, without weighing the difficulty of performing; and, had he weighed it, he would ſtill have promiſed. For, when he began to conſider, by what means he might be able to keep his word, *Sophonisba* being truly *Scipio*'s captive, he took counſel only of his paſſion. He married her that very day; flattering himſelf, that neither *Lælius* nor *Scipio* could think of treating, as a captive, the

V. R. 552.
Bef. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.
Appear in
Punic.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 11. &
ſeq.

Y. R. 550.
Bef. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.

the wife of *Masiniſſa*. The ceremony was hardly over when *Lælius* arrived. Far from diſſembling the diſpleaſure this marriage gave him, he was, at firſt, going to ſnatch the Queen from the arms of her husband, and ſend her away with the reſt of the priſoners to *Scipio*; but being overcome at length by the King's entreaties, who begged him to refer the matter to the judgment of the Pro-Conſul, he forbore that violence, and took *Masiniſſa* with him to aſſiſt in the reduction of ſome towns, which adhered to *Syphax*; while this unfortunate King, mad with rage at the ſucceſs of his rival, was ſent under a guard to *Scipio*'s camp.

The whole army were much affected with the ſpectacle of King *Syphax* in chains, a Prince, whoſe alliance had been ſo lately courted by two powerful Republics. The General remembered the hoſpitable entertainment the *Numidian* had formerly given him at his court: And the ſame remembrance encouraged *Syphax* to ſpeak with the more freedom to his conqueror. When *Scipio* asked him, what it was that could induce him, not only to reject the alliance of *Rome*, but, without provocation, to begin a war againſt her; “Madneſs, answered *Syphax*. “But this madneſs did not *then* commence, when I took up arms againſt “the *Roman* people; *that* was the end of it, not the beginning. *Then* “it began, *then* I forgot all private ties and public leagues, when I “married a *Carthaginian* woman. It was the nuptial torch that ſet my “palace on fire. *Sophoniſſa* was the ſorcererſs, who by her enchantments “deprived me of my reaſon; nor did ſhe ever reſt till with her own “hands ſhe had armed me with thoſe impious arms I have employed “againſt my gueſt and my friend. But, in the miſt of my adverſity “and ruin, I have this conſolation left, that I ſee the peſt, the fury “gone into the houſe of my moſt implacable enemy. *Masiniſſa* will “not be more prudent or more ſteady than *Syphax*: Nay, he will be “leſs upon his guard; for he is younger. This at leaſt is ſure; *his* “marriage ſpeaks more of folly and intemperance of paſſion than *mine*. “*Sophoniſſa* will have all power over him; and it is in vain to hope “ſhe will ever be brought to favour the *Roman* cauſe; ſo deeply rooted, “ſo immoveable is her affection to her country.”

App. de
Bell. Pu-
lic. c. 35.

Though theſe words were dictated by the hatred of an enemy, and the rage of jealous love, yet they made a ſtrong impreſſion in the mind of the Pro-Conſul. *Masiniſſa*'s precipitate marriage in the miſt of arms, without conſulting, or even waiting for *Lælius*, made the King's prediction but too crecible: And ſuch fallies of paſſion, ſays *Livy*, ſeemed the more inexcusable to *Scipio*, as he, during his command in *Spain*, had never ſuffered himſelf, though young, to be transported by the charms of any of his fair captives. While he was revolving in his thoughts this ſtrange event, *Lælius* and *Masiniſſa* arrived. The Pro-Conſul received them both with equal marks of kindneſs; and having in a crowded aſſembly of his officers, expatiated in their praiſe, he took *Masiniſſa* aſide,

aside, and spoke to him in the following manner. “ It was doubtless,
 “ *Masiniſſa*, ſome good qualities you ſaw in me, which inclined you, in
 “ *Spain*, to enter into friendship with me; and afterwards, in *Africa*, to
 “ commit yourſelf and your fortunes to my protection. Of all the
 “ virtues for which you think my friendship deſirable, there is none in
 “ which I pride myſelf more than *continence*: And I wiſh, *Masiniſſa*,
 “ that *You*, to your other eminent virtues, would add *this* alſo. There
 “ is not, believe me, there is not ſo much danger, to our years, from
 “ armed enemies, as from the pleaſures that on all ſides ſurround us.
 “ He who has acquired the maſtery over his appetites and paſſions, has
 “ made a nobler conqueſt, and gained greater glory, than we by our
 “ vanquiſhing King *Syphax*. The exploits of bravery which you have
 “ performed in my abſence, I have juſt now publickly acknow-
 “ ledged, and ſhall remember: The reſt I had rather you yourſelf
 “ ſhould reflect upon, than that I, by the mention of it, ſhould put
 “ you to the bluſh. *Syphax* was conquered and made priſoner, under
 “ the auſpices of the people of *Rome*. He, therefore, his wife, his
 “ kingdom, his lands, his towns, all who inhabit them, all that be-
 “ longed to *Syphax*, are become the property of the *Roman* people.
 “ *Sophoniſſa*, if ſhe were not a *Carthaginian*, if her father did not
 “ command the army of our enemies, muſt, as well as her huſband,
 “ be ſent to *Rome*: It is the prerogative of the Senate and people
 “ there to determine the fate of a woman, who is charged with having
 “ ſeduced a King from our alliance, and hurried him to take arms
 “ againſt us. *Masiniſſa*, get the better of your ſelf. Beware of tar-
 “ niſhing by one vice, the luſtre of many virtues. Do not loſe the merit
 “ of ſo many ſervices, by a ſingle fault, to which the cauſe of it bears no
 “ proportion^b.”

Livy tells us, that this diſcourſe brought bluſhes into the Prince’s
 cheeks, and drew tears from his eyes. When he had promiſed an
 abſolute ſubmiſſion to the General’s pleaſure, and had begged, that he
 might be permitted, as far as the ſituation of things would allow, to
 perform the raſh promiſe he had given *Sophoniſſa*, of not delivering her
 into the power of any other perſon, he left *Scipio*’s tent in confuſion, and
 retired to his own. There ſhutting himſelf up, he ſpent ſome time

^b It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Livy* ſhould make his divine *Scipio* preach ſuch a grave lecture upon *continence*, when he had nothing in his heart but *murder*. The ma- niſeſt aim of his Ethics, as appears by the ſequel, was to perſuade the Prince either to murder the woman he had juſt mar- ried, or to give her up to be murdered by the *Romans*. Had the *Numidian* married half the women of *Cyrtba*, he would pro- bably have eſcaped the lecture, provided *Sophoniſſa* had not been of the number. But

Scipio dreaded the power of the beautiful *Carthaginian* dame over her new Huſband.

Appian (differing from *Livy*) tells us that *Scipio* at firſt only deſired *Masiniſſa* to deliver up *Syphax*’s wife; that the Prince reſuſing to comply, the General ſharply forbade him to think of keeping by force what of right belonged to the *Roman* people; and hav- ing commanded him to give up the prey, added, that then, if he pleaſed, he might petition for it. *App. in Punic. l. 15.*

Y. R. 550.
P. C. C.
229 C. C.

alone in sighs and groans, so loud as to be heard by the soldiers without the pavilion. At length he called a trusty slave, who had charge of the poison, which (after the manner of Kings) was kept ready against unforeseen adversities; and bid him, when he had prepared a potion, carry it to *Sophonista*, with this message. "*Masiniſſa* would gladly have fulfilled the marriage engagement, the obligation of a husband to a wife; but since to do this is denied him by those who have the power to hinder it, he now performs his other promise, *that ſhe ſhould not be delivered up alive to the Romans*. *Sophonista*, mindful of her father, her country, and the two Kings, whose wife ſhe has been, will conſult her own honour." When the miniſter of death came to the Queen, and with the meſſage preſented her the poiſon: "I accept, ſaid ſhe, this marriage-gift; nor is it unwelcome, if my husband could indeed do nothing kinder for his wife. This however tell him, *That I ſhould have died with more honour, if I had not married at my funeral*." She ſpoke theſe words with a reſolute countenance, took the cup with a ſteady hand, and drank it off. The news being brought to *Scipio*, he ſent for the *Numidian* Prince; and left his diſtempered mind ſhould carry him to ſome action yet more deſperate, diſcourſed to him in friendly manner; now endeavouring to conſole him; then gently reſtoring him, for having expiated one act of temerity by another, and given a more tragical concluſion to the affair than was neceſſary. Next day the Pro-Conſul aſſembled the ſoldiers, mounted his tribunal, and, before them all, addreſſing himſelf to *Masiniſſa*, ſtilled him King; and, when he had been laſh in his praiſe, preſented him with a crown and cup of gold, a curule chair, an ivory ſcepter, an embroidered robe, and a tunic wrought with palm-branches. And theſe preſents he enhanced, by ſaying, that, "in a TRIUMPH, than which nothing among the *Romans* was more magnificent, the triumphant victors had no ſtateſſier ornaments; and that *Masiniſſa* was the only foreigner the *Roman* people thought worthy of them." The King's affliction was ſoothed by theſe honours, and his mind raiſed from its depreſſion, to the hope of poſſeſſing all *Numidia*.

1. 7. 30.
2. 10.

The ſeaſon of the year being far advanced, *Scipio*, when he had ſent *Lælius*, with *Syphax*, and the reſt of the *Numidian* captives, to *Rome*, returned to his old poſt near *Tunis*. *Carthage*, greatly alarmed at the neighbourhood of the *Roman* army, and the loſs ſhe had ſuffered by the captivity of *Syphax*, began now to think of changing her meaſures, and of endeavouring to gain time, by a fraudulent treaty of peace, till *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould arrive from *Italy*. The Senate diſpatched to the Pro-Conſul thirty of its principal members; who caſt themſelves at his feet, threw the whole blame of the war upon the ambition of *Hannibal*, implored the clemency of the conqueror, and offered to accept any terms he ſhould impoſe. *Scipio* haughtily answered, That his intention in coming into *Africa* was not

to

to make peace with the *Carthaginians*, but to conquer them, which he had now in a manner done. He added; *Yet to convince the world that Rome can put an end to wars, as well as begin them, with justice, I shall not refuse you a peace on these conditions:*

Y. R. 550.
Bef. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.

*You shall restore all prisoners, deserters, and fugitive slaves;
Withdraw your troops from Italy, and Cisalpine Gaul;
Make an absolute cession of Spain to us;
Yield up to us all the islands between Italy and Africa;
Give us all your long ships, except twenty;
Furnish my army with five hundred thousand modii of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley;
And pay us 5000 talents.*

I allow you three days to consider of these conditions; and if in that time you agree to them, you shall have a truce, till the return of the ambassadors, whom you shall send to Rome, to conclude a peace there.

As the business of the *Carthaginians* was only to gain time, they made no great difficulty of consenting to *Scipio's* demands: And the better to impose upon him, they sent a small number of *Roman* captives, and deserters, to *Rome*, with their ambassadors.

In the mean time, *Lælius* arrived at *Rome*, with *Syphax*, and the *Numidian* nobles taken in war. The Conscript Fathers, upon his report of the wonderful success of the *Roman* arms, decreed a four days supplication to the Gods. As to *Syphax*, they ordered that he should be confined a prisoner at *Alba*, (in the country of the *Marfi*;) They confirmed to *Masiniſſa* the title of King, which *Scipio* had given him; and sent him new presents in the name of the Republic.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 17.

The campaign in *Bruttium* seems to have produced no remarkable action this summer. Several towns in that country surrendered to the Consul *Servilius Cæpio*, who is also said to have fought a battle with *Hannibal*, the success uncertain. The other Consul *Servilius Geminus* did nothing memorable either in *Hetruria* or *Gaul*, except that he recovered his father and uncle from the captivity in which they had been, for sixteen years, among the *Boii*. He entered *Rome*, with one of them on his right hand, and the other on his left. But he was forced to petition the people to grant a decree, indemnifying him for having, contrary to law, executed the offices of Tribune of the Commons and Plebeian *Ædile*, in the life-time of his father, who had been a curule magistrate. His plea was, That he then knew not whether his father were alive or dead; and the people allowed it to be good.

c. 18, 19.

Mago fell down upon *Insubria*, and fought a battle with two *Roman* armies, under the conduct of the Pro-Consul *Corn. Cethegus*, and the Prætor *Quintus Iulus*. The victory was obstinately disputed, till the *Carthaginian* General, by a wound which he received, was constrained to yield the day to the *Romans*. He decamped the night following, and retired into

Y. R. 510.
 Bef. Chr.
 202.
 249 Cons.

into *Liguria*. Hither came messengers from the Senate of *Carthage* with orders to him to return to *Africa* as soon as possible. Embarking all his troops, both *Ligurian* and *Spanish*, he set sail immediately. Scarce had he doubled the island of *Sardinia* when he died of his wound; and a storm dispersing the fleet, many of the ships were taken by the *Romans*.

When *Hannibal* received the same orders, as his brother, he was scarce able to restrain his tears. "Now, *jud be*, the Senate openly and expressly recal me; but they have been dragging me away ever since they refused to send me supplies of men and money. The *Romans*, whom I have so often routed, have not vanquished *Hannibal*. It is the *Carthaginian* Senate that, by detraction and envy, have overcome me. Nor will *Scipio* exult more at my leaving *Italy*, than *Hanno*; who since he can no other way destroy my family, is resolved to overwhelm it with the ruins of his country." However, as he had foreseen what now happened, he had prepared his fleet for a voyage. Sending away the useless part of his soldiery into the towns of *Bruttium*, under pretence of guarding them, he embarked all the strength of his army for *Africa*^b. No man ever went into banishment from his own country, with greater reluctance, than *Hannibal* left the country of his enemies. When he was out at sea, he often looked back on the coast, accusing Gods and men, and himself (says *Livy*) for being disappointed of his expected conquest.

The joy at *Rome*, on the news of his departure, was great, but not universal. Some of the Fathers thought it a dishonour to the *Roman* name, that *Hannibal* was suffered to leave *Italy* with all his army, as quietly as if he had been setting out from his own country. They also feared the difficulties which *Scipio* would have to struggle with; and *Fabius* increased their terror, by exclaiming, *That the Republic was never in a more deplorable state*. Others confided in the abilities of the Pro-Consul, and thought it the greatest of all advantages, to see *Italy* rid of her most dangerous and most implacable enemy: And the Senate coming into this sentiment, directed that public thanksgivings should be offered to the Gods during five days.

Laelius, whom the Republic had just chosen Quæstor to *Scipio*'s army, in the room of *Cato*, was upon his way to re-embark for *Africa*, when he received an order to return to *Rome*: For the ambassadors from *Carthage* being arrived, the Conscrip't Fathers thought it proper to have him present at so important a negotiation. The *Carthaginians* had

^a *Plutarch* imputes this to the good fortune which constantly attended *Rome*. It was this good fortune (says he) which poured forth *Hannibal* like water, and waited him in *Italy*, while his countrymen, through envy and civil discord, refused to send him supplies.

Plut. de Fortun. Roman. S. 21.

^b *Livy* reports, that *Hannibal* massacred, in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*, some of the *Italians*, who had fled thither for refuge, after refusing to follow him into *Africa*.

their

Plut. Life
 of Fabius

their audience of the Senate in the temple of *Bellona*, without the walls of *Rome*. They spoke in much the same strain as before to *Scipio*, throwing all the blame of the war upon *Hannibal*; and, in conclusion, desired, *That the articles agreed on between Rome and Carthage, in the time of C. Lutatius, (the close of the first Punic war) might continue in full force, and be the foundation of a lasting peace.* Upon this, some of the elder Senators, who observed that these *African* ambassadors were young men, examined them concerning the expedients employed to put an end to that war: And the latter not being able to give any tolerable account of the times of *Lutatius*, the Fathers began to suspect that *Carthage* was not sincere in the present affair. When they came to vote (after the ambassadors had withdrawn) some were against coming to any determination without one of the Consuls, who were both absent; others advised the consulting *Scipio*, previously to any conclusion; and others, fully persuaded that *Carthage* was dissembling, were for commanding the ambassadors immediately out of *Italy*, as so many spies, and for directing *Scipio* to prosecute the war with vigour. *Laelius* joined in this opinion; and some writers say that it prevailed: But others, with more probability, affirm, that the peace was accepted on the foot upon which *Scipio* had proposed it in *Africa*.

Y. R. 552.
Euf. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.

Whilst this affair employed the Senate, *Hannibal* was making the best of his way to *Carthage*. The Consul *Servilius Cæpio* resolving to follow him, left his province, and went into *Sicily*, to prepare for an expedition into *Africa*; but his design did not please the Conscrip Fathers: They thought he intended to rob *Scipio* of the honour of concluding the peace. A Dictator was therefore created, merely that there might be a magistrate in the Republic, who should have an undisputed authority to recal *Servilius*. The Consul being recalled, obeyed, and returned to *Rome*.

Liv. B. 30.
C. 23.
Polyb. B.
15. c. 11.

About this time died in a very advanced ^a age the famous *Q. Fabius Cunctator*. He was certainly, says *Livy*, worthy of the name of *Maximus* which he bore; and his glory equalled that of any of his ancestors. Prudence and circumspection were what distinguished him; not remarkable activity or an enterprizing genius. But it is a question, whether his *cunctation* was the effect of his temper, or owing to the nature of the war he had to conduct. Be that as it will, his wise management, in a dangerous conjuncture, saved his country from ruin ^b: And the *Roman* people, sensible of their obligation to him, greatly honoured him while living; and, when he died, laid a tax upon themselves to defray the expences of his funeral.

Liv. B. 32.
C. 24.

^a According to *Val. Max.* (B. 8. c. 13. f. 3.) *Fabius* was near an hundred years old when he died. If this were true, he must have been about eighty-six, when he

conducted the war against *Hannibal*, and about eighty-nine in his last Consulship.

^b *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.*

While

Y. R. 550.
P. C. 1.
250. C. 156.

P. 1. P.
150. 1.
Liv. E. 30.
C. 23.

While the truce in *Africa* still subsisted, and before the ambassadors were yet returned, an accident discovered the fraudulent designs of the *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* had thought it necessary to have a strong sea-armament, in order to terrify the enemy, and to remove the necessity of protecting his fleet, as formerly, with his land army; and he had therefore sent for a reinforcement of ships, both from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The squadron from *Sardinia* arrived safe, but that from *Sicily* was dispersed by a tempest, and many of the vessels being driven near the port of *Carthage*, the *Carthaginians* seized and plundered them. *Scipio*, highly incensed at this proceeding, dispatched *M. Bæbius*, with two other officers, to *Carthage*, to complain of the injustice, and demand satisfaction. These envoys hardly escaped the fury of the populace: And even the Senate, being bent on war, agreed to send them back without an answer; such dependance they had on *Hannibal*, who was daily expected: Nay, they gave orders (as some say) that the two galleys, appointed by them to convoy the *Quinqueremis*, on which the envoys were embarked, should leave it at a certain time; and that some ships, kept in readiness for that purpose, should attack and sink it. The *Quinqueremis* was accordingly deserted by her convoy, near the mouth of the river *Bagrada*, and being soon after attacked by three *Carthaginian* galleys, was forced to run aground on the strand; but the envoys escaped to the *Roman* camp.

The General so impatiently expected by the *African* Republic, at length drew near the coast. To discover the country, he ordered a sailor to the mast-top; who being asked, what he saw, answered, *The ruins of a tomb, upon an eminence*. *Hannibal*, disliking the omen, sailed on; and landed his army at *Litt's Leptis*, a city between *Susa* and *Adrumetum*.

C H A P. XXXVII.

SEVENTEENTH YEAR of the War.

An interview between Hannibal and Scipio.

The battle of Zama.

Scipio enters into a treaty of peace with the Carthaginians, which is ratified the year following.

Y. R. 551.
P. C. 2.
250. C. 157.

Liv. E. 30.
C. 24.

TIB. *Claudius Nero*, and *M. Servilius Pullex*, being chosen Consuls at *Rome*, for the new year, it fell by lot to *Servilius* to conduct the army in *Hetruria*, and to *Claudius*, to command the fleet in *Africa*: But the latter, by a decree of both Senate and people, was to leave the direction of all affairs at land wholly to *Scipio*.

Hannibal

Hannibal, having learnt, soon after his landing, that hostilities were renewed, took measures to strengthen his army. Being in great want of horse, he sent to *Tycheus*, a friend of *Syrphax*, and reputed to have the best in *Africa*; and of him obtained a body of two thousand *Numidian* cavalry. On the other hand, *Scipio* pursued the war with an uncommon fury, kindled by the perfidiousness of the *Carthaginians*. He took towns, not by capitulation, but assault, put the garrisons to the sword, and made all the inhabitants pass under the yoke. However, in the midst of his resentment he did not forget the laws of nations. *Babius*, who had been so ill treated, when sent on an embassy to *Carthage*, had since arrested the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, on their arrival from *Italy*, in the port where the *Roman* fleet lay; and he thought that the injury he had suffered would be retaliated upon them by *Scipio*. But the Pro-Consul did not consider so much what *Carthage* deserved, as what became a *Roman*. He commanded that the ambassadors should be well treated, and dismissed. As he continued, nevertheless, to make dreadful havock in the *Carthaginian* territory, the Senate dispatched orders to their General to advance and give him battle. *Hannibal* answered, that he would take the first opportunity that offered; and soon after, leaving his post at *Adrumetum*, drew near to *Zama*, a town in *Numidia Propria*, five days journey south west of *Carthage*. From hence he sent out spies, to discover the situation and strength of the *Romans*. These spies were apprehended: But though it was then customary in all nations, to put such men to death, *Scipio* gave direction to lead one of them into all the quarters of the camp, and shew him every thing he came to learn; which done, dismissing both him and his companions, he bad them go to their General, and give him the account he expected from them. *Hannibal* is said to have been struck with this magnanimity and air of confidence, and to have been thereby induced to ask an interview with the Pro-Consul, in order to a peace. *Scipio* consented, and, to meet him, advanced as far as *Nadagara*, a town on the confines of *Numidia*. The *Carthaginian* came and encamped within four miles of the *Romans*, not far from *Zama*.*

There

* *Appian* tells us, that before this conference, *Hannibal*, being in great want of provisions, sent to *Masinissa*, desiring he would use his endeavours with *Scipio* to obtain a peace for the *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* consented to renew the former treaty, upon condition restitution was made of the ships, men and effects of his dispersed fleet, which had been seized, and that *Carthage* should pay a thousand talents as a fine. *Hannibal*

accepted these terms, and the Senate of *Carthage* likewise agreed to them, but the populace would not give their consent. They were jealous of their General and the Nobles, who they thought were desirous of making a peace advantageous to *Rome*, that by her means they might govern the more despotically at home. And the people were so full of these imaginations, that having got notice at this time, that

Y. R. 551.
bet. Chr.
201.
250 Conf.

Polyb. B.
25. c. 3.
App. in
Punic.
Polyb. B.
25. c. 3. 4.

Y. R. 551.
B.C. 201.
250 C. 16.

There was between the two camps a large plain, entirely open, and where no ambush could be laid. This place being therefore chosen for the conference, the two Generals rode thither, escorted by an equal number of guards; from whom separating, and each attended only by an interpreter, they met in the mid-way. Both remained for a while silent, viewing each other with mutual admiration. *Hannibal* at length spoke thus.

Liv. B. 20.
C. 57.
Polyb. B.
25. c. 6.

“ Since fate has so ordained it, that I, who began the war, and who have been so often on the point of ending it by a complete conquest, should now come, of my own motion, to ask a peace, I am glad that it is of you, *Scipio*, I have the fortune to ask it. Nor will this be among the least of your glories, That *Hannibal*, victorious over so many Roman Generals, submitted at last to you.

“ I could wish, that our fathers and we had confined our ambition within the limits which nature seemed to have prescribed to it; the shores of *Africa*, and the shores of *Italy*. The Gods did not give us that mind. On both sides we have been so eager after foreign possessions, as to put our own to the hazard of war. *Rome* and *Carthage* have had, each, in her turn, the enemy at her gates. But since errors past may be more easily blamed than corrected, let it now be the work of you and me, to put an end, if possible, to the obstinate contention. For my own part, my years, and the experience I have had of the instability of fortune, incline me to leave nothing to her determination which reason can decide. But much I fear, *Scipio*, that your youth, your want of the like experience, your uninterrupted success, may render you averse from the thoughts of peace. He whom fortune has never failed, rarely reflects upon her inconstancy. Yet without recurring to former examples, my own may perhaps suffice to teach you moderation. I am that same *Hannibal* who, after my victory at *Cannæ*, became master of the greatest part of your country, and deliberated with myself what fate I should decree to *Italy* and to *Rome*. And now—See the change! Here, in *Africa*, I am come to treat with a *Roman*, for my own preservation and my country's. Such are the sports of fortune. Is she then to be trusted, because she smiles? An advantageous peace is preferable to the hope of victory. The one is in your own power, the other at the pleasure of the Gods. Should you prove victorious, it would

that *Asdrubal*, whom they had suspected of the same design, was returned to the city, they went in a tumultuous manner to seek him, in order to put him to death. He had fled to his father's tomb, and had there ended his days by poison. But the rage of the mutineers did not cease at the sight of his dead body. They dragged it

out of the tomb, cut off the head, fixed it on a lance, and carried it through the streets of *Carthage*. *App. Punic. c. 20.*

Thus far *Appian*; but neither *Livy* nor *Polyb.* mention any thing of all this, and some parts of the story are inconsistent with what those authors relate.

“ add.

“ add little to your own glory, or the glory of your country ; if you
 “ quishet, you lose in one hour all the honour and reputation you
 “ have been so many years acquiring. But what is my aim in all this ?
 “ That you should content yourself with our cession of *Spain*, *Sicily*,
 “ *Sardinia*, and all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*. A peace on
 “ these conditions will, in my opinion, not only secure the future
 “ tranquillity of *Carthage*, but be sufficiently glorious for you, and for
 “ the *Roman* name. And do not tell me, that some of our citizens
 “ dealt fraudulently with you in the late treaty. It is I, *Hannibal*, that
 “ now ask a peace : I ask it, because I think it expedient for my
 “ country ; and, thinking it expedient, I will inviolably maintain it.”

SCIPIO answered : “ I knew very well, *Hannibal*, that it was the
 “ hope of your return which emboldened the *Carthaginians* to break
 “ the truce with us, and to lay aside all thoughts of a peace, when it
 “ was just upon the point of being concluded ; and your present proposal
 “ is a proof of it. You retrench from their concessions every thing
 “ but what we are, and have been long possessed of. But as it
 “ is your care, that your fellow-citizens should have the obligation to
 “ you of being eased from a great part of their burden, so it ought to be
 “ mine, that they draw no advantage from their perfidiousness.

“ Nobody is more sensible than I am of the weakness of man, and
 “ the power of fortune, and that whatever we enterprise is subject to
 “ a thousand chances. If, before the *Romans* passed into *Africa*, you
 “ had, of your own accord, quitted *Italy*, and made the offers you now
 “ make, I believe they would not have been rejected. But as you have
 “ been forced out of *Italy*, and we are masters here of the open
 “ country, the situation of things is much altered. And, what is chiefly
 “ to be considered, the *Carthaginians* by the late treaty, which we en-
 “ tered into at their request, were, over and above what you offer,
 “ to have delivered up their ships of war, restored to us our prisoners
 “ without ransom, paid us five thousand talents, and to have given
 “ hostages for the performance of all. The Senate accepted these con-
 “ ditions, but *Carthage* failed on her part ; *Carthage* deceived us.
 “ What then is to be done ? Are the *Carthaginians* to be released from
 “ the most important articles of the treaty, as a reward of their breach
 “ of faith ? No, certainly. If to the conditions before agreed upon,
 “ you had added some new article to our advantage, there would have
 “ been matter of reference to the *Roman* people ; but when, instead of
 “ adding, you retrench, there is no room for deliberation. The *Car-*
 “ *thaginians* therefore must submit to us at discretion, or must vanquish
 “ us in battle.”

The

^b According to *Livy*, *Scipio* proposed to peace, provided the *Carthaginians* would,
 advise with his Council about granting besides fulfilling the conditions of the late
 P p 2 treaty,

Y. R. 551.
Bef. Chr.
207.
250 Conf.

Polyb. B.
35. c. 9. &
43.

The conference hereupon broke off, the two Generals returned each to his camp, and bid their soldiers prepare for battle; a battle wherein the *Carthaginians* were to fight for their own preservation and the dominion of *Africa*; and the *Romans* for the empire of the whole world.

Early next morning *Scipio* led his troops into the plain, and drew them up after the *Roman* manner, except that he placed the cohorts of the *Principes* directly behind those of the *Hastati*, so as to leave sufficient space for the enemy's elephants to pass through from front to rear. *C. Laelius* was posted on the left wing with the *Italian* horse, and *Masiniſſa* with his *Numidians* on the right. The intervals of the first line *Scipio* filled up with his *Vestites*, or light-armed troops, ordering them, upon a signal given, to begin the battle, and, in case they were repulsed, or broke by the elephants, to run back through the lanes before mentioned, and continue on their flight till they were got behind the *Triarii*. Those that were wounded, or in danger of being overtaken, were to turn off to the right and left, through the spaces between the lines, and that way escape to the rear.

The army thus drawn up, *Scipio* went from rank to rank, urging his soldiers to consider the consequences of a defeat, and the rewards of victory: on the one hand, certain death or slavery, (for they had no town in *Africa* strong enough to protect them) on the other, not only a lasting superiority over *Carthage*, but the empire of the rest of the world.

Hannibal ranged all his elephants, to the number of above eighty, in one front. Behind these he placed his mercenaries, consisting of twelve thousand men, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Baleares* and *Mauritanians*.

treary, agree to pay a fine for having seized the *Roman* ships, and violated their Embassadors, during the truce. The account in the text is taken from *Polybius*, who, being personally acquainted with *Masiniſſa*, and intimate with the younger *Scipio*, and his friend *Laelius*, is more to be depended on, than any other writer, on this subject.

Polybius adds [B. 15. c. 11.] that which ever party should prove victorious in this battle, would not only become masters of *Africa* and *Europe*, but of all the rest of the known world. *Livy* [B. 30. c. 32.] is of the same opinion. This however could hardly be true of the *Carthaginians*; for had they proved victorious at *Zama*, they would not have been in so flourishing a condition, as in the beginning of the war; nor have had so good a prospect of conquering the *Romans* as just after the battle of *Cannæ*, when *Hannibal* was master of the greater part of *Italy*. The *Carthaginians*

were now driven out of *Spain*, had sustained infinite losses, and been at a vast expence during the course of a seventeen years war. On the other hand, *Rome* had recovered the possession of all *Italy*, had powerful armies on foot there, and strong fleets at sea; so that had *Scipio* been defeated, she could easily transport more forces into *Africa*. And this suggests a reason why *Hannibal* did not decline a battle with the *Romans*, and endeavour to consume their strength, without fighting. He doubtless foresaw, that they would daily grow stronger by continual supplies of men and money from *Italy*. Add to this, that the army which *Hannibal* now commanded seems to have been the last resource of *Carthage*. The greater part of it had been raised with difficulty, and it would be no easy matter to find pay and provisions for such numerous forces, during any considerable time, the treasury being exhausted, and the country ruined.

The

The new levies of *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*, together with four thousand *Macedonians*, under a General named *Sopater*, composed the second line. And in the rear of all, at the distance of about a furlong, he posted his *Italian* troops, in whom he chiefly confided. The *Carthaginian* horse formed his right wing, the *Numidians* his left.

Y. R. 551.
Bef. Chr.
201.
250. C. 350.

He ordered the several leaders to exhort their troops, not to be discouraged by their own weakness, but to place the hope of victory in him and his *Italian* army; and particularly directed the captains of the *Carthaginians* to represent to them what would be the fate of their wives and children, if the event of this battle should not prove successful. The General himself, walking through the ranks of his *Italian* troops, called upon them to be mindful of the seventeen campaigns in which they had been fellow soldiers with him; and of that constant series of victories, by which they had extinguished in the *Romans* all hope of ever being conquerors. He urged them to remember, above all, the battles of the *Trebia*, *Tkrafymenus* and *Cannæ*; with any of which the approaching battle was in no wise to be compared, either with respect to the bravery, or the number of the enemies. “The
“ *Romans* were yet unfoiled, and in the height of their strength when
“ you first met them in the field; nevertheless you vanquished them.
“ The soldiers now before us are either the children of the vanquished,
“ or the remains of those whom you have often put to flight in *Italy*.
“ Maintain therefore your General’s glory and your own, and establish
“ to yourselves the name of *invincible*, by which you are become famous
“ throughout the world.”

When the *Numidians* of the two armies had skirmished a while, *Hannibal* ordered the managers of the elephants to drive them upon the enemy. Some of the beasts, frightened at the noise of the trumpets and other instruments of war, which sounded on all sides, immediately ran back amongst the *Numidians* of the *Carthaginian* left wing, and put them into confusion, which *Masiniſſa* taking advantage of, entirely routed them. Great destruction was made of the *Velites*, by the rest of the elephants, till these also being terrified, some of them ran through the void spaces of the *Roman* army, which *Scipio* had left for that purpose; others, falling in among the cavalry of the enemy’s right wing, gave *Lælius* the same opportunity against the *Carthaginian* horse, as had been given to *Masiniſſa* against the *Numidian*, and of which

^a Neither *Polybius* nor *Livy* mention the number of forces *Hannibal* and *Scipio* had at *Zama*. *Appian* [in *Punic*. c. 22.] tells us, that *Hannibal* had near fifty thousand men in the field, and *Scipio* twenty-three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred *Italian* horse,

six hundred *Numidian* horse, under one *Lacurnaces*, and a great body of cavalry, commanded by *Masiniſſa*. But *Appian* gives a very romantic account of this battle, and differs widely from *Polybius* and *Livy*.

Y. B. 333.
Bell. C. 2.
201.
see C. 1.

the *Romans* did not fail to make the same use. After this the infantry of the foremost lines joined battle. *Hannibal's* mercenaries had the advantage in the beginning of the conflict: but the *Roman Hastati*, followed, and encouraged by the *Principes*, who exhorted them to fight manfully, and shewed themselves ready to assist them, bravely sustained the attack, and at length gained ground upon the enemy. The mercenaries, not being sensibly supported by their second line, and therefore thinking themselves betrayed, they, in their retreat, fell furiously upon the *Africans*, so that these, the *Hastati* coming up, were obliged to fight for some time both against their own mercenaries and the enemy. When the two *Carthaginian* lines had ceased their mutual rage, they joined their strength; and, though now but a mere throng of men, broke the *Hastati*: But then the *Principes* advancing to the assistance of the latter, restored the battle; and most of the *Africans* and mercenaries were here cut off. *Hannibal* did not advance to their relief, the *Roman Triarii* not having yet engaged, and the *Principes* being still in good order: And lest the routed *Africans* and mercenaries should break the ranks of his *Italian* soldiers, he commanded these to present their spears at those who fled to them for protection, which obliged the runaways to move off to the right and left.

The ground, over which the *Romans* must march before they could attack *Hannibal*, being strewed with heaps of dead bodies and weapons, and being slippery with blood, *Scipio* feared that the order of his battalions would be broke, should he pass it hastily. To avoid this mischief, he commanded the *Hastati* to give over the pursuit, and halt where they were, opposite to the enemies center: After which, having sent all his wounded to the rear, he advanced leisurely with the *Principes* and *Triarii*, and placed them on the wings of the *Hastati*. Then followed a sharp engagement, in which victory was long and eagerly disputed. It would seem, that the *Romans*, though superior in number, were once upon the point of losing the day; for *Polybius* tells us, that *Masiniſſa* and *Laelius* came very seasonably, and as if sent from Heaven, to their assistance. These Generals being returned from the pursuit of the cavalry, fell suddenly upon the rear of *Hannibal's* men, most of whom were cut off in their ranks; and of those that fled, very few escaped the horse, the country all around being a plain.

There died of the *Carthaginians* in the fight above twenty thousand, and almost the like number were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the *Romans* amounted to about two thousand men. *Hannibal* escaped with a few horse to *Syracumæ*, having performed every thing in the engagement which could be expected from a great General. His army (says *Polybius*, could not have been more skilfully drawn up. For as the order of the *Roman* battalions makes it extremely difficult to break them, the *Carthaginian* wisely placed his
elephants

Liv. D. 32.
P. 34.
Polyb. B.
15. c. 14.

elephants in the front, that they might put the enemy in confusion, before the armies should engage. In his first line he placed the mercenaries, men bold and active, but not well disciplined, that by their impetuosity he might give a check to the ardour of the *Romans*. The *Africans*, and *Carthaginians*, whose courage he doubted, he posted in the middle between the mercenaries and his *Italian* soldiers, that they might be forced to fight, or, at least, that the *Romans*, by slaughtering them, might fatigue themselves, and blunt their weapons. Last of all, he drew up the troops he had disciplined himself, and in whom he chiefly confided, at a good distance from his second line, that they might not be broken by the rout of the *Africans* and mercenaries; and kept them in reserve for a vigorous attack upon a tired and weakened enemy^e.

VI. R. 551.
B. L. Chr.
201.
250 Cont.

The *Carthaginian* General was soon called from *Adrumetum* to *Carthage*, to assist the tottering Republic with his Counsels. He declared, *That she had no resource, but in a peace*; and this, from the mouth of the warlike *Hannibal*, was decisive. The *Carthaginians* therefore prepared to make new supplications to the conqueror; whilst he, on the other hand, was considering how to make the best advantage of his victory. And having received a considerable reinforcement to his fleet, he went on board it, in order to appear before *Carthage*, giving instructions to *Cn. Octavius* to march their legions towards the same city. His intention was not to besiege it, but only to strike terror, and make the *Carthaginians* more eager for a peace; and the method he took had the desired effect. A galley adorned with olive-branches came out to him, with twelve deputies, who spared neither submissions, nor prostrations, nor promises. *Scipio* would give no answer, but that they should meet him at *Tunis*. He ordered his legions thither, sailed back with his fleet to *Utica*, and from thence went to *Tunis* by land. Thirty of the *Carthaginian* Nobles repaired to him, and humbly sued for peace. *Scipio* seemed at first to neglect their submissions; but at the bottom was as fond of concluding a treaty as they: For he knew that the Consul *Nero* was equipping a fleet, with all expedition, to come into *Africa*, and rob him of the glory of finishing the war. The conditions on which he insisted with the *Carthaginians*, were as follow.

Liv. B. 30.
c. 35.

^e *Livy* reports [B. 30. c. 36.] that a few days after the battle of *Zama*, *Vermina* the son of *Siphax* came to the assistance of the *Carthaginians*, with an army of more horse than foot: That *Scipio* sent a part of his infantry and all the cavalry to encounter the *Numidian*: And that *Vermina* was routed, fifteen thousand of his men slain, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. This story is not very probable, for *Hanni-*

bal, who was weak in cavalry, would doubtless have deferred fighting, had he known any thing of this approaching reinforcement, which he could not well be ignorant of, if it was within a few days' march of him. *Polybius*, who, had there been any ground for this story, would probably have mentioned it, says nothing of *Vermina*.

Y. R. 551.
Ecl. C. 2.
250 Conf.

Polyb. B.
15. c. 13.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 37.

We permit the Carthaginians to live according to their own laws and customs; and grant them all the cities and provinces they had in Africa, before the War. The Romans shall immediately abstain from plundering them.

Carthage shall deliver up to the Romans, all their deserters, fugitive slaves, and prisoners of war;

Surrender to Scipio, all her ships of war, except ten Triremes, and all her Elephants trained up for war; and she shall not hereafter tame any more of these animals;

Enter into no war, either in Africa, or out of Africa, without the consent of the Roman people;

Restore to Masinissa all that she has usurped from him, or his ancestors, and shall make an alliance with him;

Supply the Roman Legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambassadors whom she shall send to Rome, to have the peace ratified there;

*Pay to the Romans in the space of fifty years, ten thousand talents * of silver, at equal payments;*

Put into Scipio's hands, an hundred such hostages as he shall choose; the youngest of whom shall not be under fourteen, nor the oldest above thirty years of age.

Neither the peace, nor even a truce, shall take place, till the Carthaginians have restored to the Romans, the ships and effects taken from them during the former truce.

These were hard conditions; and upon the return and report of the ambassadors, Gisco, a man of distinction in the Republic, endeavoured in an assembly of the people, to dissuade them from complying. Hannibal, fearing the influence his harangue might have, mounted the Rostra, and drove the orator from it. And, perceiving that the people were angry at this his strange procedure, he thus addressed himself to them: *I was but nine years old when I went from this place, and have now spent six and thirty years in arms. In that time I have learnt tolerably well the art of war. It is your business now to teach me the laws, customs, and civilities, which ought to be observed in your Assemblies.* After this apology, he made a long discourse on the necessity of concluding the treaty, though the conditions of it were heavy. The assembly acquiesced in the opinion of a General whose inclination to arms, and whose hatred to Rome, they knew, would never have suffered him to think of peace, had he retained the least hope of success in war †.

* Some authors say, that the Carthaginian General fled from the battle of Zama to the Rhodians, who were going immediately on board a ship, he sailed into Asia to seek refuge. That he demanded him of the Carthaginians, and was answered, he

had left Africa. But others, better informed, tell us, that he continued some time in his own country, and was afterwards honoured with the chief magistracy in his Republic.

In pursuance of his advice, deputies were sent to *Scipio*, who to the articles abovementioned added this, *That, till the conclusion of the treaty, the Carthaginians should send no embassy to any state but the Roman; and that they should give him an account of all embassies that came to them from abroad.* Every thing being agreed on, *Carthage* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to get the peace confirmed there; and the Pro-Consul, to facilitate the negotiation, appointed three officers, of whom one was his brother *Lucius Scipio*, to accompany them.

Y. R. 551.
Bef. Chr.
201.
250 Conf.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 38.

The Consul *Nero*, who, on the renewal of hostilities in *Africa*, had, with the consent of the Senate, prepared a fleet in order to pass into that country, was long detained, by bad weather, on the coast of *Italy*, and about *Corfica* and *Sardinia*. Afterwards, a storm dispersed his ships near *Sicily*, and shattered many of them; and while they were refitting his Consulship expired.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and *P. Ælius Pætus* being chosen Consuls, the Senate refused to determine any thing concerning their provinces, till the *Carthaginian* ambassadors (now arrived at *Rome*) were first heard. But *Lentulus*, ambitious of the honour of finishing the war with *Carthage*, declared that he would suffer no affair to be brought before the Conscrip Fathers till they had decreed *Africa* for his province: His Colleague (a wise and modest man) declined any competition with *Scipio*. After the matter had been warmly debated in the *Comitia*, the people referred it to the Conscrip Fathers; who decreed, that the Consul to whom the fleet should fall by lot, should sail with it to *Sicily*, and from thence, in case of war, to *Africa*; but that *Scipio* should have the sole conduct of the land-forces there: And, in case of peace, that the *Roman People* should determine whether the Consul or *Scipio* should conclude it, and who should lead back the victorious army.

Y. R. 552.
Bef. Chr.
200.
251 Conf.

After this, the Senate gave audience to the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, who were all men of the first rank in their country: *Asdrubal* (surnamed *Hædus*) was the chief of them; and as he had always opposed the *Barbine* faction and the rupture with *Rome*, he was the more favourably heard. In his speech, he cast the blame of the late war on the family of *Hamilcar*: Some things laid to the charge of the *Carthaginians* he endeavoured to excuse; others he confessed, lest by denying what was evident, he should make it more difficult to obtain pardon: And when he had flattered the *Romans* on their wonted moderation in prosperity, he concluded with exhorting them to preserve this character by their lenity to *Carthage*. The speeches of his Colleagues turned chiefly on the deplorable condition to which their country was reduced. When they had ended, one of the Senators asked them, *What Gods will you invoke to witness the sincerity of your Oaths?* *Asdrubal* immediately answered, *The same who have so severely punished us for the breach of Oaths.*

Liv. B. 30.
c. 42.

V. R. 552.
Bef. Chr.
200.
251 Conf.

Appian in
Public.
P. 37, 38.

Liv. B. 30.
C. 43.

In the debate which followed, it was urged, in favour of the peace, that *Scipio*, who best knew the state of affairs in *Africa*, had given his opinion for it; that the *Romans* would have nothing to fear from *Carthage* for the future, since it would be easy to keep her low; that she would be left, by the articles of the treaty, unarmed amidst many nations greatly incensed against her on account of the slavery she had long kept them under; and would be narrowly watched by *Masiniſſa*; that to raze the city would bring upon the *Romans* the hatred of all the world; and to give up the dominions of *Carthage* to *Masiniſſa* would make him too powerful. *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, a relation of the Consul, opposed this opinion, and maintained, that such had been the cruelty and faithlessness of the *Carthaginians*, that to destroy them, would be to do an act agreeable both to Gods and men. The Senate however inclined to peace; but the Consul *Lentulus* interposed his authority, and forbade the decree to be passed. Hereupon two Tribunes of the commons laid the affair before the people. The Comitia empowered the Senate to grant a peace to *Carthage*, and appointed *Scipio* to negotiate the treaty, and bring home the troops. The Fathers approving the plan of the peace, sent, in company with the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, ten deputies to assist *Scipio* in settling affairs in *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians* first delivered up all the deserters, and prisoners of war (amounting to 4000 men) and elephants. The *Latine* deserters were, by *Scipio's* order, beheaded, the *Roman*, crucified. Some of the elephants he sent to *Rome*, and gave the rest to *Masiniſſa*. Then the *Carthaginian* galleys and small ships (except ten triremes) to the number of 500 sail, were given up to the Pro-Consul, who burnt them at sea, within sight of *Carthage*. The only thing which remained, was the first payment of the tribute that was to be annual during fifty years. And now the covetous temper of these trading men remarkably shewed itself. When a tax was proposed for raising the necessary sum, they all burst into tears, except *Hannibal*, who at their weeping burst into laughter. This gave great offence; and *Asdrubal Hædus* reproved him for it. *What! Does it become you to laugh? You, to insult us on the miseries you have brought upon us? To which Hannibal* made this answer: *Could you look into my heart, you would see, that my laughter, far from being the effect of mirth, proceeds from a mind almost disordered with grief: Neither is it so unseasonable and absurd as your tears. Then you should have wept, when our arms were taken from us, our ships burnt, and war forbidden us, even in Africa. That was the wound by which we fell. Do not flatter yourselves, that the Romans have consulted your quiet. No great city can be long in tranquillity. If it has not war abroad it will find enemies at home. But it seems we are touched with public calamities only so far as they affect our private fortunes, and the loss of our money is the chief thing we regret. When you saw Carthage*
disarmed,

disarmed, and, amidst so many armed nations, exposed naked and defenceless, none of you dropt a tear; but when a little money is to be paid, you weep and mourn, as if our country was going to its burial. You may quickly find (I fear it much) that these tears have been shed for the least of your misfortunes.

Y. R. 552.
Bef. Chr.
200.
251 Conf.

SCIPIO, before his departure from *Africa*, with the consent of the ten commissioners, settled *Masiniſſa* in the possession not only of his hereditary dominions, but of all the places conquered from *Syphax*; which possession was afterwards confirmed by the Senate.

On the Pro-Consul's return to *Italy*, both Senate and people unanimously concurred in decreeing him a triumph^a; and the show was more magnificent than any that had been yet seen at *Rome*.

He is said to have been the first *Roman* General, that, for having conquered a country, was called after its name: Through the esteem of his soldiers, the favour of the people, or the flattery of his friends (it is uncertain which) he acquired the surname of *AFRICANUS*.

Liv. B. 30
c. 45.

^a According to *Polybius*, *Syphax* led in chains, was one of the ornaments of *Scipio's* triumph; but *Livy* tells us, that the King

died before *Scipio* made his triumphal procession.

T H E

Roman History.

F I F T H B O O K.

From the End of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, in the
Year of *Rome* 552, to the End of the THIRD, in
607, when *Carthage* was destroyed.

C H A P. I.

*The occasion and commencement of the war with King Philip of Macedon.
Philip makes a fruitless attempt upon Athens: The Achæans reject his offers
of assistance against the tyrant of Lacedæmon.*

Y. R. 552.
Bef. Chr.
200.
251 Cons.

ROME, by her complete victory and triumph over the *Carthaginians*, was become terrible to all the nations around her; not one of her neighbours, then in peace with her, appears to have had any disposition to a rupture. Some pretence of justice, however, she must always have for extending her dominion, and must not fail to be injured, or menaced, or, at least, affronted by the King or the people of whatever country, in the Senate's plan of usurpation, stood next to be invaded. Excellent reasons would, doubtless, have been found for bending the main strength of *Rome* against those provinces of *Gaul* which lay between her *Italian* territories and *Spain*, had not the countries of the *East* presented to the *Romans* a more alluring prospect. *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Asia*, would not only be richer prizes of victory, but, in all likelihood, of cheaper and easier acquisition. To make any considerable enlargement of empire to the west, many battles must be fought, many nations, brave and warlike, and independent of each other, be successively subdued, and *Italy* must bear almost the whole expence both of blood and treasure; and during so tedious a war, the powers of the *East* might perhaps take the alarm, suspend their mutual jealousies, and form a dangerous confederacy against an encroaching Republic, that seemed to set no bounds to her ambition. In attacking *Macedon* at *this* time, the Senate were sure to be assisted by their clients and allies the *Greeks*, who, they intended, should support the chief burden of the war, and who, they foresaw, would, after the ruin of that monarchy, naturally fall, from being auxiliaries and allies, to be subjects of *Rome*; and the *Macedonian* power, that only barrier, being demolished, the wealthy kingdoms of *Asia* would lie open

open to her invasions at pleasure. The first step then towards compassing these vast designs was to find matter of quarrel with King *Philip*; and therefore, though it could not be well imagined, that he, who, even while *Hannibal* was in *Italy*, had gladly come to an accommodation with the Republic, would now, after she had totally subdued the only formidable rival of her power, entertain thoughts of invading her dominions; yet this design, as we shall presently see, must be confidently imputed to him; the ambitious views of the *Macedonian* must be timely prevented; and *Rome*, for her own security, must be obliged to act offensively against so dangerous an enemy.

PHILIP was the son of *Demetrius* (great-grandson of *Antigonus*, one of the Captains of *Alexander the Great*.) He succeeded, while under age, to the kingdom of *Macedon*, after the death of his uncle and tutor, *Antigonus Doson*. (This *Antigonus*, who assumed the power and title of King, having been called to the assistance of the *Achæans*, in their war with *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, had driven him out of *Peloponnesus*, and made himself the protector of *Achaia* and the arbiter of *Greece*. He died very soon after the defeat of *Cleomenes*.) *Philip* had no sooner mounted the throne of *Macedon*, than the *Ætoli*ans, despising his youth, invaded the territories of *Messene* without any just cause. The *Messenians* made their complaint to the *Achæans*, who readily undertook to assist them; and after finding themselves not strong enough, engaged *Philip* of *Macedon* in the same cause. On the other hand, the *Ætoli*ans entered into a league with the *Lacedæmonians*. In this war, which was called the *social war*, *Philip* and the *Achæans* had greatly the advantage; yet the *Macedonian* granted peace to the *Ætoli*ans and their allies, just after *Hannibal* had defeated the *Romans* at the lake *Tbrasymenus*. For upon the news of this battle, *Demetrius* of *Pharos**, who, being expelled his dominions by the *Romans*, had taken refuge in *Philip's* court, persuaded the King to settle his affairs in *Greece*, and, seizing the opportunity given him by the weak condition of *Rome*, invade *Italy*: In consequence of which advice, the *Macedonian* soon after made a league with *Hannibal*†; but the *Romans* by engaging the * *Ætoli*ans, the *Lacedæmonians* and *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, to join in a war against *Philip*, kept him employed in *Greece*, and hindered the execution of his designs upon *Italy*; as has been already related.

After the King had obtained a † peace with *Rome*, he turned his thoughts how to enlarge his dominions to the east, and secretly projected with *Antiochus the Great*, King of *Syria*, to share between them the kingdom of *Egypt*, where *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old, had lately succeeded his father *Ptolemy Philopator*. *Philip* also made a league with *Prusias* King of *Bitthynia*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and at his desire laid siege to *Cyus*, a Greek city on the borders of *Bitthynia*, and which was then governed by an *Ætolian*, whom his countrymen had sent to the *Cyanians*, to be their General. The *Rhodians* and *Ætoli*ans interceded for the

Y. R. 552.
Bef. Chr.
200.
251 Conf.

Polyb. B. 4.
c. 2. & seq.

Id. B. 2.
c. 69.

Id. B. 4.
c. 35.

Id. B. 5.
c. 101.
* See p. 99.
and 157.

† See p. 183.
* Polyb. 213.
27.
Id. B. 7. 26.
c. 24. and
B. 27. c. 30.
† p. 269.
Polyb. B.
15. c. 22.

Id. B. 15.
c. 21.

the town; and *Philip*, by his ambassadors, promised the former to spare *Cyus* for their sake. Nevertheless, while those ambassadors were making these assurances, the *Rhodians* received advice, that *Philip* had sacked the town, and then given it up to his son-in-law. This affront highly provoked them, and they persuaded *Antiochus*, King of *Pergamus*, then in fear for his own dominions, from the ambition of *Philip*, to unite his forces with theirs, and begin a war with the *Macedonians*. The confederates attacked his fleet near the island *Chios*, and defeated it: But they not pursuing the advantage of their victory, *Philip* gathered together his scattered ships, and made a descent upon *Asia*. There he took *Lebeda*, *Bargylie* and several other towns, and penetrating as far as the territory of *Pergamus*, laid it waste, not sparing even the temples of the Gods, or the Sacred Groves.

The *Athenians* also had at this time a quarrel subsisting with *Philip*, which began on the following occasion. Two *Acarnanians* happening to be at *Athens*, when the mysteries of *Ceres* were celebrated, had, through ignorance of the laws, entered the temple of the Goddess, without being initiated into those mysteries; and the *Athenians*, for this crime, had put them to death. The people of *Acarnania* made their complaint to the King, desiring his leave and assistance to make war upon *Athens*. *Philip* granted both, and the *Acarnanians*, in conjunction with some *Macedonian* auxiliaries, made an irruption into *Attica*, and carried off a great deal of booty.

After the sea-fight at *Chios*, the *Athenians* sent an embassy to the King of *Pergamus*, congratulating him upon his victory, and inviting him to their town. *Attalus* accepted the invitation, and having, together with some *Rhodians*, landed at *Piræus**, the magistrates of *Athens*, the priests and the citizens, with their wives and children, went out to meet him, and paid him extraordinary honours: A new tribe being at this time added to the ten they had before, they called it *Attalis*, from his name: All the *Rhodians* they complimented with the freedom of the city; and at the King's persuasion and theirs, formally declared war against *Philip*. The confederates then sent deputies to *Rome*, to complain of the injuries done by the *Macedonian*, and of the progress he had made in *Asia*. *Philip*, on the other hand, dispatched ambassadors to the Senate, justifying himself, and accusing *Aurelius*, the *Roman* ambassador in *Greece*, of having raised soldiers in that country, and of having, contrary to the treaty of peace, committed hostilities against his lieutenants: He also desired, that *Scopater* and the *Macedonians*, who had served as mercenaries in the *Carthaginian* army, and been taken prisoners at the battle of *Zama*, might be set at liberty. *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had dispatched from *Greece* to answer this charge, asserted, that the ambassador had not gone out of the territories of the *Roman* allies, and had only endeavoured to hinder them from being pillaged by the *Macedonians*. *Furius* also informed the Senate, that *Scopater* was one of the King's courtiers, and had been

1. B. 30.
2. C. 10.
3. C. 11.

1. B. 30.
2. C. 10.
3. C. 11.

1. B. 30.
2. C. 10.
3. C. 11.

1. B. 30.
2. C. 10.

* The port
of Athens.

1. B. 30.
2. C. 42.

been sent by him into *Africa*, with money and four thousand men, to assist *Carthage*. The Conscrip Fathers approved of *Aurelius's* conduct, refused to deliver up *Sopater* and the *Macedonians*, and threatened the King with a speedy war if he proceeded in the course he had begun. Their answer to the deputies from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* was, that *the Senate would take care of the affairs of Asia*.

Y. R. 552.
Bef. Chr.
200.
251 Conf.

In consequence of these several answers, they passed a decree, empowering the Consul *Ælius* to name a General to sail with a fleet of thirty-eight galleys for *Macedon*; and *Lævinus* being chosen for the expedition, he sailed thither without delay. On his arrival, *Aurelius* joined him; and, when they had consulted together, they agreed to write to the Senate, That *Philip* had made mighty preparations for war, and that it would be necessary to send a greater force into *Greece* than was there at present.

Liv. B. 31.
c. 3.

Their letters did not arrive at *Rome* till new Consuls had been chosen, *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *C. Aur. Cotta*, who on the ides of *March*, the day they entered upon office, made a report to the Senate of the state of affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon*. The Conscrip Fathers suspended their determination, till sacrifices should be offered to the Gods, and their will consulted. After this they assembled: The letters from *Greece* were now arrived, and also a new deputation from the *Athenians*, demanding succours against the King of *Macedon*, who threatened them with a siege; the Consuls took this opportunity to declare, that the Gods accepted the sacrifices, and that, by the report of the *Auruspices*, the entrails of the victims portended to the Republic victories and triumphs and augmentation of dominion. The assembly passed a decree, That thanks be returned to the *Athenians* for their fidelity; That the Consuls immediately draw lots for their provinces, and that he to whom *Macedon* falls, shall ask the people's consent to a war with *Philip*.

Y. R. 553.
Bef. Chr.
199.
252 Conf.
Liv. B. 31.
c. 4.

Macedon fell to *Sulpicius*. He assembled the *Comitia* by centuries, and proposed the war: but the motion was there rejected by a plurality of voices. For the commons of *Rome*, already exhausted by the long and grievous war with *Hannibal*, had no inclination to begin a new one, that must, in all probability, be very burthenfome. And *Bæbius*, one of their *Tribunes*, revived the old complaint, That the Nobles, from views of ambition and private interest, were for adding war to war, that the people might never enjoy any repose. The Senate, nevertheless, did not desist from their project. *Sulpicius* once more convened the people. To engage their consent to the enterprize, he put them in mind of the fatal consequences which had followed upon their delaying to send succours to the *Saguntines*, when threatened by *Hannibal*, as the *Athenians* were now by *Philip*. That their negligence in the former case had encouraged the *Carthaginian* to pass the Alps, and invade *Italy*; that though he had been five months coming from *Spain*, five days would be sufficient.

Y. R. 493
B. C. 193
193
193 C. 193

sufficient to bring Philip upon their coasts; and, granting that the King and his Macedonians were not so much to be feared as Hannibal and the Carthaginians, yet certainly Philip was a more powerful Prince than Pyrrhus, who had led his victorious army almost to the walls of Rome. He further reminded them, That their present security was owing to Scipio's being suffered to transport his Legions into Africa; and, that it was undoubtedly good policy to keep hostilities at a distance, and make war only in an enemy's country. The arguments of the Consul prevailed, and the Centuries voted for war.

And now the chief concern of the Senate was to settle the several armies which were to act this year: No more than six Legions were raised in all. *Sulpicius* had leave to strengthen the two Legions assigned him for the Macedonian war, by as many volunteers as he could get from among the soldiers which *Scipio* had brought from Africa; but he was not to force any of them into the service. The Consul *Aurelius* also raised two Legions to march whithersoever the wavering nations of Italy made his presence necessary. And then the Prætorian armies were formed for the service in Cisalpine Gaul, Bruttium, Sicily, and Sardinia.

Justin. B.
193 C. 193
193 C. 193
193 C. 193
193 C. 193
193 C. 193

Embassadors arrived at this time from *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, King of Egypt, who, having escaped, in his minority, the wicked designs of his guardians, had (according to *Justin*) put himself under the protection of the Romans, and received from them *M. Lepidus* to be his guardian and defender against the threatened invasions of the Kings of Syria and Macedon. *Ptolemy* inclined to send succours to Athens, which *Philip* was marching to besiege; but he durst not undertake any thing till he had asked the consent of the Roman Republic. The Senate returned him thanks for the deference he had shewed them, and gave this answer to his embassadors, That Rome was resolved to support her allies; that she would give *Ptolemy* notice when she wanted his assistance; and that she knew his kingdom to be a faithful and firm support of the Republic.

The Consul *Sulpicius* was hindered from setting out for Macedon by ceremonies of religion. In the beginning of a new war, the Romans would have nothing customary of that kind neglected; the least omission of the usual formalities being thought to affect the success of the enterprize. It was judged proper on this occasion, that *Sulpicius* should vow games in honour of *Jupiter*, and make him a present. Nevertheless it met with some opposition: For the Republic had not the sum necessary for the expence of the games; and the Pontifex Maximus declared, that the Gods did not care to be at uncertainties, that they were always for ready money; and that the sum vowed must be set apart at the time of the vow. However this sentence of the Pontifex was over-ruled by the Pontifical College, before whom *Sulpicius*, by order, laid the affair. They decreed, that the Senate should be free

to determine the expence of the games, and the value of the present; and this was the first time that ever a vow was made of an indeterminate sum; or, *that the Gods gave credit.*

Y. R. 550
Bef. Chr.
199.
252 Conf.

A sudden insurrection of the *Gauls* detained *Sulpicius* some time longer at *Rome*. *Hamilcar*, whom *Mago* had left in *Italy*, was at the head of them. He seized *Placentia*, burnt the town, put most of the inhabitants to death, and advanced towards *Cremonia*: The *Cremonese* shut their gates against him, stood a siege, and gave notice of their danger to *Turcius Purpureo*, the *Roman* Prætor, who, in the neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, commanded five thousand men of the allies. *Furius* not having strength sufficient to contend with the enemy, wrote to the Senate, desiring succours, and acquainting them that the *Gauls* were forty thousand strong. The Fathers decreed, that either the Consul *Aurelius* should, at the head of some Legions he had ordered to rendezvous in *Hebruria*, go to the relief of *Cremona*; or, in case he declined the commission, that those Legions should march to *Ariminum* without him, and be commanded in the expedition against the *Gauls* by *Furius*, who should send his five thousand men into *Hebruria*. *Aurelius* chose to continue at *Rome*.

The Senate appointed also an embassy to *Carthage*, to complain of *Hamilcar*; and to require that he should be recalled and given up to the *Romans*, together with some deserters, who, according to the treaty, ought to have been given up before. The same ambassadors had instructions to go into *Numidia*, with presents and a compliment to *Masiniſſa*, on the recovery and enlargement of his dominions; and they were to signify to him, that as *Rome* was entering upon a new war with *Macedon*, it would be very acceptable, if he would send the Republic some squadrons of *Numidian* horse.

Masiniſſa was now in possession of the capital, together with a great part of the kingdom of *Syphax*. *Vermina*, the son of that dethroned King, held the other part. In the low condition to which the victories of *Scipio* had reduced him, he could have no security against the ambition of *Masiniſſa*, but in the protection of *Rome*. To the Senate therefore he sent envoys to solicit a reconciliation. They endeavoured to excuse what part he had acted in the war against the *Romans*; laid the blame upon the *Carthaginians*; reminded the Senate that *Masiniſſa* had been the enemy of *Rome*, before he became her friend; assured them, that neither *Masiniſſa* nor any other would do more to deserve the favour of the Republic than *Vermina*, and, in conclusion, begged he might receive from the Senate the title of King, and be admitted into their alliance and friendship. The Fathers answered, That *Syphax* had, without any just cause, renounced their friendship, and become their enemy; that *Vermina* ought to ask a peace of the *Roman* people, before he aspired to be stiled King by them; an honour which they con-

Y. R. 333.
E. C. 127.
131.
252 C. 10.

ferred only upon those Princes, who had deserved it by important services. They added, that *Vermina* might have recourse to the *Roman* ambassadors who were going into *Africa*; that they would be empowered to declare the conditions upon which the Republic would enter into a treaty with him; and that if he would have any alteration made in the terms they offered, he might again have recourse to the Senate. Such was the haughtiness which the *Romans* assumed, after the reduction of *Carthage*.

L. B. 31.
C. 12.

At this time the public creditors, who had lent their money, on the promise of being reimbursed at three several payments, complained loudly for want of the last, which had been delayed beyond the time on account of the expences of the *Macedonian* war. The Senate, to do these creditors justice in the best manner they could, assigned over to them certain lands, which belonged to the public, and were within fifty miles of the city, at the rent of one *As* per acre, adding this condition, that when the state was able to pay, it should be in the option of the creditors to keep the lands, or receive their money.

C. 26.

Philip of *Macedon* began the campaign long before the Consul *Sulpicius* left *Rome*. The King dispatched *Philocrates* with 2000 foot and 200 horse to lay waste the lands of the *Athenians*; and, ordering *Heraclides* to *Moronez* with the fleet, he himself with the main of his army marched thither by land. Having easily made himself master of this town, afterwards of *Ænus*, and some other places, he over-ran the *Chersonesus*, and from thence crossed the *Streights*, and sat down before *Abydos*. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, instead of opposing *Philip*, wasted their time in negotiations to bring the *Ætians* and others of the *Greeks* into the new alliance. All the assistance they sent to *Abydos* was 300 *Pergamenians* and one *Rhodian* galley. The inhabitants made a stout defence; and when *Philip*, after he had beat down a part of the wall, refused them their lives and liberty, they took a solemn oath to massacre their wives and children, set fire to the town, burn their effects, and die themselves in the breach. Animated with this fury, they fought so desperately, on the next assault made by *Philip*, that he lost almost all hope of reducing them. But now the chiefs of the *Abydenians*, having time to reflect on their inhuman design, and thinking it a less evil to submit to the King, than to imbrue their hands in the blood of so many women and children, sent to him to beg mercy. Just at this time *M. Æmilius* arrived in *Philip's* camp. He was the youngest of three ambassadors whom the *Romans* had sent to *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*, with orders to coast along *Greece* in their way to *Asia*, and to come, if possible, to a conference with the King of *Macedon*. The ambassadors hearing at *Rhodes*, that *Philip* was besieging *Abydos*, it was agreed amongst them, that *Æmilius* should go and confer with him. The *Roman* signified to the King, that the Senate required of him, not to make war with any nation in *Greece*, not to meddle in

P. H. B.
26. C. 25.

Ptolemy's



Perseus's affairs, and to give satisfaction for the injuries he had done to *Rome* and the *Rhodians*: Adding, that, if he complied with these demands, the peace might still continue between *Rome* and him; if he did not, he must expect war. *Philip* began to excuse himself, alledging, that the *Rhodians* had been the aggressors. But what have the Athenians done? (replied *Æmilius* interrupting him) Wherein have the *Cyanians* or the people of *Abydos* offended? Have any of these been the aggressors? To this the King answered, There are three reasons of your haughty behaviour, and for which I forgive it: You are a young man without experience, You are very handsome, and you are a Roman. I earnestly wish that *Rome* may not violate the treaty; but if she does, I shall, with the assistance of the Gods, defend myself. This conference put an end to all thoughts of peace, and *Æmilius* was dismissed. The chiefs of the *Abydenians* surrendered the city; but the multitude remembering the oath they had sworn, a fit of rage seized them, and they fell to massacring their wives, their children, and themselves. *Philip*, surprized at their madness, ordered proclamation to be made through the town, that all those, who had a mind to hang themselves, or cut their own throats, should have three days time to do it.

Philip repassed the *Hellepont*. *Sulpicius* was now wintering near *Apollonia*; he had come too late in the year to attempt any thing. Upon his arrival he sent *Claudius Centho* to *Athens* with twenty galleys and some *Roman* legionaries to cover the *Athenian* territories from the ravages of *Philocrates*. *Centho* not only put a stop to the hostilities of the *Macedonians*, but took revenge on the *Chalcidian* pirates for their robberies: He sailed with the best part of his squadron, surprized *Chalcis* in the night, pillaged it, beat down the statues of King *Philip*, burnt all his magazines, arsenals, and engines of war, and then returned with the spoil to *Athens*. The *Macedonian*, upon the first news of the taking of *Chalcis*, hastened to that town, thinking to surprize the *Romans* there: But they were gone. Thence he marched with great expedition to *Athens*, in the hope of finding it unprepared for resistance. The *Athenians* however had notice of his coming, and drew out their forces to fight him. *Philip*, pleased with an opportunity to shew his bravery before a multitude of people, who crowded on the walls to see the engagement, gave his men this short exhortation, Fix your eyes on me, and remember, that where the King is, there his troops ought to be. Then falling upon the *Athenians* with incredible fury, he drove them into the town, and pursued them to the very gates. Next day the besieged, strengthened by a reinforcement of *Romans* and *Pergamenians*, appeared in order of battle before the walls; *Philip* thought proper to remove to a greater distance, and posted himself at *Eleusis*. In that neighbourhood he signally vented his rage, sparing neither tombs nor temples, nor even the images of the Gods. After this, understanding that the diet of *Achaia* was assembled at *Argos*, to de-

V. R. 551.
Bel. Chm.
199.
252 Conf.

Liv. B. 31.
c. 22.

Y. R. 555.
Bef. Chr.
199.
252 Conf.

liberate upon a war with the tyrant *Nabis*, (who after the death of *Machanidas* had usurped the *Lacedæmonian* throne) he hastened thither, and offered his assistance to the *Acheans*, upon condition that they would furnish garrisons for the cities of *Oreus*, *Chalcis*, and *Corinth*: But they perceiving that his views were to embroil them with the *Romans*, declined his offers. Whereupon he returned into *Attica*, renewed his devastations there, and then marched into *Boeotia*.

C. 23.

In *Italy*, the Prætor *Furius*, at the head of the army which the Consul *Aurelius* should have commanded, (had he not chosen rather to continue at *Rome*) defeated the *Gauls* in a pitched battle, near *Cremona*. Of forty thousand of the enemy, scarce six thousand escaped. *Aurelius's* jealousy was awakened by this success. Vexed at having missed so favourable an opportunity of acquiring glory, he, to repair his loss in some measure, put himself now at the head of his troops: But *Furius* had left him little to do. The victorious Prætor returned to *Rome*, and in the absence of the Consul obtained a triumph, by a decree of the Senate, though contrary to the judgment of the oldest Senators; because the army, with which he had conquered, had not fought under his *Auspices*.

C. 48.

The ambassadors who had been sent to *Carthage*, and into *Numidia*, were now returned. They had found no reason to be dissatisfied with the *Carthaginians*, who, with regard to *Hamilcar*, had answered, that they would punish him the only way they could, which was by banishment and confiscation of his effects. All the *Roman* deserters they could find, they had delivered up; and had sent to *Rome*, by way of present, two hundred thousand modii of wheat, and as much to the *Roman* army in *Macedon*. *Masiniſſa* offered the Republic a reinforcement of two thousand horse: The Senate accepted only of one thousand; and these the King transported into *Macedon* at his own expence, sending with them two hundred thousand modii of wheat, and as many of barley. As for *Vermina*, he had submitted himself to the conditions of peace which the ambassadors proposed; and it is probable that he then assumed the title of King, over that part of *Masæſylia* which *Masiniſſa* had not conquered from *Sypbax*.

C H A P. II,

The Ætolians decline taking part in the war. Some slight engagements between the Romans and Macedonians. The Ætolians declare for the Romans. The ridiculous behaviour of the Athenians with regard to Philip. The Consul Flaminius lands in Greece; has a conference with Philip; forces his entrenchments; gains over the Achæans to the interest of Rome: Has another conference with Philip. The battle of Cynocephalæ. A peace concluded.

THE Consular *Fasces* were transferred to *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*. *Scipio Africanus* was chosen at the same time one of the Censors; and likewise declared Prince (or President) of the Senate. The conduct of the war in *Italy* fell to *Lentulus*, the war of *Macedon* to *Villius*: But these two heads of the Republic, after the example of their predecessors, continued long at *Rome*, and did not go to their provinces till it was very late. *Sulpicius*, who, from being Consul was now become Pro-Consul in *Greece*, came out of his winter-quarters, and encamped between *Apollonia* and *Dirrhachium*, on the banks of the *Aspus* a river of *Illyricum*. *Apustius*, whom he sent out with a detachment to ravage the borders of *Macedon*, took several places by assault. Upon his return from this expedition, some petty Kings in the neighbourhood, who had been formerly in alliance with the Romans, came to offer their services to the Pro-Consul; amongst these *Pleuratus*, King of the *Dardani* in *Illyricum*, *Bato* a sovereign (probably) of a country near *Illyricum*, and *Amynander* King of the *Atbamanes*, a people of *Epirus*.

The devastation made by the *Romans* in *Macedon* brought *Philip* from *Æroia* to the defence of his own country. He took all the measures for that purpose which became an able General. As a diet of the *Ætolians* was now actually assembled at *Naupaëtus*, he sent ambassadors to dissuade them from joining his enemies. *Furius Purpureo* went thither on the part of the *Romans*; and some envoys from *Athens* repaired to the same place. *Damocritus*, Prætor of the *Ætolians*, presided in the diet. The *Macedonian* ambassadors were first heard. Their speeches were full of invectives against the *Romans*, whom they treated as *Barbarians*, ambitious, perfidious and cruel; giving, as proofs of this charge, their proceedings at *Rhegium*, *Capua*, and *Tarentum*, their invasion of *Sicily*, first under pretence of assisting the people of *Messina*, afterwards of delivering *Syracuse* from the tyranny of *Cartbage*: “What
“ has

Y. R. 554.
Ref. Chr.
198.
253 Conf.

Liv. B. 32.
c. 7. & B.
34. c. 44.
B. 31. c. 27.

c. 28.

It has been the consequence of Roman blood, and all the
 "of the people, and that the Roman people, who the world to
 "to conquer Philip; but in all this, which a young man would soon
 "become a prey to the Romans, and which the Romans are your
 "of the world, the object of the Roman people, and the object of the King
 "of the world." The orators continued with pressing the diet to
 continue firm to the treaty made only a few years before. The
 Romans, who spoke next, expatiated upon the inhumanity and unparal-
 leled impiety of the Macedonians, who in his barbarous method of
 making war had violated even the sepulchres of the dead, and the
 industries of the Gods: And they exhorted the assembly to join in the
 common cause of the two most formidable powers, that of Heaven, and that
 of Rome. After this *Lucius Pappus* was heard. His speech turned
 chiefly on a justification of the Roman conduct, with regard to the
 cities mentioned by the Macedonians. He insisted on the moderation
 and lenity of the republic in her conduct towards *Cortage*, and re-
 turned the reproaches of cruelty upon *Philip*; and lastly, he advised the
 assembly to lay hold of the present opportunity of renewing their con-
 federacy with Rome, unless they chose rather to perish with *Philip* than
 conquer with the Romans. The diet inclined to favour the Roman
 cause; but *Demetrius* suspended their determination, by declaring, that
 nothing which related to peace or war could legally be determined
 out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful Greek made a
 merit afterwards, with his countrymen, of his address in this affair, pre-
 tending that his design was only to gain time till by the progress of the
 war it should appear which side was the stronger.

The King was now at *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*. He gave the command of
 his fleet to *Archedides*, with orders to guard the coast; and he marched
 himself with the land-army to meet the Pro-Consul, who was advancing
 into the very heart of *Macedon*. Skirmishes soon happened between
 some flying squadrons. *Philip*, to encourage his troops, by shewing,
 that his regard for them extended beyond their death, would needs
 take particular care to have the slain brought to the camp, and funeral
 rites performed. But this had a quite contrary effect to what the King
 proposed; the soldiers were terrified when they beheld the large and
 dreadful wounds made by the Roman sabres in the bodies of their com-
 panions; for the swords, which the Greeks used, were chiefly for thrust-
 ing, and made but small wounds.

Philip having recalled a detachment he had sent under his son *Perseus*
 and his Governors, to guard the passes of *Pelagonia*, and hinder
Pleuratus and the *Dardani* from entering *Macedon*; his army was now
 considerable, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand
 horse; and he came and posted himself within two hundred paces of
 the

the *Roman* camp. The third day *Sulpicius* offered him battle; but the *Macedonian* judged it not proper to venture a decisive action, till he had studied the enemy, and their manner of fighting. To this end, he first detached a small party to skirmish, and these being worsted, the next day he sent out all his cavalry and light armed infantry, under *Anaxagoras*, and laid an ambush for the *Romans*, which they escaped, through the ill management of the *Macedonians*. In a third action, near *Otolophum*, whither *Sulpicius* had removed his camp, the King, pursuing too eagerly some advantage he gained in the beginning of the fight, had like to have lost his life, as he did the battle.

Y. R. 554.
Bef. Chr.
198.
253 Conf.

This ill success, and the intelligence *Philip* received, that *Pleuratus* King of the *Dardani* had entered *Macedon*, in order to join the *Romans*, made him leave his post; he decamped in the night, without the Pro-Consul's perceiving it. *Sulpicius* after a few days pursued him, and forced his way into *Eordæa*, through some narrow passes, notwithstanding the endeavours of the *Macedonian* to stop him. Having lived here a while upon free quarter, he returned to *Apollonia*, and there delivered up the army to the Consul *Villius Tappulus*, who was arrived from *Rome*.

Liv. B. 37.
c. 38, 39.

At this time the *Veteran* soldiers who had served under *Scipio*, and had entered the present service as volunteers, grew impatient to return to *Italy*, that they might enjoy some repose; and they demanded in a very mutinous manner to be dismissed. The Consul could not deny their request to be reasonable; but he reproved them for their manner of asking, bid them return to their colours, and promised to write to the Senate to procure their discharge. The season of the year, which was far advanced, would not suffer *Villius* to undertake any thing of moment this campaign.

B. 32. c. 3.

While *Philip* found that he was no longer pursued by the *Romans*, and that the Consul gave him time to breathe, he took advantage of the opportunity, and marched against the *Ætolians*, who at length had taken part with the *Romans*, and jointly with *Amyntander* King of the *Atbamans*, made an irruption into *Macedon*. He defeated them, and forced them to retire into their own countries. *Anaxagoras*, whom he had detached against the *Dardani*, had the like success.

B. 31. c. 40.

As to sea-affairs, *Apollonius*, to whom the Pro-Consul *Sulpicius* had given the command of the *Roman* fleet, had early in the year sailed from *Corcyra*, joined the naval force of King *Attalus* off the coast of *Argolis*, and sailed thence to the port *Piræus*; which so elevated the *Athenians*, that they behaved themselves in the most ridiculous manner. To express their resentments against the King of *Macedon*, they passed a decree to destroy the statues of him and his ancestors, which they had before worshipped, break down their altars, and abolish the festivals instituted to their honour; ordering that for the future, the priests should, as often as they prayed for the *Athenians* and their allies, pronounce.

c. 41.

Y. R. 554.
 B.C. 197.
 253 Cons.

pronounce curses against *Philip*, his children, his kingdom, his sea and land forces, and all the race and name of the *Macedonians*; and that the places where any thing had been written, or put up in honour of the King, should be looked upon as impure and detestable. They added, that whatever mark of ignominy any body should propose to lay upon *Philip*, the people of *Athens* should consent to it; and that it should be lawful to kill any man who should say or do any thing in honour of the King. Thus, says *Livy*, the Athenians made war upon *Philip* by words and writings, in which their only strength lay. The united fleets having spent the summer in expeditions of no great importance on the coasts of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Eubœa*, in some of which they were assisted by twenty *Rhodian* galleys under the command of *Agelimbrotus*, returned about the autumnal æquinox to *Eyræus*. *Apustius* left thirty of his ships there, and with the rest sailed to *Corcyra*, as *Attalus* did to *Asia*, after some stay in *Attica* to celebrate the feast of *Ceres*.

Liv. B. 32.
 c. 4

Philip continued to keep the field; but after a fruitless attempt to take *Thaumacia* in *Thessaly*, a strong town situated on a rock, he returned to *Macedon*, to make preparations for the next campaign; and the Consul *Villius* spent the winter in *Apollonia*.

The other Consul *Lentulus*, who should have led his army against the *Gauls*, did not stir from the city, until *Bæbius* the Prætor of *Gaul*, who had put himself at the head of the Consular army, was defeated by the *Insubrians*. He had rashly entered their country, where being surrounded by the enemy, he lost near seven thousand of his men. Upon this news the Consul hastened to the camp, and dismissed *Bæbius* with ignominy, but did nothing of moment in his province, being soon recalled to *Rome* to preside at the *Comitia* for the great elections.

It was not customary to raise any person to the Consulate till he had previously passed through the offices of Quæstor, curule Ædile, and Prætor. Great opposition was therefore made by two Tribunes of the people to the proceeding of the *Comitia* for the grand elections, which were now held by *Lentulus*. Two of the candidates were *T. Quintius Flaminius*, and *Sext. Ælius Pætus*, surnamed *Cætas*. They had neither of them been in the Prætorship; and the former, who was but thirty years of age, had never been so much as Ædile. The affair at length devolved upon the Senate: As the Tribunes had only custom and no law on their side, the Fathers decreed, that the centuries should be free to chuse the two candidates in question; and they were accordingly elected Consuls.

Y. R. 555.
 B.C. 196.
 254 Cons.

The first business of these new magistrates was to introduce into the Senate the ambassadors of King *Attalus*. They came to complain of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, who had invaded the territories of their master; and they requested that the *Romans* would either send some troops to guard his dominions, or allow *Attalus* to carry back his own fleet to defend them. *Antiochus* was secretly in league with *Philip*, and the Senate were

were not ignorant of it, but they thought it advisable in the present conjuncture to dissemble their resentment. They answered therefore, that they were obliged to *Attalus* for the assistance of his fleet and his troops; but did not desire to detain them longer than it was convenient for him: That the *Roman Republic* made use of what belonged to others, solely at the pleasure of the owners, whom she always considered as free to withdraw their aid, when they pleased: That she could not send him help against *Antiochus* her friend and ally; but would dispatch ambassadors to acquaint him, that as she employed *Attalus's* fleet and his troops against *Philip* their common enemy, it would be agreeable to her if *Antiochus* would put an end to the war with the King of *Pergamus*; and that it was but reasonable, the friends and allies of *Rome* should be at peace amongst themselves. Ambassadors were accordingly sent; and *Antiochus* complied.

The war of *Macedon* fell by lot to *Flaminius*; that with the *Gauls* to *Ælius*.

Flaminius did not imitate the dilatory conduct of his predecessors. With eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, most of them chosen out of the troops which had served under *Scipio*, he hastened to *Brundisium*, and from thence set sail for *Corcyra*. *Philip* was now in great perplexity; in danger from powerful enemies who attacked him by sea and land, while he had reason to fear the inconstancy of his allies, and the resentment of his subjects. The *Macedonians* hated his government on account of his minister *Heraclides*. This man (says *Polybius*) a *Tarentine* by birth, of the dregs of the people, and abandoned to all manner of debauchery, was excellently formed by nature for mischief. He had a ready invention, a great memory, and a wonderful talent for flattering the great. Banished his own country on account of some traitorous practices, he had taken refuge in the *Macedonian* court, and there, insinuating himself into the King's favour, had grown to such a height of power, and made so bad an use of it, as to be one of the chief causes of the ruin of the kingdom. *Philip*, at this time, to soothe his people, discarded and imprisoned his minister: What became of him afterwards history has not informed us. The *Macedonian* was obliged to give up some towns to the *Achaëans*, in order to bind them to his interest in this dangerous conjuncture. Having made great preparations for war during the winter, he advanced with his army in the spring, and encamped near *Apollonia* on the river *Acus*, where it runs through a very narrow valley between two mountains, the one of which he ordered *Atbenagoras* to take possession of with the light armed troops, and posted himself on the other with the remainder of his forces. The situation of his camp was so strong, both by art and nature, that *Villius*, who had brought his legions within five miles of it, going in person to take a view of it, was terrified at the appearance

Y. R. 555.
Polyb. C. 17.
107.
254 C. 1. 6.

Polyb. B. 13.
c. 2.

Y. R. 555.
Bef. Chr.
197.
254 Conl.

it made. He called a council of war to deliberate, whether it would not be better to march about and enter *Macedon* the same way that *Sulpicius* had gone last year, than to attempt forcing the King's entrenchments. The officers were divided in opinion; and during this indetermination *Flaminius* arrived and took upon him the command of the army.

Liv. B. 32.
c. 16.

And now a new council of war being held, it was resolved to attack the *Macedonian* camp, lest the *Romans*, by taking a long circuit, should happen to want provisions, and be forced to protract the war to a great length. But when the resolution of the council should have been put in execution, forty days were spent in fruitless contrivances how to surmount the difficulties; and this respite gave *Pbilip* hopes of procuring a treaty of peace. By the means of some chiefs of the *Epirot* nation he obtained an interview with the Consul. *Flaminius* demanded nothing in favour of the *Romans*: But he required that *Pbilip* should restore to the *Greeks* all the cities he possessed of theirs, and make satisfaction to all those whose territories he had plundered. The King did not refuse to surrender the cities which he himself had taken from the *Greeks*, but was unwilling to part with those which his ancestors had conquered; and he offered to submit himself to the arbitration of neutral powers, who should judge of the injuries the *Greeks* had suffered from him. The Consul briskly replied, That there was no need of such an arbitration; that as he was the aggressor, he ought to repair all damages. *What cities then, said Pbilip, would you have me restore?* All *Thessaly*, answered the *Roman*. The King in anger replied, *What more, Consul, could you have demanded, if you had conquered me?* This said, he immediately broke off the conference, and went away.

Plut. life of
Flaminius.

The next morning hostilities began, but with little advantage to either side. After some days the Consul detached a party of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse, under the guidance of a shepherd, whom *Charops*, one of the chiefs of the *Epirots*, had sent to him for that purpose. This fellow knew all the paths and by-roads over the mountains; and he undertook to lead the detachment, (which was to march only by moon-light) in three nights time to the top of a mountain which over-looked the *Macedonian* camp. They had orders to give the signal by fires, when they had gained the post appointed them. The third day, *Flaminius* caused two thirds of his army to march up and assail the enemy's entrenchments. In the heat of the action, the detachment falling suddenly down, like a torrent from the mountain, on the *Macedonians*, put a speedy end to the conflict. *Pbilip* was one of the first that fled. About five miles from his camp he stopped, upon a little hill, the ways to which being narrow and difficult, he thought he might safely wait there for his troops; which when he had got together, he retired with them into *Thessaly*, having lost only two thousand men.

This

This defeat produced other ill consequences to *Philip*: The *Ætolians* and *Athamanes* encouraged by it, entered *Thessaly* on different sides, and made great havock and devastation in that unfortunate country.

Y. R. 555.
B.C. Chr.
197.
254 Conf.

Flamininus, with his victorious legions, marched through *Epirus* in pursuit of the King, entered *Thessaly*, and took several fortresses garrisoned by *Macedonians*. But *Atrax*, a town upon the river *Peneus*, ten miles from *Larissa*, held out against him, even after he had made a breach in the wall: The garrison drew themselves up in a phalanx behind the breach, and bravely repulsed the *Romans*. *Flamininus* thinking it of consequence not to have his army affronted by a handful of men, and having ordered the place, where the wall had fallen, to be cleared of the rubbish, and a tower of a great height filled with soldiers to be moved thither, advanced, in person, with his legions to the attack: But the breach being narrow, and the *Macedonians* standing firm, all his efforts to enter proved vain, and he was constrained to raise the siege. *Philip* had retired to the famous vale of *Tempe*, from whence he sent succours to the cities in his interest.

Lev. B. 32.
c. 13.
c. 15

Whilst the Consul was thus employed in the northern part of *Thessaly*, his brother *L. Quinctius*, whom he had made admiral of the fleet, being joined near the island of *Andros* by *Attalus's* fleet of twenty-four ships from *Asia*, and that of the *Rhodians* consisting of twenty, laid siege to *Eretria* and *Carystus*, maritime cities of *Eubœa*, and when he had carried these places, entered the *Saronic* gulph, and appeared before *Cenchrea*, one of the ports of *Corinth*.

It was now time for the Consul to think in what part of *Greece* he should pass the winter. Neither *Ætolia* nor *Acarnania* had any maritime city which could furnish quarters for his troops, and had at the same time a haven large enough to contain all the store-ships necessary to supply the army with provisions. He chose therefore to winter in *Phocis*, a country not far from *Ætolia* and *Thessaly*, and where the city of *Anticyra* on the gulph of *Corinth* would be commodious both for his soldiers and his ships. Having turned his arms that way, *Anticyra* surrendered, after a slight defence. He took likewise *Ambrysas*, *Hyampolis* and *Daulis*; and whilst he lay before *Elatia*, he learnt that the *Acœans* had banished *Cycliades*, the chief of the *Macedonian* faction among them, and chosen for their Prætor, *Aristæus*, a man well affected to *Rome*. The Consul therefore judged this a favourable opportunity to gain that nation to the interest of the Republic; in order to which he sent a deputation to them, with offers to put *Corinth* under the jurisdiction of *Acœaia*, as it had formerly been. This was a tempting proposal, and the diet assembled to deliberate upon it. *Cleomedon* appeared there as ambassador from *Philip*, and pressed them to a neutrality; *L. Calpurnius* spoke on the part of the *Romans*; the envoys from King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians*, were likewise heard. Next day the assembly met

c. 18.

Y. R. 553.
Def. C. 17.
137.
254 Cons.
L. B. 32.
c. 21, 22.

again to debate the matter without admitting the foreign ministers, but could not come to any resolution; they feared both the *Romans* and *Philip*, and were under obligations to the latter; they had not even the courage to declare their sentiments, though pressed to it by *Aristæus* the President: An universal silence reigned in the assembly. After some time *Aristæus* in a long harangue represented to them the situation of their affairs, and urged the necessity of their joining the *Romans*, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to the compliance they had condescended to request: But this discourse did not bring the *Achaëans* to any agreement among themselves. The disputes grew warm, even to mutual reproaches, and the ten ^a *Demiurgi* were equally divided. The diet sat but one day longer, and the most part of this they spent in contention. In the end, one of the *Demiurgi* of *Philip's* party, was brought over to the *Roman* interest, by the prayers and threatenings of his father: The deputies from *Dymæ*, *Megalopolis*, and some of those from *Argos*, seeing how the affair was like to be determined, rose up, and left the assembly, for these three cities were under particular obligations to *Philip*. The rest of *Achaia* made an alliance with the *Athenians*, *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, but deferred concluding a treaty with *Flaminius*, till the return of some ambassadors sent to *Rome* to get it approved. Nevertheless, the *Achaëans*, for their own interest, immediately lent assistance to the *Romans* to reduce *Corinth*.

The city was attacked on the side of *Cenchrea* by *Quintilius*, at the gate of *Sicyon* by the *Achaëans*, and on the side of the port *Lechaum* by *Attalus*. It was at first hoped by the confederates that a difference would arise between the garrison and the inhabitants, and that they should thereby become masters of the place: But *Androsthenes*, who commanded the garrison for *Philip*, had gained the affections of the *Corinthians*, and being powerfully supported by some *Roman* deserters, who had served in *Hannibal's* army, and by a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men under *Philocles*, one of King *Philip's* generals, he obliged the besiegers to drop their enterprize.

4:5.

After this, *Philocles* marched to *Argos*, where the *Achaean* diet had placed a commander named *Ænesidemus*, a man faithful to his trust; but the inhabitants being in the interest of *Philip*, took arms, and obliged the Governor to capitulate. *Ænesidemus* obtained leave for the garrison, consisting of five hundred men, to depart in safety, but he continued there himself, with a few of his friends. *Philocles* sent to ask him, *why he staid, and what he intended to do*: To which he answered, *To die in the place committed to my care*. Hereupon *Philocles* ordered some *Tetracians* to let fly their arrows at the *Achaean* and his friends: They were all slain.

^a The ten *Demiurgi* seem to have been the chief magistrates of ten cities which, at this time, composed the *Achaean* state. Livy, B. 35. c. 30.

Flaminius,

Flamininus, after he had taken *Elatia*, retired for the winter to *Anticyra*.

The time of the elections at *Rome* now drew near, and *Ælius*, who had done no great matter in *Cisalpine Gaul*, was called home to assemble the Centuries. They chose *C. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minucius Rufus* Consuls. It was thought fit at this time to increase the number of Prætors to six, by creating two new ones for the government of *Hisber Spain* and *Further Spain*. The Consuls being both ambitious of conducting the war in *Macedon*, were in great haste to draw lots for that province: But this motion was opposed by two Tribunes of the Commons, who represented to the people the ill consequences which might attend the recalling *Flamininus* from *Greece* in the midst of his successes. *Cornelius* and *Minucius* at length consented to leave the matter to the determination of the Senate, if the Tribunes would do the same. Accordingly it was referred to the Conscrip Fathers, and they decreed, that *Flamininus* should continue in his command till the people thought fit to recall him; they granted him also a recruit of five thousand foot, three hundred horse, and three thousand seamen and rowers, and left him his brother *Quintius* to conduct the fleet under his direction; *Sulpicius* and *Villius* were to serve in his army as his Lieutenants. As for the two Consuls, they were both ordered into *Cisalpine Gaul* against *Hamilcar*, who still headed the revolt there.

Flamininus, who knew nothing of what was doing at *Rome*, and had some apprehension of being recalled, was very desirous of having it in his power, in that case, to conclude an honourable treaty with *Philip*, before any successor could arrive to rob him of the glory: And therefore, though he at first pretended an unwillingness to grant an interview which the King demanded, he at length consented to it, and it was agreed that the place of conference should be on the sea-coast, not far from *Nicea*, a city on the *Maliac Gulph*. *Philip* came to this place by sea, in one of his ships of war, attended by five small vessels; and he had on board with him his two secretaries. With *Flamininus*, who came on foot to the sea-shore, were *Amynder* King of the *Atthamans*, *Dionysodorus* ambassador from *Attalus*, *Agessimbrotus* Admiral of the *Rhodian* fleet, *Phæneas* General of the *Ætolians*, and *Aristæus* and *Xenophon*, two deputies from the *Acheans*. *Philip* continued in the prow of his ship, which lay at anchor. *Why don't you come ashore?* said the Pro Consul, *we shall hear one another better. Which of us do you fear?* *The Gods alone I fear*, answered the King, *but there are with you some men, whom I cannot trust, and least of all the Ætolians. The danger is equal on both sides*, replied *Flamininus*, *there is always some hazard in conferences with enemies. No*, said *Philip*, *the danger is not equal. Were Phæneas dead, the Ætolians might easily choose another Prætor, but were I killed, the Macedonians could not so readily find another King:*

Then.

Y. R. 545.
B. C. Chr.

197.
254 C. 256.

Y. R. 556.
B. C. Chr.

196.
255 C. 256.

Polyb. B.

17. c. 1.
Liv. B. 32.
c. 32.

Vol. R. 1. 1. 1.
 Ed. C. 1. 1.
 196.
 233 C. 1. 1.

Then both parties remained silent for some time, the Pro-Consul expecting, that as *Philip* had asked the conference, he would speak first. The King said, it belonged to him who was to prescribe the terms of peace to speak first, not to him that was to accept them: To which *Flamininus* answered, "I shall tell you plainly the conditions, without which no peace is to be hoped for. Restore to the *Romans* all the places you have invaded in *Illyricum* since the last peace; surrender up our deserters, evacuate the cities you have taken from the *Egyptians* since the decease of King *Ptolemy Philopator*; satisfy all the just pretensions of our allies, and immediately leave *Greece*."

Then the ministers of the King of *Pergamus*, and of the other allies, by the order of the Pro-Consul, made severally their demands. Some required *Philip* to restore cities, others ships which he had taken; and others demanded of him to rebuild temples which he had demolished. The deputies of *Acbaia* would have *Corinth* and *Argos* reunited to the body of their state. *Pbanceas* and *Alexander* spoke on the part of the *Ætolians*. The former confidently insisted on the King's restoring all the places he had usurped from them, and his entirely evacuating *Greece*. But *Alexander*, who was esteemed a notable speaker, went farther, and, addressing himself to the King, reproached him with carrying on the war in an ungenerous manner, and not like the Kings of *Macedon*, his predecessors, who used to meet their enemies in the open field, and there decide their differences by battle, sparing the towns, that they might possess them as the reward of their victories. Whereas *Philip's* method was, to avoid fighting, over-reach his enemies in conferences, pillage and burn towns, even those of his allies, more of which he had destroyed in *Thessaly*, the last year, than an enemy would have done. The King bringing his ship nearer the shore, replied, That *Alexander* had made a very theatrical harangue, and like an *Ætolian*; that no man would willingly do an injury to his allies; but that the circumstances of affairs were sometimes such, as obliged those that had the management of them to do things very much against their inclinations. He was going on, when *Pbanceas* interrupted him, saying, That he trifled, and must either conquer in war, or submit to the strongest. *Philip* immediately answered, *That's clear, indeed, even to a blind man.* *Pbanceas* had weak eyes, and the King, who loved a jest, alluded to this infirmity. He then ridiculed the *Ætolians*, for assuming the airs of the *Romans*, and, like them, ordering the King of *Macedon* to quit *Greece*. He asked them what it was they meant by *Greece*; some of the *Ætolian* nations, he said, were not *Greeks*. Would they give up these to him? Next he answered the ambassadors from *Pergamus* and *Rhodes*, and offered to restore the ships he had taken from them; yet adding, That it would be more equitable if *they* were required to restore *his* ships, since every one knew, that they were

were the aggressors in the war. He offered likewise to give up the country of *Paræa* to the *Rhodians*: And, as *Attalus* had insisted upon reparation of the damage he had done to the woods of *Nicephorium* and the grove of the temple of *Venus*, “ Since Kings, said he, must treat “ of such matters, I shall repair those damages, the only way they “ can be repaired; I shall send thither gardeners and trees, and be at “ the expence of planting.” In the end of the conference he desired the parties would deliver him their several pretensions in writing, and he promised to consider them: *I am alone*, said he, *I have none to assist me with their counsels*: To which the Pro-Consul answered, *You deserve to be alone, for you have deprived yourself of all your friends*. The King was stung with this reproach, but put on a forced smile. Mutual promises being given, that the conference should be continued the next day in the same place, *Philip* retired with his ships, and *Flaminius* returned to his camp.

Y. R. 556.
Euf. Chr.
196.
255 Conf.

Polyb. L. 17.
c. 7.

At the next meeting, the King desired, that in order to cut off a thousand frivolous disputes, the conference might be between him and *Flaminius* only. This was agreed to, and then *Philip* came ashore with two of his confidants, and went a little apart with the Pro-Consul. The King offered to give up all he possessed in *Illyricum* to the *Romans*, *Pharsalus* and *Larissa* to the *Ætolians*, but refused to restore *Thebes* to them; he offered likewise to restore *Paræa* to the *Rhodians*, but reserved *Jassos* and *Bargilia*; he promised to surrender *Argos* and *Corinth* to the *Achaïans*, and to restore to King *Attalus* the ships and prisoners he had taken from him. But when *Flaminius*, upon his return to the deputies, made this report, they all raised a great clamour. *Philip*, perceiving by the noise what opposition his proposals were like to meet with, desired a third interview the next day, at another place not far from *Nicea*. They met accordingly; and then the King exhorted the deputies of the nations not to be averse from a peace, and proposed to refer all differences to the arbitration of the *Roman Senate*: The deputies at first opposed this motion, but it was at length agreed to, and commissioners were sent to *Rome* from the King, the Pro-Consul, and the confederates.

The commissioners of the allies were first heard in the Senate, and they insisted chiefly on the necessity of obliging *Philip* to give up *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, *Corinth* in *Achaia*, and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*: These three places he had called, *The Fetters of Greece*. What was urged on this head raised such strong prejudices against *Philip*, that when one of his ambassadors was beginning a studied harangue, the Senators interrupted him, and said, *Tell us, will the King of Macedon give up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias?* The ambassadors, surprized at this question, answered, that their master had given them no instructions as to that matter: Whereupon they were dismissed, and a decree passed giving full powers

V. B. 33.
F. C. 1.
F. C. 1.

powers to *Flaminius* to pursue the war, or make peace, as he should think proper.

V. B. 33.
F. C. 1.

Philip, finding his hopes frustrated, turned his thoughts wholly to the war; and as it was of great importance to him to preserve *Argos*, and yet difficult to do it, because it was in the heart of *Achaia*, he put *Nabis*, the tyrant of *Lacedemon*, into possession of that city, upon condition of its being restored to him in case he came off conqueror in the war. But the tyrant was no sooner master of the place, than he plundered all the inhabitants, committed the most horrible cruelties, and, in order to preserve his new possession, entered into a treaty with *Flaminius* (who at his request came from *Phecis* for that purpose) and furnished the Pro-Consul with six hundred *Cretans* to act against *Philip*. After this, *Nabis*, having extorted all the money he could from the men of *Argos*, brought his wife *Apega* thither to practice robbery upon the women. When they came to court, she admired their jewels and rich clothes, and by using good words with some, and menaces with others, entirely stripped them of all their finery. Then the Tyrant leaving a garrison in the place, returned to *Lacedemon*. The Pro-Consul spent the winter at *Antigra*.

V. B. 33.
F. C. 1.
F. C. 1.

Early in the spring *Flaminius*, understanding that the general diet of *Boetia* was summoned to meet at *Thebes*, left his quarters, and, under a guard of only one *Manipulus*, advanced towards that city, accompanied by King *Attalus*. The Pro-Consul had ordered two thousand *Hastati* to follow him at some distance; these were hid by the hills about *Thebes*. *Antiphanes*, the Prætor of *Boetia*, seeing the Roman General approach with so small a guard, came out to meet him; and all the inhabitants, out of curiosity to see what past, ran either to the ramparts, or out of the gates, mostly without arms. When they saw the two thousand *Hastati* appear, they thought themselves betrayed, but dissembled their uneasiness. *Flaminius* caressed the *Boetians*, and gave them leave to hold the diet, which had been appointed to meet the next day. *Attalus*, who was present at the assembly, spoke first, and with great vehemence urged them to engage in an alliance with the *Romans*. In the midst of his harangue he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which took away his speech, and he presently after fell down; and though he was brought again to himself, he had lost the use of some of his limbs. [His attendants, a few days after, put him on board a galley, which carried him to *Asia*, where he died at seventy-one years of age, leaving his crown to his eldest son *Eumenes*.] This accident did not break up the assembly; and as there was no room for debate upon *Attalus's* motion, *Flaminius* being master of the town, the *Thebans* and all *Boetia* entered into a confederacy with the Republic.

V. B. 33.
C. 21.

The Pro-Consul having now no enemies behind him, marched into *Theffaly*, in quest of *Philip*, who had taken the field. In the neighbourhood

hood of *Pheræ*, a city of *Magnesia*, the two armies encamped near each other. But as the country all around was thick set with trees, and full of gardens and ruined walls, neither of the Generals thought the ground proper for a pitched battle, and they decamped as it were by consent. *Philip* bent his march towards *Scotussa*, where he could have plenty of forage for his army; and *Flaminius*, suspecting his design, hastened towards the same town, in order to lay waste the fields round it. The roads by which the two armies marched, being divided by a ridge of hills, they advanced as far as *Cynocephalæ* * without knowing any thing of each other. Here they came to a decisive battle before either party was prepared for it. The day being foggy, some troops of *Roman* horse, that had been detached to discover the enemy, fell in unawares with a detachment of *Macedonians*. A skirmish ensued. On both sides, having sent advice to their respective Generals of what had happened, they received successive reinforcements. Various was the fortune of the conflict. Once the *Romans* would have been totally routed, if five hundred *Ætolian* horse had not sustained them, and gallantly opposed themselves to the enemy's impetuosity. *Flaminius*, the fog being at length dispersed, put his whole army into the best order he could; and, with his left, advanced against the right of the *Macedonians*, which *Philip* had, by this time, formed into a deep Phalanx, on the ascent of a hill. The Phalanx, by its weight, the excellency of its arms, and the advantage of the higher ground, entirely broke the *Roman* battalions that were before it. *Flaminius*, thinking all lost on this side, joined his right, which had already made an impression on the left of the enemy: For this left was not in the order of a Phalanx; the inequality of the ground would not suffer it: Nor, indeed, had the troops come up early enough to be put into any good order for battle: They were therefore soon routed. Among those who pursued them, was a Legionary Tribune, who observing that *Philip*, with his victorious Phalanx, was still pressing after the left of the *Romans*, turned from the flying enemy, and, with twenty companies, fell upon the Phalanx in the rear. Such being the order of a Phalanx, that it cannot face about, nor the Phalangites fight singly, the hindmost ranks were slaughtered without making resistance; others threw down their arms and fled: The foremost was charged in front, by the *Roman* Legionaries, whom they had routed; for these, having rallied, returned now to the fight. The King perceiving the day lost, gathered about him as many of his *Macedonians* and *Thracians* as he could, and fled to *Tempe*. His army, before the battle, consisted of about twenty-one thousand foot and two thousand horse, and that of the *Romans* was not much more numerous: Of the former, eight thousand men were killed and five thousand taken prisoners: The *Romans* lost only seven hundred. To add to the King's misfortune, his General *Androstenes*, whom he had left in *Corinth* with six thousand men, was

V. R. 556.
Bef. Chr.
106.
255 C. 10.

V. R. B.
17. C. 15.

* The Dogs
Head, hills
so called.

Liv. B. 33
c. 14.

Y. R. 556.
Eef. Chr.
106.
245 Cons.

Plut. Le-
gat. 6.

Liv. B. 33.
c. 12.

defeated just at the same time, in *Acchaia*, by *Nicostratus* Prætor of that nation.

The *Ætolians* by their vanity gave the Pro-Consul great uneasiness. They had indeed bore a good part in the late battle of *Cynocephala*, but in their songs which they dispersed over all *Greece* they assumed the chief glory of the success to themselves. *Flaminius*² took an opportunity to mortify their pride. Three envoys coming from *Philip*, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to ask a conference in order to a peace, the Pro-Consul gave them an answer without consulting the Chiefs of the *Ætolians*. Provoked at this affront, they spread a report, that he was bribed by the King, and was betraying the common cause; but in truth the *Roman* had very different motives for hearkening to *Philip's* proposals. *Antiochus*, stiled *the Great*, King of *Syria*, was preparing to come into *Europe* with an army, and *Flaminius* desired to conclude a treaty with the *Macedonians* before the arrival of the *Syrian*. Calling therefore a council of the allies, he asked them upon what terms they thought it might be proper to grant a peace to *Philip*. *Amynder* King of the *Atthamans* declared, that he should be pleased with any terms that would secure the liberty and tranquillity of *Greece*. But the *Ætolians* spoke with great warmth and haughtiness. They said, that the *Roman* General was doubtless very much in the right, when a peace was in question, to consult with those who had been his companions in the war; but that he greatly deceived himself, if he imagined, the *Romans* could have a durable peace, or the *Greeks* assured liberty, without either killing *Philip* or dethroning him. The Pro-Consul answered, that it was never the intention of the *Romans*, nor agreeable to their manners, to carry things to such extremity; nor was it for the interest of *Greece* to ruin *Macedon*, which stood as a barrier against the irruptions of the *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, and other barbarous nations; and concluded with saying, that he would grant a peace to the King, but upon such terms as should not leave him in a condition to renew the war.

Philip, the next day, appeared at the congress, and prudently declared: *That he accepted the articles he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the arbitration of the Roman Senate.* Upon this a truce was granted him for four months to negotiate a peace at *Rome*; but *Flaminius*

² *Plutarch* has transmitted to us some verses made by *Alceus*, on this occasion. They are in the form of an epitaph upon the *Trojanians* slain at the battle of *Cynocephala*, and to this effect. "Passenger, on this field lie, unpitied, and unburied, thirty thousand *Trojanians*, vanquished in battle by the *Ætolians*, and the *Latins*: whom *Flaminius* led from the plains of *Italy*. A mighty overthrow to the *Troj-*

ans! and the bold boastful *Philip* "fed swifter than the swift winds." *Flaminius* is said to have been vexed at this epitaph, because it did not honour him enough; but *Philip* only laughed at it, and answered the poet in verse, imitating his two first lines. "Passenger, Upon this bleak hill stand, leafless and stripped of its bark, a very conspicuous gibbet for the poet *Alceus*."

demand

demanded his son *Demetrius*, and some other Lords of his court, for hostages, and also two hundred talents; on condition nevertheless, that both the money and the hostages should be restored if the peace did not take place. The *Macedonian* complied, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome*, and retired into his own dominions.

Y. R. 556.
Bef. Chr.
196.
255 Conf.

IN *Italy*, *Cetegas*, who had marched against the *Insubrians* and *Carni*, obtained a complete victory over them on the banks of the *Mincius*; thirty-five thousand of those *Gauls* were slain in the action, and five thousand seven hundred made prisoners, among these, *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*. *Minucius* the other Consul had no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the *Ligurians* and *Boii*, against whom he commanded, but he over-ran their country and laid it waste.

Liv. B. 32
c. 30.

From *Spain*, the accounts at this time were not so favourable. In the *Hisiber Province* the Prætor *Sempronius Tuditanus* had been defeated by the *Spaniards*, and lost his own life in the action; and in *Further Spain* several towns had been seized by two petty Kings. There was almost a general disposition to shake off the *Roman* yoke.

c. 25.

c. 22.

WHEN the ambassadors from the King of *Macedon* arrived at *Rome* the Republic had just chosen new Consuls, *L. Turius Purpureo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. These magistrates, finding that the Senate was going to assign *Italy* for the province of both, moved that one of them might have *Macedon*. *Marcellus* contended that a peace with *Philip* would not be durable, should the army be withdrawn from *Greece*; and he made such a stir in the Senate that he would perhaps have gained his point, if the Tribunes had not carried the affair before the *Comitia*: The tribes unanimously voted for a peace, and appointed *Flaminius* to act as General in *Macedon* till the treaty with the King should be concluded, and for this last purpose ten commissioners were sent thither, accompanied by *Philip's* ambassadors.

Y. R. 557.
Bef. Chr.
195.
256 Conf.

The articles of the peace, between the *Roman* Republic and King *Philip*, as they were drawn up by the Senate, were as follow:

All the cities of the Greeks, both in Europe and in Asia, shall enjoy perfect liberty, and be governed only by their own laws.

c. 30.

Philip shall, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, evacuate all the Greek cities where he has garrisons; particularly Euromus, Padasia, Bargylæ, Jassos, Thassos, Myrina, Abydos and Perinthus.

As to Cius, the Pro-Consul shall notify the intentions of the Senate to King Prusias.

*Philip shall restore to the Romans all their deserters;
Deliver up all his ships that have decks, except five, and one Hexaremis;
Never have above five thousand men in pay; never make use of elephants in his armies; nor wage war out of Macedon, without the consent of the Romans*.*

He shall pay the republic a thousand talents, one half immediately, and the other half in ten years, at ten equal payments.

* So says *Livy*: But we do not find that this article was observed; and *Polybius* does not mention it.

Y. R. 557.
Bef. Chr.
195.
250 CORIN

These articles being communicated to all the states of *Greece*, were approved by all, except the *Ætolians*; who asked the other *Greeks*, *Why they thought themselves so much obliged to Flamininus for taking the chains off their legs and putting them about their necks?* For observing, that while other towns were particularly specified, no mention was made of *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*, they insinuated that *Rome* had an intention to appropriate those places to herself, and thereby become mistress of *Greece*: A suspicion not ill founded: The Senate had purposely avoided mentioning them, in order to leave it in the breast of *Flamininus* and the Council of ten, to keep them, or set them free. Some of the council were for putting strong garrisons into those cities, to guard them against *Antiochus*: But *Flamininus* opposed this motion, remonstrating, that if the *Romans* would refute the calumnies of the *Ætolians*, and gain universal esteem, they *must restore liberty to ALL GREECE*. It was therefore finally resolved, that the *Romans* should have possession of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the citadel of *Corinth*, only till the apprehensions of *Antiochus's* coming into *Europe* were over.

Plat. Hist. of
Flamininus.

LIBERTY to GREECE was soon after proclaimed by a herald in a vast assembly of the *Greeks*, met together from all parts to celebrate the *Isthmian* games. Their amazement and joy upon this occasion were inexpressibly great; they could never sufficiently admire the disinterestedness of the *Romans*, who had proposed to themselves no other fruit from the labours and expences of the war, than the pleasure of making other nations happy^a.

Liv. B. 33.
c. 34

The members of *the council of ten*, (now dissolved) took each his district, to put the decree in execution. They reinstated the allies of *Rome* in the possession of all those places which the *Macedonian* Kings had taken from them; so that *Philip* was confined within the ancient bounds of *Macedon*. The *Ætolians* were the only people, of the allies, dissatisfied; they had been refused some towns which they thought they had a right to. They frequently complained, "that the conduct of the *Romans* towards them was extremely changed since the victory over *Philip*," "though, without the help of the *Ætolians*, they could neither have obtained that victory, nor even have come into *Greece*;" and in the end had recourse to *Antiochus the Great*, King of *Syria*.

^a Had *Rome* seized upon *Greece* at this time, it is probable she could not have held it long. The *Greeks* always jealous of their liberty would have been easily stirred up to revolt by *Philip*; and a dangerous combination might soon have been formed against the Republic, by *Greece* and *Macedon*, in which the King of *Syria*, and several other *Asiatic* Provinces, would in all likelihood have joined, to put a stop to the encroachments of *Rome*. Besides, the *Romans* were

now projecting a war with *Antiochus*, which the *Syrian* endeavoured to avoid; and the most plausible pretext they could find for it, (as appears by a speech of the *Rhodian* deputies in the Senate. Liv. B. 37. c. 54.) was the freedom of the *Greek* colonies under his dominion. It was necessary therefore for the Republic to keep her word with the *Greeks* in *Europe*, that she might be believed by those in *Asia*.



C H A P. III.

Antiochus the Great *invades Thrace.*

A conference between Antiochus and some Roman commissioners.

M. Porcius Cato *chosen Consul.* He opposes the repeal of the Oppian law.

He conducts the war in Spain.

Hannibal *escapes from Carthage into Syria.*

Flamininus *makes war upon Nabis, Tyrant of Iacedæmon, Nabis submits.*

Antiochus *courts the friendship of Rome.*

Hannibal *endeavours to draw Carthage into a new war with Rome.*

ANTIOCHUS the Great was one of those Princes called *Seleucids*; the founder of which family was *Seleucus Nicator*, an officer in the army of *Alexander the Great*. *Seleucus* was succeeded, in the throne of *Syria*, by his son *Antiochus Soter*, and he by his son *Antiochus the God*. This God being poisoned by his wife *Laodice*, was succeeded by his son *Seleucus Callinicus*, who left two sons, *Antiochus Ceraunus*, and the *Antiochus* who now engages our attention.

V. R. 557.
Bef. Chr. 195.
256 Conf.
Appian in Syriacis.
Justin. B. 27, c. 16.

He possessed all the countries of *Asia* from the Eastern borders of *Mædia* to *Æolis* and *Ionis*; also *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and all the coast of the *Mediterranean* quite to *Egypt*. His pretence for coming into *Europe* was to recover possession of *Thrace*, which *Seleucus Nicator* had conquered from *Lyfimachus*; and he purposed to rebuild *Lyfimachia*, formerly demolished by the *Thracians*, and make it the capital of a kingdom, for one of his sons.

Upon the news of the *Syrian's* arrival, and of the enterprize he had in view, some of the *Roman* council of ten, who had dispersed themselves in *Greece*, hastened to *Lyfimachia*, to dissuade him from attempting any conquest in *Europe*. He received them at first with great politeness; but the *Romans* soon provoked his pride by those airs which they assumed wherever they came. They told him, that his whole conduct since his leaving *Syria* displeased the Republic, that he ought to restore all the cities he had usurped from *Ptolemy*, and that it was not sufferable he should possess those he had taken from *Philip* during his war with *Rome*, and which the *Romans*, as conquerors, had the sole right to dispose of. *What!* said they, *shall the Romans have been at the expence of the war, and shall Antiochus reap all the advantages of it? But should we connive at your conquests in Asia, shall we therefore suffer you to invade Europe? Is not this a declaration of war against the Roman Senate and people? You may indeed deny it; but you might as well come into Italy and deny that you have any design against the Republic.* To this *Antiochus* answered, *I have:*

Polyb. B. 37, c. 32.
Liv. B. 33, c. 39.

Y. R. 557.
Bel. Chr.
195.
255 Cons.

I have long observed, That Rome is very attentive to the conquests I make, but never thinks of setting bounds to her own. Know, that you have as little right to examine what I do in Asia, as I have to concern myself about what you do in Italy. He then asserted the justice of his claim to *Thrace*, and to the towns he had taken from *Ptolemy* and *Philip*, alledging, that they had been all usurped from his ancestors. The conferences were interrupted by a report that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* was dead. *Antiochus* reckoning *Egypt* to be his own, hastened aboard his fleet to sail to that country and take possession of it. But putting in at *Petara* in *Lycia*, he was there informed that *Ptolemy* was still alive. After this, having narrowly escaped shipwreck near the mouth of the *Sarus* in *Cilicia*, he returned to *Antioch*, the capital of his dominions, and spent the winter there. He had left his son *Seleucus* at *Lyfimackia* with a land army to finish the rebuilding of the city, and defend it.

Valerius
Ant. apud
Liv.
Liv. B. 33.
C. 34. 42.
Y. R. 558.
Bel. Chr.
194.
254 Cons.

IN *Italy* the two Consuls *Marcellus* and *Furius*, had carried on the war with success against the *Cisalpine Gauls*, and had entirely destroyed two considerable armies of them^o.

AT the elections for the new year *M. Porcius Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus* were raised to the Consulship. As the affairs of *Spain* grew very urgent, the Senate resolved to send thither one of the Consuls with an army. The conduct of it fell by lot to *Cato*.

Liv. B. 34.
C. 1.

While preparations were making for his departure, the *Roman* ladies took a step, which was a perfect novelty in the Republic. About twenty years before, when *Hannibal* was ravaging *Italy*, and when the treasury was very low, a Tribune of the people named *Oppius* had got a law passed, *That no woman should wear above half an ounce of gold in ornaments; or wear purple; or ride in a chariot, either at Rome, or within a mile of it, unless she were to assist at a public sacrifice.* The ladies had conformed themselves to this law in a time of general distress; but they thought it intolerable to be under the restraint of it now, when the Republic abounded with riches; and they made a great stir to get it repealed. The Consulship of the austere *Cato* seemed a very improper time for moving this affair; but their passion for finery would brook no delay. They prevailed with *Valerius* and *Laelanius*, two of the Tribunes, to present their request to the *Comitia*; and, contrary to custom, ran thither themselves: Neither the orders of their husbands, nor the rules

^o The *Pontifex* and *Augurs* who had paid no taxes during the late war, were now obliged to pay for all the years they had been absent: But they were at the same time eased of one burdensome part of their functions; for the *Romans* erected a new sort of sacerdotal college, under the name of *Epulones*, whose office was confined wholly to the care of the religious feasts; the number of these priests in the beginning

was only three, and all chosen out of *Plæbian* families. *Porcius Laenas* was one of the first three. This was he who when Tribune two years before got the famous *Porcian* law passed, which forbade, under very severe penalties, to whip or put to death a *Roman* citizen: But this privilege did not extend to the armies, where the Generals had an absolute power of life and death.

of decency, nor public authority, could keep them at home. They beset the ways which led to the Forum, and solicited the men as they passed, urging the justice of their pretensions: They offered their petitions even to the Consuls and Prætors. *Cato* was inexorable; he made a long harangue to the assembly in behalf of the law and against the women. “*Romans*, had each of us been careful to maintain over his own wife the rightful authority of a husband, we should not have had this trouble with the women in a body: But our prerogatives having, by female tyranny, been overturned at home, are now also contemned and trampled upon in the Forum. I thought it had been a fable, That, in a certain island, all the men were cut off by a conspiracy of the women. But there is no mischief of which that sex is not capable, if you allow them to hold, among themselves, assemblies, private parties, and gossipings.

“I cannot determine with myself, whether the thing they ask, or their manner of asking it, be the more pernicious. To us certainly it would be very shameful, to have laws imposed upon us by a secession of the women, as we had formerly by a secession of the commons. I could not help blushing when I came through such a crowd of women in my way to the Forum; and had it not been for the respect I bear to the individuals, and that it might not be said, they were publicly rebuked by a Consul, I would have asked them, *What manners are these, to run mobbing about the streets, beset the highways, and solicit men that are not your husbands? Could not each of you have asked the very thing in question of your husband at home? Are you less coy, are you more free of your blandishments in public than in private? And to other womens husbands than to your own? Though even at home, if you desired modestly to confine your cares within your proper sphere, you would not think it decent for you to concern yourselves about what laws are here enacted or repealed.* Our ancestors would not allow women to transact even private affairs without a director; they were under the authority of fathers, brothers, husbands: *We* are to suffer women (God deliver us!) to assume the government of the state, assemble in the Forum, and vote in the Comitia! A curb for an untractable nature, an untamed animal: Never imagine that women will of themselves set bounds to their liberty, if you do not. The restriction they are under by the *Oppian* law is the least of their grievances; they want a liberty in all things without controul. And what will they not attempt if they gain their present point? Recollect all the laws by which our ancestors have restrained the licentiousness of women, and subjected them to the men. By all these we can hardly keep them within tolerable bounds: What then will be the case, if, by the repeal of one law after another, you put them upon an equality with us? If once equal, they will soon become superior. But let us hear the reason why the matrons thus flock into the streets,

“and.

Y. R. 558.
Bel. Ch.
194.
257 Conf.

Y. R. 558.
Bef. Chr.
194
25th C. ml.

• See p.
172.

“ and scarce forbear mounting the rostra to harangue the people. Is it
 “ to redeem their fathers, their husbands, their children, or their bro-
 “ thers, from *Hannibal's chains*? This evil is now far, and may it
 “ always be far from the Republic. But when it was present, you
 “ * forbad women's appearing in public, to offer you even pious
 “ petitions. Is it religion that has assembled them? Are they to re-
 “ ceive the Goddess *Cybele* from *Pbrygia*? Can the women assign, for
 “ this sedition of theirs, any pretence that will bear being mentioned?
 “ We would shine, say they, in gold and purple: We would ride
 “ through the city in our chariots, triumphing over the conquered law
 “ and the suffrages of the citizens: We would have no bounds set to
 “ our expences; no controul upon our luxury.

“ You have often, *Romans*, heard me complaining of the profuse-
 “ ness both of the women and the men, not only of private men, but
 “ even of the magistrates: And that the city is infected with two very
 “ different vices, covetousness and luxury; plagues which have been the
 “ ruin of all great empires. The Republic becomes daily more flou-
 “ rishing: We have now passed into *Greece* and *Asia*, countries full of
 “ temptations to ungovernable appetites; and begin to handle the trea-
 “ sures of Kings: I am much afraid lest these riches get a more abso-
 “ lute power over us than we have obtained over them.

“ In the memory of our Fathers, *Pyrrhus*, by his ambassador *Cyneas*,
 “ attempted to corrupt with bribes not only the men but the women.
 “ There was then no *Oppian* law to restrain the luxury of women; yet
 “ none of them yielded to the temptation. And what do you think
 “ was the cause? The same which our ancestors had for not making
 “ any law relating to this matter: There was no luxury to be restrained.
 “ Should some *Cyneas* now go about the city with his bribes, he would
 “ find women enough standing in every street, to receive them openly.

“ There are some desires which I can by no means account for. A
 “ little shame or indignation may perhaps naturally arise at our being re-
 “ strained from what others are indulged in; but why should it give
 “ you uneasiness to be dressed in the same manner as every body else
 “ *must* be dressed? It is indeed a very culpable shame to be ashamed of
 “ frugality or poverty: And, were it not, the law in the present case
 “ has secured you from all reproach. You are not so richly dressed as
 “ you could afford to be. Why? The law has forbid it. But, says a
 “ very fine lady, with a great deal of money at command, *Truly I have*
 “ *no notion of a law that puts all people upon an equality. Why should*
 “ *not a woman of distinction be distinguished by wearing gold and purple?*
 “ *Must people of nothing have their beggary screened by a law?*—*Romans*,
 “ would you have an emulation of this kind prevail among your wives?
 “ Would you see the richer coveting to have what none else can purchase?
 “ And the poorer, for fear of being despised, making efforts in expence,
 “ beyond their ability? She who once begins to blush for doing what
 “ the

“ she ought, will quickly come to do, without blushing, what she ought
 “ not. What she can purchase with her own money she will; what
 “ she cannot purchase, she will ask of her husband. Unhappy is the
 “ husband if he grants, more unhappy if he refuses; for another will
 “ give her what he denies.

M. R. & S.
 Ed. 1781.
 112.
 257. C. 6.

“ When your wives expences are no longer limited by law, you
 “ yourselves will never be able to set bounds to them. To imagine
 “ that things will be upon the same footing as before the law was enact-
 “ ed, is a vain thought. A wicked man should never be accused, or
 “ not absolved; and luxury unmolested would have been more tolera-
 “ ble than now, when, after being provoked, as a wild beast by chains,
 “ it is let loose again to range at pleasure.”

Two of the tribunes, both of the *Junian* family, and both bearing
 the name of *Brutus*, seconded *Cato*, and spoke against the repeal.
 Then *Valerius*, who had undertaken to be the ladies advocate, rose up.
 “ If, *Romans*, our petition had been opposed by private persons only,
 “ I should have waited in silence for your determination: But when
 “ the Consul, *M. Porcius*, a man, the dignity of whose office and
 “ character, had he said nothing, would alone be of great weight
 “ in the opposition, has in a long and elaborate speech inveighed against
 “ our motion, I think it incumbent on me to make some answer. And
 “ let me first of all observe: That the Consul has spent more time in
 “ bitterly reproving the women, than in giving reasons why our petition
 “ should not be granted. That the ladies have presumed publicly to
 “ solicit you to repeal, in a time of peace and prosperity, a law made against
 “ them during the war, and in a time of adversity, he is pleased to
 “ call a *mobbing*, a *sedition*, and sometimes a *secession* of the women:
 “ Hyperbolical words, merely to exaggerate the matter! for we know,
 “ that *M. Cato*, always a weighty speaker, is sometimes a *severe* one
 “ too; though doubtless a very good-natured man. What is there
 “ new in this proceeding of the women? Did they never appear in
 “ public before? Look, *Marcus*, into your own book *de Originibus*;
 “ you will there see that they have often appeared, and always for
 “ the public good: go back to the days of *Romulus*, to the bloody
 “ conflict between the *Roman* and *Sabine* armies in the middle of the
 “ Forum: Call to mind that critical period, when total destruction
 “ hung over *Rome* from *Marcus Coriolanus* at the head of the *Volscian*
 “ legions; and many other occasions where the women’s appearing in
 “ public has proved of public utility. What they have often done for
 “ the common interest, shall we wonder if they now do, in an affair
 “ which particularly concerns themselves?

“ As to the law in question; Is it one of the ancient laws of the Kings,
 “ or of the twelve tables; a law, without which our ancestors thought
 “ it impossible to preserve decency among the women? No such thing:
 “ It is a law of about twenty years standing, enacted in the Consulship of

Y. R. 558.
 B.C. Chr.
 154
 257 Conf.

“ *Q. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius* : And as, before it took place, the wo-
 “ men behaved themselves irreproachably for many ages, why must we
 “ suppose, that upon the abrogation of it, they will abandon them-
 “ selves to luxury ? That it was not made with a view to bridle
 “ their extravagance, the time when it was enacted is a sufficient
 “ proof. *Hannibal* had gained a great victory at *Cannæ* : He was in
 “ possession of *Tarentum*, *Arpi*, and *Capua*, and threatened even *Rome*
 “ with a siege : Our allies had revolted : We had no soldiers for the
 “ levies, no seamen for the fleet, no money in the treasury : We were
 “ obliged to buy slaves to recruit our troops, the price to be paid at the
 “ end of the war : The publicans, upon a promise of being reimbursed
 “ at the same time, furnished corn and other necessaries for the army :
 “ Private people, at their own expence, supplied the fleet with sailors
 “ and rowers : All orders of men lent their gold and silver to the pub-
 “ lic : The widows and orphans brought their money into the treasury.
 “ Were the ladies at that time so taken up with dress and finery, that
 “ the *Oppian* law was wanted to restrain their luxury ? Were not the
 “ sacrifices to *Ceres* long deferred, because the women were all in mourn-
 “ ing ? And did not the Senate, for that reason, confine the term of
 “ mourning to thirty days ? Who does not see that the want and mi-
 “ sery of the city were the occasion of this law, and that it was design-
 “ ed to continue no longer in force than the reason of it should continue ?
 “ The men of all ranks feel the effects of the happy change of public
 “ affairs ; and shall the women not participate of the fruits of peace
 “ and tranquillity ? Shall the men wear purple ? Shall the priests, the
 “ magistrates, both of *Rome* and of the colonies, shall even our children
 “ wear it ? Shall the dead be wrapt in purple ? And shall your wives not
 “ be permitted to have a purple cloak ? *You* are allowed to have purple
 “ in the furniture of your horses. Shall your horses be more sump-
 “ tuously adorned than your wives ? And as to gold, why may not their
 “ trinkets be considered as a fund to supply the wants of the public on
 “ great emergencies ? They have formerly so proved.

“ *Cato* says, there will be no emulation, in point of dress, among the
 “ women of *Rome*, if they are all under the same restrictions. But what
 “ a spirit of envy and indignation will it raise in every *Roman* woman,
 “ when she sees those ornaments, which she is forbid to wear, allowed
 “ to the *Latine* women ? Sees them shining in gold and purple, and
 “ riding in chariots through the streets, while she is obliged to fol-
 “ low on foot, as if the seat of the empire were in the cities of our allies,
 “ not in *Rome* ? Such a distinction might be felt even by men : How ex-
 “ tremely mortifying then must it be to female minds, which very small
 “ matters are sufficient to disturb ! They can have no magistracies, no
 “ sacerdotal dignities, no triumphs, no spoils, nor trophies of war. Neat-
 “ ness, ornaments, elegant dress, these are the triumphs of women : In
 “ these they delight, in these they place their glory : Our ancestors called
 “ these,

“ these, *mundus muliebris*, the world, the every thing of woman. Are wo-
 “ men to be always in mourning? What is a woman’s mourning, but
 “ her not wearing gold and purple? And by what does she distinguish
 “ a day of public devotion and thanksgiving, from other days, but the
 “ finery of her dress? We are told, that if you repeal the Oppian
 “ law, you will not, by your private authority, be able to restrain the
 “ women from any thing which that law forbids them to have; and
 “ that your daughters, wives and sisters will be less under your com-
 “ mand. While fathers or husbands are alive, the subjection of women
 “ can never cease; and they themselves detest that liberty which is
 “ only to be acquired by their becoming widows and orphans. They had
 “ rather have their dress regulated by you than by the law. And ought
 “ it not to be your choice to hold them under your guardianship and
 “ protection, rather than in slavery? To be stiled fathers and husbands,
 “ rather than masters?”

“ The Consul, as I before observed, made use of some invidious
 “ expressions; a *sedition*, a *secession of the women*: As if they were just
 “ going to seize the *sacred Mount*, or the *Aventine Hill*, as the commons
 “ heretofore did in their anger. No, *Romans*, their weakness must
 “ submit to whatever you are pleased to determine: But the greater your
 “ power, the more moderate you ought to be in the use of it.”

The debate lasted all the day, so that the putting the question was deferred to the next. Then the women, more impetuous than ever, besieged the houses of the two *Brutus’s*, the only *Tribunes of the people* in the opposition; and by irresistible importunity forced them to yield. The *Comitia*, being thus at full liberty, repealed the *Oppian law*.

AND now a nobler career presented itself to the austere *Cato* than a war with women. He set out for *Spain* with a Consular army, embarked at *Luna* in *Hetruria*, and landed at *Rhoda* [now *Rosés*] in *Catalonia*. From thence he marched by land to *Emporiae*, where he was met by the Pro-Consul *Helvius*, who had just obtained a victory over the *Spaniards*.

To the Consul came ambassadors from the King of the *Ilergetes*, a nation well affected to the *Romans*, praying, that five thousand men might be sent to protect his kingdom, that was threatned, by the enemy, with a general devastation. *Cato*, perplexed at this demand, because unwilling either to desert his allies, or to divide his army, after a whole night’s deliberation thought of this expedient. He told the ambassadors, he would risk his own safety for the interest of their master; and accordingly gave orders for equipping some galleys to transport the succours desired. The rumour of these preparations being spread far, the enemy were seized with terror, and hastily left the country of the *Ilergetes*. As for the detachment, it embarked, sailed a little way, and then, under pretence of contrary winds, returned to the port from whence it had set out.

Y. R. 557.
 Bell. C. 1.
 194.
 257 C. 1.

Frontin.
 Strat. B. 4.
 c. 7.

Y. R. 538.
Bel. Chr.
151.
257. C. 257.

Cato's troops consisting for the most part of raw soldiers, it was necessary to take some pains to discipline them; and the more, as they had to do with the *Spaniards*, naturally brave and resolute, and, by their wars with the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, much improved in the military art. The Consul was just such a General as his army wanted; a pattern of vigilance, sobriety and indefatigable constancy in labour; his dress always plain, his provisions the same with those of the common soldiers.

When he had formed his army to his wishes, he took the field, and obtained a complete victory over the enemy. And in order to keep the *Spaniards* in obedience for the future, he made use of the following artifice. He wrote private letters to the Commanders of many of the fortified towns, ordering them to demolish their fortifications immediately, and threatening revenge, in case of disobedience. Each of those Commanders being ignorant of the orders sent to the rest, and dreading the Consul's resentments, they all, without delay, beat down their walls and towers; so that most of the towns in the hither province were dismantled in one day. In short, *Cato* settled *Spain* in such tranquillity and order, that the Senate did not think it necessary to send a new Consular army thither.

Lib. B. 13.
C. 257. &
258.

ABOUT the time that *Cato* left *Rome* to go into *Spain*, letters came from *Carthage*, giving advice, that *Hannibal* was in secret intelligence with the King of *Syria*, and forming designs against the *Romans*. These letters were sent by the enemies of the *Barchine* faction, whom *Hannibal*, lately Prætor or chief magistrate of *Carthage*, had highly provoked, by some acts, agreeable to the people, and beneficial to the commonwealth. It had been the custom for the judges to hold their offices for life. This gave them the chief sway in the Republic; and they were tyrannical in the exercise of their authority. As the Quæstors, after the expiration of their office, became judges of course, this prospect of future greatness had so raised the pride of a certain Quæstor (of the opposite faction) that he refused to appear on a summons sent him by the Prætor. *Hannibal*, resenting the affront, caused some officers to seize the Quæstor; and, bringing him before the assembly of the people, not only complained of his insolence, but of the mischief the State suffered by having perpetual judges; and he obtained a decree that the judges for the future should be chosen annually.

Not was this the only act for the public good, by which the Prætor increased the number of his enemies among the nobles. Those who had the management of the public money, had embezzled great part of it, so that there was not sufficient to pay the *Romans* the stipulated tribute; and a new tax was going to be laid for this purpose. *Hannibal* prevented the oppression: Making enquiry after the embezzled money, he found enough to pay the *Romans*, without the burden of a new imposition. *Scipio*, knowing these things, is said to have defended the

Carthaginian

Carthaginian in the Senate of *Rome*, urging that it was below the dignity of the *Roman* people to list themselves amongst *Hannibal's* personal enemies, and take part in the factions of *Carthage*. The Conscrip Fathers, notwithstanding *Scipio's* remonstrance, sent thither *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Calleo*, to accuse *Hannibal* in the Senate, of holding correspondence with *Antiochus*. These ambassadors, by the advice of *Hannibal's* enemies, gave out, on their arrival, that they were come to adjust some differences between the *Carthaginians* and *Messinissa*. *Hannibal*, nevertheless, had too much penetration not to see into the real designs of the *Romans*. On the day when he purposed to make his escape, having appeared in public, as was his daily custom, he left *Carthage* about the dusk of the evening, in his town dress, accompanied by only two persons, both ignorant of his determination. He had appointed horses to be in readiness at a certain place, whence riding all night, he came to a tower of his own by the sea side. There he had a ship furnished with all things requisite, as having long foreseen the present necessity. Thus *Hannibal* took his leave of *Africa*, lamenting, says *Livy*, the misfortunes of his country more than his own. Passing over to the isle of *Cercina*, he found there in the haven some merchant ships of *Carthage*. The masters saluted him respectfully; and the chief among them enquiring whither he was bound, he answered, he was going ambassador to *Tyre*. He then invited all the merchants and masters of ships to a sacrifice; and it being hot weather, he would by all means hold his feast upon the shore; whither, because there wanted shade, he desired them to bring all their sails and yards to be used instead of tents. They did so, and feasted with him till it was late at night, and they fell asleep. He then left them, and, putting to sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All the remainder of that night, and the day following, he was sure not to be pursued; for neither would the merchants be in haste to send news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking he was gone ambassador from the state; neither could they get away from *Cercina*, without some expence of time, in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage* the disappearing of so great a man raised various conjectures. Some guessed rightly, that he was fled; but the greater part believed, that the *Romans* had made away with him. At length news came, that he had been seen in *Cercina*. The *Roman* ambassadors, having now no other business, accused him (with an ill grace) as an enemy to peace. They said, it was well known, that he had heretofore stirred up King *Philip* to make war upon the *Romans*, and had lately by letters and emissaries been urging *Antiochus* to the like measures. They added, that if the *Carthaginians* would satisfy the people of *Rome*, they must make it appear, that these things were not done by their authority, or with their approbation. To this it was answered, that *Carthage* would do whatever the *Romans* should think equitable. [It is probable, she, at this time, passed sentence of banishment against the most illustrious citizen she could ever boast of.]

V. R. 558.
B. f. Chr.
194.
257 Conf.

Hannibal.

Y. R. 558.
E. C. 194.
237 C. 55.

Hannibal coming to *Tyre*, the mother city of *Carthage*, was received and entertained in a manner suitable to the dignity of his character. From thence he went to *Antioch*; but made no stay there, the King being just gone to *Ephejus*. Thither he followed him, and found him wavering between peace and war.

12. B. 33.
C. 43.

C. 45.

B. 34. C. 22.

UPON the report of the plenipotentiaries who had concluded the peace with *Macedon*, the *Roman* Senate had judged it necessary that *Flamininus* should continue Pro-Consul in *Greece*. They now began to make preparations for a war with *Antiochus*; and as there was reason to suspect, that *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, would side with the King, orders were sent to the Pro-Consul immediately to attack *Nabis*, if he thought it for the interest of the Republic. *Flamininus*, in execution of these orders, having convened a Diet at *Corinth*, at which deputies from all the *Greek* nations were present, proposed to them the recovering *Argos* out of the hands of *Nabis*. He represented to the assembly, that in the war with *Philip*, which the *Romans* and *Greeks* had jointly carried on, they had each their motives apart; but in the enterprize which he now suggested, the *Romans* had no other interest than the honour of perfecting the liberty of *Greece*, which must be deemed incomplete, so long as the noble and ancient city of *Argos* remained under the domination of a tyrant. "But (said he) it belongs to you to determine in this affair; and if neither a concern for that city, nor the danger of such an example (the contagion of which may spread) has any weight with you, we shall acquiesce." The *Atbenian* deputy hereto made a very eloquent answer, and in terms as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was past, and highly extolled the generosity of their present proposal, whereby, unrequested, they freely offered to continue that bounty which, at the earnest desire of their associates, they had lately extended to all *Greece*. To this he added, that great pity it was to hear such noble virtue and high deserts ill spoken of by some, who took upon them to foretel what harm those their benefactors meant to do hereafter, whereas gratitude would rather have required an acknowledgment of the benefits already received. Every one saw that these last words were directed against the *Ætolians*. Wherefore *Alexander*, the Prætor of that nation, rising up, reproached the *Atbenians*, that they, whose ancestors used to be the foremost in the defence of the general liberty, were now fallen so low, as to betray the common cause by flattery and base compliances. He then inveighed against the *Acbeans*, who, he said, had been soldiers to *Philip* till they deserted and ran away from his adversity: That they had got *Corinth* for themselves, and would now have a war undertaken for their sakes, that they might be lords also of *Argos*; while the *Ætolians*, who first engaged in the war with *Philip*, and had always been friends to the *Romans*, were defrauded of some places which anciently and of right belonged to them. Neither did *Alexander* stop here. He accused the *Romans* of fraud in keeping

garrisons

garrisons in *Chalcis*, *Demetrias* and the citadel of *Corinth*, though they had always professed, that *Greece* could never be in liberty while those places were not free. “ And what else (said he) do they seek by a “ war with *Nabis*, but a pretext to continue their armies in this country? “ Let them withdraw their legions and evacuate *Greece*, which cannot in- “ deed be free till their departure; and as to *Nabis*, the *Ætolians* will “ undertake, if he do not voluntarily give up *Argos*, to compel him “ by force of arms to submit to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, now at “ unity.” This boasting of the *Ætolians* raised the indignation of the other *Greeks*, especially the *Achæans*, who called them robbers, a race worse than barbarian, that had nothing *Greek* but their language, as they had nothing human but their shape. *Flamininus* said, he would have answered the *Ætolians* if there had been any occasion for it; but that he was perfectly content with what he saw was the general opinion concerning the *Romans* and them.

In conclusion, the whole assembly, except the *Ætolians*, concurred in determining upon a war with *Nabis*, in case he refused to deliver up *Argos* to the *Achæans*.

When all things were ready for marching, ambassadors arrived from *Antiochus*, to propose a treaty of alliance with *Rome*. *Flamininus* answered, that they must address themselves to the *Roman* Senate; for the ten commissioners being absent, he could say nothing to the matter. He then advanced towards *Argos*, expecting, according to some assurances that had been given him, that, upon his near approach, there would be an insurrection in the town, by which he should easily become master of it. Finding these hopes disappointed, he resolved, instead of besieging that place, to march strait to *Lacedæmon*, and crush the Tyrant at once. All preparations were made for this attempt; and his brother *Quintilius*, the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet, appeared off the *Lacedæmonian* coasts with forty ships of war.

Nabis, struck with terror at the approach of these sea and land forces against him, augmented the number of his troops, fortified his capital, and massacred fourscore of the principal men in it, whom he suspected of disaffection to him. *Flamininus* marched to the banks of the *Eurotas*, and from thence ravaged the country to the walls of *Lacedæmon*, while his brother *Quintilius*, after having reduced some towns on the sea coast, laid siege to *Gythium*, a strong city which might be called the port of *Lacedæmon*, and the repository of all its riches. Here he met with so vigorous a resistance, that though he was joined by the *Rhodians* with eighteen galleys, and by King *Eumenes* with forty, he would have been forced to raise the siege, if the Pro-Consul had not seasonably come to his assistance with four thousand men: Upon their appearance the besieged immediately capitulated.

The surrendry of *Gythium* broke *Nabis's* measures; he sent to *Flamininus*, and asked a conference in order to a peace. They met in a plain.

V. R. 258.
Bet. Chr.
194.
257 Cons.

Y R 336.
F 1007.
174.
1007.

plain which lay between *Lacedæmon* and the *Roman* camp. The King spoke first, and desired to know “for what cause the *Romans* made war upon him; for he was quite ignorant of it. It could not be,” he said, on account of the tyranny and cruelty they charged him with, he being the very same man now as when he and they became friends and allies, and joined in the war against *Philip*: That *Flamininus* then called him King, not Tyrant. Neither could it be because he held *Argos*: for he was in possession of that city when he made a league with the *Romans*, and was left in possession of it by the treaty. In a word, he had done nothing since his alliance with *Rome* contrary to his engagements.” All this seems to have been very true: For the Pro-Consul was reduced, in his answer, to deny that he had made any league with *Nabis*; arguing, that it would have been quite improper and indecent for the *Romans*, when making war against *Philip* for the liberty of Greece, to contract a friendship with a Tyrant, the most outrageous that ever was; [from whence it followed, that no such friendship had been contracted.] Nothing was done the first day towards a peace. The next, *Nabis* offered to give up *Argos*, and restore all the allies their deserters; adding, that if the *Romans* had any other pretensions, they should be given him in writing, that he might consult with his friends. To this *Flamininus* agreed; and going back to his camp, assembled the chiefs of the confederates. The greater part of them were for pursuing *Nabis* to the last extremities; but the Pro-Consul wanted to finish matters with the Tyrant, that he might return to *Rome* with the glory of having completed the deliverance of all Greece; he was afraid lest a successor should arrive and rob him of some part of that honour. However, finding the chiefs of the allies very obstinate and importunate, he at length pretended to come into their opinion; but told them, that, as the siege would probably be long, great sums of money, great store of provisions, and materials for engines of war would be needful; and pressed them to send immediately to their respective cities for these necessities, before the roads grew bad. This cooled their ardour for the siege: Knowing the difficulty they should have to raise the sums proposed, without alienating the minds of their people from them by new taxes, they left the Pro-Consul at full liberty to settle the terms of peace. He then sent his demands in writing to *Nabis*. The Tyrant was not only to evacuate *Argos*, and give up all deserters, but to surrender immediately to the *Romans* all the places he held in *Crete*: He was to have no more than two galleys, of sixteen oars each, in his service; build no cities nor castles in the territories of others, nor even in his own; give the Pro-Consul five hostages, such as he should chuse, of whom the Tyrant’s own son should be one; and lastly, pay down a hundred talents, and thereafter fifty talents annually for eight years.

When

When the Tyrant had read the conditions to the *Lacedæmonians* assembled in the market-place, and asked them what answer he should give the Pro-Consul, the multitude cried out, *Give him no answer at all: Pursue the war.* These clamours were very agreeable to *Nabis*, and he prepared to sustain a siege. *Lacedæmon* was not entirely surrounded by a wall. *Lycurgus* would have no fortification to the city, but the bodies of the citizens. The *Spartan* tyrants afterwards raised walls, at certain distances, in those places where they were most wanted. The *Romans* attacked the town with fifty thousand men, and forced their way into it at the openings between the walls. *Nabis* was so terrified, that he thought only of making his escape: but his son-in-law *Pythagoras*, who had more presence of mind, causing the houses to be set on fire in all places where the *Romans* had entered, this obliged them to retire. Nevertheless, the Tyrant sent *Pythagoras* to the Pro-Consul, with an offer to submit to those conditions of peace which he had before rejected. *Flaminius* at first received the ambassador with scorn, and ordered him out of his tent; *Pythagoras*, however, throwing himself at his feet, obtained by many intreaties what the other was very desirous to grant. As for *Argos*, the cause of the war, it had already recovered it's liberty; the *Argives* had taken arms, and driven the garrison out of the town.

Y. R. 558.
Bef. Chr.
194.
257 Conf.

Notwithstanding that *Greece* was thus entirely quieted, the Pro-Consul continued there all the winter. He was honoured with the office of president at the *Nemæan* games, where, by his orders, a herald proclaimed liberty to *Argos*. The *Achæans*, though pleased to have that city reunited to their state, were yet somewhat dissatisfied to see *Lacedæmon* left in slavery. And as for the *Ætolians*, they (finding fault with the peace, as they had before found fault with the war) openly and loudly spoke of it in the harshest terms, that the *Lacedæmonians* were suffered to continue under the domination of *Nabis*, though their lawful King (*Agessipolis*) was in the *Roman* camp: and that while the noblest of their citizens, expelled by the Tyrant, must live in banishment, the *Roman* people made themselves his guards to support him in his tyranny.

AT Rome, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* and *Ti. Sempronius Longus* were raised to the Consulate. *Scipio* had hoped either to succeed *Cato*, and finish the *Spanish* war, or to be sent to the *Levant* against the King of *Syria*; but the *Spaniards* were already quelled, and the Senate did not yet think it a proper season to commence a war with *Antiochus*. *Sempronius* made a campaign in *Gaul*, against the *Boii*.

Y. R. 559.
Bef. Chr.
193.
258 Conf.
Liv. B. 34.
c. 46.

Flaminius, proposing to return this summer to *Italy*, assembled at *Corinth* the chiefs of the *Greek* cities, and there recounted to them all that the Generals his predecessors, and he himself had done in *Greece*, from the time that the *Romans* first entered that country. Every thing he said was highly applauded till he came to mention the affair of *Nabis*. And though he alledged, in justification of his conduct, that he could

Y. R. 559.
 Bef. Cons.
 193.
 258 Cons.

not destroy the Tyrant without ruining *Lacedæmon*, this did not satisfy the assembly. In conclusion he declared to them, that he was going to leave *Greece*, and would, before his departure, withdraw his garrisons from *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; by which it would be evident to all the world, that the *Ætolians* lied, when they said, *the Greeks had only changed masters, and that the Romans had driven Philip out of the country, that they themselves might tyrannize there.* He exhorted the several states to judge of their friends only by their actions; use their liberty with moderation; and preserve concord among themselves, as the best security against Kings and Tyrants. “When a state (said he) is divided, the weaker party, rather than submit to their own countrymen, will call in the assistance of foreigners. Be careful to maintain that liberty which strangers have procured you, and let not the *Romans* have cause to think that they have misplaced their benefits and their friendship.” This discourse (says *Livy*) which seemed to flow from a father-like affection, drew tears from the eyes of many of the assembly; and they exhorted one another to remember and regard *Flaminius’s* advice as the dictates of an oracle. In testimony of their gratitude, they sought for all the *Romans* who were reduced to slavery in *Greece*, and delivered them up to him, to the number of twelve hundred: The greatest part of these had been prisoners of war whom *Hannibal* had sold. After this *Flaminius* returned to *Rome*, and was honoured with a triumph which lasted three days.

Y. R. 560.
 Bef. Cons.
 192.
 259 Cons.

IN the beginning of the next year, when *L. Cornelius Merula* and *Q. Minucius Thermus* had the consular fasces, ambassadors came to *Rome* from *Antiochus* and several Kings and states of *Asia* and *Greece*. They were all favourably heard by the Senate, except those from the King of *Syria*. Upon a pretence, that the affair with him was intricate, his ministers were referred to *Flaminius*, and the ten commissioners, who together with him had settled the affairs of *Greece*. They came to a conference. *Menippus*, one of the two chiefs of the *Syrian* embassy, said, he wondered what intricacy there could be in their proposals, since all they asked was a treaty of amity and alliance with *Rome*. He added, that there were three kinds of leagues: one between the victorious and the vanquished; another between states that had made war upon each other with equal advantage; and a third between such as had never been enemies. That as a league with *Antiochus* must belong to this last kind, he was surprised the *Romans* would think of treating his master like a vanquished Prince; and prescribe to him what cities of *Asia* he should set at liberty, and from what cities he might exact tribute. To this *Flaminius* answered, that since *Menippus* went so distinctly to work, he would as distinctly tell him the conditions without which the *Romans* would have no treaty with the King of *Syria*. “*Antiochus* must either keep out of *Europe*, or be content that the *Romans* interest themselves in protecting the cities of *Asia*.” *Hegefanex*, the other chief of the embassy,

bassly, replied, with indignation, that it was monstrous to think of expelling *Antiochus* from the cities of *Thrace* and the *Chersonesus*, which his ancestor *Seleucus* had with great glory conquered from *Lyfimachus*, and which the King himself had with no less glory recovered from the *Thracians*; that there was a wide difference, in point of justice, between the *Romans* despoiling him of his lawful possessions, and his requiring the *Romans* not to concern themselves with *Asia*, which had never been theirs: That *Antiochus* indeed desired an alliance with *Rome*, but upon honourable, not disgraceful conditions. To this *Flamininus*: “ Since in the present affair “ we are to consider what is glorious (as indeed it ought to be the first, “ if not the sole consideration with a people the most renowned of any in “ the world, and with so great a King) Tell me; Which is more glorious, “ to desire the liberty of all the *Greek* cities wheresoever they are; or to “ desire to keep them under tribute and in slavery? If *Antiochus* judges “ it for his glory, once more to enslave the towns which his ancestor conquered in war, but which neither his father nor his grandfather ever “ possessed; the *Roman* people think it becoming their honour and steadiness, not to desert the *Greeks*, whose patronage they have undertaken: “ and as they have already delivered the *Greek* cities that were under the “ domination of *Philip*, so they now intend to set at liberty those that are “ in subjection to *Antiochus*. Colonies were not sent into *Æolis* and *Ionis* “ to be held in slavery by Kings, but to propagate the race of the *Greeks*, “ and spread that ancient nation over the world.” The *Syrian* ambassadors answered, that they neither would nor could agree to any thing that tended to a diminution of their master’s dominions.

Next day, *Flamininus* having made a report of the affair to the Senate, in presence of the ambassadors from *Greece* and *Asia*, the Conscrip Fathers desired the *Asiatics* to tell their respective cities, that unless *Antiochus* quitted *Europe*, *Rome* would assert their liberty against him, with the same courage and the same fidelity, with which she had defended the *European Greeks* against *Philip*. *Menippus* begged the Senate would not be hasty to pass a decree which must set the whole world in arms; that they would take time themselves, and allow the King time to consider; that perhaps *Antiochus* might obtain some mitigation of the conditions, or yield some points for the sake of peace. The Fathers agreed to defer the matter; and sent to the King of *Syria* the same ambassadors who had been with him at *Lyfimachia*, *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Ælius*.

Scarce had these set out from *Rome*, when deputies arrived from *Carthage*, with accounts, that the *Syrian* was certainly preparing for war,

° All the provinces of *Asia* from the eastern borders of *Media* to *Æolis* and *Ionis* were subject to *Antiochus*. He had lately made himself master of *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa* and *Samarina*, and in short of all the country quite to *Egypt*. In *Europe* he

held *Thrace*, and the *Chersonesus*. He had three sons old enough to succeed him in the throne, and four daughters marriageable, by whom he might procure formidable alliances.

Y. R. 45.
E. C. 1.
192.
259 C. 1.

J. 1. 1.
12. 1. 1.
L. 1. 1. 1.
C. 1. 1.
A. 1. 1.
S. 1. 1.

and that *Hannibal* excited him to it. The *Carthaginian* had indeed been very favourably received by *Antiochus*, who looked upon him as the ablest counsellor he could have in a war against the *Romans*.

AS to the method of carrying on this enterprize, *Hannibal* was always of one and the same opinion. He asserted, that the *Romans* were invincible every where but in *Italy*. To attack them in that country was, he said, like stopping a river at the fountain head. The arms of the *Italians* would then be turned against themselves, and they overcome by their own strength; which, were they left at liberty to employ abroad, no King nor nation would be a match for them. He added, that his own example furnished a proof of this; who, so long as he continued in *Italy*, was never vanquished by the *Romans*, but that his fortune changed with the scene of action. He therefore advised *Antiochus* to trust him with the command of an hundred galleys, ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. With this fleet he proposed to sail first to *Africa*, in hopes the *Carthaginians* might be prevailed on to enter into a confederacy with the King. If they refused, he would nevertheless make a descent in some part of *Italy*, and there rekindle a war against the *Romans*. *Antiochus* approving this advice, *Hannibal*, to sound his countrymen, sent one *Aristo*, a *Tyrian*, to *Carthage*; giving him private tokens to his friends, but no letters, lest his business should be discovered. The *Tyrian* however was suspected, on account of his frequent visits to those of the *Barbantine* faction; and was cited to appear before the Senate of *Carthage*. Some were for imprisoning him as a spy, but others represented the ill consequences of such a proceeding, when they had no evidence against the accused; it would be a discouragement to traders, the *Tyrians* might make reprisals, and all foreigners would take umbrage. These considerations suspended their resolution, and in the mean time *Aristo* made his escape. Before he went off, he used a policy to extricate *Hannibal's* friends. In the dusk of the evening he stole into the hall, where public audiences were given, and over the president's seat, affixed a writing which contained these words; *Aristo had no orders to treat with private persons, but with the Senate of Carthage*. The stratagem succeeded, for it prevented an enquiry after any particular men as corresponding with *Hannibal*. However the *African Republic* thought it proper to send an embassy to *Rome*, to inform the Consuls and Senate of what had happened, and at the same time to complain of some usurpations of *Masinissa* on the lands of *Carthage*. The King, taking advantage of *Hannibal's* absence, and of the new heats arisen on his account, had invaded the fine maritime country called *Emporia*, in which the city of *Leptis* yielded the *Carthaginians* the tribute of a * talent a day; and knowing that they had sent complaints of him to *Rome*, he dispatched ambassadors thither, to vindicate himself. The Senate were prejudiced against the *Carthaginians*, because they had neither put *Aristo* nor his ship under arrest, and had thereby afforded him means to escape. When their ambassadors came

Liv. B. 45.
c. 62.
* 10th. 15.
Arbuthnot.

came to be heard, they urged that *Emporia* was within the bounds set them by *Scipio Africanus*, and that *Masiniſſa* himself had lately acknowledged their title to that country, by asking their leave to pass through it, in pursuit of a rebel, who had fled out of his kingdom to *Cyrene*. The *Numidian* ambassadors confidently answered, that the *Carthaginians* lied, as to the bounds marked out by *Scipio*. “ If rights (said they) are narrowly enquired into, what title have the *Carthaginians* to any land in *Africa*? They are strangers in that country, who [*about seven hundred years ago*] had leave given them to build upon as much ground as they could compass with an ox hide. Whatever they hold beyond those bounds has been acquired by force and injustice. As to the territory in question, they cannot prove that they have continued possessed of it from the time that they first conquered it, or even for any considerable time together. It was held sometimes by the Kings of *Numidia*; sometimes by the *Carthaginians*; just as the fortune of the frequent wars between them happened to decide.” The ambassadors concluded with desiring, that *Emporia* might be left on the same footing as it was before the *Carthaginians* were enemies to *Rome*, or the King of *Numidia* her friend; and that the *Romans* would not interfere in the dispute. The Senate answered, that they would send commissioners into *Africa* to determine the affair on the spot. *Scipio Africanus*, *Cornelius Cethegus* and *Minucius Rufus*, being accordingly dispatched thither, heard the matter discussed, but made no decree in favour of either party. Whether they acted thus of their own head, or by order of the Senate, is not certain, says *Livy*, as it is, that they suited their conduct to the state of affairs at home; otherwise *Scipio* alone could have ended the dispute by a word. But *Polybius* tells us, that the *Romans* always gave sentence against the *Carthaginians*, not because these were always in the wrong, but because it was the interest of the judges to give such sentence. As to the present dispute, he says, *Masiniſſa* had seized upon the lands of *Emporia*, but could not take the fortified towns; and that after many embassies to *Rome* from both parties, the *Carthaginians* were not only deprived of the lands and towns in question, but obliged to pay 500 * talents for the profits they had received from thence, since the time that *Masiniſſa* made his claim.

Y. R. 56a.
Bef. Chr.
192.
259 ConL

Legat. 118.

* 96, 875 l.
Arbutnot.

The *Roman* arms prospered this year in *Spain*, under the Prætor *Scipio Nasica*; and in *Gaul* the Consul *Merula* obtained a complete victory over the *Boii* near *Mutina*.

THERE never was a stronger competition for the Consulship than now. Three Patricians and four Plebeians, all men of great note, professed themselves candidates. Of the former, *Scipio Nasica*, so famous for his virtue, and who had lately signalized himself in *Spain*, was supported by his cousin-german the *Great Scipio*; and *Quintius*, the late successful Admiral in *Greece*, recommended by his brother *Flaminius*: The Plebeians were, *Lælius*, the friend of *Scipio Africanus*, *Cn. Domitius*, *Ænobarbus*,

Y. R. 551.
B.C. 191.
250 C. 191.

Æmilius, *C. Licinius*, *Sallustianus*, and *M. Acilius* *Glabrio*. It was natural to suppose, that the greatest man in the Republic should gain the majority of suffrages in favour of those he espoused; yet, as it may appear, *Flaminius* had a better interest than *Scipio*. *Scipio*'s glory was the greater, but it was therefore exposed to greater envy. As he had long resided at *Rome*, the people familiarized to the sight of him, had lost much of their first admiration. Besides, they had already rewarded him with the Consulship and Censorship, since his return from *Africa*. *Flaminius*, on the other hand, had of late been little seen at *Rome*; his victories and his triumph were recent; he solicited in behalf of a brother, his partner in the war, and had neither asked nor obtained any favour since his return from *Greece*. *L. Quinctius* was declared Consul with *Cn. Domitius* *Ænobarbus*, and the Great *Scipio* had the double mortification of not succeeding either for his cousin or his friend.

C H A P. IV.

The Ætolians and Nabis raise commotions in Greece.

Antiochus determines on a war with Rome. He is jealous of Hannibal. Nabis assassinated.

Antiochus lands in Thessaly; Flaminius defeats his endeavour to bring the Achæans to a neutrality. Hannibal's advice to the King.

Y. R. 551.
B.C. 191.
250 C. 191.

EVER since the departure of *Flaminius* from *Greece* the *Ætolians* had been endeavouring to raise up new enemies against *Rome*; though true policy would have made them cautious of giving the *Romans* any pretence of returning into that country. Having chosen one *Theas*, a factious man, for their chief, they resolved in a general diet of the nation to shake off their alliance with the Republic, and form a confederacy against her. To this end they dispatched deputies to *Philip*, *Nabis* and *Antiochus*. The *Macedonian* and *Syrian* were not hasty in coming to a determination; but *Nabis* immediately took arms, and besieged *Gythium*.

Joseph. B.
12. c. 3.
App. 12.
Syll. 13.

The King of *Syria* about this time celebrated the nuptials of his daughter *Cleopatra* with *Ptolemy Epiphanes*; he married his second daughter to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*; and offered his third to ^b *Eumenes* King

^b The founder of the kingdom of *Per-gamus* was one *Philetærus* an eunuch, who belonged to *Docimus* a *Macedonian* officer in

the army of *Antigonus* the first. After the death of *Antigonus*, *Philetærus* accompanied his master, who went over to *Lyfimachus* King

King of *Pergamus*, in hopes to draw him thereby from the interest of *Rome*: But *Eumenes* rejected the proposal, and chose rather to adhere to the *Romans*, believing that, sooner or later, they would be the conquerors, and well knowing that he must become a vassal to the *Syrian* if the latter should prevail.

Early in the spring *Antiochus* marched from *Ephesus* to make war upon the *Pisidians*, and while he was engaged in this enterprize, *Vilius*, the *Roman* ambassador, arrived at *Ephesus*. His colleague *Sulpicius* had fallen sick by the way, and was left at *Pergamus*. *Scipio Africanus* accompanied *Vilius*, and, according to some authors, was in the embassy. *Hannibal*, being then at *Ephesus*, the civilities that passed between him and the *Romans*, and the frequent conversations he had with them, rendered him suspected by *Antiochus*. *Vilius* went to *Apamea*, and

Y. R. 562.
Ecl. Chr.
191.
260 Conf.

Claudius &
Acilius Ap.
Liv. B. 35.
C. 14. App.
in Syr. c.
90.

King of *Thrace*. *Lyfimachus* gave him the charge of his treasures, which he had laid up in the castle of *Pergamus* *. *Philetærus* was for some time faithful to his trust, but dreading the intrigues of *Arfinoe* (the wife of *Lyfimachus*) who hated him, he offered the castle and the treasures to *Seleucus Nicator*, then at war with *Lyfimachus*. The latter being slain in battle, and *Seleucus* dying soon after, *Philetærus* retained *Pergamus*, with the country round about it, and reigned there as king (though without the title) twenty years. He had two brothers, the eldest of whom had a son named *Eumenes*, and to him *Philetærus* left *Pergamus*. This *Eumenes*, by some victories he gained over the Kings of *Syria*, not only secured to himself the possession of what his uncle had left him, but also made several new acquisitions. When he had governed two and twenty years, he died of a debauch; leaving his dominions to *Attalus*, the son of *Attalus*, the youngest brother of *Philetærus*.

Attalus was greatly harrassed by *Achæus*, who setting himself up as King against *Antiochus the Great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia* †. *Achæus* invaded *Pergamus*, made himself master of the country, and besieged *Attalus* in his capital. But he was delivered by the *Tectosagæ*, a nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called out of *Thrace*, and recovered all he had lost. When these *Gauls* had once got footing in *Asia*, they laid the neighbouring countries under contribution, and at last would have forced *Attalus* to pay them tribute. Hereupon he took the field against them, defeated them in battle, and obliged them to confine themselves within that pro-

vince which from them took the name of *Galatia*. After his victory, *Attalus* assumed the title of King, and joined with the *Romans* and other allies in the war against *Philip of Macedonia*, as has been before related. He was succeeded in the throne by his son the present *Eumenes*.

It is reported, that *Scipio* one day asked the *Carthaginian*, *Whom he thought the greatest General?* *Hannibal* immediately declared for *Alexander*, because with a small body of men he had defeated very numerous armies, and had overrun a great part of the world. And who do you think deserves the second place? continued the *Roman*. *Pyrrhus*, replied the other: He first taught the method of forming a camp to the best advantage. No body knew better how to chuse ground, or post guards more properly. Besides, he had the art of conciliating to him the affections of men; inasmuch, that the *Italian nations* chose rather to be subject to him, though a foreigner and a King, than to the *Roman people*, who had so long held the principality in that country. Thus *Scipio* was twice mortified; but still he went on, And whom do you place next to those? *Hannibal* named himself; at which *Scipio* smiled, and said, *Where then would you have placed yourself if you had conquered me?* To which the *Carthaginian* readily replied, *Alexander*.

Plutarch, in his life of *Pyrrhus*, makes *Hannibal* give *Pyrrhus* the first place, *Scipio* the second, and himself the third, without mentioning *Alexander*; but in his life of *Flaminius*, *Hannibal* gives *Alexander* the first place, *Pyrrhus* the second, and himself the third.

C. Acilius
ap.
B. 35.
C. 14.

* Strabo, B. 13. p. 626.

† Polyb. B. 4. c. 43.

Y. R. 567.
Bel. Chr.
191.
250 Cons.

Lit. B. 33.
L 13

and there had an audience of the King. The *Roman* insisted upon the same terms which *Flaminius* had prescribed to the *Syrian* ambassadors. The conference was warm, but not long; for the sudden news which the King received, at this time, of his son *Antiochus's* death put an end to it. A suspicion prevailed, that the father, jealous of the young Prince's rising merit, had caused him to be poisoned; and though this suspicion had no good foundation, it was necessary for the King to destroy it by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. He therefore, without concluding any thing, dismissed *Villius*, who returned to *Pergamus*.

Antiochus gave over all thoughts of the *Pisidian* war, and went to *Ephesus*; where, under pretence of desiring solitude in his affliction, he shut himself up in his palace with his favourite, *Minio*. This courtier, who knew little of foreign affairs, but had great confidence in his own abilities, pressed the King to send for the *Roman* ambassadors to *Ephesus*, and undertook so to manage the argument as to leave them nothing to say. *Antiochus*, wearied with fruitless conferences, and thinking that his mourning would be a good excuse for treating with the *Romans* by his minister, approved the motion, and sent for *Villius* and his Colleagues. The amount of *Minio's* logic was this: That his master had as good a title to the obedience of the *Eastern Greeks*, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the *Romans* had to that of the *Western Greeks* in *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Sulpicius* answered: That if the King had nothing better to offer for his cause, it was indeed but what modesty required, that he should chuse to have his cause pleaded by any body rather than himself. "What similitude (said he) is there between the two cases? Ever since our conquest of the *Neapolitans*, *Tarentines*, and other *Italic Greeks*, our tenure has been perpetual and uninterrupted; but can you say the same of *Antiochus's* dominion over the *Asiatic Greeks*? Why, at your rate of reasoning, we have been doing nothing in *Greece*: *Philip's* posterity may one day reclaim the possession of *Corinth*, *Cbalcis* and *Demetrias*. But what business have I to plead the cause of the *Greek cities of Asia*? their ambassadors are here; let us call them in." These ministers had been beforehand prepared and instructed by *Eumenes*, who was not without secret hopes, that he should get whatever was taken from *Antiochus*. There was great plenty of ambassadors; who being admitted, fell to making their complaints and demands, some right, some wrong; it was nothing but a scene of altercation and wrangling

It is also related, that while *Hannibal* was at *Ephesus*, he went, upon the invitation of some of his acquaintance, to hear the lectures of a celebrated peripatetic philosopher, named *Phormus*. The philosopher, who was a most copious speaker, entertained him, for several hours (knowing his profession and character) with a discourse on the duties of a General, and the whole ex-

tent of the military art. All the rest of the audience were beyond measure delighted; and some of them asked *Hannibal*, What he thought of their *Philosopher*? The *Carthaginian* frankly answered, that he had met with many a silly old fellow, but so very a dotard as this he had never seen before. *Cicer. de Orat. l. 2. c. 18.*

between

between them and *Minio*, neither party yielding any thing. The conference broke off; and the *Romans* returned home in all points as uncertain as they came. So writes *Livy*: But *Appian* reports, that the *Syrian* offered, as the price of an alliance with *Rome*, to restore all the *Asiatic Greeks* to their freedom, except the *Ætolians* and *Ionians*: A fruitless concession, because the *Romans* had not come with views of peace and amity, but only to inform themselves of the true state of affairs in *Asia*.

V. R. 561.
B. Chr.
191.
260 Cont.
In Syr. 5.
92.

Soon after the ambassadors were gone, *Antiochus* called a council of the chief Officers of his army, as well foreigners as *Syrians*, to give their opinions concerning a war with the *Romans*. *Hannibal* only was not consulted: His familiarity with *Scipio* and *Villius* had made the King jealous of him. In council every one declared vehemently for a war: Nay *Alexander* of *Acarmania*, who had formerly served *Philip*, and was now in great favour with *Antiochus*, confidently promised the King victory, if he would pass into *Greece*, and make that country the seat of the war. *Nabis* and the *Ætolians*, he said, were already in arms; and *Philip* would take the field on the first sounding of the *Syrian* trumpets. He added, that much depended upon expedition; and therefore begged the King would hasten his departure; and in the mean time send *Hannibal* into *Africa*, to cause a diversion.

THE little regard shewed to *Hannibal*, since his familiar intercourse with the *Roman* ambassadors, convinced him that the King had taken umbrage at that part of his conduct. At first the *Carthaginian* bore his disgrace in silence; but now, thinking it advisable to clear himself, he begged an audience of *Antiochus*. Being called into the Council, he directly asked the King the reason of his displeasure; and, when he had heard it, expressed himself in the following manner. "I was scarce nine years old, when *Amilcar*, my father, at the
" time of a solemn sacrifice, led me to the altar, and made me
" swear, that, to my last breath, I would be an irreconcilable enemy
" to the *Roman* nation. Under *this Oath* I carried arms for six and
" thirty years; it was *this* which made me leave my country, when
" my country was in peace with *Rome*; it was *this* which brought
" me like a banished man into your dominions; and, under the con-
" duct of the same oath (if you disappoint my hopes) in whatever part
" of the earth I can hear of strength, wherever I can hear of arms,
" thither will I fly, in search of enemies to the *Romans*. If, therefore,
" any of your courtiers would raise their credit with you, by defam-
" ing me, they should invent some other crime, than my friendship
" to *Rome*. No; I hate the *Romans*, and am hated by them; and that
" I speak truth, I call the Gods to witness, and the manes of *Amilcar*
" my father. Whensoever you are in earnest for a *Roman war*, reckon
" *Hannibal* among your surest friends; but if any thing constrain you
" to peace, in *that* affair you must seek some other counsellor." This

Liv. B. 35.
c. 19.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 11.

V. R. 461.
Be. C. 1.
101.
260 C. 1.

L. B. 35.
c. 101.

discourse reconciled the King to *Hannibal*, at least for a time. The Council unanimously determined for war.

Rome, upon the return of her ambassadors, sent a body of troops under the Prætor *Babius* to guard the eastern coast of *Italy*, and to be in readiness to embark for the *Levant*, if there should be occasion. She ordered two fleets to be fitted out, one for *Sicily*, the other for *Greece*; whither she also dispatched *Flaminius* and three other Senators, in quality of ambassadors. When they arrived in that country, *Nabis* was yet engaged in the siege of *Gytium*. He frequently detached parties to make incursions on the lands of the *Acæans*. These, fearing to begin a war without the approbation of *Rome*, wrote to *Flaminius* for his consent. He counselled them to wait for the arrival of the *Roman* fleet, before they took arms. Nevertheless they held a general diet at *Sicyon* upon the affair; and the assembly, being divided in their sentiments, desired to know the opinion of *Philopæmen*, their president. He answered, "It is a wise institution among us, that our Prætors should not declare their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your province to determine what shall be done; mine to execute your orders. And I will take all possible care, that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be peace or war." These words more powerfully inclined the diet to war, than if the President had openly declared for it. War they decreed, and gave the conduct of it to *Philopæmen*.

The first enterprize of this brave man was to relieve *Gytium*: He set sail for that port with what galleys he could get together; but being (as *Livy* says) a land-officer, and not used to sea affairs, he failed in his attempt. He was defeated within sight of the place by the *Lacedæmonian* fleet. However, he soon retrieved his honour, by two victories, which his able conduct gave him over the tyrant at land.

Whilst the *Acæans* carried on the war against the *Lacedæmonians*, the ambassadors from the *Roman* Republic were busy in visiting the chief cities of *Greece*. The inhabitants of *Demetrias* had been informed, that *Rome* intended to restore to *Philip* his son *Demetrius*, and to put the King again into possession of their city, in order to prevent his joining with *Antiochus*; a rumour not altogether groundless. It was with some difficulty therefore, that *Flaminius* could pacify them. He went thence to the diet of *Ætolia*, where *Menippus*, ambassador from *Antiochus*, had been introduced by *Thoas*, one of the chief authors of the *Ætolian* defection. The *Roman* in vain endeavoured to dissuade the assembly from calling the *Syrians* into *Europe*: they passed a decree, in his presence, for inviting *Antiochus* to come and restore the liberty of *Greece*. *Flaminius* demanding a copy of the decree, was answered by *Damocritus* the Prætor, "We have affairs of greater moment to dispatch; we shall tell you the purport of it, on the banks of the *Tiber*."

After

A MAP of EPIRUS. THESSALY, AND ACHAIA.





After this the *Ætolians* took measures to seize three important cities; *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, ^b *Lacedæmon* in *Peloponnesus*, and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. *Diochus*, *Alexamenus* and *Thoas* were the persons appointed for these expeditions. The first got possession of *Demetrias*, through the treachery of one of the principal citizens. To surprize *Lacedæmon*, *Alexamenus*, with a thousand foot, and some young horsemen, went thither, as carrying succours to *Nabis*. The Tyrant received them without suspicion: And their leader having insinuated to him, that it would be for his honour to have his troops well disciplined, and make a good appearance when *Antiochus* should arrive, he every day drew them out and exercised them in a plain near the city. At one of these reviews *Alexamenus* assassinated him.

Had the murderer harangued the *Lacedæmonian* soldiers during their first astonishment, it is probable they would have approved of the action; because the Tyrant was hated: but the *Ætolians* hastened to plunder the royal palace, and this giving the *Lacedæmonians* time to recover themselves, they entered the city, massacred all the pillagers they met, and, among the rest, the infamous *Alexamenus*. *Philopæmen* took advantage of this event, appeared with a body of troops before the town, and persuaded the inhabitants to resume their liberty. Accordingly, *Lacedæmon* from being a monarchy became a Republic, and a part of the *Acbaian* body.

As for *Thoas*, he failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis*; the *Eubœans* were upon their guard, and adhered steadily to *Rome*. He went therefore strait to *Antiochus*, and as by the false reports he had spread, in *Greece*, magnifying the King's strength, he had drawn over many to his party; so now he deceived the King by what he told him of the disposition of the *Greeks*. He assured him, that all *Greece* was in motion: that the people universally desired and intreated his coming among them; and that his fleet would no sooner appear on the coast, but the shore would be crowded with soldiers to offer him their service. He added, that *Demetrias*, a town of great consequence, being at present in the *Ætolian* interest, he might there commodiously land his troops. At the same time he endeavoured to dissuade the *Syrian* from dividing his naval force; "but
" if a part of his fleet must be sent to *Italy*, the conduct of it,
" he said, ought to be given to any body, rather than to *Hannibal*.
" That he was an exile, and a *Carthaginian*, to whom fortune and
" his own restless disposition would be daily suggesting new projects.
" The very glory he had acquired in war, and for which he was courted,
" was too great for a lieutenant in the King's army; the King ought to
" be looked upon as the only General, the spring and director of all.
" Should *Hannibal* lose a fleet, or an army, the loss would be the same

^b The *Ætolians*, in this enterprize upon *Lacedæmon*, seem to have been actuated by the apprehension of its falling into the hands of the *Acbaians*, rather than enmity to *Nabis*, who was at this time engaged in

the same cause with them. And *Livy* tells us, the Tyrant was so hated by the *Lacedæmonians*, that there was reason to think they would attach themselves to whoever should destroy him.

V. R. 801.
E. L. C. 11.
161.
260 C. 1.

Liv. B. 37.
C. 37.

Plut. life of
Philopæ-
men.
Liv. B. 35.
C. 37.

C. 43.

Y. R. 561.
Bef. Chr.
101.
260 Cons.

“ as if any other had lost it: but if success attended his arms, *Hannibal*,
“ not *Antiochus*, would have all the glory. The King might have the
“ *Carthaginian* to attend him, and might hear his opinion: a cautious
“ use of his talents would be safe and profitable; but to trust him with
“ the supreme direction of affairs, would be dangerous both to *Antio-*
“ *chus* and to *Hannibal*.”

None are so prone to envy, says *Livy*, as those of high rank and fortune, with low, little minds. The King immediately dropt all thoughts of sending *Hannibal* into *Italy*, the only wise measure that had been proposed in relation to this war. It being concluded that *Antiochus* should pass into *Greece*, he, before he set sail, went with a frivolous pomp of ceremony to *Ilium*, and there sacrificed to *Minerva*. This done, he took shipping, and landed at *Demetrias* with ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; an army hardly considerable enough to take possession of *Greece*, had it been wholly unprovided of troops; much less to oppose the power of *Rome*.

As soon as the *Ætolians* heard of the King's landing, they assembled a diet at *Lamia*, in order to invite him, in form, to come to their assistance. The *Syrian*, knowing their design, was already on his way, when he received their invitation; and being, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, introduced in the assembly, he began to excuse his coming into *Greece* with an army so much inferior to what they had expected. “ It was (he said) a strong evidence of his good will to them, “ that upon the call of their ambassadors, he had hastened to their aid, “ without waiting till any thing was ready, or even till the weather was “ fit for sailing. He assured them, he would in a short time satisfy their “ utmost expectations; that as soon as the season would permit, they “ should see *Greece* full of men, arms, and horses, and all the coast covered with his ships. Neither would he spare any expence or labour, “ or decline any danger, to remove the *Roman* yoke from their necks, “ give *Greece* real liberty, and make the *Ætolians* the most considerable “ of all her states. When his forces should arrive, all sorts of provisions “ he said, would arrive with them. In the mean time, he hoped the “ *Ætolians* would furnish him with corn and other necessaries for the “ troops he had brought.”

This discourse was heard with applause; and the diet passed a decree constituting *Antiochus* General of the *Ætolians*, and appointing him a council of thirty persons to whom he might have recourse on all occasions. The first attempt he made, by their advice, was to gain over *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*; and as they imagined that much depended upon expedition, he hastened away with a thousand *Syrians* and some *Ætolians*, crossed the *Euripe*, and appeared before the gates of *Chalcis*. The *Ætolians*, in an amicable conference with the *Chalcidians*, endeavoured to persuade them to enter into a treaty of friendship with *Antiochus* (without renouncing their alliance with *Rome*) and assured them, that the King was not
come

come to make war upon *Greece*, but to deliver her from slavery. *Miltio*, one of the chiefs of the *Chalcidians* answered, " That he " wondered what cities of *Greece* they were, to set which at liberty " *Antiochus* had left his kingdom, and come into *Europe*. For his part, " he knew of none that had either a *Roman* garrison, or paid tribute to " *Rome*, or was obliged to do any thing contrary to its own laws. The " *Chalcidians* therefore neither wanted a protector nor a garrison; since by " the favour of the *Romans* they enjoyed both peace and liberty. They " were indeed far from despising the friendship of the King, or even of " the *Ætolians*; but desired, the first instance of that friendship might be " their leaving the island immediately: For the *Chalcidians* were deter- " mined not only not to receive them within their walls, but to enter into " no alliance with them, without consent of the *Romans*." The King, hereupon, thought proper to return to *Demetrias*, for he had not with him a sufficient number of troops to take *Chalcis* by force.

Y. P. 561.
Bef. Chr.
151.
260 Conf.

Nor did he succeed better in his endeavours to bring the diet of *Achaia*, held at *Ægium*, to a neutrality. His minister there extravagantly magnified the *Syrian* power, and boasted much of an innumerable multitude of horsemen, that were coming over the *Hellepont* into *Europe*, some in complete armour, others so excellent archers that nothing was safe from their arrows, and who were surest of hitting an enemy when they turned their backs upon him. And though these horsemen were sufficient to trample down all the armies of *Europe* joined together in a body, yet the King would also bring into the field a numerous and terrible infantry; *Dabæ*, *Medes*, *Elimæans*, *Cadusians*, names scarce heard of before in *Greece*. He represented the fleet of *Antiochus* as so prodigiously great that all the ports of *Greece* could not contain it: " The squadrons of the right composed of *Sidenians* and *Tyrians*; those on " the left of *Aradians* and *Sideta* from *Pamphylia*; nations whose bravery " in naval engagements, and skill in maritime affairs had never been " equalled." He added, that " it would be superfluous to reckon up " the warlike stores, or the sum of money *Antiochus* had amassed: They " knew the kingdoms of *Asia* had always abounded with gold. The " *Romans* therefore would not have to do with *Hannibal* or *Philip*, the " former only one of the chiefs of a single city, and the latter con- " fined within the narrow limits of *Macedon*; but with the great King " of all *Asia* and a part of *Europe*. And that this King, though he " came from the extremity of the *East* to deliver *Greece* from slavery, " yet asked nothing of the *Achaïans* that was contrary to their treaty " with the *Romans*. He only desired they would stand neuter, and " be quiet spectators of the war between him and *Rome*."

Archidamus, the *Ætolian* minister, exhorted the assembly to comply with this motion; nor did he stop here, but proceeded to inveigh against the *Romans* in general, and *Numinus* in particular. He boasted that the victory over *Philip* was entirely owing to the courage of the *Ætolians*,

Y. R. 111.
 L. C. 111.
 111.
 111.

who alone were exposed to danger, while the noble Commander of the *Romans* employed himself wholly in making vows and sacrifices. To this *Flamininus*, who was present, answered, “*Archidamus* considers before whom, rather than to whom he speaks. The bravery of the *Ætoliæ* is well known, in *Greece*, to shew itself more in councils and assemblies, than in the field. They little value therefore what the *Acbeans* think, whom they cannot hope to impose upon; it is to the King’s ambassador, and by him to the absent King, that *Archidamus* makes his boasts. And now, if any one was ignorant before of what has made *Antiochus* and the *Ætoliæ* friends, he may learn it from the speeches of their ministers: By lying to each other, and bragging of that strength they never had, they have puffed up one another with vain hopes. While the *Ætoliæ* talk loudly, that *Philip* was overcome by them, and the *Romans* protected by their valour, and that you and the other states of *Greece* will undoubtedly join them; the King on the other hand boasts of his clouds of horse and foot, his *Dabe*, *Cadusians*, *Aradians*, and the rest; and covers the seas with his prodigious fleets. This puts me in mind of an entertainment we once had at *Cbalcis* at a friend’s house, an honest man, and who understood good eating. It was in the beginning of *June*; and we therefore much admired how in that season of the year, he had procured such variety of venison as we saw at his table: upon which my friend (not so vain as these orators) bid me not deceive myself; for that what I saw was nothing more than common pork: My cook, said he, has indeed disguised it, and given it different tastes and different names; but all this variety of dishes is made of one tame swine. ’Tis just so with regard to this pompous enumeration of the King’s forces: They are all *Syrians*, by whatever strange names they may be called; all one sort of men; and for their servile dispositions much fitter to be slaves than soldiers. And I wish, *Acbeans*, I could but picture to you the great King in all his mightiness and bustle. You would see something like two petty legions, incomplete, in his camp. You would behold him one while almost begging corn of the *Ætoliæ*, to be measured out scantily to his soldiers; then borrowing money at use to pay them. You would see him hurrying from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; from *Lamia* to *Cbalcis* in *Eubœa*: Now standing at the gates of *Cbalcis*; and by and by, when denied entrance, and having only seen *Aulis* and the *Euripus*, returning to *Demetrias*. Indeed *Antiochus* did ill to believe the *Ætoliæ*; and the *Ætoliæ* were as much in the wrong to hearken to his vanity. Be not you therefore deceived, but rely on the faith of the *Romans*, which you have so often experienced. And as for the neutrality so much recommended to you, nothing can be more contrary to your interests; for without gaining any honour, or even thanks from either side, you would undoubtedly be the prize of the conqueror.” The *Acbeans* without hesitation declared for the *Romans*.

Antiochus and the *Ætolians* had sent an embassy to the *Bæotians*, to court their alliance. These returned answer: That when the King came into their country, they would consider of what was proper to be done.

Y. R. 561.
Bef. Chr.
191.
260 Conf.

The *Athamanes* were brought over to *Antiochus* by means of *Philip* the brother of *Apamea*, *Amynter's* wife. *Philip* deduced his pedigree from *Alexander the Great*, and pretended to be the true heir of *Macedon*: And the *Syrian*, encouraging his vanity, made him hope that he should one day possess that throne.

Liv. B. 35.
c. 47, 50.

After this, the King, hearing that *Eumenes* and the *Achæans* were sending a garrison into *Chalcis*, made what haste he could to prevent them. He instantly sent away *Menippus* with three thousand men: and followed in person with the rest of his army. *Menippus* intercepted and cut off a party of five hundred *Romans* that were marching to the defence of *Chalcis*; and though the *Pergamenians* and *Achæans* had entered the place, the inhabitants opened the gates to *Antiochus*: after which he soon reduced the whole island of *Eubæa*. Thence he passed into *Bæotia*; and this country also renounced her confederacy with *Rome*, and submitted to him.

Livy, B.
36. c. 6.

Upon his return to *Chalcis* (which he made his chief place of residence) he, by letters, invited his friends and allies to meet him in council at *Demetrias*, in order to determine, whether it were proper to make any attempt upon *Thessaly*. Some were for an expedition into that country immediately; some for deferring it till the spring; others advised only the sending ambassadors thither. When *Hannibal's* opinion came to be asked, addressing himself to the King, he spoke to this effect.

“ Had I ever been consulted since our arrival in *Greece*; had my opinion
“ been asked, when you were considering how to act with regard to
“ the *Eubæans*, *Achæans* and *Bæotians*, I should have said what I am
“ now going to say, when the debate is concerning *Thessaly*. Our first, our
“ principal object should be to gain over the King of *Macedon*. The
“ *Eubæans*, the *Bæotians*, the *Thessalians*, who have no strength of
“ their own, will always follow the dictates of their fears. Through
“ fear they will now be on your side; and, as soon as the *Romans* come
“ into *Greece*, turn again to them, pleading weakness as an excuse for
“ having submitted to you. Of how much greater importance would
“ it be to engage *Philip* in your cause, who, if he once espouses it, must
“ of necessity be steady; and whose friendship will bring us an ac-
“ cession of real strength; a strength that, not long ago, was of itself
“ sufficient to withstand the whole power of the *Romans*? If I am asked
“ what reason I have to hope that *Philip* will join in the alliance, I an-
“ swer: In the first place, his interest requires him so to do: and in the
“ next, you *Ætolians* have always asserted he would. Your ambassador
“ here, this same *Thoas*, when he was pressing the King to sail into
“ *Greece*, employed, as one of his strongest arguments, the raging anger
“ of *Philip*, to find himself, under the colour of a peace, reduced to
“ slavery.

Y. R. 571.
B.C. 191.
267 C. - 1.

“ slavery. I remember, he compared the King’s fury to that of a
 “ wild beast chained or shut up, and struggling to get loose. If this
 “ be true, let us break his chains and set him free, that he may turn
 “ against the common enemy all that wrath which has been so long re-
 “ strained. But, if he will not be brought over to our cause, let us at
 “ least take care that he do not join our enemies. Your son *Seleucus* is at
 “ *Lyfimachia* with an army: If he attacks *Macedon* on the side of *Thrace*,
 “ this, by keeping *Philip* employed in the defence of his own dominions,
 “ will hinder him from assisting the *Romans*—Thus far with regard to
 “ *Philip*. What my opinion is, in relation to the general plan of the war,
 “ you have known from the beginning. Had I then been hearkened to,
 “ the news at *Rome* would not now be, that *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* is taken,
 “ and a castle upon the *Euripus* demolished; but that *Ettruria*, *Liguria*,
 “ and *Cisalpine Gaul* are in a flame; and, what perhaps would strike
 “ more terror, that *Hannibal* is in *Italy*. Be that as it will, our present
 “ situation, I think, requires, that you send immediately for all your sea
 “ and land forces, and provisions necessary to maintain them; for they
 “ cannot be supplied by this country. When your fleet arrives, it
 “ should be divided; one part of it stationed at *Ceræra* to prevent the
 “ *Romans* landing in *Greece*, and the other sent to that coast of *Italy*,
 “ which looks towards *Sardinia* and *Africa*. It will also be expedient
 “ that you in person march your land forces to the coast of *Illyricum*,
 “ near *Epirus*. There you may preside over all *Greece*, and keep the
 “ *Romans* in awe by the fear of an invasion: nay from thence may actually
 “ pass into *Italy*, if you should think it proper. This is my opinion;
 “ and if I should not be thought the most skilful in managing other wars,
 “ yet surely it will be granted, that I have learnt, both by good and
 “ bad fortune, how to manage a war against the *Romans*. In the execution
 “ of the advice I have given, I am ready to assist with faithfulness and
 “ alacrity. But whatever resolution you take, may the Gods grant you
 “ success.” Such was the substance of *Hannibal*’s discourse. His counsel
 was applauded, and not followed. Of all he had proposed, the King
 did nothing, except sending to *Asia* for his fleet and land forces.

As to *Thessaly*, it was determined to dispatch ambassadors to the *Thessalian* Diet held at *Larissa*: and the *Syrian* marched with his army to *Pheræ* in the same country. While he was there waiting to be joined by the *Atbamanes* and the *Ætolians*, he sent *Philip*, the brother in law of *Anty-nander*, with two thousand men to *Cynocéphalæ*, where the bones of the *Macedonians* slain in the battle when the King of *Macedon* was vanquished by the *Romans*, still lay unburied. *Antiochus* thought, that if this pretender procured them burial, he would thereby gain the affection of a people over whom he claimed the government. But this step served only to irritate the true King of *Macedon*. And he, who perhaps was hitherto undetermined, not only sent advice to the *Roman* Prætor *M. Bæbius*, of the irruption of the *Syrians* into *Thessaly*, but offered him the assistance of his forces.

The

The Syrian's embassy to the *Thessalians* having proved fruitless, he with the help of the *Ætolians* and *Amynder*, reduced by force of arms, *Pheræ*, *Scotussa*, *Cypra*, and the greatest part of *Thessaly*; and then laid siege to *Larissa*. *Bæbius*, now joined by *Philip*, sent *Ap. Claudius* with a detachment to reinforce the garrison. When *Claudius* came near the town, he posted himself upon a hill within view of the *Syrians*, made his camp larger than his forces required, and lighted up more fires than were necessary. *Antiochus*, thinking the whole *Roman* army and King *Philip* were coming to the relief of *Larissa*, immediately raised the siege, under pretence that winter was at hand, retired to *Demetrias*, and from thence to *Chalcis*. Here he became enamoured, though past fifty years old, of the daughter of a *Chalcidian* named *Cleoptolemus*, in whose house he lodged. The disproportion of her age and condition to those of the King, made the father very averse to the marriage, fearing she would soon repent her advancement to so glittering a station: But *Antiochus* at length obtained his consent; and the nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence. The King spent the rest of the winter in feasting and diversions: His officers and soldiers, infected by his example, abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery.

V. R. 561.
Bef. Chr.
191.
260 Conf.

CHAP. V.

The Romans declare war against Antiochus.

The Consul Acilius lands in Greece.

Antiochus routed at Thermopylæ. He returns into Asia.

The Ætolians ask a peace with Rome, but will not submit to the terms on which it is offered.

Flaminius takes the island of Zacynthus from the Achæans, and persuades them, he does it for their good.

The Syrians are vanquished at sea.

The conduct of the war against Antiochus being given to L. Scipio, his brother Africanus assists him in quality of his Lieutenant.

WHILST *Antiochus* lay asleep in pleasures, the *Romans* were very watchful of their affairs in the *Levant*. Some late successes of their arms had made all things quiet in *Spain* and *Italy*, which put them in a better condition to provide for a war in the *East*. They fitted out a hundred quinqueremes to scour the *Eastern* seas; and after the election of magistrates, and a regulation of the troops appointed to serve this year, formally declared war against *Antiochus*. The new Consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, drew lots for their provinces. *Greece* fell to the latter. When every thing was ready for

V. R. 562.
Bef. Chr.
190.
261 Conf.
Liv. B. 36.
c. 2.

c. 4.

Y. R. 562.
 B. C. 190.
 261 C. 72.

his departure, ambassadors arrived from the Kings of *Egypt* and *Macedon* with offers of money, provisions and troops. *Masniſſa* likewise would have contributed to the expences of the war, which the *Romans* were going to undertake. And as for the *Cartaginians*, they not only proposed to make the Republic a present of wheat and barley, and to equip a ſtreet at their own expence for her ſervice, but offered, in ready money, the whole remainder of the tribute, which they were not obliged to pay but in the ſpace of nine years. Of all the offers made to the *Romans* at this time, they accepted only five hundred *Numidian* horſe and ſome elephants from *Masniſſa*: They would not receive any corn either from him or *Cartage*, without paying for it. *Acilius* ſet out for *Greece* in the month of *May*, accompanied by *L. Quinctius*, (the brother of *Flamininus*) whom the Republic had appointed to be his Lieutenant; and by the famous *Cato*, who now ſerved in no higher a ſtation than that of legionary Tribune.

Liv. B. 36.
 C. 14.
 A. 12.
 261 C. 72.

The Conſul landed his troops in *Greece*, to the number of ten thouſand foot *, two thouſand horſe, and fifteen elephants. He immediately ſent his infantry to *Lariſſa*; and with his cavalry marched to *Limnæa*, another city of *Threſſaly*, which the King of *Macedon* was beſieging. This place ſurrendered to the Conſul at diſcretion. Thence he proceeded to *Perinæum*, which *Bacchus* had inveſted; and this town alſo ſubmitted to him. Here was taken *Philip* the Pretender, whom the King of *Macedon* meeting, jeſtingly called him brother, and ordered him to be ſaluted King. *Acilius* ſent him in chains to *Rome*. Then the *Romans* and *Macedonians* ſeparated, to ſpread the terror of their arms in different parts. The King made himſelf maſter of all *Atthamania*; *Amynander* retiring thence with his wife and children into *Epirus*. And as for the Conſul, he ſoon ſubdued all *Threſſaly*.

WHEN *Antiochus the Great* conſidered, that, inſtead of all the mighty things which had been promiſed him, he had got nothing, in *Greece*, but an agreeable winter-ſtaying, and his landlord's daughter to wife, he began to accuſe *Theas* and the *Ætolians* of having deceived him; and to look upon *Hieronymus* as a wife man and a prophet. He was now ſenſible of the raſineſs of his enterprize: However, that it's failure of ſucceſs might not be imputed to any further negligence on his part, he ſent to the *Ætolians* to collect their whole ſtrength, and marched all his forces into their country in order to join them. The *Ætolian* chiefs had not been able to raiſe above four thouſand men; and theſe were moſtly their clients and vaffals. Diſappointed of his expected aids from his allies, *Antiochus* ſeized the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, to hinder the *Romans* from entering *Ætolia* by the way of *Locris*. At this paſs, three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, under the command of *Leonidas*, had, for three whole days, ſtopped a million of men in the time of *Xerxes*. It was not above ſixty paces broad, and bounded on one ſide by the ſea, and a moraiſ of deep mud, and on the other by mount *Oeta*, the extre-

mity

mity of a chain of hills that divide *Greece* in two parts, almost in the same manner as the *Appennines* divide *Italy*. And as the King was not ignorant that, when *Xerxes* made his passage, it was by means of some troops that climbed the mountains and fell down from thence upon the enemy, he, to prevent the *Romans*, detached two thousand *Ætolics* to seize the summit of *Oeta*, called *Callidromos*, which overlooked his camp. *Acilius* nevertheless forced the King in his entrenchments: for *Cato* being sent with a detachment up the mountain in the night, dislodged the *Ætolics*; and then pouring down upon the *Syrians*, while the Consul attacked them below, put a speedy end to the dispute: An exploit of which he was extravagantly vain, and the last military exploit of his life. He was sent to *Rome* with the news of the victory.

Antiochus, in the action of *Thermopylae*, and in his flight, lost his whole army, except five hundred horse, which escaped with him to *Elatia*, from whence they passed to *Chalcis*. The conqueror, to make the best use of his advantage, marched into *Boeotia*. The inhabitants of several revolted cities came to meet him; and as he every where gave proofs of his clemency and moderation, the greatest part of this country submitted; and, presently after, all *Eubœa*: for *Antiochus*, upon the approach of the *Roman* army, left *Chalcis*, embarked for *Asia* with his new Queen, and retired to *Ephejus*. *Acilius* laid siege to *Heraclea*, at the foot of mount *Oeta*. The city being taken, after a stout resistance of the *Ætolian* garrison, the soldiers retired into the citadel. It was commanded by that *Damocritus*, who, when *Flamininus* asked a copy of the decree whereby the *Ætolics* called *Antiochus* into *Greece*, had answered, he would give it him upon the banks of the *Tiber*. He surrendered at discretion.

Philip, in pursuance of an agreement between him and the *Roman* general, was at this time besieging *Lamia*, a strong town about seven miles from *Heraclea*. The place was on the point of surrendering, when the Consul, having reduced *Heraclea*, sent to the King to quit his enterprize; alledging, that it was but just, the *Roman* soldiers, who had conquered the *Ætolics* in battle, should have the rewards of the victory. *Philip* with reluctance complied, and marched away. The city, presently after, opened her gates to *Acilius*.

A few days before *Heraclea* was taken, the *Ætolics*, assembled in council at *Hypata*, had sent *Thoas* into *Asia*, to press the *Syrian* to return with an army into *Europe*: But now they bent their thoughts wholly to a peace, and for that purpose dispatched deputies; who presented themselves in a suppliant manner before the Consul. *Phœneas*, their speaker, having in a long harangue endeavoured to move the compassion of the conqueror, at length concluded with saying, that “the *Ætolics* yielded themselves and their all to the ^b Faith of the people of *Rome*.” “Do you so?” said *Acilius*: “Then deliver up to us *Amynander* and the

^b *Polyb.* Legat. 13. says they were deceived by the words εἰς τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν ἰσχυρίζεσθαι *fidei se permittere*, not knowing that they signified among the *Romans*, to surrender at discretion.

Y. R. 562.
Bef. Chr.
100.
261 C. n. l.

Pol. b. Leg.
13.

“ chiefs of the *Athamanes*, *Dicaearchus* the *Ætolian*, and *Menetus* the
“ *Epirat*, who made the city of *Naupactus* revolt from us.” The Consul
had scarce finished, when *Phœneas* answered, “ We did not give ourselves
“ up to servitude, but to your faith; and I am persuaded, it is because
“ you are unacquainted with the customs of the *Greeks*, that you enjoin
“ us things so contrary to them.” *Acilius* haughtily replied, “ You
“ little *Greeks*! do you talk to me of your customs? of what is fit and
“ decent for me to do? You; who have surrendered yourselves at
“ discretion, and whom I may lay in irons, if I please? Here, lictors,
“ bring chains for the necks of these men:” *Phœneas* and his Col-
leagues, quite astonished, represented to the Consul, that, though they
were very willing to obey his orders, yet they could not execute them
without the consent of the *Ætolian* diet. He was prevailed upon to grant
them ten days truce, to bring him a positive answer from thence.
The preliminaries on which the *Roman* General insisted, highly provoked
the council. While they were in great perplexity and doubt, what mea-
sures to take, one *Nicander*, an active man, who had gone from *Ætolia* to
Ephesus and returned in twelve days, brought considerable sums of money
from *Antiochus*; and also certain advice, that the King was making might-
ty preparations for war. This determined the assembly to lay aside the
thoughts of peace. They drew all their forces to *Naupactus*, and resolved
to sustain a siege there to the last extremity. *Acilius*, considering that by
the reduction of this place he should give the finishing stroke to the con-
quest of *Ætolia*, and quell for ever the most restless of the *Greek* nations,
marched thither and invested it.

Pictarch's
life of Fla-
minius.
Liv. B. 36.
c. 31.

In the mean time *Flaminius*, who had resided a good while at *Chal-
cis*, which he had saved from being sacked, (when taken by *Acilius*)
and where he was honoured even to adoration, went thence to settle a
peace between the *Acheans* and the city of *Messene*; and he subjected the
latter to the states of *Achaia*. There was at this time a dispute between
the *Romans* and *Acheans* about *Zacynthus*, an island in the *Ionian* sea.
This island, *Philip* of *Macedon* had given to *Amynder*, who made
one *Hierocles*, of *Agrigentum*, governor of it. *Hierocles*, after the de-
feat of *Antiochus* at *Thermopylae*, seeing that *Amynder* was driven out
of *Atthania* by *Philip*, sold *Zacynthus* to the *Acheans*; but *Flamini-
us* remonstrated, in the diet of *Achaia*, that an island, which only the
success of the *Roman* arms had made to change it's masters, belonged
of Right to the *Romans*. The assembly having referred the matter to his
own honour, he thus answered: “ If I thought that your possessing the
“ island in question could be of any benefit to you, I would counsel the
“ Senate and people of *Rome* to let you hold it. But as a tortoise when
“ collected within it's shell is safe from all harm, and when it thrusts out
“ any part of itself, exposes that part to be trod upon and wounded:
“ In like manner, you *Acheans*, who are encompassed with the sea, may
“ safely unite, and united preserve, all within the limits of *Peloponnesus*;
“ but

“ but if you transgress those bounds, and make acquisitions beyond them, these members of your state will be exposed to insults, by which the whole body must be affected.” The issue was, that the *Asians* relinquished their pretensions to the island.

Y. R. 562.
Bis. Chr.
190.
261 Conf.

While the *Romans* were besieging *Naupactus*, King *Philip* (who had obtained permission from the Consul to reduce the towns which had fallen off from their alliance with *Rome*) made himself master of *Demetrias*, extended his conquests in *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and *Perræbia*, (territories of *Thessaly*, or bordering upon it) and was gradually recovering the many places which had been formerly taken from him by the *Romans*. *Flaminius*, not pleased with this progress of the *Macedonian*, whom he looked upon as a more dangerous enemy than the *Ætolians*, went to the camp before *Naupactus* to reprove *Acilius* for having consented to the enterprizes of *Philip*. As the besieged, who were now reduced to great extremity, had formerly experienced *Flaminius's* clemency, they, upon the news of his arrival, sent deputies to him, imploring his protection. He became their intercessor with the Consul, and obtained for them a suspension of arms, till they could dispatch ambassadors to *Rome*, to negotiate a peace there. The *Epirots* at the same time sent thither, to excuse some advances they had formerly made to *Antiochus*; and as it did not appear that they had committed any act of hostility against the Republic, she chose rather to admit their apology, than draw new enemies upon herself. But the ambassadors of *Philip* were yet more favourably received than those of *Epirus*. He begged leave to hang up, in the capitol, a crown of gold of an hundred pounds weight, in memory of the first advantage the *Romans* had gained over *Antiochus*. The Fathers readily accepted the King's present; and in return, restored to him his son *Demetrias*, then a hostage at *Rome*; promising at the same time, that, if he continued steady to the Republic in the prosecution of the war, she would remit the tribute he was engaged to pay her.

Liv. B. 36.
c. 34.

During these transactions, *Livius* the *Roman* Admiral was pursuing the war against *Antiochus* at sea. The King, for some time after his return to *Ephesus*, had imagined himself secure from any further hostilities on the part of *Rome*. He never dreamt that the *Romans* would follow him into *Asia*; and was kept in this delusion by the ignorance or flattery of his courtiers. *Hannibal* roused him out of his lethargy: He said, there was more cause to wonder, that the *Romans* were not already in *Asia*, than to doubt of their coming: That the King might be well assured, he would very soon have a war with them in *Asia*, and for *Asia*; and that, as *Rome* aspired to universal empire, she would infallibly ruin him, if he did not ruin her. *Antiochus*, thus awakened, went in person, with what ships he had ready, to *Chersonesus*, to garrison the places in that country, and thereby make it difficult for the *Romans* to pass into *Asia* that way. At the same time he ordered *Polyxenidas* to equip the rest of his fleet with all diligence. Upon the news of these naval preparations.

Polybius.
Legat. 15.

Liv. B. 36.
c. 41.

parations, *Livius* sailed to the coast of *Asia*, with a fleet of 105 decked ships, including the squadron of *Lumenus* King of *Pergamus*. *Polyxenidas* having got together a hundred, some say two hundred ships, came to an engagement with the enemy in the *Ionian* gulph. The *Romans* obtained the victory with the loss of only one vessel; the *Syrans* lost twenty three.

About the time of this success of the *Roman* arms in the *Levant*, the reduction of the *Boian Gauls* is said to have been completed by the Consul *Scipio Nasica*, and one half of their lands given to new colonies sent thither from *Rome*.

Y. R. 463.
B. C. 197.
262 C. 70.

Liv. B. 37.
C. 1.
Polyb.
Livy 16.

To *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the brother, and *C. Lælius*, the friend of the Great *Scipio*, were transferred the consular *fasces* for the new year. They began the exercise of their office with introducing to the Senate the ambassadors from *Naupactus*. The Fathers required of the *Ætolians*, that they should either submit implicitly to the will of the Senate; or pay the Republic a thousand *Talents*, and engage themselves to be enemies to all the enemies of *Rome*. The ambassadors, knowing that the *Ætolians* had not a thousand talents to give, and that they dreaded the severity of the *Romans* too much to yield to them at discretion, could consent to neither of these demands: Whereupon they were ordered to leave *Rome* that very day, and *Italy* in a fortnight.

Liv. B. 37.
C. 1.

The Senate had not yet assigned to the Consuls their provinces. *Lælius*, who had a great interest in the assembly, and was perhaps the abler General, artfully proposed to his Collegue, that instead of drawing lots, they should leave the matter to the determination of the Conscrip't Fathers. *L. Scipio* knew not how to decline this offer; yet took time to consider of it; and consulted his brother. *Africanus*, without any hesitation, advised him to accept the proposal; and when the Senate came to deliberate upon the affair, he, to their great surprize, offered to serve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no further argument to make the Fathers immediately assign *Greece* to *L. Scipio*.

P. 4.
Liv. B. 37.
L. 1. E. 17.
4. 7.

The two brothers embarked at *Brundisium*, with thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, including auxiliaries and volunteers, and landed at *Apollonia*: from thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Thessaly*, and at length arrived before *Amphissa*, the citadel of which *Acilius* was besieging, having already taken the town. Hither came some deputies from the *Athenians*, to intercede with the Consul for the *Ætolians*, now shut up in *Naupactus* by a blockade. *Lucius Scipio* was at first inexorable, notwithstanding that his brother joined his mediation to that of the *Athenians*; yet in the end consented to grant them a truce, that they might have an opportunity to try once more a negotiation with the Senate of *Rome*. *Acilius* having resigned the command of his army to the Consul, returned home.

C H A P. VI.

Philip conducts the two Scipios through Macedon and Thrace to the Hellespont.

Antiochus desires to treat with the Roman Admiral.

Hannibal shut up in Pamphylia by the Rhodians.

A sea fight between the Romans and Syrians.

Antiochus sends proposals of peace to Scipio.

The battle of Magnesia.

Scipio concludes a peace with Antiochus.

ALL Greece being now quiet, the two *Scipios* were at full liberty to pass into *Asia*. In order to this, they judged that the safest way was to conduct their forces by land to the *Hellespont*, and consequently through *Macedon* and *Thrace*. However, before they set out, they had the precaution to dispatch a young *Roman* to *Pella*, where *Philip* resided at this time, to learn his real dispositions, and whether the steps he had taken were like those of a friend, or of an enemy. The King had prepared every thing to facilitate the march of the *Romans* through his dominions. He came in person to meet the *Scipios* on his frontiers, was extremely obliging in all his behaviour, and accompanied them as far as the *Hellespont*.

In the mean time, *Livius*, in conjunction with the *Pergamenian* fleet, took *Sestos*, and afterwards invested *Abydos*; but raised the siege upon the news that *Polyxenidas* had destroyed a *Rhodian* squadron. The *Roman* Admiral soon after resigned his command to the Prætor *Æmilius*, sent from *Rome* to succeed him.

Antiochus was now full of business; and, turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of pains and assiduity brought almost nothing to pass. He and his son *Seleucus* entered the territories of *Pergamus* on different sides. *Seleucus* laid siege to the capital. This brought *Eumenes* to the defence of his own country; and he was quickly followed by *Æmilius*, and also by the *Rhodians*, who, since their last defeat, had equipt a new squadron. Upon the junction of these fleets, and the news of *Scipio's* approach, *Antiochus*, fearing to be hard pressed both by land and sea, dispatched an agent to *Æmilius* to propose a peace. The *Roman*, ambitious of the honour of finishing the war, readily hearkened to the motion; and the *Rhodians* were not averse to it: but *Eumenes*, who had different views, prevailed to have this answer sent to the King, That nothing could be concluded with regard to a peace, before the arrival of the Consul.

The *Syrian*, after laying waste the country of *Pergamus*, invaded *Troas*, took *Persea*, and some other towns, and then retired to *Sardis*. His son *Seleucus*.

Y. R. 563.
Bef. Chr.
189.
262 Conf.

Polyb. Legat. 21.

Y. R. 563.
Bell. Cret.
156.
262. Cret.

Seleucus was soon forced to quit the dominions of *Eumenes*, chiefly by the able conduct of *Diopbarus*, a *Megalopolitan*, whom the *Achaëans* had sent with a thousand men, to the relief of *Pergamus*.

Com. Nep.
Lif. 1.
Hist. 1.
Liv. B. 37.
c. 23.

After this the confederate fleets separated: *Æmilius* stationed himself at *Samos*, to watch the fleet under *Polyxenidas*; and *Eumenes* sailed to the *Hellepont* to prepare every thing for *Scipio's* passage into *Asia*. *Eudamas* the *Rhodian* Admiral went to oppose *Hannibal*, who was bringing a reinforcement of ships from *Syria*. The two squadrons met off *Syria* in *Pamphylia*. In the engagement, the *Carthaginian* had the advantage on the left, where he in person commanded; but his right being vanquished and forced to sheer off, all the *Rhodian* ships jointly attacked him, put him to flight, and chased him into a port of *Pamphylia*. *Eudamus* left *Chariclitus* with twenty ships to block him up there, and with the rest joined the *Roman* fleet.

P. 15. L.
Liv. 37.
Liv. B. 37.
c. 23.

On the advice of this ill success, *Antiochus* employed his endeavours to engage the assistance of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: He represented to him by letters, That the views of the *Romans* were to destroy all monarchies, being determined to suffer, throughout the whole world, no empire but their own. "First *Philip* was subdued; then *Nabis*;
" I am attacked the third: And, since *Eumenes* has yielded himself to
" voluntary servitude, the fury of *Roman* ambition, when it has over-
" turned my kingdom, will fall next upon yours; nor will it ever cease
" its destructive progress, till it has borne down all kingly power."

To efface the impressions made by these letters, *Scipio Africanus* wrote to *Prusias*, assuring him, "that *Rome*, so far from being an enemy to
" Kings, had made it her constant practice, with regard to the monarchs
" in friendship with her, by every kind of honour to augment their
" majesty. The petty Kings in *Spain*, who had put themselves under
" her protection, she had made great Kings. *Masiniissa* she had not only
" placed in his father's throne, but had given him the kingdom of *Syphax*;
" so that he was now the most potent of all the *African* Kings; nay,
" equal in majesty and power to any Monarch in the world. *Philip*
" and *Nabis*, though conquered in war, had yet been left in possession
" of their dominions. *Rome* had restored to *Philip* his son (the pledge
" of his fidelity) remitted to him the tribute he owed the Republic;
" and suffered him to possess himself of some towns not belonging to
" *Macedon*. He added, that *Nabis* would have been held in the same
" consideration by the Senate, if his own madness first, and then the
" fraudulent artifice of the *Ætolians*, had not undone him." This latter gave a check to the King's inclination to assist *Antiochus*. But *Æmilius*, the *Roman* admiral and ambassador to him from the Republic, absolutely fixed him in a neutrality, by convincing him, not only that the *Romans* were more likely to be victorious than *Antiochus*, but that their friendship was more to be depended upon than his.

Antiochus, disappointed of his hopes of aid from *Prusias*, and having little confidence in his own land-forces, ordered *Polyxenidas* to bring to a battle, if possible, the *Roman* fleet then lying at *Samos*. For tho' the King had no encouragement from past trials to expect victory; yet, as the *Pergamenian* squadron and a part of the *Rhodian* were at this time separated from the *Roman*, he had now a better chance to succeed than before; and he considered, that could he get the mastery at sea, he should then be able to hinder the *Scipios* from invading his *Asiatic* dominions. *Polyxenidas* encountered the *Roman* fleet, consisting of eighty ships, off *Myonnesus* in *Ionia*. He was totally vanquished. Of eighty nine ships, his whole strength, he lost forty two; the rest escaped to *Ephesus*. The King, when he heard of this misfortune, impatiently exclaimed, "that some God disconcerted his measures; every thing fell out contrary to his expectation; his enemies were masters of the sea; *Hannibal* was shut up in a port of *Pamphylia*; and *Philip* assisted the *Romans* to pass into *Asia*." In his fright, believing it impossible for him to defend places at a distance, he very unadvisedly withdrew the garrison from *Lyfsmackia*, which might have held out a great while against the Consul's army and retarded his approach. He also evacuated *Abydos*, which commanded the *Hellepont*, gathered all his forces about him at *Sardis*, and sent into *Cappadocia* for assistance from his son-in-law King *Ariarathes*.

The Consular army, attended by *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, passed the *Hellepont* without opposition. Upon the first advice of their landing in *Asia*, *Antiochus*, struck with terror, immediately sent proposals of peace to *Scipio*, offering to quit his pretensions in *Europe*, and likewise all the cities in *Asia*, that were then in alliance with *Rome*; and to bear half the expence which the *Romans* had been at, in the war. The Consul insisted on the King's paying the whole expence of the war, his confining himself within mount *Taurus*, (a chain of mountains which begins towards the West of *Lycia*, and separates *Cilicia* from Northern *Asia*) and his compensating *Eumenes* for the injuries he had suffered. The ambassador thinking these conditions intolerable, applied himself privately to *Scipio Africanus*, to whom he had particular instructions to make his court, offering him the restitution of his son (who by some accident had fallen into the hands of the *Syrians*) and even a partnership with *Antiochus* in the empire, if he would be content without the title of King. *Africanus* gave this answer to the ambassador: "I am the less surprized, that you are unacquainted with the character of the *Romans*, and of me, to whom you are sent; since I find you are ignorant of the fortune and situation of him who sends you. If your master imagined, that an anxiety about the event of the war would engage us to make peace with him, he should by guarding *Lyfsmackia* have kept us out of the *Cberfonesus*; or he should have stopt us at the *Hellepont*. But now, after he has suffered us to pass into *Asia*, and thereby has received our yoke, he ought to submit to it patiently, and not pretend to treat

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V. R. 567.
B. C. Chr.
190.
262 C. Chr.

App. in
Syr. p. 105.

Polyb.
Legat. 23.

Liv. B. 37.
c. 36.

Y. R. 563.
Bef. Chr.
179.
262 Conf.

“ with us upon a foot of equality. For my own part, I shall esteem the
“ King’s restoring me my son, as the noblest present his munificence
“ can make me : his other offers my mind certainly will never need—
“ I pray the Gods, my fortune never may. If *Antiochus* will be con-
“ tented with my private acknowledgments for a personal favour, he
“ shall ever find me grateful : In my public capacity, I can neither give
“ him any thing, nor receive any thing from him. All I can at pre-
“ sent do for his advantage is, to send him this honest advice : Let him
“ desist from the war, and refuse no conditions of peace.”

Antiochus, believing that should he be vanquished, nothing worse would be imposed, than what the Consul had required, turned his thoughts wholly to war. He assembled all his troops, and encamped them not far from *Tkazarra* in *Lydia*. Soon after, hearing that *Scipio Africanus* was fallen sick near *Elæa*, he generously sent him his son, without ransom. The joy of the *Roman*, on this occasion, was so great, that it gave a turn to his distemper, and helped to cure him. To the *Syrian* messengers he spoke thus :
“ Tell the King, I thank him ; I can at present make him no other return,
“ except advising him not to hazard a battle till he hears that I am gone
“ to the *Roman* camp.” *Antiochus*, in pursuance of this advice, [the meaning of which it is hard to guess] declined fighting, and retired to *Magnesia*. But the Consul, ambitious perhaps of gaining a victory in the absence of his brother, followed the *Syrian* so close, and pressed him so hard, that he could not, without discouraging his troops, avoid an engagement. The King’s army consisted of seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse ; the Consul’s of not above thirty thousand men. They came to a battle near *Magnesia* ; *Antiochus* lost five and fifty thousand men, including the prisoners ; the *Romans* not more than three hundred foot and twenty-five horse. Though this victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of the King of *Pergamus* and his brother *Attalus*, yet *Lucius Scipio* had so entirely the honour of it, that he acquired the surname of *Asiaticus*.

And now the King of *Syria*, eager to procure a peace upon any terms, sent ambassadors to the *Roman* camp at *Sardis*, to make his submissions. It was by *P. Scipio* they made their application to the General. A council, at their request, being called to hear what they had to offer, the chief of them spoke to this effect. “ Our commission is not to
“ make proposals, but to know of you, *Romans*, by what means the
“ King may expiate his fault, and obtain of his conquerors forgive-
“ nefs and peace. It has always been your practice, with a peculiar
“ greatness of mind, to pardon the Kings and nations you have van-
“ quished ; your present victory, which has made you Lords of the
“ world, certainly demands a more illustrious display than ever of that
“ magnanimity. Your only care now, having no longer any conten-
“ tion with mortals, should be to imitate the Gods, in tendering the
“ preservation of human kind.”

It had been previously determined by the Council, what answer should be given to these ambassadors, and that *Africanus* should give it. He is reported to have expressed himself in the following manner: "Of things in the power of the Gods to give, they have bestowed upon us what they think proper: our courage and steadiness, which depend upon our own minds, have been the same in all fortunes. *Hannibal* could tell you this, if you yourselves did not know it by your own experience. As soon as we crossed the *Hellepont*, before we saw the King's camp, and when the event of the war was yet doubtful, we insisted upon the same conditions of peace, with which we shall now content ourselves, after victory has declared for us. *Antiochus* shall give up all his pretensions in *Europe*; and in *Asia*, confine himself within mount *Taurus*: he shall pay us fifteen thousand talents of *Eubæa* *, for the expences of the war, five hundred down, two thousand five hundred when the Senate and people of *Rome* shall have confirmed the treaty, and one thousand annually for twelve years; four hundred talents he shall pay to *Eumenes*, and also the corn that was due to his father. And as the *Romans* can have no peace where *Hannibal* is, we, above all, insist upon his being delivered up to us, together with *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Mnasilochus* the *Acarnanian*, *Philo* and *Eubulidas*, *Chalcidians*. For security of the peace we demand twenty hostages whom we shall name. If *Antiochus* hesitates to accept of these terms, let him reflect, that it is more difficult to reduce a King from the height of power to a middle fortune, than from this to cast him down to the lowest." The ambassadors had orders to refuse no conditions; all were accepted, and the affair concluded: but *Hannibal* could not be delivered up; for, hearing of the King's defeat at *Magnesia*, he had escaped out of the *Syrian* dominions.

Y. R. 563.
Bef. Chr.
189.
262 Conf.

* Two million nine hundred six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.
Arbuthnot.

C H A P. VII.

A new commotion in Ætolia.

Eumenes comes to Rome, to ask the reward of his services.

The Rhodians oppose his pretensions.

The Ætolians obtain a peace.

The Romans carry the war into Galatia.

The laws of Lycurgus abolished at Lacedæmon.

The affairs of Asia settled by commissioners from Rome.

WHILE the *Scipios* were thus settling peace in *Asia*, the *Ætolians* dispossessed *Philip* of the greatest part of *Albamea*, restored it to its rightful king, *Arpynder*, and made some other conquests in the

Macedonian. Rome, upon an embassy from *Amynder*, confirmed him in the possession of his dominions.

Y. R. 564.
Bef. Chr.
133.
= 53 Cons.

After the election of *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *Cn. Manlius Fulvius*, to the Consulship, ambassadors came from *Ætolia* to negotiate a peace; but these, instead of addressing the Senate in the manner of suppliants, enumerated their services to the Republic, and talked of their own courage in such a strain as seemed to reproach the *Romans* with the want of courage. The Senate hereupon directly asked them, whether they would surrender at discretion; to which they not answering any thing, the Fathers ordered them out of the temple, and passed a decree, that they should leave the city that very day, and *Italy* in a fortnight; adding, that if any ambassadors from *Ætolia* came to *Rome* for the future, without the consent of the *Roman* commander in that country, they should be treated as enemies.

Liv. B. 37.
c. 52. & seq.
Polyb. L. 5.
§ 25.

Presently after, *Aurelius Cotta*, a messenger, sent by *Scipio* with the news of his success, arrived at *Rome*; and with him came *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the ambassadors from *Antiochus*, and some from *Rhodes*. When *Cotta* had imparted the news to the Senate, and, by their order, to the people assembled; and when, in consequence of it, supplications and thanksgivings, as usual, had been decreed, the Fathers gave audience to *Eumenes*. The King having in few words made his compliment of thanks for the succour he had received from them against *Antiochus*, and congratulated them on their complete victory over the *Syrian*, added, with a seeming modesty (no uncommon mask of impudence) *As to my services to the Republic, I had rather you should hear them from your own Generals than from me.* Hereupon the Senate entreated him not to be so over modest, but to prevail upon himself to say what he thought it reasonable the people of *Rome* should do for him; assuring him, that the Fathers were disposed to recompence his merit to the utmost of their power. To this *Eumenes*: “Had the option of a reward been given, me from any other quarter, I should gladly have seized the present opportunity of consulting this most august assembly: that thereby I might avoid the danger of seeming to transgress the bounds of modesty and moderation in my desires. Certainly then, since it is you who are to bestow the reward, it becomes me to leave it wholly to your generosity.” Upon this a most extraordinary contest of civility arose; the Senate still urging him to declare his wishes, and he as steadily persisting in his silence on that head. At length, to put an end to the dispute, he withdrew. The Fathers nevertheless directed, that he should be called in again, saying, “that it was absurd to suppose the King ignorant of what he hoped, or what he came to ask; that he knew *Asia* much better than the Senate, and must know what countries lay convenient for his own kingdom.” *Eumenes* then said; “I should have still persisted in my silence, Conscrip Fathers, if I did not know that the *Rhodian* ambassadors are to be presently called in, and that, after:”
“they,

“ they have been heard, I shall be under a necessity of speaking. My
 “ present task is the more difficult; because what they intend to request
 “ will seem not only to have no view to my prejudice, but to have none
 “ to their own proper interest: for they will plead the cause of the *Greek*
 “ cities, and the justice of setting them at liberty. But if they obtain this,
 “ is it not evident, that they will alienate from us the affections, not only
 “ of the cities which shall be freed, but even of those that are in our de-
 “ pendence, and have long paid us tribute? The *Rhodians*, on the other
 “ hand, having obliged the *Greeks* by so great a benefit, will, under the
 “ name of allies, hold them in subjection. Such is the advantage they
 “ propose to themselves, and yet they will disclaim their having any views
 “ of interest. They will alledge, that what they sue for is becoming your
 “ dignity to grant, and agreeable to your constant practice. But you,
 “ Fathers, are not to be imposed upon by all this. You will not only
 “ avoid the injustice of depressing too much some of your allies, and
 “ beyond measure exalting others, but of putting those who have borne
 “ arms against you into a better condition than your friends and asso-
 “ ciates.” Then, after a pompous enumeration of all the services done
 by him or any of his family to the *Roman* name, services which he set
 forth as unequalled by any thing which any ally of the Republic had
 ever performed, he thus proceeded: “ But you ask me, what it is
 “ that I request. Since in obedience to you, Conscript Fathers, I must
 “ speak, I shall say: That if you have confined *Antiochus* within
 “ *Mount Taurus*, in the intention to keep for yourselves all the country
 “ between that and the sea, there is no nation whose neighbourhood I
 “ should more covet, or think a greater security to my kingdom. But
 “ should it be your resolution to withdraw your armies out of that
 “ country, and relinquish it, I will venture to affirm, that none of your
 “ allies is more worthy to possess it than myself. But it is a glorious
 “ thing to free cities from slavery! I think so indeed, if they have
 “ committed no hostilities against you: but if they took part with
 “ *Antiochus*, how much more becoming your prudence and equity is it,
 “ to consult the advantage of your well deserving allies, than of your
 “ enemies?”

It was visible in the countenances of the Senators that they were much
 pleased with the King, and would reward him amply. When the *Rhodian*
 ambassadors came to be heard, the chief of them began by mentioning the
 long friendship of their state with the Republic, and the services it had
 done her in her wars with *Philip* and *Antiochus*. He then expressed a
 concern, that he was obliged to oppose the pretensions and demands of
Eumenes, a Prince who not only was a friend of *Rhodes*, but had deserved
 so well of the *Romans* in the late war. “ Our respect for the King
 “ is indeed the only thing which embarrasses us; for, that consideration
 “ apart, our cause is in no degree difficult for us to maintain, or for
 “ you

Y. R. 564.
 Bef. Chr.
 188.
 263 Conf.

Y. R. 352.
B. Chr.
133.
see Const.

“ you to determine. Were the case such, that you must either subject
“ free cities to the domination of *Eumenes*, or suffer *him* to go without
“ a sufficient reward of his merit, the matter might perhaps admit of
“ doubt and deliberation. But fortune has well provided that you
“ should not be reduced to that necessity. Your victory, by the
“ bounty of the Gods, is as rich, as it is glorious. Besides the *Greek*
“ colonies, you are thereby become masters of *Lycania*, the two
“ *Phrygias*, all *Pisidia*, the *Cberfonefus*, and the bordering countries ;
“ any one of which is vastly larger than the whole of *Eumenes*’s
“ kingdom. And should you give all these to him, you would
“ make him equal to the greatest monarchs. It is easy to enrich
“ your allies by the spoils of the war, without departing from your
“ own institution. The cause you assigned for your wars with *Philip*
“ and *Antiochus* was the liberty of the *Greeks*. Let *Barbarians*, let
“ those to whom a master’s will has always been a law, have Kings ;
“ since they delight in Kings : but let the *Asiatic Greeks*, who have the
“ same spirit as the *Romans*, experience that regard for universal li-
“ berty, which made you the deliverers of *Greece*. It may indeed be
“ said that these *Greek* cities declared for *Antiochus* : And did not
“ many of the *Greek* nations in *Europe* enter into a league with *Philip* ?
“ Yet you restored to these their laws and liberties : This is all we
“ ask for the *Asiatic Greeks*. Can you not refuse to *Eumenes*’s covetous
“ ambition, what you denied to your own just revenge ? In this and
“ all the wars you have had in *Greece* and *Asia*, with what courage and
“ fidelity we have assisted, we leave you to judge : In peace, we offer
“ you an advice, which if you pursue, the whole world will think the
“ use you make of your victory more glorious than the victory itself.”

This discourse seemed *Roman*, and did not fail to have its effect on the Senate. They determined to send ten Commissioners into the *Levant* to settle all matters there ; but at the same time pronounced in general, that *Lycania*, the two *Phrygias*, and the two *Mysias*, should for the future be subject to *Eumenes*. *Lycia*, that part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*, and the country lying towards *Pisidia* they adjudged to the *Rhodians*. In both these dispositions were excepted the *Greek* cities which had paid tribute to *Antiochus*, and taken part with the *Romans* in the war. These were to be free. As for the *Syrian* ambassadors, they had no business at *Rome*, but to get the peace approved ; and this was done.

After dispatching these affairs, *Fulvius* and *Manlius* left the city. The first sailed for *Greece*, to reduce the *Ætolians* ; the second to *Asia* ; whence, *Scipio*, having delivered up the command of the army to him, returned to *Rome*, and was there honoured with a triumph.

Li. B. 33.
c. 3.

Fulvius landed at *Apollonia*, and began his campaign by laying siege to *Ambracia*, a considerable city on the borders of *Epirus*. It was in the hands

hands of the *Ætolians*, and vigorously defended by them; but they at length capitulated. And then the *Ætolian* nation, with *Fulvius's* leave, sent to *Rome* to solicit a peace. The Senate at first would hardly hear the entreaties of their ambassadors. Some *Athenian* deputies who appeared in their behalf were more favourably received. These had an eloquent man named *Damis* at their head. He confessed, that the *Romans* had reason to be angry with the *Ætolians*, who, for great benefits received, had not made a suitable return; but to charge this ingratitude upon the body of the nation, this, he said, was contrary to reason and truth. “In all states the multitude are like the sea. In its natural situation the sea is always smooth and calm, and perfectly safe to those who embark upon it; but when it comes to be ruffled and agitated by impetuous winds and storms, nothing is more raging and terrible. Thus the *Ætolians*, while in their natural state, and uninfluenced from abroad, were of all the *Greeks* the most tractable, and best inclined to the *Roman* people; but when a boisterous *Tboas* and a *Dicæarchus*, from *Asia*, a *Meneftas* and a *Democritus*, in *Europe*, began to blow, then were the multitude put into a commotion; they were hurried on to speak and to act in a manner unlike themselves. To the authors then of these mischiefs and disturbances, be inexorable, Conscript Fathers; but spare the multitude, and receive them again into favour. Let them now owe their preservation to your clemency. This, added to all your former benefits, will fix them for ever in affection and fidelity to *Rome*.” The Senate granted the *Ætolians* a peace, but upon terms that put them in a worse condition than any of the states of *Greece*, though they had been the first that brought the *Romans* into that country.

Y. R. 564.
Bef. Chr.
188.
263 Conf.

During these transactions, the Consul *Manlius* in *Asia* marched against the *Gallo-Greeks* (or *Galatians*) to take revenge for the assistance they had given *Antiochus* in the late war. They were originally *Gauls*, who, in the time of *Brennus*, after various adventures, passing through *Thrace* had entered *Asia*, and settled in an inland country beyond *Caria* and *Phrygia*. The Consul was assisted in his long march by *Seleucus* the King of *Syria's* son, and by *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*; and he drew considerable contributions from the petty Kings through whose countries he passed, and who came to pay him homage. The *Galatians* upon his approach forsook their towns and cities, and retired to the tops of high mountains with their effects and provisions. He vanquished the several nations of them (the *Tolistoboi*, *Tetlosagi* and *Trocmi*) successively, and reduced them to sue for peace. He would not treat with them upon the spot, but made them send their deputies to *Ephesus*, whither he retired with his army; and thither likewise repaired the ambassadors of all the Princes of *Asia* with presents and submissions.

Liv. B. 36.
c. 12.

Liv. B. 33.
c. 19.

Y. R. 565.
Bef. Chr.
187.
264 Conf.

IN *Italy* *M. Valerius Messala*, one of the Consuls chosen for the new year, was ordered to *Pisa* to watch the motions of the *Ligurians*, who had

Liv. B. 38.
c. 55.

Y. R. 563.
B. C. 171.
171.
212 C. 171.

had committed some recent hostilities against the *Romans*: and C. *Livius Salinator*, the other Consul, had *Gaul* decreed him for his province. *Fulvius* and *Minlius* were continued in their respective commands as Pro-Consuls. Q. *Fabius Labeo*, the Roman Admiral, had at this time a triumph granted him for only recovering from the *Cretans* four thousand *Roman* slaves; though he had fought no battle to rescue them, and they had been delivered up to him, as soon as he appeared off the island with his fleet, and demanded them. By a *Census* taken this year, the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms, amounted to two hundred fifty eight thousand three hundred and eight.

1 B. 37.
171.

To return to the affairs of *Greece*. *Fulvius* had in his Consulship taken possession of the island of *Cephalonia*, which the *Romans* had reserved to themselves in their treaty with *Ætolia*, and which was a very convenient acquisition, as opening a way, for their legions, into *Peloponnesus*; from which it was but about twenty four miles distant. Some differences now happening between the *Acheans* and *Lacedæmonians*, *Fulvius*, judging the matter to be of great importance, thought proper to refer it to the Senate. The Conscript Fathers passed an ambiguous decree, which each party might interpret in its own favour; and this occasioned the two Republics to begin hostilities. *Philopæmen*, who commanded the *Acheans*, led his army to *Lacedæmon*, and by some acts of severity, so terrified the *Lacedæmonians*, that they became servilely submissive. At his command they demolished their walls, renounced the laws of *Lycurgus*, which they had observed seven hundred years, and subjected themselves to those of *Achaia*.

P. 563. Le.
171.
L. 171. B. 37.
171.

Then ten commissioners appointed by the Republic to settle the affairs of *Asia* landed at *Ephesus* with King *Eumenes*. From thence they went to *Sigama*, where the Pro-Consul *Manlius* met them; and they all together put the last hand to the treaty with *Antiochus*. Besides the articles formerly mentioned, it contained, that the King should deliver up all his long ships; that for the future he should have no more than ten armed galleys; that he should not sail beyond the promontory of *Calchednus*, unless to carry to *Rome* ambassadors, hostages or tribute; that he should deliver up all his elephants, and never train any more of those animals. Among the hostages demanded, the King's son, *Antiochus*, was one. Then they settled the bounds of the dominions of *Eumenes* and the *Phœnicians*. *Lycia* and *Caria* to the river *Meander*, except the town of *Teimeſus*, were given to the latter; *Lyſimachia* with the *Chersonesus* in *Europe*, the two *Phrygiæ's*, both the *Myſias*, *Lycaonia*, with *Ephesus*, *Telmissus*, and other towns in *Asia* to the former: The *Romans* reserved no part of the conquered countries for themselves. They were satisfied, for the present, with having extended the glory of their name and the terror of their arms, and with the immente spoils in gold, silver and rich moveables which they carried from *Asia*.

When

When *Manlius* and his army had crossed the *Hellipont* in their way home, they were attacked by a body of ten thousand *Thracians*, in a narrow pass, in a wood, where the *Romans* could not form themselves in order of battle. This danger escaped, yet with the loss of great part of the spoil, they continued their march through *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, and at length arrived at *Apollonia*, where they were to embark; but the season being now far advanced, the Pro-Consul passed the winter there.

In the mean time *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius* having succeeded to the Consulate, would fain have passed into *Greece* and *Asia*; but as these countries were now quiet [and had lately been pretty well plundered] the Senate insisted upon their going to those places where the Republic had yet enemies to subdue; and obliged them both to march against the *Ligurians*. The Consuls obeyed, and, by the success they met with, pacified all between *Etruria* and the *Alps*.

At length *Manlius* arrived from *Apollonia*, and demanded a triumph of the Senate assembled in the temple of *Bellona*. His request met with opposition from some of the ten commissioners, who had been sent into *Asia*. They objected, that he had not only undertaken his expedition against the *Galatians* without the orders of the Republic, but had carried on the war more like a robber than a *Roman* Consul; and that his victories were too easy to merit any reward. They taxed him also with want of conduct, for suffering the *Thracians* to rob him in his return home*. *Manlius* pleaded, that the *Gauls* in *Asia* having assisted *Antiochus*, were proper objects of the resentment of the *Romans*; mentioned the battles he had won; and excused as well as he could his disaster in *Thrace*. After a long debate the assembly decree him a triumph.

*Y. P. 166.
Rom. Cons.
179.
265 Cons.
Liv. P. 28.
C. 42.*

C. 45.

C H A P. VIII.

Scipio Africanus arraigned before the Roman people.

Scipio Asiaticus arraigned and condemned.

THE present year was made very remarkable by the public prosecution of two men, whose eminent services to their country, it might naturally be thought, would have preserved them from any open attacks upon their fame or fortune. *Scipio Africanus* and his brother *Asiaticus* were successively accused before the people of taking bribes from *Antiochus*, and embezzling the public money.

* *Livy* makes one of the accusations against *Manlius* to have been his having formed a design to lead his army over mount *Taurus*, the *total boundary of the Roman*

empire, as it was then called, on account of some verses in the *Sybilline* oracles, threatening slaughter and destruction to those *Roman* armies which should pass that limit.

Y. R. 565.
Bef. Chr.
136.
265 Cons.

Ann. Gall.
B. 4. c. 13.

At the instigation of *Cato*, as some authors report, two Tribunes, both of the name of *Petilius*, moved in the Senate, that *Africanus* might be obliged to give an account of all the money received from the King of *Syrina*, and of the spoil taken in that war. *Scipio* rising up and drawing a book out of his bosom, *In this*, said he, *is contained an exact account of all you want to know; of all the money, and all the spoil.* “Read it aloud.” Then, said the Tribunes, and let it afterwards be deposited in the treasury.” No, replied *Scipio*, that *I will not do. I shall not put such an affront upon myself*: and instantly he tore the book to pieces before their eyes.

L. v. B. 19.
c. 13.
25.

After this, a tribune named *M. Nevius* cited him to answer before the people to the accusations above mentioned. The prosecution of this great man was variously judged of. Some thought it an instance of the most shameful ingratitude, and more detestable than that of the *Carthaginians* in banishing *Hannibal*. Others said, that no citizen, how eminent soever, ought to be considered as above the laws, or too worthy to be accountable. “What man can safely be trusted with any thing, not to say with the public administration, if he is not to be answerable for his conduct? Force can be no injustice against him who will not endure a fair trial.”

Ann. Gall.
B. 4. c. 13.
L. 13. that
all agree
that *Scipio*
took these
words.

Nevius had no direct proof of his charge. He supported it only by surmises and presumptions. He took notice, that *Scipio's* son had been restored to him by *Antiochus* without ransom; adding, that the *Syrion* had paid court to him, as if peace or war with *Rome* depended upon him alone: that *Scipio* had acted more like a Dictator than a Lieutenant to his brother the Consul; and had gone into *Asia* with no other view, but to persuade the *Greeks* and all the eastern nations (as he had formerly done the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, *Sicilians*, and *Africans*) that one man was the pillar and support of the *Roman* empire; that *Rome*, the mistress of the world, lay in shelter under the shadow of *Scipio*, and that his nods had succeeded to the decrees of the Senate, and the commands of the people. The Tribune also revived the old accusations relating to his luxury at *Syracuse*, and the affair of *Pleminius*. *Scipio* disdained to answer. It happened to be the anniversary of the battle of *Zama*. After saying something in general of his merit and services, he thus continued: *On this day, Romans, I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Ill would it become us to spend it in wranglings and contention. Let us not be ungrateful to the Gods. Let us leave this rascal here, and go to the capitol; there to return thanks to the great Jupiter, for that victory and peace, which, beyond all expectation, I procured for the Republic.* Instantly the tribes began to move; and the whole assembly followed him, except the Tribune himself and the public crier.

Scipio, notwithstanding this memorable triumph over his accuser *Nevius*, was again cited by the two *Petiliuses*, to answer to the same accusations.

accusations. It is not improbable that the tearing his accounts furnished his enemies with the chief advantage they had against him. He now gave way to the storm, and retired to *Liternum*, not far from *Naples*. *L. Scipio* appeared for him, and said, that he was sick; an excuse which did not satisfy his accusers: they were going on to get him condemned by default, when some of the Tribunes, at the entreaty of *L. Scipio*, interposed, and obtained to have a new day named for the trial. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, one of the Tribunes, who had been always an avowed enemy of the *Scipios*, but was a man of great probity, would not suffer his name to be added to those of his colleagues in the decree. He declared, that he not only thought *Scipio's* excuse sufficient, but, if he came to *Rome* and asked his assistance, would put an end to the process. He added, “*P. Scipio* by his exploits, the honours conferred on him by the Republic, the consent of Gods and men, is raised to such a height, that to make him stand as a criminal before the *Rostra*, and bear the reproaches and insults of young men, is a greater dishonour to the *Roman* people than to him. Will no merit, no dignities ever procure a sanctuary for great men, where their old age, if not revered, may at least be inviolate?” This unexpected declaration from an old enemy of the *Scipios* had a great effect on the multitude, and even on the accusers themselves; who said they would take time to consider what was fit for them to do. The Senate presently after assembled, and ordered thanks to be returned to *Tib. Gracchus* for having made his private resentment give way to the public good. The prosecution was dropt. *Africanus*, without any desire of returning to *Rome*, spent the remainder of his days at *Liternum*; and there, at his death, he ordered his body to be buried^a.

Scipio Asiaticus stood his trial, and was condemned, together with one of his Lieutenants and his Quæstor, as guilty all three of having defrauded the treasury of great sums of money, received by them in *Asia* for the public account. The Lieutenant and the Quæstor gave security to pay what was judged to be due from them; *Scipio* refused to give bail, still insisting, that he had accounted for all he had received. They were going to lead him to prison, when *Tib. Gracchus* interposed. He said, he would not indeed hinder the proper officer from raising the money^b out of *Scipio's* effects, but would never suffer a *Roman* General

Y. R. 566.
Bef. Chr.
186.
265 Conf.

^a It is not certainly known when he died, and *Livy*, who tells the story of the trial more amply than it is related above, says, that authors so differ about the circumstances of the prosecution, that he knows not what to believe. In these particulars, however, most of them agree: That *Scipio* was publicly prosecuted, that he tore his book of accounts, that he disdained to answer at his trial, that he carried away the

people to the capitol, that he was afterwards cited again, and that he then retired.

It is also uncertain which of the brothers was first prosecuted.

^b *Livy* thinks it amounted to four millions of the smaller sesterces, which, according to *Arbutnot*, make, of our money, 32,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and says, that *Antias* must be mistaken when he makes amount to fifty times that sum.

Y. R. 566.
Ecl. Con.
155.
265 C. 26.

ALL C. 26.
B. 1. 1. 19.

Y. R. 567.
Ecl. Con.
155.
265 C. 26.

L. P. 12.
C. 3. 2. 15.

to be thrown into the same prison in which the Generals of the enemy taken by him in battle, had been confined. His effects being seized and appraised, were not found to be of value sufficient to pay the sum in question; nor was there any thing amongst them which could be deemed to have been brought from *Asia*. The friends and relations of *Asinius* would, by presents, have more than made up his loss, but he refused to accept of any thing beyond bare necessities. In return for the generous part *Gracchus* had acted, the *Scipios* gave him in marriage *Cornelia* the daughter of *Africanus*.

The Consulship of *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *Q. Marcus Philippus* was chiefly spent in suppressing and punishing a monstrous society of debauchees, which had been formed at *Rome* under the name of *Bacchanalia*. In the end of the year *Marcus* was defeated by the *Ligurians*, and lost four thousand of his men.

CHAP. IX.

The Roman Senate send two commissioners secretly into Macedonia to take cognizance of Philip's proceedings. The Commissioners treat him badly. The Romans exercise a tyrannic power in Achæia. Lycertus, Leader of the State, renounces against it in vain; and the Achæians through fear submit.

Y. R. 48.
Ecl. Con.
155.
265 C. 26.

Y. R. 48.
Ecl. Con.
155.
265 C. 26.

Y. R. 48.
Ecl. Con.
155.
265 C. 26.

IN the beginning of the Consulship of *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, three Commissioners, the chief of whom was *Q. Cælius Metellus*, were sent into *Greece* to terminate certain disputes of the King of *Macedon* with the King of *Pergamus* and some states of *Greece*.

Philip, since his peace with *Rome*, had neglected nothing to strengthen himself against a new war, whenever it should be unavoidable. He had increased his revenues by promoting trade, and by the profits of his mines, in which he employed a great number of men. To recruit his people, exhausted by the late wars, he not only encouraged marriages and the bringing up of children, but transplanted into *Macedon* a great multitude of *Italians*. These being strangers to the *Romans*, and therefore not intimidated by them, he settled them in some towns on the sea coast, charging the former inhabitants to remove into *Emathia*, anciently called *Paonia*. After the victory over *Nimæolus* in *Greece*, the Consul *Arrius* had permitted the *Macedonians* to make war upon *Illyria* and the *Atabarians*, and to lay siege to those towns in *Thessaly* and *Perthetia* which belonged to the *Illyrians*. *Philip* easily expelled *Argæander* and took several towns in *Thessaly*, and *Perthetia*, and among the rest *Demetrias*. He also laid upon some places in *Thrace*. The *Romans*, always jealous of his

his power, had constantly watched his motions and had given him several mortifications. By the treaty of peace concluded between him and *T. Flaminius*, it had been referred to the determination of the Senate, whether certain towns of *Macedon* which had revolted from the King, during the time of a truce with the *Romans*, should be restored to him; and the Fathers had given sentence against him. They had also confirmed *Amynder* in the possession of great part of his dominions which the *Ætolians* had recovered from the *Macedonian*. And now *Amynder* claimed the rest of his towns. The *Thessalians* and *Perrhæbians* likewise demanded back theirs; alledging, that though *Philip* had taken them from the *Ætolians*, yet these had only usurped them. Some of the complainants broke out into harsh invectives against the King; which he answered with heat and haughtiness. The *Roman* Commissioners finished the whole affair by a short decree, That *Philip* should withdraw his garriſons from all the places in question, and confine himself, on that side, within the ancient bounds of the kingdom of *Macedon*.

Y. R. 468.
B. C. 184.
267. Conf.

Liv. B. 32.
c. 23.

c. 25. & c.

Then they removed to *Thessalonica*, to hear the complaints of the ambassadors from *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, who pretended that the cities of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, now possessed by *Philip*, of right belonged to their master; because by their nearness they seemed appendages of *Cerſyreia* and *Insulæchia*, which he had received, by grant from the Senate of *Rome*. The *Maronites* also complained, that their town had been seized by the *Macedonian*, and that his soldiers tyrannized in the place. *Philip* answered in a manner that was not expected. "It is not with the
" *Maronites* and *Eumenes* only that I have a controversy, but with you,
" also, *Romans*, from whom I have long observed that I can obtain no
" justice. Some cities of *Macedon* had revolted from me during a truce;
" I thought it but just that these should be restored to me; not that
" they would have made any great addition to my kingdom (for they
" are but small towns, and situated on the extremities of it) but such an
" example might have had very ill consequences with regard to my other
" subjects. Yet this you denied me. In the *Ætolian* war I was desired
" by the Consul *Acilius* to besiege *Lamia*. After many fatigues and en-
" counters, when I was upon the point of scaling the walls, and taking
" the town, *Acilius* forced me to withdraw my troops. As some com-
" pensation for this injury, I was permitted to recover a few castles (as
" they should be called, rather than towns) of *Thessaly*, *Perrhæbia*, and
" *Ætolia*. These you took from me a few days ago.

" *Eumenes's* ambassadors just now mentioned it as a truth beyond all
" dispute, that it is more equitable to give what *Antiochus* formerly
" held, to their master, than to me. I am quite of another opinion,
" *Eumenes* could not have held his kingdom, not only if you had not
" been victorious, but if you had not made war upon *Antiochus*. *Eu-*
" *menes* is therefore obliged to you, not you to him. But so little was
" any part of my kingdom in danger from the *Syrian*, that he volunta-

1 " rily

Y. R. 567.
 1st Cons.
 173.

“ rily offered me, as the price of an alliance, three thousand talents,
 “ fifty ships of war, and all the *Greek* cities which I had formerly held.
 “ These offers I rejected: nor did I dissemble my being an enemy to
 “ him, even before *Attilius* led your army into *Greece*. After the Con-
 “ sul’s arrival, I conducted whatever part of the war he committed to
 “ me; and when *Scipio* marched his forces by land to the *Hellepont*,
 “ I not only gave him a safe passage through my dominions, but made
 “ good roads for him, built bridges, and supplied him with provisions.
 “ Not contented with this, I took the same care of his passage through
 “ *Thrace*, where, besides other things, I had to guard against his being
 “ attacked by the *Barbarians*. For this my zeal, not to call it merit,
 “ ought you not rather to have added something to my kingdom, and
 “ amplified it by your munificence, than (as you now do) to take from
 “ me what I already possess, either in my own right, or by your favour?
 “ The cities of *Macedon*, which you own to have been justly mine,
 “ are not restored. *Eumenes* comes to spoil me, as he did *Antiochus*;
 “ and to cover a most impudent falsehood, cites the decree of the ten
 “ Commissioners, than which decree nothing can be a clearer confuta-
 “ tion of his pretensions. It is there indeed plainly and expressly said,
 “ that the *Cbesonejus* and *Lyfmacchia* are given to *Eumenes*. But where is
 “ there any mention made of *Enes*, *Maronea* and the cities of *Thrace*?
 “ What he did not dare so much as to ask of the Commissioners,
 “ shall he obtain from you, as in consequence of a grant from them?
 “ Upon what footing am I to be for the future? If you propose to
 “ pursue me as an enemy, go on, as you have begun; but if you have
 “ any regard for me as a King in friendship and alliance with you, I beg
 “ you would not offer me so great an indignity.”

The ambassadors are said to have been moved with the King’s dis-
 courie; to which they made this perplexed answer. “ If the cities in
 “ question have been given to *Eumenes* by the decree of the ten Com-
 “ missioners, we will change nothing in that disposition. If *Philip* has
 “ taken them in war, he shall hold them as the reward of victory. If
 “ neither of these be true, the cognizance of the affair shall be referred
 “ to the Senate of *Rome*; and in the mean time *Philip* shall withdraw his
 “ garrisons, that things may be upon an equal footing between the two
 “ parties.”

To this harsh treatment of *Philip* by the *Romans*, *Livy* imputes that
 war, which his son *Perjes* afterwards made against them, and which he
 received as it were by legacy from his father.

Y. R. 569.
 2d Cons.
 175.

The *Roman* Commissioners from *Macedon* went into *Acbaia*, from
 whence, much dissatisfied with the *Achaëans*, they returned to *Rome*
 (where *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinus* had been chosen Con-
 suls for the new year.) They gave an account of their negotiation to the
 Senate, and at the same time introduced the ambassadors of *Philip* and
Eumenes, and also those from the *Thessalians*, *Lacedæmonians* and *Achaëans*.
 It

It was nothing but a repetition of the same complaints and same answers that had been made in *Greece*. The Senate appointed a new commission, at the head of which was *Appius Claudius*, to go into *Macedon* and *Greece*, and examine whether the *Theffalians* and *Perrhæbians* were put into possession of those towns which *Philip* had promised to deliver up to them; and to order him to evacuate *Ænos*, *Maronea*, and all the places he held on the sea coast of *Thrace*. They were also directed to go into *Peloponnesus*, where the former Commissioners had not done any thing, because it had been refused to convene a council to give them audience. Of this refusal *Q. Cecilius*, the head of that commission, complained heavily. The ambassadors from *Lacedæmon* also made complaints of the *Achaëans*; of which more hereafter. As to *Cecilius's* charge, the *Achaean* ministers excused themselves by citing a law which forbade summoning a Diet, unless on occasion of peace or war, or when ambassadors came from the Senate with letters or written orders. That they might never more make this excuse, the Senate gave them to understand, that as they, whenever they would, might have an audience of the Fathers at *Rome*, it was fitting that *Roman* ambassadors should meet with the like respect in *Achaia*.

Y. R. 569.
Bef. Chr.
187.
268 Conf.

Liv. B. 39.
c. 33.

Polybius
Legat. 42.
42.

When *Philip*, on the return of his ambassadors, had learnt from them, that he must absolutely evacuate *Ænos* and *Maronea*, he took council of his passions, and remembering that the *Maronites* had behaved themselves insolently, when they pleaded against him for their liberty, he gave orders to *Onomastus*, his Lieutenant for the guard of the sea coast, to take such measures as might make them repent of their desire of freedom. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the King's officers, who had long dwelt at *Maronea*, to let in a body of *Thracians* by night, that they might sack the town and exercise in it all cruelties of war. This was done, but so resented by the *Roman* ambassadors, who had better intelligence of these proceedings than could have been imagined, that they directly charged the King with the crime; which, they said, was no less an insult on the *Roman* people, who had undertaken the protection of the *Maronites*, than a cruelty to the innocent sufferers. *Philip* denied his having had any share in the bloody act, and laid it upon the *Maronites* themselves; affirming that they in the heat of their factions and quarrels (some being inclinable to him, others to *Eumenes*) had cut one another's throats. Nay he made no scruple to propose to the ambassadors to examine the *Maronites* themselves; as well knowing, that they, terrified by the late execution of his vengeance, durst not accuse him; because he would still be in their neighbourhood, and the *Romans* not near enough to protect them. *Appius Claudius* answered, that it was needless to make enquiries about a thing already known; that he was well informed of what had been done, and by whom; and if the King would clear himself, he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined

Polybius
Legat. 44.
Liv. B. 39.
c. 34.

Y. R. 569
E. R. C. 12.
183.
268 C. 12.

examined by the Senate. *Philip* at this changed colour, and was confounded; yet recovering himself, he said, that *Calpurnius* should be at their disposition: but as to *Quintus*, who had not been at *Merone*, nor near it at the time of the slaughter, he refused to give him up. His true reason was, that he feared lest a man, who had been much in his confidence, and whom he had employed in many such execrable commissions, might reveal other secrets to the Senate besides what regarded the *Maronites*: And that *Calpurnius* might tell no tales, he took care to have him poisoned in his way to *Italy*. The *Roman* ambassadors at their departure let the King plainly see that they were dissatisfied with his conduct: He began to fear that he should have a war to sustain before he was sufficiently prepared for it. To gain time, he resolved to employ his younger son *Demetrius* as his ambassador to the Senate; with whom the young prince had acquired much favour when he was a hostage in *Rome*.

Liv. B. 39.
C. 35.

The same ambassadors who had been with *Philip*, made their progress through the rest of *Greece*, and took cognizance of the complaints of some banished *Lacedæmonians* against the *Acheans*, for having beat down the walls of *Lacedæmon*, slaughtered many of the citizens, and abolished the laws of *Lycurgus*. To these accusations *Lycortas* the father of *Polibi* the historian, Prætor of *Acadæa*, answered, That the complainants were *notoriously* the very men who had committed the murders they complained of: that as to throwing down the walls of *Lacedæmon*, it was perfectly agreeable to *Lycurgus's* institution, who had forbid his citizens all kinds of fortification: that the tyrants of *Lacedæmon*, who built those walls, had in effect abolished the ordinances of *Lycurgus*, governing the city by their own lawless will; and that the *Acheans*, not knowing any better laws than their own, had communicated them to the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found in reality without laws or any tolerable polity, and had associated to the other states of *Peloponnesus*.

• See p.
324

He concluded with words to this effect: “The *Acheans*, being
“ friends and faithful allies of *Rome*, think it strange to see themselves
“ thus compelled to give an account of their actions, as vassals and slaves
“ to the *Roman* people. If the voice of *Flaminius's* * herald was not
“ an empty sound, why might not we as well enquire about your pro-
“ ceedings at *Capua*, as you take cognizance of what we have done at
“ *Lacedæmon*. You will say, perhaps, that, by the league between us,
“ we are only in appearance free; in reality, subject to *Rome*. I am
“ sensible of it, *Appius*; and, if I must not, I will not be angry. But I
“ beseech you, whatever distance there be between the *Romans* and *Ache-*
“ *ans*, let not us your allies be upon the same, not to say a worse foot with
“ you than enemies; your enemies and ours. That the *Lacedæmonians*
“ might be upon an equality with us, we gave them our own laws, and
“ made

“ made them a part of the *Achaean* body. The vanquished, not content with the laws and privileges which satisfy the victors, would have us violate compacts that have been confirmed by the most solemn oaths. No, *Romans*, we honour you, and, if you will, we fear you too; but we reverence more, we dread more, the immortal Gods.” *Appius* had little to reply, and was therefore very brief. Thinking it no time for gentle management, he only advised the Diet, “ by a ready compliance to merit favour, while they might, and not to wait till they were compelled to obedience.” The assembly heard this imperious language with inward rage; yet, fear prevailing, they only desired that the *Romans* would themselves make what change they pleased with regard to the *Lacedaemonians*, and not force the *Achaens*, by any act of their own, sacrilegiously to break their oaths.

V. R. 669.
B.C. Chr.
137.
268 Conf.

C H A P. X.

*Cato chose Censor against the inclination of the nobles.
His conduct in that Office.*

THERE happened, this year, a remarkable struggle, amongst the great men of *Rome*, for the office of Censor. *Cato* being one of the candidates, the nobles, who not only envied him as a *new man*, but dreaded his severity, set up against him seven powerful competitors. *Valerius Flaccus*, who had introduced him into public life, and had been his colleague in the consulship, was a ninth candidate; and these two united their interests. On this occasion *Cato*, far from employing soft words to the people, or giving hopes of gentleness and complaisance in the execution of the office, loudly declared from the rostra, with a threatening look and voice: “ That the times required firm and vigorous magistrates to put a stop to that growing luxury which menaced the Republic with ruin; Censors, who would cut up the evil by the roots, and restore the rigour of ancient discipline.” It is to the honour of the people of *Rome*, that, notwithstanding these terrible intimations, they preferred him to all his competitors, who courted them by promises of a mild and easy administration: The Comitia also appointed his friend *Valerius* to be his colleague, without whom, he had declared, that he could not hope to compass the reformations he had in view.

Liv. B. 39.
c. 40. & seq.
Plut. life
of Cato.

Cato's merit upon the whole was superior to that of any of the great men who stood against him. He was temperate, brave and indefatigable, frugal of the public money, and not to be corrupted. There is scarce any talent requisite for public or private life which he had not received from nature, or by industry acquired. He was a great soldier, an

Y. R. 569.
Bef. Chr.
183.
258 Cons.

able statesman, an eloquent orator, a learned historian, and very knowing in rural affairs. Yet with all these accomplishments, he had great faults. His ambition being poisoned with envy, disturbed both his own peace and that of the whole city as long as he lived. Though he would not take bribes, he was unmerciful and unconscionable in amassing wealth, by all such methods, as the law did not punish. It was one of his sayings, according to *Plutarch*, that "the man the most to be admired, the most glorious, the most divine, was he, at whose death it appeared by his accounts, that he had added more to his patrimony than the whole value of it."

The first act of *Cato* in his new office, was naming his colleague to be Prince of the Senate; after which the Censors struck out of the list of the Senators the names of seven persons; among whom was *Lucius*, the brother of *T. Flamininus*. *Lucius*, when Consul and commanding in *Gaul*, had with his own hand murdered a *Boian* of distinction, a deserter to the *Romans*; and he had committed this murder purely to gratify the curiosity of his pathic, a young *Carthaginian*, who, longing to see somebody die a violent death, had reproached the general for bringing him away from *Rome* just when there was going to be a fight of gladiators.

Titus Flamininus, full of indignation at the dishonour done to his brother, brought the affair before the people; and insisted upon *Cato's* giving the reason of his proceeding. The Censor related the story; and, when *Lucius* denied the fact, put him to his oath: The accused refusing to swear, was deemed guilty, and *Cato's* censure approved. Yet he greatly hurt his own character when, at the review of the knights, he took away the horse of *Scipio Asiaticus*; this act being by every body ascribed to a malicious desire of insulting the memory of *Africanus*.

But no part of the Censor's conduct seemed so cruel to the nobles and their wives, as the taxes he laid upon luxury in all its branches; dress, household furniture, womens toilets, chariots, slaves and equipage*. The people however in general were pleased with his regulations, inasmuch that they ordered a statue to be^b erected to his honour in the temple of *Health*, with an inscription that mentioned nothing of his victories or triumph, but imported only, that by his wise ordinances in his censorship he had reformed the manners of the republic.

* These articles were all taxed at three per cent. of the real value.

^b *Plutarch* relates, that before this, upon some of *Cato's* friends expressing to him their surprise, that, while many persons wish-

out merit or reputation had statues, he had none; he answered, "I had much rather it should be asked, why the people have not erected a statue to *Cato*, than why they have."

C H A P. XI.

Complaints brought to Rome from Greece and Asia against Philip of Macedon.

The Senate make a decree in relation to a dispute between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians.

The death of Philopœmen.

The death of Hannibal.

WHEN it was universally known that the Conscript Fathers would receive accusations against the King of *Macedon*, from whatever quarter they should come ; the city, in a short time, swarmed with ambassadors from the numerous states of *Greece*. King *Eumenes*, who never wanted matter of invective against *Philip*, sent ministers to *Rome* without delay. And even some private men went thither with complaints of personal injuries. After the several complainants had delivered themselves in the Senate, it lay upon *Demetrius*, now ambassador from his father, to answer all. The Senators, considering his youth, and how unequal he was to the task of disputing with so many artful wranglers ; and observing also how much he was embarrassed (as indeed were they themselves) by the abundance and variety of the matters objected, asked him, Whether his father had not furnished him with some notes to help his memory ? and, he owning that he had a little book for that purpose, they desired him to read aloud what it contained in relation to the points in question. The truth was, they had no desire to hear the son declaim, but to find out with certainty what the father thought and intended : And thus much the memorial discovered ; That the King was excessively piqued : For up and down in it were scattered such expressions as these : *Although Cæcilius and the other ambassadors did not deal fairly by me in this business—Although this was unjustly given against me—Notwithstanding the ill treatment and the insults I have undeservedly met with on all hands—*

Demetrius excused, as well as he could, whatever facts had given offence, and were not to be denied ; promising an exact conformity for the future, to the good pleasure of the Senate. The fathers answered : “ That *Philip* “ could not have done any thing more prudent, or more agreeable to “ them, than sending his son *Demetrius* to make his apology : That “ they could overlook, forget, bear with many past provocations ; and “ believed they might confide in *Demetrius*’s promises : That though he “ was returning into *Macedon*, his heart, they knew, would remain with “ them as a hostage ; and that, as far as was consistent with filial piety, “ he would always be a friend to the *Roman* people : That out of regard

C c c 2

“ to

Q. FABIVS
LABEO and
M. CLAV-
DIUS
MARCELL-
VS, Con-
suls.
Y. R. 570.
Bef. Chr.
182.
269 Cons.

Polyb. Le-
gat. 46.
Liv. B. 39.
c. 46.

Y. R. 570.
Ref. Chr.
182.
189 Cons.

“ to him they would send ambassadors into *Macedon* to set to rights, in
“ an easy and amicable manner, whatever had been done amiss; and for
“ their so doing, they would have *Philip* sensible, that he was indebted to
“ his son *Demetrius*.”

The dispute between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Acheans* was the next affair that came under the deliberation of the Senate; and they pronounced a decree to the following effect: That those of the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been sentenced to death by the *Acheans*, had been unjustly condemned; and that the banished should be restored; but that *Lacedæmon* should remain a member of the *Achean* body.

I. 3. 14.
p. 47. 2.
Excerpt. 2p.
Vale.

Q. Marcius, appointed ambassador to the court of *Macedon*, had orders to go also into *Peloponnesus*, not only to put in execution what was now decreed, but to take cognizance of some new commotions there, occasioned by the *Messenians* breaking off from the *Achean* association, and setting up for an independent state. One *Dinocrates* was come to *Rome* to solicit their cause. This man having learnt that *T. Flamininus*, named ambassador to *Bitynia*, would in his way thither pass through *Greece*, applied himself to him; who being an inveterate enemy of *Philopæmen*, was easily engaged in the interest of the *Messenians*. *Dinocrates* imagined he had now gained his point, and he accompanied the *Roman* to *Naupætus*: whence as soon as they landed, *Flamininus* wrote to the Prætor *Philopæmen* and other principal magistrates of *Achaia*, to convoke a Diet. The magistrates, knowing that *Flamininus* had no commission from the Senate in relation to the affairs of *Greece*, returned answer, “ That they would do as he desired, if by letter, he would
“ signify what the business was which he had to lay before the assembly;
“ an intimation of it to the people, previous to their meeting, being
“ by the laws absolutely necessary.” The *Roman* not thinking it advisable to put his business in writing, all the high expectations of *Dinocrates* and the *Messenians* fell to the ground.

Liv. B. 39.
c. 45.

Soon after, *Philopæmen*, having levied such forces as in haste he could, marched against the *Messenians*, who, under the conduct of *Dinocrates*, had begun hostilities. In a skirmish which ensued, and while the *Achean* General gallantly exposed his person, to secure the retreat of his men, overpowered by numbers, he was, by the falling of his horse, thrown to the ground, and taken prisoner. The enemy carried him bound to *Messene*, and there shortly after put him to death.

This

Liv. B. 39.
c. 46, 50.
Phil. Sic
of Philo-
pæmen.

“ When *Philopæmen* was brought prisoner to *Messene*, the multitude, pitying the misfortune of so great a man, and remembering with gratitude some good offices he had formerly done their city, and also thinking that by his means an end might be put to the present war, universally inclined to

spare him. But *Dinocrates* and his party, the authors of the revolt, and who had the government in their hands, hurried him out of sight of the people, under pretence of asking him some questions relating to the present state of things. And not daring to trust him in the custody of any one man,

This year is said by some authors to have been remarkable for the death of three most illustrious Generals, *Scipio*, *Philopæmen*, and *Hannibal*. But *Livy* contends, that *Scipio* must have been dead at the ^b time when *Cato* entered on his censorship; because this Censor named his colleague *Valerius* to be President of the Senate, a dignity which *Scipio Africanus* had held for the three preceding *lustra*, and of which he would not have been deprived during his life, without being expelled the Senate; and of such expulsion there is not the least hint in any author.

Y. R. 570.
Bef. Chr.
182.
269 Conf.

As to *Hannibal*, it has been before observed, that *Antiochus* covenanted with the *Romans* to deliver him up, but was prevented by his flight into *Crete*; whence he afterwards went into *Bithynia*, to King *Prusias*, and did him eminent service in his wars. It has been also mentioned, that the Senate employed *Flamininus* on an embassy to *Prusias*. The pretence for it was, to make him desist from hostilities against the King of *Pergamus*; but it seems probable, that the chief business of *Flamininus* was to terrify the *Bithynian* into a base betraying of his *Carthaginian* guest^c. *Prusias*, if we may believe *Plutarch*, earnestly entreated the *Roman* ambassador not to press him to so dishonourable an action: But *Livy* tells us, that the cowardly King complied upon the first demand. *Hannibal*, well acquainted with *Prusias's* character, had in the castle of *Libyssa*, where he resided, formed certain subterraneous passages, whereby to make his escape in case of danger. Word being brought him, that the castle was surrounded by soldiers, he had recourse to his passages. When he found that the issues of these were also beset, he did not hesitate a moment in preferring death to captivity. Taking into his hand a ^d poison which he had long

Justin. B.
32. c. 4.
Plut. life of
Flamin.

man, even for a night, they put him down, fast bound, into a kind of vault or cavern, where they used to keep their treasure in time of war, and the mouth of which they covered with a great stone moved by an engine. *Philopæmen*, now 70 years of age, just recovered from a long illness, and grievously wounded in the head by his fall when taken prisoner, lay in this place, without light and without air, while his enemies were debating what to do with him. The fear they had of his resentment, should he be set at liberty, made them determine to put him to death without delay; for which purpose they let down the executioner into the vault. *Philopæmen* was lying stretched upon his cloak, when seeing a man standing by him with a lamp in one hand, and a cup of poison in the other, he with difficulty raised himself, and taking the cup,

asked him, *Whether he knew any thing of Lycortas and the Megalopolitan horsemen*. The executioner answering, that they had almost all escaped; *It is well*, replied *Philopæmen*, *We are not every way unfortunate*; then without the least mark of discomposure, he drank off the poison, and laying himself down upon his cloak, soon after expired.

Divine honours were afterwards paid to him by his countrymen; and he was stiled, as *Plutarch* tells us, *The last of the Greeks*.

^b *Cicero* [*de Senect.*] makes *Cato* say the same thing.

^c *Valerius Antias* (ap. *Liv.* B. 39, c. 56.) says expressly, that *Flamininus*, *L. Scipio Asiaticus*, and *P. Scipio Nasica*, were sent ambassadors to *Prusias* to procure the death of *Hannibal*.

^d According to *Juvenal*, *Hannibal* kept this poison in a ring. *Juvén. Sat.* 10.

kept.

Y. R. 570.
 Def. Chr.
 152.
 269 Conf.
 Liv. B. 39.
 c. 52.

kept ready against such an exigence, he said: *Let us deliver Rome from her perpetual fears and disquiet, since she has not patience to wait for the death of an old man.* Flaminius's victory over an enemy unarmed and betrayed will not do him much honour with posterity. Then having invoked the Gods to take vengeance upon *Præfias* for his violation of hospitality, he swallowed the poison and died^c.

^c He was about 65.

Rollin.
 Hist. Rom.
 Tom. 7. l.
 245-5.

^f A late pious and learned author of a *Roman History*, after relating the death of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, draws the characters of those two celebrated Captains; compares them; and then leaves it to his reader to give the preference as he shall see cause. He enumerates the talents and qualities that make a complete General. 1. Extensive genius to form and execute great designs. 2. Profound secrecy. 3. A thorough acquaintance with the characters of the Generals with whom he is to fight. 4. Attention to keep his troops under strict discipline. 5. A plain, sober, frugal, laborious manner of living. 6. Skill in an equal degree to employ force and stratagem. 7. Prudence to avoid hazarding his person without necessity. 8. Art and ability for conducting a battle. 9. The talents of speaking well, and dexterously managing the minds of men.

Our author gives a summary of what the Historians have said to the praise of both Commanders, in these respects; and, from the whole, is inclined to think that *Hannibal* has the advantage. "There are however two difficulties which hinder him from deciding: one drawn from the characters of the Generals whom *Hannibal* vanquished; the other, from the errors he committed. May it not be said, (continues our author) that those victories which have made *Hannibal* so famous, were as much owing to the imprudence and temerity of the *Roman* Generals, as to his bravery and skill? When a *Fabius* and afterwards a *Scipio* was sent against him, the first stoppt his progress at once, the other conquered him."

I do not see why these difficulties should check our author's inclination to declare in favour of the *Carthaginian*. That *Fabius* was not beaten by *Hannibal*, we cannot much wonder, when we remember how steadily the old man kept his resolution ne-

ver to fight with him. But from *Fabius*'s taking this method to put a stop to the victories of the enemy, may we not conclude that he knew no other, and thought *Hannibal* an over-match for him? And why does our author forget *Publius Scipio*, (*Africanus*'s father) a prudent and able General, whom *Hannibal* vanquished at the *Ticin*. *Livy* relates some victories of *Hannibal* over the celebrated *Marcellus*; but neither *Marcellus*, nor any other General, ever vanquished *Hannibal* before the battle of *Zama*, if we may believe *Polybius*, (B. 15. c. 16.) *Terentius Varro* indeed is represented as a headstrong rash man; but the battle of *Cannæ* was not lost by his imprudence. The order in which he drew up his army is no where condemned; and *Chevalier Folard* thinks it excellent. And as to the conduct of the battle, *Æmilius Paullus*, a renowned Captain, a disciple of *Fabius*, had a greater share in it than his colleague. The imprudence with which *Varro* is taxed, was his venturing, against his colleague's advice, with above 90,000 men, to encounter, in a plain field, an enemy who had only 50,000, but was superior in horse. And does not the very advice of *Æmilius*, and the charge of temerity on *Varro* for not following it, imply a confession of *Hannibal*'s superiority, in military skill, over *Æmilius*, as well as *Varro*? It ought likewise to be observed, that *Hannibal*'s infantry had gained the victory over the *Roman* infantry, before this latter suffered any thing from the *Carthaginian* cavalry. It was otherwise when *Scipio* gained the victory at *Zama*. His infantry would probably have been vanquished but for his cavalry. *Hannibal* with only his third line of foot (his *Italian* army) maintained a long fight against *Scipio*'s three lines of foot, and seems to have had the advantage over them, when *Masiniſſa* and *Lælius*, with the horſe, came to their assistance. *Polybius* indeed ſays, that *Hannibal*'s *Italian* forces

forces were equal in number to all *Scipio's* infantry, but this is contradicted by *Livy*, and is not very credible. The authority of *Polybius*, who was an intimate friend of *Scipio Æmilianus*, is, I imagine, of but little weight, in matters where the glory of the *Scipios* is particularly concerned. His partiality and flattery to them are in many instances but too visible.

The errors of which *Hannibal* is accused are, *his not marching to Rome immediately after his victory at Cannæ, and his suffering his troops to ruin themselves by debauchery at Capua.*

Our author himself seems to believe, that the first was not really an error. [See what has been said upon this head, p. 170. n. g.]

As to the second charge, it is a manifest slander. The behaviour of *Hannibal* and of his troops, after they came out of their winter quarters at *Capua*, is a sufficient proof that they had lost nothing of their martial spirit^a. If *Hannibal's* soldiers were so unmannered as *Livy* would have us believe, why did not the *Romans* drive them out of *Italy*? How came the *Carthaginian* to be conqueror in every action, great and small, as, *Polybius* says, he was^b?

After speaking of the errors imputed to the *Carthaginian*, our author adds, "As for *Scipio*, I do not know that any thing like these was ever objected to him." He forgets that neglect of discipline was frequently objected to *Scipio* by *Fabius* and *Cato*; unjustly perhaps, but not more unjustly than it is objected to *Hannibal* by *Livy*.

Our author having considered both Generals with respect to their military qualities, adds to his discourse a section with the title of MORAL AND CIVIL VIRTUES. And, "Here it is (says he) that *Scipio* triumphs.—The reader will not be much at a loss in whose favour to declare; especially if he looks upon the shocking portrait which *Livy* has left us of *Hannibal*." But our author himself, after looking upon this portrait, judges that it does not resemble the original; there being no mention, in *Polybius* or *Plutarch*, of that cruelty, perfidiousness, and irreligion,

with which *Livy* charges the *Carthaginian*. The reader may therefore be at a loss in whose favour to decide, notwithstanding any thing that *Livy* has said, or any thing that our author has said, or is going to say; for he declines making a parallel of these two Generals with regard to moral and civil virtues [the virtues of a good citizen.] "He will content himself (he says) with mentioning some of those which in *Scipio* shined the most." Whether these brightnesses are such as give our author cause to say, *C'est ici le triomphe de Scipion*, we shall presently see.

He ranges the virtues in the following order.

I. Generosity, Liberality.

He tells us, that *Scipio* freely parted with his money, and mentions his wonderful generosity in restoring the *Spanish* hostages without ransom.

Now we find that *Hannibal* had the very same virtues, or to speak more properly, made use of the same policy. He parted with his money to purchase the friendship of the *Gauls*; and when, by his victories in *Italy*, he had taken great numbers of *Italians* prisoners; he set free, without ransom, all that were not *Romans*.

II. Gentleness, Benignity.

We are told that *Scipio* treated his officers politely, that he praised and rewarded those who had performed well.

From the words which *Livy* puts into *Hannibal's* mouth, just before the battle of the *Ticin*, there is reason to conclude that he acted in the like manner. Whether *Hannibal* would have been so gentle to mutineers, as *Scipio* was at the *Sucro* (and for which our author extols him) it is not easy to say: his temper having never been tried by a mutiny among his soldiers. Nor do I well conceive how *Scipio*, consistently with common prudence, could, in his situation have been more severe. He put to death all the ringleaders of the sedition, thirty five in number.

But certainly our author is very unlucky in the instance he chuses to give of *Scipio's* gentleness in reproof. "His reprehensions were softened by such an air of affectionate kindness as made them amiable. The reproof he was obliged to give

^a See p. 180. and 186. n. g.

^b B. 15. c. 12. and 16.

^c See p. 134.

" *Mafniſſa*

" *Masniſſa*, who, blinded by his paſſion, had married *Seſtenciſſa*, a declared enemy of the *Roman* people, is a perfect pattern for imitation in the like delicate circumſtances." Now the reader may remember, that this gentle amiable reproof, was accompanied with a broad hint, that *Masniſſa* muſt give up the woman he had married, and was paſſionately in love with, to be a ſlave to the *Romans*, and led in triumph before *Scipio's* chariot.

III. *Justice.*

" It was by this virtue (ſays our author) that *Scipio* rendered the *Roman* domination ſo gentle and agreeable to the allies and the conquered nations, and made himſelf ſo tenderly beloved by them, that they conſidered him as their protector and father."

One would think that a writer ſo well acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe times, meant this remark as railery inſtead of panegyric. For could he really believe that either the *Spaniards* or the *Africans* found any pleaſure in wearing the *Roman* yoke? Or that the *Spaniards* had a high opinion of the juſtice of *Scipio*, who came among them under pretence of delivering them from ſubjection to *Carthage*, and then reduced them under the domination of *Rome*? The truth is, notwithstanding all that is ſaid by the Hiſtorians of his juſtice, clemency, and benignity, he carried on the war in *Spain* not only with great injuſtice, but with great cruelty. The facts contradict the panegyrick.

As to *Scipio's* ſhining juſtice in not violating the *Carthaginian* embassadors, who in their return to *Rome* accidentally fell into his hands, it is not worth taking notice of. But (not to mention the affair of *Pleminius*) there is a glaring inſtance of his injuſtice recorded by *Livy*, (B. 44. c. 62.) and which the reader may find in p. 241 of this volume.

IV. *Greatneſs of Soul.*

In what did *Scipio* diſplay this virtue? Why truly in reſuſing the title of King, which the *Spaniards* offered him; a reſuſal which made them wonder. But the *Spaniards* did not know that every ſenator of *Rome* thought himſelf much above any of the petty Kings in *Spain*. Beſides, can it

be reckoned a proof of ſingular magnanimity, that a man honoured in an extraordinary manner by his country, ſhould not, for any temptation, turn a rebel to it?

The other inſtance of *Scipio's* greatneſs of ſoul, many will perhaps think to be the greateſt blemiſh in his character; his diſdaining to give an account of his conduct when legally ſummoned to do it.

I cannot but think, that *Hannibal*, when he freed *Carthage* from the tyranny of the perpetual judges; and when, by obliging the nobles to account for the public money they had embezzled, he prevented an unneceſſary and oppreſſive tax from being impoſed on the people, made a better figure as a citizen and a commonwealths-man than *Scipio*, when he tore his book of accounts; or when he triumphed over the Tribune *Nerius*, by carrying away the multitude to the capitol, that they might beg of *Jupiter* (as *Livy* ſays) to grant them always leaders like *Scipio*. And when *Hannibal* goes into baniſhment, lamenting the miſfortunes of his country more than his own; he certainly ſhews greater magnanimity than the *Roman*, when flying from *Rome* to avoid a trial; or when ordering, at his death, that his body ſhould not be buried in his ungrateful country: [ſo ungrateful as to aſk him what he had done with the public money.]

V. *Chaſtity.*

In proof of *Scipio's* excelling in this virtue, we have the ſermon he preached to *Masniſſa*, and the ſtory of the *Celtiberian* beauty. As to the latter, I would not wiſh the reader to believe *Valerius Antias*, who reports that *Scipio* acted a quite contrary part to what is given him by *Livy* and *Polybius*. But if *Scipio* was chaſte, this gives him no right to triumph over *Hannibal*; for *Juſtin* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* was ſo continent, with regard to women, that nobody would have believed him to be an *African*.

VI. *Religion.*

Our author himſelf has had the charity to take *Hannibal's* part, and to answer *Livy's* indictment againſt him for irreligion. He cites *Hannibal's* pilgrimage to *Gades*; a viſion which he verily believed came to him from the Gods, to foretel to him

^d See p. 283.

^h See p. 283.

^e See p. 246.

ⁱ See p. 245.

^f Liv. B. 33. c. 48.

^k Ap. A. Gell. L. 6. c. 8.

^g Liv. B. 38. c. 53.

^l B. 32. c. 4.

him the success of his enterprize; the godly expressions in the treaty between him and King *Philip*; his not robbing the temple of *Juno Lacinia*; and lastly, his invoking the Gods at the time of his death, to take vengeance on *Prusias* for his breach of hospitality. All these together sufficiently prove that *Hannibal* had religion.

As for *Scipio*, our author says, “ he does not know, whether this *Roman* had read the *Cyropædia*, but that it is evident, he imitated *Cyrus* in every thing, and above all in religious worship. From the time that he put on the manly gown, that is from the age of seventeen, he never began any business, public or private, till he had first been at the capitol to implore the help of *Jupiter*.” Our author goes on, “ What the religion was, either of *Cyrus* or *Scipio*, is not here the question. We know very well that their religion could not but be false. But the example given to all Commanders and all men, to begin and finish all their actions with prayer and thanksgiving, is for that reason the stronger. For what would they not have *said and done*, if they, like us, had been illuminated with the light of the true religion, and had been so happy as to know the true God?”

Were I to answer this question of our pious and learned author, I should say that *Cyrus*, *Hannibal*, and *Scipio*, had they known the true God and the true religion,

would probably have *said and done* as the Christian conquerors and destroyers of mankind have since said and done. They would have uttered some prayers from time to time; and on certain occasions have walked in processions: they would have had chaplains, and offices of devotion, and religious ceremonies, and fasting days, and thanksgiving days, and, with all these, would have gone on plundering and slaughtering the innocent and weak, and gloriously laying waste the world. If they had not done these mighty mischiefs, it is more than probable we should have heard little of their virtues.

I FLATTER myself that the reader will be greatly edified by the zeal expressed, in the foregoing observations, for the support of *Hannibal's* moral character. But should it be otherwise, I shall still be content, if I may only be excused for not attempting to draw at large, the characters of those shining heroes we meet with in the *Roman* story. The truth is, I am unequal to the task of character-drawing; and were I not, I should still decline it, that I might not be charged with the affectation of a new kind of colouring. For I cannot, from the actions of the *Scipios*, *Marcellus*, *Flaminius*, *Æmilius*, *Paullus*, *Mummius Achaicus*, and such like worthies, form those high ideas of their virtue, which their Panegyrist, both ancient and modern, would have us entertain.

C H A P. XII.

The Roman Senate temporize with regard to the Achæans.

Philip lays a scheme to bring the Baitarnæ into Dardania. His cruelty to his subjects.

The malice of Perſes to his brother Demetrius; and the consequences of it.

Y. R. 571.
Bell. Græc.
lib. 5.
c. 13.
P. 13.

Lib. 5.

Q. MARCIUS, the Roman ambassador, who had been sent into Macedonia and Greece, returned to Rome in the consulship of L. *Emilius Paulus* and Cn. *Bævius Tamphilus*. With regard to the Achæans he reported, that he found them bent to keep the direction of affairs wholly in their own hands, and to refer nothing to the arbitration of the Senate; but added, that if their ambassadors, then at Rome, met with a cold reception, and if the least intimation were given them, that their proceedings displeased the Conscrip Fathers, the *Lacedæmonians* would certainly follow the example of the *Messenians*; in which case the Achæans would soon grow submissive, and most earnestly implore the protection of Rome. When therefore the Achæan ministers, in virtue of the treaty between Rome and Achæia, demanded “ assistance “ against the *Messenians*, or, if that could not be granted, that at least “ the sending arms or provisions from Italy to the enemy might be pro- “ hibited,” it was answered, *That should the Lacedæmonians, or the Corinthians, or the Argives disjoin themselves from the Achæan confederacy, the Achæans would have no reason to wonder if Rome looked upon it as a matter that no way concerned her.* But, notwithstanding this declaration, when the Fathers learnt soon after, that *Lycortas*, the successor of *Philopæmen*, had revenged his death, and reduced the *Messenians* to surrender at discretion, they graciously assured the same ambassadors, “ that they “ had taken care, no arms nor provisions should be carried from Italy to “ *Messene*.”

This change of language to the Achæans upon the news of the unexpected success of their arms, was perhaps owing to the near prospect the Romans had of a war with the *Macedonians*; for *Marcus* reported to the Senate, that, though *Philip* had done all they had enjoined him; yet it was evident, from his manner of complying, that his obedience would last no longer than necessity forced him to it. Nor indeed was the ambassador in this mistaken: for as *Philip* could not but see that the intention of the Romans was to possess themselves of his kingdom, by means seemingly consistent with their honour, if they could so contrive it. If not, by any means whatever; he turned all his thoughts to put himself in a condition to assert his independence. This was not easy

to be effected. In the former war he had lost much both of strength and reputation: His subjects could not bear to hear of a new war with *Rome*: And there was neither King nor State in his neighbourhood that would venture to espouse his cause against the *Romans*. He formed a scheme therefore to allure the *Besternæ* (a robust and hardy people dwelling beyond the *Danube*) to leave their country and settle in *Dardania*; promising them, together with great rewards, his assistance to extirpate the natives; who (lying on the borders of *Macedon*) had taken every opportunity to give him disturbance. And he was to purchase of some *Thracian* Princes a passage through their country for these *Barbarian* strangers. It is said, that besides the strengthening of *Macedon*, he had a further view in calling the *Besternæ* to his assistance. He thought they might be usefully employed even to invade *Italy*, marching through *Illyricum* and the countries upon the *Adriatic*. Some years passed before this project took any effect. In the mean time he applied himself very diligently to train his people to war, exercising them in some small expeditions against the wild nations on the confines of his dominions.

Y. B. 571.
P. C. 1.
1. 1.
27. 27.
1. 3. 4.
C. 35.
B. 4. 1. 5.
& 27.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his kingdom and in his own house. The multitude of people, which he had transplanted, much against their wills, into *Emathia**, being extremely discontented with the change, uttered bitter execrations against him: And he became the detestation of all his subjects in general, when, the more effectually to secure himself against domestic enemies, he barbarously caused to be massacred the children of all those whom he had at any time tyrannically put to death. *Polybius* ascribes what afterwards happened to *Philip*, in his own family, to an especial vengeance of Heaven poured on him for these cruelties.

Polyb. Exa
cern. ap.
Valef.
Liv. B. 40.
C. 3.
* See p. 372.

It is hard^m to say what the *Romans* intended by the extraordinary favour they shewed to *Demetrius* the King's younger son. But certain it is, that their favour to him, and his mutual respect for them, made the father extremely jealous of him: A jealousy that was increased by the partial regard the people in general had for *Demetrius*, to whom they thought themselves indebted for the continuance of the peace with *Rome*,

Polyb. L. 2.
B. 50.
L. 1. B. 39.
C. 53.

^m The most probable conjecture seems to be, that the Conscrip Fathers, well acquainted with *Demetrius*, and knowing him to be a fool, thought him the fitter to be King of a country, which they intended to make their own. For, that he was a very weak youth seems evident from hence, that, while the King, suspecting him of a warmer heart to the *Romans* than to him, put an ill construction upon many of his

actions, which perhaps were innocent (and particularly that assiduous court he paid to every ambassador from the senate) the Prince took no pains to destroy this impression in his father's mind; but on the contrary was always admiring and commending whatever was *Roman*; carrying this folly so far, as to lose all patience, if any body happened to say, that *Rome* (the worst built city in the world) was ill contrived.

D d d 2

and

Y. R. 571.
Bel. Chr.
131.
270 Cons.

Liv. B. 40.
c. 5. & 6.

c. 20.

and who, they hoped and believed would, by means of the *Romans*, succeed *Philip* in the throne; and this their partiality to the younger son was yet more strongly resented by the elder than by the father. ^b *Perjes* not only conceived an implacable hatred to his brother, but formed a steady resolution to compass his destruction. In this view he ^c accused *Demetrius* of an attempt to assassinate him; and even pretended to know, that he had undertaken this murder in the confidence that he should be supported by the *Romans*. We are told, there was no solid proof of the charge. The King, however, having called some of his council to be his assessors, sat in judgment to try the cause. *Livy* has given us at large the pleadings of the two princes, or rather what they might have said, if they had possessed his talents. When *Philip* had heard both his sons, he told them, “that he would not judge between them upon “an hour’s hearing of their altercations, but upon a future observation “of their life and manners, their words and actions.”

The King naturally inclined to his elder son, and was confirmed in that inclination by his hatred to the *Romans*; yet he had not so high an opinion of *Perjes*’s veracity, as not to doubt concerning what he had alleged against his brother. His doubts made him wretched; and he dreaded to have them removed; because he could reap nothing but sorrow from a discovery of the truth. Nevertheless such discovery was expedient, in order to the regulation of his conduct in disposing of his kingdom. Full of anxiety, he [in the Consulship of *P. Cornelius Cethegus* and *M. Bibulus Tamphilus*] sent *Philacles* and *Apelles* to *Rome*, with the

^b *Perjes* is said by some writers to have been *Philip*’s son by a concubine; in which respect *Demetrius* had the advantage of him, being indisputably legitimate. But perhaps this is only a *Roman* tale.

^c The occasion of it was this. There had been the day before, a general muster and review of the army. It was customary for the troops, after they had been reviewed, to divide themselves into two bodies, and come to a mock fight, in which the combatants made use of poles, instead of the usual weapons. In the last fight between the two divisions of the army, each being heated by more than ordinary eagerness for victory, as if they had been contending for the kingdom, some hurt was done. *Perjes*’s side at length recoiled. This vexed him, but his friends thought that a good use might be made of it. It might afford matter of complaint against *Demetrius*, as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of the sport. Each of the brothers was that day to give an entertainment to his own companions, and

each of them had spies in the other’s house to observe what passed. One of *Perjes*’s intelligencers behaved himself so uncautiously that he was discovered, and well beaten by fear of *Demetrius*’s guests. *Demetrius* knew nothing of this. When grown warm and merry with wine, *Why should not we go to my brother’s, said he, and join company with him? and if he is angry with us for what happened to-day, we will put him into good humour again.* All approved the motion, except the four who had so roughly treated *Perjes*’s spy. Yet *Demetrius* would not suffer them to stay behind. These, to secure themselves from being insulted, carried swords hid under their clothes: a precaution however not so secretly taken, but that *Perjes* had notice of it; who thereupon caused his doors to be shut; and, when *Demetrius* with his drunken companions arrived, spoke to them, from a window, in reproachful words, accusing them of murderous intentions. *Liv. B. 40. c. 6. & 7.*

character.

character of ambassadors to the Senate; but whose chief business was to learn, if possible, what had past in private between *Demetrius* and any of the great men there, especially *T. Flaminius*: who not long before had, in a letter to the King, commended his prudence in sending his younger son on the late embassy to *Rome*; and had counselled him to send him thither again with a greater and more honourable retinue of *Macedonian* nobles. These two ambassadors whom *Philip* thought unbiassed to either of the brothers, but who were indeed wholly devoted to *Perſes*, returned, and brought to the King a letter, pretended to be written to him by *Flaminius*, whose seal they had counterfeited. In this letter, the writer, in behalf of *Demetrius*, whom he owned to be faulty, deprecated the King's anger; and pressed him to believe, that whatever unwarrantable enterprizes the young Prince, through ambition of a throne, might have formed, yet certainly he had projected nothing against the life of any one of his own blood. He added, that as for himself, he was not a man that could be thought the adviser of any impious undertaking whatsoever.

Y. R. 572.
Euf. Chr.
18c.
271 Conf.

Liv. B. 40.
c. 23.

Philip had some months before discovered, by means of one *Didas*, Governor of *Pæonia*, who had worked himself into *Demetrius*'s confidence, that the young Prince intended to escape to *Rome*, imagining, he could no where else be in shelter from the suspicions of his father and the malice of his brother. The pretended letter from *Flaminius*, added to this discovery, determined the King to put his son to death. Yet lest to do it avowedly and openly should give the alarm to the *Romans*, and raise a suspicion of his having hostile intentions against the Republic, he judged it best to have the criminal taken off silently, and by fraud. To *Didas* was committed the execution. A cup of poison, which he insidiously gave the Prince, in the expectation that it would dispatch him speedily and quietly, not taking the desired effect, but causing in him such torment, as revealed the treachery, and made him loudly complain both of his father and *Didas*, this traitor sent into his chamber a couple of ruffians, who, by smothering him, finished the tragedy.

C H A P. XIII.

Transactions of the Romans from the year 572 to 578.

FROM the year 564, when the Consul *Manlius* vanquished and plundered the *Galetians* *, to the year 582, in which began the second *Macedonian* war, little was performed by the *Romans* in the way of arms, except the conquest of *Istria*. Indeed the wars against the *Ligurians* and *Spaniards* continued almost without any interruption; but in these there happened nothing very memorable.

* See p. 367.

At

Y. R. 572.

S. C. 11.

Y. R. 573.

Y. R. 573.

At *Rome*, in the present year ^b 572, one *Orchius*, a Tribune of the people, got a sumptuary law passed, limiting the number of guests which any man should be allowed to have at his table.

The next year, *M. Porcius Cato* and *C. Calpurnius Piso* being Consuls, was enacted the famous Villian law, regulating the ages requisite for bearing the several magistracies. What these ages were is not agreed among the learned. Yet from *Cicero Phil. 5.* it would seem that the age for Quæstor was 31, Curule Ædile 37, Prætor 40, Consul 43.

Y. R. 574.

The year following was remarkable for having two brothers at the same time in the consulship, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *L. Manlius Acidianus Fulvianus*, the latter so called, because adopted into the *Manlian* family.

Y. R. 575.

A. Manlius Vulso (who had for his colleague *M. Junius Brutus*) led an army into *Istria*; the conquest of which country was completed by the

Y. R. 576.

Consul *C. Claudius Pulcher*, whose colleague *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* suppressed a rebellion in *Sardinia*.

Y. R. 577.

To these succeeded *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus* and *Q. Petillius Spurinus*.

Liv. B. 41.

c. 15.

*A. 127222.

While the Senate were in debate concerning the troops to be raised for the service of the year, *Cornelius*, who had been suddenly called out of the assembly by a ^c *ciator*, returned, after some time, with a countenance full of trouble and consternation. The Conscrip Fathers suspending their deliberations, became all anxiety and attention. *Cornelius* then informed them, "That the liver of an ox (six years old) which he had sacrificed was all melted away in the boiler; that when the thing was first told him he could not believe it; that he caused the water to be poured out of the pot, and then saw the rest of the entrails entire; but, for the liver, it was all vanished, no mortal could tell how."

* Subs.

The fathers, terrified by this prodigy, were yet more terrified when the other Consul let them know, that of four oxen which he had successively sacrificed to *Jupiter*, not one had proved such as could please him. Both the Consuls received strict orders to continue sacrificing oxen, till the omens were good. It is reported (says *Livy*) that all the Deities were propitiated except the Goddess ^d *Healt* or *Safety*; but that *Petillius* had no luck in sacrificing to her. What followed? *Cornelius* coming down the hill of *Alba*, was seized with an apoplectic fit, lost the use of some of his limbs, and soon after died at *Cumæ*, whither he had been conveyed for the benefit of the waters. *Petillius* conducted the war in *Liguria*: The enemy being lodged upon a mountain called ^e *Letum*, the Consul,

* Death.

^b In this year the books which King *Numa* had ordered to be buried with him, and of which mention has been made in *Vol. I.*

p. 62. were accidentally found, and ordered to be burnt, by the senate, as containing doctrines pernicious to religion.

in an harangue to his foldiers, told them, *se eo die Letum capturum esse*, that he should that day take *Letum* (the enemy's post;) not attending, says *Livy*, to the ambiguity of the words, which also import, *that he should that day catch his death*: And accordingly he was that day killed in a conflict with the enemy. The *Latin* historian adds, that upon so remarkable a fulfilling of the melancholy omen, the keeper of the sacred chickens was heard to say, that something had gone wrong even with them, at the taking the auspices before the battle, and that the Consul knew it well enough.

Y. R. 577.
Bef. Chr.
175.
276 Conf.

In the place of *Cornelius*, *C. Valerius Lævinus* had been chosen, *Petillius* holding the comitia; but the ablest divines and lawyers were of opinion, that since the ordinary Consuls of that year had both perished, one by sickness, the other by the sword, the extraordinary, or substituted Consul, could not hold the comitia for a new election of magistrates.

C H A P. XIV.

Perfes, after the death of his father Philip, succeeds him in the throne.
He renews the treaty with Rome, and endeavours to gain the good-will of the Greeks.

The Romans are jealous of his growing power.

IN the Consulship of *P. Mucius Scævola* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, certain ambassadors, who had been sent by the Conscrip't Fathers into *Macedon* [to seek a pretence for invading and conquering that country] returned to *Rome*. Their report, which was very short, will be mentioned when the reader has first had an account of some changes in the state of *Macedon* since it was last spoken of.

Y. R. 578.
Bef. Chr.
174.
277 Conf.

King *Philip* was dead. He had lived but two years after the murder of his son *Demetrius*, and had passed those years in the extremest melancholy and wretchedness of mind. For *Perfes*, having got rid of his rival brother, paid no longer any respect to his father, but let himself be courted and worshipped by the people, as if he were already on the throne. The old King was in a manner left desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. Thus neglected and deserted, his thoughts ran frequently back to his son *Demetrius*; of whom he began now to regret the loss, not without some suspicion of foul play on the part of *Perfes* in relation to his brother. One man there was of his court, and but one, his cousin-german *Antigonus* (the son of his uncle *Ecbecrates*) that continued faithful to him. *Antigonus*, by his fidelity to *Philip*, had drawn upon himself the hatred of *Perfes*; and well foresaw, how dangerous that hatred would.

Liv. B. 40.
c. 54. & 60.

V. R. 5-3.
E. C. 1.
172
C. 1.

would be to him, if ever the prince should ascend the throne. He no longer therefore observed the softening of the King's mind at the remembrance of *Demetrius*, and how apt he was to the belief, that unfair practices had been used to compass that Prince's destruction, but he applied himself diligently to listen to what people said upon that subject, and industriously to bring the matter into discourse, often joining with those who complained of the rashness of the King's act. He found that *Philocrates* and *Apelles*, the ambassadors who had bought the pretended letter from *Flaminius*, lay under the suspicion of fraud; and that it was commonly whispered in the palace, that *Xybus*, their secretary, had counterfeited the hand-writing and the seal of the *Roman*. *Antigonus* accidentally meeting this *Xybus*, laid hold of him, and brought him into the palace. There leaving him in custody with some officers, he went to the King, and acquainted him, that he had found the man who could best satisfy him whether his son *Demetrius* had died justly or by treachery. *Xybus* being examined in *Philip's* presence, and threatened with torture, after some little hesitation confessed the whole matter. *Philocrates* was instantly seized. Some say, that being confronted with *Xybus* he owned the fact; others, that he bore the torture without confessing any thing. *Apelles*, then absent from court upon some commission, having notice of *Xybus's* being arrested, made his escape and fled into *Italy*. As for *Perses*, he was grown too powerful to be under any necessity of flying his country; he only took care to keep at a distance from his father; who despairing of ever being able to bring him to corporal punishment, bent his thoughts to hinder his succession to the throne, and secure it to *Antigonus*. And this had he lived

^b May not this circumstance, joined with some others in the story, justify a doubt, whether this pretended discovery of truth was not itself a fraud, contrived by *Antigonus*, who hoped by the success of it to gain the kingdom? Was *Italy* a country where *Apelles*, if guilty of forging a letter from *Flaminius* to the destruction of *Demetrius*, (a Prince so much in favour with the senate) could hope to find an asylum? Yet though *Philip* demanded him, the *Romans* did not deliver him up, as appears from *Livy*, (B. 42. c. 5.) who also tells us, that *Philocrates*, by some Historians, is said to have denied the crime to the last, though confronted with *Xybus*, and put to the torture. Why may not the letter in question have been genuine? *Livy*, who makes it a point to justify *Demetrius*, and load *Perses*, (doubtless because a victim destined by the *Romans* to destruction) allows, not

only that *Demetrius* was vain and insolent, on account of the extraordinary regard the senate expressed for him, but that several months before *Apelles* and *Philocrates* brought the letter from *Italy*, he had formed the design of withdrawing from his father's obedience, and escaping to his friends at *Rome*. Might not *Flaminius*, knowing this and perhaps some other unjustifiable practices of *Demetrius*, which had brought him under his father's displeasure, write a letter to the King, to deprecate his anger, and dissuade him from any measures too severe against the Prince: in which deprecation he might hope to succeed the more easily, by assuring *Philip*, that whatever wicked schemes of ambition the young man had formed, they could not take place, since they would have no countenance from *Rome*?

a little

a little longer than he did, he would doubtless have effected. But in making a progress through his kingdom, for this very purpose, he fell sick at *Amphipolis*, and died; [year of *Rome* 574] His physician *Calligenes* concealed his death till *Perjes* arrived; to whom he had given notice of the King's condition, upon the first indication of the distemper's being mortal. *Antigonus* was not at *Amphipolis*: He had been sent, much against his will, as ambassador from *Philip* to quicken the march of the *Bastarnæ*, and was coming with *Cotto*, one of their leaders, to let the King know, that they had passed the *Danube*, and were advancing; a prodigious multitude, with their wives and children. Not far from *Amphipolis* he heard a rumour of *Philip*'s death, and was soon after arrested and slain by the order of *Perjes*, who had taken possession of the kingdom.

Y. R. 578.
Ecl. Chr.
174.
277 Conf.

The more firmly to establish himself, *Perjes* sent ambassadors to *Rome* to get his title to the crown recognized by the Senate, and to renew the league that had been made between his father and the Republic; both which requests he obtained. Nor did he neglect any thing which he thought might help to conciliate to him the good will of the *Greeks*, and his other neighbours. To ingratiate himself with his subjects, he recalled by edicts (published in the island of *Delos*, at *Lelphi*, and in the temple of *Itonia Minerva*) all the *Macedonians* who had fled their country for debt, or had been banished thence by the judges; promising them, not only impunity, but restitution of their estates, with the profits of them during their absence. He remitted also all debts due to his exchequer, and released all persons that were in custody either for treason, or the suspicion of it. By such actions of generosity and clemency he made the *Greeks* universally conceive the highest hopes of him. Add to this, that in his person and in all his deportment there was a royal dignity; and having carefully shunned the vices of incontinence and intemperance, to which his father had been addicted, he had a strength of body, that would enable him to sustain the hardships of war, as well as the fatigues of civil government. Such, says *Polybius*, was *Perjes* in the beginning of his reign.

Polyb. Ex-
corp. ex
Lib. 20.
ap. Valer.

The *Bastarnæ* (as mentioned above) were upon their march to the country of *Dardania*, when *Philip*, who had invited them thither, died. This event embarrassed them: For the *Thracians*, with whom *Philip* had settled the price of their passage, now disputed it. A battle ensued, in which the *Thracians* had the worst. Nevertheless we find that the whole multitude of the *Bastarnæ*, except 30,000, returned home, because (if we may believe *Livy* and *P. Orosius*) it was miraculously bad weather. The 30,000 came on and entered *Dardania*; where we find them three years after. For the *Dardans* then sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to ask help against those invaders; adding, that they were yet less afraid of the *Bastarnæ* than of *Perjes*, who was in league with them. This furnished the Ro-

Polyb. Le-
gal. 62.

V. R. 578.
Bel. Chr.
174.
277. Cons.

Liv. B. 41.
c. 19.

mans, with a pretext to visit the King with ambassadors, who should pry into his conduct and design.

When these ministers returned, the whole of their report amounted only to this; *that there was war in Dardania*. *Perfes*, apprehending some design against him, had appointed ambassadors to accompany the *Romans* in their journey home, and to assure the Conscrip Fathers, that he had not sent for the *Bastarne*, and that they did not act by his advice. The Senate answered, "That they neither accused the King nor acquitted him of that fault; that they only admonished him to be very careful, religiously to observe the treaty between the Republic and him."

V. R. 579.
Bel. Chr.
175.
278. Cons.

Liv. B. 41.
c. 22.

The following year, when the consular fasces had been transferred to *Sp. Postumius Albinus* and *Q. Mucius Sacerola*, some *Roman* ambassadors who had passed into *Africa* (it does not appear under what pretence of business) reported, at their return home, "That having gone first to *Mafnissa*, they had received much better accounts from him of what had been doing at *Carthage*, than they afterwards got from the *Carthaginians* themselves; that unquestionably ambassadors had been there from *Perfes*, and admitted to audience by night in the temple of *Æsculapius*; and that *Mafnissa* affirmed, what the *Carthaginians* themselves could not confidently deny, that they had sent ambassadors into *Macedon*." Hereupon the Fathers resolved, that they too would send ambassadors into *Macedon*; and accordingly three were ordered thither.

About this time the *Dolopians*, subjects of *Perfes*, refusing (for what reason is unknown) to submit to his authority, and appealing from their King to the *Romans*, he marched with an army, and by force speedily reduced them to obedience. The *Romans* (as we shall see hereafter) would needs make this an act of presumption in the King, and resent it as if he had invaded some country of their *Italian* allies.

Perfes, after this expedition, made another, under the pretence of religion. He crossed mount *Oeta*, and visited the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. His army being with him, the *Greeks* were at first much terrified at his sudden appearance among them: but he staid only three days at *Delphi*, and then, through *Phokis* and *Thessaly*, returned into his own country, not having done the least act of hostility in any place through which he had passed. With the cities in his way he had amicably treated in person; and to those at a distance he had sent ambassadors or letters, desiring that the memory of all misunderstandings between his father and them might be buried with his father, since his own inclination was to live in amity with all his neighbours. The *Romans* would have been better pleased if the *Macedonian* had done some violences in his progress. Nor did they fail, for want of such cause of quarrel, to make it a crime that he had acted the contrary part, and, by a friendly behaviour, courted the good will of the *Greek* states.

The

The King was more especially solicitous to recover the friendship of the *Acheans*, which his father had so far lost, that by a solemn decree they had forbid any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. Whatever reasons of policy the *Acheans* might have for the continuance of this decree during the war of *Philip* with the *Romans*, it seemed inhuman afterwards, and a nourishing of deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. It was besides very prejudicial to them; their slaves daily running away, and taking refuge in *Macedon*, whence they knew they should not be reclaimed; for though there was no decree forbidding the *Acheans* to enter that kingdom, yet the masters of the slaves could not possibly think it safe for them to go thither. *Perfes* took advantage of this circumstance: He apprehended all the run-aways, and, by a letter to the *Achean* Diet, made a friendly offer to restore the fugitives; exhorting, at the same time, the magistrates to think of some effectual means to prevent the like escape for the future. *Xenarchus*, the Prætor, read to the Diet this letter; which the greater part heard with much pleasure, and especially those who were going, contrary to all expectation, to recover their slaves. But *Callicrates*, a partizan of the *Romans*, and who, to raise himself by their favour, had cast off all regard for his country, advised the assembly to be well aware of what they did; affirming, that the manifest aim of the King's civility was to make them break friendship with *Rome*, a friendship on which their all depended. "For I suppose," said he, you have no doubt but there will be a war between the *Romans* and *Perfes*. You know that *Philip* was making preparations for a rupture. He slew his son for no other reason but his affection to *Rome*. And what was the first thing that *Perfes* did after his coming to the throne? He brought the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*. It is true, they are gone away again. Had they staid, they would have been worse neighbours to the *Greeks* than the *Gauls* are to the *Asiatics*. But did their departure make *Perfes* give over all thoughts of the war? No, If the truth may be spoken, he has already begun it; witness his expedition against the *Delopians*. And as for that extraordinary journey to *Delphi* and his wonderfully kind behaviour to the *Thessalians*, whom he hates; What do you think of all this? Was it any thing more than an artifice to draw men over to his party? Every body understands the meaning of his compliment to us. My advice is, that we let things continue as they are, till we see whether the peace between *Rome* and *Macedon* will remain inviolate."

To this, *Archo*, the Prætor's brother: "*Callicrates*, I see, has a mind to make it difficult for those who disagree with him in opinion, to answer him. Why else does he bring the *Romans* into the question? I observe, that he is surprizingly well instructed in the councils of foreign courts. He knows every thing. He gives us an account of the most secret transactions: He even divines what would have happened if

Y. R. 579.
Ref. Chr.
177.
2-8 Conf.

Polyb. Legat. 58. & Excerpt. ex L. 28.
Liv. B. 41. c. 23.

c. 24.

Y. R. 579.
Bef. Chr.
173.
278 Conf.

“ *Philip* had lived: He knows how it comes to pass that *Perfes* inherits
“ the kingdom; what the *Macedonians* are meditating; and what the
“ *Romans* think: And upon all this knowledge he forms his opinion.
“ But now, as for us, who neither know why nor how *Demetrius* died,
“ nor what *Philip* if he had lived would have done; we ought, I think,
“ to govern ourselves only by what we do know. And this we know:
“ that *Perfes* upon his accession to the throne was acknowledged King
“ by the *Romans*; that they renewed their league with him; and that
“ they afterwards sent to him ambassadors who were kindly received.
“ To me these things seem tokens of peace, and not of war: nor do
“ I see how the *Romans* can be offended, if, as we followed their steps
“ in making war, we follow them likewise in making peace. Why the
“ *Acheans* alone are to carry on an insupportable war against the *Macedo-*
“ *mans*, I do not comprehend. Our neighbours are in commerce with
“ *Perfes*; and nothing more is proposed for the *Acheans*: No league,
“ no alliance, nothing but such a correspondence as common humanity
“ requires; nothing therefore that can justly offend the *Romans*. Why
“ then all this stir? Why do we distinguish ourselves from our neigh-
“ bours? Is it to make them suspected and hated, by our flattering the
“ *Romans* more than they? Should there be a war, *Perfes* himself does
“ not doubt but we shall side with *Rome*. In a time of peace, enmity,
“ if not wholly laid aside, should at least be suspended.” Those who
had been pleased with the King’s letter, greatly applauded this discourse:
Yet the *Roman* faction found a pretence to get the debate adjourned.
They alledged, that *Perfes*, having sent only a letter, and not an em-
bassador, had failed in the ceremonial. It surely was not natural, con-
sidering upon what terms the two states had been for some time, that he
should send a minister, before it could be known that a minister would
be received; yet since this was made an objection, *Perfes*, to remove it,
dispatched an ambassador to them in form. But now, the dread of *Rome*
prevailing in the council, he was refused audience; and for this the
Acheans were soon after highly commended by the *Romans*; who there-
by discovered their hatred to *Perfes*, though hitherto he had given them
no provocation^a.

Liv. B. 42.
c. 46.

Val. Max.
E. 3. c. 5.
L. B. 4.
c. 5.

^a This year a son of *Scipio Africanus* stood Candidate for the Pratorship, and would have lost his election, if the competitor *Cicereius*, who had been his father’s secretary, had not, out of respect for the family, desisted from his pretension, and even used his interest for *Scipio*. After he was chosen, and that it fell to his lot to be Prator *Peregrinus*, his relations persuaded him to renounce the exercise of that office, as utterly unfit for it: nor did he sit to pronounce one decree. They also prevailed

with him to lay aside a ring he wore, whereon was the head of his father, whom he disgraced by his incapacity; and the Censors this year struck his name out of the list of the Senators. Nevertheless *Cicero* speaks of this *Scipio* as of a man of parts, though of an infirm habit of body. *Cic. de Senect.* c. 11. & *Brut.* c. 19.

The streets of *Rome*, by order of the Censors, were this year paved for the first time. *Liv. B. 41. c. 27.*

C H A P.

C H A P. XV.

The report of some Roman ambassadors who had been sent to Perſes.

The Senate order a new embaffy to him.

The cruelty of the Conſul Popillius towards a petty nation of Liguria.

Eumenes comes to Rome to accuſe Perſes of deſigns againſt the Republic.

The embaffadors from Perſes are ill received by the Senate.

He employs aſſaſſins to murder Eumenes; and is accuſed of deſigning other murders by poiſon.

The Carthaginians ſend to Rome complaints of Maſiniſſa's uſurpations.

Some Roman embaffadors report the ill reception they had met with from Perſes.

THE three embaffadors, ſent into *Macedon*, returned to *Rome* (in the beginning of the Conſulſhip of *L. Poſthumius Albinus* and *M. Popillius Lænas*) complaining, “that they had not been able to obtain “an audience of the King; it having been ſometimes pretended, that “he was abſent, ſometimes that he was ſick, and both falſely:” They added, “that he was undoubtedly preparing for war, and would “ſoon take the field.” The Senate, not long after this report, reſolved to trouble *Perſes* with five more embaffadors; at the head of whom was *C. Valerius*: and theſe were from *Macedon* to go to *Alexandria* to renew a league of friendſhip with *Ptolemy*.

Y. R. 582.
Ref. Chr.
172.
279 Conf.
Liv. B. 42.
c. 2.

POPILLIUS the Conſul, without orders from the Senate, and without any provocation, led an army againſt the *Statelliates*, a people of *Liguria*, and came to a battle with them before the gates of their town called *Caryſtum*. He ſlew 10,000 of the enemy, and took 700 priſoners, with the loſs of 3000 of his men. The vanquiſhed, having collected their ſcattered troops, found, that the number of the citizens loſt was greater than of thoſe which remained. They ſurrendered therefore, without making any conditions; never imagining that the Conſul would treat them worſe than former generals had treated their priſoners. Yet *Popillius* not only plundered the town; but demolished it, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. Of this proceeding he ſent an account to the Conſcript Fathers; who, being highly offended with it, decreed, that, returning the money to the purchaſers, he ſhould reſtore to the captives their liberty and effects; and them

c. 6.

c. 7.

then quit the province. *Popilius* would not obey; but, having put his army into winter quarters at *Pisa*, came home in as great wrath, says *Livy*, with the Fathers, as he had expressed against the *Ligurians*.

Y. R. 581.
Bel. Cœ.
171.
250 Cons.

When the fasces had been transferred to *P. Ælius Ligus* and *C. Popilius Lenas* (both Plebeians) *Ælius*, at the instigation of the Senate, would have revived the affair of the injury done to the *Ligurians*; but was turned aside from his purpose by his colleague, the delinquent's brother, who threatened to oppose him and to render null whatever he should do in that process. The Senate hereupon became so angry with both, that, though the war against *Macedon* was just on the point of being declared, they absolutely refused them the conduct of it, nor would even grant them a decree to levy soldiers for the war in *Liguria*.

Liv. B. 42.
C. 5.
Popilius
Legat. 74

About this time *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* came to *Rome*. Besides his hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonian*, he had a particular hatred to him, on account of the great progress he made in the esteem and affection of the *Greeks*; while his own reputation among them was every day decreasing: In proof of which, the *Achaëans* had lately abrogated, as extravagant and illegal, certain honours that had been decreed him in their country. *Eumenes* had doubtless learnt the intentions of the *Romans* with regard to *Perses*, and would therefore not be backward in making his court to the Senate upon such an occasion; hoping perhaps to be rewarded with some part of the *Macedonian* kingdom, as he had, for his service against *Antiochus* obtained a good share of that Prince's dominions. The Senate received the King with great honours: and though he had little to say which they knew not before, yet they listened to him with the utmost attention, pondering all his words, as if the weight of them were to turn the balance that before was equal. He introduced his discourse with saying, "That the cause of his journey to
" *Rome* was (besides the desire of visiting those Gods and men, by
" whose favour he enjoyed that fortune which had left him nothing
" to wish for) that he might in person warn the Senate to prevent the
" designs of the *Macedonian*." He then spoke of the murder of *Demetrius*, a Prince always averse from a *Roman* war; *Philip's* invitation of the *Bastarnæ*, by whose help he was to have invaded *Italy*: The expedition of *Perses* against the *Delopians*: The esteem which the *Greek* and *Asiatic* cities had for him: "I do not see, said *Eumenes*, for what
" merit, what munificence of his, so much respect is paid him; nor can
" I certainly tell, whether this be owing to the good fortune of *Perses*,
" or (which I am loth to say) to a hatred of the *Romans*. He is
" in great authority even with the *Asiatic* Kings. *Seleucus*, the son
" and successor of *Antiochus the Great*, has given him his daughter

Liv. B. 42.
C. 11.

* We find that justice was afterwards done to the *Statellates*, but that *Popilius*, though prosecuted, escaped punishment, by

the artifice of the Prætor who was to try him. Liv. B. 42. c. 22.

“ *Laodice* in marriage: Yet *Perfes* did not ask her; *Seleucus* offered
 “ her. *Prusias* King of *Bitynia* has by earnest entreaties obtained,
 “ for a wife, the sister of *Perfes*: and these marriages have been so-
 “ lemnized with congratulations and presents from numberless em-
 “ bassadors. The *Baotians*, who never could be brought to make a
 “ league with *Philip*, have made one with his son. The *Achaean* coun-
 “ cil, if a few friends of *Rome* had not opposed it, would have let him
 “ into *Acbaia*. At the same time, they were putting affronts upon me,
 “ to whom they are more obliged than can be well expressed. And who
 “ does not know, that the *Ætolians*, in their domestic feuds and seditions,
 “ had recourse for assistance, not to the *Romans*, but to *Perfes*? And
 “ without the support of these associations and friendships abroad, he
 “ has strength enough at home for the war; 30,000 foot, 5000 horse,
 “ corn for ten years, that he may not be driven to live by spoil, or take
 “ from his own subjects; money enough (not to speak of his mines) to
 “ pay 10,000 mercenaries for ten years; arms sufficient for three such
 “ armies as he has now on foot^c; the *Thracians* near at hand to supply
 “ him with as many recruits as he shall require.”

Y. R. 581.
 Bef. Chr.
 171.
 280 C. n.

The King added, “ I have not taken up these things, Conscrip-
 “ turs, upon uncertain report, nor given an easy credit to them, as
 “ wishing them to be true of an enemy: But I bring you accounts of
 “ what, by a thorough enquiry, I have discovered as certainly, as if
 “ you had employed me to be your spy, and I had seen them with my
 “ own eyes.”

Eumenes proceeded to accuse *Perfes* of some facts which might either
 be denied or justified; as that he had procured the death of certain
 persons, friends to the *Romans*: dethroned *Abrupolis*, a petty King of
Illyricum, who had invaded *Macedon*; given assistance to the *Byzantines*,
 contrary to the treaty with *Rome*; made war upon the *Dolopians*; and
 led an army through *Thessaly* and *Doris*.

He concluded thus: “ Since you, Conscrip-
 “ turs, have quietly
 “ and patiently born these things, and the *Macedonian* fees, that you have
 “ abandoned *Greece* to him, he is very sure, that he shall meet with no
 “ army to oppose him, before he passes into *Italy*. How safe or how
 “ honourable for you this may be, you are the best judges. As for me,
 “ I should have been ashamed, if *Perfes* had got the start of me, and had
 “ brought the war hither, before I had come to give you notice of the
 “ danger^d.”

^c This army and these stores were left to
Perfes by his father.

^d Though *Livy* (*B.* 42. c. 5.) says very
 fine things of *Eumenes* (in comparing him
 with *Perfes*) and tells us, that the cities,
 under his domination, were so happy that

they would not change condition with any
 free cities; yet one cannot help thinking
 that, by this speech, which he has put in-
 to the King's mouth, he intended to shew
 him in a ridiculous light.

Y. R. 581.
 Bel. Chr.
 1-1.
 =So Conf.

Sir W. R.

Liv. B. 42.
 c. 14.

It would be very foolish to imagine that the Senate stood in fear of *Perfes's* invading *Italy*. Nevertheless, as they always sought plausible pretences for their wars; and as they could find none at present, they took advantage of this visit from *Eumenes* to make it believed, that he had given them some intelligence of the greatest importance to their preservation; and such as would justify their attacking *Macedon*. To induce this belief, it was necessary to make a profound secret of all that the King had said; because it amounted to no more than what every body knew from the report of the *Roman* ambassadors. And had the Fathers, upon such report, or tales invented by flatterers and spies, commenced a war against *Perfes*, the injustice and oppression would have been manifest to all the world. But when the danger threatening them was so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own kingdom, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest measures for their own security? This imminent danger their affected secrecy would help to magnify in the imagination of the public. Not a word therefore of what the King had said transpired. It was only known, for the present, that he had been in the senate house. The rest, says *Livy*, did not come out till the war was over.

After a few days, the Senate gave audience to *Perfes's* ambassadors; but, being predetermined, would neither admit their defence, nor have regard to their deprecation. Whereupon *Harpalus*, chief of the embassy, said, "The King earnestly wishes, that you would believe him, when he declares, That neither by words nor actions has he given you any cause to look upon him as your enemy: but if he finds, that you are seeking a pretence of quarrel with him, he will not want courage to defend himself. The chance of war is equal, and the event uncertain."

The cities of *Greece* and *Asia*, anxious to know what *Eumenes's* journey to *Rome* and the *Macedonian* embassy would produce, had sent deputies thither under various prettexts. The *Rhodians*, in particular, did not doubt but the King of *Pergamus* would give them a share in whatever crimes he should think proper to charge upon *Perfes*. *Satyrus*, chief of the embassy from *Rhodes*, used therefore all his interest with the Senators of his acquaintance to get an opportunity of being heard against *Eumenes*: which when he had obtained, he, with great acrimony, accused him not only of having stirred up the *Lycians*, their subjects, to a revolt, but of being more oppressive to *Asia* than ever *Antiochus* had been. Such discourse, though agreeable to the *Asiatic* cities, (for they also favoured *Perfes*) was displeasing to the Senate, and of no benefit to the *Rhodians*. The Fathers favoured *Eumenes* the more for the combination formed against him: they loaded him with honours and presents.

Harpalus,

Harpalus, returning into *Macedon* with all possible diligence, told his master, that he had left the *Romans*, not indeed making preparations for war, but so ill disposed, that unquestionably they would not defer it long. The King, fully convinced that he should soon be attacked, laid a plot to begin the war, with spilling the blood of *Eumenes*, the man whom of all men he most hated. It was known that the *Pergamenian*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, intending a sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perjes*, for the assassination, employed a certain *Cretan* named *Evander* (General of his auxiliaries) and three *Macedonians* (men of experience in such enterprises) who placing themselves behind a ruined wall, that hung over a hollow way, so narrow, that only one could pass at a time, there waited the coming of the King and his retinue. *Pantaleon*, an *Ætolian* chief, walked foremost; *Eumenes* followed: just as he came under the wall, the ruffians rolled down two stones of a huge size, one of which lighting on his head, the other on his shoulder, he was struck to the ground; where a shower of smaller stones came pouring upon him and overwhelmed him. The assassins, imagining their business effected, made all haste to get away; and one of them not being able to keep pace with the rest, his companions slew him, to prevent a discovery.

Upon seeing the King fall, his attendants, except *Pantaleon*, had all fled away in a fright. Running now together again, they took him up senseless; still warm, however, and breathing. After a short time he came to himself; and the next day they put him on board his ship, which conveyed him first to *Corinth*, and thence to the island of *Ægina*. Here he was cured, but, during his recovery, was kept so secretly, that fame, throughout all *Asia*, confidently reported him dead. *Attalus* believed it sooner than became the brotherly affection that had always remarkably subsisted between them; for (as *Livy* adds) thinking himself now the undoubted inheritor of the kingdom, he *discoursed* with his brother's wife and the Governor of the Citadel of *Pergamus*. Of this *Eumenes* had private information, yet, when he returned safe home, all the reproof which *Attalus* received from him, at their meeting, was a whisper, *to forbear marrying the Queen till he were well assured of the King's death*.

While the rumour of the *Pergamenian's* being assassinated was yet fresh at *Rome*, *Valerius*, head of the last embassy into *Macedon* and *Greece*, returned home, and brought with him *Praxo*, a woman of great distinction at *Delphi*, to whom *Perjes* had, by letter, recommended the assassins, to be by her entertained. He produced also one *Rammius*, a citizen of *Brundysium*, at whose house all the generals and *Roman* ambassadors, as well as the King's ministers, used to lodge, in their journies to and from *Italy*. This man declared, that being lately at the *Macedonian* court, he had been there tampered with to poison such of his guests as the King should occasionally name to him.

VOL. II.

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These

Y. R. 581.
Bef. Chr.
171.
280 Conf.

Plut. in
Apophth.
Liv. B. 42.
c. 17.

V. R. 42.
 B. C. 23.
 177
 250 C. 23.

These stories, true or false, obtained easy belief at *Rome*: They served to swell the account of *Perſes's* crimes, and make appear more fully the justice and necessity of a *Macedonian* war. The Senate being dissatisfied, for the reasons formerly mentioned, with the present Consuls, commissioned *Sicinnius*, the Prætor *Peregrinus*, to pass with an army into *Epirus*, and there continued till a successor should arrive.

V. R. 42.
 B. C. 23.

* See 1.
 222.
 177, B.
 420 C. 23.

ABOUT this time came ambassadors from the *Carthaginians* with a new complaint against *Masiniſſa*. He had been encroaching upon them ever since their defeat at *Zama*. How he took from them the country of *Emperia* has been already mentioned*. This usurpation was followed by another. *Gala*, the father of *Masiniſſa*, had conquered some lands from the *Carthaginians*, which afterwards *Syphax* conquered from *Gala*, and restored to the first owners, out of love to his wife *Scopaniſſa*, the daughter of *Aſdruba*! Upon these lands the *Numidian* seized; and, by *Roman* arbitration, was permitted quietly to possess them; an injury which the *Carthaginians* had scarcely digested, when *Masiniſſa* came upon them again, and took from them above 70 towns and castles without any colour of right. It was of this that the present ambassadors complained. They represented the grievous oppression which *Carthage* laboured under by reason of those articles in her treaty with the *Romans*, which restrained her from making war, out of her own territory, or against any confederate of *Rome*. "Now (said they) although the
 " towns and castles lately seized by *Masiniſſa* are unquestionably within
 " our territory, and therefore the driving him thence would be only
 " a defensive war; yet, as he is a confederate of *Rome*, we fear even
 " to defend ourselves against him, without your permission. We beg
 " therefore, that *Carthage* may either have justice by arbitration, or be
 " suffered to defend herself by force of arms; or at least (if favour must
 " prevail over truth) that you would be pleased to determine, once for
 " all, what part of her dominions she shall give up to *Masiniſſa*. If
 " none of these requests can be obtained, we then desire, that you will
 " let us know in what we have offended, since the time that *Scipio*
 " granted us peace, and vouchsafe to punish us yourselves in such man-
 " ner as you shall think proper. It would be better for the *Carthagi-
 " nians*, and more agreeable to them, to live slaves to the *Romans* in
 " safety, than to be free, but continually exposed to the oppressions of
 " *Masiniſſa*: We had rather perish at once than draw our breath at the
 " mercy of that *Numidian* hangman." This said, the ambassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground.

B. C. 23.
 23.

Gaius, the son of *Masiniſſa*, being present, the Senate asked him what answer he could make to these complaints. He said, "That his
 " father had given him no instructions relating thereto; that neither
 " could he well have given any, the *Carthaginians* not having im-
 " parted to him the subject of their embassy, nor even their intention
 " of

“ of sending an embassy to *Rome*. It was indeed known that they
 “ had of late held secret councils by night, in the temple of *Æscula-*
 “ *pius*, and dispatched ambassadors to the Senate; for which reason his
 “ father had sent him to entreat them not to give credit to the accusa-
 “ tions of their common enemy, who hated *Masiniſſa* for no other
 “ reason but his constant fidelity to the *Roman* people.” The Senate
 replied, “ That they had done, and would do, whatever they could
 “ to honour *Masiniſſa*; but that justice must not give place to favour;
 “ and that it was not consistent with their equity to countenance him
 “ in taking from the *Carthaginians* any lands, which by their treaty they
 “ were quietly to enjoy.” With this mild reproof they dismissed *Gi-*
luffe, making him the usual presents (as they did also to the *Carthagini-*
ans) and bidding him tell his father, that they expected he should send
 ambassadors more fully instructed in this affair.

Y. R. 581.
 Eof. Chr.
 171.
 280 C. of.

About the same time, three ambassadors, of which *Cn. Servilius*
Clepio was chief, returned from *Macedon* to *Rome*. They had been sent
 to demand satisfaction for the wrongs which *Perſes* had done, (mean-
 ing those pretended injustices about which *Eumenes* had harangued in
 the Senate, and, in case of refusal, to renounce friendship with him in the
 name of the Republic. Their report was, “ That they had seen
 “ mighty preparations for war in all the towns of *Macedon*; that they
 “ had long waited in vain for an audience of the King; and at length,
 “ in despair of obtaining it, had set out to return home: That then
 “ they were called back, and introduced to him. That they put him in
 “ mind of the league made with his father, and renewed with himself:
 “ by which he was expressly restrained from making war out of his own
 “ dominions; or against any state in alliance with *Rome*. That they

Liv. B. 42.
 c. 25.

“ In the form of the treaty between *Phi-*
lip, and the *Romans*, as it is given by *Poly-*
bius, we find no condition forbidding the
 King to make war abroad, without leave of
 the Republic. But *Livy* inserts a clause to
 that effect.

It is likely (says Sir *W. R.* *) that all the
Roman confederates were included in this
 peace, whereby every one of the neighbours
 round about *Macedon*, entering shortly into
 league with *Rome*, did so bind the King's
 hands, that he could no more make war
 abroad, than if he had been restrained by
 plain covenant. And thus might that seem
 an article of the peace, which never was
 agreed upon, but only was inferred by con-
 sequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge
 this point further, and say, that the *Ma-*
cedonian might not bear *defensive* arms

without their permission; then had *Perſes*
 very just reason to find himself aggrieved.
 For since they had allowed his father, with-
 out control, to make war in *Thrace* (whilst
 they themselves were unacquainted with the
Thracians) and elsewhere abroad, though
 he asked not their licence; why should
 they now interpret the bargain after ano-
 ther fashion? Was it now become unlaw-
 ful for him to chastise his own rebels; or
 to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*?
 By such allegations *Perſes* maintained the
 right of his cause in very mild sort when
 it was too late. At the present, by dis-
 claiming the league as unjust [if after all,
 it be true that he did so] he ministered
 occasion to the ambassadors to give him
 defiance.

* Hist. of the World. B. 5. c. 6. §. 3.

Y. R. 531.
Bef. Chr.
170.
250 Cons.

“ had rehearsed to him all the facts spoken of by the King of *Pergamus* (they themselves having found them to be true;) that they had besides, mentioned some private conferences he had held, for several days, in the island of *Samothrace*, with ambassadors from the cities of *Asia*. And lastly, that in the name of the Senate they had demanded satisfaction for these injuries.

“ Hereupon, said they, the King broke out into a passion, frequently calling the *Romans* avaricious and proud, who thought it fitting that he should regulate all his words and actions at the nod of their daily ambassadors, with whom they pestered him, and who were no better than mere spies. After he had talked loudly and long in this strain, he ordered us to come again the day following, when he would give us, he said, an answer in writing. He did so; and it was to this effect. *That he had nothing to do with the treaty made with his father: That he had renewed it, not because he approved of it, but because, upon his first accession to the kingdom, he was obliged to bear with every thing. That if the Romans would make a new treaty with him, it must be upon equal terms; and he would then consider what his interest required; as they, he doubted not, would take care of theirs.* As soon as he had delivered us this writing, he flung away, and while they were making us withdraw, we declared, *That we renounced his friendship and alliance.* The King in wrath turned back, and raising his voice, ordered us to leave his kingdom in three days. We came away, having neither at our arrival, nor while we continued at his court, received any mark of hospitality or civility.”

C H A P. XVI.

The second *Macedonian War*.

FIRST YEAR of the War.

The disposition of the Greek and Asiatic States at this time.

The levies at Rome for the war. The speech of a centurion on this occasion.

Perseus sues in vain to the Senate for peace.

A conference between him and Marcius a Roman ambassador in Thessaly.

The King makes another fruitless attempt to obtain peace.

Y. R. 532.
Bef. Chr.
170.
251 Cons.

WHEN the people of *Rome*, upon a motion by the Consuls, *P. Licinius Crassus* and *C. Cassius Longinus*, decreed war against *Perseus*, the Republic had few open enemies, and no real friends.

After.

After the victory over *Antiochus*, although *Macedon*, *Pergamus*, the commonwealth of the *Achaëans*, and all the other States of *Greece* were governed by the same laws and magistrates as before the *Romans* came among them, and made *alliances* with them; yet the people which *Rome* had subdued to her laws and magistrates, were no more really her vassals, than the Kings and nations which she called her *allies*. For, by her ambassadors abroad, or the decrees of her Senate at home, she exercised such an empire over those allies, that no laws made by them could take place, if she interposed her will to the contrary. Nor was their election of magistrates so free as not to be influenced by the good pleasure of the overbearing Republic. Add to this, that she had assumed to herself the right of deciding all quarrels between her allies; and had made it a part of her policy not to suffer, without reproof, and sometimes menaces, any of her friends to take arms, even in their own defence, before they had consulted the oracle at *Rome*.

Y. R. 582.
Bef. Chr.
170.
281 Conf.

This method of proceeding, whatever interpretation was put upon it by such as were actuated by private interest or fear, could not but be very grating to all generous and free spirits. The *Greek* States began now universally to apprehend the evil which *Philopamen* had foretold; the miserable subjection to which *Greece* would be reduced by the *Roman* patronage. It was so evident both to these States and to the bordering Kings, or became soon so evident, that the view of *Rome* was to reduce *Macedon* to the condition of a *Roman* province, which would make her their near and most dangerous neighbour, that if we may believe *Polybius*, *Perfes*, for a very moderate sum of money well applied, might have brought all those States, and all or most of those Kings, to have espoused his cause*. Of this the Historian is so positive, that he says no wise man will dispute it with him. And some events which happened in the course of the war, will shew this opinion not to have been ill founded. We shall find that even *Eumenes* had not always that anxiety for the welfare of *Rome* which he expressed in his late speech to the Senate. At present however, not only he, but the Kings of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Cappadocia*, offered their assistance to the *Romans*. The last of the three sent his son to be educated at *Rome*. *Prusias*, King of *Bitthynia*, though married to a sister of *Perfes*, observed an exact neutrality: the *Greeks* durst not refuse their aid: *Carthage* was in slavery to *Rome*. *Masinissa* lent his assistance: for he judged, says *Livy*, that should the *Romans* prove conquerors, his affairs would remain in their present situation; should they be vanquished, he doubted not to become master of all *Africa*. On the other hand, *Perfes* had no associate but *Cotys* King of the *Odrysians* in *Thrace*. *Gentius*, a King of *Illyricum*, was indeed suspected at *Rome* of being in the *Macedonian* interest, but he had not yet openly declared for either side.

Legat. 77.

Liv. B. 42.
c. 29.

* *Polybius* seems to speak of the time when *Perfes*'s arms having prospered for two years together, his affairs had a promising aspect.

After

V. R. 32.
 E. R. 62.
 170.
 231 C. 61.
 L. 1. B. 42.
 6. 15.
 6. 12. A. 53.

After the people of *Rome* had voted the war, the Conscript Fathers regulated the levies for the year. They appointed *Salpustius Gallus*, the Prætor *Urbanus*, to raise four *Roman* legions, 12,000 foot and 1200 horse of the allies; the legions to be commanded by four Tribunes, chosen from among the Senators. This army was to be in readiness to march whither the Fathers should direct. One of the Consuls was to have, for the defence of *Italy*, two legions of 5000 foot and 200 horse each; and of the allies 12,000 foot and 600 horse. To the Consul, who should go into *Macedon*, the Senate assigned two legions, of 6000 foot and 300 horse each; and 16000 foot and 800 horse of the *Italian* confederates. They granted him also the privilege of choosing whom he pleased of the *Veteran* soldiers and Centurions, that were under fifty years old, though the law obliged no man above forty-five to serve in the army. The people on this occasion waved their right of naming a certain number of the legionary Tribunes, and left the choice of them to the Consuls and Prætors.

Macedon fell by lot to *Licinius*, and *Italy* to *Cassius*. They carried on the levies with extraordinary rigour; yet many presented themselves voluntarily to *Licinius*, knowing that the soldiers who had served in the first *Macedonian* war, and in the war against *Antiochus*, had returned home rich. But when his legionary Tribunes were appointing the Centurions, twenty-three of those who were called upon to serve, and who had been *Principiles*, or first Centurions of the *Triarii*, refused to enlist themselves, and appealed to the Tribunes of the Commons. Two of the college would have referred the matter to the Consuls, but the other eight were for taking cognizance of it themselves, and righting the appellants if aggrieved. At the desire of *Licinius* the affair was brought before the people. *M. Popilius*, who had been Consul two years before, appeared as advocate for the Centurions. He said, that the *Veterans* had served the legal time, and were worn out with age and the fatigues of war; that nevertheless they did not refuse to give the remainder of their strength to the Republic; they only desired that they might not be placed in a lower rank than what they had last held in the army. *Licinius* ordered the decree of the Senate to be read: it imported, that war should be commenced against *Perjes*, and that as many as possible of the *Veteran* Centurions should be enrolled for that war, exempting none under fifty years old. He then entreated the people that, in the present case of a war so near *Italy*, and against so powerful a King, they would not obstruct the levies, nor hinder the Consul from so placing every man as was most for the benefit of the Republic; or at least that they would refer the matter to the Senate. *Licinius* having ended, one of the twenty-three appellants asked permission of the Consul and the Tribunes to speak a few words to the people. This being granted, he said, "My name, *Romans*, is *Sp. Ligustinus*; I am of the *Confruentian* tribe, and of *Sabine* extraction. My father left me an acre of
 I " ground,

“ ground, and a little cottage, in which I was born and bred, and in
 “ which I now dwell. As soon as I was of an age to marry, my father
 “ gave me to wife his brother’s daughter. I had no fortune with her,
 “ but she was free born, chaste, and an excellent breeder; a richer man
 “ would not desire a better. We had six sons and two daughters:
 “ the girls are married; four of my sons are men grown. I was lifted a
 “ soldier for the first time in the Consulship of *P. Sulpicius* and *C. Au-*
 “ *relius*: I served two years a private man, in the army that went into
 “ *Macedon* against King *Philip*. The third year *T. Quinctius Flaminius*,
 “ in reward of my courage, made me a Centurion of the tenth Order
 “ of the *Hastati*. *Philip* being vanquished, we returned to *Rome*, and
 “ were disbanded. Presently after I went a volunteer with the Consul
 “ *M. Porcius* into *Spain*. Those who have served under him and other
 “ Generals well know, that there is not a more nice observer, or more
 “ critical judge of military virtue than he. This General thought me
 “ worthy of the post of first Centurion of the *Hastati*. After this I
 “ entered a volunteer in that army which was sent against the *Æto-*
 “ *lians* and King *Antiochus*. I was then by *M. Acilius* made first Cen-
 “ turion of the *Principes*. *Antiochus* being driven out of *Greece*,
 “ and the *Ætolians* subdued, we were brought back into *Italy*; and

Y. R. 582.
 Bef. Chr.
 170.
 281 Conf.

^b We cannot have a tolerable notion of the CENTURIONS, without remembering, that every one of the thirty *Manipuli* in a legion was divided into two *Ordines* or ranks; and consequently the three bodies of the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarii* into twenty *Ordines* a-piece, as into ten *Manipuli*. Now every *Manipulus* was allowed two Centurions, or captains, one to each Order or Century: And to determine the point of priority between them, they were created at two different elections. The *Thirty* who were made first always took the precedence of their fellows; and therefore commanded the right hand orders, as the others did the left.

The *Triarii* or *Pilani* [so called from their weapon, the *Pilum*] being esteemed the most honourable, had their CENTURIONS elected first; next to them the *Principes*, and afterwards the *Hastati*; whence they were called *Primus & Secundus Pilus*, *Primus & Secundus Princeps*, *Primus & Secundus Hastatus*; and so on.

Here it may be observed, That *Primipilus* is called sometimes in historians, for the CENTURIONS of those orders; and the same Centurions are sometimes stiled *Principes Centurionum*, and *Principes Centurionum*.

We may take notice too, what a large field there lay for promotion; first through all the orders of the *Hastati*, then quite through the *Principes*, and afterwards from the last order of the *Triarii* to the *Primipilus*, the most honourable of the Centurions, and who deserves to be particularly described. This officer, besides his name of *Primipilus*, went under the several titles of *Dux Legionis*, *Præfectus Legionis*, *Primus Centurionum*, and *Primus Centurio*; and was the first Centurion of the *Triarii* in every legion. He presided over all the other Centurions, and generally gave the word of command by order of the Tribunes. Besides this he had the care of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion; hence *Aquilapraefectus* is to bear the dignity of *Primipilus*; and hence *Aquila* is taken by *Pliny* for the said office. Nor was this station only honourable, but very profitable too; for he had a special stipend allowed him, probably as much as a knight’s estate; and when he left that charge, was reputed equal to the members of the Equestrian order, bearing the title of *Primipilarius*, in the same manner as those, who had discharged the greatest civil offices, were stiled ever after *Consulares*, *Censorii*, &c. Kennet. *Antiq. B.* 4. c. 7.

“ here

T. R. 682.
 Bef. Chr.
 172.
 251 Conf.

“ here I served in two campaigns, such as the Legions then made every
 “ year. Afterwards I served twice in *Spain*; the first time under *Q.*
 “ *Fulvius Flaccus*; the second under the Prætor *Tib. Sempronius Grac-*
 “ *chus*. I was amongst those whom, for their bravery, *Flaccus* distin-
 “ guished by bringing them home to assist at his triumph; and I returned
 “ into the same province at the desire of *Tiberius Gracchus*. In the space
 “ of a few years I was four times first Centurion of the *Triarii*. I have
 “ received 34 military rewards from my Generals; and among these
 “ six Civic crowns. I have made two and twenty campaigns, and
 “ am past fifty years old. But had I not served my full time, and
 “ if my age did not exempt me, yet, *P. Licinius*, as I can furnish you
 “ four soldiers, instead of one, it is but reasonable I should be excused
 “ from serving any more. But I say all this only to shew the justice of
 “ my cause. So long as I am judged fit to bear arms, I shall never seek
 “ to decline it. Let the Legionary Tribunes place me in the post for
 “ which they think me proper. It shall be my care that no soldier in
 “ the army surpass me in bravery: That this has always been my
 “ care, the Generals under whom I have made my campaigns can testify.
 “ And you, fellow soldiers, though you have appealed, and your ap-
 “ peal be well founded, yet, as in your younger days you never did any
 “ thing against the authority of the Magistrates and Senate; you will
 “ now, I am persuaded, think it right to let yourselves be disposed of as
 “ they judge convenient; and esteem every post honourable in which you
 “ can contribute to the defence and preservation of the Republic.”

The Consul, after highly praising *Ligustinus's* virtue, took him to the Senate-house, where he received the thanks of the Conscrip Fathers. And the Tribunes of the soldiers, as a reward of his merit, declared him first Centurion of the first legion. The other appellants, following his example, desisted from their appeal; so that the levies went on without farther opposition.

Besides the forces abovementioned, as destined for *Macedon*, were granted, at the request of *Licinius*, 2000 *Ligurians*, and a certain number of *Cretan* archers. The Senate also asked of *Masiniſſa* a body of *Numidian* horse and some elephants.

Liv. B. 42.
 c. 36.

About this time ambassadors came from *Perſes*. They were not allowed to enter the city, because war had been already declared against their master. Being admitted to audience in the temple of *Bellona*, they said, “ That the King wondered why the *Romans* had transported an
 “ army into his neighbourhood; that if the Senate could be prevailed
 “ upon to recal it, he was ready, at their determination, to make sa-
 “ tisfaction for any injuries, they should think, he had done to their
 “ allies.” The army the ambassadors spoke of was that under the Prætor *Cn. Sicinnius*, who with 5000 foot and 300 horse lay encamped near *Apollonia*. *Sicinnius* had sent *Sp. Carvilius* to *Rome* to confront the *Macedonian* ministers in the Senate. When *Carvilius* had accused *Perſes* of

some

some usurpations upon the neighbouring states, and of several other facts which he pretended the King had done or was preparing to do: the ambassadors were asked what they had to say in their master's justification. They answered, that they had no further commission than what they had delivered; whereupon they were bid to tell the King, that if he had a mind to give satisfaction, he might treat with the Consul *P. Licinius*, who would shortly be in *Macedon* with an army; but that it was to no purpose to think of sending more ambassadors to the Senate, for they would not be suffered to pass through *Italy*. With this answer the Fathers dismissed the *Macedonians*, and ordered them to leave *Italy* in eleven days. Shortly after, the Senate dispatched five of their body, *L. Decimius*, *Q. Marcius Philippus*, *A. Atilius*, and two of the *Cornelian* family, to visit *Greece* and the neighbouring countries. Attended by a thousand soldiers, they landed at *Cercyra*; whither letters came to them from *Perfes*, asking, for what reason the Romans had sent forces into *Greece*, and were taking possession of the towns? They would return him no answer in writing, but told the messenger who brought the letters, that what the Romans did was for the defence of the Greek cities.

And now the ambassadors separating, *L. Decimius* repaired to *Gentius* of *Illyricum*, to persuade him, if possible, to take part with the Republic in the war. He had no success; and even fell under a suspicion at his return to *Rome*, of having received bribes from the *Illyrian* King.

The *Cornelii* made a progress through *Peloponnesus*, exhorting the several states of that country to assist *Rome* against *Perfes*, with the same alacrity and faithfulness as in the wars against *Philip* and *Antiochus*. Though the Romans employed gentle words and the soft stile of persuasion, the *Greeks* were now so well acquainted with *Roman* courtesy, that without hesitation they promised their ready aid^m; for though not

^m Sir *W. Raleigh* thinks that this ready compliance of the *Greeks* to the will of the *Romans* may justly be imputed to the timorous conduct of *Perfes*, who, as we have seen, no sooner learnt that a small body of *Roman* soldiers were landed in *Epirus*, than he sued to the Senate for peace.

“ Since therefore it was known that a very small thing would serve to terrify him, and consequently that it would at all times be in the power of the *Romans*, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those who had assisted him; little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him.” May not the conduct of the *Macedonian*, which Sir *Walter* styles timorous, have been the effect of just policy? For as the King saw plainly that the *Romans* were determined to attack him;

could he do any thing wiser, even in the view of defending himself in the best manner, than, by offers of satisfaction for injuries complained of, to make it evident to all the world, that the war was unnecessary, and therefore unjust, on the part of the *Romans*? We shall find that he took great pains to convince all the neighbouring states of this truth, that he might thereby induce them to side with him. It is to be observed, that no one part of *Perfes*'s conduct does in any degree suit with that violent and brutal behaviour which, by the report of *Servilius Cæpio* and his colleagues*, he used towards them: There may be room therefore to doubt the truth of that report, at least we may well suspect that they gave him sufficient provocation by their insolent manner of treating him.

* See p. 403, 404.

Y. R. 482.
Bel. Car.
170.
291. C. 171.

only the bulk of the people, but also the wisest and best men, who had nothing in view but the good of their country, wished success to *Perfes*; yet doubtless fear got the better of their inclinations.

2. *Marcus* and *A. Atilius* went into *Epirus*, *Ætolia* and *Thessaly*, to fix the people of those countries in the interest of *Rome*. While the two *Romans* were at *Larissa*, *Perfes* sent to ask an interview with *Marcus*. The ambassadors, according to their instructions, prefaced the request with mentioning, that *Marcus's* father had formerly been the guest and friend of king *Philip*. *Marcus* answered, *that he had often heard his father speak of that friendship, and was far from having forgot it when he undertook his present commission; and that as soon as possible, he and his colleague would meet the King at the river Peneus, near Dium.*

Perfes was much pleased with *Marcus's* insinuation, that he had come into *Greece* with a view to serve him, and began to entertain hope of an accommodation. Soon after, a day being appointed for the conference, they both came to the banks of the *Peneus*. The question now was, which of them should pass the river. *Perfes* claimed the compliment, on account of his royal dignity; *Marcus* thought it due to the majesty of the *Roman* name: besides, the King had asked the conference. The ambassador put an end to the dispute by a dull jest, which his bearing the surname of *Philip* furnished him with; *Let the younger, said he, come to the elder; the son to the father.* The King easily suffered himself to be persuaded; but then he was for crossing with all his retinue: To this *Marcus* objected, insisting, that he should come with only three attendants, or else give hostages: Not that the *Roman* suspected any treachery, says *Livy*, but that the deputies from the several cities (of whom there was a great concourse at the interview) might see the superiority of the Republic to the King of *Macedon*. *Perfes* gave hostages, and, with all his train of attendants, passed over to *Marcus*. They saluted each other, not as enemies meeting to parly, but like familiar friends. When both were seated, *Marcus*, after a short pause, broke silence.

Liv. B. 42.
c. 40.

“ I believe you expect that I should answer the letter you sent to us at
“ *Corcyra*, in which you ask, why we, who are ambassadors, come at-
“ tended with soldiers, and put garrisons into several towns. Not to an-
“ swer your question would perhaps look like pride; and the proper an-
“ swer, I fear, you may think too harsh. But since he who breaks a league
“ should be made sensible of his error either by words or by arms; I,
“ who had rather the commission to make war against you, should be
“ given to any body than to me, shall take upon me the disagreeable task
“ of reproving my friend. The senate think, that since your accession to
“ the throne, you have done but one thing which you ought to have done;
“ *the sending ambassadors to renew the league*: And yet they judge that it
“ would have been better not to renew it, than to renew it, and after-
“ wards break it. *Abrupolis*, a friend and ally of the *Roman* people,
“ you have driven from his kingdom: The murderers of *Artetarus*

“ (of

“ (of all the *Illyrian* Kings the most faithful to *Rome*) you received
 “ into your protection; thereby shewing (to say nothing worse) that
 “ you rejoiced at the murder. You went with an army through *Theffaly*
 “ and *Malæa* to *Delphi*, contrary to our treaty: In violation of the same
 “ treaty you sent succours to the *Byzantines*. You secretly made a
 “ league with the *Bæotians*, our allies, which you ought not to have
 “ done. *Everfa* and *Callicritus*, the *Theban* ambassadors, who were
 “ coming from us—I would rather ask, who killed them, than accuse
 “ any body of the crime. The intestine war in *Ætolia*, and the
 “ slaughter of the chief men there—By whom but your agents can
 “ these be supposed to have been effected? In person you invaded the
 “ *Dolopians*, oppressed them with the ravages of war. *Eumenes*, re-
 “ turning from *Rome* into his kingdom, was almost slain as a victim be-
 “ fore the altars at *Delphi*——I am loath to mention the person whom
 “ he accuses. I know you have had an account, by letters from *Rome*,
 “ and by your ambassadors, of the discovery, which *Rammius* of
 “ *Brundisium* made to us, of certain secret machinations. The only
 “ way to have avoided hearing these things from me, was, not to have
 “ asked why the *Romans* send an army into *Macedon*, or why they
 “ garrison the cities of their allies. My remembrance of the friendship
 “ between our fathers inclines me to lend a partial ear to what you can
 “ say in your justification; and I wish you may furnish me with argu-
 “ ments to plead your cause in the Senate.”

To this the King. “ I have a cause unquestionably good if I had
 “ impartial judges; but I am to plead it before those who are both my
 “ judges and accusers. Of the things objected to me, some I have per-
 “ haps reason to glory in; some I need not be ashamed to own; and
 “ others, as they are only asserted, not proved, they will be sufficiently
 “ confuted by a bare denial. If I were this day to be tried by your
 “ laws, what could the informer *Rammius* or *Eumenes* alledge against
 “ me, that would not be deemed rather slander than truth? Had *Eu-*
 “ *menes*, who so heavily oppresses many private persons, as well as states,
 “ no enemy but me? And could I find no fitter instrument than *Ram-*
 “ *mius*, whom I had never seen before, and whom I was never to see
 “ again? You are pleased to call me to account for the murder of the
 “ two *Thebans* and *Artetarus*. The *Thebans*, every body knows, perished
 “ by shipwreck: As to the latter, What does the accusation amount to?
 “ Why truly, that his murderers, when banished, fled into my king-
 “ dom. Will you then grant yourselves to be chargeable with all the
 “ crimes of those exiles who take refuge in *Italy*? And how can a man
 “ be condemned to banishment, if there be no place to which he may be
 “ banished? Yet, as to those assassins, as soon as I understood from you
 “ that they were in *Macedon*, I ordered them to be sought out, expelled,
 “ and forbid to return into my dominions. These things are objected to
 “ me, as to a man arraigned before a court of justice; the rest, as to a

G g g 2

“ King,

V. R. 58.
 Eur. Chr.
 170.
 281 Cont.

Y. R. 552.
E. C. 170.
231 C. 170.

“ King, and relates to the treaty between you and me. Was it any
 “ breach of that treaty to defend myself against the invasion of *Abr-*
 “ *polis*, your ally? What could I do, when he laid waste my territories
 “ as far as *Amphipolis*, and carried off many of my subjects, with their
 “ cattle and effects? Would you have had me sit still, and suffer him to
 “ enter *Pella*? Come armed even into my palace? But, it seems, I ought
 “ not to have vanquished him, nor to have treated him as a vanquished
 “ enemy. How can he, an invader, complain of suffering what I,
 “ whom he attacked, was exposed to suffer? As to my reducing the *Do-*
 “ *lepians* by force; Had not I a right to do it? Are they not my subjects?
 “ Their country, is it not a part of my kingdom, assigned to my father by
 “ your decree? Can any man think that I dealt severely with rebels,
 “ who took away the life of my lieutenant, *Euphrator*, their Governor,
 “ by such tortures, that death was the least part of his sufferings?
 “ After visiting *Larissa*, *Antrona* and *Pteleum*, in the neighbourhood
 “ of which places I had many vows to pay, I went up to sacrifice
 “ at *Delphi*. This is made a crime; and, to aggravate this crime,
 “ it is added, that I took my army with me; as if my view had been
 “ to seize upon towns, and garrison castles, as you now do. Call a
 “ council of all the *Greek* cities by which I passed; and, if any one
 “ can prove he has sustained damage by my soldiers, I am willing it
 “ should be thought, that under the pretence of a sacrifice I concealed
 “ other designs. I sent assistance to the *Ætolians* and *Byzantines*, and
 “ made a league with the *Boeotians*. These actions, of whatever
 “ nature they be, my ambassadors have not only mentioned, but
 “ often justified in your Senate, where I met with some arbitrators not
 “ so favourable to me as you, *Q. Marcus*, my paternal friend and
 “ guest. Yet *Eumenes* had not then been at *Rome* with his accusations;
 “ nor by calumnies and misconstructions made me suspected and hated:
 “ He had not yet endeavoured to persuade you, that, while the kingdom
 “ of *Macedon* was safe, *Greece* could not be free, nor enjoy the advantages
 “ you procured her. A complaint of this kind (and better founded)
 “ you will soon hear; you will be told, that you have done nothing
 “ by confining *Antiochus* within mount *Taurus*; that *Eumenes* is more
 “ oppressive to *Asia* than the *Syrian* ever was; and that your allies will
 “ never be in quiet while there is a palace in *Pergamus*.

“ All that you have objected, *Q. Marcus*, and all that I have an-
 “ swered, will, I know, be construed by the hearers according to their
 “ dispositions; nor is it of so much consequence what I have done, or
 “ with what views, as in what light you will see my actions. I am
 “ conscious to myself that I have not offended knowingly; and, if through
 “ ignorance I have transgressed, your reprehension will be sufficient to
 “ make me correct what is amiss. Assuredly I have done nothing
 “ which cannot be remedied; nor for which you can think I deserve to
 “ be prosecuted by war. With little reason is your moderation and
 “ clemency

“ clemency famous among the nations, if, for causes scarce worth com-
 “ plaining of, you take arms against a King, who is your friend and
 “ your ally.”

1. 2. 3. 2.
 5. 6. 11.
 12.
 28. 1. 11.

Marcus affected to appear much satisfied with the King's discourse, and advised him to send new ambassadors to *Rome*; that nothing might be omitted which could give the least hope of an accommodation. To this end a truce seemed necessary, and though *Marcus's* sole view in granting the King a conference, was to draw him to ask a truce; yet, when he did ask it, the *Roman* raised mighty difficulties, complying at length (as he pretended) merely out of personal regard to the son of *Philip*. *Marcus* meant nothing by all this but to make *Perſes* lose time, who being ready for action, might have done something considerable, before the Consul *Licinius* with his army could arrive in *Greece*.

1. 2. 3. 2.
 5. 6. 11.

After this interview the *Roman* ambassadors went into *Boetia*, the people of which country had, not long before, made a league with the *Macedonian*. Great dissensions had since arisen among them; some declaring for the King, others for the *Romans*. The *Thebians*, and, after their example, all the other petty states of *Boetia*, offered now to enter into an alliance with *Rome*. *Marcus* would not treat with them jointly, but obliged each city to send its respective minister to *Rome* to treat separately for itself. By thus dividing them into many independant states, he weakened them all. They were never after united.

c. 43. and
 44.
 Polyb. Le-
 g. 63.

From *Boetia* *Marcus* repaired to the Diet of the *Acheans* convened at *Argos*. He demanded of them a thousand men to garrison *Chalcis* till the *Roman* army should come into *Greece*; which demand was instantly complied with.

About the same time *Rome* sent deputies into the most considerable islands of *Asia*, to ask assistance in the war against *Perſes*. The *Rhodians* distinguished themselves on this occasion. They thought it necessary to efface the impressions, which their difference with *Eumenes*, and their complaisance for *Perſes* in several instances, particularly in conveying his wife to him from *Asia*, had made in the minds of the *Romans*. The deputies therefore no sooner arrived, but they were shewed a fleet of galleys equipt for the service of *Rome*, and ready to put to sea: This mark of zeal had the desired effect.

Polyb. Lib.
 1. 63.

Perſes, in consequence of what had passed between him and *Marcus*, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to negotiate the treaty of peace, which he imagined to be already begun by that conference. At the same time, he by circular letters to the neighbouring states, gave an account of his conversation with the *Roman*: and this he did, not only to set forth the justice of his cause, but to learn how they stood affected. To the *Rhodians* he sent ambassadors, exhorting them to stand neuter, and in case the *Romans* should refuse him a peace, to take upon them the office of mediators, an office which, he said, more properly belonged to them

Polyb. Lib.
 1. 63.

than

V. R. 31.
Bel. Chr.
170.
281 Conf.

Liv. B. 42.
c. 45. &
46.

than any others, as being the most powerful of the *Greek* states, and not only zealous for their own liberty, but guardians of the liberty of all *Greece*. These ambassadors met with a friendly reception, but were answered, "that the *Rhodians* desired the King, not to ask them to do "any thing which might be disapproved by the *Romans*."

The same ambassadors going thence into *Bœotia* succeeded little better in that country. Only *Coronea* and *Haliartus* came over to the King's interest, and sent to him for garrisons to secure them against the *Thebans*, who still adhered to the opposite interest. *Perſes* answered, that he could not send them garrisons, because of his truce with *Rome*.

When *Marcus* and his colleague, at their return home, gave an account to the Senate of their negotiations, they boasted much of having deceived *Perſes* into a truce, which hindered him from beginning the war with the advantage he was master of, and gained time to the *Romans* to finish their preparations. Nor did these able ministers forget to mention their dexterity in so dissolving the *Bœotian* league, that the states of that country would never more be in a condition jointly to make an alliance with the *Macedonian*. *Livy* tells us, that some of the older Senators were far from being pleased with the craft and dissimulation of the ambassadors. Be that as it will, the majority of the Fathers approving of what had been done, *Marcus* was again sent into *Greece*, with a commission to act there as he should think most for the interest of the Republic.

The Senate, though determined to pursue the war against *Perſes*, yet, that it might not be too plain how much he had been deluded, granted audience to his ambassadors. But neither their excuses nor their entreaties availed any thing: They were ordered to leave the city immediately, and *Italy* in thirty days. It is probable that the Fathers thought, they sufficiently covered the deceit of *Marcus*, by admitting these ambassadors within the walls of the city, and allowing them so long a time for their departure out of *Italy*; whereas the former ambassadors from the King had been received without the walls, and had been allowed but eleven days for their departure.

C H A P. XVII.

FIRST and SECOND Years of the War.

The Consul Licinius arrives with his army in Thessaly.

Perfes having obtained some advantage over the Romans, makes new proposals for peace, which are rejected.

The Consul declines a general battle.

M. Lucretius robs King Gentius of his fleet.

Hostilius, the successor of Licinius, in vain attempts to penetrate into Macedon.

The management of some Roman ambassadors in Greece.

The Romans receive kindly a gross piece of flattery from a city of Asia.

P E R S E S was so effectually cheated by the arts of *Marcius*, that the Consul *Licinius* arrived with his army at *Apollonia*, almost as soon as the *Macedonian* ambassadors got back to their Master at *Pella*. In a council held by the King, a few days before, some had advised him to purchase a peace of the *Romans*, though it should cost him not only a yearly tribute, but even a part of his dominions. The majority, however, being more magnanimous, and declaring for war: WAR then let us have, said *Perfes*, and the Gods grant us success. And now he ordered all his forces to be drawn together, and appointed their rendezvous at *Citium*, a town in *Macedon*; and thither with his courtiers and his guards he himself repaired. His forces consisted of 39,000 foot and 4000 horse: a more numerous army (says *Livy*) than any King of *Macedon* had ever brought into the field, except *Alexander the Great*. *Perfes*, in a speech to his troops, recalled to their minds the glory of their ancestors; expatiated on the injustice, treachery and insolence of the *Romans*; and represented the goodness of his cause, and the ample provision he had made for the war. His harangue was frequently interrupted by the applauses of the soldiers, and loud expressions of indignation and anger against the *Romans*. The assembly dismissed, he gave audience to the deputies from the several towns of *Macedon*, which had sent offers of money and provisions, each according to its ability: Having first thanked them, he answered, that he desired nothing of them but carriages for his engines of war.

The *Macedonian* marched out of his own kingdom into *Thessaly*, knowing that the *Romans* were to come that way to meet him. Some towns yielded to him without resistance; others he took by force. *Elatia* and

Y. R. 582.
Bef. Chr.
170.
281 Conf.
Liv. B. 42.
c. 50.

Y. R. 492.
E. 117.
= 110.

Geras, places of great importance, because standing in the entrance of the Straight of *Tenar*, opened their gates upon the first summons. Having well fortified this pass, he advanced to *Sycurium* situated at the foot of mount *Ossa*, where pitching his camp, he resolved to wait the coming of the enemy.

L. 3. 43.
c. 55.

From *Apollonia* *Lucius* marched his army through *Athamania* to *Gomphi* in *Thessaly*: For it was only through *Thessaly* that they could penetrate into *Macedon*; unless they would run the hazard of being starved in the mountains of *Dyrrhacium*. At *Gomphi* the Consul staid some days to refresh his troops, much fatigued by the rough and difficult roads through which they had passed. On advice that the *Macedonians* were ravaging the eastern part of *Thessaly*, he advanced towards *Larissa*, and encamped by the river *Peneus*.

About this time *Eumenes* arrived at *Corin* with his brothers *Attalus* and *Antiochus*. The last staid in this place with 2000 foot to strengthen the garrison: *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, with 4000 foot and 1000 horse, joined the Consul; as did also some other auxiliaries, but in small numbers.

c. 57.

To draw the *Romans* to a good distance from their camp, and fight them with advantage, *Perseus* sent out some detachments to ravage the territory of *Picra*, a city in alliance with *Rome*. The Consul however did not stir; which encouraged the *Macedonian* to think of insulting him in his intrenchments. At ten o'clock in the morning the King, with his whole army, appeared within a mile of the enemy. Here he made his infantry halt, and went forward with his cavalry and light-armed troops. Perceiving soon after a small party of *Romans* coming towards him, he detached about an equal number to skirmish with them. The action proved of little importance, and it was hard to say which side had the victory. *Perseus* returned to *Sycurium*. Next day he led his army again within sight of the enemy's lines; and there being no convenient watering in the march, which was of twelve miles length, in a dusty road, he brought water with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. The *Romans* kept close within their trenches, so that no action followed. *Perseus* repeated this movement for several days together, in hopes that

^a *Livy* says, that the *Romans* were exceedingly rejoiced when they arrived at *Gomphi*, as thinking that they had escaped a very great danger; for had *Perseus*, with his army ranged in good order for battle, advanced and met them, while they were yet weary and struggling with the difficulties of the way, they would probably have suffered a great overthrow. And Sir *W. Raleigh* blames *Perseus* for not having brought his army to defend the pass of *Acus*, where

his father *Philip* formerly kept the *Roman* legions for a considerable time. But may it not be questioned, whether *Perseus* could easily have done either of these things? For at this time, the *Thessalians* (through whose country he must have marched, to post himself at the pass of *Acus*, or to attack the *Romans* in *Athamania*) were his enemies; whereas in the former war, *Philip* was master of *Thessaly*.

the *Roman* cavalry would be detached to fall upon his rear-guard, and that then, suddenly facing about, he might attack them at a considerable distance from their camp; in which case, as he was superior in horse and light-armed foot, he doubted not of victory. Disappointed of this hope, he came and posted himself seven miles nearer the enemy; and the next day, having, at sun-rising, drawn up his infantry in the same place as before, he led all his cavalry and light-armed troops within less than half a mile of the *Roman* entrenchments. His coming at such an unusual hour filled the camp with tumult; and though, the troops he brought with him being unfit to assail trenches, the Consul had no apprehension of such an attempt, yet, to check the King's pride, he sent out to battle all his horse, light-armed infantry, and auxiliaries; he himself remaining in the camp with his legions in readiness for action. The honour of this morning was entirely the King's. With the loss of only 20 horse and 40 foot, he slew about 2000 of the *Roman* infantry and 200 of their horse; and took the like number of horse prisoners. Upon the first news of his victory the captains of his phalanx led it to him, though unsent for, that he might attack the enemy's camp. But success in such an enterprize was an object too great for the hopes of *Perfes*. *Evander*, the *Cretan*, who, probably, from the King's irresolution, inferred the byass of his thoughts, advised him not rashly to hazard all, in an unnecessary enterprize; adding, that the advantage he had already gained would either procure him honourable conditions of peace, or at least many associates in the war. There needed no more to make *Perfes* lead back his army to the camp.

In the mean time the *Romans* were fearing what the *Macedonian* durst not hope. *Eumenes* advised the Consul to dislodge by night, and remove to the other side of the river *Peneus*: And *Licinius*, though ashamed to avow his fear, yet followed the advice, since reason so required.

Next day *Perfes* advanced with his army, to provoke the enemy once more to battle. When he perceived them safely entrenched on the other side of the river, he became sensible (says *Livy*) of the error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing his victory; and of the greater error he had been guilty of, by his inaction in the night; because his light-armed troops alone would have been sufficient to destroy a great part of the enemy in their passage of the river.

On the other hand the *Romans*, though now no longer uneasy with the apprehension of being suddenly attacked, were grievously mortified by the loss they had sustained, especially of their reputation. In a council of war every one threw the blame from himself upon the *Ætolians*: Five of the chief men among these had been observed to be the first who turned their backs: The *Thessalians*, who had made a good retreat, were praised, and rewarded with military honours and presents.

Y. R. 58.
Bel. Car.
17.
281 Con.

Plut. Pr.
of P. A.
mil. and
Liv. B. 42.
c. 59.

V. R. 12.
 Def. C. 12.
 120.
 281 C. 12.

Perſes, having loſt the opportunity of gaining another victory, endeavoured to draw ſome new advantage from that which he had gained, by extolling it in a pompous harangue to his ſoldiers, and by perſuading them, that it was a ſure prognosſtic of a happy iſſue of the war. They all heard him with delight. Thoſe who had been in the action grew braver from the praiſe; and the *Pælonians*, from the hope of meriting the like glory. Next day the King made a march, and pitched his camp upon a riſing ground near *Mæſſara*, between *Tempe* and *Lariſſa*. This motion probably obliged the *Romans* to diſſide. They removed to a ſtronger poſt, ſtill keeping on the banks of the *Pærus*. Under *Mæſſarus*, the ſon of *Mæſſarus*, brought them a reinforcement of 1000 horſe, as many foot, and 20 elephants.

Pl. 1. Le.
 120. 121.

Although *Perſes* had ſeem'd, as if he meant to preſs hard upon the *Romans*, he was yet eaſily perſuaded to lay hold of the favourable opportunity, which ſome of his courtiers thought he now had, by his late victory, of obtaining peace. He ſent to the Conſul an offer of ſubmitting to the ſame conditions which had been impoſed on his father *Philip*. The conſtancy of the *Romans* ſhew'd itſelf remarkably on this occaſion. They unanimouſly agreed, in council, to return the harſheſt answer poſſible: That *Perſes* muſt ſurrender himſelf and his kingdom to the *Romans*, at diſcretion, or expect no peace. Some of the King's counſellors, provoked by the *Roman* pride, adviſed him, never more to think of an accommodation. *Perſes* could not reſiſt this advice. He thought that the *Romans* would not have acted in ſo haughty a manner, but from a well grounded confidence in their ſuperiority of ſtrength. Once more therefore he ſent to *Læmus*; and now offered a larger tribute than had been paid by *Philip*. Finding that peace could not be purchaſed with money, he retired to *Spartium*; for what reaſon is not ſaid.

120. 121.

During theſe tranſactions, *C. Læretius*, the *Roman* Admiral, was beſieging *Hæſſarus* in *Bactia*. He had ſailed from *Italy* with only 45 galley-ſhips; but this fleet was now much augmented by the dexterous management of his brother *Marcus*, whom he had ſent before him, with orders to get what ſhips he could from the *Italian* allies, ſail with them to *Corinthum*, and there wait his arrival. *Marcus* in his way had ſtopt at *Dyrrachium*, where finding in the haven 76 veſſels, of which 54 belonged to King *Gentius*, the reſt to the *Dyrrachians* and *Illyrians*, he took them all away with him, pretending to believe that they had been fitted out for the ſervice of the *Romans*, though, in truth, *Gentius* had not yet declared himſelf for either party.

c. 12

Heliartus, after a vigorous defence, was taken by aſſault, ſacked and razed. From thence the Prætor marched his forces to *Tlebes*, which

“ Over great (ſays Sir *W. R.*) was the
 “ ſill of the King in hoping then for
 “ peace: and in uſing for it, even when
 “ he had a victory, what elſe did he,
 “ than promiſe to ſuch who were inclined

“ to take part with him, that neither good
 “ nor bad fortune would keep him from
 “ yielding to the *Romans*, whenever they
 “ would be pleaſed to accept of him?”

opened her gates to him upon the first summons. He put the government of the town into the hands of the Partizans of *Rome*; and all who had favoured the King of *Macedon* he sold for slaves. After these exploits in *Boetia* he returned to his ships.

Perjes, at *Securiam*, heard that the *Romans*, having hastily gathered in the corn from the fields around them, were cutting off the ears with sickles before the doors of their tents, so that the camp was full of heaps of straw. This suggested to him the hope of being able to burn their camp; and his men having provided themselves with torches, and all things proper for the purpose, he set out in the middle of the night, that he might fall upon the enemy at day-break. But the alarm being taken in good time, he failed in this enterprize. Once more he offered the enemy battle; which they declining, he again brought his army to *Mopsium*, because *Securiam* was at too great a distance from the *Romans*, and because of the difficulty, before-mentioned, of getting water in the way. From *Mopsium* he advanced with 2000 foot and 1000 horse, fell upon some parties of the enemy while they were busy in reaping, and took 600 prisoners, and 1000 carts, most of them loaded. Not content with this success, he attacked a body of 800 *Romans*, that had been stationed to guard the reapers. The Consul, upon notice of the danger his men were in, hastened with the best part of his army to their relief. *Perjes* faced the *Roman* Legions, and sent orders to his Phalanx to advance; very unadvisedly (says *Livy*) because, the great number of carts he had sent off being in the way, the Phalanx could not possibly come time enough to his assistance. He was now overpowered by numbers, and forced to retire, with the loss of 300 foot and 24 of his horse-guards. A few days after this misfortune, the winter approaching, he retired into *Macedon*.

On the King's departure, *Licinius* went straight to *Gonni*, hoping to have taken it, and thereby to have got an entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the enterprize too difficult, he turned off into *Perrhaebia*, where he reduced several towns. Thence he went to *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, which he also made himself master of; the *Macedonian* garrison having deserted it. How this place or *Demetrias* (which it is said the Consul had thoughts of besieging) fell into the hands of the *Macedonians* is no where related; nor is it easy to guess; unless perhaps *Perjes*, after his victory, did greater acts than we find recorded; and conquered some part of *Thessaly*. The accounts of what happened in *Greece* about this time are very imperfect.

Licinius, having dismissed all his allies except the *Acheans*, quartered his army for the winter in *Thessaly* and *Boetia*, into which latter country

^b *Plutarch* reports, that *Perjes* surprised the *Roman* fleet this year at *Oreum*; took four quinqueremes, and twenty ships of

burthen, and sunk many others loaded with corn. *Life of Æmil.*

Y. R. 582.
Ecl. Chr.
172.
281 Conf.

Livy, B. 43.
c. 1.

he himself went, at the request of the *Thebans*, who were distressed by their neighbours, the people of *Coronæa*.

The Consul had, in the summer, sent one of his Lieutenants, with a body of troops, into *Illyricum*. This man reduced two opulent towns to surrender, and granted the inhabitants their effects; hoping by an appearance of clemency, to engage another town of great strength, in the neighbourhood, to submit to him. But finding that this town would neither yield to his virtue, nor to his arms, he returned and pillaged the two which he had before spared.

Cassius, the other Consul, whose lot confined him to *Gaul*, where there was little to do, had, from a spirit of emulation, attempted to make his way into *Macedon* through *Illyria*. The Senate in all haste recalled him, being much displeased that he should dare, without orders, to undertake so dangerous a march through many strange Countries, and thereby shew the people of those Countries a way into *Italy*.

Perjes was not idle during the winter. He had lately dismissed, with large presents, his ally, *Cotys*, King of the *Odrysians* in *Thrace*, to go to the defence of his own country, invaded by some of his *Thracian* neighbours, in conjunction with a body of *Pergamenians*. The *Macedonians* now marched to his assistance, and defeated the invaders.

About the same time *Epirus*, or a great part of it, revolted to *Perjes* from the *Romans*; a revolution brought about by one *Cephalus*, on occasion of an intestine discord.

AT *Rome*, the Comitia raised to the Consulship *A. Hostilius Mancinus* and *A. Atilius Serranus*; and gave *Hortensius* the command of the fleet. To *Hostilius* fell the province of *Macedon*. Little progress was made in the war during his year. He twice unsuccessfully attempted to penetrate into *Macedon*; once by the way of *Elimæa*, where *Perjes* defeated him in battle; and then by the *Cambunian* mountains. After this the King marched against the *Dardaniens*, cut in pieces their army, consisting of 10,000 men, ravaged their country, and carried off a great booty.

In the mean time *Appius Claudius*, whom the Consul had detached with an army of 4000 men, and who by levies among the confederates had doubled this army, entered *Illyricum*. Thinking to have taken *Ugenta* (a town on the confines of that country and *Macedon*) by the promised treachery of the *Cretan* garrison that defended it, he fell into a snare: for advancing, in careless order, to the gates of the town, both the garrison and the inhabitants sallied out upon him on a sudden, and attacked him so vigorously, that not above a fourth part of his whole army escaped the slaughter. Yet this town shortly after became *Roman*, by what means is no where said. But we are told, that *Perjes* recovered it in the winter, he having then leisure to lead his forces into *Illyricum*, the only side on which his kingdom was exposed: For *Cotys* secured it on the side of *Thrace*; *Cephalus* on that of *Epirus*; *Perjes* himself had lately

Poll. Ex-
corp. L. 27.
Livy, B. 43.
c. 14.
Y. R. 583.
Ecl. Chr.
169.
282 Conf.

Plut.

Livy, B. 43.
c. 12.

c. 18.

lately quelled the *Dardanians*; and the snows made the mountains of *Theffaly* impassable to the *Romans*. After reducing *Uscana* and the neighbouring towns, where he took many prisoners, and among the rest 4000 *Romans*, he made a painful expedition into *Ætolia*. He had been promised admission into *Stratus*, the strongest city in that country. Of this hope though he were disappointed, by the prevalence of the *Roman* faction in the place, yet in his return home he got possession of *Aperantia*, and soon after received the agreeable news that *Cleves*, one of his Lieutenants, had gained a new and entire victory over *Appius Claudius*.

Y. R. 583.
E. of Chr.
1. 3.
282 C. 11.

As for *Hortensius*, the *Roman* Admiral, he performed nothing but against the allies of the Republic, whom he cruelly oppressed, as his predecessor *Lucretius** had also done. The heavy complaints brought to *Rome* against these two Admirals, and some other *Roman* commanders, put the Senate under a necessity of passing a decree, *That no man should be obliged to pay obedience to a Roman magistrate imposing any burthen for the present war, unless he could produce an order from the Senate for such imposition.*

c. 17.

The *Greeks* were at this time indirectly menaced by certain ambassadors from *Rome* (*C. Popillius Lenas* and *Cn. Octavius*) who travelled through all the cities of *Peloponnesus*, and, while they cried up the great clemency and indulgence of the Senate, so conspicuous in the decree before-mentioned, gave to understand, that they very well knew how every one was inclined; who among them were zealous for the *Roman* cause, and who were lukewarm. These ambassadors would have accused by name, in the diet of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* and his son *Polybius* as men ill affected to *Rome*, and waiting only for an opportunity to raise disturbances. But because no colour of truth could be found to countenance such a charge, or perhaps because the *Roman* affairs had not greatly prospered of late in *Greece*, it was thought better for the present to forbear the prosecution, and give gentle words, as if all were well. They acted much the same part in *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*; using soft words even to those whom they suspected of being in the *Macedonian* interest; and desisting from some demands, because they found them disagreeable to the people.

Polyb.
Leg. 74.

Id. Leg.
74. and 75.

“ Among the great number of embassies that came to *Rome* about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their services, it is not worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a town of the *Lesser Asia*, there was presented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These *Alabanders* brought 300 horsemens targets, and a crown of gold to bestow upon *Jupiter* in the capitol. But having a desire to gratify the *Romans* with some exquisite token of

Sir W. Raleigh from Livy, B. 43. c. 6.

* *Lucretius* was afterwards accused of this, and condemned in a great fine, by the unanimous suffrages of all the tribes.

V. R. 43.
 Rom. Cons.
 113.
 112 Cons.

“ their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular; and be-
 “ ing not able to reach unto any great performance, they built a temple
 “ unto the town *Rome*, and appointed anniversary games to be ce-
 “ lebrated among them in honour of that Goddess. Now who can
 “ wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander, Antigonus, Ptolemy*, and
 “ the like vain men, that would be thought Gods; or at the shameful
 “ flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most virtuous of
 “ men, divine honours; when he sees a town of houses, wherein power-
 “ ful men dwell, worshipped as a Goddess; and receiving (without
 “ scorn of the givers, or shame of the present) the title of Deity, at
 “ the gift of such a rascall city as *Atalania*?”

C H A P. XVIII.

THIRD YEAR of the War.

*The Roman army under the command of the Consul Q. Martius Philippus
 penetrates into Macedon.*

The arrogant conduct of Perſes.

The imprudence of Marcius.

*Polybius, sent ambassador from the Achæans to Marcius, conducts himſelf
 with great discretion.*

AFTER the war against *Perſes* had laſted two years, he was in a better condition to ſuſtain it than at the beginning. He had not only hindered the *Romans* hitherto from entering his country, but had enlarged his borders on the *Ibærian* ſide. And his continual ſucceſs had much increaſed the reputation of his arms. On the other hand, the Conſuls *Licinius* and *Heſtilius* had ſucceſſively waſted their time in fruitleſs attempts to force a paſſage into *Macedon*, deſtroying the glorious enterprize of conqueſt by many loſſes received. Nor was it only by the casualties of war, that the army became greatly diminished, but by the facility of the military Tribunes, or perhaps of *Heſtilius* himſelf (for they laid the blame each upon the other) in licenſing the ſoldiers to go home. The Admirals of the Republic had ſo demeaned themſelves as to make many of the towns, which had declared for *Rome*, weary of the alliance. And all theſe things together occaſioned, for a time, a general diſcouragement among the *Romans*.

¹ In the Conſulſhip of *Cato* the elder, *Seneca* paid the ſame compliment to *Rome*. *Tacit. Ann.* 4. c. 17.

² *Lucy* reports, that on advice of the bad ſucceſs of the war in *Macedon*, the *Perſians*, by order of the ſenate, publiſhed

an edict, commanding all the Senators in *Italy* (who were not abſent on affairs of the Republic) to repair to *Rome*; and forbidding thoſe who were in the city to go above a mile from it. *B.* 43. c. 11.

TO *Hyllus* succeeded *Q. Marcus Philistus*, who with *Cn. Sertilius Cato* had been elected to the Consulship for the new year. *Marcus*, with a large reinforcement, which he had brought from *Italy*, joined the army at *Flanilis*. Purposing to prosecute the war with vigour, he presently after his arrival consulted the guides concerning the best way to penetrate into *Macedon*. Some advised him to go by the way of *Pythion*; some by the *Cambrian* mountains, where *Hyllus* had attempted a passage the last year; and others by the side of the lake *Aisciris*. The Consul would determine nothing, till he should come to the place where the road, he was now in, branched out into three roads, which led to those passes. In the mean time *Perjes* heard of the enemy's approach, and being uncertain what way they would take, distributed his own forces to the defence of all places, which might give entrance, or permit ascent. When *Marcus* was come to the three roads before-mentioned, and had heard the opinion of his council, he determined to proceed by that road which led by the lake ^b *Aisciris*; and accordingly sent before him 4000 foot to seize the most convenient posts in the way. Two days was this detachment embarrassed in overcoming the difficulty of only fifteen miles. After marching seven miles further they possessed themselves of a safe piece of ground, from whence they had sight of a body of 12,000 *Macedonians*, which, under the command of *Hippias*, the King had appointed to defend that pass. *Marcus*, having received notice of the situation of his detachment, hastened to join it. *Hippias*, not in the least dismayed at his appearance, met him and fought with him, two or three days successively, each returning to his own camp at night, with little loss on either side. These conflicts being on the narrow ridge of a mountain, where but a small number could march in front, few men were employed; all the rest were spectators. It was impossible for *Marcus* to get forwards, yet both shameful and dangerous to return. He therefore took the only course remaining. Part of his men he left with *Pepilius*, to amuse the enemy, whilst he himself with the rest fetched a compass, seeking a passage by ways that had never been trodden, and being compelled to make paths, where nature seemed to have intended that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountain, that his men, for the most part, rolled themselves down, not daring to trust their feet. And when they had gone or tumbled four miles of this troublesome journey, they desired nothing more earnestly than that they might be allowed to creep back again, if possible, by the way they had come. To add to the other difficulties, the elephants, through fear, recoiled from the precipices, cast their governors, and made such terrible

V. R. 884.
B. C. 147.
167.
23000.
L. B. 423.
C. 1. 2.
1. 1.

^b Geographers are not agreed where to place the lake of *Aisciris*; but the situation of it may be conjectured from hence, that when *Marcus* was got to the top of the

hill which overlooked it, he could see *Pella*, *Dium*, and all the sea coast. This hill was twelve miles from *Dium*.

V. R. 352.
B. C. 191.
158.
28: C. 1.

noises, as affrighted the horses: So that they caused among the troops a confusion almost as great, as if an enemy had broke in upon them by surprize. Shift however was made to let down the huge beasts by a kind of bridge, of which the one end was joined to the edge of the cliff, the other sustained by two posts fastened in the ground below. These bridges were covered with turf, that the beasts might not fear to go upon them. When an elephant had got some way upon one of these bridges, the posts upholding it were cut; which made him slide down to the next bridge, that began where the first ended. In like manner he was conveyed to the third, and so onward to the bottom of the descent.

After seven miles, the army came to a plain, and there rested a whole day, waiting for *Popilius*, who probably stole away in the night; for had the enemy followed him, and set upon him from the higher ground, (which doubtless they would have done, had they known of his motion) he must infallibly have been cut off.

The third and fourth days marches were like the first; only that custom, and the nearness to their journey's end, without meeting an enemy, animated the soldiers, more chearfully to endure the fatigue. The fourth day they encamped in the fields near *Heracleum*, about midway between *Tempe* and *Dium*, where the King had posted himself with the main of his army.

Perjes seems now to have been struck with fear beyond comprehension, and to have entirely lost his reason: for, could he have seen his own advantages, nothing had been more easy for him than to make the Roman General repent of his adventurous march. *Marcus* had indeed avoided the Streight of *Tempe*, and got beyond it; but he was inclosed between that Streight and *Dium*; neither of which could he have forced, had the *Macedonians* defended them: So that he and his army must have perished for want of provisions, unless he could have gone back the way he came; a thing impracticable, considering that the enemy, being now aware of the path he had made, would have fallen upon him from the tops of the hills, of which they were masters. There was no fourth way. Yet the cowardice of *Perjes* gave a colour of prudence to the rashness of the Consul: for the King no sooner heard that the enemy were come over the moun-

* *Tempe* was a valley five miles in length, and very narrow; bounded on one side by mount *Olympus*, and on the other by mount *Ossa*; between which, and through the middle of the valley, ran the river *Peneus*. The road lay on the side of a frightful precipice, along the river, and was so narrow, says *Livy*, that a loaded mule had scarce room to pass. To defend this stright, *Perjes* had posted a detachment at *Ganis*, in the entrance of the valley;

another farther on at *Condion*, an impregnable fortress; a third at a place called *Characa*; and a fourth in the road itself, and where the valley was narrowest.

* *Dium* stood at the foot of mount *Olympus*, on the side towards *Thessaly*, and about a mile from the sea; of which mile, the river *Baphyrus*, becoming there a lake, took up the one half; the rest was such as might be easily fortified.

tains

tains to *Heracleum*, but, crying out, *that he was vanquished without fighting*, he took from *Dium* what valuable things he could carry away in haste, abandoned the town, and retired with his army to *Pydna*. In the same vehemency of amazement he sent strict commands to burn, without delay, his naval stores at *Thessalonica*, and to throw his treasures, that were at *Pella*, into the sea; as if the *Romans* were just at the gates of those two cities, and going to take possession. *Nicias*, who received the order to drown the treasure, performed it as expeditiously as he could; yet not so desperately, but that, when the King regretted the loss, the greater part was recovered by diving. As to the naval stores, *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire to them, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow. Whether *Nicias*, for his absolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his prudent forethought, merited the greater commendation, it lay in the King's breast to determine. The reward of their service was this: *Perfes*, growing ashamed of his mad cowardice, caused them both to be slain. Those poor men also, who had fetched his treasure out of the sea, were recompensed after the same manner; that so there might be no witnesses of the King's frantic fear.

Y. R. 584.
P. Chr.
168.
213 C. 66.
S. W. P.

To fill up the measure of his folly, he withdrew his garrisons from *Tempe*, and called *Hippias* away from the pass of *Ascuris*, as also *Asclepiodorus*, from the guard of another pass; and these men he openly reproached, as if they, and not he, had *betrayed to the enemy the gates and bars of Macedon*.

Marcus took *Dium* without resistance, and from thence went forwards into the country; but, after three days, was compelled, by want of provisions*, to return. His fleet, which he had ordered to steer along the coast, came to him at this time; but had left the storeships behind at *Magnesia*. Luckily for him, *Lucretius*, one of his lieutenants, whom he had employed to seize the fortresses of *Tempe* (abandoned by the *Macedonians*) found there plenty of corn; of which good fortune he gave the Consul notice. The sooner to get this corn, *Marcus* quitted *Dium*, and went to *Phila*†, to meet the convoy that was coming to him; by which foolish journey, he lost not only that important place, but his reputation. For he was now thought a coward, or, at least, an unskilful General; since he thus retreated, when it most imported him to have pushed forward.

Liv. B. 44.
C. 7.

The imprudence of *Marcus* brought the King to see his own error. To correct it in the best manner he could, he quickly repossessed himself of *Dium*, and repaired its fortifications, having found it dismantled by

* It is likely, that the greater part of his stores (for he had taken a month's provision with him from *Pharfalus*) was lost among the mountains; otherwise he could

not have been in such distress, as, without any opposition from the enemy, to be forced to quit his enterprize.

† A town between *Dium* and *Tempe*.

Y. R. 554
 Bef. Chr.
 105.
 283 Cons.
 Sur W. R.

the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly behind the river *Enipeus*. Less diligence, more early employed, would have been enough to have gained him ample revenge upon *Marcus*, who had formerly deceived him by an idle hope of peace. And even his recovering and fortifying *Dium*, and his posting himself on the *Enipeus*, made it impracticable for the Consul to do any thing towards the conquest of *Macedon* in all the continuance of his office. He took indeed *Heracleum*, and made a feint as if he would have driven the King farther off, and retaken *Dium*; but he had nothing so great either in his intention or hope, his chief care being to provide winter quarters. In order to facilitate the conveyance of provisions from *Thessaly* to *Heracleum*, he caused the roads to be cleared, and magazines to be erected in the most convenient places. He also sent the admiral to make attempts upon the maritime towns, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others: But though this commander was assisted by *Emmes* with twenty ships of war, and had five from King *Prusias*, he met with no success in any one of those enterprises, but lost a considerable number of men.

Polyb. Lib.
 2. 78.

As *Marcus* acquired little honour by this campaign, so he shewed himself very unwilling that *Appius Claudius*, who commanded on the side of *Epirum*, should acquire more. At the time when *Perseus*, by the success of his arms against *Hestilius*, had gained great reputation, *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and the patriots among the *Acheans*, judged it for the good of the nation to assist the *Romans*, in their adversity, whom, in their prosperity, they were never prone to flatter. *Archo* therefore proposed a decree, which passed, "That the *Acheans* should send their whole strength into *Thessaly*, and share all dangers with the *Romans*." *Polybius* and others were appointed ambassadors to *Marcus*, to acquaint him with this decree, and to know his pleasure. Finding the Consul busy in seeking a passage into *Macedon*, they went along with the army, but mentioned nothing of their commission till he was got to *Heracleum*. Then *Polybius* presented the decree; at the same time setting forth how invariably obedient the *Acheans* had been, during the course of this war, to every command of the *Romans*. *Marcus* in very strong terms expressed his satisfaction in the proofs of their good-will: but said, that he now needed no assistance. Instantly *Polybius* dispatched his colleagues home to report the Consul's answer, staying himself behind in the camp. After a while, *Marcus* had advice, that *Appius Claudius* desired of the *Acheans* 5000 men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. There could be no room to doubt but *Appius* had need of these men, and might, with such an accession of strength, do signal service, by obliging *Perseus* to divide his forces. Nevertheless *Marcus* desired *Polybius* to return into *Achaia* and take especial care that no such aid were sent to *Appius*: The *Acheans*, he said, ought not to be burthened with an expence to furnish troops that were not wanted. Away went *Polybius*, musing, and unable to resolve whether

whether the Consul's earnestness in this affair proceeded from affection to the *Achaëans*, or from envy towards *Appius*. And when the matter came to be debated in the *Achaëan* diet, *Polybius* was in a new perplexity; the issue nearly concerning himself and those of his party. For should he neglect what the Consul had given him in charge, he was sure to incur his resentment; and, on the other hand, he considered, that words spoken by *Marcus* to him in private would prove no good warrant to the *Achaëans* for refusing assistance to *Appius*. In this dilemma therefore he had recourse to the decree of the Senate, which exempted all their allies from the necessity of submitting to any imposition from a *Roman* commander, unless the same imposition were authorised by express order of the Conscript Fathers. *Appius* having no such warrant, the Diet referred his demand to the Consul, by whom they knew it would be opposed. And thus *Polybius*, by his artful management, saved to the *Achaëans* above 120 * talents *.

V. R. 534.
Pet. Chr.
163.
283 C. 166.

* 25,250 l.
Atbanot.

C H A P. XIX.

FOURTH YEAR of the War.

L. Æmilius Paullus chosen Consul at Rome.

The report of some commissaries with regard to the state of the war in Macedon.

A negotiation between King Perseus and King Eumenes; each believing the other to be a knave, they come to no agreement.

King Perseus cheats King Gentius.

The base and foolish conduct of the Macedonian towards the Bastarnæ.

PLUTARCH reports, that the people of *Rome*, weary of the long continuance of the *Macedonian* war, [in which, through the cowardice, or insufficiency of their Generals, they had got nothing hitherto

* This year was passed at *Rome* the famous *Voconian* law, so called from *Q. Voconius*, the Tribune who proposed it. The law enacted, that no woman should be left heiress to an estate; and that no *Census* should, by his will, give above a fourth part of what he was worth to a woman. By a *Census* is meant a person rated high in the Censor's books.

The same year a difference happened between the Censors, *T. Sempronius Gracchus* and *C. Claudius Pulcher*, about the freedmen. These, that they might have the less sway in elections, had been con-

fined to the four city tribes: and *Gracchus* now proposed to deprive the greatest part of them entirely of the right of suffrage. But *Claudius* insisted that this was illegal; and that though a Censor might remove a man from one tribe to another (which was the full meaning of *tribu movere*) yet he could remove no man, much less a whole order of men, from all the five and thirty tribes. It was at length agreed, that all the freedmen should be incorporated in one of the city tribes; and it fell by lot to the *Esquiline* tribe to receive them. *Liv.* .B 45. c. 15.

but dishonour,] cast their eyes upon *L. Æmilius Paullus*, as a Captain, from whose courage and abilities they might hope a speedy and fortunate issue to that enterprise.

This man, the son of that *Æmilius Paullus*, who perished at the battle of *Cannæ*, had been Consul in the year 571, and had then conducted the war against the *Ligurians* with so much success, as to deserve the honour of a triumph. He was now near sixty years of age, but in full strength both of body and mind. Some time before this, the people had refused him a second Consulship when he stood candidate for it: But in the present exigency they raised him to that dignity, even against his inclinations; and assigned him the province of *Macedon*, without suffering him to draw lots with his colleague *C. Licinius Crassus* *.

Æmilius would propose nothing to the Senate concerning his Province, till by Commissaries, sent thither to view the state of things, the strength and condition both of the *Roman* and *Macedonian* forces were perfectly known.

Liv. B. 44. c. 20. The Commissaries at their return reported, "That the army had penetrated into *Macedon*, but with greater danger than benefit: that the two camps lay near each other, the river *Eripus* between them: that the King avoided a battle, and the *Romans* had not strength to force him to it: that the *Macedonians* were 30,000 strong: that *Marcus* wanted provisions; the *Roman* Admiral, men; and, for those few that he had, wanted both money and clothes: that *Appius Claudius* and his army, on the frontier of *Illyricum*, were so far from being in a condition to invade *Macedon*, that they lay exposed to the danger of being cut off, if not speedily reinforced: that *Eumenes* and his fleet had just appeared, and then gone away; nobody could tell why: that he was wavering in his friendship to *Rome*, but his brother *Attalus* unquestionably steady."

Liv. B. 44. c. 23. *Valerius Antias* reports that *Eumenes* coming to assist *Marcus*, in the same friendly manner as he had assisted the former Consuls, was not treated with the distinction he had expected; and thereupon returned home in anger, refusing, though requested, to leave behind him his *Gallo-Greek* horse. Whether this were truly so, or whether the *Pergamenians* began, when too late, to apprehend, lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would soon take hold of his own kingdom, it is certain that about this time he grew cold in his behaviour to the *Romans*. *Perseus* took encouragement from it to sound him; and, finding him tractable, made an attempt to disengage him from the interest of *Rome*. The ambassadors whom he sent to *Pergamus* on this business, (but under colour of negotiating an exchange of prisoners) were also commissioned to go to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*, then at war with

Ptolemy
*Le-
gation*
*Liv. B. 44.
c. 24.*

* *Liv.* says nothing of *Æmilius's* reluctance to accept of the Consulship; and tells us, that the province of *Macedon* fell to him by lot.

Ptolemy of Egypt. These ministers had orders to represent to *Eumenes*, "that there could be no real friendship between a King and a free state: that the *Romans* had an equal enmity to all Kings, though they used the help of one King against another: that they had oppressed *Philip* by the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus the Great* by the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now made use of the forces of *Eumenes* and *Prusias* to ruin *Perjes*." They were to exhort the *Pergamenians* to consider, "that the kingdom of *Macedon* once destroyed, his own could be no longer safe; and that the *Romans* already began to look with a better eye upon *Prusias* than upon him." In like manner they were to admonish *Antiochus* "not to expect any good conclusion of his war with the *Romans*, so long as the *Romans* could make him desist from the prosecution of it, by a bare declaration of their will and pleasure." And lastly they were to request, of both *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*, "that they would either, by negotiation, engage the Republic to make peace with the *Macedonians*; or, in case she persisted in so unjust a war, turn their arms against her, as against the common enemy of all Kings." What answer the *Syrian* gave is not recorded. *Eumenes* having perceived that the *Romans* themselves were weary of so tedious and difficult a war, and thinking it not unlikely that a peace would soon be concluded, whether he used his mediation or not, conceived a project of drawing some pecuniary advantage to himself from the present situation of things. He offered *Perjes*, for a 1000 talents, to stand neuter; for 1500, to procure him a peace; and, in either bargain, not only to pledge his word, but to give hostages. The *Macedonian* approved very much the article of hostages; and readily agreed with *Eumenes*, that they should be sent to *Cyrene*. But as to paying the money, here he stuck. He was willing to be at some expence for a peace with *Rome*; but did not care to pay for it before he had it. Till the peace should be concluded, he would needs deposite the money in the temple of *Samothrace*. As this island belonged to *Perjes*, *Eumenes* thought the money would be no nearer to him there, than if it remained in *Pella*; and therefore insisted upon having at least part of it in hand. Thus the two Kings (says *Livy*) in vain attempted to over-reach one another, and got nothing but infamy for their labour.

After the like manner acted *Perjes* with *Gentius of Illyricum*; with whom he had been treating before, and who had answered him in plain terms, that without money he could not stir. The *Macedonian* was very backward at that time to diminish his treasures; but, when the *Romans* had got possession of *Tempe*, he agreed to pay 300 talents, which *Gentius* demanded as the price of his friendship; and hostages were to be delivered on both sides for performance of covenants. *Gentius* sent his hostages, in company with some ambassadors, to the *Macedonian* camp, where *Perjes* ratified the treaty by oath, and delivered his

*Y. R. 155.
Bell. C. 11.
16.
234 Conf.*

*Appian.
fragmenti
L. 9.*

*Polyn.
Leg. 76.
77.*

*Id. Legat.
85.*

way of *Perrhabia*, into *Thessaly*, where ravaging the country, they would have constrained the *Romans* to abandon *Tempe*, even for want of provisions. This and much more might have been done; but *Perfes* was a better guardian of his money than of his kingdom. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, one of his nobles, and the same messenger who had been with the *Gauls* before, was sent again, to let them know the King's mind. He did his errand; upon which followed a great murmuring of those many thousands that had been drawn so far from their own country to no purpose. *Clondicus* asked him, *Whether he had brought the money with him to pay those 5000 whom the King would take into his service.* And when it was perceived, that *Antigonus*, for want of an answer, had recourse to shirking excuses, the *Gauls*, without delay, marched back towards the *Danube*, pillaging and wasting that part of *Thrace* through which they passed. Yet, barbarians as they were, they suffered the messenger of fraud to escape unhurt, which was more than he could well have expected.

Y. R. 585.
1st. Chr.
167.
284 Conf.

Thus acted *Perfes*, like a careful treasurer for the *Romans*, and as if he meant, says *Livy*, to preserve his money for them, without diminishing the sum^c.

C H A P. XX.

Gentius of Illyricum conquered by the Prætor Anicius.

Æmilius Paullus arrives in Macedon, and drives the enemy from the banks of the Enipeus.

Perfes defeated at the battle of Pydna.

He takes refuge in the island of Samothrace.

All Macedon submits to the Romans; and the King surrenders himself to Octavius, the Roman Admiral, who sends him prisoner to the Consul.

UPON the report before-mentioned of the Commissaries, returned from *Macedon*, the Senate ordered into that country a large supply of men; but *Æmilius* was to have, in his army, only two *Roman* legions, of 6000 foot, and 300 horse each; and of the *Italian* allies 12,000 foot, and 1200 horse. What soldiers remained after completing these numbers, were to be disposed of in garrison, if fit for service; if unfit, they were to be discharged. Yet, according to *Plutarch*, *Æmilius* had in *Macedon* 100,000 men under his command. *Cn. Octavius* the Admiral

Liv. E. 47.
c. 21.

^c *Dio Cassius* imputes this parsimonious conduct of *Perfes*, to a confidence in his own strength, not doubting but that he

should be able, without the assistance of allies, to drive the *Romans* out of *Greece*.
Dio. Cass. ap. Vales. p. 611.

Y. R. 23.
E. C. 5.
234 C. 1.

of the fleet had 5000 recruits granted him. And to the Prætor L. Anicius, appointed to succeed *Appius Claudius* in *Illyricum*, was allotted an army of 20,400 foot and 1400 horse.

The Consul, before his departure from *Rome*, made an harangue to the people. The substance of it was a reproof for the liberty they took, while ignorant of the true state of things, to censure the conduct of their Generals. He said, "That, if any of them thought themselves wise enough to manage this war, he desired their company into *Macedon*, to assist him with their advice; that he had ships, horses, tents, and provisions ready at their service: But if they did not care to exchange the ease and indolence of a town life for the fatigues of war, they would do well to restrain their tongues; for he should not govern his actions by their caprice; nor have regard to any councils but such as were given him in the camp."

In the beginning of *April*, *Emilius* the Consul, *Ostavius* the Admiral, and *Anicius* the Prætor, set out for their respective provinces.

App. in
Liv. B. 44.
c. 31.

The success of *Anicius* in *Illyricum* was as rapid as fortunate. He brought the war to a conclusion in thirty days, and before they knew at *Rome*, that he had begun it. *Gentius*, after some loss at sea, and the ready submission of some of his towns to the *Romans*, shut himself up in *Scodra*, his capital, with all his army, consisting of 15,000 men. This place being very defensible by nature, and so strongly garrisoned, and the King there in person, it could not possibly have been taken in a short time, had the defenders of it kept within their walls. But they would needs sally out and fight; in this seeming rather passionate than courageous, for they were presently routed: and though they lost but 200 men, yet such was their fright and amazement, that *Gentius* thought it advisable to ask of the Prætor a truce, in order, as he said, to deliberate concerning the state of his affairs. Three days being granted him, he employed this time in enquiring after his brother *Caravantius*, whom he had commissioned to raise forces, and who was reported to be approaching to his rescue. Finding the rumour groundless, and having asked and obtained of the Prætor permission to come to him, he threw himself at his feet, lamented with tears his past folly, and yielded himself, together with his wife and children, at discretion: After which the whole kingdom presently submitted. *Anicius* dispatched *Perperna* (one of the ambassadors whom *Gentius* had imprisoned) with the news of all these events to *Rome*.

Liv. B. 44.
c. 41.
Pant. life
Æmil.
App. in
fragment.
Liv. B. 44.
c. 31.

ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, having set sail from *Brundisium* at break of day, arrived at *Cençra* before night. Thence in five days he reached *Delpi*, where he sacrificed to *Apollo*. In five days more he joined the army at *Pbila*, not far from the *Enipeus*.

Perfes, after taking the best measures he could to hinder a descent from the *Roman* fleet on the coast, spared no labour to fortify his bank of the

the *Enipeus*; so that the Consul had little hope to force him in his camp, and enter *Macedon* that way^a. On enquiry he learnt, that there was a passage over mount *Olympus*, and by *Pythium*; the road not bad, but blocked up by a body of troops which the King had placed there. To force this guard, *Æmilius* chose out 5000 men, whom he committed to the conduct of *Scipio Nasica*, his son-in-law, and *Q. Fabius* his own son by nature, but adopted into the *Fabian* family. In order to conceal the design, they took the way to *Heracleum*, as if they were going to embark on board the fleet. From *Heracleum* they directed their march to *Pythium*, dividing the journey so as to arrive there the third day before it was light. In the mornings of those two days, when they were passing the mountain, *Æmilius*, that he might fix the King's attention on something present, detached a part of his *velites* to attack the advanced guard of the *Macedonians*. The channel of the *Enipeus*, which received in winter a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceedingly deep and broad, and the ground of it such, as though at present it lay almost quite dry, yet it afforded no good footing for heavy armed troops. It was for this reason *Æmilius* employed only his *velites*, of whom the King's light armed soldiers had the advantage in a distant fight, though the *Romans* were better armed for close engagement. The engines from the towers, which *Perfes* had raised on his own bank, played also upon the *Romans*, and did considerable execution. Yet *Æmilius* renewed his assault the second day; when he suffered yet a greater loss than the first. The third day he made a motion as if he meant to attempt a passage over the river near the sea. In the mean time, the King's camp became, on a sudden, full of tumult and confusion. *Scipio* and *Fabius* (according to *Polybius*) had surprized the *Macedonian* guard upon the mountain asleep and slain most of them; the rest with all speed fled to the army, with the news, that the *Romans* had passed the mountain, and were at their backs. The King instantly broke up his camp, and made a hasty retreat to *Pydna*^b. Thus was a passage once more opened into *Macedon*; an advantage which *Æmilius* did not, like his predecessor *Marcus*, neglect to improve.

V. R. 85.
Bel. Car.
167.
224 Conf.

Polyb. ap.
Plut.

^a About this time the Consul introduced some new regulations in the *Roman* discipline. The word of command used to be given aloud at the head of the legions to all the soldiers, but *Æmilius* now ordered the Tribune of the nearest legion to give it in a low voice to his Primipile, who was to transmit it to the next Centurion, and thus it was to be conveyed from one to another, till it had gone through the whole army. And whereas it had been the custom

for the guards to stand from morning to night in their posts, without being relieved; the Consul altered this method, ordering them to be changed at noon. And because they often fell asleep, leaning upon their shields, he commanded that for the future they should go upon guard without a shield. *Liv.* B. 44. c. 23.

^b This account differs in some circumstances from *Plutarch's*.

Y. R. 585.
 Bet. Chr.
 167.
 234 Cons.

Plut. 10 of
 Hann.

Liv. B. 24.
 c. 36.

Perjes could not determine for a while what course to take; whether to distribute his troops into the fortified towns, and so to protract the war; or to put all at once to the hazard of a battle. Seeing his men in good heart, and eager to fight, he at length resolved to venture a general action. He chose therefore a place near the walls of *Pydna*, commodious for the Phalanx, and on each side of which were some high grounds, fit for the archers and light armed troops. A river covered the whole front; and this river, though shallow, and of little breadth, must in some measure break the order of the *Romans* in advancing to him. It was not long before the enemy appeared. He offered them battle; which the *Roman* soldiers would gladly have accepted the instant they arrived: But *Æmilius*, knowing that they were fatigued with their march, did not think it advisable to come to an engagement till they had taken some rest. Yet, that he might seemingly yield to the ardour of his men, he began to draw them up as for battle, directing the Tribunes to repair each to his post. As the day advanced, and the sun grew hotter, the countenances of the soldiers appeared less animated, their voices sunk, and some of the men were seen leaning on their shields and javelins for weariness. The Consul hereupon ordered a camp to be marked out. His chief officers, though dissatisfied with this change (as they thought it) of his design, yet remained silent. But young *Scipio*, whose late success on mount *Olympus* gave him confidence, took the liberty to remonstrate, begging him not to lose his opportunity by delay. *Æmilius* told him, he spoke like a young man, and bid him have patience. This said, he commanded the troops in the front of his army to remain in their order, while those in the rear formed a camp and entrenched it: which finished, the whole army at leisure fell back into it, without any confusion or molestation from the enemy.

The next day many in each army blamed their Generals for not having fought the day before. *Perjes* excused himself by the backwardness of the enemy, who did not advance, but kept upon ground very inconvenient for the Phalanx. On the other side the Consul, who had his reasons before-mentioned, communicated them to those about him.

Str W. R.

In the evening of that day (which, by the *Roman* account, was the third of September), *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a legionary Tribune, foretold to *Æmilius*, and, with his approbation, to the army, an eclipse of the moon which would happen the same night; admonishing the soldiers not to be terrified, it being a natural event, which might be known long before the time. The *Romans* (according to their custom) while the eclipse lasted, beat pans of brass and basons, as we do in following a swarm of bees; thinking that thereby they helped the moon in her labour. On the other side the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noise, and this doubtless because it was their custom, and not because they were frightened at the eclipse, as with a prodigy that foreboded any mischief to them;

them; since it did not in the least diminish their ardour for the fight. *Æmilius*, though not so ignorant concerning this phenomenon as to imagine it any thing supernatural, yet, being very religious, could not refrain from doing his duty to the moon, and, by a sacrifice of eleven young bulls, as soon as she shone out bright again, congratulating with her on her delivery. And early the next morning, when he had given the signal to prepare for battle, he sacrificed to *Hercules* twenty oxen successively, before any good omens could be found in the entrails. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth ox, was found a promise of victory to the *Romans*, but conditionally ^c that they acted only on the defensive.

Y. R. 535.
B. C. 177.
253 C. 15.
Plut. Life of
Æmilius.

About three in the afternoon, when there was no likelihood of a battle, *Perseus* keeping his ground, and *Æmilius* having sent abroad a part of his men for wood and forage, an accident brought that to pass, of which neither of the Generals seemed very desirous. A horse belonging to a *Roman* broke loose, and ran into the river, whither two or three of the soldiers followed him: eight hundred *Thracians* lay on the further bank, whence two of them ran into the water to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows with the *Romans*, as in a private quarrel, and one of the *Thracians* was slain. Some of his countrymen halted to revenge their fellow's death, and followed over the river those that had slain him. Hereupon assistance came in on each part, till the number grew such as made it past a fray, and caused the Generals of both armies to be anxious about the event. *Perseus* and *Æmilius* drew up their men in order of battle; and, to elevate their courage, employed all the arguments which the importance of the occasion suggested. But the King having finished his oration, and ordered his men to the charge, withdrew himself into *Pydna*; there to offer sacrifice to *Hercules*: as if *Hercules*, says *Plutarch*, could like the sacrifice of a coward; or would grant victory to him that would not fight ^d.

Liv. B. 44
c. 40.

It

^c Sir W. R. pleasantly says, "that *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than the *Roman*. That therefore it had been better to call upon the new Goddess lately canonized at *Alabanda*, or upon *Romulus*, or (if a God of older date were more authentic) upon *Mars* the father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs, and who therefore would have limited his favour with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war."

One of the most distinguishing parts of *Æmilius's* character was circumspection and caution, which he had inherited from his father, a disciple of *Fabius Cunctator*. And though Sir W. R. blames *Æmilius* on

this occasion, as vainly consuming a great part of the day, in the sacrifices above-mentioned; yet, considering the advantage which *Perseus* had of the ground, it is not improbable, that the Consul had better reasons than any he found in the ox's belly, for desiring that the King should quit his post, and be the assailant. *Plutarch* speaks of the morning sun being full in the faces of the *Romans*, as a reason for *Æmilius's* deferring the battle till the afternoon. But it appears from *Livy*, that the Consul had no intention to fight, even when the sun favoured him.

^d One *Pofidonius* (an historian quoted by *Plutarch*) says, that he was present at this battle,

K k k 2

Y. R. 185.
Bel. Chr.
167.
284 Cons.

It is impossible to form any satisfactory notion of this battle, in its detail, from the imperfect accounts of it in *Livy* and *Plutarch*. We read that the *Macedonian* cavalry quickly fled out of the field; that nevertheless the Phalanx pressed on so resolutely as to bear down all that opposed it, in so much that *Emilius* was astonished and terrified, and rent his clothes for grief. What gave him the victory was the difficulty, not to say the impossibility of the Phalanx's preserving its order for any considerable time. For while some of the *Roman* battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoiled from it, it was necessary, if the *Macedonians* would follow those that gave ground, that some files should advance beyond the rest. *Emilius*, when he saw the front of the enemy's battle become unequal (by reason of the unequal resistance which they met with) and the ranks in some places open, divided his men into small battalions, ordering them to throw themselves into the void spaces, and charge the Phalangites in flank. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* by this means became useless: and, with only their weak swords and targets, they were by no means a match for the *Roman* Legionaries, who had strong swords, and whose shields covered them almost from head to foot. There soon followed a total rout of the *Macedonian* infantry. More than 20,000 of them are said to be slain, and 5000 taken prisoners. It is also said, that the *Romans* did not lose above a hundred men; a tale not very consistent with what is related of the exploits of the *Macedonian* Phalanx.

Plut. Life of
Emil

Sir W. R.

Liv. B. 44.
c. 43.

Perjes fled from *Pydna* towards *Pella*, attended by a great number of his horse. Some of the foot which had escaped from the slaughter overtook the King and his company in a wood, where they fell to railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and other such names, till at length they came to blows*. The King, fearing lest they should turn their wrath against him, suddenly left the high road. A few followed him: the rest dispersed themselves, and went every one whither his inclinations guided him. Of those that kept with their King the number began in a short time to lessen: for he fell to devising upon whom to lay the blame of that day's misfortune; which caused those that knew his nature to shrink away from him under various pretences. At his coming to *Pella* about midnight, he found his pages, and *Eutrus*† the Governor of the town, ready to attend him; but of his great men that

battle, and reports, that *Perjes*, though hurt the day before in the leg by a kick of a horse, did nevertheless, and contrary to the pressing instances of his friends, lead his phalanx to the charge, and that he continued at their head till he was wounded in the side by a javelin.

* *Livy* says nothing of the foot having

overtaken the horsemen, or of the quarrel between them; or that the King blamed any body for the loss of the battle.

† *Plutarch* says, that *Perjes* stabbed with his own hand this *Eutrus*, and one *Edcus*, for telling him of his faults, and giving him advice with too much freedom.

had

had escaped from the battle, though he often sent for them, not one would come near him. Fearing lest they, who had the boldness to disobey his summons, would dare something worse, he stole out of *Pella* before morning. There went with him only *Evander* (the *Cretan* formerly employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other companions of his flight from *Pydna*. The third day after the battle *Perfes* came to *Amphipolis*, where having several times attempted to make a speech to the people, and having as often been hindered by his tears from proceeding, he appointed *Evander* to speak in his name what he himself had intended to say. The *Amphipolitans*, upon the first rumour of the King's defeat, had emptied their town of 2000 *Thracians* that lay there in garrison, sending them out, under colour of an expedition that was to make them rich, and then shutting the gates after them. And now to rid themselves of the King, some of the citizens cried out while *Evander* was speaking, *Hence; depart; must we be ruined upon your account?* *Perfes* therefore put his family, his treasures, and 500 *Cretans*, on board some vessels which were in the river *Strymon*, and embarking with them followed the course of the stream. These *Cretans* are said to have repaired to him, not out of any affection to his person, or his cause, but to his money, of which they hoped to share^{*}. The King knowing their wishes and views, caused some gold and silver cups and vases, to the value of fifty talents^{*}, to be laid on the shore, as a booty for which they might scramble. He would not make the distribution himself, for fear of disobliging some of them. When the *Cretans* had loaded themselves with these riches, the little fleet sailed to *Galepsos*, a maritime town between the mouths of the *Strymon* and the *Hebrus*. But now *Perfes*, repenting of his liberality, pretended to the *Cretans*, that among the cups and vases there had been put, by mistake, some which *Alexander the Great* had made use of; for whose memory he had so high a respect, that it grieved him, he said, to part with the least thing that had belonged to that Hero; and he offered to redeem them with more than they were intrinsically worth. Many of the *Cretans*, imposed upon by this declaration, brought back their urns and vases. The King passed into *Samothrace*, and spoke no more of the money. By this base artifice he recovered about thirty talents^h.

Samothrace was an island consecrated to *Cybele* the mother of the Gods. According to tradition she had formerly dwelt in it, on which account it was held sacred by all nations. *Perfes*, hoping that the *Romans* would not profane this sanctuary by staining it with his blood, chose to retire thither with his family and the remains of his dear treasure (which

Y. R. 585.
B. E. Chr.
167.
282. C. C. f.

* 9687 l.
108. Ar-
buthnot.

Plut. life of
Æmil.

* This may be true, yet it seems natural, that, without this allurements, they should adhere to *Evander*, their country-

man and General, who continued about the King.

^h *Livy* makes no mention of this cheat.

V. R. 555.
Bell. Cntr.
16.
284 C. 55.

* 284 C. 55.
A. 284 C. 55.

Liv. B. 44.
C. 45, 46.

still amounted to about * 2000 talents, and he took up his habitation in a place adjoining to the temple of *Cæster* and *Pellux*.

It is somewhat singular, that a King whose arms had prospered for three years together, should, after the loss of only one battle, be so deserted by all his subjects, and reduced to such miserable shifts: And it renders credible, in some degree, what the historians have related of his monstrous fallhood, avarice and pusillanimity, in the latter part of his reign. The whole kingdom fell into the power of *Æmilius* in a few days after his victory. *Hippias*, who had kept the pass near the lake *Æcuris* against *Marcus*; *Pantauchus*, who had been sent ambassador to *Gentius*; and *Mis*, another of the King's principal officers, were the first that came in, yielding themselves and the town of *Beræa*, whither they had retired out of the battle. With messages to the like effect came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and most of the towns of *Macedon*, within two days. *Pydna* held out a day or two longer. About 6000 soldiers of divers nations having fled out of the battle into that town, this confused rabble of strangers hindered the townsmen from coming immediately to any determination. *Mis* and *Pantauchus*, by the direction of *Æmilius*, went thither to parly with the commander of the garrison. It was agreed that the soldiers should yield themselves prisoners of war, and that the *Roman* army should have the plunder of the city. After this, *Æmilius* marched to *Pella*, where, of the King's treasure, he found no more than 300 talents [*Livy* should have said, 290;] the same of which the *Macedonian* had lately defrauded *Gentius*.

B. 45. c. 4.
& seq.

The report that *Perjes* had taken refuge in *Samothrace*, was soon confirmed by his own letters to the Consul. He had sent these letters by persons of such mean condition, that *Æmilius* is said to have wept with compassion for a King so fallen as to have no servants of better rank to employ in this commission. But though *Perjes* had written in the stile of a suppliant, and not of a King, yet, because the inscription of his epistle was, *King Perjes to the Consul Paullus*, his folly, says *Livy*, in retaining the title of King, when he had lost his kingdom, extinguished all the Consul's pity, so that he would return him no answer either by word or writing. The *Macedonian* now felt the whole weight of his calamity; he wrote again, omitting the word King in the superscription, and desiring *Æmilius* to send to him some persons with whom he might confer about his present condition. Three went to him from the Consul, but effected nothing; they insisting, that *Perjes* should yield himself at discretion; and he refusing to part with the title of King. It was perhaps the hope of being able to compound with his enemies, and purchase of them the permission to live in quiet, and retain the title of King, that had made him so carefully preserve his treasures, and retire with them to *Samothrace*: imagining that the *Romans* would neither violate a sanctuary, nor yet neglect the riches in his possession.

Presently

Presently after arrived at that island, with the *Roman* fleet, *C. Octavius*, who had been ordered thither by the Consul. *Octavius* endeavoured as well by threats as by fair words, to make the King leave his retreat. All proving ineffectual, a young *Roman* named *Atilius*, moved a question to the *Samothracians*; *How they came to pollute their island (which they held to be sacred, by receiving, even into their sanctuary, a man stained with the blood of King Eumenes, whom he wounded and endeavoured to murder, in the holy precincts of the temple at Delphi?* As they were now absolutely in the power of the *Romans*, this question caused no small perplexity and fear. They signified to the King, that *Evander*, who lived with him, was accused of a sacrilegious crime, of which he must either clear himself, upon a fair trial; or, if through guilt he durst not stand a trial, must cease to profane a holy place, and leave it immediately. The King himself was not charged in this message; yet, what would that avail him, if the instrument of the fact, being brought into judgment, should impeach the author? *Perses* therefore exhorted the *Cretan*, by no means to stand a trial, in which neither favour nor justice could be expected; adding that the best thing he could do was bravely to kill himself. *Evander* seemed to approve the advice; but said, he had rather die by poison than the sword; and, under colour of preparing poison, he prepared to escape. The King, suspecting his intention, found means to get him murdered; and then, to avoid the charge of having polluted the holy place, he bribed the chief magistrate of *Samothrace* to publish, that the *Cretan* had killed himself. This monstrous proceeding of *Perses*, towards so constant a follower of his fortunes, drove almost every body from him, except his wife, his children, and his pages. Thus deserted, he turned his thoughts to make an escape, and fly with his treasures to King *Cotys* of *Thrace*, his good friend and ally. *Oroandes*, a *Cretan*, who lay at *Samothrace* with one ship, was easily persuaded to undertake the affair. The dear treasure (as much of it as could be so conveyed) *Perses* caused secretly to be carried on board by night: After which, having got out at a window, with his wife and his eldest son *Philip*¹, they passed through a garden, and over a wall, and thence to the sea-side. No ship was there. *Oroandes* had sailed away with the money. *Perses* wandered some time on the shore, undetermined what course to take. It grew towards day: Fearing therefore to be discovered and intercepted, he made all haste back to his asylum.

Octavius published a proclamation, importing, That all the *Macedonians*, who yet attended their master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and liberty, with whatever estate or effects they had, either in the island, or in *Macedon*, provided they immediately yielded them-

¹ This elder son is said by *Livy* to have been the King's brother by nature, and his son only by adoption.

V. R. 585.
B.C. Chr.
167.
284 Conf.

Y. R. 355.
B. A. C. 171.
171.
224 C. 171.

selves to the *Romans*. Hereupon the pages, who were the sons of the chief nobles, and who had hitherto constantly kept with the King, surrendered themselves to the Prætor. It was also, a *Theſſalonian*, to whom *Perſes* had committed the care of his younger children, delivered them up. Lastly, the King, now destitute of all support, and accusing the Gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, gave himself up, with his son *Philip*, to *Octavius*, who sent them away to *Æmilius*: and thus the *Roman* victory was compleat ^k.

Perſes entered the camp in a mourning habit; and when he came into the Consul's tent, would have thrown himself at his feet; a behaviour so base and abject, that *Æmilius* thought it dishonoured his victory. Having made the King sit down, he expostulated with him, in gentle words, on his having, *ſo* ^l *unjustly* and with *ſo* *hostile a mind*, made war upon the *Romans*. To this a Prince of more spirit would not have wanted an answer. *Perſes* said nothing. The Consul went on, "However these things have happened, whether through mistake, to which every man is liable, or by chance, or by the inevitable decrees of fate; take courage: The clemency of the *Roman* people, which so many Kings and nations have experienced in adversity, affords you, not only a hope, but almost an assurance of life." He then gave the King in custody to *Ælius Tubero*, who was the Consul's son-in-law.

Thus ended the *Macedonian* war (which had lasted four years) and with it the *Macedonian* monarchy, after it had continued in splendor 193 years, reckoning only from *Philip* the father of *Alexander the Great* ^m.

Lit. B. 45.
C. 21.
Plut. life of
Paul.
Appian.
Strabo.

^k *Æmilius Paulus* is (by *Livy* and others) made to boast in a speech to the people, that he finished the war against *Perſes* in *fifteen days*. This is absolutely unintelligible, unless he reckons from the battle of *Pydna*, or the action upon the *Enipeus*: for no circumstances of the whole story are better, if so well, authorized, than his leaving *Rome* the first of *April* to go to the army, his arrival in the camp the eleventh day after sailing from *Brundisium*, and his fighting the battle of *Pydna* on the fourth of *September*.

Petavius says it is evident, from the eclipse which happened the night before this battle, that it was fought in the year before Christ 168. *Rationaler. Temp. P. II. B. 2. c. 14.*

^l So outrageous an insult upon wretchedness, as *Æmilius* is guilty of, in this lying expostulation, is hardly to be paralleled.

^m The *Roman* State, by the entire conquest of *Macedon*, became exalted to the pitch of an irresistible Power. Sir *Walter*

Raleigh, finishing that part, which he has left us of the *History of the World*, with this conquest, makes use of a beautiful similitude to express the prosperous condition and high fortune of the *Romans* at that period, and likewise the future fate, the decline, and total ruin of their empire.

"By this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first monarchies of the world. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field, having rooted up or cut down all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field and cut her down." Sir *W. R. in fine.*

C H A P.

C H A P. XXI.

The ill reception of the Rhodian ambassadors at Rome.

Antiochus Epiphanes haughtily treated by a Roman ambassador.

Compliments to the Senate from Antiochus, the Ptolemys of Egypt, and Masinissa.

The Prætor Anicius reduces the Epirots; and, in conjunction with five Commissioners from Rome, settles the government of Illyricum.

Æmilius Paullus, assisted by ten commissioners, settles the affairs of Macedon.

Their conduct with regard to the Ætolians, Achæans and other Greeks.

Æmilius frames a body of laws for the Macedonians. His cruelty to the Epirots. He with difficulty obtains a triumph at Rome.

The death of Perſes.

The Romans restore to Cotys his captive son.

IT is needless to say any thing of the joy at *Rome* upon the news of the victory at *Pydna*. The *Romans* began now to look with a haughty and menacing eye, upon all those of their allies, whose behaviour had displeased them during the war of *Macedon*.

The republic of *Rhodes* (as was before * observed) had arrogantly undertaken to put an end to the war between *Perſes* and the *Romans*. At what time soever her ambassadors came to *Rome* on this affair (for the time is uncertain) they had not their audience till after the news of *Æmilius's* victory *. The Senate, who knew upon what business these Ministers had been sent, maliciously called for them now, and bid them perform their commission. *Ageſipolis*, chief of the embassy, said, "That they had come in the view of mediating a peace, believing, that the war was extremely burthensome to the *Greeks* in general, and, on ac-

V. R. 585.
Bef. Chr.
167.
284 Conf.

* See p. 430.

Liv. B. 45.
c. 3.
Polyb. Legat. 88.

* *Livy* having before related (B. 44. c. 14.) that these very ambassadors had been admitted to audience in the consulship of *Marcus*, and had then spoken arrogantly and in threatening terms to the senate, now tells us, that, according to some authors, these ministers had no audience till after the battle of *Pydna*. That this last account is true, may be gathered from *Polybius*, who had a share in the transactions of those times. He tells us,

that the *Rhodians* indeed sent ambassadors to *Rome*, in the Consulship of *Marcus*; but that their business was to renew their friendship with the *Romans*, to vindicate *Rhodes* from the charge of disaffection to *Rome*, and to ask leave to export a certain quantity of corn from *Sicily*. He adds, that they were very graciously received, and civilly dismissed. *Legat.* 80. 86. 88. and 93.

Y. R. 35.
B. C. 197.
197.
234 C. 197.

“ count of the expences that attended it, even to the *Romans* them-
“ selves. But since it was now brought to that conclusion, which the
“ *A Macedonians* had always wished, they congratulated with the Senate and
“ people of *Rome* on so happy an event.” To which the Fathers an-
“ swered, “ That the *Rhodians* had not sent this embassy, from any re-
“ gard to the welfare of *Greece*, or from affection to the *Roman* people;
“ but for the service of *Perſes*. For, had they studied the good of
“ *Greece*, they would have offered their mediation, when *Perſes* had his
“ camp in *Thessaly*, and, for two years together, ravaged the lands of
“ the *Greeks*. But as the mediating scheme was not thought of till the
“ *Roman* army had entered *Macedon*, and *Perſes* had small hopes to
“ escape, it plainly shewed, that the only view of the *Rhodian* Repub-
“ lic was, as much as in her lay, to rescue the *Macedonian* out of his
“ danger. Her ambassadors therefore had no title to be received by
“ the Senate as friends, or to expect a friendly answer.”

How excessively the *Roman* pride was swelled by their conquest of
Macedon, we have a remarkable proof in what past, about this time,
between their ambassador and the King of *Syria*.

54 B. C.
167 B. C.

477 B. C.
197 B. C.

P. 10. L.
234 B. C.
H. 197 B. C.
197 B. C.
197 B. C.
197 B. C.
197 B. C.

197 B. C.
197 B. C.

After the death of *Antiochus* surnamed *the Great* (who was killed by
the people of *Elymais*, for plundering the temple of *Jupiter Belus* in their
country) his son, *Seleucus Philopater*, succeeded him in the throne. *Seleu-*
cus sent for his younger brother *Antiochus*, who had been a hostage at
Rome, ever since the conclusion of the peace between his father and the
Republic; and gave in exchange for him his own son *Demetrius*. Be-
fore *Antiochus* arrived in *Syria*, *Seleucus* was poisoned, and the kingdom
usurped by *Heliödomus*, the treasurer. Nevertheless, by the assistance of
Eumenes King of *Pergamus*, *Antiochus* expelled the Usurper, and seated
himself in the throne, assuming the surname of *Epiphanes* [or the Illus-
trious.] He entered into a war against his nephew *Ptolemy Philometor*,
King of *Egypt*, about *Cele-Syria* and *Palestine*; vanquished the *Egyp-*
tians in two battles; and took *Philometor* prisoner. Hereupon the *Alex-*
andrians declared *Ptolemy Euergetes* or *Phyſcon*, King, in the room of his
elder brother. The *Syrian*, under pretence of restoring the latter to his
kingdom, renewed the war against the *Egyptians*, defeated them in a
sea fight, took *Palusium*, and laid siege to *Alexandria*, where *Phyſcon* had
shut himself up with his sister *Cleopatra*. These applied to the Senate
for relief; and the Conscripſt Fathers, not thinking it for the interest of
the Republic, that *Antiochus* should annex *Egypt* to his dominions,
dispatched ambassadors to put an end to the war between the two Kings.
C. Popillius Lænas, *C. Decimius* and *C. Hostilius*, the persons commission-
ed on this affair, had orders to address themselves first to *Antiochus*,
and then to *Ptolemy*, signifying to each, that if he persisted in carrying
on the war, the people of *Rome* would hold him for their enemy. In
the mean time, as the *Syrian* found it difficult to reduce *Alexandria*, in it's
present

present strength, and hoped that he should succeed better in his designs when the brothers were weakened by the continuation of the war between themselves, he returned home; leaving *Philometor* in possession of *Memphis* and all *Egypt*, except *Alexandria* and *Pelusium*. This last town he kept in his own hands, that he might enter the country when he pleased. The brothers perceived the ambitious views of the *Syrian*; to disappoint which they came to an accommodation, by the good offices of their sister *Cleopatra*, and agreed to reign jointly. *Antiochus*, vexed to see his projects disconcerted, resolved now to make war upon both the brothers. In pursuance of this resolution, he sent a fleet to *Cyprus*, and marched with his land army towards *Egypt*. At his coming to *Rhinocolura*, ambassadors met him from *Ptolemy* the elder, to entreat him that he would not destroy his own work; but suffer their master quietly to wear the crown he owed to his friendship. The *Syrian* answered, that he would neither draw off his fleet nor his army, unless *Cyprus*, *Pelusium*, and all the land on that branch of the *Nile* where *Pelusium* stood, were yielded to him in perpetuity. These conditions being rejected, *Antiochus* by force of arms subdued all *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*. He was on his march to besiege this city, and within four miles of it, when the *Roman* ambassadors (who, having passed through *Greece* and *Asia*, had been several months in their journey) came up to him. The *Syrian*, while a hostage at *Rome*, had contracted a friendship with *Popillius*, the chief of the embassy, and therefore immediately offered him his hand. But the *Roman*, instead of accepting the civility, put into the King's hand a writing, which contained the Senate's decree; and bid him read that. *Antiochus* read it; and then said, *He would consult with his friends*. Instantly *Popillius*, with a vine twig, drew a circle round the King: *Your answer*, said the ambassador, *before you go out of this circle*. *Antiochus**, stunned at the imperiousness of the command, hesitated for some moments; after which he replied, *The Senate shall be obeyed*. He would hardly have been so submissive (says *Polybius*) had he not received advice of *Æmilius*'s victory over *Perfes*. And it may be worth observing, that this haughty *Popillius* was the man who, when the *Roman* affairs went ill in *Macedon*, employed such soft and gentle words to the *Acbeans* and *Ætolians*. Nor did *Antiochus*, during that war, pay any regard to the mediation of the *Romans*, who had sent ambassadors to terminate the war between him and *Ptolemy*. But times were changed; and the *Syrian* now most obsequiously withdrew his fleet and army, and went back into his own country.

Popillius and his colleagues having sent away *Antiochus*, and established a peace between the two *Ptolemys*, left *Egypt*, and returned to *Rome*.

* It was this *Antiochus* who pillaged *Jerusalem*, filled the streets with dead bodies and the temple with profanations.

A memorable event which the prophet *Daniel** had foretold.

* Dan. ix. 31.

Y. R. 83.
P. 1. C. 1.
110.
110.

Polyb. Legat. 92.

Legat. 91.

Livy, B. 45. c. 12.

1 Maccab. c. i. Joseph. Antiq. B. 12.

Y. R. 485.
Bel. Chr.
167.
284 Cons.

They were followed thither by ambassadors from *Syria* and *Egypt*. The *Syrians*, on the part of their King, assured the Conscrip Fathers, "That he preferred a peace, that was agreeable to the Senate, before any victory; that he had obeyed the orders of their ambassadors, as if they had been the commands of the Gods; that he congratulated the *Romans* on their victory over *Perfes*; and that, had they required it of him, he would have zealously assisted them in the war." The Senate answered, "That *Antiochus* had done well in obeying the ambassadors, and that his conduct herein was very agreeable to the Republic." Then the *Egyptian* ministers, and, after them *Masgaba*, the son of *Masimissa*, had audience of the Fathers. Their speeches were such as if they had vied one with another, which should flatter the *Romans* most. The *Egyptians* said, "That the two Kings and *Cleopatra* thought themselves more indebted to the Senate and people of *Rome*, than to their parents, or even the immortal Gods." And as for *Masgaba*, he truly, on the part of his father, (having first reckoned all the horse, foot, elephants, and corn, he had sent into *Macedon* in four years past) "was overwhelmed with confusion on two accounts; the one, that the Senate, to have these supplies, had employed a request, and not a command; the other, that they had sent money for the corn." He added, "*Masimissa* never forgets that he owes his kingdom and all its augmentations to you: He indeed, by your favour, enjoys the revenues of it, but always considers you as the Proprietors and Lords of *Numidia*. This, at my departure, he instructed me to say. Having afterwards heard of your victory over *Perfes*, he dispatched some horsemen after me, to bid me assure you that he was overjoyed at your success; and beg that you would permit him to come to *Rome*, if he should not be troublesome, and offer, in thanksgiving, a sacrifice to *Jupiter* in the capitol." The substance of the Senate's answer was, "That the *Romans* had done *Masimissa* the favours he mentioned; that he had deserved them; and that he was a very grateful and a very honest man. As to his journey, they said, it would be sufficient if he thanked God at home; his son might do it for him at *Rome*."

Y. R. 486.
Bel. Chr.
166.
285 Cons.

Liv. B. 45.
c. 16.

c. 26.

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concert with *Cephalus*, had brought about the defection of the *Epirots*, and who despaired of pardon, would have persuaded the inhabitants of *Passaron* to hold out against the *Romans*, and prefer death to slavery: But the council of a certain young citizen of rank, who advised them to open their gates, had more weight with the multitude. *Antinous* and his friend, seeing themselves thus deserted, rushed out of the town, attacked a *Roman* guard, and there found the death they sought. *Cephalus*, who had engaged the people of *Tecmon* to shut their gates, being also slain, both these towns were rendered to the *Proprætor*; and their example was soon followed by *Phylax* and *Horreum*.

Y. R. 586.
Bef. Chr.
166.
285 Conf.

The reduction of *Epirus* being thus compleated, *Anicius* distributed his troops into winter quarters, and returned to *Scodra* in *Illyricum*. Here he found the five commissioners from *Rome*; with whom having consulted, he called an assembly of the principal men of the country, and, in conformity to a decree of the *Conscript Fathers*, declared, “ That the Senate and people of *Rome* granted liberty to the *Illyrians*: That the *Roman* garrisons should be withdrawn from all the towns, fortresses and castles in the country: That those of the *Illyrian* towns which, before or during the war with *Gentius*, had come over to the *Romans*, should be exempted from all taxes: the rest pay but a moiety of what they had used to pay to their Kings.” *Illyricum* was then divided into three parts, independent of each other.

During these transactions *Æmilius* was making a tour of pleasure, and visiting all the famous cities of *Greece*: He would not, any where, inquire into the dispositions of the inhabitants with regard to *Perfes*, that he might give them no alarm. Soon after his return from this excursion, he proceeded to business; the ten commissioners, who were to assist him in settling the affairs of *Macedon*, being arrived. He had ordered ten of the principal men out of each city of the kingdom, to attend him on a certain day at *Amphipolis*, bringing with them all the public registers, and the King’s money. When this day came, he ascended the tribunal with the *Roman* commissioners, and, having caused silence to be made, pronounced, in *Latin*, to the assembly, what had been determined by the Senate of *Rome* and the council present, in relation to *Macedon*. The *Prætor Octavius* afterwards explained to them the whole in *Greek*. It was to this effect. “ All the *Macedonians* shall be free, and enjoy their cities, lands and laws, and create annual Magistrates. They shall pay to the *Roman Republic* half the tribute they formerly paid their Kings. *Macedon* shall be divided into four cantons, of

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Bel. Chr.
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284 Cons.

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285 Conf.

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“ which

Y. R. 436.
Erf. Chr.
160.
293. Cæſar

“ which *Amphipolis*, *Pella*, *Thessalonica* and *Pelagonia* shall be the capi-
“ tals. In these chief cities shall be held the particular Diets of each
“ canton; and there the Magistrates shall be elected, and the tribute
“ money paid. No person shall be suffered to marry, or to purchase
“ lands, or houses, out of his own canton. No *Macedonian* shall be
“ suffered to work in gold or silver mines; but they may in those of
“ copper and iron.”

The article of chusing their own Magistrate, and that of paying but half their former tribute, were some consolation to the *Macedonians*; but did not compensate them for separating the members of the national body, and thereby depriving each member of all assistance from the rest. *Livy* says, the *Macedonians* themselves were not aware how contemptible each part became by this division.

1. E. 43.
2. 21.

Æmilius, in his return from his tour of pleasure, had been met by a crowd of *Ætolians* in mourning, who came to make heavy complaints to him. *Lyciscus* and *Tisippus*, two of their countrymen, whom their credit with the *Romans* rendered all powerful in *Ætolia*, had, with a body of soldiers, lent them by *Bæbius*, surrounded the Diet, and massacred 550 of the principal men of the nation, banished others, and given the estates, both of the murdered and the exiled, to their accusers^d. The Proconsul had deferred his answer to these complainants, and bid them meet him at *Amphipolis*. He now, in conjunction with the Commissioners, examined into the affair. But the only enquiry was, Who had favoured *Perseus*, and who the *Romans*; not who had done, or who had suffered wrong. The murderers were consequently acquitted of all injustice, and the banishment of the exiles confirmed. Only *Bæbius* was condemned for having employed *Roman* soldiers in the massacre.

2. 31.

SE. W. R.

Whatever might be said to palliate the cruelty of the *Roman* proceedings, in regard to those nations that had been conquered by them, certainly their behaviour towards the *Greeks*, that were not subjects to *Rome*, could deserve no better name than mere tyranny and shameless perjury. The *Greeks*, during the war, had been divided into three parties, which we may call by the names of the *Romanists*, the *Perseites*, and the *Patriots*; which last had nothing at heart but the preservation of the laws and liberty of their country. The two former may properly be stiled factions; because, as *Livy* tells us, they acted upon views only of private interest. Since the defeat of *Perseus*, the *Romanists* had every where got possession of all offices and honours; and these men employed their credit with the *Romans* to ruin both the *Patriots* and the *Perseites*. Coming in great numbers to *Æmilius*, they gave information

^d *Lyciscus* had been instrumental in disappointing *Perseus* of his hopes, when, during the war, he made a journey into *Ætolia*, as has been mentioned, p. 421; and

the men on whom this massacre was committed, were probably those who had invited *Perseus* thither.

against

against the open and secret enemies of *Rome*; by the latter, meaning the Patriots. The Proconsul, by his mandates, summoned, from *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*, all those whose names had been given in to him; and ordered them to follow him to *Rome*, there to be tried.

With regard to the *Achèans*, *Amilius*, and the other ten Tyrants, proceeded with more form. *Callistrates*, that traitor to his country before-mentioned, had given in a list of all those of his countrymen whom he had a mind to destroy; but it was not judged advisable to summon these by letter; because the *Achèans*, having more spirit than the other *Greeks*, might possibly not obey; and perhaps they might massacre *Callistrates* and his parents. Besides, though the Commissioners had, among the King of *Macedon*'s papers, found letters from the leading men of the other States; yet they had found none from any *Achèan*. They deputed therefore two of their own body, *C. Claudius* and *Cn. Domitius*, to negotiate with the *Achèan* diet. One of these deputies, having first complained in the assembly, that some of the chief among them had, with money and other means, befriended *Perſes*, modestly desired, that all such men might be condemned to death: whom, after sentence given, he would name to them. *After sentence given!* (cried out the whole assembly) What justice is this? Name them first, and let them answer. If they cannot clear themselves, we shall quickly condemn them. Then said the *Roman* impudently, *All your Prætors, as many as have led your armies, are guilty of this crime.* If this be true, answered *Xeno*, (a man of temper, and confident in his innocence) then have I also been a friend to *Perſes*; for I have commanded the *Achèan* army. But if any one accuse me, I am ready to answer him, either here immediately, or before the Senate at *Rome*. The *Roman*, laying hold of these words, replied, *You say right: that will be the best way. Do you, with all the rest, clear yourselves at Rome before the Senate.* Then, by an edict, he ordered above a thousand of the principal *Achèans*, there named, to be carried to *Rome*: a proceeding unprecedented, and more tyrannical than any thing done by *Philip* of *Macedon*, or his son *Alexander the Great*. Those Princes, all powerful as they were, never thought of summoning their enemies, among the *Greeks*, to come to *Macedon* to be tried; but left the judgment of such matters to the Council of the *Amphyſians*.

This may be justly termed the captivity of *Greece*, so many of the worthiest men being torn from their native homes, for no other cause but their love to their country, and for being *Grecians* in *Greece*; though the *Romans* held it the greatest of crimes for a member of their Republic not to be a *Roman*. At the coming of the accused to *Rome*, the Senate without hearing them, and under pretence that they had been already condemned by their own countrymen, dispersed them into several cities of *Etruria*, there to be held in custody. Frequent embassies were

Y. R. 586.
P. C. 166.
285 C. 16.

See p. 395.

Person in
Achæan
C. 16.

Sir W. R.

Polybius,
Legat. 105.
157.

Y. R. 586.
 Bel. Chr.
 166.
 285 Conf.

were sent from *Achaia* to remonstrate to the Senate that these men had not been condemned by the *Acbaeans*; and to beg that the Fathers would either take cognizance of the cause themselves, or send the captives to be tried at home; where strict justice should be done. The Senate answered, *That they thought it not for the interest of Achaia that those men should return thither.* Neither could any sollicitation of the *Acbaeans*, who never ceased to importune the Senate for the liberty of their countrymen, prevail, till after seventeen years, when scarce 300 of them were enlarged; of whom *Polybius** the historian was one. All the rest had either died in confinement; or, for attempting to escape, had suffered death as malefactors.

Liv. B. 45.
 c. 32.

To return to *Æmilius*. After *Claudius* and *Domitius* had performed their commission in *Achaia*, the Proconsul convened a second general assembly of the *Macedonians*; and gave them a body of new laws for their better government: laws so wise, and so judiciously contrived, says *Livy*, that time and experience found nothing to correct in them. And the more effectually to secure the peace of the government, he ordered that all the chief nobles, all those who had been Generals of armies, Commanders of fleets and garrisons, or had been employed in embassies, or in any ministry under the King, should, on pain of death, with their children (those above fifteen years of age) leave *Macedon* and go into *Italy*. These men, accustomed to luxury and expence, to make servile court to the King, and to insult their inferiors, would, he thought, be impatient of that equality, which laws and liberty introduced.

After this the Proconsul celebrated games at *Amphipolis*, and made sumptuous feasts for his friends; that is to say, for those who had betrayed the liberty of their country to the *Romans*. One part of the shew was burning, in a great heap, all such of the *Macedonian* weapons as he did not think worth carrying to *Rome*: another was exposing to view all the statues, paintings, and rich moveables, of which he had plundered the King's palaces; doubtless a most agreeable sight to the *Macedonian* spectators. All these magnificent spoils he gave in charge to *Octavius* the Admiral; and, having exhorted the *Macedonians* to make a good use of the liberty granted them by the *Romans*, and preserve union among themselves; and having dispatched his son *Fabius* and *Scipio Nasica* to ravage the country of the *Illyrians*, who had assisted *Perſes*, [and to whom *Anicius*, by order of the Senate, had granted pardon and liberty*] he set out for *Epirus*.

* See page
 445

The Senate being desirous to preserve entire the *Macedonian* treasure, and yet to gratify the soldiers of *Æmilius*, had sent orders that all the towns of *Epirus*, which had favoured *Perſes*, should be given up to be plundered by the army. To use the words of a great historian, "This

SE W. R.

* *Polybius* had not been sent into *Hetruria*; ing obtained leave for him to stay at *Rome*.
Scipio and *Fabius*, the sons of *Æmilius*, hav- *Polyb. Excerpt. B. 31.*

" was

“ was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed
 “ by *Æmilius* with mischievous subtilty.” Being come to *Passaron*,
 he, by letter, communicated to *Anicius*, who lay encamped not far
 off, what was going to be done, that he might not be alarmed at the ex-
 ecution. He then dispatched into the several towns, certain Centurions,
 who were to pretend commission from him to withdraw the garrisons,
 that the *Epirots* might be free like the *Macedonians*. The same officers
 had also instructions to send to him ten of the principal inhabitants
 of each town. To these, when they came, he gave strict command to
 see, that all the gold and silver, both in the temples and private houses,
 were, on a certain day, carried into the market places of the respective
 towns; and (according to *Appian*) assured them, that, on their punc-
 tual obedience to this command, those towns should have a full pardon
 of all past faults. Under pretence of assisting these collectors in their
 business, and of furnishing a guard to take charge of the money, he
 sent with them some cohorts; contriving it so, that these cohorts should
 arrive at the respective towns at one and the same time. On the day
 appointed, and to the places appointed, the gold and silver was all
 brought and delivered to the *Roman* officers; who then, pursuant to
 their instructions, gave the signal for the soldiers to pillage the houses
 and seize the inhabitants. Seventy towns were sacked in one day, and
 150,000 persons made slaves^f. The walls of these places were afterwards
 demolished.

“ It may be granted,” (says Sir *W. R.*) “ that some of the *Epirots*
 “ deserved punishment, as having favoured *Perfes*. But since they
 “ among the people that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or
 “ but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already sent into *Italy*,
 “ there to receive their due; and since this nation, in general, was not
 “ only at the present in good obedience, but had, even in this war,
 “ done good service to the *Romans*, I hold this act so wicked^g, that I
 “ should not believe it, had any one writer delivered the contrary.”

After

^f When the booty came to be divided, the share of each foot soldier amounted, according to *Livy*, to 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* and of each horseman, to 12*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* of our money. But according to the text of *Plutarch*, as we have it, each man's share came to no more than about 7*s.* It would seem, that neither of these reckonings can be true, if we suppose the slaves to have been sold for the benefit of the soldiery.

^g *Polybius*, who was an intimate friend of *Scipio*, the son of *Æmilius*, reports, that the Pro-Consul, with regard to what has been above related of the *Ætolians* and

Acheans, did not approve of the calumnies brought by *Lyciscus* and *Callicrates* against their respective countrymen. And *Plutarch* tells us, that in this treatment of the *Epirots*, *Æmilius* acted contrary to his natural temper, which was gentle and humane: but he does not say, that *Æmilius* wept for the miseries of this wretched people, as he did (when the shabby ambassadors came to him) for the humiliation of a King, whom the same Historian represents as the most cowardly, avaritious, perfidious; cruel, ignominious tyrant that ever disgraced a throne. *Æmilius* is reported to have

Y. R. 586.
 Bef. Chr.
 166.
 285 Conf.

Liv. B. 45.
 c. 31.

V. R. 183.
 Ed. Cant.
 160.
 183. C. 18.

After this exploit, *Æmilius* marched to *Oricum*, where being rejoined by *Nasica* and *Fabius*, he embarked with his whole army, and arrived safe in *Italy*. *Antius* and *Octavius*, with the fleet, followed him a few days after. The Senate decreed triumphs to all three. But the triumph of *Æmilius* was opposed, in the assembly of the people, by his own soldiers, who complained of his excessive severity in discipline, and of his injustice in withholding from them the spoils of *Macedon*. *Servius Galla*, a Tribune of the second Legion, and a personal enemy of the General, harangred for four hours against him. The question was not put till the second day; when the Comitium being thronged with soldiers, the first Tribes that gave their suffrages refused the triumph. Hereupon the principal Senators cried out, It was a shame to deny *Æmilius* an honour he had so well deserved; and that, at this rate, Generals would become subject to the caprice and covetousness of their soldiers. *M. Sertilius*, a man of consular dignity, and, if we may believe *Plutarch*, of such prowess that he had slain twenty-three enemies in single combat, prevailed with the Tribunes of the Commons, to call back the Tribes which had already voted, and make them give their suffrages anew. The same Consular, with permission of the Tribunes, made a long speech of exhortation to the people, and with such effect, that the Tribes unanimously decreed a triumph to *Æmilius*.

The number and excellence of the statues and paintings, the costly vases, the rich arms, the great quantities of gold and silver exposed to view in this triumph, made it more pompous ^b than any that had preceded

have been disinterested, inasmuch, that notwithstanding the great opportunities he had of amassing wealth, he died but moderately rich: It may be so. *Cicero* says, a disregard of wealth was the virtue of those times: But whatever virtues *Æmilius* possessed, it is very manifest, that the Roman Senate never had an abler minister of execrable fraud and cruelty.

^a Mr. *Kennet*, from *Plutarch*, gives us the following description of *Æmilius's* triumph.

“ The people erected scaffolds in the Forum and Circus, and all the other parts of the city, where they could best behold the pomp. The spectators were clad in white garments; all the temples were open and full of garlands and perfumes; the ways cleared and cleansed by a great many officers and tipstaves, that drove away such as thronged the passage, or straggled up and down. This triumph lasted three days: On the first, which

“ was scarce long enough for the sight, “ were to be seen, the statues, pictures and “ images of an extraordinary bigness, which “ were taken from the enemy, drawn upon “ 250 chariots. On the second was carried, “ in a great many wains, the fairest and the “ richest armour of the *Macedonians*, both “ of brass and steel, all newly furnished “ and glittering; which, although piled “ up with the greatest art and order, yet “ seemed to be tumbled on heaps carelessly “ and by chance: Helmets were thrown “ on shields, coats of mail upon greaves, “ *Cretan* targets, and *Thracian* buck- “ lers, and quivers of arrows lay huddled “ among the horses bits; and through “ these appeared the points of naked “ swords, intermixed with long spears. “ All these arms were tied together with “ such a just liberty, that they knocked “ against one another as they were drawn “ along, and made a harsh and terrible “ noise; so that the very spoils of the con- “ quered

preceded it¹. What rendered it yet more glorious, was the person of so considerable a monarch, as the King of *Macedon*, led in chains before the chariot of the Victor. *Perfes* had earnestly begged of *Æmilius* to spare

V. R. 589.
Ecc. C. 16.
205 C. 16.

“ quered could not be beheld without
“ dread. After these waggons loaden with
“ armour, there followed 3000 men, who
“ carried the silver that was coined, in
“ 750 vessels, each of which weighed three
“ talents, and was carried by four men.
“ Others brought silver bowls, and gob-
“ lets, and cups, all disposed in such or-
“ der as to make the best show, and all
“ valuable, as well for their lignets, as the
“ thickness of their engraving work. On
“ the third day, early in the morning, first
“ came the trumpeters, who did not sound
“ as they were went in a procession, or so-
“ lemn entry, but such a charge as the
“ *Romans* use when they encourage their
“ soldiers to fight. Next followed young
“ men girt about with girdles, curiously
“ wrought, who led to the sacrifice 120
“ stalled oxen, with their horns gilded, and
“ their heads adorned with ribbons and
“ garlands; and with these were boys that
“ carried platters of silver and gold. After
“ this was brought the gold coin, which
“ was divided into vessels that weighed
“ three talents, like to those that contained
“ the silver; they were in number four-
“ score wanting three. These were fol-
“ lowed by those that brought the conse-
“ crated bowl, which *Æmilius* caused to
“ be made, that weighed ten talents, and
“ was all beset with precious stones: Then
“ were exposed to view the cups of *Anti-*
“ *gonus* and *Schucus*, and such as were
“ made after the fashion invented by *The-*
“ *riclus*, and all the gold plate that was
“ used at *Perfes*’s table. Next to these
“ came *Perfes*’s chariot, in the which his
“ armour was placed, and on that his
“ diadem. And, after a little intermission,
“ the King’s children were led captives,
“ and with them a train of nurses, masters,
“ and governors, who all wept, and
“ stretched forth their hands to the specta-
“ tors, and taught their little infants to beg
“ and intreat their compassion. There
“ were two sons and a daughter, who, by
“ reason of their tender age, were altoge-
“ ther insensible of the greatness of their

“ misery; which insensibility of their con-
“ dition rendered it much more deplor-
“ able; insomuch, that *Perfes* himself was
“ scarce regarded as he went along, whilst
“ pity had fixed the eyes of the *Romans*
“ upon the infants, and many of them
“ could not forbear tears: All beheld the
“ sight with a mixture of sorrow and joy,
“ until the children were past. After his
“ children and their attendants, came *Per-*
“ *fes* himself, clad all in black, and wearing
“ slippers, after the fashion of his country:
“ He looked like one altogether abenished
“ and deprived of reason, through the
“ greatness of his misfortunes. Next fol-
“ lowed a great company of his friends,
“ whose countenances were disfigured with
“ grief, and who testified, to all that be-
“ held them, by their tears, and their con-
“ tinual looking upon *Perfes*, that it was
“ his hard fortune they so much lamented,
“ and that they were regardless of their
“ own.—After these were carried 400
“ crowns, all made of gold, and sent from
“ the cities, by their respective embassa-
“ dors, to *Æmilius*, as a reward due to
“ his valour. Then he himself came seated
“ on a chariot magnificently adorned (a
“ man worthy to be beheld, even without
“ these ensigns of power): he was clad in
“ a garment of purple interwoven with
“ gold, and held out a laurel-branch in
“ his right hand. All the army, in like
“ manner, with boughs of laurel in their
“ hands, and divided into bands and com-
“ panies, followed the chariot of their
“ commander, some singing odes (accor-
“ ding to the usual custom) mingled with
“ raillery; others songs of triumph, and
“ the praises of *Æmilius*’s deeds, who was
“ admired and accounted happy by all
“ men, yet unenvied by every one that
“ was good.” *Kenect. Antiq. P. II. B. 4.*
c. 16.

¹ Authors are not agreed about the sum *Æmilius* brought into the treasury. *Valerius Antias* reckons this sum at (*millies ducenties*) 120 millions of little sesterces *. *Livy* thinks, from the number of waggons employed to carry

* 968, = c. 1.
Arbutnot

Y. R. 356.
Bef. Chr.
166.
285 Conf.

Chr. in
Verr. 5.
30.
* See p.
420.
Plut. &
Diod. Sic.
27. Phot.

Diod. Si-
c. in
frag.
Scrip.
frag. L. 4.

Elr. B. 45.
c. 40.
Plut. life of
Æmil.

spare him this indignity; and had received for answer, *That what he asked was in his own power.*

It was the custom, that, when the triumphant Conqueror turned his chariot up towards the capitol, he commanded the captives to be led to prison, and there put to death; that so the glory of the victor, and the misery of the vanquished, might be, in the same moment, at the utmost. But as *Æmilius** had encouraged *Perfes* to an almost certain hope of life, from the known clemency of the *Romans* to conquered Kings and nations; this King was only thrown into the common gaol at *Alba* [in the country of the *Marfi*.] "He was afterwards", at the intercession of "*Æmilius*, removed to a more commodious habitation; where, according to most authors, he starved himself, but, according to some, the soldiers who had him in custody destroyed him, by not suffering him to sleep." Thus writes *Plutarch*. *Mithridates*, in a letter to *Arfaces*, King of *Partbia*, says, "That the *Romans*, after many battles, between them and *Perfes* with various success, entered into a treaty with him; and though upon the altars of *Samotheace*, they pledged the *Roman* faith for the safety of his person; yet did these subtle deceivers, these inventors of the arts of perfidy, put an end to the life of that Prince, by depriving him of the necessary refreshment of sleep."

The King's daughter and one of his sons died soon; it is uncertain how: his other son earned his living by following the trade of a working toyman; but was afterwards preferred to be a writing clerk in one of the offices at *Rome*. In such poverty ended the Royal house of *Macedon*, about 160 years after the death of that monarch, to whose ambition this whole earth seemed too narrow.

Æmilius Paullus, in the height of his glory, had the mortification to lose two sons; the one five days before his triumph, the other three days after it: A loss which he bore wisely, telling the people (when, according to custom, he gave them an account of his services) that, in the course of human things, great prosperities, such as they had lately experienced, being usually followed by great adversity, he had prayed to the Gods that the calamities to be apprehended, might fall upon

carry it, that it must have been much more. *Velleius Paterc.* values it at (*his milies centies*) 210 millions of little sesterces†; and *Pliny* at (*his milies trecenties*) 230 millions of the same species‡. *Cicero* (*de Offic. L. 2. c. 22.*) tells us, that *Æmilius* brought so much money from *Macedon*, that the *Roman* people were no more taxed from that time. And *Plutarch* (*in Æmil.*) says, that they were not taxed till the Consulship of *Hirrius* and *Pansa*,

i. e. the year after *Julius Cæsar* was killed, and of *Rome* 710. But this immunity from taxes was no doubt chiefly owing to the great tribute paid by the provinces, and the immense sums brought into the treasury, at several times, by *Roman* Generals.

* *Livy* speaks, as if *Perfes*, by the Senate's direction, was decently lodged and entertained, even at his first going to *Alba*. B. 45. c. 42.

† 1,695,312 l. 10 s. Arbuthnot.

‡ 1,856,770 l. 16 s. 8 d.

him,

him, rather than on the public: That his triumph having been immediately preceded by the funeral of one of his sons, and closely followed by that of another (so that, of four sons, not one remained to perpetuate his house and name; his two elder having passed by adoption into other families) he hoped, the Gods, satisfied with his private misfortune, would spare the commonwealth, and continue to make it flourish in all prosperity.

V. R. 586.
Bel. Chr.
166.
23: C. 11.

The triumph of *Æmilius* was soon followed by those of *Octavius*, Admiral of the fleet, and *Anicius*, the conqueror of *Illyricum*. In the latter appeared King *Gentius* with his wife and children, and many of the *Illyrian* Nobles: But *Octavius* had neither captives in his procession, nor spoils to adorn his shew.

Among the prisoners taken in the *Macedonian* war, was a son of *Cotys*, King of the *Ordrysians* in *Thrace*. *Cotys* sent ambassadors to apologize for his having aided the enemies of *Rome*. He alledged, in excuse, that he had been forced to give hostages to *Perses*; and he offered a ransom for his son, and for those hostages now in the hands of the *Romans*. The Fathers answered, "That they had not forgot the ancient friendship between the Republic and the *Thracian* Kings his ancestors: That his having given hostages was the accusation; and would never serve for a defence; since *Perses* could at no time be very formidable to the *Thracians*; least of all, when engaged in a war against the *Romans*: That though *Cotys* had preferred the friendship of the *Macedonian* King to that of *Rome*, yet they would less consider his demerit than what became their own dignity: That they would send back his son and the hostages: And that the gifts, bestowed by the *Roman* people, were always free; because they preferred the gratitude of the receivers to any compensation whatsoever."

Livy, B.
45: c. 42.

The *Romans* having compassed all their views in that part of the world, it was much for their interest, that *Cotys* should cease to be their enemy; who might otherwise have disturbed their new settlement: And it cost them very little to make this parade of beneficence and magnanimity.

Polybius
Legat. 96.

C H A P. XXII.

Attalus, who comes from his brother Eumenes to congratulate the Romans, on their victory, disobliges the Senate, by declining their favours. The Rhodians largely treated by the Romans. The servile flattery of King Prusias to the Senate. They refuse to receive a visit from Eumenes King of Pergamus.

V. R. 585.
D. C. 165.
= 85 C. 165.
—
Liv. B. 45.
C. 13.
Pol. D. L.
E. 23.

OF the many ambassadors that came to *Rome* from Kings and States, after the victory over *Perſes*, *Attalus*, and the *Rhodian* Ministers engaged the attention and curiosity of the public more than all the rest. *Attalus* came from his brother *Eumenes* to congratulate the *Romans*, and to ask their assistance, or countenance at least, against the *Gallo-Greeks*, who molested him. The Senators in general entertained the ambassador in a friendly manner; and some of the most considerable privately incited him to request of the Senate a part of his brother's kingdom for himself; assuring him that it would be granted. *Attalus* not disliking the motion, promised to do as he was advised. But *Stratius* a physician (whom *Eumenes*, suspecting what might happen, had sent to watch *Attalus's* conduct) represented to him, That, by the unanimity between his brother and him, he already reigned in *Pergamus*, and had every thing of a King but the title; that *Eumenes* was infirm, could not live long, and had no heirs but him. [For the King of *Pergamus* had not yet owned that son who reigned after him.] By such arguments, *Attalus*, though with difficulty, was prevailed upon to bridle his mad ambition. In his speech therefore to the Senate, he only congratulated the *Romans* on their victory over *Perſes*; desired that they would, by their authority, restrain the *Gallo-Greeks* from making incursions into *Pergamus*; and, in reward of his services in the late war, grant him *Ænos* and *Maronea*. These cities of *Thrace* had been formerly conquered by *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, and had since been disputed with him by *Eumenes*. The Senate, imagining that *Attalus* designed to take another opportunity to ask a part of his brother's kingdom, not only granted him what he now asked, but, in their presents to him as ambassador, shewed singular magnificence. *Attalus* would not understand their meaning, but left *Rome* satisfied with what he had already obtained. This so highly displeased the fathers that, while he was yet in *Italy*, they passed a decree, declaring *Ænos* and *Maronea* free cities. As to the *Gallo-Greeks*, the Senate dispatched an embassy to order them to keep within their own bounds; doubtless not caring that they should make a conquest of *Pergamus*.

The

The *Rhodians* had lately sent two embassies to *Rome*; the one close after the other; the first occasioned by the rough answer before mentioned, that was given to *Agisipolis*; the second, by the haughty and tyrannical behaviour of *Popilius* and his Collegues at *Rhodes*. These *Roman* ambassadors, in their way to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had landed at *Loryma* in *Caria*. Thither came to them the principal men of the *Rhodians*, earnestly entreating them “to visit *Rhodes*,” (which was but twenty miles distant) “it greatly concerning the honour and safety of the city, that they, by informing themselves upon the spot, of the state of things, should be able to report the truth to the Senate.” The *Romans* were not without great difficulty prevailed upon to stop their voyage. And, when they came to *Rhodes*, it was necessary to use pressing instances before they would condescend to honour, with their presence, an assembly of the people. And this honour did not cease the terror of the *Rhodians*, by the manner in which *Popilius* delivered himself. His discourse was nothing but reproaches, uttered in the tone of an angry accuser, and with a stern menacing countenance. But *C. Decimius*, another of the ambassadors, spoke with more moderation, says *Livy*; yet he mentioned all the faults of which he could possibly accuse the *Rhodians*; and these faults amounted to no more than that they had made decrees, flattering *Perfes*, and sent embassies of which they had reason to be ashamed and repent: “Nevertheless he would by no means have these crimes imputed to the body of the people, but to some turbulent citizens, on whom alone the punishment ought to fall.” In short, he was so moderate, as to desire, that only all those who had shewed themselves favourers of *Perfes*, by attempting to bring about a peace, should be put to death. The multitude, glad to have the blame removed from themselves, applauded the discourse; and instantly passed a decree, condemning to death all who should be convicted of having done or said any thing for *Perfes*, and against the *Romans*. Of those whom this decree affected, some had left the city before *Popilius* arrived; others killed themselves; the rest were executed.

Such absolute submission to the will of the *Romans*, one would naturally think, should have procured the *Rhodian* ambassadors a ready and favourable audience of the Senate. Yet they were not only refused a hearing, but the Consul, by order of the Fathers, signified to them, that they should not be entertained as ambassadors from a state in friendship with *Rome*. More than this, *Juventius Thalna*, the Prætor *Peregrinus*, moved the people to declare war against *Rhodes*. Hereupon the ambassadors went about, in mourning habits, soliciting with tears the favour of the principal citizens. And now two of the Tribunes took the part of this distressed people; and having made the Prætor come down from the rostra, suffered two of the *Rhodian* ambassadors, *Philophon* and *Astymedes*, to take his place, and, one after another, harangue the assembly. They received

V. R. c. 1.
L. C. 1.
100
255 C. 1.
B. P. 1.
C. 10.

B. 45. c.
20.
Polyb. L. 1.
21. 93.

such

V. R. 458.
P. C. 166.
255. C. 166.

such an answer as freed them from the apprehension of a war. At length the Senate also admitted them to audience. *Ajtymedes* humbly confessed before the Fathers the folly of his Republic, in the late steps she had taken with regard to the war between *Rome* and *Macedon*; yet he hoped that her former services would be remembered, and make her faults be overlooked: and in conclusion declared, that if *Rome* should resolve upon a war against the *Rhodians*, they were determined not to defend themselves.

A. Gell.
B. 1. c. 3.

The ambassadors then prostrated themselves on the ground, holding out olive branches to the Conscrip Fathers. All those of the Senators who had commanded in *Macedon* as Consuls, Prætors, or Lieutenants, declaimed with heat against the *Rhodians*. *Cato* spoke in their behalf. There remain only some fragments of his speech, preserved by *A. Gellius*. They are to this effect. "I am very apprehensive, Conscrip Fathers, " lest intoxicated with our present great prosperity, we should be hurried " into some resolutions that will, in the end, overthrow it. Let us not " be too hasty; but take time to come to ourselves.—

" I believe indeed that the *Rhodians* did wish, that *Perfes* might not " be conquered by us; and I believe also that many other States and " Nations wished the same. Some of them, perhaps, not out of ill will " to us, but fear for themselves; lest, if there should be no power re- " maining to check us, and keep us in awe, we should become their " absolute lords and masters. Yet the *Rhodians* never openly assisted " *Perfes*. Do but consider with how much more precaution we act " with regard to our private affairs. There is not one of us, who does " not set himself to oppose, with all his might, whatever he thinks is " doing against his interest. Yet the *Rhodians* in the like case were " quiet and passive.—

" Their bitterest accusers have not charged them with any thing worse " than an inclination to be our enemies. And is there any law that " makes inclinations penal? Is there any one of us that would care to " be subject to such a law? For my part, I would not. Who has not " wished to have more land than the laws allow? Yet nobody is pu- " nished for this. Does any man think of rewarding another, for having " had an inclination to perform a good action, which he did not perform? " And shall we think of punishing the *Rhodians*, because they are said " to have had an inclination to do some ill, which however they did not " do?—

" But it is said the *Rhodians* are proud. Be it so. What is that to " us? Are we angry because there is, in the world, a people prouder " than we?"

Cato's discourse had probably some effect, and the weight of his character more; but it would seem (from *Cæsar's* speech in *Sallust*) that what chiefly moved the Senate to drop entirely the design of attacking

I *Rhodes*,

Rhodes, was the apprehension, lest it should be thought, that, not revenge, but covetousness, the desire of plundering that wealthy city, was their motive to the war. They returned however a very harsh answer, *That they would not treat the Rhodians either as friends or as enemies*. The Fathers soon after declared *Lycia* and *Caria* free; provinces which they had given to the *Rhodians* for their services in the war against *Antiochus the Great*. And, not long after, they were ordered to evacuate the cities of *Caunus* and *Stradonicea*, which produced a yearly revenue of 120 talents: The first they had bought of *Ptolemy's* Generals for 200 talents; the other had, for signal services, been given them by *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*. The *Rhodians* not only submitted to every thing, but decreed the *Romans* a present of a crown of gold of great value; which they sent to *Rome* by their Admiral *Theodotus*. This Minister had orders to solicit the Senate, that *Rhodes* might be admitted into an alliance with the Republic; a favour which in a hundred and forty years, that she had been in friendship with the *Romans*, she had never before asked, or even coveted. For it had been the steady policy of the *Rhodians* to keep themselves free from all such engagements as might hinder them from giving their assistance, whenever they pleased, to any King or State that wanted it. *Rhodes* therefore was much courted by all her neighbours; and drew advantage to herself both from their hopes and from their fears. A year or more passed before the Senate condescended to grant the *Rhodians* that alliance which necessity now urged them to request.

BUT, of all the worshippers of the *Roman* Senate, there was none so devout as *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*. He had long been in this devotion. Whenever any ambassadors came to him from the Republic, he used to go out to meet them with his head shaved, and wearing a cap, habit, and sandals, like those which the slaves at *Rome* put on when they were emancipated. In this dress, saluting the ambassadors, *You see*, said he, *one of your freed men, ready to obey all your commands, and to conform himself to all your customs*. And now when he came to congratulate the *Romans* on the success of their arms, stooping down, with both hands on the ground, at the entrance of the Senate-house, he kissed the threshold of the door, and began his address to the Fathers in these words, *Hail, Senators, ye Gods, my Saviours*—The rest of the speech was suitable to the beginning, and such as, *Polybius* says, he should be ashamed to repeat; who adds, that the Senate were the more gracious to the King for the meanness of his behaviour. They granted him every thing he asked: A renewal of the league between him and *Rome*: Leave to discharge a vow he had made to sacrifice ten oxen to *Jupiter* in the capitol, and one to *Fortune* at *Præneste*, in thank-

V. R. 586.
B. Chr.
160.
285 C. n.

Polyb. 1.
Legat. 99. &
104.

Polyb. 1.
Legat. 93.
See p. 441.

Polyb. 2p.
Liv. B. 45.
c. 44.
Polyb. Legat.
97.

* The *Rhodians* appointed their Admiral to negotiate this affair at *Rome*, he alone being legally qualified to act in it without a decree of the people; and such decree

they chose not to have, because it would make the ignominy the greater, in case the alliance were refused. *Polyb. Legat. 93. Liv. B. 45. c. 25.*

Y. R. 686.
B.C. 185.
185 Conf.

giving for the *Roman* victory: And a certain territory which, as the King pretended, the *Romans* had conquered from *Antiochus*, and which, they not having since given it to any body, the *Gallo-Greeks* had seized. But this last grant was made conditionally, that, upon examination, they should find, what the King had said, to be true. The Senate also promised to continue their care of his son, who had been educated at *Rome*. And when the *Bitbynian* was to set out on his return home, they appointed *Scipio* to attend him, pay his charges on the road, and never leave him till he had seen him safe on board his ship at *Brundisium*, from whence twenty gallies were to convoy him to a fleet, of which the *Fathers* had made him a present.

Polib. Lib.
6. 97.

ABOUT the time that *Prusias* left *Italy*, the Senate received notice that King *Eumenes* was coming. As they had an immoveable hatred to the *Pergamenian*, and yet were unwilling to publish it, this advice embarrassed them. Should they give him an opportunity of speaking in defence of his conduct, they must return him an answer: To give him a favourable answer would be, not only contrary to their inclination, but to good policy; and openly to proclaim their hatred to him would derogate from their reputation of prudence and discernment, they having treated this unfaithful Prince as one of their best friends and allies. To avoid both these inconveniencies, they passed a decree, *forbidding all Kings to come to Rome*. And when they heard that *Eumenes* was landed at *Brundisium*, they sent a *Quæstor* to notify to him this decree, and enquire whether he had any thing to ask of the Senate. If he had not, the *Quæstor* was to desire him to leave *Italy* as soon as possible. The King said he had nothing to ask; and, without entering into farther conversation with the *Roman*, returned to his ships, and sailed home.

C H A P. XXIII.

Complaints brought to the Senate from Asia against King Eumenes. He is insulted by a Roman ambassador.

On the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Senate commission some of their body to go into Syria, and do mischief there.

Octavius, the chief of the commission, is assassinated.

Demetrius, the nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes, escapes from Rome into Syria, and makes himself King.

The Senate determine a dispute between two competitors for the kingdom of Cappadocia.

LIVY's history of Rome, from the time that King Prusias made his visit to the Senate, is lost; a loss not richly supplied by Plutarch, Appian, the tribe of Abridgers, and the collectors of Fragments; nor

nor consequently by the elegant and ingenious patchwork of *Freinshemius*. Of the year 587. (if this be not the date of the decree that stopped *Eumenes's* journey) the most important events, recorded, are these: That the Consuls *C. Sulpicius Gallus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* obtained some advantage in the endless war against the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*^a; and that a kite caught a weasel behind the statue of *Jupiter* in the capitol, and dropt it among the Conscript Fathers, assembled in that temple: A dreadful omen, which it was thought necessary to avert by expiations.

IN the succeeding Consulship of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn. Octavius Nepes*, ambassadors came to *Rome* from *Prusias*, complaining of some irruptions which *Eumenes* had made into the kingdom of *Bitynia*; and accusing him of having entered into a league with *Antiochus* against the *Romans*. His neighbours also, the *Galatians*, sent complaints of his encroachments. This people the Senate supported underhand, without declaring openly against the *Pergamenian*. For though *Tiberius Gracchus*, deceived by the artful behaviour of the Kings of *Syria* and *Pergamus*, to whom he had been appointed ambassador, made a favourable report of their dispositions; yet the Senate continued to suspect them of some mischievous machinations. *Eumenes* dispatched his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, to apologize for every thing in his conduct which had given umbrage to the *Romans*. The Fathers received those ambassadors graciously, and dismissed them with honours and presents. Nevertheless they sent new commissioners into *Asia*, *C. Sulpicius* and *M. Sergius*, to examine things to the bottom, and learn the real intentions of *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*.

Sulpicius, being a vain man, would needs make a figure by insulting *Eumenes*; in whose dominions he no sooner arrived, than he ordered proclamations to be made in the principal towns, inviting all, who had any cause of complaint against the King, to repair to *Sardis*. There the ambassador erected his tribunal of inquisition; and during ten days, gave full scope to the *Pergamenians* to say whatever they thought fit against their sovereign. However, for any thing that appears to the contrary, all this bustle came to nothing.

IN the following year, when *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* and *M. Juventius Thalna* were Consuls, died *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*; and was succeeded in the throne by his son *Antiochus Eupator*, a minor, only nine years old, and under the guardianship of *Lysias*.

This *Lysias* had commanded the *Syrian* troops against the *Jews*, and having been defeated several times by *Judas Maccabæus*, had made peace with them, granting them the free exercise of their religion and laws. Nevertheless *Judas*, to secure the continuance of this peace, ap-

^a The Capitoline Marbles give the Consuls a triumph. *Cicero* speaks with great contempt of the triumphs granted for victories in *Liguria*, calling them *Casellani*

triumphi, triumphs for taking a castle. *In Brut. c. 73.*

* *A. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Cassius Longinus*, Consuls.

Y. R. 587.
Bef. Chr.
165.
286 Conf.

Liv. Epit.
B. 45.
Jul. Obseq.
c. 71.
Y. R. 588.
Bef. Chr.
164.
287 Conf.

Liv. Epit.
B. 46.
Polyb. Legat. 104.
Id. Leg. 105.

Id. Leg. 106.

Y. R. 589.
Bef. Chr.
163.
288 Conf.

Polyb. Excerpt. L. 31.

Y. R. 590.
Bef. Chr.
162.
289 Conf.

Liv. Epit.
B. 46.
2 Maccab.
c. xi.

Y. R. 597.
Bef. Chr.
102.
239 Cons.

Polyb. Le-
gal. 107.

plied himself to *Manlius* and *Memmius*, two *Roman* deputies then going to *Antioch*, and received a favourable answer from them.

When the news of *Epiphanes's* death came to *Rome*, *Demetrius* (the son of *Seleucus*, the late King's elder brother) who had been 12 years a hostage there, asked permission of the Senate to return home; that he might take possession of the kingdom. The Fathers refused his request; thinking it more for their interest to have a child upon the *Syrian* throne. They dispatched *Cn. Octavius*^b and two others to assume the administration of the government. And to these they gave instructions to burn all the decked ships, disable the elephants, and, in a word, weaken as much as possible the forces of the kingdom.

New Consuls were chosen at *Rome*, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* and *C. Marcius Figulus*. But these Magistrates, upon the discovery of some defect in the ceremonies of their inauguration, abdicated; and *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus* took their place.

Y. R. 591.
Bef. Chr.
161.
290 Cons.

Polyb. Le-
gal. 108.

App. in
Syr. F. 117.

Octavius, in his journey, passed through *Cappadocia*, where King *Ariarathes* offered him an army, to escort him into *Syria*, and to keep the people of that country in awe while he performed his commission. But he, confiding in the majesty of the *Roman* name, disdained all other protection. At *Laodicea*, he began to put the orders of the Senate in execution; burning the ships and disabling the elephants. His pretence was the treaty, made with *Antiochus the Great*, in which it had been stipulated, that the *Syrians* should not have above a certain number of ships of war, nor tame any elephants. This despotic manner of proceeding highly exasperated the people; and one *Leptines*, supposed to be hired by *Lyfias*, assassinated *Octavius* in the *Gymnasium*. *Lyfias* sent ambassadors to *Rome* to assure the Senate, that the fact had not been committed by the King's authority. The Fathers returned no answer.

Cic. Phil.
9. c. 2.
Polyb. Le-
gal. 114.

These events encouraged *Demetrius* to think of addressing the Senate once more for permission to go into *Syria*. He sent for his friend *Polybius*, then at *Rome*, to consult with him upon this matter. *Polybius* advised him "to avoid striking his foot twice against the same stone; "to place his hope in himself; and to dare something worthy of a "King;" hinting, "That the present state of things afforded him "sufficient opportunities." The Prince understood his friend's meaning, but said nothing. Opening himself afterwards to an intimate acquaintance named *Apollonius*, (a simple man, who considered only the justice of the case, and the absurdity of retaining *Demetrius* as a pledge of his competitor's fidelity) he was by him counselled to make a second application to the Senate. He did so, and met with a second refusal; the same reasons subsisting which had been the ground of the first. About this time came from *Syria* one *Diodorus*, who had formerly been

^b He had been Consul some years before, and was the first of his family who obtained that dignity. Cic. Phil. 9. 4.

employed in the education of the young Prince. *Demetrius*, from the accounts which this man brought of the state of things in that country, concluded, that there wanted little more than his appearance there, to get him the possession of the throne. He resolved therefore to attempt an escape from *Italy*; the very thing which *Polybius* had hinted to him, and to which he was now instigated by *Diodorus*. Before the Prince took any measures for the execution of his purpose, he asked the advice and assistance of *Polybius*; who, not caring to act in the affair himself, engaged his friend *Menitbyllus* (embassador at *Rome* from *Ptolemy Philometor*) to provide a ship and every thing necessary for the design. *Demetrius* having left the city, under the pretence of a hunting match, embarked at *Ostia* in a *Carthaginian* vessel bound for *Tyre*. The Senate had no information of his flight till four or five days after he had set sail, when it was too late to think of stopping him. But they deputed *Tib. Gracchus* and two more to follow him into *Syria*, and watch his motions.

Y. R. 501.
Bef. Chr.
161.
290 Conf.

Demetrius landed in *Lycia*, from whence he wrote a respectful letter to the Conscrip't Fathers, importing, that he had no design against his uncle's son *Antiochus Eupator*, but against *Lysias*, and to revenge the death of *Ostavius*. From *Lycia* he sailed to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, where he gave out that he was sent by the *Roman* Senate to take possession of the kingdom. This occasioned a general desertion from *Eupator*, who with his tutor *Lysias* being seized by the soldiers, in order to be delivered up to *Demetrius*, he refused to see them, and commanded both to be put to death.

Y. R. 592.*
Bef. Chr.
160.
291 Conf.

Zonar. B.
9. c. 25.

1 Macc. c. 7.
Justin. B.
34. c. 3.

After this, the new King delivered the *Babylonians* from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*. These brothers had been great favourites of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who had made the first Governor, and the other treasurer of that province. *Demetrius* put *Timarchus* to death, and drove *Heraclides* into banishment, for which actions the people of *Babylon* gave him the surname of *Soter* [i. e. *Saviour*] which he ever after retained.

App. in
Syr. p. 118.

Notwithstanding all this success, being sensible that the favour of the *Roman* Senate was necessary to his firm establishment on the throne, he made application to *Tib. Gracchus*, then in *Cappadocia*, by his means to get himself recognized King by the *Romans*. *Gracchus* promised him his good offices; and *Demetrius*, to smooth the way for his advocate, sent an embassy to *Rome* with a rich present of a crown of gold. At the same time he delivered up to the vengeance of the *Roman* people, not only *Leptines* the murderer of *Ostavius*, but a certain Grammarian nam-

Polyb. Le.
pat. 120.

* *M. Valerius Messala* and *C. Fannius Strabo*, Consuls. The *Fannian* law, so called from *Fannius*, the proposer of it, was passed this year, enacting, That no man's daily expences for his own eating and drinking

should exceed ten asses, i. e. seven-pence three farthings. The senate also passed a decree for banishing from *Rome* the philosophers and rhetoricians, as a mischievous, pestilent set of men.

Y. R. 592.
Bef. Chr.
132.
291 Cons.

Y. R. 593.
Bef. Chr.
131.
292 Cons.

ed *Iſocrates*, who, in an oration to the multitude, had juſtified and commended the act. *Leptines* had begged of *Demetrius* not to proceed to any extremities againſt the *Laodiceans*, on account of the aſſaſſination, but to ſend him to *Rome*, where (he ſaid) he would convince the Senate that what he had done was with the good pleaſure of the Gods. As this man went chearfully and of his own accord, and, during the whole voyage, continued ſurprizingly gay, he was brought from *Syria* to *Rome* without fetters. At his arrival, he frankly owned the fact to every body that aſked him about it, always adding, that he was ſure, the Senate would do him no hurt. His confidence aroſe from the mean opinion he had of himſelf and his orator : ſacrifices too inſignificant, in his judgment, to be accepted by the *Romans* in ſatisfaction for the offence. But the Grammarian (with whom *Polybius* is extremely angry, for his meddling with politics) fully apprized of his own importance, ran ſtark mad with fear. *Leptines* judged rightly : The Senate would not, for two ſuch victims, preclude themſelves from calling the *Syrians* to account, when it ſhould be thought convenient. However, they did not reject the King's gold : In return they ſent him this answer, " That he might depend upon their favour, provided he took care to be as ſubmiſſive to their orders, as he had formerly been."

Y. R. 593.
Bef. Chr.
130.
293 Cons.

1 Macc. c. 3.
B. 36. c. 3.

1 Macc. c. 5.

THE year following (*L. Anicius Gallus*, and *M. Cornelius Cetbegus* being Conſuls) was concluded a treaty between the *Romans* and the *Jews*, in the time of *Judas Maccabeus*, who had ſent an embaſſy to *Rome* to aſk protection againſt *Demetrius*. *Juſtin* tells us, that the *Jews* were the firſt of the Oriental nations that received liberty by gift from the *Romans*; who, he adds, were very liberal of what was not their own; for the *Jews*, according to him, had revolted from the *Syrians*. The Senate wrote to *Demetrius* in theſe terms, as we find them in the firſt book of the *Maccabees* : *Wherefore haſt thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews? If therefore they complain any more againſt thee we will do them juſtice, and fight with thee by ſea and by land*^d.

We have hardly any thing for the years of *Rome* 594 * and 595 †, but the names of the Conſuls.

Y. R. 596.
Bef. Chr.
128.
295 Cons.

Juſtin, B.
35. c. 1.
App. in
Syn. p. 118.

IN the year 596 (the Conſulſhip of *Sex. Julius Caſar* and *L. Aurelius Oreſtes*, *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* came to *Rome* for protection. *Demetrius*, partly to revenge himſelf on this Prince for reſuſing to marry his ſiſter, and partly to earn a hundred talents, had driven him from his

^d *Æmilius Paulus* died this year. Father *Catrou* obſerves, that this *Roman* ſeems to have wanted nothing but the knowledge of the true religion (the religion of the *Jews*) and the graces, by God, annexed to it, to render his virtues meritorious : That, in this reſpect, *Judas Maccabeus*, who died about the ſame time, had greatly the advantage of him. *Gratia efficit per ſe*

would doubtleſs have made *Æmilius* a Saint; but I queſtion whether any Grace, that required the ſimultaneous operation, would have been effectual.

* *Cn. Cornelius Delabella* and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, Conſuls.

† *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Popilius Lenas*, Conſuls.

throne,

throne, and placed upon it *Holophernes*, a supposititious son of the late *Cappadocian King*. *Ariarathes* pleaded his own cause before the Senate; and some ambassadors from *Holophernes* defended that of their master. These asserted that *Holophernes* was the elder brother of *Ariarathes*, by the same father and mother; though the mother, out of partiality to her younger son, had persuaded her husband into a belief, that the elder was neither his son nor hers. It seems, this mother (who was a daughter of *Antiochus the Great*) thinking herself barren, because she had been several years married without having children, had imposed upon the King her husband two sons, of whom this *Holophernes* was one. She afterwards bore a son, the *Ariarathes* now in question, and then repented of the cheat she had put upon the King, and discovered it to him. The supposititious sons were sent away, that they might be no obstacle to the succession of *Ariarathes* to the throne.

Y. R. 596.
Bef. Chr.
156.
295 Conf.

Polyb. Legat. 126.
Diod. Sicul. ap. Phot.

The Senate, having heard both parties, ordered *Cappadocia* to be shared between the two competitors, following, in this, one of the steady maxims of the *Roman* policy, which was, to divide the strength of kingdoms.

App. in Syr. 118.

C H A P. XXIV.

Cato is sent into Africa to terminate a dispute between the Carthaginians and the King of Numidia. Cato's report at his return.

War against the Dalmatians.

An embassy to the Senate from the Athenians.

King Prusias grows mutinous.

The Roman armies pass the Alps for the first time.

New quarrels between the Ptolemys of Egypt.

Demetrius vanquished and slain by his competitor Alexander Balas, an impostor countenanced by the Romans.

MASINISSA had laid claim to a country, which *Appian* calls *Tisca*, belonging to the *Carthaginians*; and these made their complaints at *Rome* of this new encroachment. The Fathers, though always resolved to favour the *Numidian* in his quarrels with *Carthage*, yet, to preserve an appearance of justice, and probably to get exact information of the strength and condition of the city, dispatched *Cato*, with other deputies, into *Africa*, to take cognizance of the matter in dispute. On their arrival, *Masinissa* declared himself very willing to submit the contest to their arbitration: for he thought the *Romans* his sure friends: But the *Carthaginians* refused; alledging, *That the treaty concluded with Scipio Africanus, did not want amending; and that nothing more was requisite*

App. in Punic. p. 37.

Y. R. 595.
Bef. Chr.
155.
295 Cons.

Plut. 16.
C. Cato.

quiste than that each party should strictly observe the articles of that convention. Cato, on his return to Rome, reported, that Carthage was grown excessively rich and populous; and he warmly exhorted the Senate to destroy a city and Republic, which while they subsisted, Rome could never be safe. Having brought from Africa some very large figs, he shewed them to the Conscrip Fathers, in one of the lappets of his gown: *The country, said he, where this fine fruit grows, is but a three days voyage from Rome.* We are told, that from this time he never spoke in the Senate, upon any subject, without concluding with these words, *I am also of opinion that Carthage should be destroyed.* Scipio Nasica, a man of great weight and authority among the Fathers, steadily and strenuously opposed him in this particular. He always ended his speeches (according to Plutarch) with these words, *I am also of opinion that Carthage should not be destroyed.* It is probable, says the same Historian, that Nasica seeing the people's pride and insolence grown, by their victories, to such a height, that they could hardly be restrained by the Senate, within any bounds; and knowing their power to be such, that they could force the Republic into whatever measures their caprice dictated, he was for preserving Carthage as a curb to check their audaciousness: For he thought that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans, but yet too strong to be despised by them. Cato on the other hand judged, that for a people debauched by prosperity, nothing was more to be feared than a rival State, always powerful, and now, from its misfortunes, grown wise and circumspect. He held it necessary to remove all dangers that could be apprehended from *without*, when the Republic had, *within*, so many distempers threatening her destruction^a.

Y. R. 597.
Bef. Chr.
155.
296 Cons.

App. in
Illyr.
Polyb.
Leg. 125.
Liv. Epit.
B. 47.

IN the Consulship of C. Marcius Figulus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, the Republic commenced a war against the Dalmatians, who had made incursions into Illyricum, and rudely treated some Roman ambassadors that had been sent to them the last year. This ill treatment, Polybius tells us, was only the pretence for the war: That the Senate being desirous to give the soldiers some exercise, and having neglected, ever since the times of Demetrius Pbarius, that part of Illyricum now invaded, it was from these motives they ordered the expedition against the Dalmatians. Marcius conducted the war with various success^b; but the

^a This year upon examination was found in the treasury 16,810 pondo of gold, which reckoned in the decuple proportion, is 455,971 l. 5 s. Of silver 22,070 pondo, 59,864 l. 17 s. 6 d. And of coined money sexagies bis & 85,200 H. S. 50,741 l. 10 s. 2½ d. which in all comes to 566,577 l. 12 s. 8½ d. *Arbuthn.* p. 191. *ex Plin.* L. 33. c. 3.

^b According to Polybius, were passed, this year, the *Ælian* and *Fufian* laws, which Cicero calls the walls and bulwarks of peace and tranquillity. The first forbad acting any thing with the people while the augurs and proper magistrates were observing the heavens, and taking the auspices. The *Fufian* law made it unlawful to act any thing with the people on the days called *fasti*;

the next year *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* finished it by subduing the invaders. His Collegue in the Consulship, *C. Claudius Marcellus*, gained over the *Ligurians* a victory, which procured him the honour of a triumph.

THE *ATHENIANS*, this year, sent an embassy to *Rome*, begging to be discharged from a fine of 500 talents, which the *Sicyonians* had condemned them to pay for having ravaged the lands of the *Orepians*. These had, in the first instance, made complaint to the *Romans*; and the Senate had referred the consideration of the matter to the *Sicyonians*. *Carneades*, an Academic Philosopher, *Diogenes*, a Stoic, and *Critolaus*, a Peripatetic, all three famous for eloquence, each for a different kind, were the ambassadors from *Athens*. *Cicero* says of *Carneades*, that he never advanced any thing which he did not prove; nor ever opposed an argument which he did not overthrow. Multitudes of the *Roman* youth flocking about these *Athenians* to hear their discourses, this greatly disturbed the spirit of *Cato*, who, according to *Plutarch*, was an implacable enemy to philosophy, and used to call *Socrates* a babbler. *Cato* advised the Senate to give the ambassadors an answer in all haste, that they might return to their schools, there to tutor, as they pleased, the children of the *Greeks*; leaving the *Roman* children to attend to the laws and the magistrates, their only masters, before the arrival of these eloquent Philosophers. The Senate complied with his humour, and dismissed the ambassadors, having first reduced the fine, imposed on the *Athenians*, to a hundred talents.

PRUSIAS, that religious worshipper of the Conscrip Fathers, had, by this time, lost much of his devotional regard for those his Gods. On the death of *Eumenes*, the *Bitbynian* had, without leave, invaded the kingdom of *Pergamus*, of which *Attalus* was regent; his nephew and pupil, *Attalus* the son of *Eumenes*, being a minor. *Rome* sent ambassador after ambassador to *Prusias*, commanding him to cease his hostilities, but all in vain. She at length sent ten ambassadors together to him, but neither did these succeed. However, when he found that the Senate would in earnest commence a war against him, and engage all her allies in the *East* to do the same, this terrified him into an absolute submission. He was condemned to make good all the damages he had done; to give *Attalus* twenty ships of war; and to pay him five hundred talents in twenty years.

IN the Consulship of *Q. Opimius* and *L. Posthumius Albinus*, the *Roman* armies for the first time passed the *Alps*. It was to make war against the *Oxybii* and the *Deciatae*, people originally of *Liguria*, but at this time inhabiting the country along the sea coast, in the neighbourhood of *Nicea* * and *Antipolis*. They had attacked those towns, which

fasti; that is, on such days as the courts were open, and the Prætors sat to hear causes. These two laws *P. Clodius* got repealed in his tribuneship, in the year 695.

Y. R. 598.
B. C. 189.
227 C.

Plut. Ar. of
Cato.
A. G. 11.
L. 1. 1. 14.

De Orat.
L. 1. 1. 12.

Plutarch, in
Achaic. c. xi.

Polybius.
Legat. 128.

Id. Legat.
129.

Id. Legat.
133.
Id. Legat.
135.

Id. Legat.
136.

Y. R. 599.
B. C. Chr.
153.
298 Conf.

Polyb. Le-
gat. 131.
* Nice and
Antibes.

Y. R. 555.
E. C. 133.
133.
E. C. 133.

Polyb. L.
E. 133.

See P. 443.

Liv. Epit.
B. 45.

Polyb. L.
E. 133.

Is. Leg. 115.

Is. Leg. 132.

belonging to the people of *Messina* [*Marjines*] these sent a complaint of it to the Senate. An embassy from *Rome* to the invaders having no success, *Opimius* led an army against them, and subdued them. He gave the greater part of the conquered country to the *Massilienses*; to whom also he obliged the vanquished to send hostages.

While *Opimius* was carrying on this war, *Ptolemy Pbyseon* came to *Rome*. The Senate had been often pestered with the quarrels of the two *Ptolemys* of *Egypt*. After the accommodation between them, confirmed, in the year 555, by *Popilius* the Roman ambassador, *Pbyseon* (a monster of wickedness) had driven his elder brother *Philometor* from the throne. The latter coming to *Rome* for protection, the Romans restored him to the possession of all the dominions of *Egypt*, except *Cyrenaita*, which they adjudged to *Pbyseon*; who not content with this division came afterwards to *Rome* to request that the island of *Cyprus* might be added to his share. The Senate, thinking it for the interest of the Republic to make a more equal, and less equitable division of the kingdom, granted the island to the petitioner, and appointed some Commissioners to put him in possession of it. *Philometor* refused to acquiesce in this decree; and the people of *Cyrene*, hating *Pbyseon* for his cruelty, took arms against him, and defeated him in battle. His brother was thought to have incited the *Cyrenians* to this rebellion. An attempt being afterwards made to assassinate *Pbyseon*, who received several wounds, he now came to *Rome*, and accused his brother of having hired the assassins. As *Philometor* had the reputation of great virtue and benignity, it was very unlikely he should give the least countenance to such a fact; yet the Senate were so prepossessed by what *Pbyseon* had said, [or rather so much offended with *Philometor* for not having obeyed their decree in relation to *Cyprus*] that they would not listen to any thing his ambassadors had to offer in his defence; but ordered them instantly to leave *Rome*. The Fathers sent five Commissioners with *Pbyseon* to put him in possession of *Cyprus*; and wrote to their Greek and Asiatic allies, giving them leave to assist the *Egyptian*. *Pbyseon*, having by this means got together an army, landed in *Cyprus*, where being attacked and vanquished by *Philometor*, he took refuge in *Lapithus*, a city of that island. Thither the conqueror followed him, and there took him prisoner. *Philometor* used his victory with great moderation: so far from taking away his brother's life, he restored to him his dominions, added some other territories to them in lieu of *Cyprus*, and promised him his daughter in marriage. Thus ended the war between the

* *Polybius* says of him that he was a Prince of great clemency and good nature; that he never put any of his nobles to death, nor so much as one citizen of *Alexandria*;

and though his brother had often provoked him, he as often pardoned him, and even treated him with great generosity. *Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. in fin.*

two brothers ; at least we hear no more of it. The *Romans* seem not to have interposed to hinder the accommodation.

ABOUT this time the Tribunes of the people at *Rome* did an act of justice which gained them great honour. *L. Cotta*, one of their college, refused to pay his debts ; believing himself safe in an office which made his person inviolable. But the rest of the Tribunes, thinking it shameful that the majesty of the people should be made a screen for private perfidy, threatened to take the cause of his creditors into their hands, if he did not pay them, or give security.

EVER since the year 531 it had been customary for the Consuls to enter upon their office on the Ides of *March* (the 15th) ; but this year the necessity of sending a Consul without delay into *Spain*, which was in great commotion, made the *Romans* hold their assembly for the elections some months before the usual time. *Q. Fulvius Nobilior* and *T. Annius Luscus* entered on the Consulship the first of *January* ; which from hence forward was always the day for the two chief Magistrates to take possession of the fasces. The events of the war in *Spain* will be hereafter mentioned.

In this year *Attalus*, the son of *Eumenes*, the late King of *Pergamus*, came to *Rome*, to recommend himself to the favour of the Senate, and was kindly received and treated with honour.

Also *Demetrius Soter* sent his son *Demetrius* to *Rome* ; but the Senate considering him only as a boy, and not making those preparations for his reception which he thought suitable to his dignity, he in disgust returned home. It has been mentioned that *Demetrius* banished *Heraclides*, the treasurer of *Babylon*, for his oppression of the people. This exile, to be revenged, set up, against the King, a man of obscure birth named *Balas*, pretending that he was the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. The Kings of *Egypt*, *Pergamus* and *Cappadocia*, out of hatred to *Demetrius*, supported the impostor ; and *Laodice*, the daughter of *Epiphanes*, joined in the fraud. *Heraclides* was now at *Rome* : He had brought with him *Balas* (who took the name of *Alexander*) and also *Laodice* to give a better colour to the matter. He presented them both to the Conscrip Fathers, whose assistance he implored to place the young Prince on the throne of *Syria*. The Senate readily passed a decree in his favour.

And, in the following Consulship of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *Alexander Balas* appeared in *Syria* with a formidable army, consisting chiefly of the troops which the Kings of *Egypt*, *Pergamus* and *Cappadocia* had furnished him with, at the solicitation of the *Romans*. He was also joined by *Jonathan Maccabæus* with the forces of *Judea*. In a pitched battle the army of *Demetrius* being routed, he lost both his kingdom and his life.

Val. Max.
L. 6. c. 5.
§. 4.

Y. R. 600.
Bef. Chr.
152.
299 Conf.

Liv. Epit.
B. 4.
Polyb. Legat. 149.

Liv. Epit.
B. 52.
App. in
Syr. p. 131.
Justin. B.
35. c. 34.

Y. R. 601.
Bef. Chr.
151.
300 Conf.

1 Mac.
10. J.
Ant. q.
23. c. 5.

C H A P. XXV.

*The Carthaginians are reduced very low in a war with Masinissa.
Rome resolves to seize the opportunity of their distress, to crush them entirely.*

App. in
Pun. 7. 35.

Y. R. 602.†
Bel. Car.
140.
301 Cons.

Y. R. 603.⁹
Bel. Chr.
141.
302 Cons.

THERE seems to have been a party at *Carthage* who were for yielding any thing to *Masinissa* rather than come to an open rupture with him. Forty of these the people banished, and bound themselves by oath never to recal them. The exiles repaired to *Masinissa*, who sent two of his sons, *Gulussa* and *Micipsa*, to solicit their restoration. Against these embassadors the *Carthaginians* shut their gates; and *Gulussa* in his return was attacked by surprize, and some of his followers slain^a. Hereupon *Masinissa* came at the head of a great army, and besieged a town called *Orcitopa*, belonging to the *Carthaginians*, who sent against him, under *Asdrubal*, an army of 25,000 foot and 400 horse. Two of the King's Generals with 6000 horse went over to *Asdrubal*, who encouraged by this accession of strength, drew near to the enemy, and in several skirmishes had the advantage. The King pretending fear, retired before the *Carthaginians*, and by degrees drew them to a place where the ground favoured him. A general battle ensued. The *Numidians* had the advantage, but not a decisive victory. *Scipio Æmilianus*, who had been sent by the Consul *Lucullus* from *Spain* to ask some elephants of *Masinissa*, was, from the top of a hill, a spectator of the action. He often declared afterwards, that, of all the battles he had seen (and he had seen many) none had ever given him so exquisite a delight: for it was the only time, when without any danger to himself, he had beheld a hundred thousand men engaged in fight. He added, that such a fight had never been enjoyed by any one before him, except *Jupiter* and *Neptune* in the *Trojan* war.

App. in
Pun. 7. 40.

Appian relates, that *Scipio*, at the desire of the *Carthaginians*, took upon him the office of a mediator between them and *Masinissa*; that they offered to yield the territory in dispute; to pay 200 talents

^a The epitomizer of *Lucan*, (B. 49.) reckoning up the causes of the *Romans* declaring war against the *Carthaginians*, mentions their not admitting *Gulussa* into their town, but says nothing of their design to assassinate him.

† *L. Lucius Lucullus* and *A. Postumius Albinus*, Consuls.

⁹ *T. Quintus Flaminius* and *M. Atilius Pullus*, Consuls.

This year the senate, at the motion of *Scipio Nasica*, ordered a theatre for plays (which, by the direction of the Censor, was building at the public expence) to be demolished, and forbade the use of seats or benches at the public shows in *Rome* and within a mile of it. *Val. Max.* B. 2. c. 4. §. 2.

down, and 800 more in a certain time; but that *Masiniſſa* demanding further, to have the deserters delivered up to him, this was refused. *Scipio* returned into *Spain* with his elephants, and *Masiniſſa* pursued the war. He invested the enemy in their camp upon a hill, where they could receive neither provisions nor reinforcements. At this juncture arrived embassadors from *Rome*. Their pretended business was to make peace between the contending parties; but they had private orders to encourage *Masiniſſa* to pursue the war, if they found he had the advantage; otherwise, to put an end to it. Accordingly when they saw how matters went, they suffered the King to push his enemies to the utmost extremity. The *Carthaginians* held out, till great numbers of them perished by famine and pestilence. Compelled by necessity they at last yielded to all the conditions of peace imposed by the *Numidian*. They consented to give up the deserters, restore the exiles, notwithstanding their oath to the contrary, and pay 5000 talents in fifty years. *Masiniſſa* also made them pass under the yoke unarmed, and in their tunics only. It is said that *Gubſa*, to be revenged for the ill treatment he had formerly met with from the *Carthaginians*, detached after the multitude a body of *Numidian* horse, who fell upon them when they had neither arms to defend themselves, nor strength to fly: of the whole number very few escaped to *Carthage*.

AND NOW the *Romans*, taking advantage of the prodigious loss the *Carthaginians* had sustained, prepared in all haste for war, yet without declaring their design. *Carthage* suspecting it, and that the pretence for it would be her having taken arms against *Masiniſſa*, the ally of *Rome*, proclaimed, by a public herald, *Asdrubal*, and the other authors of the war, guilty of treason against the State. They also sent embassadors to *Rome*, who accused *Masiniſſa* and their own Generals, laying upon them the whole blame of the hostilities. *Why then*, said one of the Senate to the embassadors, *were you not more early in your sentence against the authors of the war?* To this being at a loss for an answer, they asked, *Upon what terms* *Carthage*, *if judged faulty*, *might be forgiven*: The Fathers replied, *She must satisfy the Romans*. On the return of these Ministers home, the *Carthaginians* sent a new embassy to desire a clear and full declaration of the means by which the *Romans* might be satisfied. All the answer that could be obtained was, *That the Carthaginians knew the means very well*: an answer which, when reported, threw the city into great perplexity and consternation. Their terror was much increased by the sudden defection of *Utica*, the most considerable place in their dependence, next to their capital. The people of *Utica* had sent deputies to make an absolute surrendry of themselves, their city, and their territory to the people of *Rome*. This event furnishing the *Romans* with a convenient port for landing their forces, and a place of arms within eight miles of *Carthage*, they deferred no longer a declaration of war

V. R. 603.
P.C. Chr.
119.
322 Conf.

Y. R. 673.
Ecl. Chr.
129.
3-2 Conf.

Y. R. 672.
Ecl. Chr.
129.

war in form. The reasons assigned for it were, that *Carthage*, contrary to her covenants with *Rome*, had fitted out a fleet, had gone beyond her limits to attack the King of *Numidia*, a friend and ally of the *Roman* people, and lastly, had refused to let *Gulussa*, the son of *Masimissa*, enter within her gates, though conducted by *Roman* ambassadors. But *Pelleius Paternikus* tells us, that the cause of this war was mere jealousy of the power of *Carthage*, and not any offence by her committed^a,

C H A P. XXVI.

Third PUNIC WAR.

FIRST and SECOND YEARS of the War.

The Carthaginians, after extraordinary submissions, vainly employed to divert the war, resolve to defend themselves; which they do with surprizing activity and courage.

Y. R. 624.
Ecl. Chr.
125.
303 Conf.

App. in
Pun. c. p. 42.
Polyb.
L. 2. 142.

THE conduct of the war in *Africa* was assigned to the new Consuls *L. Marcus Censorinus* and *M. Manilius*, who had strict orders, not to put an end to it, but with the destruction^b of the city of *Carthage*. *Censorinus* commanded the fleet, and *Manilius* the army. The fleet was considerable, and had on board 80,000 foot, and about 4000 horse. Setting sail they arrived at *Lylibæum* in *Sicily*, and there stopped. *Carthage* did not yet know what had been resolved at *Rome*; but, upon the obscure answer brought from thence by her last ambassadors, had sent others with full powers to do whatever they should judge necessary; and even, if circumstances required it, to declare, that the *Carthaginians* surrendered themselves, and all that was theirs, to the *Romans* at discretion. They had never, in their former wars, entertained a thought of humbling themselves to this degree of submission. And they were sensible that even this would now appear the less meritorious, as the people of *Utica* had prevented them, by a more early example of the like deduction.

^a This year, according to *Pigbius* (V. 2. p. 442,) a law was enacted, that no man should be twice Consul. *Cato* spoke in favour of the law. It was constantly observed till the days of *Marius*, except in the case of *Scipio Emilianus*.

^b *Florus*, after telling us, that *Cato* always voted for destroying *Carthage*, and *Nasica* for preserving it, gravely adds, That the Senate chose the middle way, which was, to remove the town out of it's place. B. 2. c. 15.

The

The ambassadors finding, on their arrival at *Rome*, not only that war had been declared, but that the army was actually gone for *Sicily*, judged that they had no time to deliberate: Being therefore admitted to audience, they made the absolute surrendry, according to their instructions. It was answered; That because they had taken the right resolution, the Senate granted them their liberty, laws, territories, and all the effects belonging either to the public or to private persons, on condition that in thirty days, they sent three hundred hostages, of their noblest youth, to the Consuls at *Lilybaeum*; and further performed what the Consuls should command. The ambassadors felt an extreme joy at hearing what the Senate granted; but this joy was instantly damped by the latter proviso. They returned to *Carthage*, and reported the answer and orders of the *Roman* Senate. The silence of the Conscrip Fathers, with respect to the towns belonging to the *Carthaginians*, gave them extreme disquiet. However it was necessary to obey, nor had they any hope to mollify their enemies but by the readiness of this obedience. Without delay therefore they sent hostages to *Lilybaeum*. Whereupon it was signified to the deputies who had brought them, that the Consuls would let *Carthage* know their further pleasure when they came to *Utica*. Thither they sailed with all their forces.

It is easy to judge of the consternation of the *Carthaginians*, when, after the submissions they had made, they learnt the arrival of so terrible an army in their neighbourhood. They in all haste deputed some persons to expostulate with the Consuls. "What have we done," said these ambassadors, "to provoke you to this sudden invasion of our country with so mighty an army? Have we not faithfully paid you the tribute? Have we built any ships of war? Have we tamed any elephants? If you are displeased with the defensive war we have made against *Masiniſſa*, consider how patiently we endured his encroachments, till he resolved to set no bounds to his avarice and cruelty? But supposing it a fault to have defended our territories against the *Namidian*, have we not since made an absolute surrendry of ourselves and our country to the *Roman* people? Have we not with readiness given the hostages you demanded? And does not the decree of your Senate expressly promise, that on condition of our delivering those hostages, *Carthage* shall remain free, governed by her own laws, and retaining her present possessions?" *Censorinus* answered, "You have forgot one part of the Senate's decree, that part which requires your obedience to the orders of the Consuls. And we told you in *Sicily* that we would signify to you these orders when we came to *Utica*. You have done very well with regard to the hostages; but if you sincerely desire peace, what occasion have you for arms? Bring to us all your arms; as well those of private persons as those belonging to the public." The deputies begged, he would consider what must become.

V. R. 604.
Bef. Chr.
148.
303 Conf.

Diod. Sic.
ap. Fulv.
Utin.

Polyb. Le-
gat. 142.

App. p. 44.

V. B. 122
E. C. 122
123.
124.

become of *Carthage*, if he entirely did so. *Hannibal*, especially at a time when *Hannibal*, in revenge for having been condemned to death, had formed an army against her of 20,000 men. *Censorinus* replied, that the Senate and people of *Rome* would provide against that danger.

The *Carthaginians* without fraud delivered up all their arms, 200,000 suits of armour, an infinite number of spears and javelins, and 2000 *Catapults*, engines for throwing darts and stones. The long train of carriages which brought these to the *Roman* Camp, was followed by the most venerable of the *Carthaginian* Priests and Senators, in the hope, that this appearance would excite the compassion of the *Romans*. When their deputies were come before the tribunal of the Consuls, *Censorinus* rose up, and with a formal gravity said, "I cannot but praise, *Carthaginians*, the ready obedience you have shewn in sending us the hostages we required; and in now giving up your arms. Many words are useless when necessity urges. You will have fortitude to bear what the Senate further commands. Yield up your city to us. Transplant yourselves to whatever part of your territory you like best, provided it be ten miles from the sea. For we are determined to demolish *Carthage*."

At the sound of these words the *Carthaginians* all broke out into lamentable cries; they became even frantic with grief, rage, and despair; they threw themselves on the ground, beating the earth with their foreheads, and tearing their clothes, and even their flesh: they invoked the Gods, avengers of violated faith, and, in the bitterest terms, reproached and reviled the *Romans*. The Consuls calmly waited till the storm of passion was over, knowing, says *Appian*, that mighty calamities at first create, in those who are struck with them, a boldness, which necessity in a short time subdues. And thus it happened to the *Carthaginians*: When they had, in the manner above described, discharged their first fury and indignation, they lay silent and motionless, as if they had been dead. After a while, coming to themselves, and to a more perfect feeling of their distress, they, instead of angry words, fell to wailings and humble entreaties. *Hanno*, surnamed *Gilla*, endeavoured in a long speech to move the compassion of the Consuls, and, in conclusion, earnestly begged, that they would, at least, allow the *Carthaginians* time to make application to the Senate of *Rome*. The Consuls, inflexible, would neither recede from their sentence, nor consent to suspend the execution of it. *Be gone*, said they to the supplicants, *Hitherto you are ambassadors*. The Lictors were making them withdraw, when they, foreseeing the tumult that would be raised at *Carthage* by the answer they were to carry thither, begged leave, once more to speak. This granted, they said: "We are sensible of the necessity of obeying. You will not suffer us to send ambassadors to *Rome*: nor will our people suffer us to return to you; we shall be torn to pieces before we have fully delivered our message. We beg therefore, not
" for

“ for our own sakes, who are prepared for the worst that can happen,
 “ but for the sake of the people of *Carthage*, you would send your fleet
 “ thither; that our fellow citizens, while they hear your commands
 “ from us, seeing you ready to execute them yourselves, may be in-
 “ duced, if possible, to submit to their calamity. Hard indeed is that
 “ necessity which thus forces us to call for your fleet against our
 “ country.” *Cæserinus* so far complied with this request as to go with
 twenty ships, and hover upon the coast near *Carthage*. Some of the
 deputies, in their journey towards the city, stole aside, and disappeared;
 the rest in silence held on their way. The people, in crowds upon
 the walls, were looking impatiently for their return: Many ran out
 to meet them, and, perceiving an excessive sadness in their coun-
 tenances, eagerly enquired the cause. Nobody gave any answer. Much
 difficulty had the deputies, when they came to the city, to get through
 the press that choked up the gate, and all the way to the Senate-house.
 Here being at length arrived, and having entered the assembly, one of
 them reported the Consuls command. The universal cry, which it in-
 stantly raised within doors, was answered by a louder and more doleful
 noise from the multitude without, though they knew not yet the cer-
 tainty of the evil they apprehended. The Speaker continuing his dis-
 course to inform the Senate of the arguments that had been employed
 to move compassion, the Senators, through an earnest desire to know
 the event, became once more silent and attentive; and their stillness
 caused the like abroad. But, when it was understood, that the Consuls,
 inexorably cruel, refused even to respite the execution of their sentence,
 till an embassy could go to *Rome*, and return, the assembly again burst
 out in cries and lamentations; which the multitude hearing, and no
 longer doubting of the intolerable calamity, furiously broke into the
 Senate-house, reviling and insulting all those who had counselled their
 giving hostages, and delivering up their arms. The whole city became
 a scene of the most desperate grief, and the wildest rage; and the
 desolation and frantic wailings of the mothers, whose sons had been
 torn from them for hostages, and who ran raving about the streets, as-
 faulting those whom they accused of robbing them of their children,
 did not a little heighten the circumstances of the distress, the uproar
 and the confusion.

However, amidst this multitude of distracted people, there were
 some who, less transported with passion, had the presence of mind to
 shut and secure the gates of the city, and to gather upon the ramparts
 great heaps of stones, which might serve instead of other weapons.
 The same day, the Senate decreed war; proclaimed liberty, by a
 public crier, to the slaves; enrolled them in the militia; sent
 to *Asdrubal* whom they had condemned, and who, with an army
 of 20,000 men, was not far off, praying him to forget the injury

App. in
 Pun. p. 54.

Y. R. 624.
B.C. 147.
147.
147 C. 147.

Scyth. B.
17. 1. 1. 1.

For. B. 1.
1. 15.

App. P. 55.

they had been forced to do him, and employ his troops for the defence of his country, in this her extreme danger; and lastly appointed another *Asdrubal*, a grandson of *Masiniſſa* (by one of his daughters) to command in *Carthage*. These measures taken, they ordered a new deputation to the Consuls, to ask a truce of thirty days, that they might have time to send ambassadors to *Rome*; which being denied, it was resolved unanimously, that they would preserve their city, or die defending it. Instantly the temples and other spacious buildings were converted into work-houses, where men and women, old and young, employed themselves by day and by night, in fabricating arms. That no time might be lost, whilst some eat or slept, others took their places; and the work never ceased. They every day made 140 bucklers, 300 swords, 500 javelins and lances, and 1000 darts for the *Catapulta*. Of these machines they formed as many as they could; and, because there was a scarcity of materials to make cords for them, the women cut off their hair to supply that want.

In the mean time the Consuls, from a persuasion that an unarmed multitude would not think of sustaining a siege, or, if they did, that the town would easily be taken, made no haste to march thither. Finding at length how matters went, they advanced to the place. Their chief care was to secure provisions, which they could get only from *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Adrumetum*, and two other towns: *Asdrubal* held the rest of *Africa*, and plentifully supplied *Carthage*. *Masiniſſa* did not offer the Consuls any assistance. He thought himself ill used by the *Romans*, in that, after he had brought *Carthage* so low, they came to take advantage of his victory, without so much as imparting to him their design. When therefore, to try him, they sent to ask his aid, he answered, he would give it when he saw it was wanted. Shortly after he sent an offer of his aid; but then the Consuls answered, that, when they wanted it, they would ask it.

CARTHAGE, which is said to have been twenty-three miles in circuit, and to have contained 700,000 souls, was situated within a large gulph or bay, on a Peninsula forty-five miles in compass, and joined to the continent by an isthmus, or neck of land, three miles broad. The city seems to have been divided into three principal parts, *Cotbon* (sometimes called the Port) *Megara* and *Byrja*. The last, two miles in compass, was the citadel; it stood on the isthmus, and on that very spot of ground which *Dido* purchased of the *Africans*. On the South side, towards the continent, the city was defended by three walls, each thirty cubits high, and strengthened with towers rising two stories above the height of the walls. Along and between these walls were barracks^a for 20,000 foot, 4000

^a *Appian* makes these barracks, including not only the lodgings for the troops, but the stables and granaries for the horses and

elephants, to have been in the walls, which seems improbable, as it must have ruined the strength of the fortification.

horses,

horse, and 300 elephants. Whether the harbour of *Carthage* was on the East or the West of the Peninsula, is uncertain. *Appian* places it on the West: but there are passages in *Polybius* from which one should naturally conclude that it was on the East; and so *Cellarius* believes. We find it divided into two ports, having both but one and the same entrance from the sea; and this entrance only seventy foot broad, so that it could be shut up with iron chains. The inner port was for the ships of war, and in the midst of it stood an island, natural or artificial, where was the arsenal; and where the admiral resided. The outer port belonged to the merchants.

It will not be attempted here to give a satisfactory account of the operations of the siege of *Carthage*, or to explain all that *Appian* says of it: A plan of the place is wanting; nor is it easy to form one from that author's description. What we find clear and distinct is, in substance, to the following effect. That the Consuls attempted to scale the walls in two places, believing they had need of nothing more than ladders to become masters of the town: that, to their astonishment, they found the besieged well armed and resolute; and that being twice repulsed they applied themselves to make the preparations for a regular siege, which would not soon be finished: that afterwards *Censorinus* made a breach in the wall, but notwithstanding all his efforts to enter the place, was driven back with considerable loss, and would have sustained a greater, if *Scipio Æmilianus*, then a legionary Tribune, had not covered his retreat: that the *Carthaginians* made fire-ships of some old rotten barks, and, the wind blowing favourably, let them drive upon the *Roman* fleet, which was thereby almost totally consumed: That *Censorinus*, after this disaster, returned to *Rome* to preside at the elections. We read also that his colleague *Manilius* continued the war with no better success, and would have lost the greater part of his army in a rash enterprize, against *Asdrubal* in the field, had it not been for the bravery and conduct of *Æmilianus*, who with 300 horse sustained the charge of all *Asdrubal's* forces, and covered the legions, while they passed a river in their retreat before the enemy. By these and many other glorious actions, during this unfortunate campaign, *Æmilianus* established himself in so high a reputation of courage and ability, that *Cato*, a great niggard of praise, is said to have applied to him a verse of *Homer* in the *Odyssey*, where the Poet, comparing *Tiresias* with the other Ghosts in the *Elysian* field, says, *He alone has understanding, the rest are but shades*.

Y. R. 624.
Ber. Cont.
123.
303 C. 91.

App. in
Pun. 7.
& seq.

Plut. life
of Cato.

Ἐοὶς πέπνυται; τοὶ δὲ σχοιῖ ἀϊόουσι.

Hom. Odys. L. 10.

To whom *Persephone*, entire and whole,
Gave to retain th' unseparated soul:
The rest are forms of empty æther made,
Impassive semblance, and a fleeting shade.

Odyssey, B. 10. l. 584.

Y. R. 605.
Bell. Chr.
147.
304 Cons.

App. in
Pub. p. 65.

App. in
Pub. p. 65.
Bell. Chr.
147.
304 Cons.

App. in
Pub. p. 65.
Bell. Chr.
147.
304 Cons.

At Rome were chosen to the Consulship *Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus* and *L. Cæpurnius Piso Cælonius*. The conduct of the war in *Africa* fell to the latter. While *Manius* in quality of Proconsul continued to act there, *Himilco Phœneas*, General of *Masaniassa's* cavalry, came over to the *Romans*, out of pure esteem (as it is said) for *Scipio Æmilianus*. The *African* brought with him 2200 horse, very opportunely, when the Proconsul, having led his army into a dangerous situation, was greatly at a loss how to make a retreat.

A LITTLE before this died *Masaniassa*; the best, and most fortunate King, (says *Polybius*) of his time: fortunate in a healthy and vigorous constitution, inasmuch that no labours of war were too great for his strength; and, though ninety years old at his death, he left a son but four years of age. fortunate in his friendship with the *Romans*, which procured him an extensive dominion: fortunate in the concord which reigned among his children, and prevented all intestine commotions and seditions. His great merit (not to speak of his courage and activity) was his introducing husbandry into *Numidia*, and shewing his subjects that the soil which they thought barren, was capable of bringing forth all kinds of fruits, and in as great plenty as any other country. Thus useful and beneficent to his own people, he was a very bad neighbour, as the reader must have observed.

We are told that, on his death bed, *Masaniassa* sent for *Scipio Æmilianus* to consult with him about disposing of his dominions; that he expired before *Scipio* arrived, but had commanded his sons to acquiesce in whatever division the *Roman* should make of the kingdom: That *Scipio*, having, pursuant to the intention of the deceased, provided handsomely for the bastard children, decreed that each of the three legitimate sons should bear the title of King; that *Micipsa*, being the eldest and of a pacific temper, should reside in the palace of *Cirtba*, and be treasurer; that the second, *Gulussa*, a military man, should be Generalissimo; and that *Manastabal*, the youngest, who had been accustomed to hear causes, should be Lord Chief Justice: and thus each King had the two other Kings for his Ministers^a.

The

^a There is a passage in *Sallust* which seems to contradict the whole of this story. His words are these: *Imperii utique ejus [Masaniassa] finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit. Manastabal & Gulussa fratres ejus morbo absumpti.* Bell. Jugurth. c. 5. which words are in the new translation of that historian rendered thus: "When death put an end to his [*Masaniassa*] reign, his son *Micipsa* succeeded him: at that time his only son, as his

other two, *Manastabal* and *Gulussa*, had been carried off by distempers." Perhaps the word *Dein* should be rendered, *Some time after*; and then the meaning of the passage will be this: "Some time after the death of *Masaniassa*, *Micipsa* reigned alone; his brothers [and partners in the government] *Manastabal* and *Gulussa*, having been carried off by distempers."

That *Micipsa* was not the only son of *Masaniassa* that survived him, we have the authority.

The Consul *Calpurnius*, and *Mancinus* (who commanded a new fleet) came into *Africa* in the beginning of the spring, but performed nothing to their honour. They did not so much as attempt to take *Carthage*, or even to molest *Libyal*, but applied themselves to reduce *Clypea* and *Hippogreta* on the *African* coast, attacking them, both by sea and land, without success. After which they retired with the army and fleet to *Utica*, and spent the winter there.

In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, gathering new courage from the spiritless behaviour of their enemies, began to look abroad for allies. They not only sent into *Numidia*, and to the free states of *Mauritania*, but even into *Macedon*. About a year before, one *Andriscus*, a man of the dregs of the people, had given himself out to be the son of *Perses*, assumed the name of *Philip*, and, being assisted by the *Thracians*, had, partly by force of arms, and partly by persuasion, engaged the *Macedonians* to recognize him for their King. Not content with this, he invaded *Thessaly*. *Scipio Nasica*, with the assistance of the *Achaans*, and other *Greek* allies, drove him from that country: but the Prætor *Jurventius Thalna*, who succeeded *Nasica*, and brought an army with him from *Italy*, lost the greater part of his troops, and his own life, in a rash enterprize to force his way through some narrow passes into *Macedon*: after which *Andriscus* easily recovered that part of *Thessaly* he had been forced by *Nasica* to abandon. The *Carthaginians* thinking that this Usurper was grown powerful enough to make an useful diversion, sent ambassadors to encourage him to a vigorous prosecution of the war, promising to supply him both with money and ships. The historians have not told us what answer *Andriscus* returned to the *Carthaginians*. Whatever it were, it proved of no service either to him or them. For *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who succeeded *Thalna* in the command of the *Roman* forces, defeated the usurper in two pitched battles; the first in *Macedon*, the second in *Thrace*, where one of the petty Kings, to whom he fled for refuge, delivered him up to the *Romans*. This impostor was no sooner crushed, than another started up, who called himself *Alexander*; and he likewise pretended to be a son of *Perses*. *Metellus* easily drove him out of the country into *Dardania*.

thority of *Polybius*, the epitome of *Liv*, *Appian* and *Zonaras*. And it is very unlikely that *Sallust* would contradict a fact related by *Polybius*, in which the latter could not be deceived. Now *Polybius*, who was with *Scipio* at the siege of *Carthage*, speaks of *Gulussa*, King of the *Numidians*, as present at the same siege in the third year of the war. *Gulussa*'s title of King implies that *Masinissa* was dead; and *Appian* relates

his death as happening two years before. Besides, *Polybius* expressly says that *Masinissa* left five sons, of which one was but four years old; and that, three days after the King's death, *Scipio* arrived at *Cirta*, where he settled all things with great prudence; for which good office on his part there would have been no occasion, if the kingdom had fallen intirely to one only son and heir.

Y. R. 605.
Bel. Cha.
167.
304 Cons.

App. in
Punic. p.
66. & seq.

Liv. Epit.
B. 49.

Zonar. T. 2.
Liv. Epit.
B. 50.

Zonar.
Flor. B. 2.
c. 14.
Zonar. T.
2.

C H A P. XXVII.

T H I R D and F O U R T H Y E A R S of the War.

The Consul Scipio Æmilianus restores discipline in the army before Carthage. He binds any provisions from coming to the besieged. Carthage taken and demolished.

Y. R. 505.
Bel. Car.
147.
304 Cons.

App. in
Pun. p. 66.
& 63.

* In the
year 604.
Pict. life of
Cato.

Liv. Epit.
B. 50.

App. in
Pun. p. 63.
& 62.

SCIPIO Æmilianus had, in the beginning of the second year of the war, been sent with *Phameas*, from *Africa*, by the Proconsul *Manilius*. The Senate conferred great honours and rewards on *Phameas*; and promised him yet greater at the end of the war, if he continued faithfully to assist the Republic. As for * *Scipio*, every body, both at *Rome* and in the army, extolled his virtue and abilities. Whatever had succeeded was ascribed to his bravery and skill, and all miscarriages and disasters were imputed to the not having followed his advice. *Cato*, who died some * months before this, is reported to have prophesied on his death bed, that *Scipio* was the man who would terminate the war by the destruction of *Carthage*; and the people universally were full of this impression: so that at the election of Magistrates for the year 600, though he only stood for the Ædileship, and was not of the legal age for the higher offices, yet they promoted him to the Consulship, notwithstanding the opposition of the Fathers. The people also assigned him *Africa*, without having any regard to the remonstrances of his colleague *C. Livius Drusus*, who strenuously pleaded the custom of having the Provinces determined by lot. The same decree gave *Scipio* power to

Polyb. Ex-
temp. l. 31.
ap. Valer.

* *P. Cornilius Scipio Æmilianus*, the son of *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and adopted by the son of *Scipio Africanus*, made his first campaign, when about seventeen years of age, under his father *Æmilius*, in *Macedon*. After the return of the army to *Rome*, the chief men of *Athens* being ordered into custody in several towns of *Ionia*, *Æmilius* and his brother *Fabius* (so called because adopted into the *Fabius* family), obtained leave for *Polybius*, one of the *Athenians*, to stay at *Rome*; and from that time, they lived in great familiarity and friendship with him. He tells us, that *Scipio* one day thus spoke to him, when they were alone; "What is the reason, *Polybius*,

"that in conversation you always address
"your discourse to my brother, without
"taking any notice of me? I am afraid
"you have the same opinion of me that
"the citizens have, who think me slow
"and indolent, and averse from *Roman*
"manners, for that I don't apply myself
"to pleading causes. They say, that
"the family from which I am descended
"requires another sort of a representative
"than I am. And this gives me great
"uneasiness." *Polybius* was astonished at
this discourse from so young a man (for he
was but in his eighteenth year) and begged
of him, by all the Gods, not to entertain
any such suspicions. "I am far (said he)
"from

to raise as many volunteers as he pleased, and to demand succours, in the name of the Republic, of the Kings and nations her allies.

He arrived with his levies at *Utica*, and very opportunely, as it is said; for *Mancinus* with 3500 *Romans* must have unavoidably perished, if they had not been speedily succoured. These troops, while *Calpurnius* the Consul was absent on some inland expedition, had, in an attempt upon

Y. R. 606.
Bef. Chr.
146.
305 Con^t

“ from despising or neglecting you. If I address myself to *Polybius*, and seem to consider him chiefly in what I say, it is only because he is the elder, and because I am persuaded you have the same sentiments and dispose with him. And as it is extremely commendable in you to think laziness a crime in a man descended from so illustrious a family, I gladly promise you all the assistance in my power to make you, both by your sentiments and actions, worthy of the glory of your ancestors. As to the studies in which your brother and you are now employed, you will never want masters for them, since such sort of men are daily flocking hither from *Greece*. But, with regard to what you have most at heart, perhaps you will not find a more fit companion and assistant than myself.” At these words *Scipio* taking *Polybius* by the hand and pressing it affectionately, “ I wish (said he) I might see the day when, neglecting all other things, you would come and live with me, and make me your principal care. Then should I think myself not unworthy of my family and my ancestors.” *Polybius*, though pleased and affected with the dispositions of the young man, was yet full of anxiety, when he considered the dignity and splendor of that family. *Scipio*, after this, never quitted him, but preferring his conversation to that of all others, there grew up between them a friendship, like that between a father and a son.

IT was evident, says *Polybius*, that by the conquest of *Macedon* the *Romans* were become masters of the world. Their unbounded power therefore, and the *Macedonian* wealth, which had been brought to *Rome*, introduced among them licentiousness and all kinds of luxury. Amidst

the general corruption of the *Roman* youth, who ran headlong into the debauched manners of the *Greeks*, *Scipio's* first care was the study of modesty and sobriety. He had been five years famous for these virtues, when the death of *Emilia* * (the wife of the great *Scipio*) gave him an opportunity of acquiring the reputation of generosity. He being her heir, gave her jewels, chariot, gold and silver vases she used at sacrifices, her slaves, and all her equipage, to his own mother, *Papiria*, who, having been divorced by her husband *Emilius Paullus*, lived in narrow circumstances. She had not of a long time been seen at the public assemblies; but soon after this, appearing at a solemn sacrifice, in her chariot, and with a great train of slaves, her equipage drew the attention of the women; who, knowing it to be the same which had been *Emilia's*, lifted up their hands to heaven, and prayed for all kinds of prosperity to *Scipio*, the charming man who had made his mother so fine; and being naturally great praters (says *Polybius*) and vehement in every thing they set about, they spread his reputation far and wide. The historian adds, that this generosity was the more admired at *Rome*, because, in that city, nobody ever gives away any thing that belongs to him.

The daughters of the great *Scipio*, being married to *Scipio Nasica* and *Tiberius Gracchus*, had each 40 * talents for her portion. Half this money their mother had paid in her life-time, the other half she had left to be discharged by her heir. She had also, it would seem, bequeathed to each of her daughters a legacy of moveable goods to the value of 5 † talents. By the *Roman* law, this last money was due in ten months after the death of the testator; but the heir had three years time allowed him for

Diod. Sicul.-
Excerpt. ex.
l. 26. ap.
Valef.
* Sister to
Emilius
Paullus.

upon the city, lodged themselves on a rock when they could not retire, and where they had no provisions. Scipio hastened to their relief, and brought them off.

And now his first business was to restore discipline in the army, which had been much neglected by his predecessor. The *Roman* soldiers were become gangs of robbers. Without order or leave of their commanders they made incursions upon the country, plundered the farms, and sold the booty at low prices to merchants, who flocked to the camp to make cheap purchases. Quarrels often arose about sharing the spoil, and in the scuffles many were slain. The Consul in a short time reformed these abuses, and then applied himself wholly to the siege.

The

payment of the portions; a third part every year. At the end of ten months, *Gracchus* and *Natua* enquiring of *Scipio's* broker, whether he had any money for them, he answered, that he had orders to pay each of them 50 talents. At first they imagined the banker mistaken; but he persisted, that he had received such orders. They then supposed, that *Scipio* had given them, through ignorance of the laws. And in this they had reason, says *Plinius*; for, at *Rome*, nobody pays a single talent till the very day it is due; much less 50 talents two years before the time; so careful is every one of his money, and so diligent to make advantage of it. *Gracchus* and *Natua* therefore going to *Scipio*, and understanding from him, that he had actually given directions for the present payment of the whole sum, they, as from a friendly concern for his interest, informed him, that the laws allowed him the use of the money for a long time to come. *Scipio* answered, "I know that very well; and with strangers I act according to law, but with relations and friends, more friendly and generously." His brothers hearing this, returned silently home, astonished (though they were of the chief men in the city) at *Scipio's* greatness of soul, and condemning their own excessive attention to make money.

Two years after this, *Æmilius Paullus* dying, left all his effects to his sons *Fabius* and *Scipio*. The latter, to make his brother as rich as himself, relinquished to him the whole of the inheritance, which amount-

ed to above 60 talents. And when his mother died, he gave all her effects to his sisters, though by law they had no title to any of them. Thus did *Scipio*, says *Polybius*, for the sum of 60 talents (for so much of his own money he gave away) acquire the character of generosity; not on account of the greatness of the sum, but of the time and manner of giving it.

Many apothegms of *Scipio Æmilianus* are recorded, of which the much greater part seem not worth repeating. But *Cicero* (*in Ferr.* 2. c. 11.) relates an excellent answer, which that general, when going to *Africa*, gave to an old acquaintance of his, who was out of humour for being refused by him a considerable post in the army. "Be not surprized, said *Scipio*, that you do not obtain this of me: I myself have been long soliciting a man, who, I think, would have a tender regard for my reputation, to accept the employment you want; and I cannot yet prevail with him."

^b According to the epitome of *Livy* (B. 51.) *Mancinus* not only took, but kept a part of *Carthage*, which seems to have been *Megara*.

^c The Jesuits in their *Roman History* have exhibited a map of the place; but if they had given us a picture of the moon, as it appears through a telescope, it would have agreed as well with *Appian's* description of *Carthage*, and its port; or even with their own description of them. Mr. *Rollet* has not, I think, furnished more light than the Jesuits, to make us understand what passed at this siege. In his account we had

the place was now commanded by that *Asdrubal*, who, the preceding year, had been General in the field. He had got rid of the other *Asdrubal* by accusing him of treachery. They had killed him in the Senate house.

Scipio having made himself master of the isthmus, he there pitched his camp, and built a wall before it, twelve foot high, and reaching quite cross the isthmus from sea to sea; so that the besieged could get no provisions from the continent that way. As, nevertheless, they still received provisions from the continent, by means of the port, he, to cut off their supplies this way, caused a huge mole to be raised in the water, near the mouth of the Port; a work of infinite labour. Hereupon the *Carthaginians*, animated by necessity, dug a new passage out into the sea, and not only so, but built fifty galleys, with which they gave battle to the enemy's fleet. The engagement lasted the whole day, with what success is not very clear. Winter soon after put an end to the operations of the siege. *Æmilianus* however did not continue unactive. He destroyed an army, *Appian* tells us, of 84,000 men, commanded by one *Diogenes*: after which all *Africa* submitted to the *Romans*, and *Carthage* could get no more provisions.

In this distress *Asdrubal* asked and obtained an interview with King *Gulussa*, who, since the death of his father *Masiniſſa*, had with some forces joined the *Roman* army. The *Carthaginian* desired the King to be surety to the Consul for him, that he would submit to every thing, provided the miserable city might be spared. *Gulussa* answered, "You talk childishly, *Asdrubal*. Can you now expect, when almost reduced to extremity, what was refused you, even before your town was invested?" He replied, "The *Carthaginian* affairs are not desperate; we have allies abroad, and an army in the field (for he did not yet know of the defeat of that army) but, above all, I confide in the assistance of the immortal Gods, who undoubtedly will not be regardless of the injuries we have suffered contrary to the faith of treaties, but will afford us various means of preserving ourselves. Admonish the *Roman* General therefore, that, in piety to the Gods, and in consideration of the variableness of fortune, he would spare the city. And assure him, that if we cannot obtain this, we are, to a man, determined

P. L. N. E. -
cop. de
Vat. & Vat.

Megara, to be the city, properly so called, and the habitation of the inhabitants, yet when *Scipio* has broke down the gates of one part of *Megara*, and entered it; and when those of the *Carthaginians* who had been appointed to defend that quarter, are retired into the citadel, imagining the whole city to be taken, he is no nearer being master of *Megara*, than he was before. [And indeed by *Appian's* account *Scipio* abandons the quarter he had broke into.] We find him presently after encamped without the city, and looking into it from a high

wooden tower, which he has erected on the wall before his camp. The next year, *Scipio* attacks the port called *Cothen*, and the citadel at the same time; yet, according to Mr. *Rollin*, the citadel was not surprised by *Megara*, which, for any thing hitherto related, *Scipio* is not master of; and he does not get to the citadel, till seven days after *Cothen* is taken. Our author has, I grant, the authority of *Appian* for most of the particulars: But what does the reader learn from such an account?

Y. R. 606.
Esf. Chr.
126.
306 Cons.

"to die rather than surrender." *Polybius* adds, that upon *Gulussa's* report of what the *Carthaginian* had said, *Scipio* smiled^c, both at the conditions demanded by *Asdrubal*, after treating his *Roman* prisoners with the greatest cruelty (for he is said to have put them to death by torture) and at *his confidence in the Gods*, after such a violation of all laws human and divine. Nevertheless, as *Gulussa* represented to the General how much it concerned him to put an end to the war, lest a successor coming from *Rome*, should rob him of that glory, *Scipio* commissioned the King to return to *Asdrubal*, with an offer of life and liberty to him, and any ten families of his friends whom he should name, together with ten talents and six slaves for himself. The *Carthaginian*, having heard the message, replied, *The day will never come when the sun shall see Carthage destroyed and Asdrubal alive.*

Y. R. 607.
Esf. Chr.
127.
306 Cons.
App. P. 79.

Early the next spring (in the Consulship of *C. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Mummius*) *Scipio* renewed his attacks upon *Carthage*, on the side of *Cothon* (or the port) and made himself master of the wall. Thence with a large body of soldiers he forced his way into the great square of the city, where he continued all the following night. From this square three streets led up to the citadel, the ascent pretty steep. As the tops of the houses, which lined these streets, were covered with men, who stood ready to shower darts and stones upon the *Romans*, it was necessary, before these advanced, to^d clear the houses of the enemy. Having broke into those that were nearest, and got upon the roofs, a desperate fight began there, while another more bloody was carried on in the streets below. When the *Roman* soldiers, with dreadful slaughter, had, both above and below, driven the *Carthaginians* before them, quite to the citadel, they, by the General's orders, set fire to all the houses of the three streets. Then followed such a scene of misery as is not to be expressed. Wounded men, old women and children, who had hid

^c It would seem that *Polybius* might well enough have omitted this circumstance of his hero's *smiling at Asdrubal's* confidence in the Gods; when the hero himself was engaged in an enterprize as impious as ever General was charged with, and in breach of public faith and the law of nations. If the Historian had put something plausible into the mouth of *Scipio*, in answer to that part of *Asdrubal's* discourse which accused the *Romans* of *injustice* and *perfidy*, it would have been more pertinent. And as to *Asdrubal's* cruelty (supposing the story to be true) *Scipio*, as we shall see hereafter, acted in *Spain* a cruelty towards 400 young men, his prisoners, which was much less excusable, the difference of circumstances considered.

Many things are said by *Polybius* and

Appian to make *Asdrubal* appear both odious and ridiculous: But their character of him does not very well suit with this part of his conduct, where he refuses no submissions, provided the city may be spared, and, without that condition, will listen to no preliminaries, how advantageous soever to himself and his particular friends. And if he were really such a monster as he is represented, and had so cruelly butchered the *Roman* prisoners, it seems not much for the honour of *Scipio*, that, *through fear of a successor*, he should consent to spare that monster and his favourites, and them only, of all the miserable multitude of *Carthaginians*.

^d They might have cleared the houses of the enemy by setting fire to them, but perhaps they were willing to plunder them first.

them.

themselves in holes and secret corners of the houses came tumbling, from the upper stories, upon the pavement below, whither they threw themselves to avoid the flames. The air rang with their shrieks and lamentations. The bodies of these miserable wretches, the living as well as the dead, were with hooks dragged away together, into ditches and pits, that they might not choak up the streets, by which the *Romans* were to pass and repass. In this bloody toil, and in removing the rubbish of the houses so as to form an area, where the army might be drawn up, were spent six days and six nights; the soldiers, employed in the work, being relieved from time to time by fresh men. *Scipio* was the only person who took no sleep, nor hardly any refreshment. Fatigued at length with moving from place to place to give orders, he sat down on a high ground, whence he might see the tragedy to its conclusion. Once, it seems, the tears came into his eyes, and he repeated two lines of *Homer*^c, where *Hector* foretells the destruction of *Troy*. *Carthage*, that once mighty city, in flames, brought to his mind, not only the fall of *Troy*, but of those wide extended empires of the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Persians*; and, from the instability of human things, he feared that *Rome* would one day undergo a fate like to that which now overwhelmed *Carthage*. It was thus that he explained himself to *Polybius*, who was then near him. On the seventh day, and before the rubbish was quite removed, some persons from the citadel in the garb of suppliants, appeared before the *Roman* General, offering, on the part of the besieged, to surrender themselves, if he would but spare their lives. He granted their petition; only the *Roman* deserters were excepted. Hereupon there came forth^f 50,000 persons, whom *Scipio* immediately sent away under a good guard, and afterwards sold for slaves. The deserters, to the number of 900, despairing of mercy, retired with *Asdrubal* into the temple of *Æsculapius*; which standing on a rock, they might have defended it for a considerable time, if they had not been pressed by famine. The *Carthaginian* General came away privately, and bearing an olive branch, surrendered himself to the Pro-Consul. *Scipio* having made *Asdrubal* sit down at his feet, shewed him to the deserters, who, when they had reviled and cursed him, [nobody knows why] set fire^g to the edifice; chusing rather to perish that way than to meet the vengeance of the Conqueror.

Carthage

^c Ἔσσειται ἡμᾶς ὅταν περὶ ὀλώλην Ἰλίου ἴσῃ,
καὶ Πριάμῳ, καὶ λαῷ ἰὺ μέλινῳ Πριάμειο.

Yet come it will, the day decreed by fates;
(How my heart trembles while my tongue
relates!)

The day when thou, Imperial *Troy*, must
bend,

And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end.

Iliad, Book 6. l. 570.

^f According to *Orosius* (B. 4. c. 23.) there came out first, in a body, 25,000 miserably looking women, and then 30,000 worse looking men.

^g While the fire was kindling, the wife of *Asdrubal*, having decked herself in the best manner she could, is said to have appeared, with her two children, on the top of the temple; whence calling out to *Scipio*, she begged him to punish her husband,

Y. B. 600.
L. 31.
C. 1. 1.

Carthage thus taken, Scipio gave the plunder to the soldiers, excepting the gold, the silver, and the offerings found in the temples. After this, and when he had distributed the rewards of valour among his men, he sent advice to the Senate that he had finished the war in *Africa*, desiring further instructions. The Fathers named ten Commissioners with a commission with Scipio, were to regulate every thing relating to the conquered country. They brought orders to him to demolish what yet remained of Carthage; and they decreed that nobody for the future should dwell there, adding dire imprecations on whoever should disobey; and especially on those who should rebuild *Byrsa* or *Megara*¹. They further decreed, that all the towns which had taken part with the enemy, should be razed, and their territories given to the allies of Rome: that *Utica* in particular should have all the lands as far as Carthage on the one side, and *Hippo* on the other: And that the whole country, which had been under the domination of the *African* Republic, should be reduced to the form of a Prætorian province. After Scipio had seen these regulations executed; and to the honour of the Gods, had celebrated games, wherein his soldiers were amused with seeing all the deserters that had fallen into his hands, torn in pieces by wild beasts, he returned to Rome, had a splendid triumph, and took the surname of *Africanus*.

L. 31.
C. 1. 1.

“THE elder Scipio, says *Velleius Paterculus*¹, had opened a way to the power of the Romans, the younger opened a way to their luxury. For, when the fear of Carthage, that rival of Rome for empire, was totally removed, the Romans did not gradually depart from virtue, but ran precipitately into vice.”

P. 1. 1. 1.
C. 1. 1.
L. 31. 1.

Polybius gives an earlier date to this precipitate hurrying of the Romans into luxury and debauchery; the conquest of Macedon. And *Cato* makes use of the corruption of Roman manners as his argument for the expe-

band, according to his desert, that traitor to his God, his country, and his family. Then directing her speech to *Matala*, “Thou wicked pernicious wretch, the most cowardly of men: This fire will quickly consume me and my children: But thou, ruler of mighty Carthage, what a triumph shalt thou adorn! And what punishment wilt thou not suffer from him at whose feet thou art now sitting!” This said, she cut the throats of her children, threw them into the flames, and herself after them. *App. in P. 1. 1. 1.*

This story seems to carry an internal proof of its being a fable, the charge of treachery on *Matala* being manifestly absurd; unless, by treachery, he meant his

not killing himself when he could no longer make any defence.

¹ Notwithstanding these imprecations we shall find, that about 24 years after, *C. Gracchus* undertook to raise a town upon the ruins of Carthage. The work indeed was not perfected. But the emperor *Augustus*, or, according to some, *Julius Cæsar*, built a City near the place where Carthage had stood.

¹ *Potentia Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuria posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii amula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu à virtute defectum, ad vitia transiit. Vell. Pat. c. 1. 1.*

diency

diency of destroying *Carthage*. Nay, before the war against *Antiochus the Great*, *Cato* speaks of covetousness and luxury * as reigning vices at *Rome*. But, whatever was the true date of the introduction of luxury among the *Romans*, certain it is, that, from the time of the elder *Scipio's* conquest, they ran precipitately into shameful dishonesty, perfidiousness and cruelty: I speak of their Senate, their Generals and their Embassadors.

Y. R. 607.
Bef. Chr.
145.
306 Conf.

* See p. 328.

If the reader recalls to mind their faithless treatment of King *Philip*, the *Boeotians*, and the *Spartan Nabis*; *Flaminius's* errand to *Prusias*; the knavery and hypocrisy of *Marcus* in his transactions with *Perses*; the perfidy and cruelty of *Æmilius Paullus*; the tyranny exercised over the *Acheans* and other *Greeks*, by the Senate, after pretending to set *Greece* at liberty; their cruel usage of the *Rhodians*, for only desiring to mediate a peace between *Rome* and *Macedon*; their anger against *Attalus*, because he would not ask of them a part of his brother's dominions; the series of their injustices to the *African Republic*, on occasion of her disputes with *Masiniſſa*; and lastly, their fraudulent methods the more easily to effect that iniquitous and inhuman resolution of utterly destroying *Carthage*: If the reader, I say, recalls to mind these facts, he will think, that what (*Livy* tells us) was the ^k sentiment of the oldest Senators concerning the artifices of *Marcus*, would have been equally just with regard to the public proceedings in general^l; and that in the whole conduct of the *Romans*, from their victory at *Zama* to the end of the third *Punic* war, there was scarce any thing worthy of ancient *Rome*.

^k *Veteres & moris antiqui memores [Senatores] negabant se in ea Legatione [Marcii] Romanas agnoscere artes. Liv. L. 42. c. 47.*

^l The reader will presently see, that the

Romans had, for some time past, behaved themselves as infamously in *Spain*, as in *Greece* and *Africa*.

THE Roman History.

SIXTH BOOK.

From the End of the THIRD PUNIC WAR, in the Year of Rome 607, when *Carthage* was destroyed, and the ROMAN POWER became irresistible, to the Death of the Younger GRACCHUS, in 632, the true Date of the Destruction of ROMAN LIBERTY.

CHAP. I.

*The imprudent behaviour of the Achæans.
The destruction of Corinth.
Greece is made a Roman province.*

Y. R. 607.
Esf. Chr.
145.
306 C. ant.

THE ROMANS, in the pursuits of their boundless ambition, made no distinction between ancient friends and ancient enemies, states from which they had received the most important services, and those by which they had suffered the most terrible losses and calamities. In that very year when they totally destroyed the city and republic of *Carthage*, they, with the like deliberate cruelty, subverted the commonwealth of *Achaia*, and delivered up *Corinth*, its capital, a prey to the flames.

Pausan. A-
chaic. c.
22. & seq.

What gave occasion to this final overthrow of the liberties of *Greece*, was a new quarrel between the *Lacedemonians* and the rest of the *Achaean* confederacy about rights and privileges. Both parties made application to the Senate of *Rome*, who, having heard the pretensions of both, commissioned *Aurelius Orestes*, with some other Senators, to go into *Peloponnesus*, and there terminate the dispute by a peremptory sentence. The *Achaean*s, nevertheless, impatient of all delay in humbling their adversaries, had immediate recourse to arms; and, regardless of the admonitions of *Metellus*, Pro-consul in *Macedon*, who pressed them earnestly to forbear war, and to wait the coming of the *Roman* commissioners, began hostilities against the *Lacedemonians*, and vanquished them in battle. *Damocritus* was at that time Prætor of *Achaia* and General of the forces. His successor *Diceus*, paying more deference to the repeated remonstrances of the Pro-consul, granted the *Lacedemonians* a truce; and during this truce the commissioners from the Senate arrived at *Corinth*. Having there convened the Diet of *Achaia*, they declared, That it was the will of the Senate and people of *Rome*, that *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, *Argos*, *Heracleum* near mount *Oeta*, and *Orchomenus* in *Arcadia*,

not having been anciently of the *Achaean* body, should now be dismembered from it, and become independent. *Polybius* says^a, that the *Romans* did not intend actually to dismember the *Achaean* State; that their design was only to alarm the *Achaean*s, and curb the high spirit that then appeared among them. Be that as it will, the multitude were so provoked, that they not only assaulted all the *Lacedaemonians* they met with in the streets, but tore out of the houses of the ambassadors those who had taken refuge there. *Orestes* and his colleagues, at their return to *Rome*, reported, in the strongest terms, the insult they had suffered. Nevertheless the Fathers thought it advisable to try another embassy before they came to extremities with the *Achaean*s. *Sextus Julius*, a man of prudence and temper, was ordered, with two more, into *Peloponnesus*. They repaired to *Aegium*, where the Diet of *Achaia* assembled. *Julius* spoke with great moderation, and palliated the insult upon the *Roman* ambassadors more than the *Achaean*s themselves would have done; that they might see it was easy to satisfy the Senate, if, for the future, nothing injurious were offered to the *Romans* or the *Lacedaemonians*. The sober part of the assembly heard *Julius*'s discourse with pleasure; but the multitude being under the influence of *Dicaeus* and *Critolaus*, the latter of whom was now *Prætor*, imagined that this courtesy and condescension of the ambassadors proceeded from their fears; the *Roman* arms not having prospered of late, in *Africa*, nor in *Spain*. However, the *Achaean*s answered, that they would send deputies to the Senate to apologize for what had happened to the *Roman* Commissioners; and proposed, that a congress should be held at *Tegea*, where the disputes between them and the *Lacedaemonians* might be accommodated in an amicable manner. To that town the *Romans* repaired, accompanied by deputies from *Lacedæmon*. But, on the part of the *Achaean*s, only *Critolaus* came. He had contrived that the rest of those who had been summoned, should not appear; and now, in the conference, he pretended, that he could conclude nothing without the consent of his nation, but promised to report, what passed, to the next general Diet. This was not to be held till six months after. *Julius* seeing through the artifice of the *Prætor*, and highly offended with his arrogance and disingenuous conduct, dismissed the *Lacedaemonians*, and returned to *Rome*.

Y. R. 607.
Bef. Chr.
145.
306 Conf.

Polyb. Legat. 143.

Legat. 144.

^a May it not be reasonably questioned, whether what *Polybius* writes of these times deserves an equal credit with the other parts of his history. He was an intimate friend and companion of *Scipio Æmilianus*, and caressed, honoured, distinguished from all his countrymen, by *Mummius*, the destroyer of *Corinth*, and by the ten Commissioners, who, with that General, were

appointed to settle *Achaia* in the form of a *Roman* province. With this historian therefore *Mummius* was a person of great humanity, notwithstanding his proceedings at *Corinth*: And so *Æmilius Paullus*, and his son *Scipio* were both gentle and tender-hearted, in spite of all the proofs they give by their actions, of a contrary temper.

After

V. R. Sc.
B. C. 145.
96 Cons.

After his departure, *Critolaus*, during the whole winter, went about from city to city, convening the people, under colour of imparting to them what had passed in the conference at *Texea*, but, in reality, to excite in them a hatred to the *Romans*. To conciliate to himself the affections of the populace, he engaged the Magistrates to suspend all prosecutions for debt, till the war with the *Lacedæmonians* should be terminated. By this means the unthinking multitude were drawn away to be entirely at his devotion.

Metellus was still in *Macedon*, at the head of the army, with which he had vanquished the two impostors, *Andriscus* and *Alexander*. Receiving advice of the commotions in *Peloponnesus*, he dispatched thither four *Romans*, men of distinction, to endeavour a pacification. They arrived at *Corinth* when the Diet was actually assembled there. After the example of *Julius*, they spoke with temper and moderation, earnestly exhorting the *Acheans* not to suffer their quarrels with the *Lacedæmonians* to alienate their minds from the *Romans*. The *Acheans*, says *Polybius*, were at this time out of their senses, and especially the *Corinthians*. The latter treated the *Roman* deputies with derision; and with clamor and tumult drove them out of the assembly. *Critolaus* took advantage of the present disposition of the multitude to declaim against those of the magistrates who did not enter into his views; and he used great freedoms in speaking of the *Romans*; "whom he was content to have for allies, but would never own for Lords of *Achaia*. If you are men, said he to the people, you will never want friends and allies; if you are but half men, you will never want masters." And he insinuated to them, "that his present measures had not been undertaken rashly, but in concert with Kings and Republics." By such discourses he engaged the assembly to decree a renewal of the war against the *Lacedæmonians*; a war, says *Polybius*, indirectly declared against *Rome*.

Polib. in
Achaic.
C. 14.

Liv. Epit.
B. 52.

Polib. in
Achaic.
C. 15.

If *Critolaus* and the *Acheans* were mad, they found other States as mad as themselves. The *Thebans*, in resentment for some fines imposed upon them by *Metellus*; and the *Chalcidians*, from what passion is not known, lost their reason so far as to imagine that they, in conjunction with the *Acheans*, should be able to withstand the *Roman* power.

Metellus, hearing that *L. Mummius* the Consul was coming from *Italy* with an army against the *Acheans*, and being ambitious of quieting them himself, sent a new deputation to them, with a promise that the *Roman* people should pardon their past faults, if they would consent to the dismembering, from their body, *Lacedæmon* and the other cities before-mentioned. To add weight to his message, he advanced with his forces by the way of *Theffaly*. The *Acheans* not listening to his overture, he continued his march, and came up with their army near *Scarpæa* in *Locris*, where

where he routed it with great slaughter, and made a thousand prisoners. What became of *Critolans* is uncertain; some say he poisoned himself, others that he was drowned in a marsh. *Diens* took the command, inlisted the slaves (whom he set free) and drained *Acbaia* and *Ar-cadia* of their men to recruit his army. *Metellus* marched to *Thebes* in *Baotia*, and found it almost deserted. He forbade his soldiers to rifle the temples or the houses, or to do violence to any of the inhabitants, whom they should find either in the city or the fields. Only *Pitbyas*, the chief Magistrate, and author of the defection, being taken, was put to death. From *Thebes* *Metellus* proceeded to *Corinth*, where *Diens* had shut himself up. The Roman, still earnestly desirous to finish the war before *Mummius* could arrive, employed three of the principal men of the *Acbean* State, to persuade their countrymen to an acceptance of the peace offered them. The inhabitants of *Corinth* would have complied; but *Diens* and his faction were the masters; and these cast the deputies into prison. Yet, for the bribe of a talent, they were soon after released by *Diens* himself.

When *Metellus* had fought, says *Florus*, *Mummius* came to the victory. On his arrival at the isthmus he sent *Metellus* and his army back into *Macedon*. The besieged soon after made a sally upon an advanced guard of the Consul's troops, killed many of them, and pursued the rest to their camp. *Diens*, flushed with this success, came out of the town, and offered the Consul battle. It was fought just at the entrance of the isthmus. The *Acbean* horse were broken at the first onset and ran away; their foot, though much inferior in number to the enemy, behaved themselves resolutely, till being attacked in flank by a body of chosen troops, they were thrown into confusion, and could no longer make resistance. Had *Diens* retired into *Corinth*, a place of great strength, he might probably have obtained some tolerable conditions from *Mummius*, who would be in haste to finish the war: but the *Acbean*, instead of turning his thoughts to the preservation of the town, or its inhabitants, fled straight to *Megalopolis*, his native city, where he set fire to his house, killed his wife (that she might not fall into the enemies hands) and put an end to his own life by poison.

The Consul, when the next day he advanced to *Corinth*, found the gates open. All who had fled thither from the battle, and most of the citizens, had quitted the place in the night. Of those who had staid there, he put the men to the sword, and sold the women and children; and having plundered the city of its statues, paintings and most valuable effects, he set fire to it^b, and reduced the whole to ashes. The walls were afterwards demolished, and the lands of the *Corinthians* given to

^b *Florus* and others pretend that the famous *Corinthian* brass was formed at this conflagration, by the mixture of gold, silver

and copper, which being melted ran together into one mass.

Y. R. 607.
Ref. Chr.
145.
306 Conf.

B. 2. c. 16.
Pausan. in
Achaic.
c. 16.

Y. R. 607.
Ref. Chr.
145.
306 Conf.

Liv. Epit.
L. 32.
De Offic.
L. 1.
Liv. Epit.
L. 32.
Pausan.
loc. cit.

Plin. Hist. Nat.
Philopem.
lib. 2.

Plin. Hist. Nat.
lib. 2.
V. 1. & 2.

the *Sicyonians*; such was the decree of the Senate. The pretence for this severity was the insult offered to the *Roman* ambassadors: the true reasons, according to *Cicero*, the strength and situation of the place, which might one day encourage the *Achaean*s to rebel. *Mummius* afterwards got into his power those of the *Corinthians* who had fled out of the city, and sold them all for slaves.

Thebes (which *Metellus* had spared) and *Chalcis*, were both razed to the ground by the Consul, who also disarmed the inhabitants and demolished the walls of the other towns, that had taken part with the *Achaean*s in this war. All this he performed before the arrival of ten Commissioners, whom the Senate had appointed to settle, in concert with him, the affairs of *Achaia*. These Commissioners abolished, in all the cities of *Greece*, the popular government, and placed over them Magistrates chosen from among the richest of the citizens. They likewise suppressed all national assemblies; but these were restored, not many years after. *Greece* became now a *Roman* Province, under the name of the Province of *Achaia*, whither *Rome* sent a *Prætor* annually to govern it.

Polybius the historian came at this time into *Peloponnesus*, opportunely to defend the memory of his Father's friend, *Philopemen*. Some base foolish fellow, to make his court to *Mummius* and the ten Commissioners, had moved to have all the honours, formerly done to *Philopemen*, in the several cities of *Greece*, abolished. He accused the deceased of having shewed himself, in all his actions, an enemy to the *Romans*. *Polybius*, on the other hand, represented, that *Philopemen*, though he had indeed sometimes opposed the measures of the *Romans*, had proceeded only in the way of remonstrance and dissuasion: That when the war was breaking out between them and *Antiochus*, and before the *Roman* armies came into *Greece*, he had advised and engaged his countrymen to declare against the *Syrians* and his allies the *Ætolians*. In a word, *Polybius* made so good a defence, that *Mummius* and the Commissioners would not suffer the honours of *Philopemen* to be in any degree abrogated. *Polybius* further requested and obtained, that some statues of *Achæus*, *Aratus*, and *Philopemen*, already carried out of *Peloponnesus* in *Acarnania*, might be brought back: by which he so greatly pleased and obliged his countrymen, that on this account they erected a marble statue to him; and the Commissioners, as a mark of their esteem, offered him whatever he should choose of the effects of *Darius*, before they were exposed to sale. The *Greek* not only declined the offer, but exhorted all his friends to follow his example.

The Commissioners being sensible of the abilities and noble spirit of the man, gave him in charge, at their departure for *Italy*, to make a progress through the several cities of *Greece*, judge controversies

* It is thought that *Macedon*, in this year, took the form of a *Prætorian* province.
Ref. Fest.

among

among the inhabitants, and make them acquainted with the new constitution and laws. He happily executed this commission, put an end to all private contests among his countrymen, and brought them to acquiesce in the established form of government. In gratitude for these services they, in many places, erected statues to him, on the base of one of which was an inscription to this effect. *That Greece would not have erred, if, from the beginning, she had followed the Counsels of Polybius; and when, through error, she came to need assistance, she found it in him.*

Polybius (as quoted by *Strabo**) tells us that he saw some Roman soldiers playing at dice upon a picture of *Bacchus*, by *Aristides*; a picture esteemed one of the finest in the world. King *Attalus* afterwards bought it at the price of 600,000 + sesterces, at the sale of the plunder of *Corinth*; which when *Mummius* understood, he was beyond measure astonished, and concluded that the picture had some magical virtue. He would not therefore let the King have it, but carried it to *Rome*, and placed it in the temple of *Ceres*. If we may believe *Velleius Paterculus*, *Mummius* was so little of a virtuoso, that he covenanted with the masters of the ships, whom he hired to convey from *Corinth* to *Italy* a great number of exquisite pieces of painting and statuary, that, if they lost any of them, they should furnish others in their stead.

The conqueror raised no fortune to himself out of the spoils of the country he had conquered. At his death, he did not leave enough to portion his daughter. The Senate gave her a portion. After his triumph, the chief ornaments of which were the pictures and statues he had brought from *Corinth*, he employed them to embellish *Rome* and the neighbouring cities. Yet, that he made use of none of them to adorn his own house, as one historian says, and *Cicero* seems to say, cannot well be reconciled with what *Strabo* tells us of *Mummius's* being cheated of some of them by *Lucullus*. This man, being about to dedicate a temple of his own building, borrowed a certain number of the pictures to hang up in it during the ceremony, promising to return them as soon as it should be over. After the dedication, he told *Mummius* that he might fetch away his pictures if he pleased; intimating probably, at the same time, that he would be guilty of sacrilege if he did. He bore the loss with patience; for which he was much applauded.

Mummius took the surname of *Asiaticus*; as *Metellus*, who, about this time, triumphed for his conquest in *Macedon*, took that of *Macedonicus*. In the triumph of the latter was led in chains the impostor *Andrius*.

Y. R. 607.
Bef. Chr.
145.
306 Conf.

Pausan. in
Arcad. c.
37.

* B. 8. p.
381.

Plin. B.
35. c. 4.
† 48431.
152. Ar-
buthnot.

L. 2.

Cic. de
Offic. L. 2.
c. 22.
Plin. B. 34.
c. 7.
Frontin.
Strateg. B.
4. c. 3. §.
15.
Auct. de
Vir.
Illustr. in
Mum.
Strabo. B. 8.
p. 381.

C H A P. II.

A summary of what passed in Spain from the year 558 to the beginning of the Celtiberian war in the year 600.

A peace concluded with the Celtiberians.

The infamous conduct of some Roman Generals in Spain.

The commencement of the Viriatic war.

SPAIN was now the chief object of the Senate's attention. Nothing has been said of the transactions in that country, since the settling of tranquillity there, by *Cato*, in the year 558.

The year following, *Scipio Nasica* began to extend the Roman conquests in **FURTHER SPAIN**. He took about fifty towns, or rather castles. Next year the *Lusitanians*^a fell upon that Province, and pillaged it; but, in their return, *Nasica* stript them of their booty, near *Ilipa*, on the north of the *Bætis*. His successor, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, defeated in battle the *Vaccæi*^b, *Vettones* and *Celtiberians*, at *Toletum*, on the north of the *Tagus*. The following campaign (year of Rome 561) *Fulvius* took several towns, and last of all *Toletum*. His successor *L. Emilius Paulus*, who afterwards conquered *Perseus*, conducted the war in Spain for three years with various success. The Romans seem to have extended their conquests but little farther, in this Province, till the year 573, when *L. Postumius Albinus* subdued the *Lusitanians* and *Vaccæi*, and triumphed over them. Yet these nations were far from being totally reduced, as we shall find hereafter.

IN THE **HITHER PROVINCE**, *C. Flaminius Nepos*, the Prætor for the year 560, took *Lucia*, a city of the *Oretani*, near neighbours to the *Celtibe-*

^a By the conquests of *Scipio Africanus* in Spain, during the second Punic war, the Romans became masters of almost all the country between the *Pœnus*, and the *Iberus*, and perhaps of a small territory beyond that river. This, for a considerable time, made the *Hither Province*. In the same war, they became possessed of the sea coast from the mouth of the *Ilerus* to *Gades*; but seem to have gone only a little way up into the country; for all the towns which *Scipio* reduced in those parts lay not far from the sea. This long tract got the name of the *Further Province*.

For several years after the Romans made no new acquisitions in Spain. All their battles there were fought against the nations already

conquered, but often rebelling. To reduce these rebels were employed *Lentulus* and *Acidivus*, *Sempronius Tuditanus* and *M. Helvius*, *Q. Minucius Thermus* and *Cato*. Hist. p. 260. 323. 331.

^b The boundaries of *Lusitania* are mentioned, in p. 156. Note.

^c The *Vaccæi* were situated on the north of the *Durius*; the *Vettones*, between that river and the *Tagus*. *Strabo* relates, that certain of the *Vettones*, (after this nation was subdued) seeing some Roman Centurions walking to and fro, for air and exercise, imagined, that they were mad, and, in kindness, offered to conduct them to their tents.

rians. The latter ^d made war against the *Romans* in the year 566; and in 568, with the assistance of the *Lusitanians*, routed the joint forces of *Crispinus* and *Calpurnius* (the Prætors of both Provinces) in *Carpetania*, not far from *Hippo* and *Toletum*. All these places were near the head of the *Tagus*; on the banks of which river, the same Prætors afterwards obtained a victory over the enemy, quieted the Provinces, and triumphed over the *Celtiberians* and *Lusitanians*.

The *Celtiberians*, in the year 572, rebelled once more, and were defeated by Q. *Fulvius Flaccus* the Pro-prætor of *Hisber Spain*, who then took *Contrebia*, at the head of the *Tagus*; and the greatest part of *Celtiberia* submitted. Nevertheless the Prætor *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* was sent against them next year. After taking *Munda* by surprize, he sat down before *Certima*. The inhabitants of this place sent a deputation to him, to tell him, that had they forces sufficient, they would fight him; and to desire, he would permit them to go and ask assistance of their countrymen, incamped not far off; adding, that if they were refused assistance, they would then consider what was best for them to do. Their demand astonished *Gracchus*; yet he consented. The *Spaniards* went straight to the *Celtiberian* camp, and soon after, with ten deputies from thence, returned to the *Romans*. It was in the heat of the day. They began with asking the General to order them some drink. Drink was given them. They called for more, and more they had; the soldiers being greatly diverted with the simplicity of these *Spaniards*. When the deputies had quenched their thirst, the eldest of them thus addressed himself to the Prætor. We are sent by our nation to know what it is you depend upon, that you bring war into this country. *I depend upon a good army*, said *Gracchus*, *which, if you please, you shall see*; and instantly he ordered his troops to arm, and pass in review before the deputies ^e. This sight deterred them from assisting the people of *Certima*; and the town surrendered to the Prætor.

After this he marched against the *Celtiberians* that were in the field. These, though they had refused to fight for their neighbours, stood upon their own defence. *Gracchus*, by parties which he detached to skirmish with the enemy, drew them towards his camp; whence his Legions, ready for action, sallied out on a sudden, and entirely routed them. He then took *Alce* their capital; after which *Ergavia*

^d *Celtiberia*, according to *Strabo* (B. 3. p. 162.) was bounded on the north by the *Berones*; on the west by the *Vaccæi*, *Pitænes*, *Carpetani*, &c. on the south by the *Oretani* and the nations on the *Sacro*; and on the east by the mountains called *Idubeda*, which stretch along the south side of the

Iberus from the *Cantabri* to the *Mediterranean Sea*. In this country rose the *Durius*, the *Tagus* and the *Anas*.

^e From all this it appears that the *Romans* had never been in this part of *Celtiberia* before.

and 103 other towns¹ surrendered to him in a few days. Before he left the Province he made a treaty with the *Celtiberians*. The substance of it will be presently mentioned.

From this time we find nothing of moment done in *Spain* till the *Lusitanian* war, of which that with *Virgatus* was a continuation. In the year 599 the Prætor of the Further Province, *L. Calpurnius Piso*, was defeated by the *Lusitanians*, whom *Appian* calls (*αυτρονομοι*) a people governed by their own laws. Next year *L. Mummius**, who succeeded *Calpurnius*, was vanquished in battle by the *Lusitanians*: yet he afterwards fought prosperously against them in several engagements.

IN THE SAME Year (600 of *Rome*) began the *Celtiberian*, sometimes called the *Numantine* war. The occasion of it was this. The people of *Segeda*, a city of the *Belli*, a nation of *Celtiberia*, were going to enlarge their town, bring new inhabitants into it, and build a wall round it. To put a stop to this work, the Senate of *Rome* signified to the *Segedenses* that it was contrary to the treaty concluded with *Gracchus*; and ordered them at the same time to send auxiliary soldiers to the *Roman* armies in *Spain*, and pay the tribute stipulated by the above-mentioned treaty. They replied, that *Gracchus* had indeed forbid them to build new towns, but that no mention had been made of repairing or enlarging old towns, and that, as for the quota of soldiers and the tribute, the Senate had formerly remitted both. This was true: but *Appian* tells us, that the *Romans* always reserved to themselves a power of resuming such grants. It would seem that the *Segedenses* were like to be powerfully supported, or that the *Romans* were in great haste to make a conquest of this country; for they ordered that the Consuls elect should enter upon their office, not the 15th of *March* as usual, but the first of * *January*: and one of them, *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, received directions to go immediately into the *Hither* Province. Upon his arrival there, the *Segedenses*, not having finished their wall, took refuge amongst the *Asturi*, a people of *Celtiberia*, whose capital was *Numantia*† at the head of the *Durius*.

Under the command of a General named *Carus*, a citizen of *Segeda*, an army was formed of 25,000 men, probably the united forces of the two nations. He laid an ambush for the Consul, fell upon him by surprise, slew six thousand of the *Romans*, and put the rest to flight. But pursuing the runaways too far, and in disorder, he was charged by the

¹ *Polybius* says, *Gracchus* took 300 towns. But *Pasidanius* blames the *Greek* historian for calling castles towns, in flattery to *Gracchus*. *Strabo* joins with *Pasidanius*, and finds fault with those authors who affirm that there are a 1000 towns in *Spain*; and he asserts that there are few towns, but many villages in that country. *Strab. B. 3. p. 163.*

† *Plinius* gives a different account of the

cause of the *Numantine* war. "If (says he) we may speak the truth, there hardly ever was a war more unjust. The *Numantines* had received into their town the *Segedenses*, their relations and allies, who had escaped out of the hands of the *Romans*: No regard was had to the excuses and entreaties of the *Numantines*; and as the price of peace they were required to give up their arms." *B. 2. c. 18.*

*App. in
B. 6. p.
36.
• After-
v. 12. p.
1. 10. 11.*

*App. in
1. p.
879.*

• See p.
467.

*App. in
B. 6. p.
250.*

Roman horse that had been left to guard the baggage; and in this action he lost 6000 men with his own life. Night put an end to the conflict. The same night the *Spaniards* rendezvoused at *Numantia*, and created two new Generals, *Ambo* and *Leuco*. *Fulvius* came three days after, and encamped within three miles of the city. A second battle was fought, in which the *Romans* had the advantage in the beginning, by means of some elephants they had received from *Masinissa* (the *Arvaci*, according to *Appian*, having never seen any before ^b.) But the Consul bringing those elephants near the walls of *Numantia*^c, whither the enemy had fled, one of the beasts, wounded in the head by a great stone, turned in a rage upon the *Roman* troops; and the rest of the beasts following his example, the whole army was thrown into confusion. The *Numantines* took advantage of the accident, made a sally, and slew 4000 of their enemies. After this and some other disasters, *Ocilis*, a town where the *Romans* had their money and a magazine of provisions, revolted to the *Celtiberians*. *Fulvius*, quite discouraged, durst not separate his troops to put them into winter quarters. He kept them encamped in the field all the winter; which proved so severe, that many of his soldiers died of distempers caused by the extremity of the cold; and the army suffered much for want of provisions.

The Consul *M. Claudius Marcellus*, in the year of *Rome* 601, succeeded *Fulvius* in *Hisber Spain*, and brought with him 8000 foot, and 500 horse. He laid siege to *Ocilis*, the inhabitants of which obtained pardon on paying thirty talents, and giving hostages. The fame of the Consul's clemency engaged the *Arvaci* to sue for peace. They offered to submit to a moderate penalty, on condition the treaty they had made with *Gracchus* might be renewed. *Marcellus*, desirous of the honour of finishing the war, gave them leave to solicit the Senate upon the affair. At the same time some petty nations of *Spain*, enemies to the *Arvaci*, and in confederacy with *Rome*, sent deputies thither to oppose their demands. The allies were first heard. These pretended to be in fear of the *Arvaci*, prayed "that *Rome* would either keep a standing army
" in *Spain* to protect her friends, or, that before she recalled her legions,
" the *Arvaci* might be so severely punished as to be deterred from all
" future rebellion: For that, if neither of these were done, the *Spaniards*,
" in friendship with the Republic, would be treated by the rest as traitors
" to their country."

Polyb. Lib.
vi. 1426

When the *Arvaci* were admitted to audience, they spoke like men of spirit, sensible of their inability to contend with *Rome*. In mentioning the battles fought, they insinuated that the advantage had been on their side:

^b *Appian* must only mean that this generation had not seen elephants, or else we must suppose that the *Carthaginians* had never brought their armies into this country, for

they seem always to have made use of elephants.

^c *Florus* says *Numantia* had no walls.

Nevertheless.

Nevertheless they offered to submit to a fine, provided it were something fixed and ascertained, and provided they might hereafter be upon the same foot as by the treaty of *Gracchus*. The Fathers gave one and the same answer to the deputies from both parties, which was only this, That *Marcellus* should let them know the Senate's pleasure. To him they sent private orders to prosecute the war with a vigour becoming *Romans*: But, as the Fathers doubted of his courage from the inclination he had shewn to peace, one of their first cares was to provide him a successor. *Licinius Lucullus*, who had entered upon the Consulship for the year 602, received orders to prepare for an expedition into *Hisber Spain*. When the levies came to be raised for this service, it was found that none of the *Roman* youth would give in their names to be enrolled^a: Nay, nobody would accept of the office either of Tribune or Lieutenant. The fear which *Marcellus* had betrayed, and the reports, spread by *Fulvius* and his soldiers (who had passed the winter in tents) of the hardships and losses they had suffered in the *Celtiberian* war, and of the invincible courage of the enemy, were the causes of this backwardness. *Polybius* reports that in this critical conjuncture, when the Senate and Consuls were at a loss what measures to take, *Scipio Æmilianus*^b, who had not yet acquired any military renown, extricated them out of their perplexity. In an harangue to the multitude, he told them, that though he was invited into *Macedon*, to discharge there an employment, that would be less dangerous and more profitable to himself, he was ready, at the pleasure of the Senate, to go either as Lieutenant or Tribune into *Spain*; whither he thought the exigencies of the Republic called all those who had any ambition of true glory. The generous zeal for his country, which *Scipio* expressed both by words and example, had the effects proposed: For he got much applause, and the Republic many soldiers for the war in *Spain*. They came in crowds to be enrolled.

Ann. 603. In the mean time, *Marcellus*, having advice that *Lucullus* was coming to succeed him, and being determined to leave him nothing to do, negotiated and concluded a peace with the *Aræci* and other *Celtiberians*, they giving hostages and 600 talents. *Lucullus* at his arrival found all quiet in the province; but coveting both glory and money for he had very little of either, he, without any provocation, and without orders from the Senate, invaded the country of the *Vaccæi*, a people bordering upon the *Aræci*. Crossing the *Tagus* he laid siege to *Peuca*, one of their towns. The inhabitants, after some sallies and skirmishes, sent out the most venerable of their citizens to ask upon what conditions they might

^a According to *Livy's* Epitome (B. 47.) both the Consul and Tribune were sent to prison by the Tribunes of the people, for refusing to exempt from the service some of their friends.

^b *Scipio* *Pæniculus* reports, *Scipio* was about 17 at the battle of *Pydna*, which happened in 585, he must have been at this time about 33 years of age.

purchase

purchase his friendship. He answered; "by giving hostages, paying 100 talents, and sending their cavalry to serve in his army." To all this they consented. *Lucullus* then desired them to admit a garrison into the town. This also they agreed to, and received 2000 soldiers; who when they had possessed themselves of the walls, let in the rest of the army. Presently he gave the signal to put all the inhabitants to the sword, and plunder the town: Of 20,000 very few escaped, and these by making a shift to get over the walls. After this glorious and gainful exploit, he marched to *Intercetia*, where 20,000 foot and 2000 horse had assembled to defend it. Finding the place so well guarded, he would have made a treaty with the *Intercetians*; but they reproached him with his perfidy at *Cauca*, and would not trust him. He therefore besieged the town in form, and, after some time, made a breach in the wall. However, when he attempted to enter the place he was repulsed, and the *Intercetians* repaired the breach. Famine distressing both parties, they came to an accommodation. The besieged agreed to supply the Consul with 6000 coats for his soldiers, and some cattle, and to give 50 hostages. As for gold and silver (the thirst after which had been the cause of this war) he could have none: This people were poor, and, if we may believe *Appian*, gold and silver were not in esteem among them. But now the question was, What security the besieged should have for the performance of covenants on *Lucullus's* part: And it seems, that though they would not take his word, they confided in *Scipio's*, who promised that they should not be treated with fraud or treachery. How *Scipio* came to have so much credit with them does not appear; for we find nothing recorded of him, for which he could be distinguished by them, but that he had killed one of the stoutest of their countrymen in single combat.

From *Intercetia* *Lucullus* marched to *Palantia*, a town famous for the bravery of its inhabitants, and whither many people from the neighbouring countries had retired. Some of his officers therefore advised the Consul to pass by this place; but he, having been told that it was rich, would needs try what could be done. The *Palantines* quickly drove him from before their town, and pursued him in his retreat as far as to the river *Durius*: Whence, without much glory, (whatever money he may have got) he stole away into *Turdetania*, and there wintered.

IN FURTHER SPAIN the Prætor *M. Atilius Serranus* had succeeded *Mummius*, who went to *Rome* to demand a triumph. *Atilius* made a successful expedition in *Lusitania*; but, upon his going into winter quarters, there was almost a general insurrection of the several nations of that country. They attacked some cities in alliance with *Rome*. The Prætor *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, who in 602 succeeded *Atilius*, hastened to the relief

App. in
Iber. p.
237.

of the *Roman* allies ; but was entirely routed by the enemy, and lost 7000 men. Having fled with the horse to a city called *Carmelis*, he there gathered about him what remained of his broken forces, and, when he had raised 20,000 men among the allies, bravely marched into winter quarters.

In the mean time the *Lusitanians* invaded that part of the *Roman* province which lay between them and *Turdetania*, where *Lucullus* wintered. Hearing that they were in the neighbourhood, he sent out against them his best troops, which falling upon them by surprize, slew 4000. And when the enemy made a second irruption, he cut off 1500 of them, near *Gades*, and took many prisoners: After which he entered *Lusitania* and ravaged it. *Galba*, encouraged by the success of *Lucullus*, now came forth again, and plundered the country on his side. The *Lusitanians* of that quarter sent to him, offering to submit, upon conditions. He received their deputies kindly, and said, “ he knew, that poverty and the barrenness of their country had
 “ compelled them to have recourse to rapine for a subsistence ; that he
 “ pitied their condition ; and that if they would keep in friendship with
 “ *Rome*, he would assign them a better country than their own : but
 “ then he must divide them into cantons, because he had not lands, ly-
 “ ing together, sufficient for all.” The *Lusitanians*, believing what he said, came to him, in great numbers, on a day he had appointed. He divided them into three companies, ordering each to repair to a different place, and there wait his further directions. When these companies were got to such a distance from each other as was sufficient for his purpose, he led his troops to the nearest, and having prevailed with the *Spaniards* to give up their arms (for which he told them they had no further use, he let loose upon them his soldiers, who put them to the sword. In like manner he massacred the second and third companies, before they could have notice of what had happened to their fellows. The number of the slain some authors make to be 30,000, others only 9000. A few escaped ; among whom was *Viriatius*, who became, soon after, general of the *Lusitanians*. *Galba*, surpassing *Lucullus* in avarice, gave but little of the booty, acquired in his expedition, to the soldiers or his friends ; the rest he converted to his own use. Though he were one of the richest men in *Rome*, yet he never scrupled to lie or to perjure himself, if any thing was to be got by it. And, what rendered him a compleat pest to society, he was, with all these vices, a great orator : In-
 somuch, that though prosecuted at *Rome* for the massacre above related, and though *Cato* was his accuser, yet by his eloquence he obtained absolution by almost all the suffrages of the people.

Liv. Epit.
B. 49.

App. in
Iber. p. 259.

In the year 604 (when the third *Punic* war began) the Prætor *C. Vetilius* came from *Rome* into *Spain*, with a new army, and took the place

place of *Galba*. The *Lusitanians* had assembled about 10,000 men, and were ravaging *Turdetania*. *Vetilius* fell upon them when dispersed about the country, slew many, and drove the rest into a place whence they could not easily retreat, and where if they staid they must perish with hunger. In this distress they sent deputies to *Vetilius*, offering to become faithful subjects to *Rome*, if he would only grant them lands, where they might settle, and which would be sufficient to subsist them. The *Prætor* readily consented; and a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when *Virgatus* admonished his countrymen to put no trust in *Roman* faith. “Remember (said he) the perfidiousness of *Lucullus* and *Galba*. If you will but follow my directions, I engage to bring you safe out of this place.” Hope reviving in their breasts, they instantly chose him General. *Virgatus* drew up his troops as if he meant to give battle. Then, having selected a thousand of his best horse to remain with him, he commanded the rest of his forces upon a signal given to disperse themselves, and, by different ways, fly to the city of *Tribola*, and there wait for him. Every thing being ready for the execution of his stratagem, he mounted his horse, for that was to be the signal, and the soldiers all at once broke their ranks and fled. *Vetilius*, surprized and disconcerted, and not daring to order his men to the pursuit, lest *Virgatus* should fall upon them in the rear, bent all his forces against him, who seemed to offer battle. The *Lusitanian*, by keeping his cavalry in continual motion, one while retreating, and then making a feint as if he would fight, eluded all the efforts of the enemy. When he judged that his men were got safe to the place of rendezvous, he followed them in the night, by ways unknown to the *Romans*. The success of this stratagem acquired him great reputation, and not only established his authority, but augmented his strength; numbers flocking from all quarters to serve under his command.

According to *Livy*, *Virgatus* from a shepherd became a hunter, and from a hunter a robber, living by his sword, a method of life which enured him to dangers and fatigues. But when he is said to have been a robber, perhaps nothing more ought to be understood by it, than that he helped to rob the *Romans* of what they had got by rapine in his country: Or perhaps that he and his companions made war after the manner of robbers, falling upon their enemies by surprize, and disappearing immediately after the action. For *Appian* calls a regular army of 10,000 *Lusitanians*, 10,000 robbers: But with such robbers we shall find that the Senate and people of *Rome* did not disdain to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance.

Vetilius having advice, that the enemy were rendezvoused at *Tribola*, resolved to march thither. The *Lusitanian* had laid an ambush in the way; so that the *Romans* found themselves on a sudden attacked in front

Liv. Epit.
B. 57.

App. in
lib. 1.
290.

and rear. Of 10,000 men scarce 6000 escaped to *Carpessus*; the rest were slain or taken prisoners. *Vetilius* himself fell alive into the enemies hands; but the *Spaniard* who took him, seeing him old and unwieldy, and thinking he would not sell for much, slew him. The Quæstor, now General of the *Roman* army, keeping his own troops within the walls of *Carpessus*, sent into the field 5000 men of his *Spanish* allies. *Virriatus* cut them all off, not a man escaping: After which the Quæstor not daring to stir abroad, continued quiet in the town, and waited for assistance from *Rome*.

C. Plautius Hypsæus succeeded *Vetilius* (in the year 605.) He brought with him 10,000 foot and 1300 horse. On the arrival of this new army, *Virriatus*, who was pillaging the country about *Carpessus*, pretended fear; and made a feigned flight. *Plautius* detached 4000 men to pursue him. The *Spaniard*, suddenly facing about, fell upon them, and put the greater part to the sword. Eager to repair his honour, the Prætor followed *Virriatus* over the *Tagus*, and fought a pitched battle with him, but was so entirely routed, and with such destruction of his men, that, not daring longer to keep the field, he went, says *Appian*, into winter quarters in the middle of summer.

The *Lusitanian* had the like success the two following years (606 and 607) against the Prætor *C. Unimarus* and his successor *Nigidius Figulus*.

FIG. B. 2.
C. 1. 1.
A. 1. 1.
V. 1. 1.
L. 1. 1.

Plautius, at his return to *Rome*, being accused of having suffered these losses through his ill conduct, was banished by a decree of the people. *Dis. Sic. Excerpt. L. 25. c. 1. & 2.*

According to one author, the victories of *Virriatus* had so intimidated the *Romans*, that a thousand of them were vanquished by three hundred *Lusitanians*. It is added, that, after this victory, a foot soldier, who

had pursued the enemy too far, was encompassed by a body of their cavalry; that with his lance he killed the horse of one of the *Romans*, and with a stroke of his sword cut off the rider's head. After which he walked away at his leisure, and with an air of contempt; the *Romans* remaining in astonishment, and not daring to approach him. *Cl. d. c. 1. Orig. B. 5. c. 4*

C H A P. III.

Events of the war in Lusitania.

A new regulation at Rome concerning the PRÆTORS.

War renewed against the Celtiberians.

Appius Claudius triumphs at his own expence.

Scipio and Mummius chosen Censors.

Metellus Macedonicus conducts the war in Celtiberia with success.

The Roman army defeated by Viriatus.

A new impostor quelled in Macedon.

THE LUSITANIAN war being grown a very serious affair, and the Republic, by the destruction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, being now at leisure effectually to provide for the support of her authority in *Spain*, she resolved to send thither a new army, under the command of a Consul.

Q. Fabius Æmilianus (brother of the younger *Scipio*) was, with L. Hostilius Mancinus, raised to the Consulship for the year 608. Mancinus had, two years since, in quality of Prætor, commanded the Roman fleet before *Carthage*; and, after his return home, having made a plan of the city and its fortifications, had explained to the multitude the operations of the siege, as carried on by *Scipio*: A condescension so agreeable to them, that for this merit chiefly they now honoured him with the Consular fasces^a.

Fabius, either by lot or by special appointment, had *Further Spain* for his province. He landed in *Bætica* (the present *Andalusia*) with 15,000 foot and 2000 horse. As his troops consisted wholly of raw men (it being thought reasonable that the soldiers who had served in *Africa* and *Greece* should have repose) he would not hazard a battle, till by exercise and discipline he had prepared them for it. Leaving this care for a while to his Lieutenant, he went by sea to *Gades*, there to perform his devotions to *Hercules*, from whom the *Fabian* family pretended to derive their lineage. At his return he found, that his army had been

^a At the election of Ædiles for this year, there happened an event which shews how much it imported the greatest men of *Rome* not to offend the meanest. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (son of a President of the Senate, and grandson of the famous *Nasica*, who, for his eminent probity, had been judged the most worthy of all the *Romans* to receive the statue of the Goddess *Cybele*) was one

of the candidates. *Nasica*, to pay the usual civility to one of the citizens, took him by the hand; and finding it extremely hard, and callous, pleasantly asked him *whether he used to walk upon his hands*: A jest which so much offended the rustic tribes, that they refused the candidate their votes. Val. Max. B. 7. c. 5. §. 2.

Y. R. 603;
Bef. Chr. .
144.
307 Conf.

Plin. B.
35. c. 4.

App. in
Iber. p. 2918.

vanquished by the enemy. Nor was he at all disposed to attempt revenge, by a general battle; to which *Viriatius* frequently challenged him. The *Roman*, nevertheless, from time to time detached small parties to skirmish, that his soldiers might thereby become acquainted with the enemy, and gradually lose all dread of them.

T. R. 442.
B. 6. C. 1.
143.
3:3 C. 1.

THE CHOICE made, at *Rome*, of supreme magistrates, for the new year, seems a strong proof of the degeneracy of the people from the virtue of their forefathers. They placed at the head of the Republic *Sulpicius Galba*, the cruel, perfidious, rapacious, eloquent miser, spoken of above; and they joined with him a very suitable colleague, *L. Aurelius Cotta*, that Tribune of the commons, who would have taken advantage of the privilege of his office to cheat his creditors.

Val. Max.
B. 6. C. 4.
4. 2.

These Consuls had a warm struggle in the Senate for the province of *Further Spain*. *Scipio's* opinion being asked, *I think*, said he, *that neither of them ought to be sent thither, because the one has nothing, and the other nothing can satisfy*. These few words had such effect that both Candidates were disappointed of their pretensions: The consequence of which was, what *Scipio* perhaps had chiefly in view, the continuance of his brother in the command of the army.

It is thought to have been about this time, that the Republic made a considerable change with regard to the functions of the Prætors. Hitherto criminal causes had been tried either by the people or by judges specially commissioned for the occasion: The Prætor *Urbanus* and the Prætor *Peregrinus* had cognizance of all civil causes. It was now decreed, that the other four Prætors, instead of going, immediately after their election, to govern the provinces, should reside at *Rome* the whole year of their Prætorship, have separate tribunals, and try criminal causes; which were exceedingly multiplied at *Rome*, since her conquests in *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africa*: The people however still retaining their right of judging in the last resort, and of appointing, when they thought proper, judges extraordinary. The six Prætors, after spending the year in the functions above-mentioned, repaired to their respective provinces abroad with the title of Pro-prætors.

App. loc.
C. 1.

FABIUS, having well disciplined his men, during the winter, led them into the field in the spring, and (if flattery did not invent the tale) vanquished *Viriatius* in battle, and took some towns: After which he put his troops into winter quarters at *Corduba*.

App. p. 292.

Appian briefly reports, "that *Viriatius*, after his defeat by *Fabius*, " [which doubtless never happened] thinking himself no longer secure, " drew off from the *Roman* alliance the *Arvaci*, *Belli*, and *Titibi*;" nations of *Celtiberia*, who are supposed to have continued quiet since the peace with *Marcellus*. No other author mentions this peace with *Marcellus*, or the defection of these allies at the solicitation of *Viriatius*. Nor do we find in *Appian*, that their defection occasioned any diversion
or

of the *Roman* troops employed against the *Lusitanian*, or that he received any assistance from those nations, or that he wanted any to enable him to beat the *Romans*. Thus much seems certain, that the Consul *Q. Cecilius Metellus Macedonicus* (Colleague of *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*) had, in the year 610, commission to make war upon the *Celtiberians*. The particulars of his exploits during his Consulship are not related by the historians; we only know in general that he made a fortunate campaign.

Y. R. 610.
Bef. Chr.
142.
309 Cons.

In the Further Province *Virietus* gained a victory over *Quintilius* the successor of *Fabius*, and forced him into winter quarters in the middle of autumn.

Liv. Epit.
App. p. 237.

THE Consul *Appius Claudius* had, for his province, *Cisalpine Gaul*: where, because there was nothing to do, he contrived to kindle a war with the *Salassi*^b, that he might have the honour of a triumph. In his first engagement with them they defeated him, and killed 5000 of his men: In a second, he gained the victory, and slew 5000 of the *Salassi*. This slaughter of 5000 enemies gave him a legal title to a triumph; yet, on account of the loss of so many *Romans* as were cut off when he was vanquished, the Senate refused him the honour he aspired to; and they forbade the *Quæstor* to furnish the usual money for the expence of the show. A triumph nevertheless he resolved to have, though at his own charge. During the procession, a certain Tribune of the people came fully determined to pull him out of the chariot. *Appius* had a daughter, who, being a vestal, was a personage no less sacred than the Tribune. She perceiving his intended affront to her father, nimbly threw herself between them. The Tribune, out of respect to the holiness of her character, desisted from his purpose; and the victorious vestal, mounting the chariot, rode, with her father, in triumph to the capitol.

Strab. l. 4.
p. 205.
P. Orosc. B.
5. c. 4.

Val. Max.
B. 5. c. 4.
§. 6.
Cicer. pro
Cæl. c. 14.

Sueton. in
Tiber. c. 2.

THE same *Appius Claudius*, the next year, when *Q. Fabius Servilianus* and *L. Cecilius Metellus Calvus* (brother of *Metellus Macedonicus*) had the Consular Falces, stood candidate for the Censorship, in competition with *Scipio Africanus* and *Mummius Achaicus*. *Appius* came to the field of *Mars* conducted by a numerous body of the chief men of *Rome*; *Scipio* (who is censured by *Plutarch* for paying his court to the populace, contrary to the example of his father *Æmilius*) was attended by a multitude of freedmen and plebeians of the meanest condition. His competitor, seeing him enter the assembly in such company, cried out, "O Manes of *Æmilius Paullus*! If in the shades below you know any thing of what passes here, how grieved must you be, that your son is thus presented as a candidate for the Censorship, by the crier *Æmilius*, and by *Licinius*, ringleader of the mob!" Nevertheless *Scipio's* cabal carried the election in his favour. The people joined with him, in the same office, *Mummius*, an easy indolent man, of whom *Scipio* afterwards,

Y. R. 611.
Bef. Chr.
141.
310 Cons.

Plut. life of
Æmil.

^b A people inhabiting the country now called the valley of *Aoste*.

V. P. 631.
S. C. 141.
S. C. 142.
Val. Max.
B. 4. c. 1. §. 10.

V. P. 631.
S. C. 141.
S. C. 142.
Val. Max.
B. 4. c. 1. §. 10.

F. 1.

V. P. 631.
S. C. 141.
S. C. 142.
Val. Max.
B. 4. c. 1. §. 10.

Plut. in Apothegm.

in a speech to the people, complained, as having obstructed his designs of reformation. He told them, "that he should have discharged his office in a manner worthy of the majesty of the Republic, if they had either given him a Collegue, or given him no Collegue."

THE Consul *Servilianus* had the conduct of the war in *Further Spain* against *Virriatus*: His colleague staid in *Italy*. *Metellus Macedonicus* continued at the head of the army in *Ulterior Spain*, in quality of Proconsul. While he was besieging *Contrebia*, a town of the *Celtiberians*, he commanded five cohorts, who had been driven from their post by the enemy, to return thither immediately; giving public orders at the same time to the rest of the army, to put to the sword every man of the detachment that, turning his back to the *Spaniards*, should fly to the camp for safety. The soldiers of the five cohorts, thinking themselves going to certain death, made each of them one of those verbal wills, which the *Romans* called Testaments in *procinctu*, a term taken from their manner of girding round their waists the lappets of their coats when they were going to fight. Thus, with the courage or despair, they advanced against the enemy, and recovered the post.

Metellus, so rigid in discipline, gave a remarkable instance of humanity at the siege of *Nertobriga*. A breach was like to be made in the wall, when the besieged, to be revenged of *Rhetegenes*, one of their principal citizens, who had deserted to the *Romans*, exposed his young children to the strokes of the rams. The father desired *Metellus* to continue the battering; but the Proconsul, in pure compassion to him, quitted a certain conquest, and raised the siege. He lost nothing by this action: On the fame of his humanity, several cities of *Celtiberia* had recourse to it, and submitted.

IN the mean time *Servilianus* with 16,000 foot and 1600 horse, from *Italy*, and 300 horse and 10 elephants sent him by *Micipsa* King of *Numidia*, was engaged in the war against *Virriatus*. This mighty army the *Spaniard*, with only 6000 men, overthrew in the plain

* It is reported that *C. Licinius Sacerdos*, a *Roman* knight, presenting himself to the Censors, *Scipio* said aloud, "I know that *Licinius* is guilty of perjury; and if any one will accuse him, I offer myself to be a witness." No accuser appearing, *Scipio* would not degrade the knight, lest it should be said, that the Censor had been accuser, witness and judge*. He changed the prayer used at the lustration after the Census. Instead of an address to the Gods to augment the prosperity and extend the dominion of *Rome*, he prayed, that they

would continue to her her present happiness. And this became afterwards the common form used by the Censors†. The number of citizens polled at this Census was 428,342‡.

§ It may be proper to inform the reader that *Appian* (from whom alone we have any account of these campaigns) seldom gives *Virriatus* a victory, without first making the *Romans* rout him; but then the latter never fails to face about on a sudden, and vanquish the pursuers. Perhaps *Virriatus's* feigned flights were mistaken for real ones.

* Plut. in Apothegm.

† Val. Max. B. 4. c. 1. §. 10.

‡ Mar. Capitol. Liv. Epit. l. 54.

field. He pursued them to their camp, and would have taken it, if night coming on had not favoured the *Romans*. After this he so harrassed and distressed them that they were forced to retire to *Ituca*, a town in *Bætica*: But, in a short time, scarcity of provisions constrained *Viriatius* to return into *Lusitania*.

Y. R. 612.
Bef. Chr.
141.
310 Cons.

During the present Consulship, a third impostor appeared in *Macedon*, who called himself *Philip*, and pretended to be a son of *Perfes*. He got together a body of 17,000 men, and with this army advanced to assault the *Roman* camp, where, in the absence of the Prætor, *Licinius Nerva*, the Quæstor *L. Tremellius* commanded*. A battle ensued, in which the *Romans* gained a victory so entire, that it put an end to the war.

Liv. Epit.
B. 53.
Eutrop. B.
4.

CHAP. IV.

The acts of the Consul Q. Pompeius against the Numantines and their allies. The Proconsul Servilianus concludes a peace with Viriatius, which is confirmed by the Senate, but is soon after infamously broken by the Romans. The death of Viriatius, and its consequences.

AT Rome, the Comitia raised to the Consulship *C. Servilius Cæpio* and *Q. Pompeius*. The latter, who was the first of his family that arrived at this dignity, procured his advancement by a trick, which, at the election, he put upon *Scipio Æmilianus* and his friend *Lælius*, surnamed *Sapiens* [*the Wise*] one of the candidates: For at their desire he undertook to solicit votes for *Lælius*, and while they, trusting to his industry, used little pains themselves, he engaged the people's voices for his own promotion.

Y. R. 612.
Bef. Chr.
140.
311 Cons.
Plut. in
Apothegm.

Pompeius was appointed to succeed *Metellus* in the province of *Hither Spain*. This Proconsul, who had till now conducted himself so worthily, is said by one writer, who deals much in strange stories^b, to have acted

Val. Max.
B. 9. c. 3.
§. 7.

* The Quæstor, says *Varro* (*de re Rustic. L. 2. c. 4.*) got the surname of *Scrofa*, [*Sow*] from his telling the soldiers, in a speech, that he would scatter the enemy as a sow scatters her pigs. *Macrobius* finds another origin of this surname. Some of *Tremellius's* slaves having found a stray sow, killed it and brought it home. The owner, a neighbour, came to demand it. *Tremellius*, who had learnt the fact from his steward, put the sow under his wife's bed-clothes, and made his wife lye down upon them. When his neighbour, to whom he

had given leave to make a search, came in that room, *Tremellius*, pointing to the bed, swore he had no sow in the house but what was in that bed. *Macrobius. Saturn. L. 1. c. 6.*

^b The learned and ingenious writer of the *Life of Cicero* remarks, that it seems to be the view of *Valerius Maximus*, in the collection of his stories, to give us rather what is strange, than true; and to dress up facts as it were into fables, for the sake of drawing a moral from them. *Dr. Midd. Life of Cic. Vol. I. p. 517.*

Y. R. 612.
Bef. Chr.
140.
311 Conf.

1- Ther 6
237.

De. S. c.
Ex. 7. L.
24.
P. 1. B.
1. 13.

App. 17.
1. 7.
208.

De. S. c.
Ex. 7. L.
24.
P. 1. B.
1. 13.

on this occasion, through passion and pique, the part of a madman. To disable his successor, who was his particular enemy, from carrying on the war with advantage, he dismissed all those of the soldiers who claimed a discharge from the service, granted leave of absence to all who asked it, and fixed no time for their return. He also withdrew the guards of his magazines, that they might be plundered; forbade any food to be given to the elephants, and caused the bows and arrows of the *Cretan* auxiliaries to be broken, and thrown into the river. *Appian* says nothing of all this, but reports that *Metellus* delivered up to *Pompeius* a well-disciplined army of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse.

Numantia and *Termantia* were the principal cities that remained unsubdued in *Celtiberia*. The inhabitants of these places sent deputies to the Consul to treat of peace. He demanded that they should clothe 9000 of his soldiers, furnish him with 3000 ox hides, and 800 horses, give 300 hostages, and deliver up to him their cities, and their arms. At this last demand, the deputies, in each other's faces, read the indignation which so shocking a proposal excited. Turning to the Consul, "Is it thus (said they) that you treat brave men? They never quit their arms but with their lives." Their report of the Consul's demands, to their respective cities, filled every breast with resentment and rage. Even the women declared, that they would never own for their husbands, men who should be so base and cowardly as to suffer themselves to be stript of their arms^b.

Pompeius led his army successively to the siege of these two places, but quitted both enterprises with loss and dishonour. He had better fortune in his attempt upon *Matia*, a small town garrisoned by *Numantines*. The inhabitants, upon the Consul's approach, slew the garrison, and surrendered the place. He then marched into the country of the *Sedetani*, and vanquished a gang of robbers, as they are called. The prisoners he sold for slaves, little to the profit of the purchasers; for some of these slaves killed themselves, some killed those that had bought them, and others, in their passage to *Italy*, contrived to bore holes in the ships, and sink them.

The Consul seems to have finished this campaign with the taking of *Lana*. *Numantia* had sent 400 men to the assistance of the inhabitants. These nevertheless offered to surrender their town, upon condition their lives might be spared. *Pompeius* would hearken to no proposals unless the *Numantines* were delivered up to him. This the *Lancians* at first refused, but being afterwards reduced to great extremities, they signified to the Consul their consent to his demand. On discovering the secret,

^b An obscure fragment of *Diod. Siculus*, which does not mention the name of any commander, or afford any circumstance for fixing the time, is the foundation of this

story. The passage, as given by *Fabius Ursinus*, and transcribed by *Freinsheim*, contains much absurdity; but it seems to mean something like what is told in the text.

the *Numantines*, to prevent the townsmen, fell upon them in the night, and made a great slaughter. During the confusion hereby occasioned, *Pompeius*, who had notice of it, scaled the walls, and put all the *Lancians* to the sword; but spared the *Numantines*, now reduced to 200 men, and set them at liberty. *Diodorus* supposes that the Consul acted thus, partly out of compassion for men so unworthily treated by those they had come to defend, and partly from a view to conciliate to him the good will of the people of *Numantia*.

V. R. 612.
Bef. Chr.
140.
311 Conf.

In *Further Spain*, *Fabius Servilianus*, who had been continued in the command, as Proconsul, made some expeditions, in which he shewed himself extremely treacherous and cruel; and then led his army to besiege *Erisane*. Before he had finished his lines, *Viriatius* got into the town in the night, whence, next morning, sallying out, he briskly attacked the *Romans*, and drove them to seek refuge in a place full of rocks and precipices, out of which they could no way escape. The *Lusitanian*, whose chief object both in good and bad fortune, was the welfare of his country, thought this a favourable opportunity to procure for her a peace upon reasonable conditions. By a treaty now concluded with the Consul, and afterwards confirmed at *Rome*, it was agreed, That *Viriatius* should be held the friend and ally of the *Roman* people, and that the *Lusitanians* should retain the lands they then actually possessed.

P. O. 613.
5.
App. p.
293.

A Y E A R that brought so much dishonour to the *Roman* name was followed by another that made it yet more infamous. The Consular Fasces having passed into the hands of *C. Lælius Sapiens* and *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, the latter went into *Further Spain*. Highly dissatisfied with the peace his predecessor had concluded with the *Lusitanians*, he made repeated applications to the Senate for leave to break it. The Conscrip. Fathers allowed him to do clandestinely whatever mischief he could to *Viriatius*, their new friend and ally. But *Cæpio*, not satisfied with this permission, and still pressing his first request, they at length passed a decree for an open declaration of war against the *Lusitanian*. Thus authorised, the Consul marched his forces towards *Arfa*, the residence of *Viriatius*, who not being in a condition to defend the place, abandoned it, and retired towards *Carpetania*. *Cæpio* pursued him, and came up with him near the confines of that country: But though the *Spaniards* were much too weak to fight, their able commander saved them by a stratagem like that which he had formerly practised against *Vetilius*.

Liv. E. 12.
B. 54.
Auct. de
Vir. Illust.
in Viriat.
Diod. Sic.
in Eclog.
L. 32.

V. R. 613.
Bef. Chr.
139.
312 Conf.

App. p.
294.

* In this Consulship *Hostilius Tubulus* was prosecuted by one of the Tribunes named *Sævola*, for having in his Prætorship taken bribes to give unjust judgments. The people referred the matter to the Senate, and the Senate to the Consul *Cn. Servilius*

Cæpio. *Tubulus*, finding that he should be condemned, went into banishment; and being commanded home, he poisoned himself, to avoid dying by the hand of an executioner. *C. de finib. L. 2. c. 16. Afton. Padian. in Orat. pro. Scaur.*

T. R. 613.
Bef. Chr.
119.
312 C. n.

Livy. Epit.
B. 2.
Vol. Pat.
B. 2.
Flor. B. 2.
C. 17.

Diod. ap.
Valef.
App. in
Ibid. p. 297.
Dio. Caff.
fragm.

As *Viriatas* had made no preparation for a war, which, till he was attacked, he had no reason to apprehend, he deputed three of his friends to negotiate an accommodation with *Cepio*^a. These men the *Roman* engaged, by large bribes and many promises, to undertake the murder of their General. *Viriatas* frequently slept in his armour, that in all exigencies he might be ready for action; and his friends had access to him at all hours of the night. The three traitors, entering his tent when he was in his first sleep, cut his throat, the only part of his body then unarmed. Having perpetrated their villany without noise, no alarm was taken, and they stole away to the *Roman* camp to ask the promised reward. *Cepio* answered, "They should continue to hold what they already possessed, but for any further recompence, he must refer them to the Senate."

Thus fell *Viriatas*, whose life and death will be an eternal reproach to the memory of the *Romans* of that age. One would imagine, from what is said of him by *Diodorus*, *Appian*, *Dio Cassius*, and other writers, that all the virtues which were called *Roman* had forsaken *Rome*, to pass into the breast of that one *Spaniard*. They speak of him as free from every vice; nor is there any virtue or talent, ascribed to the best of the *Roman* Generals, which *Viriatas* is not said to have possessed in the highest degree: Veracity, justice, prudence, moderation, humanity, contempt of riches and shew, strict temperance, patience of the severest hardships and fatigues, intrepid courage, and consummate skill in the art of war. Though a man of low birth, and raised to command by fol-

^a *Frinsbemi* has cooked up a strange story (which *Father Catron* and *M. Rollin* have adopted) of a negotiation previous to the deputation mentioned in the text; and the brave *Viriatas* is made, through excess of fear for himself, to sacrifice his wife's father, his best friends, and the chief men of his allies, to the Consul, on his demanding this sacrifice as a condition of peace. *Viriatas* himself murders one half of the victims, and delivers up the other to *Cepio*, who causes their right hands to be cut off, and then requires the *Spanish* General and his troops to give up their arms: But this demand they will not comply with; and the treaty breaks off.

The only foundation for this story, which *Frinsbemi* has adorned with set speeches, is a very few lines, a fragment of *Dio Cassius*, according to which the transaction passed, not in the time of *Cepio*, but of *Popilius*, who did not come into *Spain* till the year after the death of *Viriatas*. And

had there not been this objection, the story is entirely void of probability. So perfidious, so cowardly, so cruel an action must naturally have lessened the love and esteem which *Viriatas*'s followers had for him: Yet we find that he sleeps securely in the midst of them, and, when he has been basely murdered by hired assassins, the army mourn his death as of a common parent to them all.

There is another fragment of *Dio Cassius*, containing matter no less extraordinary, concerning *Cepio* and his cavalry: That, in anger, he sent them to cut wood on a hill, where *Viriatas* being encamped, they must be exposed to the utmost danger: That they performed his orders; but, at their return, would, in revenge, have burnt him with the wood they had brought, if he had not hid himself.

^c *Eutropius* (L. 4.) makes *Cepio* answer that the *Romans* never approved of soldiers killing their Generals.

diers, his equals and companions, he kept them in exact discipline without losing their affection. No mutiny or sedition ever happened in his army. His ruin seems to have been brought upon him by the honesty of his own heart; which would not permit him to suspect that the Senate of Rome could be as void of all honour as *Galba*, and some of the other Generals they had sent into *Spain*.

The *Lusitanians* having performed the most magnificent obsequies they could to their deceased General, whose death they lamented as if he had been their common father, chose one *Tantalus* in his room: But this man not having the talents of his predecessor, was soon obliged to yield up himself and his army to the Consul, who stript them of their arms. They seem however to have capitulated on the terms of being transplanted from their own country to some other, where they were to have lands assigned them for a settlement.

Y. R. 613.
Bef. Chr.
139.
312 Conf.

Diod. Sic.
Excerpt. L.
34. ap.
Valef.
App. p.
296.

C H A P. V.

The Romans are shamefully vanquished in Spain; they make shameful treaties of peace; and they more shamefully break those treaties.
The Tabellarian laws passed at several times.
A people of Illyricum subdued.

IN *HITHER SPAIN* the war still continued, where *Pompeius*, now Proconsul, had again laid siege to *Numantia*. The *Numantines* made frequent sallies, and always with success; so that the Roman army became greatly diminished. But *Pompeius*, having received from *Italy* a reinforcement that was brought him by some Senators commissioned to be his council, resolved to continue the siege during the winter, in order to recover his reputation. Of this hope he was disappointed; for not only he suffered a great loss of men by cold and distempers, but the *Numantines* continued to have the ascendant, and beat him in every conflict. So many misfortunes compelled him at length to raise the siege and go into quarters for what remained of the winter. Fearing to be called to account at *Rome* for his conduct, he thought it advisable to clap up a peace with the enemy upon the best terms he could; and he contrived to engage the *Numantines* to make the first overtures. It was privately agreed that they should in public surrender at discretion, this being necessary to save the Proconsul's honour; but that he should insist on nothing more than their delivering up their prisoners with the Roman deserters, giving hostages, and paying thirty talents, part down, and the rest in a short time. A peace was concluded on these

App. p.
298.

these terms in presence of his council and the chief officers of his army.

WHEN the *Numantines* brought to *Pompeius* the second payment, according to the stipulation, *M. Popillius Lænas* (Colleague of *Cr. Calpurnius Piso* in the Consulship) was come to take upon him the command of the army. The Proconsul, who had made peace lest he should be called to account for his conduct in the war, was now afraid of being called to account for the peace. He therefore confidently denied that he had made a peace, notwithstanding the many witnesses of dignity and weight that had been present at the treaty. *Popillius* referred the *Numantines* to the Senate of *Rome*, there to dispute the matter with the Proconsul; and in the mean time led his army into the territory of the *Lusæ*, a people in the neighbourhood of *Numantia*, against whom he performed nothing.

The Senate having heard the cause between *Pompeius* and the *Numantines*, decreed that the war should be carried on against the latter. It seems however that it was referred to the people whether *Pompeius* should be given up to the enemy, and that by his solicitations and entreaties he obtained pardon.

THIS year a Tribune of the people, named *Gabinus*, got a law passed for balloting in the election of Magistrates: Hitherto, in the Comitia, the people had given their suffrages by pronouncing aloud the name of the person for whom they voted. *Gabinus* pretended that the people would be more free from undue influence, if it were not known for

* *C. Memmius Gallus* obtained a law this year, forbidding any criminal action to be commenced against those who were actually employed on public affairs, in the provinces (*Val. Max. B. 3. c. 7. §. 9. Cic. in Vat. c. 14.*) It is thought that this law also directed, That every informer, convicted of calumny, should be marked in the forehead with the letter K, the first letter of the word *Kalumniator*, according to the way of spelling in those times; and that whoever received this mark should never be admitted as a witness. (*Cic. pro Rosc. Amerin. c. 19, 20.*) The Emperor *Trajan* ordered, that the punishment of calumny should be according to the *lex talionis*; that is to say, the same which the accused was to have suffered had the false accuser made good his charge. *Plin. Panegy.*

The same year *T. Manlius Torquatus* gave an instance of the severity and rigid justice for which his family was remarkable. His

son *D. Junius Silanus Manlianus* (adopted into a branch of the Junian family, whose surname was *Silanus*) had, when Prætor of *Macedon*, been guilty of great oppression in his province, and the *Macedonians* had complained of him at *Rome*. *Torquatus* desired the Senate would appoint him judge in the affair; which being granted, he heard the cause and examined it with great attention for two days; the third he pronounced the following sentence. "Since it has been proved, that *Silanus* my son has [unjustly] taken money from the allies, I judge him unworthy of my family, or to serve the Republic, and forbid him ever to appear in my sight." This sentence so affected the criminal that the next night he strangled himself; at which his father shewed no manner of concern, nor would be present at his funeral. *Val. Max. B. 5. c. 8. §. 3. Cic. de fin. b. L. 1. c. 7. Liv. Epit. B. 54.*

whom

whom each man gave his voice. His law therefore enacted, that for the future, every citizen should put into a box, prepared for that purpose, a tablet, on which was written the name of the candidate he favoured.

[Two years after, *L. Cassius*, another Tribune, introduced the same method of voting, in trials before the people, and perhaps in trials by the judges ^b.

In the year 622 *Papirius Carbo* extended the use of tablets to the case of making or repealing laws.

And *Cælius* in 646, to judgments on accusations of treason, which had been excepted in *Cassius's* law ^c.]

IN the next election of Magistrates *P. Scipio Nasica* and *D. Junius Brutus* obtained the Consulship. *Italy* fell by lot to the former, *Further Spain* to the latter: *Popilius* was continued in the hither province in quality of Proconsul.

While the Consuls were making the levies, one *C. Matienus* being tryed before the Tribunes of the people for having left the army in *Spain* without a discharge, and being found guilty, was severely whipped in sight of the recruits, and then, as a creature of less value than the vilest of slaves, was sold for about seven farthings ^{*}. According to *Frontinus*, several other deserters underwent the like punishment.

These Tribunes, so zealous for the preservation of military discipline, arrogated to themselves a power of exempting ten citizens, such as they should chuse, from serving in the war. This the Consuls strenuously opposed; upon which the Tribunes threw them both into prison. *Nasica* however lost nothing of his weight and authority, for having been thus insulted. Some time after, there being a scarcity of corn at *Rome*, one of the Tribunes, in an assembly of the people, called upon the Consuls to move the Senate, that commissioners might be sent into the provinces to buy corn. When *Nasica* began to speak against the proposal, he was interrupted, but not daunted, by the clamours of the multitude. *Romans*, said he, *I pray you, be silent; I know better than you what is expedient for the Republic.* The people instantly became still and attentive.

THE Consul *Brutus* made great progress this year in quieting *Lusitania*. For the remains of *Viriatus's* army he built a town, and called it *Valentia*, which some authors suppose to be the present capital of the province that bears that name.

^b It is said that *Antius Brisus*, one of the Tribunes, opposed for some time the passing of this law, but that *Scipio Æmilianus* at length prevailed with him to cease his opposition. *Cic. in Brut.* c. 25.

^c *Cicero*, in an oration before the people ^a, calls the tablets the silent assentors of

liberty; and in another, spoken the year before he stood for the Consulship [†], a source of most realisable liberty: But in other parts of his writings he condemns this method of voting and all the authors of it. *Cic. de Anait.* c. 12. *de Leg. L.* 3. c. 16. *Orat. pro Sext.* c. 48.

^a 2 *Agon.* c. 2.

†

† Pro Cernel.

Popilius,

Y. R. 615.
Bis. Chr.
137.
314 Conf.

Liv. Epit.
B. 55.

^{*} A sesterce?
P. 4. c. 1.
§. 10.
Liv. Epit.
B. 55.

Cic. de
Legit. L.
3. c. 9.
Val. Max.
R. 5. c. 7.
§. 2.

Stratag. B.
3. c. 27.
† 9.

Lic. Epit.
B. 55.

Y. R. 616.
Bel. Chr.
136.
315 Cons.

Phil. Oros.
de prodig.
c. 83.

App. in
Lib.
p. 300.

Val. Ant.
2. A.
Gell. L. 7.
c. 9.

Val. Pat.
B. 2.
• Iter. 6.
317.
† Lic.
Epit. B.
35. &
Auct. de
Vir. illust.

Popilius, following his instructions, renewed the war against the *Numantines*; who (according to *Frontinus*) not only beat him but outwitted him. By seeming to desert the defence of their walls they drew him to attempt an escalade. His soldiers had planted their ladders, and many of them were mounting, before he suspected any stratagem on the part of the besieged. But no enemy yet appearing he began now to be afraid, and founded a retreat. In that moment the *Numantines* made a sally, and routed his whole army. He seems to have been disabled from fighting any more during the campaign.

C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS (raised to the Consulship with *M. Aemilius Lepidus*) came the next year to complete the disgrace of the *Romans* before *Numantia*. His misfortunes had been foretold; for not only a foal came into the world with five legs, but the chickens, consulted at the Consuls inauguration, instead of falling greedily to their meat, flew away into a wood, and were never seen more.

At his arrival in *Spain* he found the *Roman* legions extremely disheartened by their ill success; and he himself being worsted in every action great or small, he thought it advisable to retire to a place of safety at some distance from the town. While he was stealing off in the night^d, the *Numantines*, getting notice of it, sallied out, fell upon his army in the rear, slew 10,000 of them, and shut up the rest (it does not appear how or where) in such a manner as they had no hope to escape. *Mancinus* therefore sent a herald with an overture for an accommodation. As peace with *Rome*, and independence, were all the *Numantines* aimed at, they did not refuse to treat; but required that *Tib. Gracchus*, then *Quæstor* in the *Roman* army, and whose father had formerly made a peace with them and maintained it inviolate, should be sent to them. The particular articles of the treaty are not mentioned, but it was concluded upon equal terms, and confirmed by the oaths of the Consul, the *Quæstor*, and the other principal officers.

This wonderful success of the *Numantines* against enemies so superior in number, (for they were 30,000 strong) would hardly gain credit, if all the writers who give any account of this war did not agree in the fact. We are told that the forces of the *Numantines* never exceeded 10,000 men; *Appian** says 8000; *Florus* and *Orosius* 4000: Two other authors affirm that in the action just related they were but 4000.†

^d One Author gives us the following account how the besieged came to discover that the *Romans* were retreating. The *Numantines*, it seems, used to celebrate their marriages at certain stated times, one of which happened to be the day before that night when the *Romans* decamped. A young woman of great beauty was

courted by two men, and her father agreed to bestow her upon him of the two rivals who should first bring the right hand of a *Roman*. The lovers, being abroad upon this enterprize, perceived that the besiegers had left their camp, and gave notice of it in the town. *Auct. de Vir. Illust. in Mancin.*

The

The *Numantines* had taken the *Roman* camp, and, among the spoil, *Gracchus's* book of accompts. As it imported him greatly to recover it, he went to *Numantia* with two or three of his friends in that view. The *Spaniards* received and entertained him with much civility, and not only returned him his book, but offered him any part of the spoil he should desire. He accepted of nothing but a box of incense, which he employed in the public sacrifices.

Plut. in
Grac.

ON the first news of the defeat of the *Roman* army, the Conscript Fathers determined to recal *Mancinus*, and send his colleague *Æmilius* in his stead. *Mancinus* arrived at *Rome* accompanied by deputies from *Numantia*; and when *P. Furius Philus* and *Sex. Atilius Serranus* had entered upon the Consulship, the affair was brought before the Senate. The *Numantine* deputies insisted upon the treaty so solemnly concluded, and so much to the advantage of the *Romans*.

App. in
Iber. p. 300.

V. R. 617.
Bef. Chr.
135.
316 Conf.

Mancinus, in excuse of his many defeats, pleaded, that *Pompeius* had left him an army so dispirited and cowardly, that not a man of them had the courage to look a *Numantine* in the face. He added, that it was no wonder the *Romans* had been so unsuccessful in a war, which they had decreed contrary to all justice; and that by the peace concluded with the enemy, he had saved the lives of 20,000 citizens who could not otherwise have escaped.

Flor. B. 2.
c. 18.
App. in
Iber. p. 302.

Plut. in
Grac.

The Conscript Fathers were too proud to acquiesce in a treaty, by which they thought the Republic dishonoured. And having a precedent of an infamous proceeding of the Senate in the case of the treaty made at the *Caudine Forks* *, they determined [*more majorum*] not to abide by the peace, but to give up *Mancinus* by way of satisfaction to the *Numantines*. It is not clear whether *Tib. Gracchus*, and the other officers, who had sworn to the treaty, were involved in the same sentence. Be that as it will, the people, when the matter came before them, pardoned, out of regard to *Gracchus*, all but *Mancinus*, who voluntarily offered himself to be the victim; not that he thought this devotion would be a reparation to the *Numantines* for the infringement of the peace (for he seems to have been an honest man) but because it was all he could do to convince them, he had meant honourably in that transaction.

* See Vol.
I. p. 516.
App. loc.
cit. Oro.
L. 5. c. 4.
Plut. in
Grac.
Vell. Pat.
B. 2. Cic.
de Offic.
L. 3. c. 37.
Liv. Epit.
55.
Auct. de
Vir. illust.
Cic. de
Orat. L.
1. c. 40.

BRUTUS, whom we left in the year 615 settling the remains of *Viriatius's* army in *Valentia*, proceeded to reduce the rest of the *Lusitanians*, who in flying parties made war after the manner of the modern *Miquelets* of *Catalonia*. When they had surprized and plundered a village, or defeated a *Roman* detachment, they retired hastily amongst the rocks and mountains to divide the spoil. The Proconsul judged that the best way to quell them was to march into the countries, where they were born, and where they had left their wives and children; to defend whom, he doubted not they would return thither. They did as he expected; and he met with some difficulty in subduing them; the women universally

App. in
Iber. p. 299.

V. R. 617.
Bel. Car.
175.
216 Conf.

L. 1. Epit.
B. 55.

Ort. B. 5.
C. 5.
Strab. B. 3.
P. 142.
Vell. Pat.
L. 2.
App. p. 300.

becoming soldiers to assist the men. In the end, all the *Lusitanians* on the south side of the *Durius* submitted. He then passed that river, and ravaged the country as far as the *Lezbe*, or *River of Oblivion*. This stream bearing the same name with one of the rivers which the poets placed in their map of Hell, the soldiers, through superstition, refused to pass it; till the General, snatching a standard from the bearer, led the way, and removed their apprehensions. He afterwards crossed the *Minus* and marched against the *Bracari*, a people on the banks of the *Alges*, now *Rio di Braga* in the north part of *Portugal*. Here also he found the women in arms as well as the men, and of so desperate a courage as to chuse rather to die in battle than run away, or be slaves: And if by chance any of them were taken captive, they killed themselves and their children. He however reduced this fierce nation, and penetrating into the country of the *Gallaeci* subdued it quite to the ocean on the west; for which he got the surname of *Gallaecus* or *Callaicus*.

ÆMILIUS was come into *Hither Spain* to succeed *Mancinus* in the command of the forces. Not knowing what turn the affair of *Numantia* would take, he did not assail that city. Yet, that he might be doing something, he resolved upon an expedition against the *Vaccæi*, neighbours of the *Numantines*. His pretext for the war was, that this people had given assistance to the enemy. The better to succeed in his enterprize, he engaged the Proconsul *Brutus* (whose daughter he had married) to join him. They entered the territory of the *Vaccæi* and ravaged it. While they were besieging *Palantia*, the capital, two Senators arrived from *Rome* with a decree of the Senate forbidding *Æmilius* to make war upon the *Vaccæi*. The Consul answered; "that the Senate were ignorant of the true situation of things; they did not know that *Brutus* with his forces had joined him, nor that the *Vaccæi* had aided the *Numantines* with men, money and provisions." He added, "That, the war being actually begun, should he quit the enterprize, it would be imputed to fear, and make the *Roman* arms contemptible in *Spain*, and perhaps occasion a general revolt." For all these wise reasons he continued the siege; but the *Palantines*, by the resolution with which they defended themselves, made him, in some time, weary of his undertaking; and at length famine constrained the two Generals to decamp.

They went off, in the last watch of the night, in such hurry and confusion, that it was rather a flight than a retreat. The *Palantines* perceived it, and sallying out to the pursuit, made havock of them all the next day. One author says, the *Romans* lost 6000 men; and another makes the slaughter as great as that which *Mancinus's* army suffered by the *Numantines*.

It is not clear whether *Brutus's* conquest of *Gallaecia* was before or after this unfortunate expedition with his son-in-law

against the *Palantines*. But he did not return to *Rome* (where he had a triumph) till some years after this.

Not

Ort. B. 5.
C. 6.
L. 1. Epit.
B. 56.

Not long after, the Consul *Furius* arrived to take the place of *Æmilius*, who was recalled to *Rome*, where the people laid a fine upon him for his misconduct.

Furius had brought with him *Mancinus*, whom he was to deliver up to the *Numantines*. The *Pater Patratus* or Chief Herald led him naked to the waist, and with his hands tied behind his back, to the gates of *Numantia*; but the *Numantines* would not receive him: They said, “that the manifest breach of faith by the *Romans* could not be expiated by the blood of one man: That the Senate must either abide by the treaty, or deliver up all the troops that had escaped under the shelter of it.” The *Romans* on the other hand would not suffer *Mancinus* to return to the camp; so that this man, who not long before had appeared there at the head of a great army, and in all the pomp of the consular dignity, remained a whole day, in the condition that has been described, abandoned by his countrymen, rejected by the enemy, and a melancholy spectacle to both. At night the Consul, thinking that the decree of the Senate and people with regard to *Mancinus* had been sufficiently executed, and having consulted the chickens, received him into the camp.

At his return to *Rome*, he made no scruple to take his place in the Senate; but *P. Rutilius*, a Tribune of the people, ordered that he should leave the assembly, alledging that he was no *Roman* citizen; that, according to tradition, whoever had been sold by his father or the people, or delivered up to an enemy by a *Pater Patratus*, had no claim to a *postliminium*, that is to say, was incapable of being reinstated in the rights he before enjoyed. The matter being brought before the people, they decided in favour of *Mancinus*; because, without acceptance, there could be neither donation nor dedition; and *Mancinus* had not been accepted by the *Numantines*.

IT is recorded as a merit in *Furius*, that he chose, for his lieutenants, *Q. Metellus* and *Pompeius*, who were his personal enemies. He would shew that he was not afraid to have his enemies for witnesses of all he did; which happened to be nothing. His successor *Calpurnius Piso*, who was raised to the Consulship with *Ser. Fulvius Flaccus*, did no more. *Fulvius* subdued the *Ardeans*, a people of *Illyricum* *. One victory finished the war; and the vanquished, a seafaring people, were transplanted into an inland country.

* *Pighius* (in *An. U. C.* 619) thinks that *Illyricum* was this year reduced to the form of a *Prætorian* province.

Y. R. 617.
Bef. Chr.
135.
316 Conf.

App. in
Pict. p. 302.
Cic. de
Orat. I. 2.
c. 40.
Vell. Pit.
L. 2. Plut.
in Crec.
P. Orol. B.
5. c. 5.

Auct. de
Vir. Illust.
in Man.
Cic. de
Orat. L. 2.
c. 40.
Orat. pro
Cæcin. c. 34.
Cic. Topica
c. 8.

Y. R. 618.
Bef. Chr.
134.
317 Conf.

App. in
Illyr.
Strab. B.
7. p. 315.

C H A P. VI.

Scipio Æmilianus is sent into Spain against the Numantines.

His care to discipline his soldiers during a whole year : After which, with an army of 60,000 men, he, in six months time, reduces a handful of Numantines to the utmost distress ; and, in conclusion, makes himself master of the ground on which their city had stood.

Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 15.
§. 4.

Liv. Epit.
B. 56.
Y. R. 619.
Eut. Chr.
153.
318 Cons.

App. in
B. 2. p. 303.

AT the next election of magistrates, *Scipio Africanus* presented to the assembly his nephew *Fabius*, as a candidate for the Quæstorship. Though *Scipio* asked no office for himself, yet the people, weary of the *Numantine* war, and thinking him the best qualified of all men to bring it to a happy issue, elected him Consul, dispensing in his favour with the law, which forbade any man to be twice raised to that dignity. And he had *Hither Spain* assigned him for his province, without drawing lots with his colleague *C. Furcius Flaccus*. But the Senate having other wars upon their hands at this time, particularly that with the slaves in *Sicily*, of which notice shall be taken hereafter, and thinking that the army in *Spain* wanted an able General more than recruits, would not grant him any new levies of *Roman* citizens. They suffered him however, from other cities, and from Kings in alliance with the Republic, to get what auxiliaries he could. He raised in all about 4000 men, of which 500 were his clients and dependents, whom being formed into one troop, he called *the squadron of his friends*. He also by letter requested of *Micipsa*, King of *Numidia*, to send him a reinforcement into *Spain*.

Jul. Obseq.
c. 86.

Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 7.
§. 1.
Liv. Epit.
B. 57.
App. p.
303.

Frontin.
Strateg. 3.
4. c. 1.

These measures taken, *Scipio* (notwithstanding any thing that a certain ox had said to dissuade him, and though somebody had seen the sun in the night) embarked without delay for his province. At his arrival he found the legions ruined by sloth, discord and luxury. His first work therefore was to restore discipline in all its rigour. He drove from the camp a whole crowd of merchants, sutlers, and useless servants ; and, together with them, 2000 disorderly women. He also cleared the camp of a great number of carts and beasts of burthen, employed by the Legionaries to carry their persons, or at least those loads which the *Roman* soldiers had themselves been wont to carry. No utensils of the kitchen, except spits and boiling pots ; no beds, but such as were stuffed with leaves or straw, were allowed to be used. When the General had thus banished intemperance and luxury, he inured his men to fatigue, by frequent and painful marches in bad weather, fording rivers, digging trenches, and then filling them up again ; in a word, by all the labours that soldiers undergo in a difficult and perilous war.

But

But though in a few months he brought his army under tolerable discipline, he would not venture yet to lead them to the formidable *Numantia*. He passed by the town at a good distance, and entered the territory of the *Vaccæi*, who sold provisions to the *Numantines*. While he was ravaging the country, a party of his horse, detached to cover the foragers, had like to have perished in an ambush laid by the troops of *Palantia*. His vigilance and activity rescued the party out of this danger. After which being informed that the enemy, to cut off his retreat, waited for him upon the banks of a river, he would not attempt to return the way he came, but made a long march about, in which his men suffered extremely by the excessive heats, and for want of water. To compleat the work of hardening his soldiers for the toils and dangers of war, he resolved to pass the winter in tents; and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of *Numantia*. It was at this time he received a reinforcement of archers, slingers and elephants, which *Micipsa* sent him from *Numidia*, under the conduct of his nephew *Jugurtha*, a young warrior, of whom there will be frequent occasion to speak in the course of this history.

THE people at *Rome* transferred the Consular Fasces to *P. Mucius Scævola* and *L. Calpurnius Piso*, but continued *Scipio* in the command of the army in *Hisber Spain*, with the title of Proconsul. His view from the beginning was to starve the *Numantines*, not to fight with them. When therefore his foragers had been attacked by surprize, and he with timely succours had repulsed the assailants, he would not pursue them, thinking it a sufficient advantage, that his troops had seen, what, *Florus* says, no man had expected ever to see, a *Numantine* turn his back to a *Roman*. According to *Plutarch*, the *Numantines* being reproached, at their return to the city, by the old men, for having quitted the field to an enemy they had so often vanquished, answered, *that the Romans were indeed the same sheep, but had got a new shepherd.*

Scipio having received large supplies of men from the *Spanish* cities in alliance with *Rome*, and his army now consisting of 60,000 men, he invested *Numantia*. The enemy frequently offered battle; and the *Roman* always laughed at the challenge: For he thought it would be acting a very foolish part, should he fight with desperate men, whom he was sure to conquer by starving them.

Numantia was about three miles in compass, and stood on the side of a hill, at the foot of which ran the *Durius*. The *Roman* General drew a trench six miles in circuit*, quite round the town, except where the river interrupted the work. And he took such effectual methods, with chains and beams, to hinder the besieged from having any communication abroad, by means of the river, that neither by boats, nor

* By consequence this trench must be about half a mile from the town.

swimmers,

App. p.
302.

V. R. 623.
Bef. Chr.
132.
319 Cons.

App. p.
306.

Flor. B. 2.
c. 18.
Oros. B. 5.
c. 6.
Plut. in
Apotheg.
App. p.
306.

Y. B. 6. 1.
P. 1. 1.
S. 1. 1.

swimmers, nor divers, could they get relief or intelligence. Behind his first ditch he drew a second at no great distance, and behind this he built a wall eight feet thick and ten feet high, without reckoning the parapet. On this wall, throughout the whole extent of it, were raised towers, distant ten feet one from another. *Appian* observes, that *Scipio* was the first General that ever drew a circumvallation round a town, the inhabitants of which did not decline a battle in the field. The beleagued frequently sallied out, to hinder the carrying on the works, and to force the lines after they were finished. But *Scipio* had established such excellent order, for giving notice to the whole army, by signals, whenever the enemy made a movement on any side, that all their efforts proved ineffectual. *Appian* relates a strange tale of one *Rhetogenes*, a brave *Numantine*, who, in a dark night, with five friends, as many servants, and six horses, by the help of some portable bridges, got over the *Roman* lines; having slain the guards posted at those places where he made his passage. The difficulty surmounted, *Rhetogenes* and his friends sent home their servants, and, separating, went to several towns of the *Arvaci*, to implore succour. Few would so much as hear these ambassadors; none would give them any assistance: So great was the dread of the *Roman* power. Only at *Lutia*, a city about thirty-seven miles from *Numantia*, the younger sort, having more spirit and generosity than discretion, urged their fellow citizens to aid the *Numantines*. The old men, who did not approve the design, gave *Scipio* private intelligence of what was in agitation. With a body of light armed troops he immediately hastened thither, appeared before the place at sun-rise, and demanded that the most considerable of the young men should be delivered up to him. It was at first answered, that they had made their escape; but he threatening to pillage the town if he were not obeyed, they gave up to him 400 of their youth, whose right hands he caused to be cut off, and then returned to his camp.

App. in
lib. 7. p.
359.

The *Numantines*, (when the siege had lasted six months) pressed by famine, sent five ambassadors to the Proconsul, to ask him whether, in case they surrendered, he would treat them with humanity. The chief of the embassy extolled the bravery and noble spirit of his countrymen. He added, “that the *Numantines*, though unfortunate, were guilty of no fault in fighting for their wives, their children, and the liberty of their country.—It is therefore but what justice requires from you, *Scipio*, who are a man of singular bravery, that you should spare the brave. We are ready to surrender, if you will grant us such conditions as are fit for men to submit to: If you will not; Give us at least an opportunity of fighting, that we may die like men.” *Scipio* answered, that they must yield up their arms, their city, and themselves^b. The *Numantines*, tho’ they

Flor. B. 2.
c. 18.
Oros. B. 5.
c. 6.

^b According to *Appian*, the *Numantines* were provoked to such madness of rage by *Scipio*’s answer, that they fell upon the ambassadors at their return, and slew them for being

they suffered the extremest miseries that are ever suffered in a town besieged, yet would not surrender at discretion. In despair of preserving, by capitulation, both life and liberty, they warmed themselves with a sort of beer called *Celia*, sallied out at two gates, and made a furious assault upon the enemies lines. After an obstinate fight (in which many of them perished) finding it impossible to force the *Roman* entrenchments, they retired to their town in good order. *Scipio* offered them leave to bury their dead; a favour which they rejected. In conclusion, they burnt all their arms and effects, set fire to their houses, and, all dying by famine, by the sword, by poison, or by fire, left the victor, says *Florus*, nothing of *Numantia* to triumph over but the name^c.

The Proconsul however had the walls, and, according to *Appian*, many of the houses yet to destroy; all which he levelled with the ground; without being authorized, says the same author, by a decree of the *Roman* people, as he had been for the demolition of *Carthage*: “Whether
“ he believed it for the good of the Republic; or was actuated by
“ rage and revenge; or rather, as many think, that he sought to raise
“ to himself a great name^d upon the foundation of mighty mischiefs
“ done.”

Scipio having divided the territory of *Numantia* among the neighbouring *Spaniards*, and punished some cities which had befriended her during the war, returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *NUMANTINUS*: A most glorious appellation! * A name which imported, that the bearer of it had, with the help of 60,000 soldiers, cooped up and starved 4000 brave men, for only refusing to be SLAVES; and that he had performed this exploit, in execrable violation of a peace, which those generous *Spaniards* had purchased with the grant of Life and LIBERTY to 20,000 *Romans*^e.

being the bearers of ill tidings: A very unlikely tale, and not consistent with the character of the *Numantines*.

^c *Appian* reports, that in the extremity of the famine the besieged fed upon the bodies of those that died; and afterwards that the stronger murdered the weaker, to eat them. He adds, that after many of the *Numantines* had been thus destroyed, and many had killed themselves, the remainder surrendered at discretion; of whom *Scipio* reserved fifty to grace his triumph, and sold the rest for slaves. A story not much to the honour of the victor. But the *Epitome* of *Livy*, (B. 59.) and *Frontinus* (*Stratag.* B. 4. c. 5. §. 23.) seem to agree with the account given in the text, from *Florus* and *Orosius*.

^d *Appian's* words are Τὴν δόξαν ἡγήμεθα.

διόνυμος ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γέγεσθαι κακῶς. Some think that διόνυμος signifies *double named*, and that the Historian alluded to *Scipio's* two surnames of *Africanus* and *Numantinus*. But *H. Stephens* contends that the word should be rendered *famous*; as in another passage of *Appian*, where he says, that *Gracchus* [who had acquired no surname from any military exploit] became διόνυμος, *famous* both in *Spain* and in *Rome*.

* *Pigbius* thinks that *Scipio* never assumed this ridiculous *Nom de Guerre*.

^e Mr. *Rollin*, in his *Panegyric* on *Scipio*, says, “that in him was an assemblage
“ of all the virtues which make a soldier,
“ a statesman, and an honest man. And
“ what is peculiar to him, History has not
“ taken notice of any one stain upon his
“ excellent life; History praises him with-

I.

“ out

Y. R. 620.
Bef. Chr.
132.
319 Conf.

Flor. l. v.
cit.
Oros. l. v.
cit.

App. in
Iber. l. 312.

See p. 513.

Vol. ix. p.
74

C H A P. VII.

*Tiberius Gracchus revives the Agrarian law of Licinius Stolo.
The violent proceedings of the Senate and the rich on this occasion.*

Y. R. 620.
Bel. Car.
132.
379 Con. C.

WHILST Scipio was employed in the reduction of *Numantia*, there happened at *Rome*, a COMMOTION that terribly shook the state, and introduced arms and bloodshed into the *Assemblies of the People*; the prelude to successive tragedies, of which the final catastrophe was the **UTTER RUIN OF ROMAN LIBERTY.**

An event so memorable, as this COMMOTION, demands some previous account of the family and character of *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, whose warm and vigorous efforts, to save his country, unhappily proved the occasion of those violences, that hastened its destruction.

The *Sempronian* family, though Plebeian, had raised itself to be among those of the greatest distinction in the commonwealth. The father of *Tiberius*, twice Consul, had obtained two triumphs, and was afterwards honoured with the Censorship. He married *Cornelia*, the daughter of the first *Africanus*, a woman of excellent understanding, renowned virtue, and great spirit. Of twelve children which he left at his decease, nine died in infancy, or in early youth. The three, that remained, were a daughter, (married to the second *Africanus*) and two sons, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, the latter nine years younger than his brother. *Tiberius* acquired the reputation of virtue so early, that for his merit chiefly he was chosen into the college of Augurs, as soon as he had put

Plut. in
Gracch.

“ out an exception to any of his actions ;
“ there is no part of his whole conduct
“ that needs an apology.”

This excellent writer and most worthy man seems to form his ideas of *Scipio* by the fine things said of him by *Cicero* ; in whom, nevertheless, he observes * the spirit of party to reign with such absolute sway, as to make him speak of *une action inexcusable* (the inhuman murder of *Tiberius Gracchus* by *Nasica*) as an exploit that filled the world with its glory.

But as to *Scipio*'s unexceptionable conduct, Mr. *Rollin* seems to have overlooked a passage in *Plutarch*, where the historian, speaking of the affair of *Marcus*, tells us,
“ that *Scipio*, who, of all the *Romans*, had,
“ at that time, the greatest authority and
“ sway, was blamed for not making use of

“ his influence to save the Consul, and get
“ the treaty with the *Numantines* confirmed.”

Doubtless, this Hero had then in view the glory he afterwards acquired, of utterly destroying, contrary to public faith, and the obligation of benefits to the Republic, that handful of brave men, who, by their virtue, dishonoured the *Romans*. And I cannot imagine what Christian Divines mean, by exhibiting as patterns of consummate [*Pagan*] virtue, men proud of being the instruments of the basest and most cruel iniquities. And if what Mr. *Rollin* says (in the † preface to his *Roman History*) be true, “ that the *finest* actions of the *Romans* were
“ done from the sole motive of vain glory,” I do not conceive that those *finest* actions deserve even the smallest portion of praise.

* V. l. ix. p. 51, 52.

† P. 85, 86.

on the manly gown¹. He made his first campaigns, with distinguished courage, under his brother-in-law *Scipio*, in *Africa*. After his return home, he applied himself to the study of Eloquence; in which he attained to so great perfection, as to surpass all the orators that *Rome* had, to his time, produced. “He was a man (says² *Paterculus*) of “the finest parts, the greatest innocence of life, the purest intentions; in “a word, adorned with all the virtues of which human nature, improv- “ed by industry, is capable.” And *Cicero*³ confesses, “That *Tiberius* “*Gracchus* came nothing short of the virtue of his father, or of his “grandfather *Africanus*, but in this, that he forsook the party of the “Senate.”

Y. R. 625.
Pef. Car.
132.
319 Conf.

We have already seen the share he had in the treaty, which *Mancinus* concluded with the *Numantines*; who granted, for the sake of *Tiberius*, more favourable conditions than they had at first intended. According to *Cicero*,¹ and *Paterculus*², who follows him, the severity of the Senate, on occasion of that treaty, not only grieved, but terrified *Tiberius Gracchus*, and was the cause of his alienation from the Nobles. Some say, that his designs were suggested to him by *Dio- phanes*, a Rhetorician of *Mitylene*, and *Bleisus*, an *Italian* Philosopher. Some ascribe them to a desire of rising, in the esteem of the people, above one *Sp. Posthumius*, an eloquent speaker, and in great credit. Others, again, to *Tiberius's* mother *Cornelia*, who, fond of glory, and willing to excite ambition in her son, reproached him, that she was usually called, at *Rome*, *The mother-in-law of Scipio*, and not *The mother of the Gracchi*. But *Caius*, in some memoirs of his, quoted by *Plutarch*, wrote, that his brother was himself the author of his project, and that he conceived it before his expedition against the *Numantines*.

See p. 512.

Plut. in
Gracch.

¹ *Plutarch* records, as striking proofs of the great esteem *Tiberius* was in at *Rome*, the offer, which at an Augural feast, *Appius Claudius*, then President of the Senate, (and who had been Consul and Censor) made him of his daughter in marriage; and the answer which *Appius* received from his wife, when he acquainted her, at his return home, with what he had done. As soon as he entered his house, he called out “*Antistia*, I have promised our daughter *Claudia* in marriage.” *Why in such haste* (said the mother greatly astonished) *have you promised her to Tiberius Gracchus?*

² Vita innocentissimus, ingenio florentissimus, proposito sanctissimus, tantis denique adornatus virtutibus, quantis perfecta, & naturâ & industriâ, mortalis conditio recipit.—Vell. Pat. l. 2.

³ Ti. Gracchus convellit statum civitatis: qua gravitate vir! qua eloquentia!

qua dignitate! nihil ut a patris, avique Africanæ præstabili insignique virtute, præterquam quod a senatu desciverat, deflexisset. Or. de Harusp. resp. c. 19.

¹ Ad quem [tribunatum] ex invidia fœderis Numantini bonis iratus [Tiberius] accesserat (Cicer. Brut. c. 27.) Nam Tiberio Graccho, invidia Numantini fœderis, cui feriendo, Quæstor C. Mancini Consul cum esset, interfuerat; & in eo fœdere improbando senatus severitas dolori, & timori fuit: istaque res illum fortem & clarum virum, a gravitate patrum desciscere coegit. Id. de Harusp. resp. c. 20.

² Immanem dedicio Mancini civitatis movit dissensionem: quippe T. Gracchus, —quo Quæstore & auctore id fœdus ictum erat, nunc graviter ferens aliquid a se factum infirmari, nunc similis vel judicii vel pœræ metuens discrimen, tribunus plebis creatus—descivit a bonis—Vell. Pat. l. 2.

1. 5. 6. 7.
2. 1. 2. 3.
3. 4. 5. 6.

For, crossing *Hetruria*, in his way to *Spain*, he observed, that there were no other husbandmen or labourers in the country, than slaves and foreigners. And (according to *Plutarch*) the people, by writings affixed to the porticos, walls, and tombs, daily exhorted *Tiberius* to procure the restitution of the public lands to the injured poor.

Ann. 6.
F. 1. 2. 3.
L. 1. 2. 3.
333.

From the earliest times of *Rome*, it had been the custom of the *Romans*, when they subdued any of the nations in *Italy*, to deprive them of a part of their territory. A portion of these lands was sold, and the rest given to the poorer citizens; on condition, says *Appian*, of their paying annually a tenth of the corn and a fifth of the fruits of trees, besides a certain number of great and small cattle. In process of time, the rich, by various means, got possession of the lands destined for the subsistence of the poor. This gave occasion to the law obtained by *Licinius Stolo*, about the year of *Rome* 356, forbidding any *Roman* citizen to hold more than 500 acres of land, or to have, upon his estate, more than 100 great and 500 small cattle; and requiring that a certain number of freemen, natives of the country, should be employed to cultivate the farms: Which law confirmed by oath, subjected the transgressors of it to a fine, besides the forfeiture of all their lands beyond the proportion allowed. But notwithstanding these precautions, the *Licinian* law (observed for some time to the great benefit of the public) fell at length under a total neglect. The rich and the mighty contrived to possess themselves of the lands of their poor neighbours. At first they held these acquisitions under borrowed names; afterwards, openly, in their own. To cultivate the farms, they employed foreign slaves; so that *Italy* was in danger of losing its inhabitants of free condition, (who had no encouragement to marry, no means to educate children) and of being overrun with slaves and barbarians, that had neither affection for the Republic, nor interest in her preservation.

P. 1. 2. 3. 4.
Græch. A.
Cicer. A.
Cic. Quæst.
L. 4. 5.

Tiberius Gracchus, now a Tribune of the people, undertook to remedy these disorders. He communicated his project to some of the most virtuous and respectable men in *Rome*, and had their approbation. Among these were his father-in-law *Appius Claudius*, who, according to *Plutarch*, surpassed all the *Romans* of his time in prudence; *Crassus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*; and the Consul *Mucius Scaevola*, esteemed a wise man and an able Civilian. The same Historian reports, that, to soften the matter, *Tiberius* proposed, not only to remit the fines hitherto incurred by the transgressors of the *Licinian* law, but also, out of the public money, to pay to the present possessors the price of the lands that were to be taken from them^m.

^l *Plutarch* tells us, that *Laelius*, the friend of *Scipio*, made some efforts [in his tribuneship] to cure the evils occasioned by the breach of the *Licinian* law; but dropt the design, fearing the prosecution of it would raise a sedition.

^m *Appian* says nothing of this compensation; nor does *Plutarch* take notice of an article mentioned by *Appian*: That each [emancipated] son of a family might hold 250 acres of land, though the father possessed 500.

Never,

Never, says *Plutarch*, was proposed a law more mild and gentle, against iniquity and oppression: yet the rich made a mighty clamour about the hardship of being stript of their houses, their lands, their inheritances, the burial-places of their ancestors; the unspeakable confusion such innovations would produce, the estates in question [acquired by robbery] being settled upon the wives and children of the possessors. And, to raise an odium against *Gracchus*, they gave out, that ambition, not a view to the common good, had put him upon this project; and exclaimed against him in all places, as a disturber of the public peace. The poor, on the other hand, complained of the extreme indigence to which they were reduced, and of their inability to bring up children: They enumerated the many battles where they had fought in defence of the Republic; notwithstanding which, “they were allowed no share “ of the public lands: nay the usurpers, to cultivate them, chose “ rather to employ foreigners and slaves, than citizens of *Rome*.” *Gracchus*’s view was not to make poor men rich, but to strengthen the Republic, by an increase of useful members, upon which he thought the safety and welfare of *Italy* depended. The insurrection and war of the slaves in *Sicily*, who were not yet quelled, furnished him with sufficient argument for expatiating on the danger of filling *Italy* with slaves.

On the day when the tribes met to determine concerning the law, the Tribune, maintaining his cause, which was in itself just and noble, with an eloquence that would have set off a bad one, appeared to his adversaries terrible and irresistible. He asked the rich, whether they preferred a slave to a citizen; a man unqualified to serve in war to a soldier; an alien to a member of the Republic; and which, they thought, would be more zealous for its interest? Then, as to the misery of the poor; “The wild beasts of *Italy* have caves and dens to shelter them; “ but the people, who expose their lives for the defence of *Italy*, are “ allowed nothing but the light and air: They wander up and down “ with their wives and children, without house and without habitation. Our Generals mock the soldiers; when, in battle, they exhort “ them to fight for their sepulchres and their household Gods; for, “ amongst all that great number of *Romans*, there is not one who has “ either a domestic altar, or a sepulchre of his ancestors. They fight “ and die, solely to maintain the riches and luxury of others; and are “ stiled the Lords of the Universe, while they have not a single foot of “ ground in their possession.”

To discourses of this tenour, delivered with great spirit and a warmth unfeigned, and heard by the people with uncommon emotion, his adversaries durst not attempt to answer. Nor was it necessary; for they had, with much solicitation, engaged *M. Octavius Cæcina*, one of the Tribunes, a grave and modest man, and, hitherto, the friend of *Tiberius*, to oppose his measures. So that, when, by order of the latter,

Y. R. 612.
Bef. Chr.
132.
319 Cons.

App. de
B. II. Civ.
B. I. p.
355.

Plut. in
Gracch.

App. p.
356.

Plut. in
Gracch.

Y. R. 622.
E. R. C. 132.
314 C. 132.

L. 1. 132.
B. 132.

Plut. in
Gracch.

the law was going to be read to the people for their acceptance, *Octavius* stood up and forbade the reading it. *Tiberius* made no farther effort to carry the law in question, but in the place of it proposed another, more severe against the rich; for it expressed, that whoever held above 500 acres of the public lands should be deprived of the overplus; and it contained no clause of compensation.

Before the day appointed for taking the suffrages of the tribes with regard to this new law, *Octavius* and *Tiberius* had many sharp disputes in the assemblies of the people, each maintaining his opinion with much warmth and vehemence, yet not a word escaping from either, which could give the other offence.

Tiberius published an edict, suspending all magistrates from the exercise of their functions, till the law should be either passed or rejected by the people; and subjecting to large fines those who should disobey his edict. And that the *Quæstors* might not have access to the public money, he shut up the temple of *Saturn*, where it was kept, and put his own seal upon the door. The faction of the rich appeared in public, in their dirtiest clothes, and with dejected countenances, to move compassion; in secret, they laid snares for *Tiberius*, and hired people to murder him; which he being apprised of, carried a dagger under his robe, but so that every body might see it, and thereby know that he apprehended an assassination.

OF the ten Tribunes, *Octavius* alone took part with the insolent and oppressive nobles, to obstruct the reformation of their abuses of power.

^a *Plutarch* imputes this moderation, and politeness of the disputants to a happiness of nature, and a good education: Yet immediately adds, that "*Tiberius*, knowing how nearly the law affected his colleague, as possessing a great deal of land, offered out of his own private fortune (which was not very great) to compensate him, (if he would desist from his opposition) for what he should lose by the execution of the law." An offer, which, one would naturally think, could have no place in an intercourse between two men so polite, and so careful to avoid saying anything offensive.

The same historian tells us, that when the people met to give their suffrages with regard to the law, it was found that the rich had conveyed away the urns; which caused a great confusion and tumult, threatening dangerous consequences. Whereupon two men of Consular dignity, throwing themselves at the feet of the Tribune, begged of him, with tears in their eyes, to desist from his undertaking. *Tiberius*, well

aware of what mischiefs might happen from the present disorder, and having a great respect for these two persons, asked them, what they would have him do. They answered, that they were not qualified to give advice in an affair of such importance; and pressed him to consult with the Senate; to which he readily agreed. But when he found that the Fathers came to no determination, because of the ascendant which the rich had in that assembly, he formed the resolution of deposing *Octavius* from his office.

If *Plutarch* here means the urns that held the tablets for voting, he must be mistaken; for the people did not vote by tablets in enacting or abrogating laws, till the tribuneship of *Papirius Carbo* (Cic. de Legib. l. 3. c. 16.) which was not till two years after this time. And what temptation could there be to convey away the urns, if *Octavius* was ready to interpose?

Plutarch is the only author who mentions this affair of the urns.

Tiberius, in presence of an assembly of the commons, earnestly entreated him to concur with their desires, and to grant, as a favour to the *Roman* people, what they had so much right to demand; and which, if obtained, would be but a small recompence for the fatigues they underwent, and the dangers to which they exposed themselves for the safety of the Republic. Finding the dissentient Tribune immoveably fixed in his resolution, he then loudly declared, that he saw no way of putting an end to the important dispute between them, but by deposing the one or the other from the Tribuneship. He added, *Do you, Octavius, first gather the votes of the people with regard to me: If it be agreeable to them, I am ready to resign my office, and become a private man.* *Octavius* rejecting the expedient, the other replied, *If you persist in your opposition, I will certainly move the Comitia to depose you. I give you till to-morrow to consider of what part you will act.*

Y. R. 620.
Esf. Chr.
132.
319 Conf.

Accordingly, the Tribes being assembled the next day, *Tiberius* mounted the *Rostra*; and, having once more, in vain, exhorted his colleague to a compliance with the people's desire, put the question to them, Whether *Octavius* should be removed from the office of Tribune? Of the five and thirty tribes, when seventeen had given their voices against him, *Tiberius*, who would fain have avoided these extremities, interrupted the voting: He embraced him, he conjured him, in the most pressing terms, not to expose himself, by his obstinacy, to so great a dishonour, nor to bring upon him the reproach of having degraded his colleague and his friend. *Octavius* is said to have been so far moved, that tears came into his eyes, and he continued for some time silent; but casting a look towards the rich, there present, and, probably, thinking he should be despised if he failed them, he at length answered *Tiberius*, That he might proceed, and do as he pleased.

The deposed Tribune was instantly compelled to leave the *Rostra*; the angry multitude insulted him, and, perhaps, would have gone greater lengths if the Grandees (whose victim he had made himself) and even *Tiberius* had not protected him, and favoured his retreat.

No obstacle now remaining, the law passed: And it being resolved that *Triumvirs*, or three Commissioners, should be constituted for the execution of it, the people named, to that employment, *Tiberius* himself, his father-in-law, *Appius Claudius*, and *Caius Gracchus*, who at this time was in *Spain*, serving under *Scipio* in the *Numantine* war. These *Triumvirs* were to examine and judge what lands belonged to the Public, as well as to make the intended distribution of them. Into the place of *Octavius* the people chose one *Mummius*, a client of *Tiberius*.

Liv. Ep'le
1. 58.

* This example, given by *T. Gracchus*, was afterwards imitated by the Tribune *A. Gabinus*, when his Colleague *L. Trebellius* opposed the passing a decree for committing to *Pompey* the conduct of the pira-

tic war, with exorbitant powers, unknown to the laws. *Gabinus* moved to have *Trebellius* deposed from his office; and 17 of the 35 Tribes had already voted against him, when he withdrew his opposition.

The

The Senate, highly exasperated by these successes of the Tribune, put upon him all the efforts in their power. They refused him, as Tribune, a *tunica*: a favour usually granted to those who executed much lighter commissions for the public. And (at the instigation of *Scipio Nasica*) they would allow him, for his expences, no more than nine *denarii* a day.

Attalus Philometus, King of *Pergamus*, a madman, dying at this time, left the Roman people heir of all his goods*. *Tiberius* laid hold of this occasion to propose a law, importing, that the King's treasure should be divided among the poorest of the citizens to enable them to stock their new farms. As to the cities and territories of *Pergamus*, the Tribune declared, that to dispose of them did not belong to the Senate; but was the prerogative of the people.

This was a mortifying stroke to the Conscrip Fathers. One of them, named *Pompeius*, rising up in the assembly, said, he was *Tiberius's* neighbour, and knew, for certain, that the Deputy from *Pergamus* had brought *Attalus's* diadem and purple robe, and privately given them to the Tribune, as to a man who would soon be King in *Rome*. *Q. Metellus* reproached *Tiberius* with suffering himself to be lighted home, by poor citizens, when he supped abroad; whereas his father used modestly to have the torches put out, on such occasions, that it might not be known he kept ill hours. These were idle discourses. Of all the actions of *Tiberius*, that which had given his enemies the greatest advantage against him, and is said to have displeased many of his own party, was his deposing *Ostacius*†. The Tribune therefore thought it proper to vindicate this part of his conduct in a set speech to the people.

The chief heads of his justification were these: “A Tribune is indeed a sacred and inviolable magistrate, because he is consecrated to the protection of the people and the support of their interest. But if, forgetting the design of his institution, he injures the people, instead of protecting them; if he weakens their power, and hinders them from giving their suffrages, he then forfeits the honours and privileges conferred upon him; because he acts contrary to the end for which he received them. Must a Tribune be suffered to demolish the Capitol and burn our arsenals? And yet if he did these things, he would still be a Tribune; whereas he ceases to be such, when he destroys and overturns the power of the people.—The regal dignity, comprehending the authority of all other magistrates, was made sacred by the most august ceremonies of religion; nevertheless, the Roman people, to punish the lust and violence of a single man, not only ex-

* By virtue of this heirship the Romans seized the kingdom of *Pergamus*, as a part of *Attalus's* goods. *Mitridates* of *Pontus*, in a letter to *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*,

calls the will an impious and forged will. Sallust. Fragm. l. 4.

† *Cicero* imputes the ruin of *Tiberius* to this alone. Cic. de Leg. l. 3. c. 10.

“ pelled the King, but suppressed that sovereign power, under which
 “ *Rome* was founded. What is more sacred and venerable in *Rome*,
 “ than the Vestals? Yet if any Vestal transgress, she is buried alive,
 “ without mercy; because, by her impiety, she loses the sacred cha-
 “ racter which she acquired by being dedicated to the Gods. In like
 “ manner, a Tribune, when he sins against the people, forfeits that in-
 “ violable character with which he was vested solely on their account. If
 “ the *majority* of the Tribes have a power to create a Tribune, it surely
 “ can never be a question, whether all the Tribes have a power to depose
 “ him.—And, that a Tribune may lose his sacred character, even be-
 “ fore the expiration of his year, is evident from the example of those,
 “ who, at their own request, have been permitted to divest themselves
 “ of it.”

Y. R. 620.
 Ref. Chr.
 132.
 319 Conf.

The friends of *Tiberius* judging, from the menaces and cabals of the great, that his life would be in danger, as soon as he should become a private man, put him upon the project of getting himself continued in the tribuneship for another year. To dispose the people to favour his pretensions, he gave them a prospect of several new laws, much to their advantage. One was for diminishing the number of years the soldiers were obliged to serve. Another established the right of appeal to the people from the judgments of all the magistrates. By a third he proposed that the judges in civil causes should be one half Knights and not all Senators, as hitherto. *Velleius Paterculus* adds, that *Gracchus* promised the freedom of *Rome* to all the *Italians*.*

Pl. t. in
 Gracch.

Appian relates, that on the day of election, when the two first Tribes had given their votes for *Tiberius*, the partizans of the rich made a mighty uproar, crying out, it was against law for the same person to be Tribune two years together. These clamours so terrified *Rubrius Varro*, who presided in the *Comitia*, that he would have resigned his place to *Mummius* (the successor of *Octavius*;) but the other Tribunes opposed it, alledging that since *Varro* had resigned, it ought to be determined by lot, who should be President in his room. The contention growing high, and *Tiberius* finding his party the weaker, put off the election to the next day†.

De Bell.
 Civ. l. 1.
 p. 358.

Early in the morning, when he was about to repair to the Capitol, he is reported to have had some unlucky omens, which made him doubt whether he should go or not: But several messengers coming to him from his friends, who pressed him to hasten to the assembly, where,

* According to *Dio Cass. ap. Vales.* p. 622. *Tiberius* proposed to get his father-in-law, *Appius Claudius*, chosen to the Consulship, and his brother, *Caius Gracchus*, to the Tribuneship.

† *Plutarch* makes no mention of this contest among the Tribunes for the Presi-

dentship, but says that *Tiberius* and his party, finding themselves the weaker, *because all the people were not present*, [it being harvest-time] began to quarrel with the other Tribunes, in order to gain time; and that *Tiberius* at length adjourned the assembly.

they

V. R. 660
 P. 100
 C. 100
 P. 100
 C. 100

they assured him, he would have the majority, he went without further hesitation. The people, the moment they saw him, broke out into shouts of joy and applause. Soon after he had got to his place, a Senator, his friend, passing with much difficulty through the croud, gave him notice, That the great and rich of the Senate (then assembled in a temple hard by) had used all their efforts to draw the Consul into their party; that, not succeeding, they had resolved, without his assistance, to murder the Tribune; and that, for this purpose, they had drawn together a great number of their friends and slaves, all armed. *Tiberius* having communicated this advice to those that were nearest him, they girded up their gowns, and prepared to defend him in the best manner they could. They had no arms, but what they could hastily provide themselves with, by breaking the long staves of Apparitors or Serjeants into short truncheons. Those of the multitude who were at a distance, astonished at this motion, called out to know the reason of it. *Tiberius*, not being able to speak loud enough to be heard, touched his head with his hand, in order to make them conceive that his life was in danger. Instantly some of his enemies ran to the Senate, and reported, that the Tribune openly demanded a Crown; in proof of which, they alledged, that he had put his hand to his head. On these important tidings, *Scipio Nasica*, who possessed much of the public lands, and was extremely unwilling to part with them, addressing himself to the Consul, *Mucius Scaevola*, urged him to give immediate assistance to the state, and destroy the tyrant. *Scaevola* answered with great calmness, that he would not be the first author of a tumult, nor would he put any citizen to death, before legal condemnation. Hereupon *Nasica*, flaming with wrath, turned to the Senators, and said, *Since the chief Magistrate betrays and abandons the Republic, let those, who have any regard for the laws, follow me.* At the same time he gathered up his robe, and with the Senate at his heels, together with that multitude of clients and slaves, who, armed with clubs, had held themselves ready for action, ran furious to the Capitol. Few among the people had the boldness to withstand the venerable rage of the Conscrip Fathers; who, snatching up the feet and other pieces of benches, broken by the croud in their hasty flight, and dealing blows to the right and left, pushed on towards *Tiberius*. Those of his friends who had ranged themselves before him being partly slain, and the rest scattered, he himself fled; and, when somebody laid hold of his gown, left it in his hand, and continued to run; but, in his hurry, he stumpled, and fell upon others who had fallen before him. As he was recovering himself, *P. Saturcius*, one of his colleagues, gave him a mighty blow on the head with the foot of a bench; and a second blow, which, probably, dispatched him, he received from a man named *L. Rufus*, who afterwards gloried in the action. Above 300 of *Tiberius's* friends and adherents died with him in this tumult;

mult; and, what is observable, not one of them was killed with a sword, but all with stones or clubs. The murderers threw the dead bodies into the *Tiber*. *Caius Gracchus**, according to *Plutarch*, earnestly begged permission to bury his brother, but was refused: And the Historian gives this as a proof, that the nobles acted more from rage and personal hatred to *Tiberius*, than from any of their pretended motives. Nor was the fury of the faction yet assuaged: They made search after his friends: Those of them whom they could not apprehend they banished, and those who fell into their hands to put they death, without so much as the form of a legal process.

V. R. 623.
B. f. Chr.
132.
319 Cont.

All the public dissensions, which had hitherto arisen in *Rome* since the birth of the Republic, had been terminated by mutual concessions, and without effusion of blood; the people respecting the Senate, and the Senate fearing the people: But, upon this last occasion, the Conscrip Fathers took the fatal resolution of having recourse to arms and slaughter; and, to end the dispute, assassinated, before the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, a magistrate, whose person, by the laws, was sacred and inviolable.

When the people were recovered from their fright, the Senate, having cause to dread their anger, quietly suffered a new Commissioner, for the execution of the *Agrarian* law, to be elected in the room of *Tiberius*; and the choice to fall on *P. Crassius*, who had given his daughter in marriage to *Caius Gracchus*: A temporizing of the Fathers, not sufficient to appease the indignation of the multitude for the cruel violence done to their protector. *Scipio Nasica*, principal author of the late massacre, was the chief object of their resentment. The poorer citizens, whenever they met him in the publick streets, reproached him with murder and sacrilege, and threatened to bring him to a trial. Fearing therefore for his life, the Senate commissioned him to go into *Asia*, on pretended business, the disguise of a real banishment. And there, after a short time, oppressed with vexation and despair, he died.

CONCERNING the merits of this famous cause, various are the opinions of those who have written on the subject.

APPIAN, after relating the tragical death of *Tiberius Gracchus*, concludes with words to this effect. *Thus Gracchus—pursuing with too much violence the best designs for his Country's good, was, while a Tribune, slain in the Capitol.*

PLUTARCH approves of *Tiberius's* *Agrarian* law, but condemns, as illegal and unjust, his deposing *Octavius*, in order to get the law enacted.

According to CICERO, and his worshippers, both ancient and modern, *Tiberius's* CAUSE was unjust: He was a seditious man, and the criminal author of that tumult in which he lost his life.

* As *Caius Gracchus* is said to have been with the army in *Spain*, when he was elected one of the *Triumvirs* for dividing the public lands, we must suppose that he was sent home upon that occasion.

Y. B. 160.
A. C. 1.
1600.

I presume not to think myself a competent judge of the matter: but, as I have not yet been able to perceive any solid foundation for charging *Tiberius* with sedition, I shall here offer, under leave of the Reader, what occurs to me, as of council for the accused.

1601.
1602.
1603.
1604.
1605.

It is beyond dispute, that the nobles had, contrary to law, possessed themselves of the lands in question. The author of certain Political * Discourses, lately published, though he takes part against *Tiberius*, does, in the fullest and strongest terms, confess the injustice done to the people.

“ The provocation given by the nobles was indeed very great, and their
“ oppressions shocking; as They were, in the face and defiance of all law
“ and compassion, possessed of all that portion of the conquered lands,
“ which was appointed for the subsistence of the poor plebeians, who
“ had earned them with their swords. The usurpers were rioting in
“ overgrown wealth, pomp, and luxury; whilst the poor *Romans*, who
“ daily exposed their lives for the safety and aggrandizing of these their
“ oppressors, by being deprived of their property, wanted bread.”

This author seems to have overlooked one article, in which the provocation given by the nobles was no less shocking than in those he has mentioned. Not content with robbing the people of their lands, they would not suffer them to earn their bread by their labour, in cultivating those lands. To make the most of their immense estates, the rich had peopled *Italy* with foreign slaves, men useless in war, and, by their numbers, dangerous in peace. So that the poor natives having no encouragement to marry, because no means to educate children, there must, in a few years, be such a diminution of the people, as would make it difficult to find *Italian* soldiers for the armies. Add to this the temptation, which a people, so oppressed and insulted, were brought under, to sell both their own and their country's liberty. Is it any wonder, that men, thus robbed and beggared by the nobles, should sell the nobles as soon as they could get money for them? In the second epistle (supposed to be from *Sallust*) to *Cæsar*, concerning the regulation of the Commonwealth, the writer ascribes the venality of the people to the wrongs they suffered.—“ Men of the low-
“ est rank, whether occupying their farms at home, or serving in the wars,
“ were amply satisfied themselves, and gave ample satisfaction to their
“ country, so long as they possessed what was sufficient to subsist them.
“ But when, being thrust out of possession of their lands by a gradual usurpation,
“ they, through indigence and idleness [having nothing to do] could no longer
“ have any fixed abodes, then they began to covet the wealth of other men,
“ and to put their own liberty and the Commonwealth to sale.”

BUT

“ Sed, ubi in paucitate expulsi agris,
“ inertia atque inopia incertas domos habere
“ integre cœpere alienas opes petere, li-
“ bertatem suam cum republica vendem
“ habere.” I insert these words of the original, because the ingenious translator,

of the fragments of *Sallust* has, as I conceive, entirely perverted, through inattention, the meaning of the author in this passage. His translation runs thus:
“ But when once they degenerated from
“ these courses; when, stripped of their in-
“ heritances

BUT though it be granted that the people had been illegally dispossessed of their lands, was it just, and, if just, expedient, to reclaim them at this time?

Y. R. 622.
Bef. Chr.
132.
310 Cont.

I know not whether prescription would, by any legislature, be allowed as a good plea for detaining a possession unquestionably usurped. *Appian* speaks of prescription and long possession in *Licinius Stolo's* time; yet this objection did not hinder the execution of his *Agrarian* law. Nor does it appear, that the nobles of *Rome* had any ground to offer the plea of prescription, when *Tiberius Gracchus* was Tribune. From a passage in the elder *Cato's* * speech to the Senate, in behalf of the *Rhedians*, one may fairly conclude, that the *LICINIAN LAW*, concerning estates, was at that time observed; or, at least, not grossly violated with impunity. "We all wish, says *Cato*, to have more than 500 acres of land: Yet we are not punished for wishing." And this was but 34 years before *Tiberius's* tribuneship. So that when *Cicero* speaks of 'possession for ages past, he seems to have no more foundation of truth, than when he calls *Nasica*, and his band of assassins, *the Republic*". The nobles had not the wealth to purchase, nor the power, by means of wealth, to usurp those large tracts of country, which they peopled with slaves; till, by the late conquests of *Macedon* and the *Carthaginian* dominions, there came a flow of riches to *Rome*. And agreeable to this is what *Sallust* says (in his history of the *Jugurthine* war) of the late birth of that distinction of the people and Senate into opposite factions. He makes it commence from the destruction of *Carthage* [about 12 years before *Tiberius's* tribuneship] and adds, that the faction of the nobles prevailing, "The commonalty were oppressed with penury and with serving in the armies, where all the plunder of the foe was purloined by the Generals, and a few grandees. Nay the parents and little children of these very soldiers were, at the same time, driven out of their rightful settlements, if they chanced but to border upon any man of sway." And this being the case, the expediency of applying, without delay, the proper remedy to an evil so dreadful, and that was every day increasing and taking deeper root, can require no words to evince it.

* 1. C. 1.
B. 1. c. 3.

Transl. of
S. H. M.
Gould,
p. 199.

I conclude therefore, both as to the right of the people's claim, and as to the reasonableness of it at this time, "That there could be nothing more just, nothing more equitable, or more conducing to mutual peace amongst fellow-citizens, and to the equality so necessary in a free state, where the overgrown riches, and consequently power of one, or a few, tend directly to the enthralling of all, than the ascertaining the

Pol. Disc.
p. 80.

"heritances through birth and poverty, they had no longer any fixed abode, &c."

autem habuit, amittit? Cic. de C. Lic. l. 2. c. 22.

* Quam autem habet aequitatem, ut agrum multi anni, aut etiam seculis ante possessum, qui nullum habent, habeat, qui

Ab ipsa republica est interfectus [*Tiberius Gracchus*.] Cic. in Brut. c. 27.

Y. B. 122.
P. 122.
122.
122.

“Agrarian Law, and restoring the unjust lands to the injured and necessitous proprietors.”

It will not, I suppose, be questioned, whether it belonged to *Tiberius*, a Tribune of the people, a defender of their rights, to attempt the cure of a disorder directly tending to the ruin of public liberty.

But did he proceed in a legal and justifiable method of curing the dangerous disease? Yes; it was by acts of the legislative authority that he sought to restore the *passed laws to their former force, and cut up among oppression by the state*. He employed no force, no bribes. There were not then in use; and, if he had employed bribes, the author of the *Discourses* assures us, that “what sounds like corruption may not be corruption; and it is not so much the act, as the characters of men that constitute it.” The same, I suppose, might be said of *force*: What sounds like force may not be force, &c. But they are both out of the present question.

See Pol.
P. 122.
122.
122.

The deposing of *Octavius* was an act of *that authority*, upon which there can be no * controul. *Cicero* justifies the like design, in a case, where the whole Senate were against the project, for the sake of which a Tribune was going to be deposed, at the motion of one of his colleagues; I mean, the project of vesting *Pompey* with an unnecessary, and most enormous power, for conducting a war against the pirates *.

I can-

* That *Cicero's* authority, with regard to party-questions, ought to be of no weight with us (unless where he makes concessions to the advantage of the opposite party) is abundantly manifest from many passages in his writings; but never does he expose his partiality more, than on some occasions, when he mentions the *Gracchi*.

In his oration for *Milo*, he speaks of *Tiberius's* deposing his Colleague *Octavius*, as a seditious act, so dangerous to the State, that the persons who slew him for it, acquired thereby an incredible deal of glory. Non Sp. *Maelum*, &c. non T. *Gracchum*, qui Collegæ Magistratum per seditionem abrogavit: quorum interfectores implerunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria. Pro *Mil.* c. 27.

The *Laws* which *Tiberius* (a person of undisputed integrity at that time) proposed, being, by their nature, *salutary Remedies for the Evils of the State*; remedies against which there was no plausible objection, but the indisposition of the patient to make use of them, the Tribune had unquestionably the appearance, at least, of aiming at a very great public good, in deposing his

Colleague. Yet, according to *Cicero*, he was deservedly slain for that act, and his murderers were heroes of the first class.

The unprecedented commission, desired for *Pompey*, had a manifest tendency to destroy all the remains of liberty and equality in the Republic: Yet, (according to the same *Cicero*) *Gabinus* (whom he sometimes inveighs against as one of the most consummate knaves of his time) was a brave and excellent Patriot, when, to carry that point, he undertook to depose his only dissentient Colleague, *Trebellius*, and (as the Orator expresses it) would not suffer the opposition of a single man to prevail against the will and voice of THE WHOLE STATE. And it is worthy to be observed that this WHOLE STATE does not include the SENATE; for the SENATE were against the *Gabinian Law*; and *Trebellius* had promised them, that he would die rather than suffer it to pass.—Vir fortis *Aulus Gabinius*, in re optima fecit omnia; neque, cum salutem populo Romano, atque omnibus gentibus finem diuturnæ captivitatis, turpitudinis et servitutis afferret, passus est plus unius Collegæ sui, quam universæ ci-

vitatis,

Chap. VII. *The ROMAN HISTORY.*

I cannot therefore but wonder at the following passages in the Discourses above quoted:

“ I dread

Vol. ix. p. 27.
De Leg. 3. 10.
319 Conf.

entatis, vocem valere et voluntatem. Cic. pro Corneli. l.

Asinius's note upon this passage is as follows.

Manifestum est de ea lege *C. rorum* nunc dicere, quâ *Cn. Pompeius* bellam ad eum piratas datum est. *L. autem Trebellius* Tribunus Plebis quem non nominat: quo perseverante intercedere (nam Senatui promiserat, moriturum se ante quam illa lex periretur) intro vocare videtur *Gabinus* cepit, ut *Trebellius* Magistratum abrogaret, sicut quendam *Tib. Gracchus* Tribunus *M. Octavius* Collegæ suo Magistratum abrogavit. Et aliquandiu *Trebellius* eâ re non preteritus aderat, peritabatque in intercessione, quod omnia magis, quam perseveraturum esse *Gabinum*, arbitrabatur. Sed postquam *X. et VII.* tribus rogationem acceperunt, et una mens esset Populi, qui supererat, ut iussum conficeret, remisit intercessionem *Trebellius*; atque ita legem *Gabinus* de piratis persequendis pertulit.

After this instance of *Cicero's* *Plowden-justice*, 'tis pleasant to observe the seriousness with which *M. Rollin*, on the present occasion, produces a sentence of *Cicero*, as if it was oracular.

“ All that *Tiberius* had done hitherto
“ (says *M. Rollin*) had at least the appearance of justice. But by an unprecedented, unheard of enterprise, to depose a Magistrate, whose person was sacred and inviolable, and this merely because he had made use of a privilege annexed to his office, was an action which immediately shocks the mind of every man. It is very obvious that *Tiberius*, thereby, entirely exalted the authority of the Tribuneship, and deprived the Commonwealth of a resource infinitely useful in times of trouble and division. For, as *Cicero* observes, *What College is so desperately mad, that, of ten persons who compose it, not one is in his right senses?* [Quod enim est tam desperatum Collegium. in quo nemo e decem sana mente sit?] Now the opposition of a single Tribune was sufficient to frustrate the evil intentions of the other nine. This Right of Opposition therefore was the

“ *Safeguard of the Republic, and Tiberius, by annihilating it, gave a mortal wound to the State.*”

It would be affronting the Reader to expose, by a long comment, the weakness of what is here said. But it should be observed,

1. That *Octavius* cannot properly be said to have been deposed, merely for making use of a privilege annexed to his office, but for traiterously abusing that privilege. It is obvious to every one, that there is no Magistrate, who may not use the privileges annexed to his office, as to make it necessary to depose him.

2. That by the words, *exalting the authority of the Tribuneship*, our reverend author cannot mean *exalting the authority of the College of Tribunes*; for that was rather strengthened and augmented by the act of deposing *Octavius*. Nor can our author, by the words *annihilating the Right of Opposition*, mean any thing more, than that the People, at the motion of *Tiberius*, made a solemn declaration (enforced by an example) against the *indestructibility* of a Tribune's right to hold his office a whole year. For that the right of a Tribune, (while a Tribune) to oppose and obstruct his Collegues measures, still remained, and was occasionally used with effect, we have not only the example, above-mentioned, of *Trebellius*, but a notable instance in the affair of *Jugurtha*, when the Tribune *Ælius* had the matchless impudence to make himself a screen to the corrupt nobles, who had sold the troops and the honour of their country to the African King. *Ælius* made use of the privilege annexed to his office to hinder the King from declaring the persons, with whom he had trafficked; though the whole assembly of the People expressed their earnest desires of a discovery. And by this instance we see in what sense we are to understand *Cicero*, when he speaks of a single Tribune's Right of Opposition to the measures of his Collegues united, as useful to the Republic. It was very useful to the Aristocratical Faction: For it would not often happen, that the College of Tribunes should be so universally honest, that not one of

See the Note in p. 525.

Vol. ix. l. 27.

De Leg. 3. 10.

Y. R. 620.
B. C. 121.
3rd Cons.

P. 79.

P. 12.

" I dread all such reformati-
" ons as are only to be effected by the ar-
" bitrary will and unaccountable humour of one man, by a power too
" not delegated, but taken. I would rather see many abuses subsist,
" than a *Cromwell*, a *Pis*, a *Cæsar*, or (if you will) a *Gracchus*,
" assuming lawless power to redress them.

" Is it not more eligible to suffer certain diseases in the body politic, even
" certain great diseases, than to attempt to remove them by an expedient,
" much more likely to destroy than to reform it; or which, if it reform
" one abuse, yet tends to introduce the most horrible of all evils and
" abuses, even tyranny and servitude? Now what is it that introduces
" this greatest of all corruptions and calamities, but the power of one
" man to do what he pleases? And was not *Tiberius Gracchus* that
" man?"

P. 12.
1st A. 10.
C. 11.

I answer, No; he was not that man. He had not the power to do
all the good he pleased; and it does not appear that he had the power
to do any public evil whatsoever. If he assumed the supreme power in effect;
if he was King for some months, as *Cicero* pretends, yet it is plain, from
the history of his tribuneship, that he had no subjects to fight for him,
and his supreme power was not a coercive one.

P. 12.
1st A. 10.
C. 11.

Doubtless it required great authority to effect so great good as *Tiberius*
had in view: " Because the evil was far spread; all the great men
" in the Commonwealth were engaged in pride and interest to support
" it, and to oppose every remedy: since what removed That, must
" reduce Them; and terribly shorten their property, their figure and
" authority."

Yet *Tiberius*, to cure this far spread evil, assumed no lawless power.
Except the legal power annexed to his office of Tribune, he had no
power but what his eminent virtue, and manifest zeal for the public
good, acquired him over the minds of the people. This indeed was great.

the ten could be corrupted. Now the opposition
of a single Tribune was sufficient to frustrate
the Good Intentions of the other Nine.

See p. 120.

It may not be improper, while I am
justifying the conduct of *Tiberius*, to take
notice of the clamour raised by the nobles,
when he stood for a second Tribuneship.
Had *Tiberius* been re-elected to that office,
it would have been just and constitutional,
though it be granted that a law was sub-
sisting against such re-election. The Ro-
mans, without repealing their laws, fre-
quently dispensed with them in the elec-
tion of magistrates. They had done it
before, within a few years, in favour of *Sci-*
pius the younger. They had a natural and
reasonable right so to do; and the Sena-
te themselves approved of such dispensing
with the laws, when they thought it for

the good of the State, or when it would
serve any purpose of their own ambition.
When, in the year of Rome 397, the *Comi-*
tia, through the influence of the Senate,
were choosing two Patricians to the Consul-
ship, in violation of the *Lex* law,
which required, that there should be al-
ways one plebeian Consul; and when the
Tribune, for that reason, opposed the
proceeding, the Interrex, who presided in
the assembly, answered, That, by a law of
the twelve Tables, whatever the people ac-
cused last, was law; and the votes of the
people were their decree. Ut quodcumque
populum populus jussisset, id jus ratum-
que esset, jussu populi et suffragia esse.
Lex. B. 7. c. 17. The Tribunes acqui-
esceded, and the two Patricians were declared
Consuls.

But,

But, surely, no power can be more lawful, more salutary to a State, or less to be dreaded. "A virtuous man can never endanger liberty nor hurt society.—Morality, with sense, is the only true standard of popularity, and the only just recommendation to it."

Now, that *Tiberius* was a virtuous man, and had morality with sense, we have the testimony of the warmest advocates for the Aristocratical faction. Both *Cicero* and *Paterculus* extol the talents and virtue of this Tribune; nor has either the one or the other of those writers any thing to object to him, but that he fell off from the honest party, he fell off from the Senate [*descivit a bonis, descivit a senatu:*] That is, he quitted the faction of the oppressors of their country, men determined to proceed in a course that was contrary to all law and compassion, and directly tended to enslave Rome.

And it seems, it was through want of wisdom that *Tiberius* persisted in the thought of humbling this imperious, oppressive faction. "*Lælius*, (says the writer of the Political Discourses) that accomplished Roman, the celebrated friend of the great *Scipio Africanus*, as virtuous and public-spirited a man as either of the *Gracchi*, and, I think, more wise, was sensibly touched with the same grievances, which so much piqued Them, and, whilst he was a Tribune of the people, conceived a design to cure them; but gave it over upon a view of its extreme difficulty and peril. Had he seen any prospect of succeeding, by methods that were not desperate and threatening to the Commonwealth, it is likely he would have pursued his intention. Surely the temptation was great to an honest and humane mind, to make the

* To what has been already mentioned (p. 521.) in proof of the high esteem, in which *Tiberius* was held, for sound judgment and integrity of heart, may be added the story concerning his intimate friend, *Blossius* of *Cuma*, as related by *Plutarch*.

After the death of the Tribune, *Blossius*, who had been one of his agents, was seized, carried before the Consuls and examined. He readily confessed that he had done whatever *Tiberius* had directed him to do.—But (says *Nasica*) what if he had ordered you to set fire to the Capitol? *Blossius* answered; *Tiberius* was not capable of giving me such an order. All present persisting to press him with the same question, he at length boldly said; If *Tiberius* had commanded me to set fire to the Capitol, I should have thought it my duty to obey him; being firmly persuaded, that he would not have given me that command but for the good of the People.

Cicero, in his discourse *de Amicitia*, makes *Lælius* relate the same story, with some difference of circumstances, representing *Blos-*

sius, not as judicially examined by the Consuls, but as privately interrogated by *Lælius*, whose protection he was come to ask. *Lælius*, upon the mention of *Blossius*'s answer (*Paruissim*) cries out, *Quid accicked anjaur!* [*Videtur quam nefaria vox.*] Yet if *Blossius* had expressed the like implicit confidence in the wisdom and virtue of *Scipio Æmilianus*, it is possible, that *Cicero* would not have inferred any thing from it to the disadvantage of *Blossius*, and would have inferred much to the advantage of *Scipio*.

2 When *Cicero* [*de Harusp. Resp. c. 20.*] imputes *Tiberius*'s forsaking the honest party to his resentment against the Senate, for their breaking the *Numantine* league, which had been negotiated by him; it seems just as candid and pertinent, as it would have been in *Catiline*, to impute the Consul's zeal, against him and his machinations, to personal hatred; because the conspirator had been *Cicero*'s competitor for the consulship.

Y. B. 1. c.
Ecl. Chr.
1. 2.
319 Conf.

P. 11.

Cic. de
Harusp.
Resp. c. 19.
Vid. Pat.
l. 2.

Pol. Dis.
p. 80.

" rich

“ rich and wanton restore the bread, which they had robbed from the
 “ poor and innocent, to cut up daring oppression by the roots, to restore
 “ the banished laws to their former force, and to establish a just and equal
 “ administration in a free Commonwealth. But he would not attempt
 “ what he foresaw no man could accomplish without making himself
 “ master of all the rest; and *particular acts of injustice*, perhaps, seemed
 “ to him more tolerable than the tyranny, that is, the power, of one over
 “ all. The *Gracchi* actually assumed and exercised that power, which,
 “ had not they been destroyed, would, in all likelihood, have destroyed
 “ the Republic.”

Liberty and the Republic are cant-words, where the bulk of a people have neither property, nor the privilege of living by their labour. Did our laws allow of any slavery in this island; and should the landed gentlemen, the proprietors of large estates, in order to make the most of them, take them out of the hands of their tenants, and import *Negroes* to cultivate the farms; so that the *British* husbandmen and labourers, far from having any encouragement to marry, had no means to subsist: Would an universal practice of this sort be called *particular acts of injustice*? And could no public-spirited, popular man attempt a cure of this evil, without being seditious, because the *evil was far spread*, and he knew, that *the great and the rich were engaged in pride and interest to support it, and to oppose every remedy*? And the case in question was much stronger than what is here put; the lands, which the poor *Romans* were not suffered to cultivate, being of right their own, and detained from them by daring usurpers and oppressors.

But, according to the writer of the Political Discourses, the future evils to be apprehended from the cure of the present, were greater than the present; because this cure *no man could accomplish, without making himself master of all the rest*: And so *Laelius* would not attempt it, because he would by no means be master of all the rest; the present evils, perhaps, seeming to him more tolerable, than his having power over all. I can hardly believe that *Laelius* was diverted, by this consideration, from attempting, when Tribune, to succour and set free, by wholesome laws, the distressed and enslaved plebeians. Is it not much more probable, that fear for his own safety, his fear of the resentment of the rich oppressors, got the better of his patriot inclinations? And perhaps his connexion with that same *Scipio Africanus*, who was so much a party-man, and had so little virtue, as to approve of his cousin's introducing armed slaves into an assembly of the legislature and murdering a Tribune, had no small influence in determining the conduct of the public-spirited man, *more wily than either of the Gracchi*.

I might here ask, how came *Laelius* to foresee so clearly, that the cure of the present evil no man could accomplish, without making himself master of all the rest? According to *Plutarch*, the men of the highest

highest reputation at *Rome*, for virtue and sound judgment, did not foresee this terrible consequence. Among these were *Mucius Scævola*¹, an eminent Civilian, and then Consul; *Appius Claudius*, President of the Senate; and *Crassus* [soon after] *Pontifex Maximus*. We do not find, that *Licinius Stolo* (a man not so virtuous as *Tiberius Gracchus*, not so pure in his motives, nor so justifiable in his proceedings) either aimed at the tyranny, or was thought to aim at it; though his adversaries might, perhaps, in passion throw out words of that import. He achieved his enterprize, and to the advantage of the public. His laws produced that union at home, which made the *Romans* so successful in their wars abroad; an union, that was never totally broke, till, by the gradual, but at length outrageous violation of his *Agrarian law*, oppression became intolerable.

Y. R. 610.
Bef. Chr.
1, 2.
319 Cons.

To the question, put by our author, “What is it that introduces this
“greatest of all corruptions and calamities [tyranny and servitude] but
“the power of *one man* to do what he pleases?” I answer, (in his own manner) The power of *a few* to do what *they* please. The rich nobles had usurped this power. And *Gracchus*’s attempt, therefore, was to overturn a power which, if not overturned, would introduce the greatest of all corruptions and calamities, tyranny and servitude. “In a free
“state—the overgrown riches, and consequently power of one, or *a*
“few, tend directly to the enthralling of all;”—and “there could
“therefore be nothing more just, nothing more equitable, or more con-
“ducing to mutual peace among fellow citizens, and to the equality so
“necessary in a free state—than the ascertaining the *Agrarian law*, and
“restoring the usurped lands to the injured and necessitous proprietors.

Pol. Disc.
p. 80.

BUT, though “the professions of the *Gracchi* were plausible; and
“the open and daring abuses of the nobility furnished them with fair
“pretences,—Who knows their intentions?”

Pol. Disc.
p. 79.

We commonly judge of men’s intentions by their known characters, their past conduct, the nature of their new undertakings, and the means they employ to accomplish them. Now, in all these respects, *Tiberius*, as we have seen, stands in the fairest light. I am not speaking of *Caius*. If the latter, from an eager desire to revenge the murder of a brother, was carried to some excesses, this affects not the present question. *Tiberius*, TO SAVE THE STATE, did some things that were out of the ordinary methods, but nothing unjustifiable, or unconstitutional. And to say, that, by procuring such benefits to the people as he proposed, he would have acquired that tyranny over them, from which the benefits themselves were a natural preservative, would not be very logical. His purpose was not

¹ *Cicero* (in Orat. pro Planc. c. 36.) would persuade us, that *Scævola* changed his opinion, and that he [who did not think, that his office of Consul authorised him to put any citizen to death, before le-

gal condemnation, yet] after *Tiberius* was killed, defended, as a just action, a private man’s taking arms for that end. But are we to believe every thing, that *Cicero* relates of party-matters?

Y. R. 612
Z. 1. 1. 1.
389 C. 1. 1.

to enrich legionary soldiers under his command and at his devotion; but to rescue the poor *Romans* from misery and oppression, raise them above all temptation to sell what yet remained of their liberty, and re-instate them in the possession of what they had lost of it. In a word, the reformations he undertook were in their own nature (as our author speaks) *conducing to that equality so necessary in a free state.*

I could wish, that a writer, who makes this concession, had told us, how that equality, so necessary in a free state, could have been preserved, or rather restored, in *Rome*, without such reformation as *Tiberius* had in view; and, if such reformations were needful for restoring such necessary equality, by what other means they could have been brought about, than by the efforts and influence of one or a few such men as *Tiberius Gracchus* (many such were never to be found living, at the same time, in any one nation of the world :) Or whether we must adhere to this maxim, That it is more eligible, to have far spread evils, abuses *directly tending to enslave a people*, subsist, than *to incur the danger of slavery*, by suffering one, or a few, virtuous, public-spirited men to *live*, if they happen to be possessed of so much authority as is necessary to accomplish the cure of those evils and abuses.

It is asserted in *the Discourses* (as we have seen) that “the *Gracchi*” “*assumed that power*, which, if they had not been destroyed, would “in all likelihood have destroyed the Republic.” I have already observed, that there appears no proof of *Tiberius’s* assuming any power: nor can I see that the power, he had, would, *in all likelihood*, have destroyed the Republic, if he himself had not been destroyed. But this, I imagine, every body must see, that the power *assumed*, by the Senate, to destroy *Tiberius*, did, *in all certainty*, destroy the Commonwealth.

And thus much the learned writer of the *Life of Cicero* has found himself obliged to allow. For though he treats both the *Gracchi* as seditious, yet he imputes the destruction of *Roman* liberty, not to their sedition, but to the measures taken by the Senate to suppress it.

D. 354.
P. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1.

“It must seem strange to observe, how those two illustrious brothers, who, of all men, were the dearest to the *Roman* people, yet “upon the first resort to arms [by the nobles,] were severally deserted “by the multitude, in the very height of their authority, and suffered “to be cruelly massacred in the face of the whole city: Which shews, “what little stress is to be laid on the assistance of the populace, when “the dispute comes to blows; and that sedition, though it may often “shake, yet will never destroy a free State, while it continues unarmed “and unsupported by a military force. But *this vigorous conduct of the “Senate, though it seemed necessary*” to the present quiet of the city, yet soon

* Not more necessary, I presume, to the present quiet of the city, than were, afterwards, *Marius’s* massacres and *Sulla’s* proscriptions, to the like quiet.

“after

“ *after proved fatal to it* ; as it taught all the ambitious, by a most sensible
 “ experiment, that there was no way of supporting an usurped authority,
 “ but by force : So that from this time, as we shall find in the following
 “ story, all those who aspired to extraordinary powers, and a domi-
 “ nion in the Republic, seldom troubled themselves with what the Senate
 “ or people were voting at *Rome*, but came attended by armies to en-
 “ force their pretensions, which were always decided by the longest sword.
 “ The popularity of the *Gracchi* was founded on the real affections
 “ of the people, gained by many extraordinary privileges and substantial
 “ benefits conferred upon them : But when force was found necessary
 “ to controul the authority of the Senate, and to support that interest,
 “ which was falsely called popular, instead of courting the multitude by
 “ real services and beneficial laws, *it was found a much shorter way, to*
 “ *corrupt them by money* ; a method wholly unknown in the times of the
 “ *Gracchi* ; by which the men of power had always a number of mer-
 “ cenaries at their devotion, ready to fill the forum at any warning, who
 “ by clamour and violence carried all before them in the public assem-
 “ blies, and *came prepared to ratify whatever was proposed to them* : this
 “ kept up the form of a legal proceeding ; while by the terror of arms,
 “ and a superior force, the great could easily support, and carry into
 “ execution, whatever votes they had once procured in their favour by
 “ faction and BRIBERY.”

Y. R. 629.
 Bef. Chr.
 319.
 319 Conf.

To this I shall only add, that it seems hard to conceive, how *that*
 BRIBERY, so fatal in its consequences, could possibly have been pre-
 vented, but by such regulations, as *Tiberius Gracchus* proposed : Regu-
 lations, which had they taken place, the ambitious would not have had
 the power they afterwards possessed, of *corrupting* ; nor the people,
 through indigence, have been tempted to barter their liberty for gold.
Tiberius doubtless foresaw, that the Commonwealth must perish, unless
 some effectual measures were taken to crush the monstrous heads of that
 oligarchy which already began to shew itself, and which, if not destroyed,
 would infallibly produce another monster, more hideous, if possible, *Mo-
 narchic Despotism*. The generous Tribune hazarded and lost his life in the
 pursuit of so glorious an enterprize ; and, if his character, his views, his
 conduct be impartially considered, I cannot imagine, but he must appear
 the most accomplished Patriot that ever *Rome* produced.

C H A P. VIII.

A brief relation of the servile war in Sicily.

After some years the slaves are quelled.

*Aristonicus, having seated himself in the throne of Pergamus, is dispossessed
 by the Romans.*

THE Consular Fasces were transferred to *P. Popillius Lænas* and
P. Rupilius. *Rome* had now no war abroad to sustain, but
 Z z z z

Y. R. 627.
 Bef. Chr.
 311.
 320 Conf.

against

Y. R. 621.
Bef. Chr.
131.
320 Conf.

Diod. Sicul.
in E-log.
B. 34.
F. 102, B.
3. c. 13.

against the revolted slaves in *Sicily*; a war which had already lasted some years, and was kindled upon the following occasion. The best estates in that country were in the hands of some rich men of the natives, and of the *Roman* knights (those opulent publicans) who, finding their account more in employing slaves, than husbandmen of free condition, to cultivate the farms, had transported such multitudes of slaves thither, that the island swarmed with them. The ill treatment these wretches suffered from their masters, who scarce allowed them necessary food or raiment, put them upon seeking, by rapine, what was needful for the support of life. They frequently went out in gangs, plundered villages, and exercised all kinds of violence. The several Prætors, successively sent from *Rome* into the island, had, out of fear of the masters to whom the slaves belonged, neglected doing any thing effectual to remedy these disorders: For the *Roman* knights were a powerful body, whom it was dangerous to disoblige. Impunity naturally increased the mischief; the slaves grew daily more licentious; and their going out in bands, to rob, gave them an opportunity of forming plots to deliver themselves from the yoke of servitude.

It happened that one *Antigenes*, a *Sicilian*, had a *Syrian* slave, named *Eunus*, a man of spirit, and who had a particular talent for imposing on the multitude. He pretended to have, by dreams and sensible apparitions, intercourse with the Gods. By breathing flames out of his mouth, and a variety of other juggling tricks, he got at length into such vogue as to pass for an oracle. Whole crouds came to him, to be told their fortunes. As to himself, he constantly published that his destiny was to be a King. His master, diverted with this whim, used frequently, when at table, to question him concerning his future royalty, and the manner in which he would treat each of the guests then present. According to his different answers, some insulted him, others sent him meat from the table, craving his future protection, when he should be upon his throne. The jest proved serious in the event, as we shall presently see, and *Eunus* did not forget the different treatment he had met with from his master's guests.

Among those who repaired to this prophet for advice, there came at length the slaves of one *Damophilus* of *Enna*, a man of a brutal character, and who had a wife no less inhuman. Cruelly treated by both, the slaves had formed a plot to murder both. However, before they proceeded to action, they thought it adviseable to ask the oracle of the country, Whether the Gods would prosper them in an enterprize they were meditating? *Eunus* answered, That whatever were their project, it was agreeable to the Gods, and would infallibly succeed, provided they did not defer the execution. The slaves, thereupon, to the number of 400, armed with forks and scythes, and other rustic weapons, assembled themselves in all haste, put *Eunus* at their head, and straight marched to *Enna*; where, being joined by the slaves of the town, they massacred

massacred the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, and plundered the houses. As for *Damophilus*, *Eunus*, to try him in form, erected, in the public theatre, a court of judicature, where he himself presided. Some of those slaves, whom the prisoner had treated barbarously, made themselves the accusers; and the multitude was judge. *Damophilus* pleaded earnestly for himself, and moved many to compassion; but *Hermias* and *Zeuxis*, two slaves, more spirited with revenge, and more audacious than the rest, approaching the accused, one of them, without farther ceremony, ran him through with a sword, and the other cut off his head with an ax. And now *Eunus* was elected king, not for his valour or skill in martial affairs, but on account of his pretended inspirations. He began his reign by putting to death all the prisoners, except such as could make arms, and those of his master's acquaintance who had used him civilly. He also gave up *Damophilus's* wife, *Megallis*, into the hands of her women slaves, who, when they had whipped and otherways tormented her as much as they pleased, threw her head-long down a precipice: But as for her daughter, who had always disapproved the barbarity of her parents, and shewed great compassion to the slaves, they treated her with all imaginable respect and tenderness, and conveyed her safely to *Catana*, where they delivered her into the care of some of her relations. *Eunus* with his own hands slew *Pytho* and *Antigenes*, the two masters he had successively served. After which, putting the regal circle on his head, and assuming the other ornaments of sovereignty, he took the name of *Antiochus*, and called his followers *Syrians*. His next affair was to establish a form of government among his subjects. He chose out some of the ablest men to be his council, and gave the command of his troops to an *Achaean*, an old soldier, who by his bravery and experience was qualified to command a better army. In three days, his followers increasing to more than 6000 men, he commenced his military expeditions. It was in the year of *Rome* 615, that this tumult began, *Didius* being then Prætor of *Sicily*. In 616, *Manilius*, who succeeded him, was defeated by the rebels, and his camp plundered. The like misfortune happened to *P. Cornelius Lentulus* in 617; and in 618, when *Calpurnius Piso* was Prætor, *Eunus* had still the advantage over the *Romans*. Three Prætors, thus vanquished successively by the slaves, struck a terror throughout the whole island. *Eunus's* army grew daily more numerous. *Cleon*, a *Cilician* slave, had taken it into his head to imitate him; and, having got together 5000 slaves, had pillaged *Agrigentum*, and the territory about it. It was hoped at first, that these two leaders would be competitors for dominion, and destroy one another; but, contrary to all men's expectations, they joined forces, and *Cleon* served as General under *Eunus*.

The *Roman* affairs were in this bad situation, when the Prætor *Plautius Hypsæus*, in the year 619, came into *Sicily*, to restore them. Far from succeeding, he suffered a total defeat by the rebels; whose army, after

Y. R. 621.
Bef. Chr.
131.
320 Conf.

Flor. B. 34
c. 9.

Died.
Sicul.
Eclog. B.
34.

Y. R. 619.
B. 1. c. 1.
310 C. 1.

after this victory, augmented to near 200,000 men, they ravaged the whole country, and took many cities.

O. 1. 3.
C. 1.

Y. R. 620.
B. 1. c. 1.
311 C. 1.

The example of the slaves in Sicily infected those in *Italy* and *Greece*, and occasioned insurrections there. These, however, were easily quelled. To reduce King *Antiochus* and his *Syrians*, the Senate, in the year 619, thought it expedient to send a Consular army, under the command of *Julius*, the colleague of *Scipio*. What fortune *Fulcius* had the Historians have not told us. His successor, *Calpurnius Piso*, one of the Consuls for the year 620, having first restored discipline, that was much relaxed among the troops, overthrew the slaves before *Messana*, to which they had laid siege: Eight thousand of them perished in the action, and the prisoners were all crucified. Notwithstanding this victory, the war continued, till *Rupilius*, one of the Consuls of the present year 621, had the command of the *Roman* forces. After his arrival in the island, he successively laid siege to *Taurromenium* and *Enna*, the strongest places in the possession of the slaves. Both were betrayed into his hands. Twenty thousand of the rebels are said to have been cut off. *Ennus*, with 500 of his guards, escaped from *Enna*, and took refuge in a steep rocky place. Being there invested by the *Romans*, and having no hope to escape, the 500 slew one another, to avoid a more painful death. King *Ennus* hid himself in a cave, whence he was quickly dragged out, together with his cook, his baker, the man that used to rub him when he bathed, and a buffoon, whose business had been to divert him at his meals. *Rupilius* sent him in chains to *Murgentia*; where, consumed with vermin, he miserably ended his days in prison.

Y. R. 622.
B. 1. c. 1.
312 C. 1.

Y. R. 623.
B. 1. c. 1.

Y. R. 624.
B. 1. c. 1.

THIS rebellion was no sooner suppressed, than the Republic entered upon a new war in *Asia*, to make good her claim to the country of *Pergamus*; a claim founded, as we have before observed, on the testament of *Attalus Philometer*. *Arifonicus*, a bastard brother of *Attalus*, assisted by the *Tbracians* from the other side of the *Bosphorus*, as likewise by a strong party of the *Pergamenians*, had got possession of the throne; and, to dispossess him, it was thought, at *Rome*, that no less than a Consular army would be requisite. But now a warm dispute arose between the Consuls, *P. Licinius Crassus* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, for the honour of commanding in this expedition. *Crassus*, in virtue of his authority as *Pontifex Maximus*, subjected his colleague, who was *Flamen*, or priest of *Mars*, to a fine, in case he left his priestly functions. On the other hand, *Valerius* pretended, that a *Supreme Pontif* was, by his office, incapable of commanding an army out of *Italy*: And indeed there had been hitherto no example of it. The decision of the affair devolved at length upon the people; and then a third party appeared in favour of *Scipio Africanus*, lately arrived from *Spain*. *Crassus* carried his point. *Scipio* had for him the votes of only two tribes; and these were, perhaps, more than he had reason to expect, considering he

was

was now but a private man, and the people, in general, not well affected to him: For it was publicly known, that, when at *Numantia* he received the news of *Tiberius's* death, he repeated a line out of *Homer* to this effect:

Y. R. 622.
B. f. Chr.
110.
321 Conf.

Plato in
Graco.

So perish all who imitate his crimes ^b.

He soon confirmed the multitude in their dislike to him. *C. Papirius Carbo*, a bold man and a great orator, but of no character for virtue, was at this time in the tribuneship, and warmly espoused the cause of the people against the nobles. One day, in a public assembly, he called to *Scipio*, and asked him, What he thought of the death of *Tiberius*? meaning probably, by this question, to draw an answer from him that would hurt his credit, either with the Senate or the people. *Scipio*, without hesitation, declared, that, in his opinion, *Tiberius* was justly slain. And, when the multitude let him know their displeasure by a loud cry, he boldly returned, "Cease your noise: Do you think, by your clamour, to frighten *me*, who am used, unterrified, to hear the shouts of embattled enemies?"

Cic. pro
Milon. c.
3. & de
Orat. L.
2. c. 25.
Vell. Pat.
B. 2.
Val. Max.
B. 6. c. 2.
§. 3.
* See p.
511.

THE law, formerly mentioned *, enacting, that the people should vote by tablets, in making and repealing laws, was now obtained by this *Carbo*. He offered another, importing, that the same person might be re-elected to the tribuneship, as often as the people pleased. The party of the nobles, in opposing this, employed their whole credit; and the eloquence of *Scipio* and his friend *Laelius*, thus assisted, prevailed against that of *C. Gracchus* and *Carbo*.

This year the Comitia, for the first time, chose both the Censors out of the plebeian order: They were *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus* and *Q. Pompeius*. That the Roman people might increase and multiply, *Metellus* published a Censoral edict, recommending marriage; and on that subject, made a speech, of which *A. Gellius* has preserved two fragments, but ascribes them to *Metellus Numidicus*.

Liv. Epit.
L. 59.
A. Gell. L.
2. c. 6.

"If, *Romans*, the race of men could be preserved without wives, we should all spare ourselves the trouble of them: but since nature has so ordered it, that there is no living comfortably with them, nor living at all without them, we ought to have more regard to the welfare and perpetuity of the Republic, than to the ease of a life that is of so short duration."

Speaking of the corruption of manners, "The immortal Gods are powerful; but we have no right to expect, they should be more indulgent to us than are our parents. Now, if we persist in evil courses, our parents disinherit us. What then have we to hope from the Gods, if we do not put an end to our extravagancies? Those

^b Ὁ δὲ ἀπελόγετο ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔτι; τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐξέζη. Odyss. L. 1. l. 47.

"only."

Y. R. 622.
Bef. Chr.
123.
321 Cons.

P. Oros. B.
5. c. 12.
Justin. B.
36. c. 4.
Festus.
Strabo. B.
4. c. 5. §.
16.
Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 2.
§. 12.
Flor. B. 2.
c. 20.
Y. R. 623.
Bef. Chr.
123.
322 Cons.

Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 4.
§. 1.
Justin. B.
36. c. 4.
Oros. B. 3.
c. 12.

Plin. H. N.
Nat. B. 7.
c. 44.

Varro. ap.
A. Gell.
L. 14. c.
2.

• Dr. Mead.
Life of Cic.
v. p. 57.
— 74.

“ only, who are not enemies to themselves, have a title to their favour.
“ It is the part of the Gods to reward virtue, not to give it.”

WE left the Consul *Craſſus* juſt appointed to conduct an expedition into the *East*. He entered the territories of *Pergamus* at the head of a powerful army, ſtrengthened by auxiliaries from *Mithridates* King of *Pontus* (father of the famous King of that name) and from the Kings of *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Paphlagonia*. According to *Juſtin*, the Roman General was more intent on plundering the country, than gaining a victory. Towards the end of the year, being on a march, he was attacked by the enemy, his whole army routed, and he himſelf taken priſoner: Yet he avoided the diſgrace of ſlavery, being killed by a *Thracian* ſoldier, whom he purpoſely provoked by thruſting a rod into his eye^b.

In the appointment of Conſuls for the new year, the choice fell upon *C. Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Perperna*; the latter (if we may believe *Valerius Maximus*) not a Roman citizen at the time of his election. *Perperna* being commiſſioned to proſecute the war againſt the King of *Pergamus*, vanquiſhed him in the field, and afterwards took him priſoner in *Stratonice*, where he had ſhut himſelf up. The Conſul put the treaſures of *Attalus*, together with *Ariſtonicus*, on board the fleet, to be conveyed to *Rome*; but, dying ſoon after in *Aſia*, left to his ſucceſſor the honour of leading the captive in triumph.

ATINIUS LABEO, one of the Tribunes of this year, to revenge himſelf on the Cenſor *Metellus Macedonicus*, who (according to *Pliny*) had expelled him the Senate, made a moſt outrageous attempt upon his life. As the Cenſor was returning home from the *Campus Martius* at noon-day, the ſtreets of *Rome* empty of people, the Tribune cauſed him to be ſeized, and was dragging him away, to throw him headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, when another of the Tribunes, at the requeſt of *Metellus's* ſons, came and reſcued him. *Atinius* nevertheless conſecrated to *Ceres* the eſtate of *Metellus*, and thereby reduced him to live upon the bounty of others.

The ſame *Atinius* got a law paſſed, that the Tribunes of the people ſhould be Senators, which they were not before this time, though they had a right of convening the Senate^c. *M. Aquili-*

^a *Strabo* reports that *Craſſus* was ſlain in battle.

^c Nam et tribunes plebis ſenatus habendi jus erat, quamquam SENATORS non eſſent, ante *Atinium Plebeſcitum*.

What is meant here by the word SENATORS I cannot pretend to ſay. According to the learned writer of the *History of the life of Cicero*^d, it ſhould mean complete Senators, like thoſe that were enrolled in the Cenſorial liſt. For he ſuppoſes, that the Quaſtorſhip was the firſt ſtep in the le-

gal aſcent and gradation of public honours, and the office of Tribune or *Ædile* the next, and that the Quaſtorſhip gave an immediate right to the Senate, and, after the expiration of the office, an actual admission into it during life. He adds: “ And though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, none were held to be complete Senators till they were enrolled at the next Luſtrum, in the liſt of the Cenſors, yet that was only a matter of form, and what could not be denied to them, unleſs for the charge “ and

M. Aquilius, raised to the Consulship with *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, finished the reduction of *Pergamus*, by the basest methods. He poisoned the springs from which the towns that held out against him were supplied with water. Yet the *Romans* not only continued him in the government of *Pergamus* three years after the expiration of his Consulship, but suffered him, when he came home, to triumph for his exploits.

Before his return, the Senate nominated ten commissioners, of whom *Aquilius* was chief, to reduce the kingdom into the form of a province; and, by way of recompence for the services of *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, who lost his life in the war, bestowed on his children, *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*: and *Appian* says, that *Aquilius* sold the *Greater Phrygia* to *Mithridates* for a sum of money, but that the Senate afterwards annulled the bargain. Be that as it will, it was not long before the Republic claimed, as her own, *Ionis*, *Eolis*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, *Doris*, *Lycaonia*, *Pisidia*, and the two *Phrygia's*; and the whole, including *Perga-*

V. R. 624.
Bel. Chr.
128.
323 Conf.

Justin. B.
37. c. 3.
App. de
Bell. Mithr.
lib. 1. p. 177.

“ and notoriety of some crime, for which
“ every other Senator was equally liable to
“ be degraded. These *Quæstors*, therefore,
“ chosen annually by the people, were
“ the regular and ordinary supply of the va-
“ cancies of the Senate, which consisted at
“ this time of about five hundred: by
“ which excellent institution, the way to
“ the highest order in the State was laid
“ open to the virtue and industry of every
“ private citizen; and the dignity of this
“ sovereign council maintained by a suc-
“ cession of members, whose distinguished
“ merit had first recommended them to
“ the notice and favour of their country-
“ men.”

The learned writer, in support of what is here said, gives, in the margin, the following passages from *Cicero*: *Quæstura primus gradus honoris*—[in *Verr. Act* 1. 4.] *Populum Romanum, cujus honoribus in amplissimo concilio, et in altissimo gradu dignitatis, atque in hac omnium terrarum arce collocati sumus. [Post red. ad Sen. 1.] Ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut concilium senatus reip. proponerent sempiternum; deligerentur autem in id concilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industriæ ac virtuti pateret, Pro Sext. 65.*

That from *Sylla's* dictatorship to the time of *Cicero's* Quæstorship (a short period of six or seven years) the *Quæstors* were the regular and ordinary supply of the va-

cancies of the Senate (though, perhaps, it cannot be proved) may well enough be imagined; because the *Quæstors*, chosen annually, were then twenty in number. But it plainly appears from the words immediately preceding those which are quoted from *Cic. pro Sext.* that the passage refers to the times before *Sylla*, and even to the earliest times of the Republic. *Majores nostri, cum regum potestatem non tulissent, ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, &c.* Now the number of *Quæstors*, annually chosen, was, to the year of *Rome* 333, only two; from that time to 488, but four; and thence to *Sylla's* dictatorship, (in 672.) did not exceed eight; which last and largest number, if sufficient to supply the vacancies of a Senate consisting of 300 members, (many of whom serving in the wars, some must be supposed to perish in battle) yet certainly could not be sufficient to furnish annually ten new *Tribunes* and four new *Ædiles*. Of these fourteen magistrates, who are all supposed, by the learned historian, to have places in the Senate, six must every year, taking one year with another, obtain their magistracies, and rise to the Senate, without passing through the office of *Quæstor*.

That in all the ages of the Republic the *magistrates, chosen annually*, were the ordinary supply of the vacancies in the Senate, seems highly probable from the passages quoted by the learned historian, and from many other. See *Cic. pro Rab. c. 7. & pro Cluent. c. 56.*

mas, was called the Province of *Asia*. From this conquest arose that perpetual commerce of *Rome* with the *Asiatics*; and hence that excess of luxury, and that refinement in vice, which completed the corruption of *Roman* manners.

C H A P. IX.

The measures taken by the Senate to hinder the execution of the Agrarian law. The death of Scipio Africanus.

Caius Gracchus executes the office of Quæstor with applause. He is raised to the Tribuneship. He procures several laws in favour of the people.

The Romans possess themselves of Majorca and Minorca; and subdue a Nation of the Transalpine Gauls.

T. R. 624.
Bef. Chr.
123
324 Cons.

OF the three Commissioners, for resuming and dividing the public lands, *P. Crassus* and *Appius Claudius* were now dead. In the place of these, the people elected *Papirius Carbo* and *Fulvius Flaccus*, men of no probity, and of very turbulent dispositions. *Appian* tells us, that when the *Triumvirs* attempted to put in execution the *Agrarian* law, numberless disputes arose concerning the boundaries of estates, and the titles of the possessors; that many of the *Italians*, finding themselves aggrieved by the judgments given in these causes, had recourse to *Scipio Africanus*, and begged his protection; and that *Scipio*, though he durst not act any thing directly against the law of *Tiberius*, yet engaged the Senate to take from the *Triumvirs*, as biassed and partial judges, the cognizance of those disputes. The Fathers assigned it to the Consul *Sempronius Tuditanus*: But he, perceiving how difficult a province he should have to manage, left the city very soon, pretending that his presence was necessary in *Iapidia*, a canton of *Illyricum*, whither he had been before commissioned to go, on account of a rebellion in that country.

By his absence all those law-suits remained undecided; and consequently the functions of the *Triumvirs* were suspended: A disappointment to the people, which exceedingly provoked them against *Scipio*, the author of it. They reproached him, that, though contrary to the laws, they had twice raised him to the Consulship, he was not ashamed of appearing among their greatest enemies.

Cic. de
Senn.
Scipion.

Id. de
Amic. c. 3.

It is thought, and with good reason, that *Scipio* aspired to the Dictatorship, and that the *Conscript Fathers* intended to raise him to that supreme dignity, in order to settle the State; [in other words, to crush, by the weight of an absolute and uncontrollable power, all those men, good and bad, who espoused the cause of the injured people, against their oppressors.] He was, at this time, so great a favourite with the Senate, that one day

day the whole body of them, followed by a croud of *Latins* and other *Italians*, conducted him home from the Senate-house.

Y. R. 624.
Bef. Chr.
123.
323 Conf.

Next morning he was found dead in his bed, “*without any appearance of a wound*, says *Appian*: Whether it were that *Cornelia*, the mother of the *Gracchi*, in concert with her daughter *Sempronia*, the wife of *Scipio*, (who, because she was barren and not handsome, did not love her, and who was not beloved by her) had *poisoned him*, lest he should get the *Agrarian* law repealed: Or whether it were, as some think, that *he killed himself*, because he found, he could not accomplish what he had undertaken. There are others (adds the same Historian) who say, that his slaves, being put to the torture, confessed, That certain *persons unknown*, who were admitted into the house by a back door, had *strangled him*; and that, as for themselves, they had not dared to discover this murder, because they knew that the People, hating *Scipio*, rejoiced at his death.”

Cicero, in one part of his writings, introduces the orator *Crassus* accusing *Carbo* of being an accomplice in the murder: And, in another part, represents *Lælius* as at a loss to say what death *Scipio* died.

De Orat.
B. 2. c. 40.
De Amic.
c. 3.

Plutarch tells us, “That it was thought there appeared, on the dead body, some marks of blows and violence: That most people openly accused *Fulvius*, *Scipio*’s declared enemy, and who, the day before, had, from the *Rostra*, broke out into bitter railings against him: That there was some suspicion even of *Caius Gracchus*: And that the People, for fear he should be found guilty, would not suffer any enquiry into the matter.”

“No inquisition was made (says *Velleius Paterculus*) concerning the death of so great a man; and he, by whose exploits *Rome* had raised her head above all the world, was carried to his funeral with his head covered^d. Whether HE DIED A NATURAL DEATH, AS MANY AU-

L. 2. c. 4i

“ THORS

^d The writer of the *Lives of Illustrious Men* will have it, that *Scipio*’s head was covered, to hinder the livid spots in his face from being seen. But if, as we learn from *Cicero* (*pro Muren.* c. 36.) and *Valerius Maximus*, (L. 7. c. 5. §. 1.) *Fabius* and *Tubero*, the nephews of *Scipio*, had the care of his funeral, is it hard to account for their causing his head to be covered, unless it were a trick, to hinder people from seeing that there were no marks of violence upon it, and consequently no ground for the calumnies industriously propagated.

From the variety of reports about the violence done to *Scipio*, and about the authors of it, it seems most probable, that prejudice and party-spirit invented the whole, and that *he truly died a natural death*; which,

according to *Velleius Paterculus*, was the opinion of many authors.

The writer of the *Political Discourses*, prefixed to the new translation of *Sallust*, tells us, (p. 14.) that “*Caius Gracchus*—observed a scandalous neutrality and silence upon an enquiry into the death of *Scipio*, his brother-in-law.” But, surely *Caius* was the last man, from whom it could be reasonably expected, that he should give himself much trouble to discover, whether *Scipio* was poisoned or hanged; a man who had publicly declared his approbation of the murder of his brother-in-law, *Caius*’s own brother, *Tiberius*. And, as to *Caius*’s clearing himself from suspicion, he would have sinned against the dignity of his own character, had he supposed, that any body could

“THOSE HAVE DELIVERED, or by treachery, as some have reported,
 “ [i.e. *ut puer, seu constanti infideli, ut aliqui prodidere me-*
 “ *moræ, mortem obiit, &c.*] certain it is, that the glory of his life was
 “ never surpassed but by that of his grandfather, the first *Africanus*. The
 “ second finished his days in the 56th year of his age.”

He was doubtless a man of letters, wit, and politeness; a fine gentleman; not only free from avarice, but noble and generous in money-

could sincerely believe him capable of assassinating a man in his sleep.

I cannot but observe here, how easily M. Rollin (prejudiced against the popular cause and its patrons) not only gives up *Cains Gracchus*, and his sister *Sempronia*, as concerned in the assassination of her husband, *Scipio*, but involves likewise *Cornelia* in the guilt.

“It is *not to be doubted* (says M. Rollin) but this murder was committed by the faction of the *Gracchi*; and it is hard not to believe, that *Cains* had a hand in it, seeing all those with whom he had the closest connection were *suspected*. *Plutarch* says expressly, that *Fulcius* was *suspected*. *Pompey* thought, that *Carbo* was certainly guilty. *Sempronia*, sister of the *Gracchi* and wife of *Scipio*, is *charged* [i. e. reported to have been suspected] “in the *Epitome* of *Livy* and by *Orosius*; and *Appian* makes her mother *Cornelia* an accomplice with her in the murder.” [i. e. *Appian* speaks of such a rumour, but at the same time tells us, that some were of opinion, that *Scipio* killed himself.]

“From the *testimonies* of these different authors it *results*, that *Sempronia*, readily *concurring to the suggestions of Cornelia* and the *Triumvirs*, either *poisoned her husband*, or *brought into the House, night, a dagger, who strangled him.*”

It will appear the more extraordinary that M. Rollin should by such *testimonies* be persuaded, beyond all doubt, of the guilt of *Cornelia*, if we turn to what he says of her, in other parts of his *Roman history*. [*Plutarch* is his voucher.]

“*Cornelia*, after the death of her husband, (who left her 12 children) applied herself to the care of her family with a wisdom and prudence that acquired her great esteem. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* (it must have been *Ptolemy Ptolemy*) would have shared his crown with her, and sent to ask her in marriage; but she refused him. Certainly he would have been a husband very unworthy of so accomplished a person.”

She had all her children, except one daughter, *Sempronia*, whom she married to *Scipio Africanus*; and two sons, *Tiberius* and *Cains*, whom she educated with so much care, that tho’ they were generally known to be young men of excellent natural parts and dispositions, yet it was thought, that they owed still more to education than to nature.

“The body of *Cains*—was carried to *Milvum*, whither *Cornelia* had retired after the death of *Tiberius*. She there passed the remainder of her days, in a country house, without changing any thing in her manner of living. Her extraordinary merit drew constantly a good deal of company about her, men of letters, and men of the first rank in the commonwealth. She charmed all her visitors when she related the particulars of her father’s life, and described his manner of living. But they were filled with admiration, when, without shedding a tear, or shewing any sign of grief, she gave the history of all that her sons had done and suffered, as if she had been speaking of persons indifferent to her. When she mentioned the *Sanctuaries* where they had been slain, she used to say, *They were Tombs worthy of the Gracchi*. This firmness of soul seemed so extraordinary to some, that they imagined her understanding impaired by years, and the weight of her adversities. Senseless judges! (says *Plutarch*) ignorant, how much an excellent natural temper, and a good education, can exalt the soul above fortune, and enable it to triumph over sorrow.”

This accomplished lady, this excellent mother, so admirably skilled in the art of educating children, this elevated soul, so universally esteemed and revered to the end of her life, is the person of whom Mr. Rollin entertains no doubt, *That she prompted and persuaded her daughter either to poison her husband, or to introduce assassins, by night, into the house, to strangle him.*

affairs;

affairs; and, though his exploits in war are not very striking, a brave and able Commander. As for *Cicero's* extravagant praises of him, they may well be considered as the language of one party zealot extolling another of the same party. There needs no better proof of *Cicero's* being determined, at any rate, to make him a hero of the first class, than his representing the war with the *Numantines*, as a contest whether *Rome* should *exist* or not; and his comparing *Scipio's* victory over *them* with *Marius's* victory over the *Cimbri*.*

SEMPRONIUS the Consul was defeated in his first battle with the *Iapudians*; but, in a second, he obtained so complete a victory, as to be rewarded with a triumph.

THE YEAR 625, (*Cn. Octavius* and *T. Annius Luscus* Consuls) proved a year of tranquillity, both at home and abroad; nor was the following Consulate of *L. Cassius Longinus* and *L. Cornelius Cinna* remarkable for any thing but the complaisance of the *Romans* for a people in their alliance. The Senate had ordered *Phocæa*, a city of *Asia*, to be rased; because the inhabitants had given assistance to *Aristonicus*. These, in their distress, had recourse to the mediation of the *Massilienses*†, who came originally from *Phocæa*, and still preserved the language, and the form of government their ancestors brought from thence: And as the *Massilienses* had signalised their invariable attachment to *Rome* in doubtful times, as well as in those of her greatest prosperity, they had credit enough with the Senate, to get the sentence against the *Phocæans* reversed.

The next year, when the Consular Fasces were transferred to *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Aurelius Orestes*, *Caius Gracchus* was chosen Quæstor‡, and appointed to serve under *Aurelius*, who had commission to pass with an army into *Sardinia*, on account of a rebellion in that island.

Caius, whilst a candidate for the Quæstorship, dreamt one night, that his brother *Tiberius* appeared to him, and said, *You may linger, Caius, and recoil, as much as you please; but you must die the same death with mine; there is no avoiding it*§. *Cicero* firmly believes that *Caius's* dream was a revelation of what was to happen to him; and *Plutarch* urges the same dream, as a proof that he entered into public life, rather by fatality than choice.

* Sic cum *Celtiberis*, cum *Cimbris* bellum, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret. *Cic. de Off.* 1. 12. See *Orat. pro Manil.* c. 20. & *pro Muren.* c. 28.

† The people of *Marseilles*.

‡ *Plutarch* reports, that *Caius*, soon after the death of his brother, began to absent himself from the assemblies of the People, and to live a private life, as a man entirely discouraged from meddling with public affairs. This retreat however (if it can at all be reconciled with his commission of Triumvir) did not last long. For the very next year (as we have seen) he was busy in assisting *Cicero* to get his law passed concerning the

re-election of Tribunes. And, that in a public pleading he defended a friend of his, named *Vettius*, with an eloquence that astonished and transported the People, we have the authority of the same historian. And, as we shall presently find that *Caius*, in the year before his first Tribuneship, and when he was but 29 years of age, had made 12 campaigns, it is evident he could not have spent a great deal of time in retirement.

§ Quam vellet cunctaretur, tamen eodem sibi leto, quo ipse interisset, esse perendum—quo somnio quid invenire potest certius?

Liv. Epit.
B. 59.

Y. R. 625.
Ref. Chr.
127.
324 Conf.

Y. R. 626.
Ref. Chr.
128.
325 Conf.

Justin. B.
37. c. 1.

Y. R. 629.
Ref. Chr.
125.
326 Conf.

Liv. Epit.
B. 60.

Divin. L. 1.
c. 26.

V. R. 629.
B. 60.
Vell. Pat.
L. 2.
Jul. Oel.
c. 90.
Chr. de In-
vert. L. 2.
c. 34.

The Quæstor, after his arrival in *Sardinia*, not only signalized his bravery on all occasions, but greatly distinguished himself by his simplicity of manners, temperance, justice, humanity, diligence in the execution of his office, observance of discipline, affection and respect for his General.

It happened to be a hard winter, and very unhealthy. *Aurelius* wanting clothes for his troops, and having demanded of several cities in the island, to supply him, these by deputies dispatched to the Senate, begged to be discharged from that burthenome imposition. The Fathers complied, and ordered the General to find some other way to clothe his army. While he was at a loss what course to take, for relieving the soldiers, who suffered extremely, the Quæstor, of his own motion, made a progress through *Sardinia*, and prevailed with the cities voluntarily to furnish the Romans with what they wanted.

The news of this great service, by *Caius* performed, and which could not fail to gain him the affections of the People at *Rome*, caused much uneasiness to the Senate. About the same time arrived from *Micipsa*, King of *Numidia*, certain ambassadors, who signified to the Fathers, that the King, out of his particular regard for *Caius Gracchus*, was sending to the Roman General in *Sardinia*, a considerable supply of corn: a declaration which so provoked their anger, that after many opprobrious words, they drove the ambassadors out of the assembly.

V. R. 629.
B. 60.
Vell. Pat.
L. 2.
Jul. Oel.
c. 90.
Chr. de In-
vert. L. 2.
c. 34.

The Senate received a new mortification, when, at the next election of Consuls, one of their most inveterate enemies was raised to that dignity. With *M. Plautius Hypsæus* the Comitia joined *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, the associate of *Gracchus* and *Carbo* in the commission for resumming and dividing the usurped lands. *Fulvius* proposed two laws to the Comitia; the first, *That the right of Roman citizenship should be granted to the Italian allies*: The second, *That, if a dispute arose with regard to any man's claim, in consequence of the first law, the claimant should have the right of appeal to the people*. Some of the Senators admonished the Consul, others entreated him, to desist from a project that would put the subjects of *Rome* upon an equality with her citizens. He did not deign to give them any answer. However, he dropt the affair for the sake of going upon an expedition to assist the people of *Marseilles* against the *Saluvii*^b, who had ravaged their territory.

Lib. Ept.
B. 60.
Vell. Pat.
L. 2.
Jul. Oel.
c. 90.
Chr. de In-
vert. L. 2.
c. 34.

About this time was discovered a plot, formed by the people of *Fregeille* (a town not far from the *Liris*) to throw off the yoke of the Republic. *Numitorius Pullus*, one of the chiefs of the conspiracy, betrayed his associates. And when *L. Opimius*, the Prætor, came from *Rome* with an army to besiege the place, the same *Numitorius* contrived to have it delivered into his hands. *Opimius* rased it to the ground; and this severity is said to have deterred many other *Italian* towns from breaking

^b Sometimes called *Salvii*; a people near *Aix* in *Provence*.

out into rebellion, to which, provoked by their disappointment in relation to the freedom of *Rome*, they were now strongly inclined¹.

In the beginning of the Consulship of *C. Cassius Longinus* and *C. Sextius Calvinus*, the Senate recalled the army of *Aurelius* from *Sardinia*, and sent new levies thither, to be commanded by the same General. The reason for continuing *Aurelius* in the island, was to detain *Caius Gracchus* there, who, they imagined, would not leave him: But *Caius* no sooner perceived the design, than he embarked for *Italy*. When, contrary to the public expectation, he appeared at *Rome*, he was blamed not only by his enemies, but by the people themselves, who thought it very strange that a Quæstor should return home before his General. Being cited to answer before the Censors, for this misdemeanour, he, in his defence, represented, that, though not obliged to serve more than ten campaigns, he had served twelve; and that he had staid in the province above two years, though, by law, a Quæstor might come home at the end of one year. His plea was allowed.

Aulus Gellius has given us some parts of an oration, which *Caius* made to an assembly of the People, soon after his return from *Sardinia*.——

“ In the discharge of my office, I have always pursued what, I thought, your interest required, not any views of my own ambition. I gave no splendid entertainments, nor was I served by handsome boys. Your children were as sober and decent at my table, as when in the presence of their officers in the camp. If any prostitute has entered my house, or any man’s slave been enticed by me, let me be esteemed the most profligate and most contemptible of mankind.——I have been above two years in the province, yet no man can say with truth, that I ever received even the smallest present from him, or that he was at any expence on my account. When I returned to *Rome*, my purse, which I had carried out full, I brought back empty; whereas others having carried, into the province, vessels, full of wine, have brought them back full of money.”

The enemies of *Caius*, not succeeding in their first attempt to hurt his credit, made a second, by a charge against him of having excited the *Italians* to revolt, and particularly those of *Fregellæ*, whom *Opimius* had so severely punished. The accused easily cleared himself from this imputation; and his character remaining without a blemish, he was chosen Tribune for the next year, (the Consulship of *Q. Cecilius Metellus* and

¹ It is reported *, that this year a violent east wind brought such a cloud of locusts, that the coast of *Africa* was quite covered with them. They devoured all sorts of grain to the very roots, and did not spare the hardest barks of trees; and when a south wind afterwards blew them into the sea, they did much more mischief dead than when they were living. The waves drove them

upon the beach, where corrupting, they caused an infection in the air, all the way from *Cyrenaica* to *Utica*, and far up into the inland countries. The plague is said to have carried off 800,000 persons in the kingdom of *Numidia* alone, besides 200,000 upon the sea-coast; and in the Prætorian army, appointed to guard *Africa*, there perished 30,000 *Roman* soldiers.

Y. R. 628.
Bef. Chr.
124.
327 Conf.

De fin. l. 5.
c. 22.
Or. in Pison. c. 29.
& Acon.
in loc.
Y. R. 629.
Bef. Chr.

123.
328 Conf.

Plut. in
Gracch.

Aul. Gell.
B. 15. c.
12.

Plut. in
Gracch.

* Jul. Obf.
c. 60.
Liv. Epit.
L. 60.
P. Orob. l.
5. c. 21.

Y. R. 460.
E. 1. 1. 1.
C. 1. 1. 1.

Y. R. 460.
E. 1. 1. 1.

Y. R. 460.
E. 1. 1. 1.

Y. R. 460.
E. 1. 1. 1.
C. 1. 1. 1.
C. 1. 1. 1.

Tiberius Flavius. His mother *Cornelia* is said to have employed all the arts of persuasion, as well as the most earnest intreaties, but in vain, to divert him from courting an office that had proved so fatal to his brother. The great and the rich had formed a powerful combination to dis-appoint him. But on the other hand, the People to favour his election, had, from all parts of *Italy*, flocked in such numbers to the city, that the Forum could not contain the multitude; so that many of them, getting upon the tops of the houses, had from thence given him their suffrages.

Caius Gracchus, bred to letters from his childhood, had, with solid and finishing parts, unwearied application: his diction was copious, his expression full of dignity, his thoughts just, and the whole composition of his discourse grave and elevated. He is said to have been the first of the *Roman* orators that, in speaking, moved about in the *Rostra*, and used vehemence of action: and such care he took with regard to the modulation of his voice in his public harangues, as to have always behind him a musician, who, when he raised it too high, or sunk it too low, brought it, by means of a flagelet, to the proper pitch.

The murder of Tiberius—his body dragged from the Capitol through the streets and thrown into the *Tiber*,—his friends condemned to death by the nobles, without trial, or form of justice,—his own forlorn and distressful condition;—on these topics the eloquence of *Caius* had a peculiar force to move his hearers.—*Ab wretch! whither turn myself? Where hide me?—The CAPITOL a refuge? There bleeds Tiberius a BROTHER,—Fly HOME then? disconsolate to behold a MOTHER, greatly miserable and despairing.* [*Quo me miser conferam? Quo vertam?—In CAPITOLIUM-ne? At FRATRIS sanguine redundat?—An DOMUM? MATREM-ne ut miseram, lamentantemque videam et abiectam?*] *Cicero* tells us, that when *Caius* uttered these words, such a power there was in his look, his action, the tone of his voice, that it drew tears even from his enemies^k.

Y. R. 460.
E. 1. 1. 1.

Y. R. 460.
E. 1. 1. 1.

Y. R. 460.
E. 1. 1. 1.
C. 1. 1. 1.
C. 1. 1. 1.

Soon after his entering upon the tribuneship, he published two edicts. The first declared, that a magistrate deposed by the People, should be for ever incapable of any office in the state. This was levelled against *Octavius*, deposed at the motion of *Tiberius*; but *Plutarch* informs us, that *Caius*, at the request of his mother *Cornelia*, to whom *Octavius* was related, consented to the revocation of this edict. The other, which passed into a law, ordained, that no *Roman* citizen should be capitally tried, without an express order from the People^l.

Caius's next step was to get the *Agrarian* law of *Tiberius* enforced: But he added a clause to it, charging the lands to be divided, with a

^k Quæ sic ab illo acta esse constabat, oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lacrimas tenere non possent. De Orat. L. 3. c. 56.

^l According to *Plutarch*, the law was to this effect, That any magistrate, who banished a Roman citizen without a previous trial, should be brought into judgment before

the people: He adds, that this law was designed chiefly against *Popillius*, who, when Prætor, had banished the friends of *Tiberius*, without observing the usual forms of justice; and that *Popillius*, not daring to stand a prosecution, left *Italy*.

certain annual tribute, payable into the treasury. After which he proposed and carried several other laws in favour of the commons.

Y. B. c. 10
B. 1. c. 10
132.
576 C. 10.

One to forbid the enlisting any *Roman* citizen for the war, before the age of seventeen.

Another for cloathing the soldiers at the public expence, without retrenching any thing of their pay on that account.

A third, that in creating magistrates, the order, in which the Centuries should vote, should be determined by lot, and not by their Censur, as formerly.

De Rep.
Ord. 1. p. 2.
in 1. 1. p.
S. 1. 1.

A fourth for a *monthly distribution of corn* to the People, at the expence of the treasury; as some authors say. Others write, that this fourth law was for *lowering the price of corn*: Be that as it will, the Tribune got the revenues of *Attalus's* late kingdom appropriated for supplying the corn; and, to hold it, built storehouses, which were afterwards called *the granaries of Sempronius*.

App. de
Bell.
Civ. l. 1. p.
p. 363.
C. 3. in
Ver. c. 10.
Fl. 1. 3. 15.
Fest.

A fifth, for making high-ways: a work to which he applied himself with the greatest pleasure and diligence; carrying on these roads in a straight line, levelling the ground, and building bridges, where water-courses or other hollows made it necessary; erecting mile stones; and on both sides of the road placing other stones, for the convenience of travellers in mounting their horses; for stirrups were not then in use.

Plut. in
Grac. 11.

Caius in person directed the execution of these enterprizes, and had many other affairs upon his hands; yet was not oppressed or embarrassed with their weight or number. In his various intercourse with ambassadors, officers, soldiers, men of letters, architects, and workmen, he constantly preserved his gravity, dignity, and politeness, suiting himself to the rank and characters of the persons with whom he conversed; insomuch that even his enemies could not help admiring his superior talents.

WHILE the Tribune was thus busied in useful works of peace, the Consul *Metellus* conducted a war in the islands called *Baleares*^p. The inhabitants, says *Strabo*, were, generally speaking, of a peaceable disposition; but some of them having associated themselves with pirates, the *Romans* made this a pretext for invading and subduing the whole nation. It was effected without great difficulty, their chief offensive weapon being a sling. In the use of this, they are said to have been expert beyond any people in the world; being accustomed, when children, to earn their breakfast by their dexterity. The mother, for a mark, set up a piece of bread; and the hungry boy, placed at a certain distance, was obliged, with a stone from his sling, to hit the mark, before he was allowed to eat it.

Strabo, B.
3. p. 167.

Flor. B.
3. c. 8.
Diod. Sic.
B. 5. c. 11.

Metellus built some towns in the conquered islands; and having transf-

ⁿ *Cicero*, though he approves of moderate largesses to the People, condemns this of *Caius*, as excessive, draining the treasury, and encouraging the poor in idleness. De Offic. l. 2. c. 21. et pro Scat. c. 48.

^o Hence the expressions in *Latin* authors, *tertio, quarto ab urbe lapide*, to signify three, four miles from the town.

^p *Majorca* and *Minorca*.

Y. R. 630.
B. C. 122.
330 Cons.

App. loc.
B. C. 122.
330 Cons.

planted thither 3000 *Romans* from the *Spanish* colonies, returned to *Rome* had a triumph, and took the surname of *Equestris*.

In the mean time *Sextius Calpurnius*, one of the Consuls of the last year, and now Proconsul, carried on the war, which his predecessor *Fulvius* had begun against the *Salerni*, commanded in the field by their King *Tarentinus*. *Sextius* obtained a complete victory, and totally subdued the nation: After which he built a town in a place that abounded with excellent waters, both hot and cold; and, from his own name, called it *Agus Sextus*, now *Aix* [in *Provincia*.] And here he established the first *Roman* colony that ever passed into *Transalpine Gaul*.

CHAP. X.

Caius Gracchus is elected a second time to the Tribuneship.

The policy management of the Senate to ruin his credit with the People.

His party destroyed. His death.

App. loc.
B. C. 122.
330 Cons.

A DECREE having been lately made by the *Comitia*, That if a *Tribune* have wanted time to complete any useful undertaking, particular regard should be had to him at the next elections, *Caius Gracchus*, without any solicitation on his part, was rechosen to that office. Some few days before the meeting of the *Centuries* to name new Consuls, he told the *People*, in a speech from the *Rostra*, that he had one favour to ask of them, which, if he obtained it, he should look upon as a full recompence for all his services; nevertheless, that he should not complain, if it were refused. As he did not mention the thing desired, many persons imagined at first, that he intended to ask the *Consulship*, with permission to hold it, together with his office of *Tribune*. But, upon the day of election, he came into the assembly, leading by the hand *C. Fannius Strabo*, whom he recommended to the citizens for their votes. His view was to defeat the pretensions of *L. Opimius* the destroyer of *Frugillæ* one of the candidates, a man of great sway in the *Senate*, and whom *Plutarch* calls an oligarchic man. The people readily granted the request of their favourite *Tribune*, and raised *Fannius* to the *Consular* dignity with *C. Domitius Ahenobarbus*.

Y. R. 631.
B. C. 121.
330 Cons.

It fell by lot to *Domitius* to continue the war beyond the *Alps*, and to his Colleague to administer affairs at home.

App. loc.
B. C. 121.
330 Cons.

Caius, in his second *Tribuneship*, passed a law, that took from the *Senate* the right of *judicature*, which they had exercised from the foundation of *Rome*, and transferred it to the knights^p. “ This act [how
“ sensibly soever it affected the *Senate*] was equitable; for as the *Senators*
“ possessed all the magistracies and governments of the *Empire*, so they
“ were the men, whose oppressions were the most severely felt, and
“ most frequently complained of; yet, while the judgment of all causes
“ continued in their hands, it was their common practice to favour and
“ absolve one another in their turns, to the general scandal and injury,

^p The epitome of *Livy*, (B. 60.) places this act in the first *Tribuneship* of *Caius*.

“ both

“ both of the subjects and allies ; of which some late and notorious instances had given a plausible pretext for *Gracchus’s* law ;” particularly, *Aurelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *M. Aquillius* had been convicted of extortion, by most clear and undeniable proofs, yet had escaped punishment, thro’ the corruption of their judges, corruption so manifest, that the Senate, says *Appian*, were ashamed to make any opposition to the charge.

Y. R. 637.
Bef. Chr.
121.
337 Conf.

Plutarch tells us that *Caius*, when he proposed this new law, instead of turning his face to the Senate, as had hitherto been the custom of those who spoke from the *Rostra*, turned his face towards the People ; and that he always continued this practice, meaning thereby to express the People’s superior authority to that of the Senate. The same Historian adds, that the *Comitia* referred to *Caius* the choice of the knights that were to be judges.

Plut. in
Gracch.

The Tribune, to shew that what he acted in favour of the People did not proceed from passion, or any design to ruin the just authority of the Senate, procured a law, That this assembly should every year, before the election of Consuls and Prætors, determine which of the provinces should be consular, and which prætorian ; and that, with regard to the consular provinces, even the Tribunes should not have the right of *intercession*, or opposition. This law, though violated on certain occasions, by some turbulent Tribunes, continued to the times of the monarchy.

Cic. de
Prov. Con-
sular. c. 2.
& 7. & pro
Dom. c. 13.
Flor. B. 3.
c. 13.
Sallust.
Bell. Ju-
gurrh.
Plut. in
Gracch.
V. Pat. L.
2. Plut.
loc. cit.

Caius passed a decree for planting colonies at *Capua* and *Tarentum* : And, if we may credit some writers, he actually obtained the right of *Roman* citizenship for the *Latins* and the other *Italian* allies[†].

The Senate, dreading lest his power should become irresistible, had recourse to a very extraordinary method, to gain from him the affections of the People. It was by loading them with such favours as should make those they had received, or yet expected from *Caius*, appear inconsiderable. In this view they applied themselves to *M. Livius Drusus*, one of the Tribunes, a man of good parts, natural and acquired, a great orator, and very rich ; and by their sollicitations engaged him to combine with them against his colleague. *Drusus*, prostituting his office to serve their ends, promulgated laws, in which his aim was not the good of the People, but only the supplanting *Caius* in their esteem ; and

† This custom was first introduced in the year 608, by *C. Licinius Crassus*, when endeavouring, in his Tribuneship, to transfer from the pontifical college to the People, the right of choosing priests. Cic. de Amic. c. 25. Var. de re Rulic. L. 1. c. 2.

Appian writes, That *Caius* invited the *Latins* to petition for the right of *Roman* citizenship, and proposed, contrary to ancient custom, to give the right of suffrage to the other allies, designing to make use of their assistance, to get enacted the laws which he had in view. The Senate, greatly alarmed at this project, passed a decree, That the Consuls should by edict forbid all

who had not the right of voting to be at *Rome*, or within five miles of it, till the *Comitia* should have determined with regard to the laws in question. They also persuaded *Lucius Drusus*, the colleague of *Caius*, to oppose the passing of the law, without assigning a reason for his opposition, and gave the same right to any Tribune, that would interpose. And to secure the passage, 12 colonies were granted, which had been formerly agreed to by the tribunes ; they also dissolved *Gracchus’s* laws ; and, upon the, threatened of the favour of the People, went into *Asia*, to confer with *Fulvius Flaccus*, to form a colony, &c.

Y. R. 637.
Bell. Civ.
123.
330 C. 25.

the Senate supported with their authority all the proposals of their creature. They had railed against *Caius* as a flatterer of the populace, for planting two colonies, tho' he had chosen out very worthy citizens for that purpose; but they aided *Drusus* in procuring a decree for planting twelve new colonies, each of 3000 *Romans*. When *Caius* distributed lands to the poor, he charged on those lands a certain yearly rent payable into the treasury, yet the Senate accused him of basely courting the people, for private views; but they approved of *Drusus's* remitting those rents to the possessors of the lands. They likewise assisted him to get a law passed, That no *Roman* General should cause any soldier of the *Latin* nations to be beaten with rods. The Tribune, on his part, never failed to declare publicly, that he made all his proposals by the advice of the Senate, ever solicitous for the good of the People: whose hatred to the nobles he, by this artful management, almost totally extinguished; and he himself rose to a high degree of favour. In one respect his conduct was more popular than that of *Caius Gracchus*; for *Drusus* constantly avoided meddling with the public money, and committed to others the charge of effecting of all that he ordained; whereas *Caius* took upon himself the execution of the most and the greatest of his projects.

Plut. in
Gracch.
App. de
Bell. Civ.
L. 1. p.
324.

Rutius, one of the Tribunes, having passed a law for rebuilding *Carthage*, and settling there a colony of 6000 *Romans*, and it falling by lot to *Caius* to go at the head of this commission, he soon after embarked for *Africa*. The Senate did not dislike an enterprize which carried away from *Rome* the man they most hated, and, with him, a great number of Plebeians, the most troublesome to them in the *Comitia*: And *Drusus* laid hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himself farther with the multitude.

When *Caius* had spent about two months in raising, on the ruins of *Carthage*, a new city, which he called *Junonia*, he returned to *Rome*, on advice that his presence was necessary there, both to support his own credit, and to disappoint the views of *Opimius*, who now again stood candidate for the Consulship. *Plutarch* relates, that the Tribune, to make his court to the populace, took a house near the Forum, in a quarter inhabited by the meanest of the citizens, and that he then proposed the rest of his laws; but the Historian does not tell us what these laws imported. A vast crowd of people flocked from the country to *Rome*, to give their votes. The Consul *Fannius*, though raised to his office by the interest of *Caius*, had long since been gained over by the nobles; and now, in consequence of a decree of the Senate, he published a very extraordinary edict, forbidding any man of the allies to appear in the city, or (according to *Appian*) within five miles of it, while the proposed laws were under deliberation. *Caius*, on the other hand, by edict, encouraged the allies to remain in *Rome*, promising them his assistance against the Consul: Yet when, of these, he saw one, who had been his host, seized upon by *Fannius's* lictors, he quietly suffered it; either, says *Plutarch*, because he

was unwilling to discover the weakness of his party, then on the decline ; or as he himself asserted, that he might not furnish his enemies with what they had hitherto sought in vain, a pretence for having recourse to arms. It is probable, that the intended laws were dropt, no further mention being made of them.

Y. R. 631.
Bef. Chr.
121.
330 Cons.

In the next comitia for chusing Tribunes, *Caius*, a third time, stood candidate, and some say he had a majority for him ; but his colleagues, whose business it was to count the votes, being displeased with him, made a false return. Be that as it will, he now missed his aim : And this disappointment was soon followed by the promotion of his enemy, *L. Opimius* (with *Q. Fabius Maximus*) to the Consulship ; who, according to expectation, presently exerted the whole power of his office to procure the repeal of *Caius's* law, and to get his proceedings at *Carthage* condemned. *Caius*, though in a disposition to be passive, yet, at the instigation of *Fulvius* the Triumvir, assembled his friends, in order to defeat the Consul's measures.

Y. R. 632.
Bef. Chr.
120.
331 Cons.

On the day fixed for proposing to the Comitia the abrogation of the laws in question, both parties, early in the morning, repaired to the Capitol. While the Consul was performing the customary sacrifice, *Q. Antyllus*, one of his lictors, carrying away the entrails of the victim, said to the friends of *Caius* and *Fulvius*, *Make way there, ye worthless citizens, for honest men* ; and, as some add, he, at the same time, used an action, with his hand, indecent and contemptuous ; in resentment of which they instantly fell upon him, and slew him with the pins of their table books.

The people in general were much disturbed at the rash and criminal act, and nobody more than *Caius*, who reproached his followers with having madly given their enemies a pretext for violence. *Opimius*, on the other hand, excited his party to take immediate revenge, imagining, he had now a favourable opportunity to destroy *Caius* ; but a great rain obliged the multitude to separate.

Next day, while the Fathers, assembled by order of the Consul, were sitting, some of his creatures, having laid the dead body of *Antyllus* naked on a bier, carried it through the Forum to the Senate-house, making loud lamentations as they went along. *Opimius* pretended ignorance and surprize ; and, with all the Senators, went out to see what the matter was. The body being set down in the midst of them, they began to mourn and wail, as for some public and terrible calamity : A low, wretched farce, that could not but excite a hatred and detestation of the actors. They had, with premeditated malice, murdered, even in the Capitol, and when Tribune, that excellent citizen *Tiberius Gracchus*, and had thrown his dead body into the river ; yet, when the corpse of a hireling lictor (who, if he had not merited his fate, had, at least, brought it upon himself by his imprudence) was exposed in the Forum, the Roman Senate, those venerable Fathers, stood round the bier, lamenting

* *Florus* (B. 3. c. 15.) says, *Minacius*, a tribune, was going to abrogate the laws of *Gracchus*. According to *Appian*, the comitia assembled to determine only with regard to the affair of the colony at *Carthage*.

It was pretended that *Caius* ought to have desisted from the undertaking, on account of some prodigies, said to have happened, while he was laying the foundation of the city.

peace. The boy, with tears and a blooming modesty, executed his commission. Many of those who were with *Opimius* would have listened to an accommodation, but he answered, "That it was not by messengers *Fulvius* and his followers could make satisfaction to the Senate; that they must surrender themselves at mercy, as criminals convicted; and then, if they pleased, they might deprecate punishment." And he forbade the young herald to come any more, unless to signify the submission of those that sent him. On the report of this answer, *Caius*, as some say, would have gone in person to treat with the Senate, and endeavour to bring them to temper; but all his party disapproving this design, *Fulvius* sent his son with a second message to *Opimius*. The Consul in anger ordered the youth to be seized and detained prisoner. And now, impatient to come to blows, he instantly marched away towards the *Aventine* hill with a good body of infantry and some *Cretan* archers. Being arrived there, he proclaimed pardon to all who should desert *Caius* and *Fulvius*; and to whoever should bring him the heads of those two men, he promised the weight of them in gold. The greater part of their followers are said to have abandoned them immediately, and the rest to have been, presently after, put to flight by the *Cretans*. *Fulvius* took refuge in an old bagnio, whence he was dragged out and slain, together with his elder son. *Caius* made no attempt towards a defence; but, in much grief for what passed, retired to the temple of *Diana*; where he would have killed himself, if he had not been hindered by *Pomponius* and *Licinius*, two of his most faithful friends, who took his dagger from him, and persuaded him to fly. Coming to the bridge *Sublucius*, they exhorted him to make the best of his way, while they defended the entrance of the bridge; in which undertaking they fought so resolutely, that, till they were both slain, not one of the pursuers could pass. Many of the people called out to *Caius* to make his escape; but no man, of all that multitude he had so much obliged, would furnish him with a horse, though he often asked for one as he passed along. He at length sought shelter in a certain wood consecrated to the *Furies*, where, perceiving the enemy approach to kill him, he chose to fall by the hand of a faithful slave; who, after he had done his master this last service, dispatched himself.

Caius's head was brought to the Consul by one *Septimuleius*, who had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with lead, that he might receive the greater weight of gold*. The cheat passed; and he had the promised reward; but the bearers of *Fulvius's* head, being mean people, could get nothing for it. The dead bodies of all the slain (to the number of 3000, according

Y. R. 622.
Ecl. Chr.
120.
371 Conf.

Val. Max.
L. 6. c. 2.
6. 3.
Plut. loc.
cit.

* The head was found to weigh 17 pound 8 ounces. *Septimuleius*, for some time after, desiring *Sævola*, Pro-consul of *Africa*, to take him with him into that province, and give him an employment, *Sævola* answered, "May surely, friend, you have lost your senses; you don't consult your own interest, but stay here. There is such a multitude of slaves and

"tizens in *Rome*, that, take my word for it, you cannot fail to make a huge estate in a few years." Cic. de Orat. L. 2. c. 67.

* *Orosius* (B. 5. c. 12.) says, there were only 250 slain on the *Aventine* hill, but that *Opimius* put to death, without trial, above 3000 persons, most of them innocent.

We

N. P. 612.
B. 10. 11.
112.
113. C.

condemned to *Plautius* were, by the Consul's order, thrown into the *Tiber*. He confiscated their estates, forbade their wives to wear mourning for them, deprived *Cassius*' widow of her dowry, and ordered the younger son of *Valerius* to be strangled in prison: And, after all these violences and bloody executions, he had the impudence to build a temple to *Concord*; thus glorying in his cruelty, and making the murder of so many citizens a matter of triumph.

The people in a short time resumed courage enough to erect statues to the *Gracchi*, and consecrate the places where they had been slain; and many worshipped there daily, as in the temples of the Gods: But the popular cause never recovered of the wound it received, by the murder of those two illustrious Patriots; there remained little more than the form of the ancient constitution. The Tribunes themselves, for private advantage, combined with the nobles to injure and oppress the commons. The *Agroian* law was gradually abrogated: First, leave was granted to every man, contrary to the tenor of it, to part with his share of the lands; which gave the rich an opportunity of making cheap purchases and even of seizing the properties of the defenceless plebeians without buying, which they commonly did. To these possessions a certain Tribune confirmed their titles, on condition of their paying an annual quit-rent, to be divided among the poorer citizens: This, says *African*, though some relief to the indigent, made no provision against the danger of depopulating the country of its free inhabitants. And, not long after, another Tribune remitted that quit-rent; so that the lower sort had nothing left: And, after the *Gracchi*, there never arose a Tribune, or any other magistrate, honest and generous enough to espouse the true interest of the people. Some indeed, to promote their selfish views, not only held up the buckler, but wielded the sword of what they styled, the people's cause, proceeding to the most outrageous acts of violence and cruelty; till at length *Sylla*, having seized the Dictatorship, changed the very form of the Republic, almost annihilated the tribunitian power, and reduced the government to an Aristocracy. The civil contests henceforward were between the Senate, tenacious of the sovereign rule, and a few grandees, who sought to wrest it out of their hands; or between one grandee and another for the superiority, each supported by an army at his devotion: Contests, which, after much effusion of blood, had their final issue in the subjection of *Rome* to an absolute and confirmed Monarchy.

We read of none slain on the side of *Optimus*, nor of any wounded, except *P. Lentulus*, a senator, mentioned by *Cicero*, 8 Phil. c. 4. and 4. in Cat. c. 6. and by *Dio Cass.* apud *Tal.*

* This *Optimus* (who is one of *Cicero*'s prime worthies) was afterwards condemned to banishment for taking bribes to betray his country.

His name, infamous for many reasons, was famous only on one account, the *super-excellent* *wines*, of all sorts, that were produced in the

year of his Consulship. It appears from a passage in *Velleius Paterculus* *, that in his time (150 years after *Optimus*'s magistracy) a notion prevailed, that some of the *Optimian* wine still remained: but he treats this as a fable, and seems to think, it was owing to the custom of calling all good wine *Optimian* wine ever since that remarkable vintage.

Pliny (L. 14. c. 4.) speaks, as if in his time (almost 200 years after *Optimus*) some of that extraordinary wine was still in being.

THE



THE
CAPITOLINE MARBLES;
O. R.,
CONSULAR CALENDARS:

An ancient Monument accidentally discovered at ROME in the year 1545.
during the Pontificate of PAUL III.

| KINGS OF ROME. | | KINGS OF ROME. | |
|----------------|---|----------------|---|
| Year. | | Year. | |
| 1. | ROMULUS.
He triumphs for vanquishing the Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates. | 186. | He triumphs over the Hetrurians a second time. |
| 5. | He makes himself a trophy of the spoils he took from King Acon, whom he killed with his own hand. | 200. | He establishes the Census, and Lustrum, of which there were four in his reign. |
| 16. | He triumphs over the Camerini. | 220. | TARQUIN the Proud. |
| 17. | He triumphs over the Veientes, and Fidenates. | 227. | He triumphs over the Volsci. |
| 38. | INTERREGNUM. | 228. | He triumphs over the Sabines. |
| 40. | NUMA POMPILIUS. | 243. | He is dethroned, and driven from Rome. |
| 83. | TULLUS HOSTILIUS. | | CONSULS. |
| 87. | He triumphs over the Albans. | 244. Y. of R. | |
| 91. | He triumphs over the Sabines. | 1. Consulship. | L. JUNIUS BRUTUS. |
| 114. | ANCUS MARCIUS. | | L. TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS. |
| 115. | He triumphs over the Veientes. | | PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA, is substituted in the room of L. Tarquinius, who abdicates. |
| 120. | He triumphs over the Sabines. | | SPURIUS LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS fills Brutus's place, who was killed before his office expired. |
| 139. | TARQUIN the First. | | HORATIUS PULVILLUS is chosen in the room of Spurius, who died in his office. |
| 150. | He triumphs over the Latines. | | |
| 160. | He triumphs over the Hetrurians. | | |
| 171. | He triumphs over the Sabines. | | |
| 176. | SERVIUS TULLIUS. | | |
| 182. | He triumphs over the Hetrurians. | | |

- Publius Valerius Poplicola triumphs over the Veientes and Tarquinientes.
- Quæstors. *P. Veturius Geminus.*
M. Minucius Augurinus.
245. Y. of R.
2. *Consulship.* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
TITUS LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS.
The fifth Lustrum.
- Quæstors. *Q. Clælius Siculus.*
A. Sempronius Atratinus.
246. Y. of R.
3. *Consulship.* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a third time.
M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS, a second time.
- Quæstors. *T. Æbutius Elva.*
A. Posthumus Albus Regillensis.
247. Y. of R.
4. *Consulship.* SPURIUS LARTIVS FLAVUS.
T. HERMINIVS AQUILINUS.
- Quæstors. *M. Tullius Longus.*
T. Virginus Tricostus.
248. Y. of R.
5. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS.
P. POSTHUMIVS TUBERTUS.
Marcus Valerius, and Publius Posthumus triumph over the Sabines.
- Quæstors. *T. Lartius Flavius.*
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
249. Y. of R.
6. *Consulship.* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a fourth time.
T. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS, a second time.
Valerius triumphs over the Sabines and Veientes.
- Quæstors. *P. Servilius Priscus.*
A. Virginus Tricostus Calimantanus.
250. Y. of R.
7. *Consulship.* P. POSTHUMIVS TUBERTUS, a second time.
AGRIPPA MENENIVS LANATUS, who triumphs over the Sabines.
- Posthumus receives only the Honours of an Ovation.
- Quæstors. *T. Veturius Geminus.*
Posthumus Cominius Auruncus.
251. Y. of R.
8. *Consulship.* OPITER VIRGINIVS TRICOSTUS.
SPURIUS CASSIVS VISCCELLINUS, who triumphs over the Sabines.
- Quæstors. *Q. Servilius Priscus.*
T. Geganius Macerinus.
252. Y. of R.
9. *Consulship.* POSTHUMUS COMINIUS AURUNCUS.
T. LARTIVS FLAVIVS.
- The sixth Lustrum.*
- Quæstors. *P. Minucius Augurinus.*
Q. Sulpitius Camerinus Cornutus.
253. Y. of R.
10. *Consulship.* SER. SULPITIVS CAMERINUS.
M. TULLIVS LONGUS, who dies in his Consulship.
- Quæstors. *C. Julius Iulus.*
M. Valerius Volusus.
254. Y. of R.
11. *Consulship.* P. VETURIVS GEMINUS.
T. ÆBUTIVS ELVA.
- Quæstors. *P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.*
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
255. Y. of R.
12. *Consulship.* T. LARTIVS FLAVUS, a second time.
Q. CLÆLIUS SICULUS.
T. LARTIVS FLAVUS.
- Dictator. *G. of the Horse.* Sp. Cassius Viscellinus.
- Quæstors. *M. Claudius Crassinus Regillensis.*
L. Geganius Macerinus.
256. Y. of R.
13. *Consulship.* A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
M. MINUCIVS AUGURINUS.
- Quæstors. *C. Aquilius Tuscus.*
Virginus Tricostus Rutilus.
257. Y. of R.
14. *Consulship.* A. POSTHUMIVS ALBUS REGILLENIS.

TITUS VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
 Dictator. A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
G. of the Horse. T. Æbutius Elva.
 A. Posthumius triumphs over the Latines.
 Quæstors. T. Sicinius Sabinus.
 Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
 258. Y. of R.
 15. Consulship. APPIUS CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.
 P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
 Quæstors. Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.
 L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
 259. Y. of R.
 16. Consulship. A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
 T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS.
 Dictator. MANIUS VALERIUS.
G. of the Horse. Q. Servilius Priscus.
 Manius Valerius triumphs over the Sabines.
 Quæstors. C. Minucius Augurinus.
 Sex. Furius Fusus.
 260. Y. of R.
 17. Consulship. SP. CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, a second time.
 POSTHUMUS COMINIUS AURUNCUS, a second time.
The seventh Lustrum.
 Tribunes of the People. L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. C. Mucius Cordus Scævola.
 Q. Mucius Cordus Scævola.
 Quæstors. P. Valerius Poplicola.
 M. Fabius Vibulanus.
 261. Y. of R.
 18. Consulship. T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
 P. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
 Tribunes of the People. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
 C. Licinius Calvus.
 Ædiles. L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
 Quæstors. C. Julius Iulus.
 Sp. Furius Fusus.
 262. Y. of R.
 19. Consulship. M. MINUCIUS AUGURI-

NUS, a second time.
 A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS, a second time.
 Tribunes of the People. L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 M. Decius Mus.
 Ædiles. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
 L. Junius Brutus.
 Quæstors. Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus.
 M. Horatius Pulvillus.
 263. Y. of R.
 20. Consulship. Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
 SP. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a second time.
 Tribunes of the People. P. Mænius.
 L. Albinus.
 Ædiles. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 P. Licinius Calvus.
 Quæstors. T. Virginius Tricostus Rutilus.
 C. Servilius Structus Abala.
 264. Y. of R.
 21. Consulship. C. JULIUS IULUS.
 P. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.
 Tribunes of the People. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 L. Icilius Ruga.
 Ædiles. C. Icilius Ruga.
 C. Junius Bubulcus.
 Quæstors. C. Cornelius Lentulus.
 C. Horatius Pulvillus Esquilinus.
 265. Y. of R.
 22. Consulship. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
 SEX. FURIUS FUSUS.
 Tribunes of the People. M. Pletorius.
 P. Licinius Calvus.
 Ædiles. L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 C. Licinius Calvus.
 Quæstors. T. Menenius Lanatus.
 A. Virginius Tricostus Rutilus.
 266. Y. of R.
 23. Consulship. C. AQUILIUS TUSCUS.
 T. SICINIUS SABINUS, who triumphs over the Volsci.
 Aquilius defeats the Hernici, and has only the honour of an Ovation.
 Tribunes of the People. L. Albinus.
 P. Licinius Calvus.
 Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
 C. Icilius Ruga.
 Quæstors. Sp. Servilius Structus.
 Q. Sextius Capitolinus.

267. Y. of R.

24. *Consulship*. SP. CASSIUS VISCELLI-
NUS, a third time.PROCULUS VIRGINIUS
TRICOSTUS RUTILUS.Sp. Cassius triumphs over the
Volsci and Hernici.*Tribunes of the**People.**Ædiles.**Quæstors.*

C. Rabuleius.

M. Silius.

C. Junius Bubulcus.

M. Plautius.

C. Numerius Rutilus.

L. Furius Medullinus Fufus.

268. Y. of R.

25. *Consulship*. Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALU-
GINENSIS COSSUS.*Tribunes of the**People.**Ædiles.**Quæstors.*

P. Mucius Sævola.

M. Tarquinius Laurentinus.

C. Licinius Calvus.

C. Rabuleius.

K. Fabius Vibulanus.

L. Valerius Potitus.

269. Y. of R.

26. *Consulship*. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-
NUS.

K. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

*Tribunes of the**People.**Ædiles.**Quæstors.*

M. Titinius.

C. Sicinnius Bellutus.

L. Albinus.

M. Silius.

A. Manlius Vulso.

Verginius Julius Iulus.

270. Y. of R.

27. *Consulship*. M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA
POTITUS.*Tribunes of the**People.**Ædiles.**Quæstors.*

C. Manius.

P. Licinius Calvus.

C. Licinius Calvus.

M. Tarquinius Laurentinus.

P. Furius Fufus.

App. Claudius Salustus Regillensis.

271. Y. of R.

28. *Consulship*. C. JULIUS IULUS.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a
second time.*Tribunes of the**People.**Ædiles.**Quæstors.*

L. Albinus.

P. Tarquinius Laurentinus.

C. Rabuleius.

C. Manius.

L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.

T. Æmilius Mamercinus.

272. Y. of R.

29. *Consulship*. K. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a
second time.

SP. FURIUS FUSUS.

*Tribunes of the**People.**Ædiles.**Quæstors.*

Sp. Icilius Ruga.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

M. Titinius.

P. Decius Mus.

A. Virginius Tricostus Calimen-
tarius.

Q. Servilius Priscus.

273. Y. of R.

30. *Consulship*. CN. MANLIUS CINCIN-
NATUS.M. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a
second time.*Tribunes of the**People.**Ædiles.**Quæstors.*

Ti. Pontificius.

C. Rabuleius.

L. Albinus.

P. Tarquinius Laurentinus.

T. Numicius Priscus.

M. Valerius Arintinus.

274. Y. of R.

31. *Consulship*. K. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a
third time.T. VIRGINIUS TRICOS-
TUS RUTILUS.*Tribunes of the**People.**Ædiles.**Quæstors.*

C. Junius Bubulcus.

C. Icilius Ruga.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.

M. Decius Mus.

M. Minucius Augurinus.

P. Minucius Augurinus.

275. Y. of R.

32. *Consulship*. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-
NUS, a second time.CAIUS SERVILIUS STRU-
CTUS AHALA, who did
not finish the year, but ab-
dicated, or died before it
ended.C. CORNELIUS was put in
his room.*Tribunes of the**People.**Ædiles.**Quæstors.**Pro-Consuls.*

P. Decius Mus.

M. Flavuleius.

T. Pontificius.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

L. Valerius Arintinus.

M. Tullius Longus.

K. Fabius Vibulanus.

Sp. Furius Fufus.

276. Y.

276. Y. of R.

33. *Consulship*. C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.

T. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Rabuleius.

Ædiles. L. Fluvakius.

M. Fianvulus.

C. Acilius Roga.

Quæstors. T. Titus us Alia.

Sp. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.

Pro-Consul. K. Fabius Vibulanus.

277. Y. of R.

34. *Consulship*. A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILUS.

P. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

Tribunes of the People. T. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles. Q. Confidius.

M. Decius Mus.

P. Mucius Scævola.

Quæstors. S. Furius Medullinus Fufus.

M. Papirius Mugillanus.

278. Y. of R.

35. *Consulship*. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Valerius triumphs over the Veientes and Sabines.

Tribunes of the People. L. Cædicus.

Ædiles. T. Statius.

T. Flaccilius.

Q. Mucius Scævola.

Quæstors. C. Fossius Flaccinator.

Sex. Papirius.

279. Y. of R.

36. *Consulship*. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS FUSUS.

A. MANLIUS VULSO.

The eighth Lustrum.

Manlius vanquishes the Veientes, and receives the honours of an Ovation.

Tribunes of the People. K. Atinius Longus.

Ædiles. Q. Mucius Scævola.

T. Porcificus.

Q. Confidius.

Quæstors. A. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.

L. Atratius Elva.

280. Y. of R.

37. *Consulship*. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.

VOPISCUS JULIUS IUS.

Tribunes of the People. Cn. Genucius.

Ædiles. C. Icilius Roga.

T. Genucius Aventinensis.

L. Cædicus.

Quæstors. P. Servilius Priscus.

L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

281. Y. of R.

38. *Consulship*. L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.

C. FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People. V. Iero Publius Philo.

Ædiles. C. Lætorius.

Q. Confidius.

T. Statius.

Quæstors. T. Iulius Genucius-Ciccrinus.

P. Velutius Amatinus Cæcus.

282. Y. of R.

39. *Consulship*. AP. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.

T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. Volero Publius Philo.

Ædiles. C. Lætorius.

P. Mucius Scævola.

K. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

C. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

283. Y. of R.

40. *Consulship*. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS, a second time.

T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.

L. Nuntorius.

M. Duilius.

L. Mæcilius.

S. Icilius Roga.

Ædiles. L. Cædicus.

T. Statius.

Quæstors. L. Minutius Cincinnetus.

L. Cornelius Cæcilius.

284. Y. of R.

41. *Consulship*. A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIAMONTANUS.

T. NUMICIUS PRISCUS.

Tribunes of the People. Cn. Apronius.

P. Mucius Scævola.

K. Atinius Longus.

M. Decius.

C. Marcius.

Ædiles. Volero Publius Philo.

C. Lætorius.

Quæstors.

Quæstors. *L. Minucius Augurinus.*
C. Horatius Pulvillus.

285. Y. of R.

42. *Consulship.* T. QUINCTIUS BARBAT-
TUS CAPITOLINUS, a
second time.

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.

T. Quinctius triumphs over the
Volsci, and Antiates.

Tribunes of the C. Pontificius,
People. C. Confidius.

L. Romuleius.

L. Titinius.

M. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.

M. Duilius.

Quæstors. Q. Minucius Augurinus.

Sp. Virginius Tricostus Calimen-
tanus.

286. Y. of R.

43. *Consulship.* TI. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-
NUS, a second time.

Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the C. Duilius,
People. C. Mævius.

T. Staius.

M. Decius.

L. Cædicius.

Ædiles. L. Næviterius.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors. T. Pomilius Rocus Vaticanus.

C. Veturius Cicurinus.

287. Y. of R.

44. *Consulship.* SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS
REGILLENSIS.

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS, a
second time.

Tribunes of the Volero Publilius Philo.
People. M. Pompilius.

M. Manilius.

C. Sicinnius Bellutus.

P. Silius.

Ædiles. L. Mæcilius.

Cn. Apronius.

Quæstors. A. Æternus Fontinalis.

Sex. Quintilius.

288. Y. of R.

45. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a
second time.

T. QUINCTIUS BARBA-
TUS CAPITOLINUS, a
third time.

The ninth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the Q. Decius Mus.
People. M. Metilius.

P. Lætorius.

M. Pontificius.

M. Confidius.

Ædiles. C. Pontificius.

L. Titinius.

Quæstors. Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus.
P. Horatius Tergeminus.

289. Y. of R.

46. *Consulship.* A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS
REGILLENSIS.
SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS
FUSUS.

Tribunes of the L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
People. L. Cædicius.

L. Mænius.

Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

M. Cædicius.

Ædiles. M. Pompilius.

C. Duilius.

Quæstors. P. Scyllius Capitolinus.

T. Mercenius Lanatus.

Pro-Consul. T. Quinctius Barbatus Ca-
pitolinus.

290. Y. of R.

47. *Consulship.* P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
L. ÆBUTIVS ELVA. Both
die before the year of their
Consulship ends.

Tribunes of the C. Licinius.
People. C. Volscius.

C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

M. Sellius.

P. Publilius Philo.

Ædiles. M. Metilius.

M. Pontificius.

Quæstors. Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

291. Y. of R.

48. *Consulship.* L. LUCRETIVS TRICIPI-
TINUS, who triumphs over
the Volsci, and Æqui.

T. VETURIUS GEMINUS
CICURINUS, who receives
the honours of an Ovation.

Tribunes of the Sex. Titius.
People. C. Terentius Arsa.

M. Decius Mus.

C. Fescennius.
M. Confidius.
Ædiles. L. Mænius.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
Quæstors. T. Genucius Augurinus.
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.
292. Y. of R.
49. Consulship. P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTI-
NUS GALLUS.
SER. Sulpicius CAMERI-
NUS.
Tribunes of the A. Virginus.
People. M. Volscius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Ædiles. C. Terentius Arsa.
M. Sellius.
Quæstors. T. Antonius Merenda.
M. Sergius.
293. Y. of R.
50. Consulship. M. VALERIUS POPLICO-
LA, a second time.
C. CLAUDIUS SABINUS
REGILLENIS.
Valerius dies in his office.
L. QUINCTIUS CINCIN-
NATUS succeeds him.
Tribunes of the A. Virginus.
People. M. Volscius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Mæcilius.
Ædiles. Sex. Titius.
M. Decius Mus.
Quæstors. M. Horatius Barbatus.
Lar. Herminius Aquilinus.
294. Y. of R.
51. Consulship. Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a
third time.
L. CORNELIUS MALUGI-
NENSIS COSSUS.
The former triumphs over the
Æqui and Volsci; the latter
over the Volsci and Antiates.
The tenth Lustrum.
Tribunes of the A. Virginus.
People. M. Volscius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.
Ædiles. M. Confidius.

C. Fescennius.
Quæstors. A. Cornelius Maluginensis Cossus.
C. Servilius Struētus Abala.
295. Y. of R.
52. Consulship. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a
second time.
L. MINUCIUS AUGURI-
NUS, who is forced to ab-
dicate.
Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CIN-
CINNATUS.
G. of the Horse. L. Tarquitiu Flaccus.
Quinctius triumphs over the
Æqui.
Tribunes of the A. Virginus.
People. M. Volscius.
C. Numitorius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Mæcilius.
Ædiles. C. Volscius.
P. Publilius Philo.
Quæstors. M. Valerius Maximus.
T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitoli-
nus.
296. Y. of R.
53. Consulship. C. HORATIUS PULVIL-
LUS.
Q. MINUCIUS AUGURI-
NUS.
Tribunes of the A. Virginus.
People. M. Volscius.
C. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Ædiles. Sex. Titius.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
Quæstors. M. Fabius Vibulanus.
M. Geganius Macerinus.
297. Y. of R.
54. Consulship. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
SP. VIRGINIUS TRICOS-
TUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
Secular Games.
Tribunes of the L. Icilius Ruga.
People. L. Alhenius.
K. Duilius.
Q. Pæteliu Libo Visolus.
M. Oppius.
Sex. Manilius.

C. Fulcinius.
 L. Roscius.
 Sp. Antius.
 P. Licinius.
 Ædiles. *M. Claudius Cicero.*
M. Marcius Rutilius.
 Quæstors. *C. Julius Iulus.*
Furius Fagus.
 298. Y. of R.
 55. *Consulship.* T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
 C. VETURIUS SICURINUS.
 Tribunes of the *People.* L. Icius Ruga.
 L. Alfenus.
 Q. Pætelius.
 P. Licinius.
 Sp. Antius.
 M. Oppius.
 L. Roscius.
 K. Duilius.
 C. Fulcinius.
 Sex. Manilius.
 Ædiles. *M. Silius.*
C. Pempilius.
 Quæstors. *M. Genucius Augurinus.*
A. Sempronius Atratinus.
 299. Y. of R.
 56. *Consulship.* SP. TARPEIUS MONTANUS CAPITOLINUS.
 A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS.
 Tribunes of the *People.* L. Sicinius Dentatus.
 C. Claudius Cicero.
 Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
 Sex. Titius.
 T. Albinus.
 M. Titinius.
 L. Mamilius Vitulus.
 M. Marcius Rutilus.
 M. Claudius Cicero.
 M. Tarquinius Laurentinus.
 Ædiles. *L. Iulius.*
A. Virginius.
 Quæstors. *L. Iulius Pætillus Petrus.*
C. Curtius Pilius.
 300. Y. of R.
 57. *Consulship.* SEX. QUINTILIUS, who dies in his Consulship.
 P. HORATIUS TERGIMINUS.

Tribunes of the *People.* L. Apronius.
 C. Memmius.
 C. Marcius.
 C. Manius.
 P. Furius.
 Q. Romuleius.
 M. Silius.
 L. Volumnius Flamma.
 M. Terentius Arsa.
 N. Oracilius.
 Ædiles. *L. Iulius Ruga.*
Q. Pætillus L'eo Visolus.
 Quæstors. *L. Atilius Longus.*
L. Papirius Mugillanus.
 301. Y. of R.
 58. *Consulship.* P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
 T. MENENIUS LANATUS.
 Tribunes of the *People.* Sex. Titius.
 C. Fulcinius.
 L. Fulcinius.
 P. Tarquinius Laurentinus.
 T. Genucius Aventinensis.
 M. Oppius.
 M. Juventius.
 C. Pompilius.
 C. Sextius.
 C. Rabuleius.
 Ædiles. *K. Duilius.*
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
 Quæstors. *L. Sempronius Atratinus.*
M. Rabuleius.
 302. Y. of R.
 59. *Consulship.* AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
 T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
 They abdicated the Consulship to make way for the Decemviri.
 303. Y. of R.
 1. *Decemvirate.* AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
 T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
 SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
 C. JULIUS IULUS.
 A. MANLIUS VULSO.
 SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENsis.
 SP. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
 SER. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS.
 T. Ro-

T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATI-
CANUS.

P. HORATIUS TERCEMINUS.

303. Y. of R.

2. *Decemvirate*. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS,
a second time.

Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

M. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN-
SIS.

T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.

M. SERGIUS.

Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

M' RABULEIUS.

K. DUILIUS.

SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.

304. Y. of R.

3. *Decemvirate*. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS,
a third time, with the same
Collegues as in the second De-
cemvirate. Being forced to
give place to new Consuls,
they abdicated.

304. Y. of R.

60. *Consulship*. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA
POTITUS. He triumphs over
the Æqui.

M. HORATIUS BARBA-
TUS. He triumphs over the
Sabines.

Tribunes of the L. Virginus.
People. L. Icilius Ruga.

P. Numitorius.

M. Duilius.

C. Sicinius Bellutus.

M. Titinius.

C. Apronius.

C. Oppius.

M. Pomponius.

P. Villius.

Ædiles. C. Claudius Cicero.

M. Titinius.

Quæstors. Agrippa Menenius Lenatus.

L. Julius Iulus.

305. Y. of R.

61. *Consulship*. LAR. HERMINIUS AQUI-
LINUS.

T. VIRGINIUS TRICOS-
TUS CÆLIMONTANUS.

Tribunes of the Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capito-
People, accord- linus.

ing to Livy. A. Æternius Fontinalis.

VOL. II.

L. Trebonius Asper.

Q. Confidius.

L. Allenius.

M' Marcius.

C. Fulcinus.

M. Claudius Cicero.

C. Claudius Cicero.

L. Albinus.

Ædiles.

L. Volumnius Flamina.

P. Tarquinius Laurentinus.

Quæstors.

C. Sergius.

M. Papirius Crassus.

306. Y. of R.

62. *Consulship*. M. GEGANIUS MACERI-
NUS.

C. JULIUS IULUS.

Tribunes of the P. Villius.
People. C. Oppius.

Sp. Antius.

C. Pompidius.

C. Antius.

L. Villius.

Sex. Manilius.

M. Silius.

C. Virginus.

M. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.

M. Titinius.

M. Pomponius.

Quæstors.

M. Corneli s Maluginensis.

C. Nautius Rutilus.

307. Y. of R.

63. *Consulship*. T. QUINCTIUS BARBA-
TUS CAPITOLINUS, a
fourth time.

AGRIPPA FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the L. Allenius.
People. P. Numitorius.

L. Trebonius Asper.

L. Fulcinus.

M' Alienius.

M' Marcius.

M. Pomponius.

L. Roscius.

M. Claudius Cicero.

P. Scaptius.

Ædiles.

C. Sicinius Bellutus.

C. Apronius.

Quæstors.

L. Valerius Potitus.

Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

308. Y. of R.

64. *Consulship*. M. GENUCIUS AUGURI-
NUS.

4 D

C. CUR-

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | C. CURTIUS PHILO. | | C. Oppius. |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | C. Canuleius. | | C. Antius. |
| | C. Furius. | | Cn. Genucius. |
| | C. Claudius Cicero. | | P. Villius. |
| | L. Furius. | | L. Villius. |
| | L. Oppius. | | Sp. Antius. |
| | Ti. Pontificius. | | L. Apronius. |
| | M. Titinius. | | C. Latorius. |
| | C. Virginius. | Ædiles. | C. Canuleius. |
| | Cn. Apuleius Pansa. | | N. Sextius Sextinus. |
| | T. Latinus. | Quæstors. | L. Papirius Crassus. |
| Ædiles. | P. Villius. | | L. Virginius Tricoftus. |
| | C. Oppius. | | |
| Quæstors. | C. Fossus Flaccinator. | 311. Y. of R. | |
| | Posthumius Æbutius Eiva. | 67. Consulship. | M. FABIVS VIBULANUS. |
| 309. Y. of R. | | | POSTHUMIVS ÆBUTIVS |
| 1. Military | A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. | | ELVA CORNICEN. |
| <i>Tribuneship.</i> | L. ATILIUS LONGUS. | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | C. Petillius. |
| | T. CLOELIVS SICVLVS. They | | C. Claudius Cicero. |
| | all three abdicated. | | C. Sicinius Bellutus. |
| 309. Y. of R. | | | L. Trebonius Asper. |
| 65. Consulship. | L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS. | | L. Oppius. |
| | L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. | | Q. Decius Mus. |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | N. Sextius Sextinus. | | Q. Roscius. |
| | Sp. Icilius Ruga. | | M. Titinius. |
| | Pub. Numitorius. | | M. Allienius. |
| | M. Pomponius. | | Q. Terentius. |
| | C. Apronius. | Ædiles. | C. Furius. |
| | L. Cædicius. | | L. Furius. |
| | C. Sicinius Bellutus. | Quæstors. | L. Sergius Fidenas. |
| | Sex. Manilius. | | Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. |
| | C. Pompilius. | 312. Y. of R. | |
| | Q. Mælius. | 68. Consulship. | C. FURIUS PACILUS FUSUS. |
| Ædiles. | L. Trebonius Asper. | | M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. |
| | M. Icilius Ruga. | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | C. Petillius. |
| Quæstors. | L. Sergius. | | L. Villius. |
| | Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus. | | N. Sextius Sextinus. |
| 310. Y. of R. | | | M. Duilius. |
| 66. Consulship. | M. GEGANIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time. | | C. Volumnius Flamma. |
| | T. QUINCTIVS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fifth time. | | K. Atinius Longus. |
| | M. Geganius triumphs over the Volsci. | | C. Furius. |
| First Censors. | M. Papirius Mugillanus. | | P. Virginius. |
| | L. Sempronius Atratinus. | | L. Sicinius Bellutus. |
| | | | L. Romuleius. |
| | | Ædiles. | L. Cædicius. |
| | | | C. Latorius. |
| | | Quæstors. | L. Cornelius Maluginensis. |
| | | | C. Servilius Struettus Ahala. |
| | | 313. Y. of R. | |
| | | 69. Consulship. | PROCVLVS GEGANIUS |
| | | | MACERINVS. |
| | | | L. MENENIVS LANATVS. |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | C. Virginius. | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | L. Marcus. |
| | L. Marcus. | | C. Apronius. |

C. Canuleius.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Voler. Publilius.
L. Titinius.
Cn. Apronius.
L. Petillius.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Ædiles. Cn. Genucius.
Q. Decius Mus.
Quæstors. M. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.
T. Geganus Macerinus.

314. Y. of R.
70. Consulship. T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS, a sixth time.
AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.
Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, a second time.
G. of the Horse. C. Servilius Structus Ahala.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Sex. Titinius.
C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
L. Cædicius.
C. Plætorius.
C. Confidius.
Q. Roscius.
L. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.

Ædiles. C. Peillius.
K. Atinius Longus.
Quæstors. P. Horatius Tergeminus.
C. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

315. Y. of R.
2. Military MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
Tribuneship. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.
Tribunes of the People. N. Sextius Sextinus.
M. Pompilius.
P. Decius Mus.
C. Racilius.
L. Canuleius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Duilius.
T. Stadius.
C. Pontificius.

Ædiles. Voler. Publilius Philo.
L. Remulcius.
Quæstors. M. Fossius Flaccinator.
L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.

316. Y. of R.
71. Consulship. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS, a third time.
L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
Dictator. M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. He triumphs over the Veientes, Falisci, and Fidenates.
G. of the Horse. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Canuleius.
K. Atinius.
M. Antius.
M. Trebonius.
M. Albinus.
Sex. Titinius.
M. Mæcilius.
L. Stadius.
A. Allienius.
C. Ælius Pætus.

Ædiles. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Quæstors. Sp. Posthumius Regillensis.
L. Furius Medullinus.

317. Y. of R.
72. Consulship. M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
Tribunes of the People. Sp. Mælius.
C. Furius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
L. Manilius.
L. Sextius.
M. Furius.
L. Cædicius.
M. Manilius.
C. Apronius.
C. Mænius.

Ædiles. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Sex. Titinius.
Quæstors. T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus.
A. Posthumius Tubertus.

318. Y. of R.
73. Consulship. C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time.

L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.

Dictator. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.

G. of the Horse. Posthumius Æbutius Elva Cornicen.

C. Praetors. C. Furius Pacilus Fufus.
M. Geganius Macerinus.
The twelfth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. C. Canuleius.
C. Confidius.
C. Platorius.
C. Titius.

M. Trebonius.
L. Canuleius.
M. Confidius.
C. Rutilius.
M. Fulcinius.
T. Statius.

Ædiles. P. Decius Mus.
C. Pontificius.

Quæstors. C. Junius Mento.
A. Æternus Fentinalis.

319. Y. of R.

74. *Consulship.* C. JULIUS IULUS, a third time.

L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS, a second time.

Dictator. MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

G. of the Horse. A. Posthumius Tubertus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Furius.
M. Cædicius.
L. Mænius.
M. Pontificius.

C. Volscius.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Silius.
C. Mænius.
M. Metilius.
L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Ædiles. M. Atilius.
A. Allicinius.

Quæstors. T. Lælius Flavius.
Hylus Lucretius Tricipitinus.

320. Y. of R.

3. *Military Tribuneship.* M. FABIVS VIBULANUS.
M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Tribunes of the People. L. Canuleius.
L. Cædicius.

C. Volumnius Flamma.
M. Sellius.

V. Volscius Fictor.

K. Atinius Longus.

L. Cædicius.

M. Silius.

L. Volscius.

C. Titius.

Ædiles.

Sp. Mælius.

M. Furius.

Quæstors.

N. Fabius Vibulanus.

T. Genucius Augurinus.

321. Y. of R.

4. *Military Tribuneship.*

L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

L. Sicinius Bellutus.

L. Cæcilius Metellus.

M. Decius Mus.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Sex. Titinius.

Cn. Sicinnius Bellutus.

P. Decius Mus.

L. Ælius Pætus.

M' Marcius.

Ædiles.

M. Trebonius.

T. Statius.

Quæstors.

P. Servilius Priscus.

M. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

322. Y. of R.

75. *Consulship.*

T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS.

C. JULIUS MENTO.

Dictator.

A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS. He triumphs over the Æqui and Volsci.

G. of the Horse.

L. Julius Iulus.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Virginius.

T. Metilius.

M. Metilius.

C. Pontificius.

C. Cæcilius.

C. Pætilius.

M. Pontificius.

M. Furius.

C. Pætilius.

P. Plautius Proculus.

Ædiles.

L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

C. Vol-

Quæstors. *C. Volscius.*
Sex. Julius Iulus.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

323. Y. of R.
 76. Consulship. **C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.**
L. JULIUS IULUS.

Tribunes of the People. *Sex. Titinius.*
M. Silius.
M. Silius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
P. Lætorius.
L. Volscius Fictor.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
C. Pompius.
L. Cæditius.
C. Terentius Arsa.

Ædiles. *L. Volscius.*
M. Silius.

Quæstors. *A. Sempronius Atratinus.*
L. Horatius Barbatus.

324. Y. of R.
 77. Consulship. **L. SERGIUS FIDENAS,** a second time.
HOSTUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.

Tribunes of the People. *C. Petelius.*
C. Poetelius Libo.
Sp. Mælius.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
M. Volscius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Lætorius.
Sp. Antius.
M. Trebonius.

Ædiles. *M. Marcius.*
L. Ælius Pætus.

Quæstors. *Ap. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.*
Sp. Nautius Rutilius.

325. Y. of R.
 78. Consulship. **T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS,** a second time.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
 Some Authors place Cossus's triumph, and the Trophy he made of the Spoils of Tolumnius King of the Veientes, under this year.

Tribunes of the People. *Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.*
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Publilius Philo, the Son of Publius.

P. Publilius Philo, the Son of Volero.
L. Virginius.
M. Furius.
M. Plætorius.
L. Publilius Philo Vulscus.
Q. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
P. Plautius Proculus.
T. Metilius.

Ædiles. *C. Sempronius Atratinus.*
L. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.

326. Y. of R.
 79. Consulship. **L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS,** a second time.
C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA.

Tribunes of the People. *C. Cæcilius Metellus.*
Sex. Manilius.
A. Virginius.
C. Pompius.
L. Cædicius.
M. Manilius.
M. Silius.
L. Sicinius.
P. Lætorius.
P. Licinius.

Ædiles. *C. Terentius Arsa.*
M. Silius.

Quæstors. *Q. Antonius Merenda.*
L. Papirius Mugillanus.

327. Y. of R.
 5. Military Tribune. **T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS.**
C. FURIUS PACILUS.
M. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

Dictator. **MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS,** a third time.
 He triumphs over the Veientes and Fidenates.

G. of the Horse. *A. Cornelius Cossus.*

Tribunes of the People. *L. Cæcilius Metellus.*
C. Lætorius.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus, the son of Spurius.
L. Ælius Pætus.
L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Publilius Philo.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|---|
| | Spurius Mælius Capitolinus, the
Son of Caius. | Ædiles. | Sex. Manilius.
M. Manilius. |
| | M. Oppius. | Quæstors. | P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
C. Servilius Axilla. |
| | M. Claudius Cicero. | | |
| | K. Duilius. | 330. Y. of R. | |
| Ædiles. | C. Numitorius.
M. Velscius. | 80. Consulship. | C. SEMPRONIUS ATRA-
TINUS. |
| Quæstors. | L. Servilius Structus.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus. | | Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS. |
| 328. Y. of R. | | Tribunes of the
People. | C. Junius Bubulcus.
Sp. Mælius.
L. Albinus.
L. Trebonius Asper.
C. Mælius.
M. Claudius Cicero.
M. Oppius.
M. Appuleius.
M. Plætorius.
P. Furius. |
| 6. Military
Tribuneship. | A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATI-
NUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a
second time.
L. HORATIUS BARBATUS.
C. Fulcinius.
L. Virginius.
P. Publilius Philo, the son of
Volero.
C. Popilius.
P. Numitorius.
Sex. Titius.
Q. Pæteliu8 Libo Visolus.
P. Publilius Philo, the son of
Publius.
M. Plætorius.
M. Titinius. | Ædiles. | L. Icilius Ruga.
K. Duilius. |
| | | Quæstors. | M. Papirius Mugillanus.
Sp. Veturius Crassus. |
| Tribunes of the
People. | | 331. Y. of R. | |
| | | 8. Military
Tribuneship. | L. MANLIUS VULSO CAPI-
TOLINUS.
Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
L. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.
L. Hortensius.
Sex. Tempanius.
L. Antistius.
A. Sellius.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
T. Roscius.
M. Terentius Arsa.
M. Silius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
Q. Romuleius.
C. Popilius.
Q. Pæteliu8 Libo Visolus.
T. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
Cn. Cornelius Cossus. |
| Ædiles. | Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Mamilius Vitulus. | | |
| Quæstors. | M. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus. | Tribunes of the
People. | |
| 329. Y. of R. | | Ædiles. | |
| 7. Military
Tribuneship. | AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS RE-
GILLENSIS.
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
S. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a se-
cond time.
SEX. JULIUS IULUS.
L. Julius Iulus.
L. Papirius Crassus. | Quæstors. | |
| | | 332. Y. of R. | |
| Censors. | | 81. Consulship. | T. QUINCTIUS CAPITO-
LINUS BARBATUS.
N. FABIVS VIBULANUS.
He gains a victory over the
Æqui, and is honoured with
an Ovation. |
| | | Tribunes of the
People. | Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen. |
| | | | C. Tre- |
| | The thirteenth Lustrum. | | |
| Tribunes of the
People. | L. Virginius.
C. Pompilius.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
C. Claudius Cicero.
C. Numitorius.
L. Sicinius.
C. Pompilius.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
L. Roscius.
L. Volumnius Flamma. | | |

C. Trebonius Asper.
 C. Rabuleius.
 N. Otacilius.
 L. Albinus.
 L. Roscius.
 L. Allienius.
 P. Silius.
 C. Claudius Cicero.
 C. Junius Bubulcus.
 L. Hortensius.
 C. Valerius Potitus Volusus.
 Cn. Cornelius Maluginensis Cof-
 sus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

333. Y. of R.

9. Military Tribuneship.

T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CIN-
 CINNATUS, a second time.
 M. MANLIUS VULSO CAPI-
 TOLINUS.
 L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS,
 a third time.
 A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS,
 a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Antistius.
 Sex. Pompilius.
 M. Canuleius.
 Sp. Mæcilius.
 C. Plautius Proculus.
 M. Appuleius.
 L. Sicinius Dentatus.
 Q. Petilius.
 L. Marcus.
 M. Pomponius.
 Sex. Tempanius.
 A. Sellius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæ-
 stors.

334. Y. of R.

10. Military Tribuneship.

AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANA-
 TUS.
 SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
 P. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITI-
 NUS.
 C. SERVILIUS AXILLA.
 C. Junius Bubulcus.
 L. Albinus.
 L. Allienius.
 C. Popilius.
 M. Pomponius.
 L. Hortensius.
 C. Appuleius.

Q. Confidius.
 C. Marcus.
 C. Oppius.
 L. Antistius.
 Sp. Icilius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæ-
 stors.

335. Y. of R.

11. Military Tribuneship.

M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
 C. SERVILIUS AXILLA, a second
 time.
 L. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a third
 time.
 Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS
 FIDENAS, a second time.
 C. Servilius Axilla.
 L. Papirius Mugillanus.
 Mam. Æmilius Mamerci-
 nus.

Dictator.

G. of the Horse.

Censors.

The fourteenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Mæcilius.
 Sp. Metilius.
 A. Sellius.
 M. Canuleius.
 L. Villius.
 P. Silius.
 T. Pontificius.
 P. Villius.
 L. Sicinius.
 C. Pompilius.
 Sex. Pompilius.
 M. Antistius.
 M. Cornelius Cossus.
 P. Sulpicius Camerinus.
 C. Sergius Nepos.
 L. Virginius Tricostus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæ-
 stors.

336. Y. of R.

12. Military Tribuneship.

P. LUCRETIVS TRICIPI-
 TINUS.
 L. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.
 AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS,
 all three a second time.
 SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICU-
 RINUS.
 Sp. Mæcilius.
 Sp. Metilius.
 C. Apronius.
 L. Antistius.

Tribunes of the People.

Censors. L. Sergius Fidenas.
Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas.

The fifteenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Antistius.
C. Canuleius.
Sex. Pompilius.
M. Canuleius.
L. Sextius.
C. Sellius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Sextius.
M. Duilius.

Ædiles. Sp. Tempanius.
Q. Petilius.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.
M. Geganius Macerinus.

Military Quæstors. M' Valerius Maximus.
Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

342. Y. of R.

84. *Consulship.* M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
L. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Q. Silius.

Ti. Pontificius.
K. Atinius Longus.
T. Voler. Publilius Philo.
Q. Terentius.
C. Duilius.
C. Plautius Proculus.
Trebius.

Ædiles. L. Petilius.
L. Cædicius.
L. Oppius.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Cornelius Maluginensis.
T. Veturius Geminus.

Military Quæstors. M. Sergius Fidenas.
L. Sergius Fidenas.

343. Y. of R.

85. *Consulship.* M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLUSUS. He defeats the Æqui, and receives the honours of an Ovation.

Tribunes of the People. M. Mænius.
Volero Publilius Philo.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
Sex. Sextius Sextinus.

VOL. II.

L. Tempanius.
L. Mæcilius.
A. Tempanius.
C. Apronius.
Q. Publilius.
Cn. Sellius.

Ædiles.

L. Icilius Ruga.

Trebius. He, according to *Pliny*, B. 18. distributed Corn among the People gratis. They, in Gratitude, erected Statues to his Memory, on the Capitol, and the Hill Palatinus; and at his Funeral, his Corps were carried on the Shoulders of Citizens.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Furius Fusus.
A. Manlius Vulso.

Military Quæstors. M. Quintilius Varus.
M. Æbutius Elva.

344. Y. of R.

86. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
L. Icilius Ruga.

C. Icilius Ruga.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
Q. Decius Mus.
C. Licinius Calvus.
L. Villius.

Ædiles. M. Pompilius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
Volero Publilius Philo.
M. Duilius.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Ælius Pætus.
Q. Silius.

Military Quæstors. P. Puppius.
K. Fabius Ambustus. The last of these four Quæstors was the only Patrician among them; the other three, were the first Plebeians, who enjoyed the Quæstorship.

345. Y. of R.

16. *Military Tribuneship.* C. JULIUS IULUS.
P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
C. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Dictator. P. CORNELIUS RUTILUS COSSUS.

4 E

G. of

G. of the Horse. C. Servilius Ahala.
Tribunes of the People. M. Genucius Aventinensis.
 L. Icilius Ruge.

L. Sicinius Bellutus.

Trebius.

P. Decius Mus.

Sex. Titinius.

L. Manilius.

C. Sicinius Bellutus.

K. Atinius Longus.

L. Titinius.

Ædiles. M. Menius.

C. Duilius.

Quæstors of Rome. Appius Claudius Crassus.

L. Julius Iulus.

Military Quæstors. M. Pomponius.

Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

346. Y. of R.

17. *Military Tribuneship.* C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLUSUS.

C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a second time.

N. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a third time.

FURIUS MEDULLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

Q. MUCIUS SÆVOLA.

P. MUCIUS SÆVOLA.

Volero Publilius Philo.

Q. Publilius Philo.

Sex. Sextius Sextinus.

M. Manilius.

L. Cædicius.

Q. Decius Mus.

C. Titinius.

Ædiles. Sp. Icilius Ruge.

Q. Silius.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Atinius Longus.

L. Publilius Philo Volsceus.

Military Quæstors. Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus.

Q. Servilius Proculus Fidenas.

347. Y. of R.

18. *Military Tribuneship.* P. CORNELIUS RUTILUS COS-
 SUS.

L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a second time.

CN. CORNELIUS CASSUS.

N. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. Ælius Pætus.

Volero Publilius Philo.

Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

P. Puppius.

Trebius.

M. Pomponius.

K. Atinius.

M. Pompilius.

C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

C. Titius.

Ædiles. C. Icilius Ruge.

Q. Decius Mus.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Mælius Capitolinus.

P. Mænius.

Military Quæstors. L. Julius Iulus.

P. Licinius Calvus.

348. Y. of R.

19. *Military Tribuneship.* C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time.

M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

T. QUINCTIVS CAPITOLINUS.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.

Q. QUINCTIVS CINCIN-
 NATUS.

A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Duilius.

L. Titinius.

L. Publilius Philo Volsceus.

L. Cædicius.

C. Popilius.

M. Duilius.

L. Atinius Longus.

C. Ælius Pætus.

Cn. Puppius.

C. Volumnius Flamma.

Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruge.

M. Genucius Aventinensis.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Metilius.

P. Curatius Nepos.

Military Quæstors. Sp. Furius Medullinus.

L. Virginius Tricostus Calimontanus.

349. Y. of R.

20. *Military Tribuneship.* P. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN-
 SIS.

SP. NAUTIVS RUTILUS, a third time.

CN. CORNELIUS CASSUS, a second time.

C. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.

K. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.

M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Volero Publilius Philo.
P. Licinius Calvus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
M. Manilius.
P. Mænius.
A. Trebius.
P. Silius.
C. Titinius.
C. Apronius.
P. *Ælius Pætus.*
Ædiles. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
Quæstors of Rome. C. Lucerius.
M. Sulpicius Peticus.
Military Quæstors. M. Popilius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
350. Y. of R.
21. *Military Tribuneship.* M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
M. FURIUS FUSUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.
M. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.
Censors. M. Furius Camillus.
M. Posthumius Albinus Regillensis.

The sixteenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Silius.
L. Publilius Philo Volscus.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Titius.
Cn. Apronius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Pomponius.
M. Pompilius.
L. Titius.
M. Cædicius.
Ædiles. P. Pupius.
Cn. Pupius.
Quæstors of Rome. Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
Sp. Papirius Crassus.
Military Quæstors. M. Acutius.
M. Valerius Maximus.
351. Y. of R.
22. *Military Tribuneship.* C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a third time.
Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS CORNUTUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.

A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS, a second time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
M' SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time. The two last were forced to abdicate.
Tribunes of the People. L. Mænius.
M. Popilius.
Sp. Antius.
A. Trebius.
C. Mænius.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Silius.
C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
M. Antius.
Ædiles. C. Popilius.
L. Titinius.
Quæstors of Rome. L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
P. Cornelius Scipio.
Military Quæstors. A. Posthumius Regillensis.
C. Duilius.
352. Y. of R.
23. *Military Tribuneship.* L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a fourth time.
L. JULIUS IULUS.
M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.
CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time.
K. FABIVS AMBUSTUS, a second time.
Tribunes of the People. C. Trebonius Asper.
C. Lucerius.
M. Acutius.
P. Curatius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Fulcinius.
Cn. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Metilius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
Ædiles. P. Silius.
P. Licinius Calvus.
Quæstors of Rome. L. Lucretius Flavus.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Military Quæstors. P. Cornelius Cossus.
P. Plautius Præculus.
353. Y. of R.
24. *Military Tribuneship.* P. LICINIUS CALVUS.
P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
P. MÆNIUS.

SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
 L. LITINIUS.
 L. PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLSCUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. Pupius.
 M. Pontificius.
 L. Volscius.
 C. Mæcilius.
 C. Numitorius.
 M. Genucius Aventinensis.
 C. Pontificius.
 M. Sellius.
 C. Antius.
 T. Staius.

Ædiles. L. Mænius.
 K. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors of Rome. T. Menenius Lanatus.
 T. Sicinius Dentatus.

Military Quæstors. Sp. Mælius.
 A. Virginus.

354. Y. of R.
 25. *Military Tribuneship.* C. DUILIUS.
 L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
 CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
 M. POMPONIUS.
 VOLERO PUBLILIUS.
 M. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. Acutius.
 L. Lucerius.
 L. Staius.
 C. Racilius.
 M. Confidius.
 P. Licinius Calvus.
 C. Volscius.
 M. Mæcilius.
 M. Plætorius.
 L. Allienius.

Ædiles. C. Trebonius Asper.
 Sp. Antius.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Æmilius Mamercinus.
 Q. Pomponius.

Military Quæstors. L. Papirius Cursor.
 L. Valerius Poplicola.

355. Y. of R.
 26. *Military Tribuneship.* L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a fifth time.
 L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a third time.
 M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
 M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.

Censors. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a second time.
 Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS CORNUTUS, a second time.
 C. Valerius Potitus Volusus.
 M' Æmilius Mamercinus.

The seventeenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Silius.
 P. Curatius.
 C. Pætilius.
 C. Plætorius.
 Q. Pæteliu Libo Visolus.
 P. Publilius Philo.
 M. Metilius.
 C. Pæteliu Libo Visolus.
 P. Plautius Proculus.
 M. Popilius.

Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
 C. Lucerius.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Cornelius Maluginensis.
 M' Marcus.

Military Quæstors. M. Æmilius Mamercinus.
 L. Fulvius Corvus.

356. Y. of R.
 27. *Military Tribuneship.* L. JULIUS IULUS, a second time.
 L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a fourth time.
 L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
 A. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN. REGILLENsis.
 A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS, a third time.
 P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a second time. Their Election was deemed irregular, and they were forced to abdicate.

Tribunes of the People. L. Mænius.
 T. Metilius.
 L. Volscius.
 M. Pontificius.
 P. Pupius.
 L. Lucerius.
 M. Volscius Fictor.
 M. Sellius.
 C. Plautius Proculus.
 M. Genucius.

Ædiles. M. Acutius.
 C. Numitorius.

Quæstors

Quæstors of *Sp. Posthumius Albin. Regil-*
Rome. lensis.

Q. Sulpicius Longus.

Military Quæ- *L. Valerius Potitus.*
stors. *M. Aulus Cerretanus.*

357. Y. of R.

28. *Military* P. LICINIUS.

Tribuneship. L. ATINIUS LONGUS, a second
time.

P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a
second time.

L. TITINIUS, a second time.

P. MÆNIUS, a second time.

C. GENUCIUS AVENTINEN-
SIS, a second time. He was
killed in a battle with the
Falisci and Capenates.

Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
He triumphs over the Veien-
tes.

G. of the Horse. P. Cornelius Scipio.

Tribunes of the C. Trebonius Asper.
People. P. Lucerius.

M. Decius Mus.

Sp. Mælius.

M. Furius.

M. Acutius.

M. Minucius Augurinus.

C. Terentius Arsa.

P. Lætorius.

L. Virginius.

Ædiles. *M. Confidius.*

M. Plætorius.

Quæstors of *K. Fabius Ambustus.*
Rome. *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.*

Military Quæ- *L. Cornelius Lentulus.*
stors. *Agrippa Furius Fusus.*

358. Y. of R.

29. *Military* P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

Tribuneship. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS, a
second time.

K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a third
time.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a
fifth time.

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FI-
DENAS, a second time.

Tribunes of the T. Sicinius Dentatus.
People. A. Virginius.

Q. Pomponius.

L. Icilius Ruga.

L. Fulvius Corvus.

C. Lætorius.

L. Cædicius.

C. Lucerius.

P. Pupius.

P. Curatius.

Ædiles.

C. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

Quæstors of *L. Marcius Rutilus.*
Rome. *C. Licinius Calvus.*

Military Quæ- *C. Fabius Ambustus.*
stors. *M. Albinus.*

359. Y. of R.

30. *Military* M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a
Tribuneship. third time.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a
sixth time.

C. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN. RE-
GILLENIS.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, a se-
cond time.

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Tribunes of the T. Sicinius Dentatus.
People. Q. Pomponius.

A. Virginius.

L. Icilius Ruga.

M. Genucius Aventinensis.

C. Pompilius.

L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Q. Silius.

L. Volumnius Flamma.

L. Cædicius.

Ædiles.

C. Trebonius Asper.

M. Minucius Augurinus.

Quæstors of *L. Virginius Tricoftus.*
Rome. *C. Marcius Rutilus.*

Military Quæ- *P. Cornelius Cossus, the Son of*
stors. *Aulus.*

P. Cornelius Cossus, the Son of
Publius.

360. Y. of R.

87. *Consulship.* L. LUCRETIUS FLAVUS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERI-
NUS.

Tribunes of the T. Sicinius Dentatus.
People. C. Lucerius.

P. Curatius.

L. Ælius Pætus.

Sex. Pompilius.

M. Titinius.

C. Acu-

C. Acutius.
C. Manius.
M. Silius.
Sex. Manlius.
Ædiles. T. Metilius.
M. Decius Mus.
Quæstors of L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Rome. C. Sextilius.
Military Quæ- A. Manlius Capitolinus.
stors. L. Posthumius Albin. Regillensis.
361. Y. of R.
88. Consulship. L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
M. MANLIUS CAPITOLI-
NUS. They both abdicate.
Censors. C. Julius.
L. Papirius Cursor. The
former died in his office, and
M. Cornelius Maluginen-
sis was chosen in his room.

The eighteenth Legion.

Tribunes of the Q. Silius.
People. L. Icilius Ruge.
C. Titius.
C. Curatius.
P. Furius.
K. Duilius.
C. Licinius Calvus.
M. Cædicius.
L. Virginius.
C. Lætorius.
Ædiles. P. Lætorius.
L. Fuscus Corvus.
Quæstors of L. Julius Iulus.
Rome. L. Aquilius Corvus.
Military Quæ- T. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
stors. T. Manlius Capitolinus.
362. Y. of R.
31. Military L. LUCRETIVS FLAVUS.
Tribunship. SER. SULPITIUS CAMERI-
NUS.
M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a
seventh time.
AGRIPPA FURIUS FUSUS.
C. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS,
a second time.
Tribunes of the C. Trebonius Asper.
People. L. Hortensius.
C. Acutius.
Q. Romuleius.

M. Terentius.
L. Appuleius.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Q. Manlius.
L. Rabuleius.
N. Otacilius.
Ædiles. T. Sicinius Dentatus.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Quæstors of L. Sicinius Dentatus.
Rome. L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
Military Quæ- Ser. Sulpitius Rufus.
stors. C. Sergius Fidenus.
363. Y. of R.
32. Military Q. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
Tribunship. K. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
C. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
Q. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDE-
NAS, a fourth time.
SERVIUS CORNELIVS MALU-
GINENSIS.

Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS,
a second time. He triumphs
over the Gauls.

G. of the Horse. L. Valerius Potitus.
Tribunes of the L. Marcius Rutilus.
People. L. Icilius Ruge.

L. Ælius Pætus.
M. Decius Mus.
M. Otacilius.
K. Duilius.
L. Pupius.
M. Appuleius.
M. Albinus.
C. Oppius.
Ædiles. C. Licinius Calvus.
M. Titinius.
Quæstors of L. Menenius Lanatus.
Rome. C. Cornelius Cossus.
Military Quæ- L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
stors. L. Antistius.

364. Y. of R.
Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
G. of the Horse. L. Valerius Potitus.
Tribunes of the C. Marcius Rutilus.
People. L. Hortensius.
C. Claudius Cicero.
L. Fulvius Curvus.
L. Marcius.
C. Appuleius.

C. Sex-

C. Sextilius.
M' Pomponius.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Q. Petilius.
Ædiles. L. Appuleius.
L. Virginius.
Quæstors of Rome. P. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Military Quæstors. L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Horatius Pulvillus.
365. Y. of R.
33. Military Tribune-ship. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLEN-
SIS.
Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Volsci, Æqui, and Hetrurians.
G. of the Horse. C. Servilius Ahala.
Tribunes of the People. C. Trebonius Asper.
L. Ælius Pœtus.
C. Otacilius.
M. Appuleius.
Lucius Albinus.
Q. Confidius.
Q. Hortensius.
N. Otacilius.
L. Allienius.
C. Acutius.
M. Albinus.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
C. Fabius Dorso.
C. Apronius.
C. Papirius Crassus.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
366. Y. of R.
34. Military Tribune-ship. T. QUINCTIUS CINCIN-
NATUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a fifth time.
L. JULIUS IULUS.
L. AQUILIUS CORVUS.
L. LUCRETIVS TRICIPI-
TINUS.
SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
M. Titinius.
Cn. Appuleius.

L. Sextius.
L. Numitorius.
C. Appuleius.
C. Licinius Calvus.
C. Sextilius.
M. Juventius.
L. Fulcinius.
T. Roscius.
Ædiles. L. Hortensius.
C. Oppius.
Quæstors of Rome. Q. Publius Philo.
M. Pœtelius Libo.
Military Quæstors. Sp. Papirius Crassus.
M. Mænius.
367. Y. of R.
35. Military Tribune-ship. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
C. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
L. MENENIUS LANATUS.
L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
C. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
L. Sicinius Dentatus.
C. Trebonius Asper.
Q. Hortensius.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
L. Antistius.
C. Acutius.
L. Albinus.
Sp. Mæcilius.
M. Appuleius.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
L. Papirius Crassus.
Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas.
Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus.
Cn. Apronius.
368. Y. of R.
36. Military Tribune-ship. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fourth time.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGI-
NENSIS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a sixth time.
L. QUINCTIUS CINCIN-
NATUS.
L. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLI-
COLA.

Tribune

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus.
 Sp. Metilius.
 A. Sellius.
 C. Volumnius Flamma.
 M. Pompilius.
 Sex. Tempanius.
 P. Scaptius.
 P. Silius.
 C. Mamilius Vitulus.
 Ti. Pontificius.
Ædiles. C. Sextilius.
 C. Appuleius.
Quæstors of Rome. L. Furius Medullinus.
 Sp. Papirius Cursor.
Military Quæstors. M. Fabius Ambustus.
 P. Mænius.
 369. Y. of R.
37. Military Tribuneship. A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a second time.
 P. CORNELIUS Cossus, a second time.
 T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
 L. PAPIRIUS CURTUS, a second time.
 C. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time.
 L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Dictator. A. CORNELIUS Cossus. He triumphs over the Volsci.
G. of the Horse. T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Hortensius.
 C. Marcus Rutilus.
 L. Antistius.
 C. Apronius.
 L. Apronius.
 L. Sextius.
 C. Antistius.
 M. Albinus.
 A. Lucerius.
 L. Cædicius.
Ædiles. M. Trebonius Flavius.
 L. Numitorius.
Quæstors of Rome. P. Manlius Capitolinus.
 C. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Military Quæstors. C. Manlius Capitolinus.
 A. Sempronius Atratinus.
 370. Y. of R.
38. Military Tribuneship. SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a third time.

P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
 M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth time.
 SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, a second time.
 C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
 T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, a second time.
Tribunes of the People. M. Mænius.
 Sp. Mæcilius.
 Q. Hortensius.
 C. Furius.
 T. Romuleius.
 Q. Publilius Philo.
 P. Mænius.
 Cn. Apronius.
 P. Mælius.
 Q. Terentius.
Ædiles. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
 L. Albinus.
Quæstors of Rome. P. Clælius Siculus.
 Q. Decius Mus.
Military Quæstors. Sp. Furius Medullinus.
 M. Horatius Pulvillus.
 371. Y. of R.
39. Military Tribuneship. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a fourth time.
 A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a third time.
 SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, a third time.
 L. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS, a third time.
 L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.
 M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
Tribunes of the People. L. Marcus Rutilus.
 M. Albinus.
 L. Oppius.
 Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
 M. Claudius.
 C. Sextilius.
 T. Juventius.
 C. Oppius Cornicen.
 Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
 M. Duilius.
Ædiles. C. Apronius.
 C. Mamilius Vitulus.

Quæstors

Quæstors of *Rome.* *L. Geganius Macerinus.*
Sp. Servilius Priscus.
 Military Quæ- *Q. Claudius Siculus.*
 stors. *Q. Mucius Sævola.*
 372. Y. of R.
 40. *Military Tribuneſhip.* *SP. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.*
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN-
SIS, a fourth time.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDE-
NAS.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTA-
TUS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a
fourth time.
Tribunes of the People. *L. Sicilius Dentatus.*
L. Albinus.
L. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
L. Petilius.
C. Canuleius.
C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mænius.
L. Publilius Philo Volscus.
L. Canuleius.
L. Rabuleius.
Ædiles. *M. Mænius.*
L. Sextius.
 Quæstors of *Rome.* *C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.*
C. Petarius Crassus Cicurinus.
 Military Quæ- *P. Pupius.*
 stors. *L. Mætilius.*
 373. Y. of R.
 41. *Military Tribuneſhip.* *M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a sixth*
time.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS RE-
GILLEN SIS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS RE-
GILLEN SIS.
L. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS,
a third time.
M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
Tribunes of the People. *L. Antistius.*
A. Lucerius.
A. Tempanius.
Cn. Sellius.
C. Apronius.
C. Marcus Rutilus.
L. Marcus Rutilus.
Sp. Metilius.
L. Tempanius.
C. Sellius.

Ædiles. *Q. Hortensius.*
Q. Publius Philo.
 Quæstors of *Rome.* *C. Licinius Calvus.*
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
 Military Quæ- *Ser. Sulpicius Longus.*
 stors. *L. Æmilius Barbula.*
 374. Y. of R.
 42. *Military Tribuneſhip.* *L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a*
fifth time.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLI-
COLA, a fifth time.
L. MENENIUS LANATUS, a se-
cond time.
C. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a third
time.
SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
SER. CORNELIUS MALU-
GINENSIS, a fifth time.
 Dictator. *T. QUINCTIVS CINCIN-*
NATUS. He triumphs o-
ver the Prænestini.
G. of the Horse. *A. Sempronius Atratinus.*
Censors. *C. Sulpicius Camerinus.*
Sp. Posthumius Albus Re-
gillensis. The latter dies in
his Office, and the former ab-
dicates on account of the
death of his Collegue.
Tribunes of the People. *M. Mænius.*
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Pompilius.
C. Mamilius.
Sex. Titinius.
Cn. Apronius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
Q. Marcius Tremulus.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
C. Titius.
Ædiles. *M. Duilius.*
C. Icilius Ruga.
 Quæstors of *Rome.* *Q. Silius.*
M. Sergius Fidenas.
 Military Quæ- *C. Titinius.*
 stors. *Q. Antonius Merenda.*
 375. Y. of R.
 43. *Military Tribuneſhip.* *P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.*
C. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. JULIVS IVLVS, a second
time.
C. SEXTILIUS.

M. ALBINUS.
 L. ANTISTIVS.
Tribunes of the C. Apronius.
People. L. Sextius.
 C. Canuleius.
 M. Titius.
 L. Rabuleius.
 L. Marcius Rutlius.
 P. Decius Mus.
 Q. Publilius Philo.
 Q. Canuleius.
 Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
Ædiles. P. Mænius.
 L. Canuleius.
Quæstors of L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Rome. P. Sextius Capitolinus.
Military Quæ- M. Genucius Aventinensis.
stors. L. Virginus Tricipitius Cælimen-
 tanus.

376. Y. of R.

44. *Military* SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
Tribuneship. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDE-
 NAS, a second time.
 C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
 P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
 M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
 L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
Censors. Sp. Servilius Priscus.
 Q. Cloelius Siculus.

The nineteenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the L. Sicinius Dentatus.
People. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
 Q. Mucius Scævola.
 C. Icilius Ruge.
 P. Mucius Scævola.
 C. Ælius Pætus.
 P. Ælius Pætus.
 L. Petillius.
 C. Ælius Pætus.
 M. Duilius.

Ædiles. A. Tempanius.
 C. Sellius.

Quæstors of P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Rome. C. Valerius Potitus.

Military Quæ- A. Cornelius Cossus.
stors. M. Cornelius Maluginensis.

377. Y. of R.

45. *Military* L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a
Tribuneship. fifth time.
 SER. SULPICIVS PRÆTEXTA-
 TUS, a second time.

P. VALERIUS POTITUS POP-
 LICOLA, a fourth time.
 L. QUINCTIVS CINCINNATUS,
 a second time.
 C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CI-
 CURINUS.
 C. QUINCTIVS CINCIN-
 NATUS.

Tribunes of the L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
People. C. Licinius Stolo.

Cn. Pupius.
 Voler. Publilius Philo.
 L. Atinius Longus.
 M. Fulcinius.
 M. Atilius Regulus.
 C. Popillius.
 L. Villius.
 A. Trebonius.
Ædiles. Q. Decius Mus.
 C. Titius.

Quæstors of L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Rome. Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

378. Y. of R.

Anarchy. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
Tribunes of the C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
People. M. Mænius.
 Cn. Lucretius.
 C. Metilius.
 C. Sellius.
 Q. Mæcilius.
 A. Acutius.
 A. Tempanius.
 L. Volumnius Flamma.
Ædiles. Q. Canuleius.
 Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

379. Y. of R.

Anarchy. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
Tribunes of the C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
People. Q. Publilius Philo.
 Q. Decius Mus.
 C. Atinius Longus.
 M. Atilius Regulus.
 Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
 L. Villius.
 P. Plautius Proculus.
 Q. Manilius.
Ædiles. P. Mucius Scævola.
 L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

380. Y. of R.

Anarchy. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Cn. Pupius.
Q. Silius.
Cn. Sicilius Bellutus.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
P. Pupius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
Ædiles. M. Fulcinius.
A. Trebius.

381. Y. of R.
Anarchy. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.
M. Popilius Lænas.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Titinius.
Volero Publilius Philo.
K. Atinius.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
Ædiles. C. Metilius.
C. Acutius.

382. Y. of R.
46. *Military Tribuneship.* L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POP-
LICOLA, a fifth time.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a fourth time.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTA-
TUS, a fifth time.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS.
SERV. CORNELIUS MALUGI-
NENSIS, a sixth time.

Tribunes of the People. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Plautius Proculus, the Son of Publius.
C. Plautius Proculus, the Son of Caius.
P. Curatius.
L. Furius.
P. Plautius Proculus.
C. Atinius Longus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Ædiles. M. Atilius Regulus.
L. Villius.
Quæstors of Rome. L. Papirius Crassus.
L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Military Quæstors. M. Geganius Macerinus.
M. Popilius.

383. Y. of R.
47. *Military Tribuneship.* Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDE-
NAS, a third time.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN-
SIS.
C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CI-
CURINUS, a second time.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNA-
TUS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS, a se-
cond time.

Tribunes of the People. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Plautius Proculus.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
P. Licinius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Popilius Lænas.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Decius Mus.
Ædiles. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.
Quæstors of Rome. C. Sulpicius Peticus.
Q. Servilius Ahala.
Military Quæstors. Sp. Furius Camillus.
Q. Pomponius.

384. Y. of R.
48. *Military Tribuneship.* L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLI-
NUS.
SP. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGI-
NENSIS, a seventh time.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTA-
TUS, a fourth time.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICU-
RINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
Juventius Thalna.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
P. Plautius Proculus.
C. Duilius.
Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.
C. Sempronius Longus.
L. Atinius Longus.
Ædiles. K. Atinius Longus.

C. Plautius Proculus.
 Quæstors of *L. Manlius Capitolinus Imper-*
Rome. rialis.
Ap. Claudius Cræsus.
 Military Quæ- *M. Aulus Cæcilius.*
 stors. *Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus.*
 385. Y. of R.
 Dictator. **M. FURIUS CAMILLUS,**
 a fifth time.
G. of the Horse. *L. Æmilius Mamercinus.*
 Dictator. **P. MANLIUS CAPITO-**
LINUS.
G. of the Horse. *C. Licinius Calvus.*
Tribunes of the *L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.*
People. *L. Licinius Calvus Stolo.*
C. Pætelius Libo Visolus.
C. Plautius Proculus.
M. Marcius.
M. Confidius.
C. Petillius.
L. Allienius.
P. Publilius Philo.
M. Plætorius.
 Ædiles. *Valer. Publius Philo.*
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
 Quæstors of *P. Cornelius Scapula.*
Rome. P. Cornelius Scipio.
 Military Quæ- *C. Cæcilius Maximus.*
 stors. *Q. Decius Mus.*
 386. Y. of R.
 49. *Military* *A. Cornelius Cossus, a se-*
Tribunship. cond time.
L. Veturius Crassus Cicu-
rinus, a second time.
M. Cornelius Maluginen-
sis, a second time.
P. Valerius Potitus Pop-
licola, a sixth time.
M. Geganius Macerinus.
P. Manlius Capitolinus,
a second time.
 Dictator. **M. FURIUS CAMILLUS,**
 a fifth time. He triumphs
 over the Gauls.
G. of the Horse. *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*
Capitolinus.
Tribunes of the *L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.*
People. *C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.*
M. Popilius.
C. Plautius Proculus.

C. Racilius.
C. Trebonius Asper.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
C. Plætorius.
L. Fulcinus.
T. Statius.
 Ædiles. *L. Genucius Aventinensis.*
C. Sempronius Longus.
 Quæstors of *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.*
Rome. M. Fabius Ambustus.
 Military Quæ- *L. Pinaris Natta.*
 stors. *M. Pomponius.*
 387. Y. of R.
 89. *Consulship.* **L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-**
NUS.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS
LATERANUS. He was
 the first Plebeian who was
 made Consul.
First Prætor. *Sp. Furius Camillus.*
First Cærule *Cn. Quinctius Cincinnatus.*
 Ædiles. *C. Cornelius Scipio.*
Tribunes of the *M. Plætorius.*
People. *C. Numitorius.*
C. Antius.
M. Acutius.
M. Pontificius.
L. Statius.
M. Antius.
C. Mæcilius.
C. Luccrius.
L. Volscius Fictor.
 Quæstors of *Cn. Manlius Capitol. Torquatus.*
Rome. Q. Aulus Cæcilius.
 Military Quæ- *P. Licinius Calvus.*
 stors. *C. Terentius.*
 388. Y. of R.
 90. *Consulship.* **L. GENUCIUS AVENTI-**
NENSIS.
Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.
Prætor. **L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS**
IMPERIOSUS.
Curule-Ædiles. *Juventius Thalna.*
C. Licinius Calvus.
Tribunes of the *Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.*
People. *C. Plautius Proculus.*
L. Luccrius.
C. Trebonius.
C. Volscius.
M. Popilius.
T. Metus.
M. Sellius.
 T. Statius.

T. Statius.
C. Racilius.
Plebeian Æ- *M. Popilius Lænas.*
diles. *C. Martius Rutilus.*
Quæstors of *C. Fulvius Ambustus.*
Rome. *L. Hortensius.*
Military Quæ- *M. Valerius Poplicola.*
stors. *L. Fulvius Curvus.*
389. Y. of R.
91. Consulship. **C. SULPICIUS PETICUS.**
C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
Prætor. **CN. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLI-**
NUS.
Curule/Ediles. *P. Cornelius Scapula.*
Appius Claudius Crassus Sabinus
Regillensis.
Tribunes of the *C. Plautius Proculus.*
People. *C. Pæteliu Libo Visolus.*
M. Confidius.
L. Appuleius.
C. Sempronius Longus.
I. Racilius.
C. Platorius.
L. Allienius.
M. Marcius.
C. Fulvius Curvus.
Plebeian Æ- *L. Fulcinius.*
diles. *L. Volscius Fictor.*
Quæstors of *M. Æbutius Elva.*
Rome. *L. Icilius Ruga.*
Military Quæ- *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.*
stors. *C. Marcius Rutilus.*
390. Y. of R.
92. Consulship. **L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-**
NUS, a second time.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTI-
NENSIS.
Dictator. **L. MANLIUS CAPITO-**
LINUS IMPERIOSUS.
G. of the Horse. **L. Pinarius Natta.**
Censors. **M. Fabius Ambustus,** the
Son of Cæso.
L. Furius Medullinus.
The twentieth Lustrum.
Prætor. **M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS,** the
Son of Numerius.
Curule/Ediles. *C. Popillius Lænas.*
L. Statius.
Plebeian Æ- *C. Pæteliu Libo Visolus.*
diles. *C. Antius.*

Tribunes of the **M. Antius.**
People. **C. Numitorius.**
M. Popilius Lænas.
Q. Pæteliu Libo Visolus.
L. Pupius.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
A. Allienius.
L. Ælius Pætu.
C. Carviliu Maximu.
Quæstors of *P. Valeriu Poplicola.*
Rome. *C. Julius Iulu.*
Military Quæ- *Q. Hortensius.*
stors. *M. Curius.*
391. Y. of R.
93. Consulship. **Q. SERVILIUS AHALA,** a
second time.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTI-
NENSIS, a second time.
Dictator. **APPIUS CLAUDIUS**
CRASSUS SABINUS
REGILLENSIS.
G. of the Horse. **P. Cornelius Scapula.**
Prætor. **P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.**
Curule/Ediles. **Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imper-**
rius.
C. Fabius Ambustus.
Tribunes of the **M. Pomponius.**
People. **Q. Decius Mus.**
C. Oppiu.
C. Terentiu Arsa
Q. Romuleiu.
C. Mæliu Capitolinu.
Sp. Oppiu Cornicen.
N. Otaciliu.
M. Terentiu.
L. Rabuleiu.
Plebeian Æ- **L. Lucretiu.**
diles. **C. Volsciu.**
Quæstors of **L. Corneliu Scipio.**
Rome. **C. Petilliu.**
Military Quæ- **L. Mæniu.**
stors. **L. Aquiliu Corvuu.**
392. Y. of R.
94. Consulship. **C. LICINIUS CALVUS,** a
second time.
C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a
second time. He triumphs
over the Hernici.

Dictator.

Dictator. T. QUINCTIUS PEN-
NUS, CAPITOLINUS
CRISPINUS. He triumphs
over the Gauls.

G. of the Horse. Serv. Cornelius Maluginen-
sis.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Curule Ædiles. M. Platorius.

M. Cæcilius.

Plebeian Æ- C. Platorius.

diles. L. Atilius.

Tribunes of the C. Plautius Hypsæus.

People. M. Marcius.

M' Otacilius.

C. Lætorius, the son of Caius.

P. Furius.

L. Ælius Pætus.

P. Licinius Calvus.

Q. Mælius.

C. Lætorius, the son of Publius.

L. Virginus.

Quæstors of *Rome.* A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

L. Papirius Mugilanus.

Military Quæ- M. Duilius.

stors. C. Duilius.

393. Y. of R.

95. *Consulship.* M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. PETILIUS LIBO VISO-
LUS. The latter triumphs
over the Gauls, and the Ti-
burtini. The former, after
having defeated the Hernici,
obtains the Honours of an
Ovation.

Prætor. SPURIUS FURIUS CAMILLUS,
a second time.

Curule Ædiles. P. Valerius Poplicola.

C. Julius Iulus.

Plebeian Æ- Q. Aulus Cerretanus.

diles. C. Corvilius Maximus.

Tribunes of the K. Duilius.

People. M. Cædicius.

C. Apronius.

T. Sicinius Dentatus.

C. Marcius Rutilus.

L. Hortensius.

C. Curatius.

L. Sextius.

C. Titius.

M. Titinius.

Quæstors of *Rome.* L. Æmilius Barbula.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

Military Quæ- T. Manlius Capitolinus Torqua-
stors. tus.

C. Livius Dentatus.

394. Y. of R.

96. *Consulship.* M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLI-
NUS IMPERIOSUS.

Prætor. SER. CORNELIUS MALUGI-
NENSIS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Porporius.

L. Rabulius.

Plebeian Æ- C. Mælius Capitolinus.

diles. C. Terentius Arsa.

Tribunes of the M. Marcius.

People. Sex. Manilius.

P. Silius.

C. Apronius.

M. Terentius.

L. Icilius Ruga.

C. Plautius Hypsæus.

Sex. Pompilius.

P. Villius.

C. Sextius.

Quæstors of *Rome.* P. Valerius Poplicola.

L. Marcius Rutilus.

Military Quæ- M. Fajius Flaccinator.

stors. C. Servus Fidenas.

395. Y. of R.

79. *Consulship.* C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS,
who triumphs over the Pri-
vernates.

Dictator. C. SULPICIUS PETICUS.
He triumphs over the Gauls.

G. of the Horse. M. Valerius Poplicola.

Prætor. T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CA-
PITOLINUS CRISPINUS.

Curule Ædiles. T. Manlius Torquatus.

A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Plebeian Æ- K. Duilius.

diles. L. Virginus.

Tribunes of the C. Petilius.

People. L. Plautius Venno.

L. Hortensius.

Q. Hortensius.

C. Sextilius.

M. Cædicius.

P. Furius.

P. Licinius.

C. Lætorius.

M. Mænius.

Quæstors

Quæstors of *L. Furius Camillus.*
Rome. P. Mænius.
 Military Quæ- *C. Pæteliu Libo Visolus.*
 stors. *Sp. Nautius Rutilus.*

396. Y. of R.

98. Consulship. **C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.**
 He triumphs over the Privernates.

CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS, a second time.

Prætor. **M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.**

Curule Ædiles. *C. Duilius.*

L. Sextius.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Curatius.*

diles. *C. Titius.*

Tribunes of the *M. Duilius.*

People. *L. Mænius.*

M. Pomponius.

M. Titinius.

C. Mælius Capitolinus.

C. Claudius Cicero.

C. Apronius.

T. Sicinius.

M' Curius.

Quæstors of *M. Pupirius Mugillanus.*
Rome. Ti. Coruncanus.

Military Quæ- *Sp. Papirius Cursor.*
 stors. *M' Pomponius.*

397. Y. of R.

99. Consulship. **M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS,** a second time.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a second time.

Dictator. **C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.**
 He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

G. of the Horse. **C. Plautius Proculus.**

Prætor. **T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.**

Curule Ædiles. *L. Cornelius Scipio.*

Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Plautius Hypsæus.*

diles. *C. Sextius.*

Tribunes of the *C. Livius Denter.*

People. *P. Licinius Calvus.*

Q. Hortensius.

C. Junius Bubulcus.

M. Marcius.

P. Mænius.

K. Duilius.

L. Icilius Ruga.

L. Antistius.

C. Petillius.

Quæstors of *Sex. Tullius.*
Rome. M. Pætiliu Libo.

Military Quæ- *M. Fabius Dors.*
 stors. *Ser. Sulpiciu. Pretextatus.*

398. Y. of R.

100. Consulship. **C. SULPICIUS PETICUS,** a third time.

M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Prætor. **P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.**

Curule Ædiles. *M. Duilius.*

L. Mænius.

Plebeian Æ- *M. Mænius.*

diles. *P. Furius.*

Tribunes of the *L. Hortensius.*

People. *C. Antistius.*

C. Duilius.

Cn. Appuleius.

C. Appuleius.

L. Albinus.

L. Fulcinus.

L. Albinus.

C. Confidius.

L. Numitorius.

Quæstors of *Ser. Sulpiciu Camerinus.*
Rome. Q. Serviliu Abala.

Military Quæ- *Ti. Æmiliu Mamercinus.*
 stors. *C. Claudiu Crassus Regillensis.*

399. Y. of R.

101. Consulship. **M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS,** a third time. He triumphs over the Tiburtini.

T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS.
CAPITOLINUS CRISP-
NUS.

Prætor. **C. JULIUS IULUS.**

Curule Ædiles. *L. Furius Camillus.*

M. Pupirius Mugillanus.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Livius Denter.*

diles. *Q. Hortensius.*

Tribunes of the *C. Pæteliu Libo Visolus.*

People. *Sp. Mæcilius.*

L. Marcius Rutilus.

Sp. Mætilius.

A. Sellius.

K. Duilius.

Ti. Pontificius.

T. Roscius.

Sex. Tempanius.

L. Villius.

Quæstors

Quæstors of *Rome.* *Q. Fabius Ambulstus.*
A. Læstus.
 Military Quæ- *C. Junius Brutus.*
 stors. *C. P. Junius Cæstus.*
 400. Y. of R.
 102. *C. Sulpicius Peticus,* a
 fourth time.
M. Valerius Poplico-
la, a second time.
 Dictator. *T. Manlius Imperi-*
osus Torquatus.
G. of the Horse. *A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.*
Prætor. *L. Cornelius Scipio.*
 Curule Ædiles. *L. Hortensius.*
M. Marcius.
 Plebeian Æ- *L. Antistius.*
 diles. *C. Junius Bubilius Brutus.*
 Quæstors of *Q. Pubilius Philo.*
Rome. *P. Decius Mus.*
 Military Quæ- *C. Manlius.*
 stors. *Cn. Cornelius Cossus.*
 Tribunes of the *C. Plautius Hypsæus.*
 People. *L. Manlius.*
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
C. Titius.
C. Sextius.
M. Duilius.
C. Mamilius Vitulus.
T. Sicinius Dentatus.
C. Apronius.
L. Sextilius.
 401. Y. of R.
 103. *C. Sulpicius P.* *Valerius Popli-*
cola.
C. Marcius Rutilus, a
 second time.
 Dictator. *C. Julius Iulus.*
G. of the Horse. *L. Æmilius Mamercinus.*
Prætor. *Ap. Claudius Crassus Re-*
gillensis.
 Curule Ædiles. *P. Valerius Poplicola.*
L. Pinarius Natta.
 Plebeian Æ- *Cn. Appuleius.*
 diles. *L. Albinius.*
 Tribunes of the *Sex. Tullius.*
 People. *K. Duilius.*
M. Pomponius.
L. Cædicius.

P. Melius.
P. Menius.
Q. Hortensius.
M. Manlius.
C. Furius.
C. Canuleius.
 Quæstors of *L. Æmilius Mamercinus.*
Rome. *L. Æmilius Esculapius.*
 Military Quæ- *C. Iulius Frontinus.*
 stors. *Q. Æmilius Barbula.*
 402. Y. of R.
 104. *C. Sulpicius P.* *C. Sulpicius Peticus,*
 a fifth time.
T. Quinctius Cincin-
natus Capitolinus.
 Dictator. *M. Fabius Ambustus.*
G. of the Horse. *Q. Servilius Ahala.*
 Censors. *Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Im-*
 periosus.
C. Marcius Rutilus. The
 first Plebeian who was made
 Censor.
 The twenty-first Lustrum.
Prætor. *M. Papirius Mugillanus.*
 Curule Ædiles. *C. Pætelius Libo Volsus.*
C. Appuleius.
 Plebeian Æ- *C. Antistius.*
 diles. *L. Vilius.*
 Tribunes of the *M. Ovinus.*
 People. *C. Duilius.*
L. Canuleius.
L. Rabuleius.
T. Romuleius.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
M. Claudius Cicero.
M. Pætelius Libo.
P. Melius Capitolinus.
Q. Terentius.
 Quæstors of *Ser. Sulpicius Longus.*
Rome. *Sp. Furius Medullinus.*
 Military Quæ- *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.*
 stors. *Q. Cædicius.*
 403. Y. of R.
 105. *C. Sulpicius M.* *Popilius Lænas,* a
 third time. He triumphs over
 the Gauls.
L. Cornelius Scipio.
 Dictator. *L. Furius Camillus.*
G. of

G. of the Horse. P. Cornelius Scipio.
Prætor. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
Curule Ædiles. M. Fulvius Dorsus.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Sextilius.
C. Mamilius.
Tribunes of the People. P. Manius.
 K. Duilius.
 T. Juventius.
 L. Oppius.
 P. Decius Mus.
 C. Oppius Cornicen.
 C. Licinius Calvus.
 C. Livius Denton.
 Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
 C. Ælius Pætus.
Quæstors of Rome. M. Horatius Pulvillus.
 L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
Military Quæstors. C. Claudius Hortator.
 A. Posthumius Albinus Regillensis.

404. Y. of R.

106. *Consulship.* L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
 AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS
 SABINUS REGILLENIS.
 He died in his Office.

Dictator. T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS,
 a second time.

G. of the Horse. A. Cornelius Arvina.
Prætor. L. PINARIUS NATTA.
Curule Ædiles. M' Pomponius.
 L. Cædicius.
Plebeian Ædiles. Sex. Tullius.
 C. Furius.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Publilius Philo.
 C. Icilius Ruge.
 M. Claudius Cicero.
 Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
 C. Mænius.
 P. Mucius Scævola.
 C. Fabricius Luscinus.
 L. Antistius.
 P. Pupius.
 L. Publilius Philo Volscius.
Quæstors of Rome. P. Ælius Pætus.
 Q. Antonius Mærenda.
Military Quæstors. C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
 L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

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405. Y. of R.

107. *Consulship.* M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a
 fourth time.

Dictator. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
 C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS
 REGILLENIS.

G. of the Horse. C. Livius Denton.
Prætor. M. FABIVS DORSO.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Ambustus.
 Q. Servilius Ahala.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Pætelius Libo.
 P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Tribunes of the People. K. Duilius.
 A. Trebius.
 Cn. Lucerius.
 A. Tempanius.
 P. Licinius Stolo.
 Cn. Sellius.
 P. Decius Mus.
 C. Appuleius.
 Q. Mæcilius.
 Q. Marcius Tremulus.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Papirius Crassus.
 L. Petilius.

Military Quæstors. L. Posthumius Megellus.
 M. Fulcinius.

406. Y. of R.

108. *Consulship.* C. PLAUTIVS HYPSEVS.
 T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS
 TORQUATUS.

Prætor. SER. SULFICIUS CAMERINUS.
Curule Ædiles. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. Decius Mus.
 Q. Publilius Philo.

Tribunes of the People. T. Juventius.
 Sex. Tullius.

C. Mænius.
 L. Antistius.
 M' Pomponius.
 C. Duilius.
 Volero Publilius Philo Volscus.
 L. Atinius Longus.
 P. Mænius.
 P. Pupius.
 C. Antistius.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Genucius Aventinensis.
 L. Furius Camillus.

Military Quæstors. C. Sulpicius Longus.
 Ser. Sulpicius Saverrio.

4 G

407. Y.

407. Y. of R.

109. *Consulship*. M. VALERIUS CORVUS,
a second time. He triumphs
over the Antiates, Volsci,
and Satricani.

C. PŒTELIUS LIBO VISO-
LUS.

Secular Games.

Prætor. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS AR-
VINA.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Ambustus.
Ser. Sulpicius Longus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Icilius Ruge.
diles. P. Mucius Scaevola.

Tribunes of the P. Decius Mus.
People. M. Claudius Cicero.

C. Ælius Pætus.

P. Licinius Stolo.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

C. Fabricius Luscinius.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Q. Cecilius Metellus.

P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Q. Cædicius.

Quæstors of M. Atilius Regulus.
Rome. C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Military Quæ- A. Sempronius Atratinus.
stors. Q. Canuleius.

408. Y. of R.

110. *Consulship*. M. FABIVS DORSO.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERI-
NUS.

Dictator. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS,
a second time.

G. of the Horse. Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Im-
periosus.

Prætor. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Curule Ædiles. C. Mænius.

Q. Mæcilius.

Plebeian Æ- A. Trebians.

diles. Cn. Lucerius.

Tribunes of the C. Claudius Hortator.

People. Q. Publilius Philo.

L. Cædicius.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

M. Titinius.

C. Duilius.

P. Ælius Pætus.

M. Genucius Aventinensis.

Sex. Titius.

Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

Quæstors of T. Veturius Calvinus,
Rome. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Military Quæ- Cn. Papius.
stors. M. P. Sergius Fidenas.

409. Y. of R.

111. *Consulship*. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a
third time.

T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS
TORQUATUS, a second
time.

Dictator. P. VALERIUS POPLI-
COLA.

G. of the Horse. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Prætor. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Priver-
nas.

Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus.

Plebeian Æ- P. Decius Mus.

diles. L. Atinius Longus.

Tribunes of the P. Mænius.

People. Q. Manilius.

C. Pompius.

C. Volumnius Flamma.

L. Volumnius Flamma.

C. Titinius.

L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Q. Silius.

L. Villius.

L. Titius.

Quæstors of Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
Rome. C. Pætelius Libo Visellus.

Military Quæ- M. Claudius Marcellus.
stors. Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.

410. Y. of R.

112. *Consulship*. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a
third time. He triumphs o-
ver the Samnites.

A. CORNELIUS COSSUS
ARVINA. He triumphs o-
ver the Samnites.

Censors. M. Fabius Ambustus.
M. Popillius Lænas.

The twenty-second Lustrum.

Prætor. SER. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Cædicius.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

Plebeian Æ- P. Licinius Stolo.

diles. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. P. Atilius Patus.
M. Antonius.
Sca. Titus.
C. Claudius Hortator.
M. Atilius Regulus.
R. Sexias Sextinus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
L. Cædicius.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Papirius Crassus.
L. Papirius Cursor.
Military Quæstors. C. Plautius Decianus.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

411. Y. of R.

113. *Consulship.* C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a fourth time.

Dictator. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.
M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

G. of the Horse. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.

Prætor. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Crassus.
C. Sulpicius Longus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Titinius.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Mænius.
L. Furius.

P. Curatius.
Q. Canuleius.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Decius Mus.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Valerius Poplicola.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Military Quæstors. P. Cornelius Rufinus.
M. Aulus Cerritanus.

412. Y. of R.

114. *Consulship.* C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS, a second time.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

Prætor. T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. Titinius.
Q. Manilius.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Pomptilius.
L. Villius.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Publilius Philo.
M. Atilius Regulus.
Q. Pomponius.
C. Duilius.
K. Atinius Longus.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Cn. Pupius.
C. Sempronius Sophus.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.
Sp. Posthumus Albinus.

Military Quæstors. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
L. Plautius Venno.

413. Y. of R.

115. *Consulship.* T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Latins, Campani, Sidicini, and Aurunci.

Dictator. P. DECIUS MUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

G. of the Horse. L. Papirius Cursor.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, who was created Dictator.

Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.
C. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Antonius.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the People. L. Allienius.
M. Plætorius.

M' Marcus.
C. Popilius.
C. Petillius.
C. Mæcilius.
P. Publilius Philo.
C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
M. Confidius.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Sallonius Sarra.
L. Æmilius Paulus.

Military Quæstors. C. Plautius Proculus.
L. Pinarius Natta.

414. Y. of R.

116. *Consulship.* T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. He triumphs over the Latins.

Dictator. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
G. of the Horse. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>Prætor.</i> | L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS. | <i>G. of the Horse.</i> | C. Claudius Hortator. |
| Curule Ædiles. | M. Atilius Regulus.
P. Curatius. | <i>Prætor.</i> | T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS. |
| Plebeian Ædiles. | Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
L. Furius. | Curule Ædiles. | P. Cornelius Rufinus.
M. Papirius Crassus. |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | C. Lucerius.
M. Pontificius.
L. Villius.
C. Pompilius.
M. Acutius.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Volscius Fictor.
T. Veturius Calvinus.
Q. Mamilius.
P. Silius. | Plebeian Ædiles. | C. Petilius.
L. Allicenius. |
| | | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
C. Poetelius Libo Vitolus.
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
C. Sempronius Sophus.
L. Plautius Venno.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
Q. Pomponius.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Atilius Regulus. |
| Quæstors of Rome. | L. Valerius Petitus.
M. Geganius Mamercinus. | Quæstors of Rome. | P. Cornelius Scapula.
L. Julius Iulus. |
| Military Quæstors. | M. Dillius.
M. Macilius. | Military Quæstors. | Q. Decius Mus.
C. Carvilius Maximus. |
| 415. Y. of R. | | 417. Y. of R. | |
| 117. <i>Consulship.</i> | L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
He triumphs over the Pedani and Tiburtini. | 119. <i>Consulship.</i> | L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
K. DUILIUS. |
| | C. MENIUS. He triumphs over the Antiates, Lavinians, and Velitani. | <i>Prætor.</i> | Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. The first Plebeian who was raised to this Office. |
| <i>Prætor.</i> | M. VALERIUS CORVUS. | Curule Ædiles. | Sp. Posthumius Albinus.
P. Valerius Poplicola. |
| Curule Ædiles. | T. Veturius Crassus.
Cn. Quinctilius Varus. | Plebeian Ædiles. | P. Sallonius Sarra.
P. Silius Nepos. |
| Plebeian Ædiles. | M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Atinius Longus. | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | L. Antonius Nepos.
C. Plautius Decianus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Marcus Nepos.
C. Popillius Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Plautius Proculus.
C. Marcus Rutilus.
P. Publilius Philo.
L. Confidius Nepos. |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | P. Sempronius Longus.
P. Sallonius Sarra.
C. Plautius Decianus.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
C. Terentius Arsa.
M. Decius Mus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Titinius.
Q. Canuleius.
M. Juventius Thalna. | Quæstors of Rome. | Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus. |
| Quæstors of Rome. | C. Sulpicius Peticus.
L. Veturius Crassus Augurinus. | Military Quæstors. | L. Fulvius Curcus.
M. Æbutius Elva. |
| Military Quæstors. | P. Furius.
C. Minucius Augurinus. | 418. Y. of R. | |
| 416. Y. of R. | | 120. <i>Consulship.</i> | M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a fourth time. He triumphed over the Inhabitants of the Territory of Cales.
M. ATTILIUS REGULUS. |
| 118. <i>Consulship.</i> | C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. | | |
| <i>Dictator.</i> | C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGIENSIS. | | |

Dictator.

Dictator. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

G. of the Horse. Q. Publilius Philo.
Prætor. CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.
L. Valerius Potitus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Juventius Thalna.
Q. Canuleius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. L. Plautius Venno.
L. Plætorius.

L. Fulcinius.
C. Numitorius.
M. Mæcilius.
C. Plætorius.
C. Racilius.
T. Staius.
C. Antius Restio.
C. Lucerius.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Papirius Mugillanus.
A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Military Quæstors. L. Julius Libo.
M. Aulus Cereetanus.

419. Y. of R.

121. *Consulship.* T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Dictator. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.

G. of the Horse. M. Antonius.
Prætor. M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
M. Geganius Macerinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People. P. Sallonius Sarra.
T. Metilius.

M. Scaptius.
M. Mamilius.
C. Memmius.
L. Racilius.
M. Sellius.
P. Silius.
Q. Cædicius Nocuta.
P. Furius.

Quæstors of Rome. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Ap. Claudius Crass. Sabin. Regillensis.

Military Quæstors. C. Acutius Nepos.
T. Pontificius Nepos.

420. Y. of R.

122. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
C. PŒTELIIUS LIBO VI-SOLUS.

Prætor. C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.
L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Plautius Venno.
C. Plautius Decianus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Popilius Lænas.

C. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Canuleius Nepos.
Q. Hortensius.
C. Plautius Proculus.
C. Lætorius.

C. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Terentius.

M' Juventius Thalna.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Military Quæstors. C. Fossius Flaccinator.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

421. Y. of R.

123. *Consulship.* A. CORNELIUS COSSUS,
a second time.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Dictator. M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

G. of the Horse. P. Valerius Poplicola.

Censors. Q. Publilius Philo.
Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

The twenty-third Lustrum.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Plætorius.
C. Plætorius.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Racilius.
L. Fulcinius.

Tribunes of the People. L. Fulvius Curvus.
L. Hortensius.

A. Ogulnius Gallus.
Q. Decius Mus.
L. Ælius Pætus.
M. Lætorius.

M' Otacilius Crassus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
C. Carvilius Maximus.
M' Curius Dentatus.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Flavius.
A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Military

Military Quæ- *M. Furius Aruleus*.
stors. *C. Aquilius Flavius*.

422. Y. of R.

124. *Consulship*. *M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS*.

C. VALERIUS POTITUS.

Dictator. *CN. QUINTILIUS VARRUS*.

G. of the Horse. *L. Valerius Potitus*.

Prætor. *M. VALERIUS CORVUS*.

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus*.
M. Ælius Elio.

Plebeian Æ- *L. Racilius Nepos*.
diles. *M. Mamilius Vitulus*.

Tribunes of the *Q. Aulus Cerretanus*.
People. *L. Pupius Nepos*.

C. Livius Denter.

C. Fulvius Curvus.

M. Fulvius Flaccus.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.

M. Pomponius Matho.

D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

M. Marcius Nepos.

Quæstors of *L. Valerius Flaccus*.
Rome. *Q. Sulpicius Poterchius*.

Military Quæ- *M. Æmilius Papus*.
stors. *L. Plautius Venno*.

423. Y. of R.

125. *Consulship*. *L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS*, a
second time.

L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.

Prætor. *P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA*.

Curule Ædiles. *C. Popilius Lanus*.

C. Lætorius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Manlius Capitolinus*.
diles. *C. Minucius Augurinus*.

Tribunes of the *M. Livius Denter*.
People. *L. Fulvius Curvus*.

A. Allienius Nepos.

M. Racilius Nepos.

A. Trebonius Asper.

M. Aulus Cerretanus.

L. Appuleius Nepos.

L. Plætorius Nepos.

L. Fulcinius Nepos.

P. Numitorius Pullus.

Quæstors of *C. Plautius Hypsæus*.
Rome. *C. Patillius Nepos*.

Military Quæ- *L. Horatius Pulvillus*.
stors. *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*.

424. Y. of R.

120. *Consulship*. *L. TIBULLIUS MAMERCINUS PRAVERNAS*, a second time.

C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.

Brought triumph over the Praenestines.

Prætor. *L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS*.

Curule Ædiles. *L. P. Julius Mucilianus*.

C. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Æ- *M. Cn. Decianus*.

diles. *Q. Decius Mus*.

Tribunes of the *C. Factorius Nepos*.
People. *C. Feicennius Nepos*.

T. Pontificius Nepos.

Sex. Pompeius Nepos.

Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

Sp. Antius Resto.

C. Auctius Nepos.

P. Silius Nepos.

Sex. Manlius Nepos.

M. Mamilius Vitulus.

Quæstors of *M. Fajus Flaccinator*.
Rome. *L. Furius Camillus*.

Military Quæ- *M. Popilius Lanus*.
stors. *P. Villius Nepos*.

425. Y. of R.

127. *Consulship*. *C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS*.
P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Prætor. *D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA*.

Curule Ædiles. *M. Valerius Corvus*.
C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Fulvius Curvus*.

diles. *Q. Aulus Cerretanus*.

Tribunes of the *M. Aulus Cerretanus*.
People. *M. Titinius Nepos*.

Cn. Apronius Nepos.

C. Sextilius Nepos.

L. Manius Nepos.

T. Sicinius Dentatus.

Sex. Titius Nepos.

C. Sextius Calvinus.

C. Curatius Nepos.

A. Virginius Nepos.

Quæstors of *L. Papirius Crassus*.
Rome. *Q. Æmilius Barbula*.

Military Quæ- *P. Ælius Patus*.
stors. *C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus*.

426. Y. of R.

128. *Consulship*. *L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS*.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a second time.

Dictator. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

G. of the Horse. Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

Prætor. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Fabius Ambustus.

Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Fulvius Curvus.

M. Licinius Dentatus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Flavius Nepos.

C. Lætorius Nepos.

C. Minucius Augurinus.

C. Aquillius Florus.

C. Quæcilius Nepos.

C. Cæcilius Metellus.

C. Mælius Capitolinus.

C. Rabuleius Nepos.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

Q. Decius Mus.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

M. Fostius Flaccinator.

Military Quæstors. C. Julius Iulus.

L. Romuleius Nepos.

427. Y. of R.

129. Consulship. C. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS, a second time.

L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Prætor. C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Valerius Flaccus.

A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Plebeian Ædiles. Sex. Manilius Nepos.

Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. C. Petillius Nepos.

M. Curius Dentatus.

M. Aulus Cerretanus.

Ti. Coruncanius.

L. Icilius Ruga.

C. Fulvius Curvus.

C. Antistius Nepos.

Sex. Tullius Nepos.

T. Sempronius Blaesus.

L. Marcius Rutilus.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Mælius Nepos.

L. Marlius Capitolinus.

Military Quæstors. P. Maenius Vulso.

T. Claudius Cicero.

Proconsul. Q. Publius Philo. He triumphs over the Samnites and Palæopolitani.

Pro-Quæstor. L. Romuleius.

428. Y. of R.

130. Consulship. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.

Dictator. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

G. of the Horse. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, who abdicates; and L. Papirius Crassus is chosen in his room.

Prætor. L. FULVIUS CURVUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. Fostius Flaccinator.

M. Æmilius Popus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Flavius Nepos.

A. Virginus Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. L. Plautius Venno.

C. Plautius Hypsæus.

C. Considius Nepos.

L. Numitorius Nepos.

Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.

C. Popilius Lænas.

L. Albinus Nepos.

L. Fulcinius Trio.

T. Roscius Nepos.

A. Lucerius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Quinctius Capitolinus.

M. Antistius Nepos.

Military Quæstors. P. Valerius Poplicola.

P. Plautius Hypsæus.

429. Y. of R.

Dictator. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

He triumphs over the Samnites.

G. of the Horse. L. Papirius Crassus.

Censors. M. Valerius Corvus.

C. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

The twenty-fourth Lustrum.

Prætor. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Crassus.

L. Furius Camillus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Cæcilius Metellus.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. P. Ælius Pætus.

C. Fulvius Curvus.

Sex. Tempanius Nepos.

L. Apronius Limo.

C. Mænius Nepos.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

Sp. Metilius Nepos.

L. Villius Nepos.

L. Sextilius.

P. Virginus.

Quæstor.

Quæstors of *Sp. Nautius Rutilus.*

Rome. C. Fabius Ambustus.

Military Quæ- *P. Decius M.*
stors. *T. Pontifex Nepos.*

430. Y. of R.

131. *Consulship.* C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

Prætor. Q. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.

Curule Ædiles. *M. Fesius Flaccinator.*

Q. Æmilius Barbula.

Plebeian Æ- *L. Marcius Rutilus.*

diles. *T. Sempronius Blaesus.*

Tribunes of the M. Flavius Nepos.

People. M. Pætelius Libo.

C. Canuleius Nepos.

M. Aulius Cerretanus.

M' Curius Dentatus.

L. Icilius Ruga.

M. Popillius Lænas.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

P. Ælius Pætus.

Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.

Quæstors of *L. Cominius Nepos.*

Rome. C. Marcius Rutilus.

Military Quæ- *M. Valerius Maximus.*
stors. *A. Virginius Tricestius Rutilus.*

431. Y. of R.

132. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RUL-
LIANUS. He triumphs o-
ver the Samnites and Apu-
lians.

L. FULVIUS CURVUS. He
triumphs over the Samnites.

Dictator. A. CORNELIVS COSSVS
ARVINA.

G. of the Horse. M. Fabius Ambustus.

Prætor. L. PLAUTIVS.

Curule Ædiles. *C. Plautius Hypsæus.*

A. Lucerius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- *Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.*

diles. *L. Albinus Nepos.*

Tribunes of the C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

People. Sex. Tullius Nepos.

C. Petillius Nepos.

C. Considius Nepos.

M. Trebonius Flavius.

A. Atilius Bulbus.

L. Albinus Nepos.

L. Fulcinius Trio.

L. Numitorius Nepos.

C. Volumnius Flamma.

Quæstors of *P. Sestius Capitolinus.*

Rome. L. Fulvius P.

Military Quæ- *M' Sestius Flaccinator.*
stors. *C. Apudius Parja.*

432. Y. of R.

133. *Consulship.* T. VETURIUS CALVINUS,
a second time.

SP. POSTHUMIVS ALBI-
NUS, a second time.

Dictators. Q. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
M. ÆMILIVS PAPVS.

Generals of the P. Ælius Pætus.

Horje. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Prætor. M. VALERIVS CORVVS.

Curule Ædiles. *M. Popillius Lænas.*

Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- *Sex. Campanius Nepos.*

diles. *L. Fulvius Nepos.*

Tribunes of the M. Pætelius Libo.

People. C. Mamilius Vitulus.

L. Sextilius Nepos.

C. Manius Nepos.

P. Mælius Capitolinus.

T. Roscius Nepos.

L. Apronius Nepos.

L. Cædicius Nepos.

C. Furius Nepos.

L. Canuleius Nepos.

Quæstors of *Cn. Furius Pacilus.*

Rome. P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

Military Quæ- *Sp. Papirius Crassus.*
stors. *Cn. Lucerius Nepos.*

433. Y. of R.

134. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a
second time.

Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a
third time.

Dictators. C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
L. CORNELIVS LEN-
TULVS.

T. MANLIUS IMPERI-
OSVS TORQUATVS.

Generals of the M. Fesius Flaccinator.

Horje. L. Papirius Cursor.

L. Papirius Crassus.

Prætor. Q. ÆMILIVS BARBULA.

Curule Ædiles. *L. Quintus Capitolinus.*

Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

Plebeian

Plebeian Æ- C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
diles. C. Canuleius Nepos.
Tribunes of the L. Livius Denter.
People. Q. Mælius Nepos.
T. Numicius Nepos. These
were all three obliged to ab-
dicate, in order to go to Cau-
dium, as Hostages for the
Performance of the Treaty
concluded at the Caudian
Forks.

P. Decius Mus.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
P. Mænius Nepos.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. Cædicius Nepos.
P. Virginius Nepos.
T. Romuleius Nepos.
C. Oppius Cornicen.
T. Juventius Nepos.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.

Quæstors of L. Volumnius Flamma.
Rome. Q. Fundanius Mendulus.
Military Quæ- M. Fabius Dorso.
stors. Q. Antonius Merenda.

434. Y. of R.

135. Consulship. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a
third time. He triumphs over
the Samnites.

Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS,
a second time.

Censors. C. Sulpicius Longus.
C. Plautius Decianus. They
both abdicate.

Prætor. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Maximus.
C. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Volumnius Flamma.
diles. M. Trebonius Flavius.

Tribunes of the M. Antistius Nepos.
People. M. Poetelius Libo.
L. Apronius Nepos.
L. Cominius Nepos.
C. Mænius Nepos.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Marcus Rutilus.
L. Sextilius Nepos.
L. Cædicius Nepos.
C. Furius Nepos.

Quæstors of Q. Marcus Tremulus.
Rome. L. Geganius Macerinus.

VOL. II.

Military Quæ- Q. Clælius Siculus.
stors. L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

435. Y. of R.

136. Consulship. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
M. FOSLIUS FLACCINA-
TOR.

Censors. L. Papirius Crassus.
C. Mænius.

The twenty-fifth Lustrum.

Prætor. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.
M. Sergius Fidenas.

Plebeian Æ- P. Decius Mus.

diles. T. Roscius Nepos.

Tribunes of the Q. Mælius Nepos.

People. C. Claudius Hortator.

C. Fabricius Luscinus.

P. Pupius Nepos.

Q. Publilius Philo.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

P. Mucius Scævola.

C. Icilius Ruga.

Sex. Tullius Nepos.

C. Plautius Hypsæus.

Quæstors of L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Rome. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.

Military Quæ- M. Fulvius Curvus Patinus.
stors. T. Minucius Augurinus.

436. Y. of R.

137. Consulship. Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS
BRUTUS.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Poetelius Libo.
L. Livius Denter.

Plebeian Æ- T. Numicius Nepos.
diles. M. Antistius Nepos.

Tribunes of the L. Cominius Nepos.

People. C. Apuleius Pansa.

M. Trebonius Flavius.

Q. Mæcilius Nepos.

Cn. Sellius Nepos.

A. Trebius Nepos.

Cn. Lucerius Nepos.

Sp. Metilius Nepos.

A. Tempanius.

L. Villius Nepos.

Quæstors of P. Cornelius Arvina.
Rome. L. Papirius Maso.

4 H

Military

Military Quæ- *C. Lutatius Catulus.*
stors. *M. Fulcinius Nepos.*

437. Y. of R.

135. *Consulship.* SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Dictator. L. ÆMILIUS MAMER-
CINUS PRIVERNAS.

G. of the Horse. L. Fulvius Curvus.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. *Mælius Nepos.*

C. Marcius Rutilus.

Plebeian Æ- L. *Apronius Lino.*

diles. L. *Sextilius Nepos.*

Tribunes of the P. Decius Mus.

People. M. Titinius Nepos.

Sex. Titius Nepos.

L. Cædicius Nepos.

P. Mænius Nepos.

C. Volumnius Flamma.

Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

M. Genucius Aventinensis.

M. Cædicius Nepos.

C. Furius Nepos.

Quæstors of *Ti. Cornelius Lentulus.*

Rome. L. *Atilius Regulus.*

Military Quæ- L. *Volumnius Flamma.*

stors. Cn. *Cornelius Lentulus.*

438. Y. of R.

139. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a
fourth time.

Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a
fourth time.

Dictator. Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS.

G. of the Horse. Q. Aulus Cerretanus, who
was killed in Battle; and
C. Fabius Ambustus chosen
in his room.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles. Ap. *Claudius Cæcus.*

M. Fabius Dors.

Plebeian Æ- L. *Cominius Nepos.*

diles. Q. *Pubilius Philo.*

Tribunes of the L. Livius Denter.

People. M. Antistius Nepos.

L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

Q. Canuleius Nepos.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

T. Numicius Nepos.

Q. Marcius Tremulus.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

P. Licinius Nepos Stolo.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Quæstors of *C. Marcius Rutilus.*

Rome. M. Decius Mus.

Military Quæ- M. *Livius Denter.*

stors. L. *Æmilius Barbula.*

439. Y. of R.

140. *Consulship.* M. PÆTELIUS LIBO.

C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, a
third time. He triumphs over
the Samnites.

Dictator. C. MÆNIUS.

G. of the Horse. M. Fostius Flaccinator.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. *Geganius Macerinus.*

Q. *Clælius Siculus.*

Plebeian Æ- C. *Appuleius Panja.*

diles. A. *Trebius Nepos.*

Tribunes of the Q. Mælius Nepos.

People. Ti. Minucius Augurinus.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

C. Claudius Hortator.

P. Mucius Scævola.

M. Trebius.

M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus.

M. Domitius Calvinus.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Quæstors of *P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus.*

Rome. Ser. *Cornelius Lentulus.*

Military Quæ- L. *Domitius Ænobarbus.*

stors. P. *Sempronius Longus.*

440. Y. of R.

141. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a
fifth time.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS
BRUTUS, a second time.

Dictator. C. PÆTELIUS LIBO VI-
SOLUS.

G. of the Horse. M. Pætelius Libo.

Prætor. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. *Cornelius Arvina.*

Ap. *Claudius Cæcus.*

Plebeian Æ- M. *Titinius Nepos.*

diles. Sex. *Titius Nepos.*

Tribunes of the L. *Cominius Nepos.*

People. M. Marcius Tremulus.

Cn. Pupius Nepos.

Q. Pub-

Q. Publius Philo.
Q. Petilius Nepos.
L. Livius Denter.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Plautius Decianus.
C. Lutatius Catulus.
Quæstors of Rome. L. Posthumius Aligellus.
C. Furius Nepos.
Military Quæstors. P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
M. Titinius Nepos.

441. Y. of R.

142. Consulship. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

He triumphs over the Samnites and Sorani.

P. DECIUS MUS.

Dictator. C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

G. of the Horse. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

Censors. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.

C. Plautius Venox.

The twenty-sixth Lustrum.

Prætor. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.

Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.

L. Papirius Mæso.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus.

L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Aventinensis.

A. Trebius Nepos.

L. Villius Nepos.

Q. Silius Nepos.

Q. Manilius Nepos.

M. Fulcinius Nepos.

A. Acutius Nepos.

L. Volumnius Flamma.

C. Pompilius Nepos.

Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Papirius Crassus.

Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.

Military Quæstors. Cn. Sempronius Gracchus.

Q. Appulcius Pansa.

442. Y. of R.

143. Consulship. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS

BRUTUS, a third time.

He triumphs over the Samnites.

Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, a second time. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Ti. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Fabricius Luscinus.

P. Mucius Scævola.

Tribunes of the People. L. Atilius Regulus.

C. Marcius Rutilus.

M. Decius Mus.

T. Minucius Augurinus.

M. Trebius Nepos.

M. Antonius Nepos.

Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

M. Livius Denter.

L. Titius Nepos.

N. Sextius Sextinus.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Ogulnius Gallus.

M. Fulvius Pætinus.

Military Quæstors. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

C. Patellius Libo Visolus.

443. Y. of R.

144. Consulship. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a second time.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, who was afterwards called Censorinus.

Prætor. P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus.

L. Æmilius Barbula.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Lutatius Catulus.

Q. Petillius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. P. Sempronius Sophus.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus.

P. Curatius Nepos.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Q. Pomponius Nepos.

Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

M. Aulius Cerretanus.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Anicius Prænestinus.

M. Minucius Fessius.

Military Quæstors. T. Popillius Nepos.

Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.

444. Y. of R.

Dictator. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

He triumphs over the Samnites.

G. of the Horse. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

Pro-Consuls. Q. Fabius Max. Rullianus.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---|
| | nus. He triumphs over the Herurians. | <i>Consuls.</i> | M. Valerius Maximus.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. |
| | P. Cornelius Arvina. | | |
| <i>Prætor.</i> | M. VALERIUS CORVUS. | | |
| <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> | Q. Marcus Tremulus.
L. Atilius Regulus. | | <i>The twenty-seventh Lustrum.</i> |
| <i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> | T. Minucius Augurinus.
Q. Manilius Nepos. | <i>Pro-Consul.</i> | Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | C. Marcus Rutilus.
M. Titinius Nepos.
C. Atinius Labeo.
P. Publilius Philo.
C. Plautius Decianus.
M. Livius Denter.
C. Livius Denter.
C. Atinius Longus.
M. Marcus Nepos.
C. Popilius Nepos.
L. Allienius Nepos. | <i>Prætor.</i> | T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. |
| | P. Valerius Falto.
L. Cornelius Blaſio. | <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> | C. Marcus Rutilus.
M. Titinius Nepos. |
| <i>Quæſtors of Rome.</i> | P. Licinius Varus.
M. Duilius Nepos. | <i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> | M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Q. Pomponius Nepos. |
| <i>Military Quæſtors.</i> | | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
M. Livius Denter.
L. Lucerius Nepos.
L. Volſcius Fiſtor.
P. Silius Nepos.
Q. Anicius Præneſtinus.
Cn. Fulvius Prætinus.
M. Acutius Nepos.
P. Villius Nepos.
Q. Mamilius Turinus.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
M. Atilius Regulus. |
| 445. Y. of R. | | | |
| 145. <i>Conſulſhip.</i> | P. DECIUS MUS, a second time.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a third time.
M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS. | <i>Quæſtors of Rome.</i> | M. Atilius Regulus. |
| | | <i>Military Quæſtors.</i> | T. Manius Torquatus.
A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina. |
| <i>Prætor.</i> | M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS. | 447. Y. of R. | |
| <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> | L. Poſthumius Megellus.
P. Sulpicius Saverrius. | 147. <i>Conſulſhip.</i> | Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
He triumphs over the Samnites, and the inhabitants of Anagnia. |
| <i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> | M. Decius Mus.
M. Antonius Nepos. | | |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | L. Furius Nepos.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
M. Fulvius Curvus Prætinus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Q. Appuleius Panſa.
M. Plætorius Nepos.
M. Trebius Nepos.
M. Confidius Nepos.
M. Fulcinius Nepos.
M. Mæcilius Tullus. | <i>Dictators.</i> | P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS. |
| <i>Quæſtors of Rome.</i> | L. Cornelius Scipio.
M. Atilius Regulus. | <i>G. of the Horſe.</i> | P. Decius Mus. |
| <i>Military Quæſtors.</i> | Q. Papirius Turdus.
M. Æmilius Paulus. | <i>Prætor.</i> | SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. |
| 446. Y. of R. | | <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> | M. Cornelius Corvus.
P. Valerius Falto. |
| 146. <i>Conſulſhip.</i> | APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS. | <i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> | P. Sempronius Sophus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis. |
| | | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | Cn. Flavius Nepos.
M. Decius Mus.
M. Fulvius Prætinus.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
P. Furius Nepos.
L. Furius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Antonius Nepos. |
| | | | P. Curatius |

Quæstors of *Rome*. P. Curatius Nepos.
C. Corvilius Maximus.
L. Julius Libo.
Military Quæstors. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
L. Julius Iulus.

448. Y. of R.
148. Consulship. L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS.
TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, who is killed fighting with the Samnites; and
M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS chosen in his room. The latter triumphs over the Samnites.

Prætor. AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.
Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Paulus.
L. Cornelius Blasio.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Livius Denter.
Q. Appuleius.
Tribunes of the People. C. Marcus Rutilus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
L. Ogulnius Gallus.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Duilius Nepos.
M. Minucius Fessus.
M. Juventius Thalna.
P. Licinius Varus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Q. Pomponius Nepos.

Quæstors of *Rome*. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
M. Mamilius Vitulus.
Military Quæstors. C. Sargius Fidenas.
M. Geganius Macerinus.

449. Y. of R.
149. Consulship. C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHIUS.
He triumphs over the Æqui.
P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
He triumphs over the Samnites.

Censors. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
P. Decius Mus.

The twenty-eighth Lustrum.

Prætor. P. VALERIUS FALTO.
Curule Ædiles. Cn. Flavius Nepos.
Q. Anicius Prænestinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
L. Furius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Cn. Flavius Nepos.
Q. Papirius Turdus.

D. Junius Pera.
M. Pomponius Matho.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
T. Popilius Nepos.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Proculus.

Quæstors of *Rome*. L. Papirius Cursor.
M. Curius Dentatus.
Military Quæstors. L. Ælius Pætius.
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

450. Y. of R.
150. Consulship. SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Scipio.
A. Cornelius Cossus Arzina.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Genucius Aventinensis.
P. Furius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Publicius Malleolus.
M. Allicenius Nepos.
L. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Racilius Nepos.
Sex. Stadius Nepos.
L. Confidius Nepos.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Apustius Fullo.
C. Numitorius Nepos.

Quæstors of *Rome*. L. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Fulvius Curvus.
Military Quæstors. M. Valerius Flaccus.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

451. Y. of R.
151. Consulship. M. LIVIUS DENTER.
M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Dictator. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS. He triumphs over the Æqui.

G. of the Horse. M. Titinius Nepos.
Prætor. Q. APULEIUS PANSA.
Curule Ædiles. L. Posthumius Megellus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Fulvius Pætinus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Furius Nepos.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Metilius

C. Metilius Nepos.
 A. Silius Nepos.
 Q. Papirius Turdus.
 Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
 Ti. Pontificius.
 M. Volscius Fictor.
 L. Antonius Nepos.
 Quæstors of *Rome*. Q. Cædicius Nectua.
 C. Acutius Nepos.
 Military Quæstors. C. Fessius Flaccinator.
 Q. Fabius Ambufius.
 452. Y. of R.
 Dictators. Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
 RULLIANVS.
 M. VALERIUS CORVVS.
 He triumphs over the Hetu-
 rians.
Generals of the Horse. M. Æmilius Paulus.
 P. Sempronius Sophus.
Prætor. L. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.
Curule Ædiles. C. Pæteliu Libo Visilus.
 D. Junius Pera.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Atilius Regulus.
 C. Plautius Proculus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Anicius Prænestinus.
 Q. Pæteliu Libo Visilus.
 L. Genucius Aventinensis.
 M. Lætorius Plancianus.
 M. Minucius Fessus.
 C. Memmius Nepos.
 P. Furius Nepos.
 C. Lætorius Nepos.
 C. Mælius Capitolinus.
 M. Terentius Nepos.
 Quæstors of *Rome*. M. Sergius Nepos.
 Q. Hortensius Nepos.
 Military Quæstors. C. Cædicius Nectua.
 M. Claudius Marcellus.
 453. Y. of R.
 152. Consulship. Q. APULEIVS PANSA.
 M. VALERIUS CORVVS, a
 fifth time.
Prætor. CN. FVLVIUS MAXIMVS CEN-
 TUMALVS.
Curule Ædiles. L. Julius Iulus.
 L. Julius Lilius.
Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Papirius Turdus.
 Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Cæcilius Gallus.
 Cn. Ogurnius Gallus.
 M. Mamilius Vitulus.

T. Juventius Thalna.
 C. Otacilius Crassus.
 C. Carvilius Maximus.
 Q. Terentius Arsa.
 M. Otacilius Crassus.
 Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
 Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
 Quæstors of *Rome*. Q. Fabius Gurgus.
 M. Aquilius Florus.
 Military Quæstors. C. Ælius Pætus.
 L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
 454. Y. of R.
 153. Consulship. M. FULVIUS PÆTINVS.
 He triumphs over the Sam-
 nites and Nequinities.
 T. MANLIUS TORQUA-
 TUS, who dies in his office.
 And to supply his room,
 M. VALERIUS CORVVS is
 chosen Consul a sixth time.
Censors. P. Sempronius Sophus.
 P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
The twenty-ninth Lustrum.
Prætor. L. POSTHUMIVS MEGELLVS.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
 L. Papirius Cursor.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Antonius Nepos.
 C. Metilius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Ælius Pætus.
 M. Atilius Regulus.
 D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
 M. Aulius Cerretanus.
 D. Junius Pera.
 C. Fulvius Curvus.
 C. Cæcilius Mætellus.
 L. Pupius Nepos.
 M. Volscius Fictor.
 C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
 Quæstors of *Rome*. P. Cornelius Rufinus.
 M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus.
 Military Quæstors. M. Licinus Denter.
 C. Claudius Canina.
 455. Y. of R.
 154. Consulship. L. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.
 CN. FVLVIUS CENTU-
 MALVS. He triumphs o-
 ver the Samnites and Hetu-
 rians.
Prætor. M. LIVIVS DENTER. Curule

Curule Ædiles. *L. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. Valerius Flaccus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Latinus Plancianus.*
G. Latinus Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. *M. P. Curius Dentatus.*
Q. Papirius Turdus.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
A. Atilius Calatinus.

M. Marcius Nepos.
C. Plautius Proculus.

M. Flavius Nepos.
M. Atilius Regulus.

M. Popilius Lanatus.
L. Plautius Venno.

Quæstors of Rome. *G. Trebenius Asper.*
M. Scantius Nepos.

Military Quæstors. *L. Cæcilius Metellus.*
A. Manlius Vulso Longus.

456. Y. of R.

155. Consulship. **Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RULLIANVS**, a fourth time.

P. DECIVS MUS, a fourth time.

Prætor. *L. Julius Iulus.*

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Fabius Ambustus.*
M. Sergius Fidenas.

Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Atilius Regulus.*
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Tribunes of the People. *Q. Hortensius Nepos.*
Q. Cædicius Noctua.

C. Plautius Hypsæus.
C. Petillius Nepos.

A. Alienius Nepos.
C. Cædicius Noctua.

M. Æmilius Regulus Serranus.
M. Pætelius Libo.

L. Apuleius Saturinus.
C. Pontificius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. *M. Fulvius Pætinus.*
Ti. Sempronius Blæsus.

Military Quæstors. *L. Manlius Capitolinus.*
Ser. Cornelius Rufinus.

457. Y. of R.

156. Consulship. **AP. CLAVDIVS CÆCVS**, a second time.

L. VOLUMNIVS FLAMMA VIOLENS, a second time.

Prætor. *P. Sempronius Sophus.*

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Ogulnius Gallus.*
Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Ælius Pætus.*
C. Fulvius Curvus.

Tribunes of the People. *C. Junius Brutus Babulcus.*
Q. Papirius Turdus.

P. Numitorius Pullus.
Q. Sallonius Sarra.

M. P. Curius Dentatus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

M. Racilius Nepos.
Sp. Antius Restio.

M. Acutius Nepos.
M. Mætilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. *C. Nautius Rutilus.*
M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.

Military Quæstors. *L. Flaminius Chilo.*
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Pro-Consuls in Samnium. *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.*
P. Decius Mus.

458. Y. of R.

157. Consulship. **Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RULLIANVS**, a fifth time; He triumphs over the Samnites, the Hetrurians, and the Gauls.

P. DECIVS MUS, a third time.

Prætor. *AP. CLAVDIVS CÆCVS.*

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Fabius Gurgæ.*
L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *Q. Hortensius Nepos.*
L. Plautius Venno.

Tribunes of the People. *Q. Cædicius Noctua.*
P. Villius Nepos.

Sex. Pompilius Nepos.
L. Sicinius Dentatus.

Sex. Titius Nepos.
C. Ælius Petus.

P. Silius Nepos.
C. Manilius Nepos.

Q. Titinius Nepos.
Cn. Apronius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. *Sp. Nautius Rutilus.*
Cn. Æmilius Papus.

Military Quæstors. *C. Ælius Pætus.*
C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Pro-Consuls. *L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.*

L. Cornelius Scipio.

Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus.

L. Posthu-

L. Posthumius Megellus.
M. Livius Denter.

459. Y. of R.

158. *Consulship*. L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Samnites and Hetrurians.

M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
He triumphs over the Volscinenses and the Samnites.

Censors.

P. Cornelius Arvina.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

The thirtieth Lustrum.

Prætor. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
Curule Ediles. M. Valerius Maximus Cereinus.
P. Cornelius Rufinus.

Plebeian Ediles. M. Curius Dentatus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Trebonius Asper.
M. Livius Denter.

C. Claudius Canina.
C. Sextilius Nepos.
L. Mænius Nepos.
A. Virginius Nepos.
C. Sextius Calvinus.
C. Curatius Nepos.
T. Memmius Nepos.
M. Lætorius Plancianus.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Opimius Pansa.
Q. Marcus Philippus.

Military Quæstors. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
C. Servilius Tucca.

460. Y. of R.

159. *Consulship*. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. They both triumph over the Samnites.

Prætor. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
Curule Ediles. C. Junius Brutulus Brutus.

Q. Cædicius Nectua.
Plebeian Ediles. P. Nuvitorius Pullus.

S. Atilius Regillus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Scantius Nepos.

Q. Hortensius Nepos.
C. Canuleius Nepos.
C. Aquilius Florus.
Q. Ogulnius Galus.
T. Claudius Cicero.

L. Cæcilius Metellus.
L. Romuleius Nepos.
C. Ogulnius Galus.
C. Aurclius Cotta.

Quæstors of Rome. Ti. Coruncanus.
L. Furius Camillus.
Military Quæstors. Q. Mælius Nepos.
C. Furius Pacius.

461. Y. of R.

160. *Consulship*. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS GURGES.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CÆVA.

Dictator. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.

G. of the Horse. C. Marcius Rutilus.
Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Curule Ediles. C. Ælius Pætus.
C. Claudius Canina.

Plebeian Ediles. C. Apronius Nepos.
P. Silius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. C. Rabuleius Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
M. Pupius Nepos.
M. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.
L. Flaminius Chilo.
L. Hortensius Nepos.
L. Icilius Ruga.
Sex. Tullius Nepos.
C. Flavius Nepos.
M. Atilius Nepos.

These ten abdicated, because their election was deemed defective; and in their room were chosen

L. Tullius Nepos.
M. Antistius Nepos.
L. Albinus Nepos.
C. Confidius Nepos.
M. Racilius Nepos.
C. Junius Pullus.
P. Plautius Hypsæus.
L. Allienius Nepos.
M. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Fulcinius Trio.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Æmilius Papus.
L. Aurelius Cotta.
Military Quæstors. C. Cornelius Scapula.
P. Decius Mus.

462. Y.

462. Y. of R.

101. *Consulship*. L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS, a third time.

C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BULCUS.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. Nautius Rutilus.

M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Livius Dentor.

C. Trebonius Asper.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Cædicius Noctua.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

M. Trebonius Flavus.

T. Roscius Nepos.

Sex. Tempanius.

Q. Hortensius.

C. Fabricius Luscinus.

L. Numitorius Pullus.

Cn. Lucerus Nepos.

C. Scaptius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Cornelius Dolabella Maximus.

L. Æmilius Barbula.

Military Quæstors. C. Antius Restio.

Sp. Mæcilius.

Pro-Consul in Samnium. Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges. He triumphs over the Samnites.

Pro-Quæstor. L. Aurelius Cotta.

463. Y. of R.

162. *Consulship*. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS. M' CURIUS DENTATUS.

The latter triumphs over the Samnites and Sabines at two different times.

Prætor. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Curule Ædiles. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

Cn. Æmilius Papus.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Cæcilius Metellus.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

Tribunes of the People. C. Ælius Pætus.

Q. Marcius Philippus.

C. Mamilius Vitulus.

L. Antonius Nepos.

L. Cominius Nepos.

A. Atilius Bulbus.

C. Volumnius Flamma.

Cn. Apronius Nepos.

C. Sextius Calvinus.

M. Cædicius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Valerius Lævinus.

L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

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Military Quæstors. C. Genucius Clepsina.

Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

464. Y. of R.

163. *Consulship*. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS CORVINUS.

Q. CÆDICIIUS NOCTUA.

Censors. M. Æmilius Paulus.

L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

The thirty-first Lustrum.

Prætor. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

C. Serrilius Tucca.

Plebeian Ædiles. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Papirius Turdus.

C. Ælius Pætus.

Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.

P. Virginus Nepos.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

L. Canuleius Nepos.

C. Claudius Canina.

P. Curatius Nepos.

C. Furius Aculeo.

T. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Sulpicius Saverrio.

Sp. Papirius Cursor.

Military Quæstors. L. Papirius Cursor.

C. Mænius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Lucania. M' Curius Dentatus. He enjoys the honours of an Ovation, after having subdued the Lucani.

Pro-Quæstor. C. Genucius Clepsina.

465. Y. of R.

164. *Consulship*. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS. P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.

Both the second time.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Furius Camillus.

C. Furius Pacilus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Marcius Philippus.

M. Trebonius Flavus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Cæcilius Metellus.

Q. Romuleius Nepos.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

C. Ælius Pætus.

P. Mucius Scævola.

P. Decius Mus.

M. Oppius Cornicen.

4 I Q. Cæcilius

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
 C. Claudius Hortator.
 C. Icilius Ruga.
 Quæstors of *Rome.* M. Licinius Calvus.
 M. Fabius Dors.
 Military Quæ- L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
 stors. T. Antonius Merenda.
 466. Y. of R.
 105. *Consulship.* M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
 LUS.
 C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
 Dictator. Q. HORTENSIVS NE-
 POS. He dies in his office.
G. of the Horse. M. Livius Dentor, who ab-
 dicated after the death of Hor-
 tensius.
 Dictator. Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
 RULLIANVS.
G. of the Horse. L. Volumnius Flamma Vio-
 lens.
Prætor. C. CLAVDIVS CANINA.
 Curule Ædiles. Q. Æmilius Papus.
 C. Cornelius Scapula.
 Plebeian Æ- Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.
 diles. P. Decius Mus.
 Tribunes of the P. Mænius Nepos.
 People. P. Pupius Nepos.
 C. Fabricius Luscinus.
 L. Livius Dentor.
 Q. Marcius Tremulus.
 C. Lutatius Catulus.
 Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
 L. Antistius Nepos.
 L. Aurelius Cotta.
 L. Publilius Philo.
 Quæstors of *Rome.* M. Fulvius Curvus.
 L. Atilius Regulus.
 Military Quæ- Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
 stors. P. Quinctilius Varus.
 467. Y. of R.
 106. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS MAXIMVS
 POTITVS.
 C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
Prætor. C. SERVILIUS TUCCA.
 Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Dolabella.
 L. Æmilius Barbula.
 Plebeian Æ- L. Papirius Turdus.
 diles. C. Furius Aculeo.

Tribunes of the L. Cæcilius Metellus.
 People. C. Genucius Clepsina.
 M. Platorius Nepos.
 A. Trebius Nepos.
 Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.
 Q. Marcius Philippus.
 M. Albinus Nepos.
 C. Antius Nepos Restio.
 M. Trebonius Flavius.
 M. Mæcilius Tullus.
 Quæstors of *Rome.* M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 M. Metilius Nepos.
 Military Quæ- M. Fostius Flaccinator.
 stors. C. Fabius Ambustus.
 468. Y. of R.
 107. *Consulship.* C. CLAVDIVS CANINA.
 M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDVS.
Prætor. Cn. DOMITIUS CALVINVS.
 Curule Ædiles. P. Valerius Lævinus.
 T. Geganius Macerinus.
 Plebeian Æ- M. Oppius Cornicen.
 diles. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
 Tribunes of the C. Fabricius Luscinus.
 People. P. Decius Mus.
 M. Titinius Nepos.
 L. Genucius Aventinensis.
 C. Mænius Nepos.
 T. Coruncanius Nepos.
 L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
 C. Fundanius Fundulus.
 C. Claudius Hortator.
 P. Curatius Nepos.
 Quæstors of *Rome.* L. Cornelius Lentulus.
 L. Papirius Mafio.
 Military Quæ- L. Sextius Lateranus.
 stors. M. Antonius Nepos.
 469. Y. of R.
 108. *Consulship.* C. SERVILIUS TUCCA.
 L. CÆCILIUS METELLVS.
Prætor. Q. ÆMILIUS PAPVS.
 Curule Ædiles. P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
 Sp. Papirius Cursor.
 Plebeian Æ- C. Genucius Clepsina.
 diles. L. Aurelius Cotta.
 Tribunes of the Q. Marcius Philippus.
 People. Q. Canuleius Nepos.
 M. Licinius Calvus.
 L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
 P. Mucius Scævola.
 Ti. Minucius Augurinus.
 P. Licinius Stolo.
 C. Ælius Pætus.

M. Clau-

Quæstors of *Rome.* M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Military Quæ- *Ser. Cornelius Merenda.*
stors. *C. Fabius Dorso Licinus.*
L. Genucius Clepsina.
M. Decius.

470. Y. of R.

169. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS DOLABEL-
LA MAXIMUS.

CN. DOMITIUS CALVI-
NUS.

Prætor. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. He
was killed in the battle with
the Hetrurians; and
M^r CURIUS DENTATUS was
chosen in his room.

Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Cursor.
M. Fabius Dorso.

Plebeian Æ- M. Albinus Nepos.
diles. M. Plætorius Nepos.

Tribunes of the Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.
People. C. Junius Pullus.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

L. Atinius Longus.

Q. Petillius Nepos.

P. Decius Mus.

M. Fulvius Curvus.

L. Atilius Regulus.

C. Plautius Decianus.

M. Trebonius Flavus.

Quæstors of *Rome.* Sp. Furius Purpureo.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Military Quæ- Q. Lutatius Catulus.
stors. A. Posthumus Albinus.

471. Y. of R.

170. *Consulship.* C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.

He triumphs over the Sam-
nites, Lucani, and Brutii.

Q. Æmilius PAPUS.

Prætor. M. LIVIUS DENTER DRUSUS.

Curule Ædiles. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.

P. Quinctilius Varus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Fundanius Fundulus.

diles. L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the C. Genucius Clepsina.

People. L. Trebius Nepos.

L. Villius Nepos.

Q. Silius Nerva.

Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

M. Trebius Nepos.

C. Acutius Nepos.

L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

Quæstors of *Rome.* C. Pompilius Nepos.
M. Titinius Nepos.
Military Quæ- Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
stors. Q. Valerius Falto.
Ti. Claudius Nero.
P. Clælius Siculus.

472. Y. of R.

171. *Consulship.* L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

He triumphs over the Hetr-
urians.

Prætor. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

Curule Ædiles. M. Fostius Flaccinator.

C. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Æ- T. Minucius Augurinus.
diles. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the L. Titius Nepos.

People. P. Licinius Varus.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.

C. Sempronius Gracchus.

P. Publilius Philo.

M. Genucius Aventinensis.

M. Aulius Cerretanus.

Cn. Pupius Nepos.

C. Marcius Rutilus.

T. Popillius Nepos.

Quæstors of *Rome.* C. Quinctius Claudus.
P. Sempronius Sophus.

Military Quæ- Q. Servilius Cæpio.
stors. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.

473. Y. of R.

172. *Consulship.* P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

TI. CORUNCANIUS NE-

POS. He triumphs over
the Volsinenses, and Volci-
entes.

Censors.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgès.

The thirty-second Lustrum.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Lentulus.

L. Papirius Mase.

Plebeian Æ- M. Fulvius Curvus.

diles. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the C. Genucius Clepsina.

People. C. Atinius Longus.

Q. Petilius Nepos.

Q. Apuleius Pansa.

M. Pletorius Nepos.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

C. Plautius Decianus.

C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.
 M. Albinus Nepos.
 Q. Anicius Prænестinus.
 Quæstors of Rome. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
 Sp. Carvilius Ruga.
 Military Quæstors. M. Atilius Regulus.
 L. Publicius Malleolus.
 Pro-Consul against the Samnites, Tarentini, and Salentini. L. Æmilius Barbula. He triumphs over the Tarentini, Samnites, and Salentini.
 Pro-Quæstor. Q. Servilius Cæpio.
 474. Y. of R.
 173. Consulship. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
 P. DECIUS MUS.
 Prætor. TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
 Curule Ædiles. Ser. Cornelius Merenda.
 C. Fabius Dorsæ Licinus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. M. Trebius Nepos.
 Q. Silius Nerva.
 Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Clepsina.
 P. Sallonius Sarra.
 L. Villius Nepos.
 Q. Silius Nerva.
 Q. Manilius Nepos.
 L. Trebius Nepos.
 A. Acutius Nepos.
 L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
 C. Pompilius Nepos.
 Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
 Quæstors of Rome. C. Fabius Pictor.
 D. Junius Pera.
 Military Quæstors. Q. Mamilius Turinus.
 Cn. Cornelius Blasio.
 475. Y. of R.
 174. Consulship. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Lucani, Brutii, Tarentini, and Samnites.
 Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, a second time.
 Prætor. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
 Curule Ædiles. L. Titius Nepos.
 T. Popilius Nepos.
 Plebeian Ædiles. P. Licinius Nepos.
 C. Sempronius Gracchus.
 Tribunes of the People. M. Titinius Nepos.
 N. Sextius Sextinus.
 L. Furius Nepos.
 T. Minucius Augurinus.
 M. Aulus Cerretanus.
 M. Titius Rufus.
 C. Curatius Nepos.

T. Veturius Calvinus.
 Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
 C. Icilius Ruga.
 Quæstors of Rome. Ap. Claudius Crassus.
 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
 Military Quæstors. L. Mamilius Vitulus.
 T. Clælius Siculus.
 476. Y. of R.
 175. Consulship. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS, a second time.
 C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BULCUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Lucani and Brutii.
 Prætor. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
 Curule Ædiles. P. Clælius Siculus.
 Q. Valerius Falto.
 Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Apuleius Pansa.
 C. Plautius Decianus.
 Tribunes of the People. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
 Sp. Icilius Ruga.
 Q. Pomponius Nepos.
 M. Fulvius Curvus.
 C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
 Cn. Pupius Nepos.
 M. Livius Denter.
 Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.
 C. Atinius Labeo.
 Quæstors of Rome. C. Papirius Mæso.
 A. Posthumius Albinus.
 Military Quæstors. Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus.
 M. Duilius Nepos.
 477. Y. of R.
 176. Consulship. Q. FABIUS MAX. GURGES, a second time. He triumphs over the Lucani and Brutii.
 C. GENUCIUS.
 Dictator. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
 G. of the Horse. C. Ælius Pætus.
 Prætor. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
 Curule Ædiles. C. Quinctilius Claudus.
 C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. L. Genucius Clepsina.
 P. Sallonius Sarra.
 Tribunes of the People. P. Sempronius Sophus.
 C. Atinius Longus.
 T. Popilius Nepos.

C. Pœtelius.

C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.
 Cn. Apuleius Panfa.
 M. Fulvius Pœtinus.
 M' Marcius Nepos.
 Q. Petilius Nepos.
 Q. Lutatius Catulus.
 L. Alienius Nepos.
 Quæstors of *Rome.* M. Fulvius Flaccus.
 N. Fabius Pictor.
 Military Quæ- L. Julius Libo.
 stors. Cn. Apronius Lino.

478. Y. of R.
 177. Consulship. M. CURIUS DENTATUS,
 a second time. He triumphs
 over the Samnites and King
 Pyrrhus.
 L. CORNELIUS LENTU-
 LUS, who has the Surname
 of Caudinus given him. He
 triumphs over the Samnites
 and Lucani.

Censors. C. Fabricius Luscinus.
 Q. Æmilius Papus.

The thirty-third Lustrum.
 Prætor. C. FABIVS DORSO LICINUS.
 Curule Ediles. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
 Q. Servilius Cæpio.
 Plebeian Æ- M. Titius Rufus.
 diles. N. Sextius Lateranus.
 Tribunes of the M. Atilius Regulus.
 People. Q. Confidius Nepos.
 L. Trebius Nepos.
 L. Lucerius Nepos.
 L. Volscius Fictor.
 L. Publicius Malleolus.
 L. Anicius Prænestinus.
 M. Trebius Nepos.
 M. Acutius Nepos.
 Ti. Villius Tappulus.

Quæstors of C. Otacilius Crassus.
Rome. M' Otacilius Crassus.
 Military Quæ- L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
 stors. L. Papirius Crassus.

479. Y. of R.
 178. Consulship. M' CURIUS DENTATUS,
 a third time.
 SER. CORNELIUS MÆ-
 RENDA.
 Prætor. L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
 Curule Ediles. C. Fabius Pictor.
 Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

Plebeian Æ- Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
 diles. P. Sempronius Soplus.
 Tribunes of the D. Junius Pera.
 People. M. Minucius Fessius.
 C. Curatius Nepos.
 Q. Papirius Turdus.
 C. Minucius Augurinus.
 Q. Mamilius Turinus.
 M. Titinius Nepos.
 P. Furius Nepos.
 Y. Veturius Calvinus.
 C. Minucius Rufus.

Quæstors of Ap. Claudius Caudex.
Rome. Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
 Military Quæ- L. Sempronius Atratinus.
 stors. L. Flaminius Chilo.

480. Y. of R.
 179. Consulship. C. FABIVS DORSO LIC-
 NUS.
 C. CLAUDIVS CANINA, a
 second time. He triumphs
 over the Lucani, Samnites,
 and Brutii.

Prætor. C. QUINCTIVS CLAVDIVS.
 Curule Ediles. T. Clælius Siculus.
 Ap. Claudius Crassus.
 Plebeian Æ- M. Fulvius Petinus.
 diles. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
 Tribunes of the L. Mamilius Vitulus.
 People. M' Juventius Thalna.
 Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
 L. Pomponius Nepos.
 Cn. Flavius Nepos.
 M. Aquilius Florus.
 Sp. Carvilius Max. Ruga.
 L. Ælius Petus.
 M. Pomponius Matho.
 Cn. Fulvius Pœtinus.

Quæstors of M' Cornelius Cethegus.
Rome. T. Manlius Torquatus.
 Military Quæ- T. Otacilius Crassus.
 stors. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

481. Y. of R.
 180. Consulship. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a
 second time. He triumphs
 over the Tarentini, Sam-
 nites, Lucani, and Brutii.
 SP. CURVILIUS MAXI-
 MUS, a second time. He
 triumphs over the Lucani,
 Brutii, Samnites, and Taren-
 tini.

Censors.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>Consuls.</i> | M. Curius Dentatus.
L. Papirius Cursor. | Plebeian Ædiles. | L. Mamilius Titulus.
M. Aquilius Florus. |
| | <i>The thirty-fourth Ætrium.</i> | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | D. Junius Pera.
A. Acutius Nepos.
C. Volscius Fictor.
A. Silius Nepos.
Q. Racilius Nepos.
M. Otacilius Crassus.
Ti. Pontificius Nepos.
C. Metilius Nepos.
C. Sallonius Sarra.
C. Plætorius Nepos. |
| <i>Prætor.</i> | CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO. | <i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> | M. Junius Brutus.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. |
| <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> | L. Publicius Malleolus.
Q. Confidius Nepos. | <i>Military Quæstors.</i> | A. Atilius Calpurnius.
Q. Sulpicius Paternulus. |
| <i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> | M. Atilius Regulus.
D. Junius Pera. | 484. Y. of R. | |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
T. Sempronius Gracchus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Proculus.
M. Alienus Nepos.
M. Duilius Nepos.
Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.
M. Marcius Nepos.
M. Pætelius Libo Visolus.
L. Confidius Nepos. | 183. <i>Consulship.</i> | Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
C. FABIVS PICTOR. |
| <i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> | Q. Fabius Ambustus.
M. Valerius Maximus. | | Silver first coined at Rome. |
| <i>Military Quæstors.</i> | Cn. Minutius Fessus.
C. Duilius Nepos. | <i>Prætor.</i> | M. ATILIUS REGULUS. |
| 482. Y. of R. | | <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> | Ap. Claudius Caudex.
L. Sempronius Atratinus. |
| 181. <i>Consulship.</i> | C. QUINCTIVS CLAVDVS.
L. GENVCIVS CLEPSINA. | <i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> | M. Duilius Nepos.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. |
| <i>Prætor.</i> | C. FABIVS PICTOR. | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
Q. Confidius Nepos.
M. Alienus Nepos.
C. Plautius Proculus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Confidius Nepos.
L. Publicius Malleolus.
M. Marcius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Longus. |
| <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> | L. Julius Libo.
N. Fabius Pictor. | <i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> | L. Apustius Fullo.
C. Atilius Regulus Serranus. |
| <i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> | Q. Mamilius Turinus.
M. Minucius Fessus. | <i>Military Quæstors.</i> | L. Manlius Torquatus.
L. Pinarius Natta. |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | M. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
C. Otacilius Crassus.
C. Racilius Nepos.
L. Flaminius Chilo.
Cn. Apronius Lino.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Apustius Fullo.
L. Numitorius Nepos. | 485. Y. of R. | |
| <i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> | L. Posthumius Megellus.
L. Valerius Flaccus. | 184. <i>Consulship.</i> | P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
He triumphs over the People of Picenum. |
| <i>Military Quæstors.</i> | D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
C. Aquilius Florus. | | APPIVS CLAVDIVS CRASSVS. He triumphs over the same Nation. |
| 483. Y. of R. | | <i>Prætor.</i> | Q. FABIVS PICTOR. |
| 182. <i>Consulship.</i> | C. GENVCIVS CLEPSINA, a second time.
CN. CORNELIVS BLASIO.
He triumphs over the Sarsinates. | <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> | M. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Apustius Fullo. |
| <i>Prætor.</i> | AP. CLAVDIVS CRASSVS, | | |
| <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> | L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Papirius Crassus. | | |

Plebeian

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Otacilius Crassus.*
C. Volscius Fictor.
Tribunes of the People. *T. Otacilius Crassus.*
M' Pomponius Matho.
M' Curius Dentatus.
C. Ælius Pætus.
M. Aulus Cerretanus.
M. Flavius Nepos.
L. Acilius Glabrio.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Lælius Nepos.
L. Carvilius Maximus.
Quæstors of Rome. *L. Cornelius Scipio.*
C. Sulpicius Paterculus.
Military Quæstors. *M. Lætorius Plancianus.*
Q. Cædicius Nepos.
486. Y. of R.
185. Consulship. *M. ATILIUS REGULUS.*
L. JULIUS LIBO. They both triumph over the Salentini.
Prætor. *L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.*
Curule Ædiles. *M' Valerius Maximus.*
L. Posthumius Megellus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Otacilius Crassus.*
C. Sallomius Sarra.
Tribunes of the People. *Cn. Minucius Fessus.*
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Q. Terentius Arsa.
C. Æbutius Carus.
C. Duilius Nepos.
Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
T. Juventius Thalna.
M. Minucius Fessus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Quæstors of Rome. *Ti. Sempronius Blæsus.*
Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.
Military Quæstors. *Q. Hortensius Nepos.*
A. Sempronius Atratinus.
487. Y. of R.
186. Consulship. *N. FABIVS PICTOR.* He triumphs twice. 1st. Over the Sassinates. 2dly. Over the Salentini, and Messapii.
D. JUNIVS PERA. He triumphs twice. 1st. Over the Sassinates. 2dly. Over the Salentini, and Messapii.
Prætor. *AP. CLAVDIVS CAVDX.*
Curule Ædiles. *L. Valerius Flaccus.*
Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *Q. Mamilius Vitulus.*
Cn. Apronius Lima.
Tribunes of the People. *M. Fulvius Flaccus.*
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
C. Cædicius Noctua.
C. Manilius Nepos.
C. Antonius Nepos.
C. Aquilius Florus.
L. Memmius Nepos.
M. Antonius Nepos.
L. Mamilius Nepos.
M. Aquilius Florus.
Quæstors of Rome. *L. Manlius Vulso Longus.*
C. Sempronius Blæsus.
Military Quæstors. *A. Manlius Vulso Longus.*
Q. Marcus Philippus.
488. Y. of R.
187. Consulship. *Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS GURGES,* a third time.
L. MAMILIUS VITVLVS.
Censors. *Cn. Cornelius Blasio.*
C. Marcius Rutilus, who was then surnamed Censorinus.
The thirty-fifth Lustrum.
Prætor. *M' OTACILIUS CRASSVS.*
Curule Ædiles. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina.*
Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *T. Otacilius Crassus.*
C. Atilius Calatinus.
Tribunes of the People. *C. Titius Nepos.*
M. Junius Brutus.
Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
L. Carvilius Maximus.
C. Ælius Pætus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
A. Atilius Calatinus.
C. Oppius Cornicen.
C. Lælius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Quæstors of Rome. *C. Aurelius Cotta.*
Q. Æmilius Papus.
Military Quæstors. *C. Claudius Canina.*
M. Horatius Pulvillus.
Four new Quæstors created for the Provinces in Italy, which were become subject to the Republick.
489. Y. of R.
188. Consulship. *AP. CLAVDIVS CAVDX.*
M. FVLVIVS FLACCVS.
He

He triumphs over the Volturniensis.

Prætor. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
Curule Ædiles. L. Pinarius Natta.
 L. Manlius Torquatus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Duilius Nepos.
 Cn. Minucius Fessus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Atilius Regulus Serranus.
 C. Ælius Carus.
 M. Popilius Lænas.
 L. Acilius Glabrio.
 M. Pœtelius Libo.
 Q. Terentius Arsa.
 M. Marcius Nepos.
 T. Juventius Thalna.
 C. Plautius Hypsæus.
 M. Racilius Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. M. Æmilius Paulus.
 M. Claudius Marcellus.
Military Quæstors. L. Cæcilius Metellus.
 Sp. Furius Philus.
Provincial Quæstors. C. Marcius Censorinus.
 P. Minucius Rufus.
 T. Æbutius Elva.
 L. Hortensius Nepos.

490. Y. of R.

189. *Consulship.* M' VALERIUS FLACCUS, who was then surnamed MESSALA. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, and King Hiero.

Dictator. M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
 CN. FULVIUS MAXIMUS CENTUMALUS.

G. of the Horse. Q. Marcius Philippus.
Prætor. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Scipio.
 C. Sulpicius Paterculus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Aquilius Florus.
 Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
Tribunes of the People. Cn. Aulus Calatinus.
 M. Lætorius Plancianus.
 L. Apustius Fullo.
 L. Fescennius Nepos.
 M. Acutius Nepos.
 Q. Sellius Nepos.
 Q. Cæditius Nepos.
 Sp. Antius Restio.
 C. Sallonius Sarra.
 C. Pontificius Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. Q. Servilius Geminus.
 M. Livius Drusus.

Military Quæstors. C. Flaminius Nepos.
 L. Junius Pullus.
Provincial Quæstors. L. Opimius Pansa.
 A. Trebonius Asper.
 Q. Sallonius Sarra.
 Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

491. Y. of R.

190. *Consulship.* L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS.

Prætor. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
 CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.

Curule Ædiles. M. Junius Brutus.
 C. Oppius Cornicen.
Plebeian Ædiles. A. Atilius Calatinus.
 Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Tribunes of the People. Ti. Sempronius Blæsius.
 Q. Titinius Nepos.
 L. Sextilius Rufus.
 Q. Hortensius Nepos.
 A. Virginius Nepos.
 Ser. Fulvius Petinus Nobilior.
 M. Antonius Nepos.
 C. Cæditius Noctua.
 L. Memmius Nepos.
 T. Æbutius Carus.

Quæstors of Rome. Cn. Servilius Capius.
 P. Servilius Geminus.
Military Quæstors. M. Sergius Fidenus.
 L. Sicinius Dentatus.
Provincial Quæstors. Cn. Apronius Nepos.
 C. Nautius Rutilus.
 Sex. Titius Nepos.
 C. Julius Iulus.

492. Y. of R.

191. *Consulship.* L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
 T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Prætor. CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
Curule Ædiles. L. Manlius Vulso.
 A. Manlius Vulso Longus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Atilius Regulus.
 M. Popilius Lænas.
Tribunes of the People. C. Aquilius Florus.
 C. Sempronius Blæsius.
 L. Lætorius Mergus.
 A. Ogulnius Gallus.
 L. Acilius Gabrio.
 C. Canuleius Nepos.
 L. Aurelius Cotta.
 Q. Marcius Philippus.
 Ti. Claudius Cicero.
 M. Pupius Nepos.

Quæstors

Quæstors of Rome. *Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgæ.*
L. Minucius Thermus.
 Military Quæstors. *C. Fabricius Lucinus.*
C. Livius Drusus.
 Provincial Quæstors. *C. Furius Pacilus.*
C. Sempronius Atratinus.
Sp. Veturius Crassus.
C. Ælius Pætus.

493. Y. of R.

192. Consulship. **CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.**

C. DUILIUS. He was the first who obtained the Honour of a Naval Triumph, for having destroyed the Carthaginian Fleet.

Prætor. **C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.**

Curule Ædiles. *Ti. Sempronius Blæsus.*

Q. Cædicius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Apustius Fullo.*
M. Lætorius Plancianus.

Tribunes of the People. *M. Atilius Calatinus.*
C. Aurelius Cotta.
C. Flavius Nepos.
C. Plautius Hypsæus.
P. Apuleius Saturninus.
L. Tullius Nepos.
C. Claudius Canina.
M' Marcius Nepos.
L. Allienius Nepos.
L. Trebonius Flavius.

Quæstors of Rome. *C. Claudius Pulcher.*
Cn. Bæbius Tampilus.

Military Quæstors. *C. Popillius Lænas.*
Q. Petillius Nepos.

Provincial Quæstors. *P. Cornelius Rufinus.*
P. Plautius Hypsæus.
C. Fulcinius Trio.
L. Veturius Philo.

494. Y. of R.

193. Consulship. **L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.**

He triumphs over the Carthaginians, Sardinians, and Corsicans.

C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

Prætor. **C. ATILIUS REGULUS SER-RANUS.**

Curule Ædiles. *M. Æmilius Paulus.*

Sp. Furius Philus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *T. Æbutius Carus.*
Ser. Fulvius Patinus Nobiliar.

VOL. II.

Tribunes of the People. **C. Marcius Censorinus.**
M. Claudius Marcellus.
L. Hortensius Nepos.
Q. Sallonius Sarra.
M. Acutius Nepos.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Ælius Pætus.
Sp. Antius Restio.
C. Lucerius Nepos.
P. Minucius Rufus.

Quæstors of Rome. *A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus.*
Ser. Cornelius Rufinus.

Military Quæstors. *C. Cornelius Scapula.*
L. Numitorius Pullus.

Provincial Quæstors. *C. Antius Restio.*
L. Roscius Nepos.
L. Atilius Bulbus.
P. Cornelius Dolabella.

495. Y. of R.

194. Consulship. **A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.**

C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians and Sardinians.

Censors.

C. Duilius Nepos.
Appius Claudius Caudex.

The thirty-sixth Lustrum.

Prætor. **L. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS.**

Curule Ædiles. *L. Aurelius Cotta.*

L. Lætorius Mergus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *A. Ogulnius Gallus.*
C. Sempronius Blæsus.

Tribunes of the People. *Q. Cædicius Nepos.*
A. Trebonius Asper.
Sex. Pompilius Nepos.
M. Livius Drusus.
L. Sextius Calvinus.
L. Junius Pullus.
P. Silius Nepos.
Q. Titinius Nepos.
C. Flaminius Nepos.
C. Genucius Clepsina.

Quæstors of Rome. *N. Fabius Buteo.*
C. Atilius Bulbus.

Military Quæstors. *L. Flaminius Nepos.*
T. Antonius Merenda.

Provincial Quæstors. *P. Pompilius Nepos.*
Q. Antonius Merenda.
L. Volumnus Flamma Violens.
Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

4 K

Pro-Consul.

Pro-Consul. C. Aquilius Florus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

Pro-Quæstor. L. Roscius Nepos.

496. Y. of R.

195. *Consulship.* C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, whom he had beaten at Sea.
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Dictator. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

G. of the Horse. M. Lætorius Plancianus.

Prætor. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

Curule Ædiles. Cn. Servilius Capio.
P. Servilius Geminus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Aurelius Cotta.
C. Claudius Canina.

Tribunes of the People. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
L. Cominius Nepos.

P. Curatius Nepos.

P. Virginus Nepos.

Q. Mælius Capitolinus.

Cn. Apronius Dentatus.

M. Cædicius Nepos.

C. Mænius Nepos.

L. Papirius Turdus.

T. Æbutius Carus.

Quæstors of Rome. T. Geganius Macerinus.
C. Cominius Nepos.

Military Quæstors. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Provincial Quæstors. C. Sulpicius Longus.
L. Æmilius Barbula.
P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
P. Furius Aculeo.

Pro-Consul. A. Atilius Calatinus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

497. Y. of R.

169. *Consulship.* A. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, whom he had beaten at Sea.

Q. CÆDICIVS, who died in his Office; and in his room

T. ATILIUS REGULUS was chosen *Consul* a second time.

Prætor. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgæ.
Sp. Veturius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Marcius Censorinus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Minucius Thermus.
T. Numicius Nepos.

Q. Romuleius Nepos.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

L. Aurelius Cotta.

C. Claudius Cicero.

L. Canuleius Nepos.

M. Oppius Cornicen.

P. Ælius Pætus.

C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Fabius Dorso Læcinus.
C. Fundanius Fundulus.

Military Quæstors. M. Veturius Crassus.
M. Canuleius Nepos.

Provincial Quæstors. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
P. Decius Mus.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

M. Licinius Calvus.

498. Y. of R.

197. *Consulship.* SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Prætor. T. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. Furius Pacilus.
P. Claudius Pulcher.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Junius Pullus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Aurelius Cotta.
C. Claudius Hortator.

Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.

P. Plautius Hypsæus.

M. Antistius Nepos.

C. Rabuleius Nepos.

Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.

P. Popilius Lænas.

Q. Petillius Nepos.

C. Fulcinius Trio.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Fabius Licinus.
M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Military Quæstors. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
P. Quinctilius Varus.

Provincial Quæstors. P. Mucius Scævola.

L. Papirius Mafæ.

Q. Æmilius Barbula.

L. Livius Denter.

Pro-Consul. M. Atilius Regulus.

Pro-Quæstor. M. Canuleius Nepos.

499. Y. of R.

198. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA, a second time.

A. ATI-

A. ATILIUS CALATINUS,
a second time.

Prætor. P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

Curule Ædiles. A. Manlius Torquatus.
C. Cornelius Dolabella.

Plebeian Æ- L. Papirius Turanus.
diles. P. Mænius Nepos.

Tribunes of the C. Marcius Censorinus.
People. C. Flaminius Nepos.
C. Atilius Bulbus.
C. Antius Restio.
M. Tullius Nepos.
L. Marcius Philippus.
L. Numitorius Pullus.
L. Roscius Nepos.
L. Antistius Nepos.
M. Albinus Nepos.

Quæstors of M. Fabius Buteo.
Rome. M. Calpurnius Flamma.

Military Quæ- C. Sulpicius Gallus.
stors. C. Lutatius Catulus.

Provincial M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Quæstors. Sp. Papirius Cursor.
L. Papirius Cursor.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

Præ-consuls. Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior. He triumphs over the Corcyræans and Carthaginians, whom he had beaten at Sea.

M. Æmilius Paulus. He triumphs over the same Nations.

500. Y. of R.
199. *Consulship.* CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

Censors. D. Junius Pera.
L. Posthumius Megellus. He died in his Office, and after his death his Collegue abdicated according to custom.

Prætor. L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS, who was *Censor* at the same time.

Curule Ædiles. N. Fabius Buteo.
T. Antonius Merenda.

Plebeian Æ- C. Fabricius Luscinus.
diles. L. Minucius Thermus.

Tribunes of the L. Cæcilius Metellus.
People. C. Atilius Bulbus.
L. Flaminius Nepos.

C. Pompilius Nepos.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
L. Mænius Nepos.
Q. Fundanius Fundulus.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
L. Cædicius Nepos.
A. Virginius Nepos.
T. Sempronius Gracchus.
Q. Lutatius Cerco.
P. Valerius Lævinus.
Ser. Sulpicius Longus.
L. Sextius Lateranus.
L. Geganius Macerius.
Sex. Julius Cæsar.
A. Virginius Rutilus.

Quæstors of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Afina.
Rome. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

Military Quæ- Sp. Papirius Cursor.
stors. 501. Y. of R.

Provincial 200. *Consulship.* C. AURELIUS COTTA.
Quæstors. He triumphs over the Carthaginians and Sicilians.

Præ-consul. P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
M. Valerius Maximus Messalla.
P. Sempronius Sophus.

The thirty-seventh Lustrum.

Prætor. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Curule Ædiles. L. Æmilius Barbula.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Plebeian Æ- Cn. Bæbius Tampilus.
diles. P. Popilius Lænas.

Tribunes of the L. Junius Pullus.
People. L. Cominius Nepos.
C. Fulcinius Trio.
L. Numitorius Pullus.
C. Antius Restio.
P. Furius Aculeo.
M. Albinus Nepos.
M. Trebius Gallus.
L. Roscius Nepos.
L. Mæcilius Tullus.

Quæstors of M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Rome. L. Genucius Clepsina.

Military Quæ- Ser. Sulpicius Saverrio.
stors. L. Æmilius Lepidus.

Provincial Q. Mamilius Turinus.
Quæstors. L. Quinctius Flaminius.
C. Valerius Potitus Placens.
L. Albinus Nepos.

502. Y. of R.

201. *Consulship*. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. FURIUS PACILUS.A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS
ATTICUS.

Curule Ædiles. R. Atilius Bulbus.

C. Flaminius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Tullius Nepos.

L. Marcianus Philippus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Fundanius Fundulus.
M. Licinius Calvus.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Q. Silius Nerva.

C. Titinius Nepos.

M. Canuleius Nepos.

P. Decius Mus.

M. Metilius Nepos.

C. Pompilius Nepos.

Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

Quæstors of Rome. A. Posthumius Albinus.

C. Claudius Centho.

Military Quæstors. P. Licinius Crassus.

A. Hostilius Mancinus.

Provincial Quæstors. Q. Petillius Spurius.

C. Cornucanius Nepos.

L. Cornucanius Nepos.

Sp. Furius Camillus.

503. Y. of R.

202. *Consulship*. C. ATILIUS REGULUS, a
second time.L. MANLIUS VULSO, a se-
cond time.

Prætor. N. FABIVS BUTEO.

Curule Ædiles. M. Fabius Licinus.

M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Atilius Bulbus.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the People. P. Mucius Scævola.

L. Sextius Lateranus.

L. Mænius Nepos.

Ti. Minucius Augurinus.

M. Decius Mus.

L. Livius Denter.

L. Cædicius Nepos.

A. Virginius Nepos.

C. Licinius Stolo.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Valerius Falto.

C. Mamilius Turinus.

Military Quæstors. C. Quinctius Claudus.

Sp. Furius Purpureus.

Provincial

Quæstors.

C. Licinius Varus.

M. Æmilius Numida.

C. Fostius Flaccinator.

Q. Mucius Scævola.

Pro-Consul.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. He tri-
umphs over the Carthagini-
ans.

Pro-Quæstor.

Q. Petillius Spurius.

504. Y. of R.

203. *Consulship*. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
L. JUNIUS PULLUS.

Dictator.

M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA.

He was forced to abdicate,
andA. ATILIUS CALATI-
NUS chosen in his room.

G. of the Horse.

L. Cæcilius Metellus.

Prætor.

C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fabius Buteo.

C. Sulpicius Gallus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Furius Tullus.

L. Mæcilius Trullus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Fundanius Fundulus.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

M. Calpurnius Flamma.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus.

C. Lutatius Catulus.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

M. Tullius Nepos.

Papius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ti. Claudius Nero.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

P. Sempronius Sophus.

Provincial

Quæstors.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

C. Atilius Longus.

Ser. Cornelius Merenda.

L. Quinctius Claudus.

Pro-Consul.

L. Manlius Vulso.

Pro-Quæstor.

Sp. Furius Purpureus.

505. Y. of R.

204. *Consulship*. C. AURELIUS COTTA.
P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

Both a second time.

Prætor.

M. FABIVS LICINUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

P. Decius Mus.

Plebeian Æ- *M. Licinius Calvus.*
diles. *Q. Silius Nerva.*
Tribunes of the *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.*
People. *L. Sextius Lateranus.*
P. Publilius Philo.
C. Scantius Nepos.
C. Pompilius Nepos.
Q. Lutatius Cerco.
Q. Anicius Prænestinus.
Q. Apuleius Pansa.
Q. Plætorius Nepos.
Q. Mamilius Nepos.
Quæstors of *L. Publicius Malleolus.*
Rome. *P. Valerius Falto.*
Military Quæ- *Sp. Carvilius Maximus.*
stors. *L. Marcius Rutilus.*
Provincial *C. Lutatius Catulus.*
Quæstors. *M. Valerius Potitus.*
T. Popillius Sabellus.
P. Clælius Siculus.
506. Y. of R.
205. Consulship. **L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS,**
a second time.
M. FABIVS BUTEO.
Censors. **A. Atilius Calatinus.**
A. Manlius Torquatus At-
ticus.

The thirty-eighth Lustrum.

Prætor. **C. Atilius Bulbus.**
Curule Ædiles. **P. Mutius Scævola.**
L. Livius Denter.
Plebeian Æ- **C. Lutatius Catulus.**
diles. **C. Licinius Stolo.**
Tribunes of the **M. Sempronius Tuditanus.**
People. **Q. Mamilius Turinus.**
C. Titinius Nepos.
L. Genucius Clepsina.
N. Sextius Lateranus.
M. Anicius Gallus.
C. Sicinius Nepos.
M. Titius Rufus.
L. Albinus Nepos.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Quæstors of **M. Publicius Malleolus.**
Rome. **L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.**
Military Quæ- **T. Villius Tappulus.**
stors. **T. Clælius Siculus.**
Provincial **M. Claudius Glicia.**
Quæstors. **C. Papirius Maf.**

L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Q. Sextius Capitolinus.
Pro-Consul. **C. Aurelius Cotta.**
Pro-Quæstor. *Sp. Carvilius Maximus.*
507. Y. of R.
206. Consulship. **M. OTACILIUS CRASSVS,**
a second time.
M. FABIVS LICINVS.

Dictator. **TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.**

G. of the Horse. **M. Fulvius Flaccus.**
Prætor. **C. Sulpicius Gallus.**
Curule Ædiles. **A. Posthumius Albinus.**
C. Claudius Centho.
Plebeian Æ- **C. Fundanius Fundulus.**
diles. **Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.**
Tribunes of the **Q. Petillius Spurius.**
People. **M. Fulvius Flaccus.**
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Cornelius Nepos.
L. Coruncanius Nepos.
L. Trebius Nepos.
P. Licinius Crassus.
Ti. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Decius Mus.
K. Duitius Nepos.
Quæstors of **Cn. Servilius Cæpio.**
Rome. **C. Calpurnius Piso.**
Military Quæ- **M. Genucius Cippus.**
stors. **P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.**
Provincial **C. Fabius Pictor.**
Quæstors. **A. Posthumius Albinus.**
Cn. Furius Brochus.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

508. Y. of R.
207. Consulship. **M. FABIVS BUTEO.**
C. Atilius Bulbus.

Prætor. **L. Aurelius Cotta.**
Curule Ædiles. **Q. Valerius Falto.**
M. Æmilius Nævius.

Plebeian Æ- **Q. Lutatius Cerco.**
diles. **P. Publilius Philo.**

Tribunes of the **C. Mamilius Turinus.**
People. **Cn. Pupius Nepos.**
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Q. Anicius Prænestinus.
Cn. Apuleius Pansa.
C. Licinius Crassus.
M. Fulvius Pætinus.

C. Atinius

C. Atinius Labeo.
 M. Anicius Gallus.
 Q. Pætelius Libo Vitellus.
 Quæstors of Rome. D. Junius Pera.
 L. Veturius Philo.
 Military Quæstors. L. Furius Bibaculus.
 M. Pomponius Matron.
 Provincial Quæstors. Q. Sulpicius Rufus.
 Cn. Pomponius Rutilus.
 Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.
 M. Livius Denther.
 509. Y. of R.
 208. Consulship. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS.
 C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS, a second time.
 Prætor. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
 Curule-Ediles. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 C. Cornelius Nepos.
 Plebeian Ædiles. L. Cornucanius Nepos.
 Q. Petillius Spurius.
 Tribunes of the People. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
 P. Sempronius Sophus.
 C. Atinius Longus.
 Q. Plætorius Nepos.
 P. Silius Nerva.
 Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
 Q. Condidius Nepos.
 L. Trebius Nepos.
 M. Silius Nerva.
 Quæstors of Rome. L. Posthumius Albinus.
 T. Manlius Torquatus.
 Military Quæstors. M. Junius Pera.
 N. Fabius Picter.
 Provincial Quæstors. P. Claudius Nero.
 L. Titinius Nepos.
 T. Virginus Rutilus.
 Cn. Apronius Lino.
 510. Y. of R.
 209. Consulship. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
 C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
 T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
 Prætor. P. Valerius Falto.
 Curule-Ediles. M. Valerius Maximus Petitus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. M. Fulvius Flaccus.
 C. Mamilius Turinus.
 Tribunes of the People. L. Publicius Malleolus.
 Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga.

T. Popillius Sabellus.
 T. Veturius Calvinus.
 M. Manilius Nepos.
 L. Titius Rufus.
 Q. Lutatius Catulus.
 L. Marcius Rutilus.
 Q. Sicinius Nepos.
 Q. Manilius Nepos.
 Quæstors of Rome. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
 M. Pomponius Matron.
 Military Quæstors. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
 Ap. Claudius Crassus.
 Provincial Quæstors. L. Anicius Gallus.
 L. Patirius Crassus.
 Q. Papirius Turdus.
 Q. Servilius Abala.
 511. Y. of R.
 210. Consulship. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
 A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
 Prætors. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
 Q. VALERIUS FALTO.
 The Establishment of a second Prætorship.
 Curule-Ediles. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
 C. Papirius Mæso.
 Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
 C. Licinius Varus.
 Tribunes of the People. M. Publicius Malleolus.
 L. Mamilius Vitulus.
 Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
 L. Pomponius Nepos.
 Cn. Flavius Nepos.
 Ti. Villius Tapulus.
 Sex. Curatius Nepos.
 L. Ælius Pætus.
 Q. Fulvius Pætinus.
 M. Claudius Glicia.
 Quæstors of Rome. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus.
 C. Valerius Lævinus.
 Military Quæstors. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.
 C. Minucius Rufus.
 Provincial Quæstors. M. Minucius Fessus.
 M. Otacilius Crassus.
 M. Juventius Thalna.
 P. Cornelius Cethegus.
 512. Y. of R.
 211. Consulship. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Falisci.
 Q. LUTATIUS

Q. LUTATIUS CERCO.
He triumphs over the Falisci.
Censors. C. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Fabius Buteo.

The thirty-ninth Lustrum.

Prætors. C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
P. VALERIUS FALTO.
Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Lentulus Caulinus.
C. Fabius Pictor.
Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Sempronius Sophus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Genucius Cipus.
Cn. Furius Brochus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
C. Calpurnius Piso.
C. Plautius Proculus.
M. Flavius Nepos.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
C. Atinius Longus.
M. Marcius Racca.
Quæstors of Rome. Cn. Minucius Fessus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
Military Quæstors. C. Aquilius Florus.
C. Otacilius Crassus.
Provincial Quæstors. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
P. Sulpicius Rufus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
L. Cornelius Blasio.
Pro-Consul in Sicily. C. Lutatius Catulus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, who were beaten at Sea.
Pro-Prætor. Q. VALERIUS FALTO. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, who were beaten at Sea.
Pro-Quæstors. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.
C. Minucius Rufus.

513. Y. of R.

212. *Consulship.* C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANIUS.
Prætors. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Sulpicius Rufus.
L. Furius Bibaculus.
Dramatic pieces, composed by Livius Andronicus, now first acted at Rome.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Publicius Malleolus.
M. Publicius Malleolus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Pomponius Matho.
Cn. Pomponius Rufus.
Q. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
C. Confidius Nepos.
Sex. Stadius Nepos.
D. Junius Pera.
M. Livius Denter.
M. Allienius Nepos.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
M. Claudius Glicia.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Æmilius Barbula.
Cn. Otacilius Nepos.
Military Quæstors. C. Duilius Nepos.
M. Mamilius Vitulus.
Provincial Quæstors. L. Apustius Fullo.
M. Papirius Crassus.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Acilius Glabrio.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. Q. Lutatius Cerco.

Pro-Quæstor. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

514. Y. of R.

213. *Consulship.* C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
Q. VALERIUS FALTO.
Prætors. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.
C. LICINIUS VARUS.
Curule Ædiles. L. Posthumius Albinus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
Plebeian Ædiles. Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Junius Pera.
C. Arennius Nepos.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Sextius Curatius Nepos.
Ti. Veturius Calvinus.
C. Numitorius Nepos.
C. Volscius Fictor.
L. Titinius Nepos.
L. Papirius Turdus.
Cn. Apronius Limo.
Quæstors of Rome. Q. Fabius Verrucosus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
Military Quæstors. L. Posthumius Megellus.
Q. Fabius Ambustus.
Provincial Quæstors. P. Numitorius Nepos.
A. Posthumius Albinus.
C. Salloni Sarra.
Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Pro-Consul.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. Q. Lutatius Cerco.

515. Y. of R.

214. *Consulship.* T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

P. VALERIUS FALTO.

Prætors. C. FABIUS PICTOR.

M. GENUCIUS CIPUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Sp. Claudius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Pomponius Matro.

C. Atilius Regulus.

Tribunes of the People. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

L. Anicius Gallus.

M. Aquilius Florus.

M. Aulus Cerretanus.

M. Curius Dentatus.

M. Pomponius Matho.

Q. Papirius Turdus.

L. Carvilius Maximus.

C. Ælius Pætus.

M. Claudius Glicia.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Servilius Nepos.

L. Cornelius Cethegus.

Military Quæstors. M. Lætorius Plancianus.

T. Quinctius Flaminius.

Provincial Quæstors. Q. Cassius Longinus.

Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus.

M. Pinarius Natta.

P. Melius Capitolinus.

Pro-Consul. Q. Valerius Falto.

Pro-Quæstor. C. Atilius Regulus.

516. Y. of R.

215. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS. He triumphs over the Ligures.

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors. L. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.

L. FURIUS BIBACULUS.

Curule Ædiles. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

Q. Fabius Verrucosus.

Plebeian Ædiles. D. Junius Pera.

Cn. Pomponius Rufus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Minucius Rufus.

M. Juventius Thalna.

Q. Pomponius Nepos.

C. Sempronius Longus.

M. Marcius Ralla.

M. Minucius Fessius.

M. Otacilius Crassus.

D. Junius Brutus.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

M. Allicenius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. A. Atilius Calatinus.

C. Flaminius Nepos.

Military Quæstors. P. Valerius Flaccus.

Sp. Furius Philas.

Provincial Quæstors. C. Lælius Nepos.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

A. Manlius Julius Longus.

L. Manlius Torquatus.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. Q. Valerius Falto.

Pro-Quæstor. C. Atilius Regulus.

517. Y. of R.

216. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.

C. LICINIUS VARUS.

The *Secular Games* celebrated a third time under the direction of M. Æmilius, and

M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Censors. L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

Q. Lutatius Cerco. The latter died before his office expired.

Prætors. L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS

RUGA.

Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Turdus.

M. Junius Pera.

Plebeian Ædiles. Ti. Veturius Calvinus.

Cn. Apronius Lino.

Tribunes of the People. M. Atilius Regulus.

C. Minucius Augurinus.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

C. Æbutius Carus.

L. Statius Nepos.

Cn. Minucius Fessius.

C. Otacilius Crassus.

C. Aquilius Florus.

L. Plætorius Nepos.

C. Metilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Valerius Messalla.

Q. Æmilius Papus.

Military Quæstors. M. Junius Brutus.

L. Junius Brutus.

Provincial Quæstors. Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.

L. Cornelius Scipio.

P. Pinarius Natta.

C. Apustius Fullo.

Pro-Consul.

Pro-Consul. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Pro-Quæstor. Sp. Furius Philus.
 518. Y. of R.
 217. *Consulship.* T. MANLIUS TORQUA-
 TUS. He triumphs over the
 Sardinians.
 C. ATILIUS BULBUS.
Prætors. M' POMPONIUS MATHO.
 M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Barbula.
 M. Papirius Crassus.
Plebeian Æ- Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
diles. M. Pomponius Matho.
Tribunes of the L. Apustius Fullo.
People. C. Manilius Nepos.
 Q. Cædicius Noctua.
 L. Memmius Nepos.
 L. Acilius Glabrio.
 M. Pontificius Nepos.
 C. Antonius Nepos.
 C. Cædicius Noctua.
 Cn. Octavius Nepos.
 C. Duilius Nepos.
Quæstors of M. Valerius Flaccus.
Rome. M. Fulvius Nobilior.
Military Quæ- C. Servilius Capio.
stors. M. Horatius Pulvillus.
Provincial L. Manilius Nepos.
Quæstors. M. Antonius Nepos.
 Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina.
 M. Minucius Rufus.
Pro-Consul in Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Sicily.
Pro-Quæstor. Sp. Furius Philus.
 519. Y. of R.
 218. *Consulship.* L. POSTHUMIUS ALBI-
 NUS.
 SP. CARVILIUS MAXI-
 MUS. He triumphs over
 the Sardinians.
Censors. C. Atilius Bulbus.
 A. Posthumius Albinus.

The fortieth Lustrum.

Prætors. M. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
 P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS
 CAUDINUS.
Curule Ædiles. L. Posthumius Megellus.
 A. Posthumius Albinus.

VOL. II.

2

Theatrical Pieces of Cn. Nævius.

Plebeian Æ- M' Juventius Thalna.
diles. M' Otacilius Crassus.
Tribunes of the C. Atilius Regulus.
People. P. Numitorius Nepos.
 Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
 M. Terentius Nepos.
 C. Oppius Cornicinus.
 M. Manlius Vitulus.
 C. Sallonius Sarra.
 Q. Minucius Thermus.
 T. Juventius Thalna.
 Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
Quæstors of C. Scantinius Capitolinus.
Rome. L. Æmilius Papus.
Military Quæ- M. Æmilius Paulus.
stors. M. Livius Salinator.
Provincial C. Centenius Penula.
Quæstors. D. Lætorius Mergus.
 L. Sergius Fidenas.
 L. Flaminius Cilo.
Pro-Consul. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Pro-Quæstor. M. Minucius Rufus.
 520. Y. of R.
 219. *Consulship.* Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRU-
 COSUS. He triumphs over
 the Ligures.
 M' POMPONIUS MATHO.
 He triumphs over the Sardi-
 nians.
Prætors. C. PAPIRIUS MASO.
 M. JUNIUS PERA.
Curule Ædiles. C. Otacilius Crassus.
 Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
Plebeian Æ- C. Aquilius Florus.
diles. M. Atilius Regulus.
Tribunes of the T. Æbutius Carus.
People. C. Æbutius Carus.
 M. Lætorius Plancianus.
 P. Mælius Capitolinus.
 Cn. Minucius Fessus.
 L. Hortensius Nepos.
 C. Servilius Nepos.
 Q. Cassius Longinus.
 C. Aquilius Florus.
 Cn. Octavius Nepos.
Quæstors of C. Sulpicius Patertulus.
Rome. M. Claudius Marcellus.
Military Quæ- P. Furius Philus.
stors. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

4 L

Provincial

| | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| Provincial | Q. Ælius Pætus. | Plebeian | Æ- | C. Atilius Regulus. |
| Quæstors. | Ti. Sempronius Longus. | diles. | | Cn. Ogulnius Galus. |
| | C. Acilius Glabrio. | Tribunes of the | | C. Apustius Fullo. |
| | Q. Bæbius Tampillus. | People. | | M. Junius Brutus. |
| Pro-Consul. | A. Posthumius Albinus. | | | Ti. Claudius Canina. |
| Pro-Quæstor. | C. Centenius Penula. | | | C. Fabricius Luscinus. |
| 521. Y. of R. | | | | C. Flavius Nepos. |
| 220. Consulship. | M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. | | | Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior. |
| | M. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. | | | L. Junius Brutus. |
| Prætors. | M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. | | | C. Claudius Asellus. |
| | Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. | | | L. Tullius Nepos. |
| Curule-Ediles. | P. Valerius Flaccus. | Quæstors of | | P. Popillius Lænas. |
| | Sp. Furius Philus. | Rome. | | T. Annius Læscus. |
| Plæbeian | L. Apustius Fullo. | Military Quæ- | | L. Manius Vulso. |
| diles. | Q. Cæcilius Nectus. | stors. | | L. Cæcilius Metellus. |
| Tribunes of the | C. Flaminius Nepos. | Provincial | | C. Nautius Rutilus. |
| People. | C. Carvilius Maximus. | Quæstors. | | L. Junius Pullus. |
| | M. Atilius Calatinus. | | | M. Licinius Drusus. |
| | M. Claudius Marcellus. | | | C. Sergius Fidenus. |
| | C. Minucius Augurinus. | | | L. Valerius Messalla. |
| | P. Ælius Pætus. | Pro-Consul in | | Sp. Furius Philus. |
| | C. Lælius Nepos. | Sicily. | | |
| | M. Cæcilius Metellus. | Pro-Quæstor. | | P. Cornelius Scipio Asina. |
| | Q. Aulius Cerretanus. | 523. Y. of R. | | |
| | C. Claudius Canina. | 222. Consulship. | | M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. |
| Quæstors of | C. Lutatius Catulus. | | | M. JUNIUS PERA. |
| Rome. | C. Cornelius Scipio Asina. | Censors. | | Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. |
| Military Quæ- | Ser. Pomponius Nepos. | | | M. Sempronius Tuditanus. |
| stors. | L. Quinctius Flaminius. | | | |
| Provincial | T. Otacilius Crassus. | | | |
| Quæstors. | L. Aurelius Cotta. | | | |
| | C. Aurelius Cotta. | | | |
| | L. Furius Philus. | | | |
| Pro-Consul in | M. Junius Pera. | | | |
| Sicily. | | | | |
| Pro-Quæstor. | Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus. | | | |
| 522. Y. of R. | | | | |
| 221. Consulship. | M. POMPONIUS MATHO. | | | |
| | C. PAPIRIUS MASO. He | | | |
| | triumphs over the Corsicans, | | | |
| | on the hill of Alba. | | | |
| Dictator. | C. DUILIUS. | | | |
| G. of the Horse. | C. Aurelius Cotta. | | | |
| Censors. | L. Manlius Torquatus. | | | |
| | Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. | | | |
| | Their election was defective, | | | |
| | and they abdicated. | | | |
| Prætors. | L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS. | | | |
| | M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS. | | | |
| Curule-Ediles. | M. Valerius Messalla. | | | |
| | Q. Æmilius Papus. | | | |

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| Quæstors of | T. Annius Læscus. |
| Rome. | L. Manius Vulso. |
| Military Quæ- | L. Cæcilius Metellus. |
| stors. | C. Nautius Rutilus. |
| Provincial | L. Junius Pullus. |
| Quæstors. | M. Licinius Drusus. |
| | C. Sergius Fidenus. |
| | L. Valerius Messalla. |
| Pro-Consul in | Sp. Furius Philus. |
| Sicily. | |
| Pro-Quæstor. | P. Cornelius Scipio Asina. |
| 523. Y. of R. | |
| 222. Consulship. | M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. |
| | M. JUNIUS PERA. |
| Censors. | Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. |
| | M. Sempronius Tuditanus. |
| | |
| | The forty-first Lustrum. |
| Prætors. | M. ATILIUS REGULUS. |
| | M. ATILIUS CRASSUS. |
| Curule-Ediles. | C. Servilius Cæpio. |
| | M. Valerius Flaccus. |
| Plebeian | C. Servilius Nepos. |
| diles. | Q. Cassius Longinus. |
| Tribunes of the | M. Minucius Rufus. |
| People. | L. Manilius Nepos. |
| | A. Atilius Bulbus. |
| | M. Antonius Nepos. |
| | M. Fulvius Nobilior. |
| | M' Marcius Nepos. |
| | C. Marcius Censorinus. |
| | Q. Petillius Nepos. |
| | P. Plautius Hypsæus. |
| | P. Apuleius Saturninus. |
| Quæstors of | Q. Terentius Culeo. |
| Rome. | L. Ælius Pætus Tubero. |
| Military Quæ- | P. Cornelius Scipio. |
| stors. | P. Scantinius Capitolinus. |
| | |
| | Provincial |

Provincial *L. Marcus Philippus.*
Q. Sulpicius Paternulus.
C. Furius Pacilus.
C. Sulpicius Longus.
Pro-Consul in Sicily. *Sp. Furius Philus.*
Pro-Consul in Sardinia and Corsica. *M. Pomponius Matho.*
Pro-Quæstors. *L. Manlius Vulso.*
T. Annius Luscus.
524. Y. of R.
223. Consulship. *L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS*, a second time.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
Prætors. *P. VALERIUS FLACCUS.*
L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
Curule-Ediles. *L. Æmilius Papus.*
M. Æmilius Paulus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Flaminius Nepos.*
T. Æbutius Carus.
Tribunes of the People. *C. Scantinius Capitolinus.*
C. Centenius Penula.
L. Apuleius Saturninus.
L. Racilius Nepos.
L. Roscius Nepos.
M. Livius Salinator.
L. Lætorius Mergus.
L. Allienius Nepos.
L. Trebonius Flavus.
M. Antius Restio.
Quæstors of Rome. *L. Æmilius Paulus.*
M. Æmilius Barbula.
Military Quæstors. *C. Atilius Serranus.*
Cn. Papius Nepos.
Provincial Quæstors. *L. Opimius Pansa.*
C. Fulcinius Trio.
Cn. Furius Pacilus.
Q. Servilius Geminus.
Pro-Consul in Liguria. *M. Æmilius Barbula.*
Pro-Consul in Sicily. *Sp. Furius Philus.*
Pro-Consul in Corsica and Sardinia. *M. Pomponius Matho.*
Pro-Quæstors. *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. Manlius Vulso.
T. Annius Luscus.

525. Y. of R.
224. Consulship. *SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS*, a second time.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS VERUCOSUS, a second time.
Prætors. *M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.*
C. ATILIUS REGULUS.
Curule-Ediles. *P. Furius Philus.*
Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Apustius Fullo.*
M. Junius Brutus.
Tribunes of the People. *M. Minucius Rufus.*
Q. Ælius Pætus.
Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.
C. Acilius Glabrio.
A. Sellijs Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
Ti. Sempronius Longus.
A. Trebonius Asper.
C. Lucerius Nepos.
C. Scaptius Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. *L. Veturius Philo.*
M. Fabius Licinus.
Military Quæstors. *P. Claudius Pulcher.*
C. Terentius Varro.
Provincial Quæstors. *C. Lætrius Mergus.*
M. Marcus.
Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.
P. Servilius Geminus.
Pro-Consul in Illyricum. *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.*
Pro-Consul in Sicily. *Sp. Furius Philus.*
Pro-Consul in Sardinia and Corsica. *M. Pomponius Matho.*
Pro-Quæstors. *Cn. Papius Nepos.*
L. Manlius Vulso.
T. Annius Luscus.
526. Y. of R. ch
225. Consulship. *P. VALERIUS FLACCUS.*
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
Prætors. *L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.*
C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.
Sicily and Sardinia made a Prætorship.
Prætor in Sicily. *C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.*
Prætor in Sardinia. *M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.*

Curule Ædiles. *P. Cornelius Scipio Asina.*
K. Quinctius Flaminius.
Plebeian Ædiles. *A. Atilius Bullus.*
P. Plautius Hypsæus.
Tribunes of the People. *C. Lutatius Catulus.*
Sex. Pomponius Nepos.
L. Sextius Calvinus.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
L. Villius Tappulus.
T. Otacilius Crassus.
L. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Volumnius Flamma.
L. Sextilius Nepos.
Q. Titius Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. *M. Valerius Læcinus.*
Cn. Servilius Geminus.
Military Quæstors. *C. Genucius Clepsina.*
C. Fundanius Fundulus.
Provincial Quæstors. *C. Volumnius Flamma Vislens.*
N. Fabius Buteo.
M. Pomponius Nepos.
T. Antonius Merenda.
Pro-Quæstors. *C. Lætorius Mergus.*
Cn. Fufius Centumalus.
527. Y. of R.
226. Consulship. *M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.*
L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
Prætors of Rome. *M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.*
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. *C. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.*
T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.
Curule Ædiles. *M. Claudius Marcellus.*
C. Scantinius Capitolinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Minucius Rufus.*
L. Lætorius Mergus.
Tribunes of the People. *T. Annius Læscus.*
Q. Ælius Pætus.
L. Cæcilius Mætellus.
M. Livius Drusus.
M. Cædicius Nepos.
M. Livius Salinator.
Ti. Sempronius Longus.
L. Junius Pullus.
C. Cominius Nepos.
P. Curatius Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. *P. Cornelius Merenda.*
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Military Quæstors. *Q. Mucius Scaevola.*
C. Fannius Strabo.
Provincial Quæstors. *C. Livius Drusus.*
L. Petillius Geminus.

T. Geganius Macerinus.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
Pro-Quæstors. *N. Fabius Buteo.*
T. Antonius Merenda.

The war between the Romans and the inhabitants of Gallia Cisalpina.

528. Y. of R.

227. Consulship. *L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.* He triumphs over the Gauls.
C. ATILIUS REGULUS.
Censors. *C. Claudius Centho.*
M. Junius Pera.

The forty-second Lustrum.

Prætors of Rome. *P. FURIUS PHILUS.*
CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO CALVUS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. *C. APUSTIUS FULLO.*
P. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.

Curule Ædiles. *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. Munlius Vulso.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Lutatius Catulus.*
Q. Bæbius Tampilus.

Tribunes of the People. *Q. Terentius Culeo.*
C. Centenius Penula.

L. Marcius Philippus.

C. Mænius Nepos.

P. Furius Aculeo.

L. Ælius Pætus Tubero.

M. Atilius Serranus.

P. Scantinius Capitolinus.

C. Virginus Nepos.

L. Papirius Turdus.

Quæstors of Rome. *M. Antistius Nepos.*
T. Metilius Croto.

Military Quæstors. *L. Apustius Fullo.*
L. Genucius Clepsina.

Provincial Quæstors. *Ti. Veturius Philo.*
Q. Sulpicius Longus.

L. Papirius Cursor.

P. Cornelius Dolabella.

Pro-Quæstors. *T. Geganius Macerinus.*
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

529. Y. of R.

228. Consulship. *T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS,* a second time.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a second time.

Dictator.

Dictator. L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.

G. of the Horse. N. Fabius Buteo.

Prætors of Rome. K. QUINCTIVS FLAMINIVS.
A. ATILIVS BVLBVS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.
P. CORNELIVS ASINA.

Curule Ædiles. L. Æmilius Paulus.
M. Æmilius Barbula.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Livius Salinator.
Ti. Sempronius Longus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Atilius Serranus.
C. Fulcinius Trio.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
M. Canuleius Nepos.
Cn. Pupius Nepos.

T. Otacilius Crassus.
L. Opimius Pansa.

C. Numicius Nepos.
A. Ogulnius Gallus.

M. Oppius Cornicen.

Quæstors of Rome. A. Cornelius Mammula.
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

Military Quæstors. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Provincial Quæstors. M. Æmilius Regillus.
L. Porcius Licinus.

M. Aurelius Cotta.
Ser. Cornelius Rufinus.

Pro-Quæstors. T. Veturius Philo.
P. Cornelius Dolabella.

530. Y. of R.

229. *Consulship.* C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS. He triumphs over the Gauls.

P. FURIUS PHILVS. He triumphs over the Gauls and Ligures.

Prætors of Rome. M. MINUCIVS RVFVS.
C. LVTATIVS CATVLVS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. M. FAIVS LICINVS.
P. CLAVDIVS PVLCHER.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Ælius Pætus.
C. Centenius Penula.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Terentius Varro.
T. Annius Luscus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Narcius Sermo.
C. Licinius Varus.

Q. Decius Mus.
T. Coruncanius Nepos.

M. Tullius Nepos.

Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.

L. Aurelius Orestes.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

C. Livius Denter.

L. Flaminius Chilo.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Claudius Flamininus.
L. Publicius Bibulus.

Military Quæstors. M. Atilius Regulus.
M. Minucius Rufus.

Provincial Quæstors. C. Claudius Centho.
P. Sempronius Gracchus.

L. Papirius Mæso.

M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Pro-Quæstors. Ser. Cornelius Rufinus.
M. Aurelius Cotta.

531. Y. of R.

230. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIVS SCIPIO CALVINVS.

M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS. He triumphs over the Gauls, Insubres, and Germans.

Prætors of Rome. M. LIVIVS SALINATOR.
M. ÆMILIVS BARBULA.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. Q. BÆBIVS TAMPFILVS.
P. SERVILIVS GEMINVS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Veturius Philo.
M. Valerius Lævinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Terentius Culeo.
L. Ælius Pætus Tubero.

Tribunes of the People. C. Lætorius Mergus.
M. Pompilius Nepos.

C. Genucius Clepsina.

L. Antistius Nepos.

P. Publicius Philo.

C. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

C. Fundanius Fundulus.

C. Sempronius Gracchus.

M. Anicius Gallus.

C. Popillius Sabellus.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Metilius Nepos.
Vibius Terentius Varro.

Military Quæstors. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Provincial Quæstors. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
C. Calpurnius Piso.

Nævius Priscus.

Ap. Claudius Centho.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Papirius Mæso.
M. Fundanius Fundulus.

532. Y.

532. Y. of R.

231. *Consulship*. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO
ASINA. He triumphs over
the Istrians.Dictators. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
Q. FABIUS MAX. VER-
RUCOSUS.
M. ÆMILIUS BARBU-
LA.*Generals of the* C. Flaminius Nepos.
Hosts. Q. Ælius Pætus.*Prætors of* L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
Rome. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.*Prætors in Sici-* C. CENTENIUS PENULA.
ly and Sardi- Q. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
*nia.**Curule Ædiles.* P. Cornelius Merenda.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.*Plebeian Æ-* C. Atilius Serranus.
diles. Cn. Pupius Nepos.*Tribunes of the* Q. Mucius Scævola.
People. C. Fannius Strabo.Q. Publius Philo.
C. Publicius Malleolus.
L. Albinus Nepos.
C. Livius Drusus.
L. Petillius Geminus.
Q. Petillius Spurius.
Q. Lutatius Cerco.
Q. Plætorius Nepos.*Quæstors of* P. Cornelius Lentulus.
Rome. M. Ogulnius Gallus.*Military Quæ-* L. Quinctius Flaminius.
stors. Sex. Julius Cæsar.*Provincial* T. Minucius Augurinus.
Quæstors. L. Villius Tappulus.L. Scribonius Libo.
Ser. Cornelius Merenda.*Pro-Consul in* Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.
*Cisalpine Gaul.**Pro-Quæstors.* Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
C. Calpurnius Piso.
Ap. Claudius Centho.

533. Y. of R.

232. *Consulship*. L. VETURIUS PHILO.
C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.They abdicated, because there
was some defect in their elec-
tion, and in their room were
chosenM. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, a
second time, and
M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
L. Æmilius Papus.
C. Flaminius Nepos.*Consuls.**The forty-third Lustrum.**Prætors of* T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
Rome. C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.*Prætors in Sici-* Q. TERENTIUS CULEO.
ly and Sardi- P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
*nia.**Curule Ædiles.* C. Terentius Varro.
T. Gracilius Crassus.*Plebeian Æ-* L. Flaminius Ghibo.
diles. C. Furius Fundulus.*Tribunes of the* M. Metilius Croto.
People. C. Petillius Spurius.M. Marcius Sermo.
M. Antistius Nepos.
L. Apustius Fullo.
C. Antius Restio.
M. Anicius Gallus.
L. Genucius Clepsina.
A. Trebius Gallus.
L. Mæcilius Tullus.*Quæstors of* P. Cornelius Lentulus Suræ.
Rome. Q. Fabius Maximus.*Military Quæ-* M. Æmilius Lepidus.
stors. C. Oppius Salinator.*Provincial* L. Pomponius Vicientanus.
Quæstors. Cn. Fulvius Flaccus.Q. Catius Nepos.
L. Porcius Licinus.*Prætors of* L. SCRIBONIUS LICO.
Rome. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.

534. Y. of R.

233. *Consulship*. M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.*Prætors of* L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS TUBERO.
Rome. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.*Prætors in Si-* P. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
cily and Sar- CN. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
*dinia.**Curule Ædiles.* M. Æmilius Regillus.
A. Cornelius Mammula.*Plebeian Æ-* C. Livius Drusus.
diles. C. Popilius Sabellus.*Tribunes of the* Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
People. C. Lætorius Mergus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Ti. Villius Tappulus.
 C. Titinius Nepos.
 L. Porcius Licinus.
 M. Aurelius Cotta.
 C. Volumpius Flamma Violens.
 Q. Silius Nerva.
 Cn. Sicinnius Nepos.
 Quæstors of Rome. L. Hostius Manianus.
 Military Quæstors. L. Cæcilius Alimentus.
 T. Fontæus Capito.
 T. Popillius Sabe'llus.
 Provincial Quæstors. Q. Fabius Piclor.
 C. Arunculeius Cotta.
 C. Papirius Maso.
 P. Licinius Varus.
 Pro-Prætor in Sicily. Q. Terentius Culeo.
 Pro-Quæstors. L. Pomponius Flentanus.
 L. Æmilius Paulus.
 Q. Cælius Nepos.
 M. Livius Salinator.

535. Y. of R.

234. Consulship. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
 TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

The second Punic War.

Prætors of Rome. C. TERENTIUS VARRO.
 C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
 Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
 L. MANLIUS VULSO.
 Curule Ædiles. Q. Mucius Scævola.
 C. Fannius Strabo.
 Plebeian Ædiles. T. Metillius Croto.
 L. Apustius Fullo.
 Tribunes of the People. Q. Claudius Flaminius.
 L. Publius Bibulus.
 M. Fundanius Fundulus.
 M. Titinius Nepos.
 C. Genucius Clepsina.
 Q. Apronius Nepos.
 M. Atilius Regulus.
 Q. Minucius Rufus.
 C. Fundanius Fundulus.
 N. Sextius Lateranus.
 Quæstors of Rome. M. Genucius Cippus.
 P. Licinius Crassus.
 Military Quæstors. C. Fulvius Flaccus.
 L. Lucretius Trio.
 Provincial Quæstors. M. Cornelius Cethegus.
 M. Junius Silanus.

C. Sulpicius Gallus.
 L. Cornelius Lentulus.

536. Y. of R.

235. Consulship. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS, a second time. He was killed in the battle of the lake Trasymenus; and in his room was chosen

M. ATILIUS REGULUS, a second time.

Dictator.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS VERRUCOSUS.

G. of the Horse. M. Minucius Rufus.

Dictator. L. VETURIUS PHILO-

G. of the Horse. M' Pomponius Matho.

Prætors of Rome. M. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS.

M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.

Curule Ædiles. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Porcius Licinius.

M. Antistius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. M. Metillius Nepos.

Vibius Terentius Varro.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Nævius Crispus.

Cn. Sicinius Nepos.

C. Numicius Nepos.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

M. Mænius Nepos.

C. Licinius Stolo.

Quæstors of Rome. Ti. Sempronius Blasus.

P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.

Military Quæstors. C. Servilius Casca.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Provincial Quæstors. C. Claudius Nero.

P. Cornelius Rufinus.

Sp. Carvilius Maximus.

L. Carvilius Maximus.

Pro-Consul in Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul. C. Centenius Penula.

Pro-Quæstors. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

C. Papirius Maso.

537. Y. of R.

236. Consulship. C. TERENTIUS VARRO.

L. Æ-

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|---|--|
| | L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS,
a second time. He was killed
in the battle of Cannæ. | 538. Y. of R.
237. <i>Consulship</i> . | L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS
was designed for Consul a third
time, but was killed before he
enter'd upon his office. |
| Dictators. | M. JUNIUS PERA.
M. FABIVS BUTEO. | | TI. SEMPRONIUS GRAC-
CHUS. |
| G. of the Horse. | Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
He was then <i>Curule Ædile</i> . | | M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS, was elected in the room
of L. POSTHUMIUS; but
he abdicated, because he found
his election defective, and in
his room |
| Prætors of
Rome. | M. POMPONIVS MATHO.
P. FURIUS PHILUS. | | Q. FABIVS MAX. VERRU-
COSUS was chosen a third
time. |
| Prætor in Si-
cily. | M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. | | Prætors of
Rome. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS. |
| Prætor in Cis-
alpine Gaul. | L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
He was killed in a battle with
the Gauls. | | Prætor in Si-
cily. AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. |
| Curule Ædiles. | Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
G. Lætorius Mergus. | | Prætor in Sar-
dinia. Q. MUCIVS SCÆVOLA. |
| Plebeian Æ-
diles. | M. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Claudius Marcellus Otacilia-
nus. | | Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Maximus, the son of
the Consul of the same name.
M. Æmilius Lepidus. |
| Tribunes of the
People. | L. Scribonius Libo.
Ti. Minucius Augurinus.
L. Villius Tappulus.
M. Ogulnius Gallus.
P. Decius Mus.
M. Claudius Glicia.
P. Pupius Nepos.
K. Duilius Nepos.
M. Domitius Calvinus.
C. Icilius Ruga. | | Plebeian Æ-
diles. Q. Claudius Flaminius.
M. Atilius Regulus. |
| Quæstors of
Rome. | T. Quinctius Crispinus.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus. | | Tribunes of the
People. C. Oppius Salinator.
M. Atinius Labeo.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Pomponius Veientanus.
M. Pomponius Matho.
M. Atilius Bulbus.
M. Fundanius Fundulus.
Cn. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Livius Denter.
P. Villius Tappulus.
M. Lucretius Gallus. |
| Military Quæ-
stors. | L. Atilius Bulbus.
L. Furius Bibaculus. They were
both killed in the battle of
Cannæ. | | Military Quæ-
stors. P. Popillius Lænas.
P. Manlius Vulso.
Provincial
Quæstors. L. Arennius Nepos.
M. Æmilius Papus.
L. Veturius Philo.
C. Hestilius Tubulus. |
| Provincial
Quæstors. | C. Arennius Nepos.
L. Manlius Acidinus.
M. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Servilius Pulex Geminus. | | Pro-Consul at
Picenum. C. Terentius Varro. |
| Pro-Consuls. | Cn. Servilius Geminus.
M. Atilius Regulus. They
were both killed in the battle
of Cannæ. | | Pro-Consul in
Campania. M. Claudius Marcellus. |
| Pro Consul in
Spain. | P. Cornelius Scipio. | | Pro-Consul in
Lucania. Ti. Sempronius Longus. |
| Pro-Prætor in
Sicily. | T. Otacilius Crassus. | | Pro-Consul in
Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio. |
| Pro-Prætor in
Sardinia. | A. Cornelius Mammula. | | |
| Pro-Quæstors. | M. Cornelius Cetbegus.
P. Cornelius Rufinus.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus. | | Pro-Prætor |

Pro-Prætor in *T. Otacilius Crassus*.
Sicily.

Pro-Prætor in *M' Pomponius Matho*.
Cisalpe. Gaul.

Pro-Quæstors. *M. Cornelius Cethegus*.
C. Antonius Nepos.

539. Y. of R.

238. Consulship. *Q. FABIVS MAX. VERRUCOSUS*, a fourth time.
M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS, a third time.

Censors. *M. Atilius Regulus*.
P. Furius Philus. He died before his office expired.

Prætor of Rome. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. He had no Collegue.

Prætor in A-pulia. *Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS*, the son of the Consul.

Prætor in Sicily. *P. Cornelius Lentulus*.

Admiral of the Roman Fleet in Sicily. *T. Otacilius Crassus*.

Curule Ædiles. *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Calpurnius Piso*.
M. Metellius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. *L. Cincius Alimentus*.
T. Popillius Sabellus.
M. Calpurnius Flamma.
Q. Pœtilius Libo.
Cn. Apuleius Panfa.
C. Arunculeius Cotta.
T. Fonteius Capito.
C. Plautius Hypsæus.
M. Poblicius Malleolus.
Q. Considius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. *P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus*.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Military Quæstors. *L. Cæcilius Metellus*.
M. Valerius Messala.

Provincial Quæstors. *L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus*.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
C. Poblicius Bibulus.
Q. Mamilius Turinus.

Pro-Consul at Luceria. *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus*.

Pro-Consul in Picenum. *C. Terentius Varro*.

Pro Consul in Lucania. *Ti. Sempronius Longus*.

Pro-Consul in Spain. *P. Cornelius Scipio*.

Pro Prætor in Sardinia. *Q. Mucius Scævola*.

Pro-Prætor in Cisalpe. Gaul. *M' Pomponius Matho*.

Pro-Prætor at Brundisium. *M. Valerius Lævinus*.

Pro-Quæstors. *M. Æmilius Papus*.
L. Veturius Philo.

540. Y. of R.

239. Consulship. *Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS*.
Ti. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHVS, a second time.

Dictator. *C. CLAVDIVS CENTHO*.
G. of the Horse. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*.

Prætors of Rome. *M. Atilius Regulus*.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul. *P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANVS*.

Prætor in Campania. *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*.

Curule Ædiles. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, who was afterwards surnamed Africanus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Cornelius Cethegus*.
L. Villius Tappulus.
M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Tribunes of the People. *L. Cæcilius Metellus*.
L. Licinius Pollio.

C. Mamilius Vitulus.
L. Porcius Licinius.
P. Licinius Crassus.
L. Lucretius Gallus.
A. Trebius Nepos.
Q. Cadius Nepos.
C. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Anicius Gallus.

Quæstors of Rome. *M. Fulvius Flaccus*.
M' Acilius Glabrio.

Military Quæstors. *A. Hostilius Cato*.
C. Hostilius Cato.

Provincial Quæstors. *Ti. Claudius Asellus*.
Sp. Lucretius Gallus.
Sex. Julius Cæsar.
L. Valerius Antias.

Pro-Consul in Picenum. *C. Terentius Varro*.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. *M. Claudius Marcellus*.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.

Spain.

Pro-Prætor in P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Sicily.

Tre Prætor T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

common to the

Roman feet.

Pro-Prætor in Q. Mucius Scaevola.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in M. Valerius Lævinus.

Brundisium.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

M. Valerius Messalla.

C. Publicius Bibulus.

541. Y. of R.

240. *Consulship.* Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a
third time.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætor at P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS SULLA.

Rome.

He had no Collegue.

Prætor in He- M. JUNIUS SILANUS.

transia.

Prætor at Sues- C. CLAUDIUS NERO.

fula.

Prætor in Apu- CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS, bro-
ther to the Consul.

Curule-Ediles. C. Sulpicius Gallus.

P. Manlius Vulso.

Plebeian Æ- L. Cincius Alimentus.

diles.

T. Popilius Sabellus.

Tribunes of the Sp. Cornelius Maximus.

People.

L. Carvilius Maximus.

C. Servilius Casca.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

C. Sallonius Sarra.

P. Silius Nerva.

Sex. Staius Nepos.

P. Licinius Varus.

M. Scantius Nepos.

M. Silius Nerva.

Quæstors. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Cn. Octavius Nepos.

M. Junius Pennus.

M. Pomponius Matro.

Q. Lutatius Catulus.

M. Æmilius Regillus.

Pro-Consul in Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Lucania.

Pro-Consul in M. Claudius Marcellus.

Sicily.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.

Spain.

Pro-Prætor at P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Ariminum.

Pro-Prætor in P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Sicily.

Pro-Prætor Ad-T. Otacilius Crassus.

miral of the

fi et.

Pro-Prætor at M. Valerius Lævinus.

Brundisium.

Pro-Prætor in Q. Mucius Scaevola.

Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

Ti. Claudius Asellus.

C. Publicius Bibulus.

Sp. Lucretius Gallus.

Sex. Julius Cæsar.

M. Æmilius Rapus.

542. Y. of R.

241. *Consulship.* P. SULPICIUS GALBA.
MAXIMUS.

C. FULVIUS CENTUMA-
LUS.

Prætors of C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Rome.

C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Prætors in Sici- M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

ly and Sar-

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

dinia.

Curule-Ediles. P. Licinius Crassus.

L. Licinius Pollio.

Plebeian Æ- L. Arunculeius Cotta.

diles.

C. Manilius Vitulus.

Tribunes of the C. Sempronius Blaesus.

People.

C. Servius Pulex Geminus.

M. Aulius Cerretanus.

P. Villius Tappulus.

C. Sicinius Nepos.

Sex. Curatius Nepos.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

M. Manilius Nepos.

Cn. Apronius Limo.

L. Titius Rufus.

Quæstors. Tib. Claudius Nero.

C. Livius Salinator.

M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

P. Ælius Pætus.

D. Junius Brutus.

L. Æmilius Papus.

M. Marcius Ralla.

L. Scribonius Libo.

Pro-

Pro-Consul in Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Campania.
Pro-Consul in M. Claudius Marcellus. He
Sicily. triumphs on mount Alba, and
receives the honours of an
Ovation at Rome, for hav-
ing taken Syracuse.
Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.
Spain.
Pro-Consul be- C. Claudius Nero.
fore Capua.
Pro-Prætor in M. Junius Silanus.
Hetruria.
Pro-Prætor on T. Otacilius Crassus.
the Coast of
Sicily.
Pro-Prætor at M. Valerius Lævinus.
Brundisium.
Pro Quæstors. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.
Cn. Octavius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.
M. Æmilius Papus.

543. Y. of R.

242. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS,
a second time.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS, a fourth time.

Dictators. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

G. of the Horse. P. Licinius Crassus.

Prætors of L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.

Rome. C. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.

Prætors in Sici- L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.

ly and Sar- P. MANLIUS VULSO.
dinia.

Curule Ædiles. L. Veturius Philo.

P. Licinius Varus.

Plebeian Æ- Q. Catius Nepos.

diles. L. Porcius Licinius.

Tribunes of the L. Atilius Regulus.

People. M. Lucretius Gallus.

C. Arennius Nepos.

L. Arennius Nepos.

M. Cæcilius Metellus.

P. Silius Nerva.

Cn. Lætorius Plancianus.

Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

Cn. Furius Brocchus.

C. Papirius Turdus.

Quæstors. C. Flaminius Nepos.

P. Quintilius Varus.

M. Sextius Sabinus.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

Q. Fulvius Gills.

P. Ælius Tubero.

C. Sulpicius Galla.

L. Lætorius Plancianus.

Pro-Consul on P. Sulpicius Galba.

the sea-coasts

of Greece.

Pro-Consul in Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Apulia.

Pro-Consul in Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Campania.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.

Spain.

Pro-Prætor in C. Calpurnius Piso.

Hetruria.

Pro-Prætor in M. Junius Silanus.

Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

P. Ælius Pætus.

Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

L. Scribonius Libo.

544. Y. of R.

243. *Consulship.* Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRU-
COSUS, a fifth time. He

triumphs over the *Tarentini*.

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a
fourth time.

Censors.

M. Cornelius Cethegus.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Prætors of

C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.

Rome.

L. VETURIUS PHILO.

Prætors in Ca-

T. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.

pua and at

C. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.

Sardinia.

Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Plebeian Æ-

C. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

diles.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the

C. Publicius Bibulus.

People.

P. Clodius Asellus.

Q. Manlius Turinus.

Ti. Claudius Asellus.

C. Veturius Calvinus.

C. Minucius Rufus.

M. Pomponius Matho.

Q. Cassius Longinus.

C. Minucius Augurinus.

M. Aquilius Florus.

Quæstors.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

T. Manlius Torquatus.

L. Licinius Lucullus.
C. Babius Tampophilus.
M. Cincius Alimentus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Cornelius Lentulus.
L. Cornelius Blaſius.
 Pro-Conſul in M. Claudius Marcellus.
 Apulia.
 Pro-Conſul in M. Valerius Lævinus.
 Sicily.
 Pro-Conſul on P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.
 the ſea-coaſts
 of Greece.
 Pro-Conſul in P. Cornelius Scipio.
 Spain.
 Pro-Prætor in C. Calpurnius Piſo.
 Hetruria.
 Pro-Prætor in L. Cincius Alimentus.
 Sicily.
 Pro-Prætor in M. Junius Silanus.
 Spain.
 Pro-Quæſtors. Q. Fulvius Gilla.
 C. Aurelius Cotta.
 P. Ælius Tubero.
 545. Y. of R.
 244. Conſulſhip. M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
 LUS.
 T. QUINCTIUS CRISPI-
 NUS.
 Dictator. T. MANLIUS TORQUA-
 TUS.
 G. of the Horſe. C. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
 He was Curule Ædile at the
 ſame time.
 Prætors of P. LICINIUS VARUS.
 Rome. L. LICINIUS CRASSUS DIVES.
 Prætors in Si- Sex. JULIUS CÆſAR.
 cily and at Q. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.
 Tarentum.
 Curule Ædiles. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
 C. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
 Plebeian Æ- Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
 diles. M. Cæcilius Metellus.
 Tribunes of the Ti. Claudius Aſellus.
 People. Sp. Lucretius Gallus.
 P. Villius Tappulus.
 M. Hortenſius Nepos.
 Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
 M. Aulius Cerretanus.
 Q. Pomponius Nepos.
 M. Acilius Glabrio.

M. Otacilius Craſſus.
 L. Carvilius Maximus.
 T. Quinctius Flamininus.
 M. Fabius Buteo.
 M. Valerius Falto.
 C. Tremellius Flaccus.
 L. Æmilius Lepidus.
 Q. Æmilius Lepidus.
 L. Apuſtius Fullo.
 Q. Minucius Rufus.
 Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
 Pro-Conſul at Capua.
 Pro-Conſul in M. Valerius Lævinus.
 Sicily.
 Pro-Conſul on P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.
 the coaſts of
 Greece.
 Pro-Conſul on P. Cornelius Scipio.
 Spain.
 Pro-Prætor in C. Hoſtilius Tubulus.
 Hetruria.
 Pro-Prætor at C. Terentius Varro.
 Arretium.
 Pro-Prætor in L. Veturius Philo.
 Ciſalp. Gaul.
 Pro-Prætor on L. Cincius Alimentus.
 board the Ro-
 man fleet.
 Pro-Prætor in C. Arunculeius Cotta.
 Sardinia.
 Pro-Prætor in M. Junius Silanus.
 Spain.
 Pro-Quæſtors. C. Flaminius Nepos.
 C. Aurelius Cotta.
 M. Cincius Alimentus.
 C. Cornelius Lentulus.
 546. Y. of R.
 245. Conſulſhip. C. CLAUDIUS NERO.
 M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
 Dictator. M. LIVIUS SALINA-
 TOR.
 G. of the Horſe. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
 Prætor at C. HOSTILIUS CATO.
 Rome.
 Prætor in Ciſ- M. PORCIUS LICINUS.
 alpine Gaul.
 Prætor in Si- C. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
 ly.
 Prætor in Sar- A. HOSTILIUS CATO.
 dinia.
 Curule Ædiles. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
 Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian

Plebeian Ædiles. *Q. Mamilius Turinus.*
M. Pomponius Matho.
 Tribunes of the People. *Cn. Helvius Blasio.*
Cn. Octavius Nepos.
Q. Lutatius Catulus.
Cn. Pompeius Rufus.
L. Flavius Timbria.
Q. Fulvius Pætinus.
M. Junius Pennus.
T. Otacilius Crassus.
D. Junius Brutus.
Q. Flavius Nepos.
 Quæstors. *L. Furius Purpureo, the son of*
Spurius.
L. Furius Purpureo, the son of
Lucius.
Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.
L. Terentius Massa.
L. Villius Tappulus.
L. Cornelius Merula.
L. Attilius Regulus.
L. Cassius Longinus.
 Pro-Consul in *Q. Fulvius Fiaccus.*
 Bruttium.
 Pro-Consul in *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
 Sicily.
 Pro-Consul on *P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.*
 the coasts of
 Greece.
 Pro-Prætor at *C. Hostilius Tubulus.*
 Capua.
 Pro-Prætor at *Q. Claudius Flaminius.*
 Tarentum.
 Pro-Prætor at *L. Mamilius Acidinus.*
 Narnia.
 Pro-Prætor in *M. Junius Silanus.*
 Spain.
 Pro-Prætor in *C. Terentius Varro.*
 Hetruria.
 Pro-Quæstors. *C. Flaminius Nepos.*
C. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Livius Salinator.
C. Claudius Nero.
 547. Y. of R.
 246. Consulship. *Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.*
L. VETURIVS PHILO.
 Prætors at *M. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.*
 Rome. *Q. MAMILIVS TURINVS.*
 Prætor in Si- *C. SERVILIVS PULEX GEMI-*
 cily. *NVS.*

Prætor in Sar- *Ti. CLAVDIVS ASELLVS.*
 dinia.
 Curule Ædiles. *Ti. Claudius Nero.*
P. Quintilius Varus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. *Sp. Lucretius Gallus.*
Cn. Octavius Nepos.
 Tribunes of the People. *M. Marcius Ralla.*
P. Ælius Pætus.
M. Pætilius Libo Visolus.
A. Allienius Nepos.
C. Licinius Salinator.
L. Scribonius Libo.
P. Villius Tappulus.
L. Flaminius Nepos.
C. Confidius Nepos.
M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
 Quæstors. *L. Valerius Flaccus.*
Q. Quinctius Flaminius.
Q. Minucius Thermus.
M. Acilius Glabrio.
M. Helvius Elasio.
Cn. Sergius Plancus.
M. Sergius.
 Pro-Consul in *M. Livius Salinator.*
 Hetruria.
 Pro-Consul in *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
 Spain.
 Pro-Consul on *P. Sulpicius Galba.*
 the coast of
 Greece.
 Pro-Prætor at *C. Hostilius Tabulus.*
 Capua.
 Pro-Prætor at *T. Quinctius Flaminius.*
 Tarentum.
 Pro-Quæstors. *C. Flaminius Nepos.*
L. Cassius Longinus.
 548. Y. of R.
 247. Consulship. *P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.*
F. LICINIVS CRASSVS.
 Dictator. *C. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.*
 G. of the Horse. *L. Veturius Philo.*
 Prætor at *Cn. SERVILIVS CÆPIO.*
 Rome.
 Prætor at Ari- *Sp. LUCRETIVS GALLVS.*
 minum.
 Prætor in Sici- *L. ÆMILIVS PAPVS.*
 ly.
 Prætor in Sar- *Cn. OCTAVIVS NEPOS.*
 dinia.

Curule Ædiles. *L. Cornelius Lentulus.*
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
 Plebeian Æ- *Ti. Claudius Asellus.*
 diles. *M. Junius Papus.*
Tribunes of the *Q. Navius Pollio.*
People. *Q. Trebellius Caica.*
M. Sextilius Sabinus.
Q. Fulvius Gillo.
L. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Staius Nepos.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
P. Ælius Tubero.
L. Lætorius Plancianus.
P. Numitorius Pullus.
 Quæstors. *C. Cornelius Cethegus.*
Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.
Ti. Sempronius Longus.
L. Stertinius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
M. Minucius Rufus.
L. Quinctius Flaminius.
C. Valerius Flaccus.
Pro-Consul in *M. Livius Salinator.*
Hetruria.
Pro-Consul at *M. Valerius Lævinus.*
Arretium.
Pro-Consul in *Q. Cæcilius Metellus.*
Bruttium.
Pro-Consul in *L. Cornelius Lentulus.*
Hither Spain.
Pro-Consul in *L. Manlius Acidinus.*
Farth. Spain.
Pro-Consul on *P. Sempronius Tuditanus.*
the coasts of
Greece.
Pro-Consul at *T. Quinctius Flaminius.*
Tarentum.
Pro-Consul at *C. Hostilius Tabulus.*
Capua.
Pro-Consul at *Q. Pleminius Nepos.*
Rhegium.
 Pro-Quæstor. *M. Sergius Nepos.*
 549. Y. of R.
 248. Consulship. *M. CORNELIUS CETHE-*
GUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS TUDI-
TANUS.
 Cæfers. *M. Livius Salinator.*
C. Claudius Nero.
The forty-fifth Lustrum.
Prætors at *M. MARCIUS RALLA.*
Rome. *L. SCRIBONIUS LIEO.*

Prætor in Si- *M' POMPONIUS MATHO.*
cily.
Prætor in Sar- *Ti. CLAUDIUS NERO.*
dinia.
 Curule Ædiles. *C. Livius Salinator.*
M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
 Plebeian Æ- *P. Ælius Pætus.*
 diles. *P. Vitius Tappulus.*
Tribunes of the *M. Claudius Marcellus.*
People. *M. Cincius Alimentus.*
Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.
L. Licinius Lucullus.
C. Scantinius Capitolinus.
M. Pontificius Nepos.
P. Manlius Nepos.
C. Duilius Nepos.
L. Fescennius Nepos.
Sex. Pompilius Nepos.
 Quæstors. *M. Porcius Cato.*
M. Fulvius Nobilior.
C. Fabricius Luscinus.
L. Manlius Vulso.
M. Porcius Læca.
M. Curius Dentatus.
C. Atinius Labeo.
C. Scribonius Curius Maximus.
Pro-Consul in *M. Livius Salinator.*
Gaul.
Pro-Consul in *P. Licinius Crassus Dives.*
Bruttium.
Pro-Consul in *L. Cornelius Lentulus.*
Hither Spain.
Pro-Consul in *L. Manlius Acidinus.*
Farth. Spain.
Pro-Consul in *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
Sicily.
Pro-Prætor in *Sp. Lucretius Gallus.*
Ariminum.
Pro-Prætor at *C. Hostilius Tubulus.*
Capua.
Pro-Prætor at *T. Quinctius Flaminius.*
Tarentum.
Pro-Prætor on *Cn. Octavius Nepos.*
the coasts of
Sardinia.
Pro-Prætor at *Q. Pleminius.*
Locres.
 Pro-Quæstors. *C. Cornelius Cethegus.*
L. Stertinius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
M. Minucius Rufus.
L. Quinctius Flaminius.

550. Y. of R.
 249. Consulship. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
 C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.
 Dictator. P. SULPICIUS GALBA
 MAXIMUS.
 G. of the Horse. M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
 Prætor at Rome. P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
 Prætor at Ariminum. P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
 Prætor in Sicily. L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
 Prætor in Sardinia. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
 Curule Ædiles. M. Fabius Buteo.
 M. Valerius Falto.
 Plebeian Ædiles. M. Sextius Sabinus.
 C. Tremellius Flaccus.
 Tribunes of the People. C. Oppius Cornicinus.
 P. Titinius Nepos.
 L. Apustius Fullo.
 Q. Minucius Rufus.
 C. Mamilius Turinus.
 L. Titinius Nepos.
 Q. Sicinius Nepos.
 C. Cominius Nepos.
 C. Antonius Nepos.
 Q. Cædicius Noctua.
 Quæstors. M. Sergius Silus.
 Q. Fulvius Nobilior.
 C. Acilius Glabrio.
 L. Porcius Læca.
 Q. Fabius Buteo.
 Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
 T. Junius Thalna.
 Sex. Digitius Nepos.
 Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. M. Cornelius Cethegus.
 Pro-Consul in Bruttium. P. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
 Pro-Consul in Farth. Spain. L. Manlius Acidinus.
 Pro-Consul in Africa. P. Cornelius Scipio.
 Pro-Prætor in Liguria. Sp. Lucretius Gallus.
 Pro-Prætor on the coasts of Sardinia. M. Pomponius Matho.

Pro-Prætor on the coasts of Italy. The Prætor M. Marcius Rulla.
 Pro-Quæstors. M. Porcius Cato.
 C. Cornelius Cethegus.
 M. Manlius Vulso.
 M. Porcius Læca.
 C. Atinius Labeo.
 C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 C. Scribonius Curio Maximus.
 551. Y. of R.
 250. Consulship. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.
 M. SERVILIUS PULEX
 GEMINUS.
 Dictator. C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.
 G. of the Horse. P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
 Prætor of Rome. C. AURELIUS COTTA.
 Prætor at Ariminum. M. SEXTIUS SABINUS.
 Prætor in Bruttium. C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
 Prætor in Sicily. C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.
 Curule Ædiles. L. Licinius Lucullus.
 Q. Fulvius Pætinus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. P. Ælius Tubero.
 L. Lætorius Plancianus.
 M. Cincius Alimentus.
 C. Scantinius Capitolinus.
 Tribunes of the People. L. Terentius Massa.
 L. Villius Tappulus.
 L. Memmius Gallus.
 Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
 C. Æbutius Carus.
 Sex. Ælius Pætus.
 L. Cassius Longinus.
 P. Mælius Capitolinus.
 T. Æbutius Carus.
 Sp. Veturius Calvinus.
 Quæstors. C. Lælius Nepos.
 P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
 Cn. Manlius Vulso.
 L. Oppius Salinator.
 C. Ursanius Nepos.
 Ap. Claudius Nero.
 C. Attilius Serranus.
 L. Scribonius Libo.
 Pro-Consul in Hetruria. C. Servilius Nepos.
 Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Pro-

Pro-Consul in L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in L. Manlius Acidinus.
Farth. Spain.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.
Africa.

Pro-Prætor in Sp. Laetorius Gaius.
Liguria.

Pro-Prætor in Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor on P. Villius Tappulus.
the sea-coasts
of Sicily.

Pro-Prætor on Cn. Octavius Nepos.
the coasts of
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor on M. Marcius Rallia.
the sea-coasts
of Italy.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Cornelius Cethegus.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.
T. Juventius Thalna.

552. Y. of R.

251. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS LENTU-
LUS.

Prætors of P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
Rome. M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Prætor in M. VALERIUS FALTO.
Campania.

Prætor in Si- P. ÆLIUS TUEERO.
cily.

Prætor in M. FABIVS BUTEO.
Sardinia.

Curule-Ediles. L. Valerius Flaccus.
T. Quinctius Flaminius.

Plebeian Æ- L. Apulius Fullo.
diles. Q. Minucius Rufus.

Tribunes of the Q. Minucius Thermus.
People. M' Acilius Glabrio.

C. Helvius Blasio.

L. Atilius Regulus.

M. Minucius Rufus.

L. Cnuleius Dives.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

M. Helvius Blasio.

M. Minucius Fessus.

C. Terentius Varro.

Quæstors. Q. Marcius Rex.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

P. Manlius Vulso.

Cn. Cornelius Mercator.

C. Atinius Labeo.

T. Remulcius Nipos.

M. Junius Brutus.

Q. Oppius Salinator.

Pro-Consul in M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
Hetruria.

Pro-Consul in L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in L. Manlius Acidinus.
Farth. Spain.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio
Africa.

Pro-Prætor on Cn. Octavius Nepos.
the coasts of
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor on M. Valerius Lævinus.
the sea-coasts
of Greece.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Cornelius Cethegus.

C. Lælius Nepos.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

L. Oppius Salinator.

Scipio triumphs over Hanni-
bal the Carthaginian, and
Syphax King of Numidia.

553. Y. of R.

252. *Consulship.* P. SULPICIUS GALBA
MAXIMUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

The Macedonian War.

Prætor of CN. SERGIUS PLANCUS.
Rome.

Prætor in Cis- L. FURIUS PURPUREO. He
alpine Gaul. triumphs over the Gauls.

Prætor in Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
Bruttium.

Prætor in Si- Q. FULVIUS GILLO.
cily.

Curule-Ediles. M. Claudius Marcellus.
Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.

Plebeian Æ- L. Terentius Massa.
diles. Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Tribunes of the C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
People. M. Minucius Rufus.

L. Ogulnius Gallus.

Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Ti. Sempronius Longus.

M. Domitius Calvinus.

L. Stertinius Nepos.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

Q. Aulius Cerretanus.

P. Ælius Pætus.

Quæstors.

Quæstors. *L. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. Valerius Tappus.
M. Junius Brutus.
D. Junius Brutus.
M. Valerius Messalla.
L. Porcius Licinus.
M. Fundanius Fundulus.
Pro-Consul in C. Cornelius Cethegus.
Hither Spain.
Pro-Consul in L. Manlius Acidinus.
Farth. Spain.
Pro-Prætor on M. Valerius Læcinus.
the se-coasts
of Greece.
Pro-Prætor in M. Valerius Falto.
Sardinia.
Pro-Quæstors. M. Junius Brutus.
Cn. Cornelius Merenda.
L. Cornelius Lentulus. Upon his
return from Spain he receives
the honours of an Ovation.
554. Y. of R.
253. Consulship. **I. CORNELIUS LENTU-**
LUS.
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
Censors. P. Cornelius Scipio Africa-
nus.
P. Ælius Pætus.
The forty-sixth Lustrum.
Prætor of L. QUINCTIUS FLAMINIVS.
Rome.
Prætor at Ari- CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
minum.
Prætor in Si- L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
cily.
Prætor in Sar- L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
dinia.
CuruleÆdiles. C. Valerius Flaccus.
C. Cornelius Cethegus.
Plebeian Æ- M. Porcius Cato.
diles. C. Helvius Blasio.
Tribunes of the M. Porcius Læca.
Peopls. M. Fulvius Nobilior.
M' Curius Dentatus.
C. Scribonius Curio.
C. Fabricius Luscinus.
T. Otacilius Crassus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Ti. Claudius Canina.
L. Aurelius Orestes.
C. Flaminius Nepos.
Quæstors. Q. Ælius Tubero.

Quæstors.
VOL. II.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
M. Licinius Lucullus.
M. Bæbius Tamphilus.
M. Tuccius Nepos.
A. Cornelius Mammula.
C. Livius Salinator.
L. Arunculeius Cotta.
Pro-Consul in P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.
Macedon.
Pro-Consul in Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Hither Spain.
Pro-Consul in L. Stertinius Nepos.
Farth. Spain.
Pro-Prætor in Q. Minucius Rufus.
Bruttium.
Pro-Quæstors. L. Valerius Tappus.
D. Junius Brutus.
L. Porcius Licinus.
555. Y. of R.
254. Consulship. **T. QUINCTIUS FLAMI-**
NIVS.
SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CA-
TUS.
Prætor of L. CORNELIUS MERULA.
Rome.
Prætor in Cis- C. HELVIUS BLASIO.
alpine Gaul.
Prætor in Si- M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
cily.
Prætor in Sar- M. PORCIUS CATO.
dinia.
CuruleÆdiles. Q. Minucius Thermus.
Ti. Sempronius Longus.
Plebeian Æ- C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
diles. M. Helvius Blasio.
Tribunes of the Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
People. Sex. Digitius Nepos.
C. Ælius Pætus.
C. Claudius Canina.
P. Rutilius Rufus.
T. Juventius Thalna.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Porcius Licinus.
C. Cosconius Nepos.
C. Licinius Lucullus.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Salloniussarra.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Cn. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Atinius Labeo.
C. Cornelius Blasio.
Cn. Cornelius Merula.

Quæstors.

4 N

Pro-

Pro-Consul in L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Cisalpe. Gaul.

Pro-Consul in Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in L. Stertinius Nepos.
Farth. Spain.

Pro-Prætor on L. Quinctius Flaminius.
the coasts of
Greece.

Pro-Quæstors. M. Licinius Lucullus.
M. Tullius Nepos.
A. Cornelius Mammula.
L. Arunculeius Cotta.

556. Y. of R.

255. *Consulship.* C. CORNELIUS CETHE-
GUS. He triumphs over the
Insubres and Cænomani.

Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS. He
triumphs over the Ligures and
Boii, on the hill of Alba.

Prætors of M. SERGIUS SILUS.
Rome. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Prætor in Si- L. MANLIUS VULSO.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- L. ATILIUS REGULUS.
dinia.

Prætor in Hi- C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- M. HELVIUS BLASIO.
ther Spain.

Curule-Ædiles. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
Cn. Manlius Vulso.

Plebeian Æ- M. Acilius Glabrio.
diles. C. Lælius Nepos.

Tribunes of the L. Oppius Salinator.
People. Q. Fulvius Nobilior.

C. Acilius Glabrio.

C. Atinius Labeo.

C. Ursanius Nepos.

L. Porcius Læca.

L. Scribonius Libo.

C. Rutilus Rufus.

K. Duilius Nepos.

Cn. Pupius Nepos.

Quæstors. L. Æmilius Regillus.

L. Plautius Hypsæus.

L. Babius Dives.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

M. Cecilius Metellus.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Q. Marcius Philippus.

Sex. Pompeius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in T. Quinctius Flaminius.
Macedon.

Pro-Prætor on L. Quinctius Flaminius.
the sea-coasts
of Greece.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Sallonius Sarra.
Cn. Cornelius Merula.
L. Arunculeius Cotta.
Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

557. Y. of R.

256. *Consulship.* L. FURIUS PURPUREO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS. He triumphs over the
inhabitants of Coma and the
Insubres.

Prætors at L. AFUSTIUS FULLO.
Rome. M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Prætor in Si- C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
dinia.

Prætor in Hi- Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- Q. FABIUS BUTEO.
ther Spain.

Curule-Ædiles. M. Fulvius Nobilior.
C. Flaminius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
diles. C. Scribonius Curio.

Tribunes of the Q. Marcius Rex.
People. C. Atinius Labeo.

M. Romuleius Nepos.

C. Atilius Serranus.

M. Junius Brutus.

Q. Oppius Salinator.

Sex. Tullius Nepos.

L. Flavius Nepos.

L. Marcius Censorinus.

C. Livius Drusus.

Quæstors. Q. Fabius Labeo.

L. Aurelius Cotta.

Sp. Posthumius Ællinus.

P. Sempronius Blasius.

C. Stertinius Nepos.

C. Aurelius Scaurus.

M. Furius Luscus.

T. Manius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in T. Quinctius Flaminius.
Macedon.

Pro-Prætor on L. Quinctius Flaminius.
the sea-coasts
of Greece.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Sallonius Sarra.
Cn. Cornelius Merula.
L. Arunculeius Cotta.

Cn. Cor-

Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. He receives the honours of an Ovation.

558. Y. of R.

257. *Consulship.* M. PORCIUS CATO.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors of C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
Rome. C. ATINIUS LABEO.

Prætor in Si- CN. MANLIUS VULSO.
cily.

Prætor in Hi- P. MANLIUS VULSO.
ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- AP. CLAUDIUS NERO.
ther Spain.

Prætor in He- P. PORCIUS LÆCA.
truria.

Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Scipio.

M. Valerius Messala.

Plebeian Æ- M. Juventius Thalna.
diles.

Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Tribunes of the M. Fundanius Fundulus.
People.

L. Valerius Tappus.

M. Junius Brutus.

D. Junius Brutus.

L. Porcius Licinus.

C. Æbutius Carus.

Q. Minucius Thermus.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

M' Marcius Ralla.

C. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors.

P. Claudius Pulcher.

L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.

M. Furius Crassipes.

C. Sempronius Blæsus.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

Q. Fabius Pictor.

Q. Nævius Matho.

C. Afranius Stellio.

Pro-Consul in T. Quinctius Flaminius.
Greece.

Pro-Prætor on L. Quinctius Flaminius.
the coasts of
Greece.

Pro-Consul in Ti. Sempronius Longus.
Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Sallonius Sarra.

C. Aurelius Scaurus.

Cn. Cornelius Merula.

M. Helvius Blasio, Pro-Prætor
in Hither Spain. He receives
the honours of an Ovation.

Q. Minucius Thermus. He triumphs over Hither Spain.

559. Y. of R.

258. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO
AFRICANUS, a second time.
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

Censors.

Sextius Ælius Pætus Catus.

C. Cornelius Cethegus.

The forty-seventh Lustrum.

Prætors of CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
Rome. T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Prætor in Si- CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
cily.

Prætor in Hi- SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.
ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. C. Atilius Serranus.
L. Scribonius Libo.

Plebeian Æ- M. Junius Brutus.
diles.

Q. Oppius Salinator.

Tribunes of the Q. Ælius Tubero.
People.

C. Livius Salinator.

L. Arunculeius Cotta.

Q. Salonius Sarra.

C. Lutatius Catulus.

P. Popilius Lænas.

M. Tuccius Nepos.

A. Atilius Serranus.

M. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Quæstors.

L. Posthumius Tympanus.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

P. Sulpicius Galba.

P. Sempronius Gracchus.

C. Sempronius Rutilus.

Q. Terentius Culeo.

C. Decimius Flavius.

C. Atilius Serranus.

Pro-Consul in L. Valerius Flaccus.
Cisalpine Gaul.

Pro-Consul in M. Porcius Cato.
Hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in T. Quinctius Flaminius.
Greece. He triumphs over Macedon,
and King Philip, for three
days together.

Pro-Consul on L. Quinctius Flaminius.
the coasts of
Greece.

Pro-Quæstors. *C. Sempronius Blaesus.*
C. Sallonius Sarra.
C. Afranius Stellio.
M. Furius Crassipes.
C. Calpurnius Piso.
Q. Nævius Matro.
Marcus Porcius Cato. He triumphs over Hither Spain.

560. Y. of R.

259. *Consulship.* *L. CORNELIUS MERULA.*
Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

Prætors of Rome. *C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.*
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
Prætors in Sicily. *L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.*
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.
Prætor in Hither Spain. *C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.*
Prætor in Farther Spain. *M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.*

Curule Ædiles. *M. Æmilius Lepidus.*
L. Æmilius Paulus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Oppius Salinator.*
M. Junius Brutus.
Tribunes of the People. *M. Sempronius Tulitanus.*
M. Titinius Nepos.
C. Titinius Nepos.
M. Licinius Lucullus.
Cn. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Juventius Thalna.
C. Antistius Nepos.
L. Poblicius Bibulus.
L. Plautius Hypsæus.
C. Licinius Lucullus.

Quæstors. *C. Valerius Tappus.*
Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
P. Cornelius Sulla.
L. Quinctius Crispinus.
M. Claudius Marcellinus.
P. Sempronius Longus.
L. Posthumius Tympanus.
Cn. Sicinius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. *Ti. Sempronius Longus.*

Pro-Consul in Farth. Spain. *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.*

Pro-Quæstors. *C. Decimius Flavius.*
C. Afranius Stellio.
Q. Nævius Matro.
C. Atilius Serranus.

561. Y. of R.

200. *Consulship.* *L. QUINCTIUS FLAMINI-*
NUS.

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNO-
BARBUS.

Prætors of Rome. *CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.*
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

Prætor in Sicily. *L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.*

Prætor in Sardinia. *Q. SALLONIUS SARRA.*

Prætor in Bruttium. *M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.*

Prætor in Farther Spain. *A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.*

Curule Ædiles. *M. Tuccius Nepos.*
D. Junius Brutus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Livius Salinator.*
C. Arunculeius Cotta.

Tribunes of the People. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus.*
M. Claudius Marcellus.

C. Atinius Labeo.
P. Puppius Nepos.
Sex. Pomponius Nepos.
L. Bæbius Dives.
Q. Marcius Philippus.
M. Cæcilius Mætellus.
P. Plautius Hypsæus.
L. Apuleius Saturninus.

Quæstors. *Q. Petilius Spurius.*
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
M. Aburius Geminus.
A. Terentius Varro.
L. Mummius Nepos.
L. Puppius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Liguria. *Q. Minucius Thermus.*

Pro-Prætor in Hith. Spain. *C. Flaminius Nepos.*

Pro-Prætor in Farth. Spain. *M. Fulvius Nobilior.*

Pro-Prætor on the coasts of Italy. *L. Oppius Salinator.*

Pro-Quæstors. *L. Quinctius Crispinus.*
Cn. Sicinius Nepos.
L. Posthumius Tympanus.
C. Atilius Serranus.

War with Antiochus the Great.

562. Y. of R.

261. *Consulship.* *M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.*
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA. He triumphs over the Boii.

Prætor

Prætor of Rome. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
 Prætor in Bruttium. A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.
 Prætor in the fleet sent against Antiochus. C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
 Prætor in Sicily. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
 Prætor in Sardinia. L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.
 Prætor in Farther Spain. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
 Curule Ædiles. Sp. Posthumius Albinus.
 Q. Fabius Pictor.
 Plebeian Ædiles. L. Plantius Hypsæus.
 M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 Tribunes of the People. P. Sempronius Blæsus.
 C. Stertinius Nepos.
 C. Aurelius Scaurus.
 L. Albinus Nepos.
 M. Allienius Nepos.
 C. Centenius Penula.
 T. Mænius Nepos.
 C. Terentius Massa.
 C. Albius Carrinas.
 L. Apustius Fullo.
 Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
 Sp. Posthumius Albinus Paullulus.
 C. Terentius Istra.
 L. Cæcilius Denter.
 L. Duronius Nepos.
 C. Fannius Strabo.
 Q. Petillius Spurius.
 Q. Mummius Nepos.
 Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
 Pro-Consul in Liguria. Q. Minucius Thermus.
 Pro-Prætor in Sicily. L. Valerius Tappus.
 Pro-Prætor in Hith. Spain. G. Flaminius Nepos.
 Pro-Prætor in Epirus and Greece. M. Bæbius Tamphilus.
 Pro-Prætor on the sea-coasts of Greece. A. Atilius Serranus.
 Pro-Quæstors. L. Quinctius Crispinus.
 L. Posthumius Tympanus.

L. Pupius Nepos.
 M. Alurius Geminus.
 L. Mummius Nepos.
 M. Fulvius Nobilior. He receives the honours of an Ovation at his return from Farther Spain.

563. Y. of R.

262. Consulship. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
 C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.

Prætors of Rome. L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.
 Cn. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætor in He-truria. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

Prætor in Apulia and Bruttium. M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sicily. L. ATINIUS LABEO.

Prætor on board the fleet designed to act against Antiochus. L. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. Claudius Pulcher.
 L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Claudius Marcellus.
 Q. Marcus Philippus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Aurelius Cotta.
 T. Sempronius Rutilus.

C. Calpurnius Piso.
 M. Ogulnius Gallus.
 Ti. Sempronius Rutilus.
 M. Furius Crassipes.
 M. Furius Luscus.
 M. Albinus Nepos.
 P. Petillius Nepos.
 M. Confidius Nepos.

Quæstors. C. Furius Aculeo.
 Ti. Minucius Augurinus Mellius.

M. Valerius Lævinus.
 L. Julius Cæsar.
 P. Valerius Lævinus.
 P. Cornelius Sisenna.
 A. Manlius Vulso.
 P. Cornelius Cethegus.

Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

Pro-Consul in Greece. M. Acilius Glabrio. He triumphs over King Antiochus, and the Ætolians.

Pro-Consul

Pro-Consul in Q. Minucius Thermus.
Liguria.

Pro-Consul in L. Æmilius Paulus.
Farth. Spain.

Pro-Prætor in A. Cornelius Mammula.
Ætolia.

Pro-Prætor in L. Valerius Tappus.
Sicily.

Pro-Prætor in L. Oppius Salinator.
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in C. Flaminius Nepos.
Hist. Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. Q. Petillius Spurius.
C. Fannius Strabo.
L. Postumius Tynætorus.
M. Aburius Geminus.

564. Y. of R.

263. *Consulship.* CN. MANLIUS VULSO.
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

Censors. T. Quinctius Flaminius.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

The forty-eighth Lustrum.

Prætor of SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
Rome.

Prætor in Si- M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- Q. FABIVS PICTOR.
dunia.

Prætor in Hi- L. PLAUTIVS HYPSEVS.
ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- L. BÆBIUS DIVES.
ther Spain.

Prætor on the Q. FABIVS LABÆO.
sea-coasts of
Greece.

Curule-Ædiles. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
P. Sulpicius Galba.

Plebeian Æ- Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
diles. M. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the P. Sempronius Gracchus.
People. C. Sempronius Rutilus.

Q. Terentius Culco.

C. Atilius Serranus.

C. Petillius Spurius.

Q. Fictorius Nepos.

Q. Plætorius Nepos.

C. Decimius Flavius.

C. Mænius Nepos.

C. Nævius Crispus.

Quæstors. Q. Fabius Buteo.

P. Cornelius Mammula.

L. Postumius Albinus.

Q. Fictorius Scævola.

P. Fictorius Ligus.

T. Mænius Carus.

iv. Titinius Curtus.

vi. Pictorius Postea.

Pro-Consul in C. Lælius Nepos.

Cisalpe Gaul.

Pro-Consul in L. Æmilius Paulus.

Farth. Spain.

Pro-Prætor in D. Junius Brutus.

Hæthia.

Pro-Prætor in M. Tuccius Nepos.

Bruttia.

Pro-Prætor in L. Oppius Salinator.

Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Valerius Lævinus.

C. Fannius Strabo.

P. Cornelius Cethegus.

Q. Petillius Spurius.

A. Manlius Vulso.

P. Cornelius Sisenna.

L. Æmilius Regillus has a Naval
Triumph for having beaten
Antiochus's fleet.

L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus tri-
umphs for having vanquished
Antiochus.

Q. Fabius Labeo triumphs after
his happy expedition in the
island of Crete.

565. Y. of R.

264. *Consulship.* C. LIVIVS SALINATOR.
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

Prætor of M. CLAUDIVS MARCELLVS.
Rome.

Prætor in Si- Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPVS.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- C. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
dunia.

Prætor in Hi- L. MANLIUS ACIDINVS FUL-
ther Spain. VIANVS.

Prætor in Far- Q. ATINIUS LABEO.
ther Spain.

Curule-Ædiles. P. Cornélius Sylla.
L. Quinctius Crispinus.

Plebeian Æ- M. Licinius Lucullus.
diles. T. Mænius Nepos.

Tribunes of the C. Valerius Nepos.

People. M. Claudius Marcellinus.

Q. Nævius Matho.

Cn. Si-

Quæstors. Cn. Sicinius Nepos.
 M. Racilius Nepos.
 M. Decimius Nepos.
 P. Minucius Rufus.
 P. Sempronius Longus.
 L. Posthumius Tympanus.
 Sex. Roscius Nepos.
Q. Fabius Maximus.
C. Licinius Crassus.
P. Licinius Crassus.
C. Claudius Nero.
P. Mucius Scævola.
M. Titinius Nepos.
T. Fœnicus Capito.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Pro-Consul in M. Fulvius Nobilior.
 Ætolia.
Pro-Consul in Cn. Manlius Vulso.
 Asia.
Pro-Prætor in M. Tuccius Nepos.
 Bruttium.
Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Mucius Scævola.*
P. Cornelius Sisenna.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
L. Posthumius Albinus.
A. Manius Vulso.
 566. Y. of R.
 265. Consulship. **M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.**
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
Prætors at SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
 Rome. **Q. TERENTIUS CULEO.**
Prætor in Cis- M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.
 alpine Gaul.
Prætor at Ta- AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
 rentum.
Prætor in Si- L. TERENTIUS MASSA.
 cily.
Prætor in Sar- Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
 dinia.
Curule Ædiles. *P. Cornelius Cethegus.*
A. Posthumius Albinus.
Plebeian Æ- C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
 diles. *M. Furius Luscus.*
Tribunes of the Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS, the son of
 People. Quinctus.
 Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS, the son of
 Caius.
 M. NÆVIUS CRISPUS.
 C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
 L. MUMUNIUS NEPOS.
 Q. MUMUNIUS NEPOS.
 C. FANNIUS STRABO.

Quæstors. T. Sempronius Gracchus.
 M. Aburius Geminus.
 L. Pupius Nepos.
C. Claudius Pulcher.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Numicius Nepos.
L. Apulius Gallus.
M. Popilius Lænas.
M. Licinius Crassus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Valerius Lævinus.
Pro-Prætor in L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.
 Hith. Spain.
Pro-Prætor in C. Atinius Labeo.
 Farth. Spain.
Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Fabius Maximus.*
C. Licinius Crassus.
P. Valerius Lævinus.
A. Manlius Vulso.
M. Fulvius Nobilior. He tri-
 umphs over the Ætolians and
 Cephallenians.
Cn. Manlius Vulso. He tri-
 umphs over the Asiatick
 Gauls.

567. Y. of R.

266. Consulship. **SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.**

Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

Prætor of Rome.

Prætor in Si- P. CORNELIUS SYLLA.
 cily.

Prætor in Sar- C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.
 dinia.

Prætor in Hi- L. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.
 ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
 ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. *P. Cornelius Sisenna.*
Sp. Posthumius Albinus Palulus.

Plebeian Æ- *Q. Nævius Matho.*
 diles. *C. Decimius Flaccus.*

Tribunes of the M. Fulvius Flaccus.
 People. M. Ogulnius Gallus.

C. Terentius Istra.

L. Acilius Glabrio.

Q. Opimius Nepos.

Q. Opimius Panfa.

A. Terentius Varro.

L. Cæcilius Denter.

L. Duronius Nepos.

M. Trebonius Flavus.

Quæstors.

Quæstors. *A. Hostilius Mancinus.*
L. Villius Tappulus.
L. Postumius Albinus.
C. Papilius Lænas.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus.
C. Valerius Lævinus.
C. Lucretius Trio.
C. Clavius Saxula.

Pro-Prætors in The same as the last year.
Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Fabius Maximus.*
C. Licinius Crassus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Valerius Lævinus, the son of
Publius.
P. Valerius Lævinus, the son of
Marcus.
A. Manius Vulso.

568. Y. of R.
 267. Consulship. *AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.*
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDI-
TANUS.

Prætors. *P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.*
C. AFRICANUS STELLIO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LINUS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Curule Ædiles. *L. Julius Cæsar.*
M. Valerius Lævinus.

Plebeian Æ- *Cn. Sicinius Nepos.*
 diles. *L. Puppilius Nepos.*

Tribunes of the *M. Nævius Crispus.*
 People. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus.*
A. Trebius Gallus.
C. Trebonius Asper.
L. Mædus Tullus.
T. Minucius Augurinus Mol-
liculus.
Q. Catius Nepos.
M. Trebius Gallus.
Sp. Antius Restio.
P. Scantinius Capitolinus.
Ti. Claudius Nero.
A. Licinius Nerva.
C. Quinctius Flaminius.
C. Abarius Geminus.
T. Annius Lusus.
C. Mummius Gallus.
C. Arrenius Nepos.
T. Metilius Cretæ.

Pro-Prætors in *L. Quinctius Crispinus,*
Hisber and C. Calpurnius Piso.
Fort. Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. *C. Lucretius Trio.*
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Clavius Saxula.
P. Valerius Lævinus Fulvianus.
L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.
 He receives the Honours of
 an Ovation, at his return
 from his Pro-Prætorship in
 Spain.

569. Y. of R.

268. Consulship. *P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.*
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.
 Censers. *L. Valerius Flaccus.*
M. Porcius Cato.

The forty-ninth Lustrum.

Prætors at *C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.*
 Rome. *P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.*

Prætor in Si- *C. Sempronius BLÆSUS.*
 cily.

Prætor in Sar- *Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.*
 dinia.

Prætors in Hi- *A. TERENTIUS VARRO.*
 ther and Far- *P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.*
 ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Pulvius Flaccus.*
M. Ogulnius Gallus.

Plebeian Æ- *L. Mummius Nepos.*
 diles. *T. Cæcilius Denter.*

Tribunes of the *M. Titinius Curvus.*
 People. *L. Minucius Thermus.*
P. Villius Tappulus.
M. Fannius Strabo.
C. Fundanius Fundulus.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
M. Scaptius Nepos.
M. Pompilius Nepos.
Q. Titius Nepos.
Q. Apronius Nepos.

Quæstors.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
Ap. Claudius Centho.
C. Papirius Turdus.
Ser. Cornelius Sylla.
C. Cassius Longinus.
M. Atilius Serranus.
C. Valerius Lævinus.
M. Mattienius Nepos.

Pro-Prætor

L. Cornelius Dolabella.

T. Metellus Creso.

C. Cicereius Nepos.

C. Arennius Nepos.

A. Terentius Varro. He receives the Honours of an Ovation, after having conquered the Celtiberians.

572. Y. of R.

271. *Consulship.* **P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.**

M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætors at **Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.**

Rome. **Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.**

Prætor in Cis- **Q. FABIUS BUTEO.**

alpine Gaul.

Prætor in Apu- **L. DURONIUS NEPOS.**

lia.

Prætor in Si- **C. CLAUDIUS NERO.**

cily.

Prætor in Sar- **M. PINARIUS POSCA.**

dinia.

Curule Ædiles. **Gn. Cornelius Scipio.**

C. Valerius Lævinus.

Plebeian Æ- **Q. Mucius Scaevola.**

diles.

P. Mucius Scaevola.

Tribunes of the **C. Orcius Nepos.**

People.

L. Aquilius Gallus.

C. Popilius Lænas.

Cn. Furius Broechus.

C. Veturius Calvinus.

M. Aquilius Florus.

C. Cluvius Saxula.

D. Quinctius Nepos.

T. Numicius Nepos.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Quæstors.

L. Cornelius Scipio.

P. Furius Philus.

Sp. Lucretius Gallus.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

C. Hostilius Tubulus.

M. Fabius Buteo.

P. Licinius Varus.

M. Fabius Dorsæ.

Pro-Consuls in **Cn. Bæbius Tampophilus.**

Liguria.

L. Æmilius Paulus. He tri-

umphs over the Ligures.

Pro-Prætors in **Q. Fulvius Flaccus.**

Hither and **P. Manlius Vulso.**

Farth. Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. **Cn. Sicinius Nepos.**

Sp. Cluvius Saxula.

L. Arennius Nepos.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

C. Furius Bibaculus.

L. Cornelius Dolabella.

573. Y. of R.

272. *Consulship.* **A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.**

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

The latter dies in his Office, and is succeeded by

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors at **A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.**

Rome.

TI. MINUCIUS AUGUR-

NUS MOLLICULUS.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætor in Si- **P. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.**

cily.

Prætor in Sar- **C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.**

dinia.

Prætors in Hi- **TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.**

ther and Far-

L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. **TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.**

C. QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

Plebeian Æ- **M. TICINIUS CURVUS.**

diles.

P. ÆLIUS LIGUS.

Tribunes of the **L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.**

People.

C. CANINIUS REBILUS.

M. CANINIUS REBILUS.

M. CÆCILIUS DENTER.

Q. BÆBIUS SULCA.

T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.

M. MARCIUS RALLA.

T. METILLIUS CROTO.

C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.

C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.

C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

C. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.

Cn. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.

T. MANLIUS TERQUATUS.

Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

M. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.

C. LUTATIUS CERTO.

C. FABIUS LICINUS.

Pro-Consuls in **P. CORNELIUS Cethegus.**

Liguria.

M. Bæbius Tampophilus. They both triumph over the Li-

gures.

Pro-Prætor in **Q. Fabius Buteo.**

Cisalp. Gaul.

Pro-

Pro-Prætor at *L. Duronius Nepos.*
Tarentum.

Pro-Prætor in *M. Pinarius Posca.*
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætors in *Q. Fulvius Flaccus.*
Hither and P. Manlius Vulso. The former
Farth. Spain. triumphs for having conquer-
ed Hither Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. *Sp. Lucretius Gallus.*
Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus.
P. Licinius Varus.
L. Cornelius Dolabella.
C. Cicereius Nepos.
C. Furius Bibaculus.
M. Fabius Dorso.

574. Y. of R.

273. Consulship. *L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS*
FULVIANUS.

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS,
brothers. The latter triumphs
over the Ligures.

Censors. *M. Aelius Lepidus.*
M. Fulvius Nobilior.

The fiftieth Lustrum.

Prætors of *P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.*
Rome. *CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HIS-*
PALUS.

Prætor in Si- *Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.*
cily.

Prætor in Sar- *C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.*
dinia.

Curule Ædiles. *Gn. Servilius Cæpio.*
Ap. Claudius Centho.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Numisius Nepos.*
diles. *M. Popilius Lænas.*

Tribunes of the *T. Juventius Thalna.*
People. *A. Terentius Varro.*
C. Cassius Longinus.
L. Minucius Thermus.
C. Mattienius Nepos.
P. Aquillius Gallus.
M. Atilius Serranus.
C. Lucretius Trio.
P. Mattienius Nepos.
T. Otacilius Crassus.

Quæstors. *Gn. Babius Tamphilus.*
L. Anicius Gallus.
M. Servilius Pulex.
L. Porcius Licinus.
M. Marcius Sermo.
C. Sulpicius Galba.

L. Furius Philus.

P. Fonteius Capito.

Pro-Prætor in *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.*
Hither and L. Posthumius Albinus.
Farth. Spain.

Quæstors. *T. Manlius Torquatus.*
M. Fabius Dorso.
C. Fabius Licinus.
L. Cornelius Dolabella.

575. Y. of R.

274. Consulship. *M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.*
A. MANLIUS VULSO.

Prætors at *M. TITINIUS CURVUS.*
Rome. *Ti. CLAUDIUS NERO.*

Prætor in Si- *P. AELIUS LIGUS.*
cily.

Prætor in Sar- *T. AEBUTIUS CARUS.*
dinia.

Prætors in Hi- *M. TITINIUS NEPOS.*
ther and Far- *T. FONTEIUS CAPITO.*
ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. *L. Papirius Mæso.*
M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Popilius Lænas.*
diles. *L. Aquillius Gallus.*

Tribunes of the *A. Licinius Nerva.*
People. *C. Papirius Turdus.*

Q. Aelius Pætus.
L. Egilius Nepos.
C. Cicereius Nepos.
L. Canuleius Dives.
C. Mattienius Nepos.
M. Mattienius Nepos.
L. Claudius Afellus.
M. Racius Nepos.

Quæstors. *Sex. Julius Cæsar.*
Q. Cassius Longinus.
Q. Apuleius Pansa.
C. Servilius Geminus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
C. Papirius Carbo.
P. Fonteius Balbus.
C. Decimius Flavius.

Pro-Prætors in *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.* He tri-
Hither and umphs over the Celtiberians.
Farth. Spain. *L. Posthumius Albinus.* He tri-
umphs over the Lusitani and
Raccæi.

Pro-Quæstors. *Ti. Manlius Torquatus.*
L. Furius Philus.
M. Fabius Dorso.
L. Fabius Licinus.

P. Fonteius Capito.
L. Cornelius Dolabella.

576. Y. of R.

275. *Consulship*. C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

He triumphs over the Ligures
 and Istri.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Prætors at P. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
Rome. C. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Prætors in Cis- C. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
alpine Gaul. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Prætor in Si- C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
dinia.

Curule Ædiles. *Ser. Cornelius Sylla.*
N. Fabius Buteo.

Plebeian Æ- T. *Arrius Luscus.*
diles. C. *Memmius Gallus.*

Tribunes of the Cn. Fulvius Flaccus Nobilior.
People.

C. Sallonius Sarra.
 L. Terentius Massa
 M. Claudius Marcellus.
 Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
 Cn. Sicinius Nepos.
 L. Flavius Nepos.
 M. Junius Pænnus.
 L. Decimus Flavius.
 Sp. Cluvius Saxula.

Quæstors. *Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.*

L. Apuleius Saturninus.

M. Fonteius Capito.

L. Livius Denter.

C. Licinius Nerva.

Q. Marcianus Ralla.

C. Sulpicius Gallus.

P. Terentius Lucanus.

Pro-Consuls at M. Junius Brutus.

Aquileia and A. Manlius Vulso.
in Istria.

Pro-Consul at Ti. Claudius Nero.
Pisa.

Pro-Consul in T. Æbutius Carus.
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætors in M. Titinius Nepos.

Hither and T. Fonteius Capito.

Farth. Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. Q. *Apuleius Pansa.*

C. Papirius Carbo.

C. Decimus Flavius.

C. Servilius Geminus.

P. Fonteius Balbus.
P. Fonteius Capito.

577. Y. of R.

276. *Consulship*. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO
 HISPALLUS.

Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS. The former dies in his
 office, and is succeeded by

C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
 The latter was killed in Li-
 guria.

Prætors at L. PAPIRIUS MASO.

Rome. M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.

Prætor in Si- L. AQUILIUS GALLUS.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
dinia.

Prætors in Hi- P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

ther and Far- M. CORNELIUS SCIPIO MA-
ther Spain. LUGINENSIS.

Curule Ædiles. P. *Furius Philus.*

N. Fabius Buteo.

Plebeian Æ- C. *Cassius Longinus.*

diles. M. *Atilius Serranus.*

Tribunes of the C. Aburius Geminus.

People. L. Hortensius Nepos.

C. Munatius Plancus.

P. Licinius Varus.

C. Servilius Casca.

Sp. Lucretius Gallus.

A. Pompeius Nepos.

Cn. Licinius Nerva.

M. Aurelius Cotta.

Sex. Pompeius Nepos.

Quæstors of Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Rome. A. Manlius Torquatus.

M. Acilius Glabrio.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

M. Fulvius Nobilior.

C. Titinius Nepos.

M. Æbutius Elva.

P. Clælius Siculus.

Pro-Consul in L. Claudius Pulcher.

Cisalp. Gaul.

Pro-Consul at Ti. Claudius Nero.

Pisa.

Pro-Consul in Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in T. Æbutius Carus.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætors in M. Titinius Nepos.

Hither and T. Fonteius Capito.

Farth. Spain.

Pro-

Pro-Quæstors. *M. Fonteius Capito.*
C. Papirius Carbo.
C. Decimius Flavius.
L. Livius Dentor.
P. Fonteius Balbus.
 The Consul Valerius triumphs
 over the Ligures.

578. Y. of R.

277. Consulship. *P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.*
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, a
 second time. He triumphs
 over the Ligures.

Prætors. *C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.*
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

Prætor in Sar- *SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.*
 dinia.

Prætor in Far- *AP. CLAUDIUS CEN-
 ther Spain. THO.*

Curule Ædiles. *L. Camuleius Dives.*
C. Licinius Crassus.

Plebeian Æ- *L. Villius Tappidus.*
 diles. *C. Caninius Rebilus.*

Tribunes of the *C. Marcus Figulus.*
 People. *Q. Mænius Nepos.*
M. Decimus Flavius.
T. Memmius Nepos.
Sex. Marcus Rex.
C. Lucretius Gallus.
C. Lutatius Cerco.
Cn. Apuleius Pansa.
C. Furius Brocchus.
P. Decius Subulo.

Quæstors. *M. Juventius Thalna.*
M. Cornelius Cethegus.
C. Posthumius Albinus.
G. Fannius Strabo.
Sex. Sulpicius Galba.
Ti. Claudius Nero.
P. Quinctilius Varus.
P. Cornelius Blasio.

Pro-Quæstors. *C. Titinius Nepos.*
P. Clodius Sículus.
M. Æbutius Elva.

579. Y. of R.

278. Consulship. *SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBI-
 NUS.*

Censors. *Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.*
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
A. Posthumius Albinus.

Prætors at *C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.*
 Rome. *L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.*

Prætor in Si- *L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.*
 cily.

Prætor in Sar- *M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.*
 dinia.

Prætor in Hi- *P. FURIUS PHILUS.*
 ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- *CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.*
 ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. *C. Sulpicius Galba.*
L. Furius Philus.

Plebeian, Æ- *C. Sicinius Nepon.*
 diles. *M. Junius Pennus.*

Tribunes of the *Cn. Bæbius Tampilus.*
 People. *P. Fonteius Capito.*

Cn. Octavius Nepos.
C. Racius Nepon.

M. Marcus Sermo.
L. Anicius Gallus.

M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
L. Porcius Licinus.

Q. Marcus Figulus.
L. Publilius Philo.

Quæstors. *Q. Voconius Saxa.*
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
P. Cornelius Lentulus.
C. Sulpicius Rufus.
M. Claudius Flamininus.
C. Scribonius Curia.
Cn. Aufidius Nepon.
P. Rutilus Calvus.

Pro-Prætor in *Ser. Cornelius Sylla.*
 Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in *Ap. Claudius Cench.* He van-
 Hith. Spain. quishes the Celtiberians, and
 receives the honours of an
 Ovation.

Pro-Quæstors. *Ti. Claudius Nero.*
C. Titinius Nepon.
P. Clælius Sículus.
P. Quinctilius Varus.
M. Æbutius Elva.

580. Y. of R.

279. Consulship. *L. POSTHUMIUS ALBI-
 NUS.*

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Prætors at *A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.*
 Rome. *C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.*

Prætor in Si- *M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.*
 cily.

Prætor in Sar- *C. CICEREIUS NEPOS.*
 dinia. Prætors

Prætors in Hi- N. FABIVS BUTEO.
ther and Far- M. MATTIENIVS NEPOS.
ther Spain.

Curule Ediles. T. Manlius Torquatus.
 Q. Hostilius Tubulus.

Plebeian Æ- M. Claudius Marcellus.
diles. C. Servilius Casca.

Tribunes of the Q. Cassius Longinus.
People. C. Papirius Carbo.

C. Decimius Flavius.

Cn. Fulvius Gilla.

L. Petillius Geminus.

C. Servilius Geminus.

P. Fonteius Balbus.

L. Cælius Caldus.

Q. Trebellius Nepos.

M. Publicius Malleolus.

Quæstors. C. Tremellius Fiacus.

P. Decimius Flavius.

L. Postumius Timpæus.

M. Aufidius Nepos.

Q. Publicius Bibulus.

A. Bæbius Sulca.

L. Cincius Alimentus.

Q. Nævius Pollio.

Pro-Prætor in M. Atilius Serranus.
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in P. Furius Philus.
Hib. Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Scribonius Curio.
 P. Clælius Siculus.
 Cn. Aufidius Nepos.

581. Y. of R.

280. *Consulship.* C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
 P. ÆLIUS LIGUS. Both
 Plebeians, for the first time.

Prætors at C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Rome. Cn. SICINIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Si- C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- Sp. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
dinia.

Prætor in Hi- M. JUNIUS PENNUS.
ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- Sp. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.
ther Spain.

Curule Ediles. C. Sulpicius Gallus.
 Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Æ- Q. Manius Nepos.

diles. C. Marcus Fugius.

Tribunes of the M. Lucretius Gallus.

People. M. Marcus Serrus.

Q. Marcius Ralla.

Q. Apuleius Pansa.

L. Livius Denter.

M. Perperna.

C. Antistius Labeo.

L. Apuleius Saturninus.

P. Terentius Tuscivicanus.

L. Junius Silanus.

Quæstors. M. Valerius Messalla.

M. Cornelius Cethegus.

L. Bæbius Dices.

A. Antonius Nepos.

C. Apuleius Saturninus.

A. Posthumius Albinus.

M. Antoninus Nepos.

M. Pomponius Matho.

Pro-Consul in M. Popilius Lænas.

Liguria.

Pro-Quæstors. M. Aufidius Nepos.

M. Cincius Alimentus.

Q. Nævius Pollio.

P. Clælius Siculus.

C. Cicereius. He triumphs over
 the Corsicans on the hill of
 Alba.

The second War with Macedon.

582. Y. of R.

281. *Consulship.* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
 C. CASSIVS LONGINVS.

Prætors at C. SULPICIVS GALBA.
Rome. L. VILLIVS TAPPVLVS.

Prætor on board P. LUCRETIVS GALLVS.
the fleet de-
signed to act
against Per-
ses.

Prætor in Si- C. CANINIUS REBILVS.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- L. FURIUS PHILVS.
dinia.

Prætor in Hi- L. CANULEIVS DIVES.
ther and Far-
ther Spain.

Curule Ediles. Cn. Bæbius Tampilus.
 Cn. Otavius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- P. Fonteius Capito.
diles. L. Anicius Gallus.

Tribunes of the M. Furius Nobilior.

People. M. Claudius Marcellus.

M. Icilius Glabrio.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

T. Numisius

Quæstors. T. Numisius Tarquinienfis.
M. Fonteius Capito.
P. Manilius Nepos.
C. Licinius Nerva.
C. Titinius Nepos.
Cn. Anicius Gallus.
L. Aurelius Orestes.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Ti. Sempronius Longus.
C. Sempronius Longus.
Ti. Sempronius Musca.
L. Nævius Balbus.
M. Sergius Silus.
Cn. Sergius Plancus.

Pro-Quæstors. *L. Cincius Alimentus.*
Q. Nævius Polleo.

583. Y. of R.
282. Consulship. A. HOSTILIUS MANCI-
NUS.
A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Prætors at Rome. M. RÆCIUS NEPOS.
Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

Prætor on the sea-coasts of Greece. L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
C. Posthumius Albinus.
Q. Cassius Longinus.
Cn. Fulvius Gilla.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Juventius Thalna.
Cn. Aufidius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
M. Titius Rufus.
P. Cominius Nepos.
L. Silius Nerva.
Q. Manilius Nepos.
C. Apronius Limo.

Tribunes of the People. C. Cædicius Noctua.
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
C. Mamilius Turrinus.
Ti. Veturius Calvinus Semproni-
anus.
Sex. Julius Cæsar.
Q. Æmilius Lepidus.
Q. Valerius Falto.
M. Æmilius Ragillus.
P. Curatius Nepos.

Quæstors. P. Licinius Crassus.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. C. Lucretius Gallus.

Pro-Consul on board the fleet.

Pro-Quæstors. Ti. Sempronius Longus.
M. Sergius Silus.
Ti. Sempronius Musca.
L. Cincius Alimentus.

584. Y. of R.
283. Consulship. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS,
a second time.
CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. Claudius Pulcher.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Censors.

The fifty-second Lustrum.

Prætors at Rome. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.

Prætor on the coasts of Greece. C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

Prætor in Sicily. SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. P. FONTEIUS CAPITO.

Prætor in Spain. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles. A. Licinius Nerva.
L. Livius Denton.

Tribunes of the People. C. Sulpicius Rufus.
M. Claudius Flaminius.
P. Rutilius Calvus.
Q. Voconius Saxa.
L. Anicius Gallus.
Q. Minucius Rufus.
L. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Scribonius Curio.
C. Otacilius Crassus.
M. Licinius Lucullus.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Opimius Nepos.
L. Pompeius Nepos.
T. Minucius Rufus.
L. Æmilius Lepidus.
L. Licinius Pollio.
Q. Aulus Cerretanus.
Q. Minucius Rufus.
C. Aurelius Cotta.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. A. Hostilius Mancinus.

Pro-Quæstors. Ti. Veturius Calvinus Semproni-
anus.
M. Æmilius Regillus.
P. Curatius Nepos.

585. Y. of R.

264. *Consulship*. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, a
second time.

C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Prætor at CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
Rome.*Prætor in* Illy- L. ANICIUS GALLUS.
ricum.*Prætor on the* CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS,
coasts of
Greece.*Prætor in* Si- M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.
cily.*Prætor in* Sar- C. PAPIRIUS CAREO.
dinia.*Prætor in* P. FONTEIUS BALEUS.
Spain.*Curule-Ediles*. M. Claudius Marcellus.
Cn. Domitius Æmobarbus.*Plebeian Æ-* C. Titinius Nepos.
diles. C. Fannius Strabo.*Tribunes of the* L. Posthumius Tympanus.
People. P. Decimius Flavius.

C. Tremellius Flaccus.

Q. Publicius Bibulus.

Q. Ælius Tubero.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

M. Aufidius Nepos.

L. Cincius Alimentus.

Q. Lollius Nepos.

P. Claudius Asellus.

Quæstors.

L. Manlius Acidinus.

L. Stertinius Nepos.

L. Valerius Flaccus.

T. Annius Luscus.

L. Marcius Censorinus.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.

Q. Marcius Rex.

T. Claudius Canina.

Pro-Consul in Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
Cisalp. Gaul.*Pro-Prætor in* P. Fonteius Capito.
Sardinia.*Pro-Prætor in* M. Claudius Marcellus.
Spain.*Pro-Quæstors*. L. Æmilius Lepidus.

L. Licinius Pollio.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

P. Curatius Nepos.

586. Y. of R.

285. *Consulship*. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. JUNIUS PENNUS.*Prætors at* Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Rome. M. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Prætors in Si- Ti. CLAUDIUS NERO.
cily.*Prætor in* Sar- A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
dinia.*Prætors in* Hi- Cn. FULVIUS GILLO.*ther and* Far- C. LICINIUS NERVA.*ther* Spain.*Curule-Ediles*. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

M. Valerius Messala.

Plebeian Æ- Cn. Aufidius Nepos.*diles*. L. Silius Nerva.*Tribunes of the* M. Antonius Nepos.*People*. M. Pomponius Matho.

Ti. Sempronius Longus.

L. Bæbius Dives.

C. Apuleius Saturninus.

M. Porcius Læca.

M. Cosconius Nepos.

A. Antoninus Nepos.

P. Rutilius Rufus.

M. Curius Dentatus.

Quæstors.

L. Cornelius Scipio.

Q. Fulvius Nobilior.

P. Licinius Muraena.

C. Afranius Stellio.

P. Porcius Læca.

M. Tuccius Nepos.

M. Helvius Blasis.

Q. Fulcinius Trio.

Pro-Consul in L. Æmilius Paulus. He tri-
Macedon. umphs over Macedon, and
King Perseus, for three days
together.*Pro-Consul in* C. Licinius Crassus.
Cisalp. Gaul.*Pro-Prætor on* Cn. Octavius. He obtains a
the coasts of Naval Triumph.
Greece.*Pro-Prætor in* P. Fonteius Capito.
Sardinia.*Pro-Prætor in* L. Anicius Gallus. He triumphs
Illyricum. over King Gentius and the
Illyrians.*Pro-Quæstors*. L. Valerius Flaccus.

L. Cornelius Lupus.

Q. Aulus Cerretanus.

L. Marcius Censorinus.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

587. Y. of R.

268. *Consulship*. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
M. CLAUDIUS

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. He triumphs over the Gauls and Ligures.

Prætors. L. LIVIUS DENTER.
A. LICINIUS NERVA.
P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
L. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.¹
P. RUTILIUS CALVUS.
M^r FONTEIUS CAPITO.

Curule Ædiles. M. Fulvius Nobilior.
M^r Acilius Glabrio.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Anicius Gallus.
C. Sulpicius Rufus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Aurelius Orestes.
Ti. Sempronius Musca.
C. Urfanius Nepos.
Sex. Staius Nepos.
C. Fescennius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Longus.
C. Nævius Balbus.
T. Pædanius Nepos.
C. Numitorius Pullus.
P. Sallonius Sarra.

Quæstors. L. Posthumius Albinus.
L. Licinius Lucullus.
L. Cornelius Marula.
M^r Acilius Glabrio.
Q. Marcius Philippus.
M^r Mamilius Nepos.
C. Ælius Tabero.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Pro-Quæstors. M. Helvius Blasio.
Q. Fulcinius Trio.
Q. Aulus Cerretanus.

588. Y. of R.
287. Consulship. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Prætors. CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
M. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.
M. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Curule Ædiles. Sex. Julius Cæsar.
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Voconius Saxa.
P. Decimius Flævus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Mamilius Turinus.
P. Curatius Nepos.
C. Pontificius Nepos.
C. Tarquitius Flaccus.

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P. Sestius Nepos.
C. Cædicius Noctua.
Q. Scantius Nepos.
M. Urbinius Nepos.
L. Tuccius Nepos.
L. Julius Sequetris.
M. Fossius Nepos.
Sex. Potitius Nepos.
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus.
Cn. Tremellius Flaccus.
P. Cornelius Lentulus.
M. Manlius Acidinus.
C. Helvius Blasio.
M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Quæstors. M. Fonteius Capito.

Pro-Prætor in Farth. Spain.
Pro-Quæstors. M. Helvius Blasio.
Q. Fulcinius Trio.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.

589. Y. of R.
288. Consulship. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Censors. Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
He dies during his Office.
L. Æmilius Paulus.
Q. Marcius Philippus.

The fifty-third Lustrum.

Prætors. M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
C. FANNIUS STRABO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

Curule Ædiles. M. Antonius Nepos.
M. Pomponius Matho.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Tremellius Flaccus.
L. Posthumius Tympanus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Pomponius Nepos.
T. Minucius Rufus.
L. Licinius Pollio.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Servilius Geminus.
C. Antonius Nepos.
Q. Opimius Nepos.
Q. Minucius Rufus.
Q. Aulus Cerretanus.
C. Æbutius Carus.

Quæstors. L. Mummius Nepos.
L. Atilius Regulus.
M^r Acilius Balbus.

4 P

G. Car.

C. Cornelius Cethegus.
Cn. Cornelius Mehenis.
L. Rutilius Flaccus.
L. Furius Purpureus.
C. Rutilius Rufus.
 Pro-Quæstors. *M. Marcius Minimus.*
M. Fannius Fannulus.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.
 592. Y. of R.
 289. Consulship. **TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS**, a second time.
M' JUVENTIUS THALNA.
 Prætors. **M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.**
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
L. ANILIUS GALLUS.
C. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
Q. PUBLICIUS BIBULUS.
 Curule-Ædiles. *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.*
L. Valerius Flaccus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. *Ti. Sempronius Longus.*
L. Aurelius Orestes.
 Tribunes of the People. *L. Stertinius Nepos.*
L. Marcus Censorinus.
M. Minucius Fessius.
Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
M. Decius Mus.
T. Annius Luscus.
Q. Marcus Rex.
C. Terentius Culeo.
C. Oppius Cornicinus.
M. Cælius Rufus.
 Quæstors. *M. Porcius Cato.*
A. Posthumius Albinus.
T. Vitorius Philo.
M. Opimius Nepos.
L. Oppius Salinator.
M. Licinius Stolo.
L. Pinarius Natta.
M' Minucius Thermus.
 Pro-Quæstors. *C. Rutilius Rufus.*
Sex. Digitius Nepos.

591. Y. of R.

290. Consulship. **P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.**
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.
 But there was some defect in their election; and in their room were chosen
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNO-BARBUS.

Prætors.

M. ÆMILIUS LÆPIDUS.
Q. VOCONIUS SAXA.
L. BÆBIUS DIVES.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
P. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.
A. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

Curule-Ædiles.

L. Manlius Acidinus.
L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Mamilius Turrinus Limitanus.
L. Pomponius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Fulvius Nobilior.
C. Afranius Stellio.
M. Tuccius Nepos.
M. Helvius Blasio.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
P. Licinius Muræna.
P. Porcius Læca.
Q. Fulcinius Trio.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
C. Cosconius Nepos.
T. Quinctius Flamininus.
C. Livius Drusus.
Sp. Posthumius Albinus.
C. Aurelius Scaurus.
A. Gabinus Nepos.
L. Æmilius Regillus.
C. Cæcilius Nepos.
L. Fabricius Luscinius.

Quæstors.

Pro-Corsul in Sardinia.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Pro-Prætor in Sicily.

M' Acilius Glabrio.

Pro-Quæstors.

M. Opimius Nepos.
L. Pinarius Natta.
L. Oppius Salinator.
M. Minucius Thermus.

592. Y. of R.

291. Consulship. **M. VALERIUS MESSALA.**
C. FANNIUS STRABO.
 Prætors. **M. POMPONIUS MATRO.**
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.

C. TRIMELLIUS FLACCUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS TYPANUS.
P. SEXTIUS NEPOS.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Opimius Nepos.
C. Antonius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Licinius Lucullus.
M' Acilius Glabrio.

4 M' Mamilius

M' Mamilius Nepos.
 C. Ælius Tubero.
 Q. Marcius Philippus.
 Sex. Pomponius Nepos.
 Ti. Sempronius Rutilus.
 Sex. Digitius Nepos.
 L. Flavius Nepos.
 L. Atilius Bulbus.
 Quæstors. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 C. Titius Nepos.
 Q. Ælius Pætus.
 M. Junius Silanus.
 Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
 P. Sempronius Blæsus.
 M. Atilius Serranus.
 C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 Pro-Quæstors. M. Minucius Termus.
 L. Fabricius Luscinus.
 593. Y. of R.
 292. Consulship. L. ANICIUS GALLUS.
 M. CORNELIUS CETHE-
 GUS.
 Prætors. L. ORELIUS ORESTES.
 T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
 L. JULIUS SEQUESTRIUS.
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS
 LUPUS.
 T. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
 L. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
 Curule Ædiles. Q. Fulvius Nobilior.
 L. Marcius Censorinus.
 Plebeian Æ- T. Annius Luscus.
 diles. L. Stertinius Nepos.
 Tribunes of the Cn. Tremellius Flaccus.
 People. Sex. Potitius Nepos.
 L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.
 M. Fostius Nepos.
 M. Fundanius Fundulus.
 L. Antistius Labeo.
 C. Albius Carrinus.
 C. Helvius Blæsius.
 Q. Lutatius Catulus.
 P. Petillius Geminus.
 Quæstors. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
 P. Juventius Thalna.
 C. Vetillius Nepos.
 C. Sempronius Blæsus.
 C. Atinius Labeo.
 Cn. Helvius Blæsius.
 L. Arunculeius Cotta.
 M. Aburius Geminus.
 Pro-Quæstors. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 L. Fabricius Luscinus.

594. Y. of R.
 293. Consulship. CN. CORNELIUS DOLA-
 BELLA.
 M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
 P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
 M. Popilius Lænas.
 Censors.
 The fifty-fourth Lustrum.
 Prætors. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
 L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
 L. POMPEIUS NEPOS.
 L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.
 C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
 L. LICINIUS POLLIO.
 Curule Ædiles. Q. Marcius Rex.
 P. Licinius Muræna.
 Plebeian Æ- C. Afranius Stellio.
 diles. L. Porcius Læca.
 Tribunes of the L. Atilius Regulus.
 People. M. Acilius Balbus.
 C. Rutilius Rufus.
 C. Apustius Fullo.
 C. Centenius Penula.
 L. Memmius Nepos.
 L. Rutilius Flaccus.
 L. Rufrius Purpureo.
 A. Bæculonius Nepos.
 Q. Fictorius Nepos.
 Pro-Prætor in M. Tuccius Nepos.
 Farth. Spain.
 Quæstors. L. Aurelius Cotta.
 Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
 C. Plautius Hypsæus.
 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
 Sp. Mummius Nepos.
 A. Terentius Varro.
 Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.
 C. Apustius Fullo.
 Pro-Quæstors. M. Aburius Geminus.
 C. Sempronius Blæsus.
 C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 595. Y. of R.
 294. Consulship. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
 C. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a se-
 cond time.
 Prætors. Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
 L. CORNELIUS MERULA.
 L. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
 C. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
 M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.
 Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
 4 P 2 Curule

Curule Ædiles. *A. Postumius Albinus.*
Ti. Veturius Philo.
Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Licinius Lucullus.*
M. Manilius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. *M. Porcius Cato.*
M. Opimius Nepos.
M. Licinius Stolo.
M. Nævius Crispus.
M. Urbinius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Rutilus.
L. Oppius Salinator.
Cn. Nævius Crispinus.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
Quæstors. *M. Junius Brutus.*
Q. Nævius Matro.
L. Julius Cæsar.
Q. Fabius Butco.
Cn. Cicinius Nepos.
Q. Cælius Nepos.
Q. Cælius Achilles.
C. Numifus Nepos.
Pro-Consul in Liguria. *M. Fulvius Nobilior.* He triumphs over the Ligures.
Pro-Quæstors. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.*
C. Apustius Fullo.
Q. Cælius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
596. Y. of R.
295. Consulship. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES.
Prætors. *L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.*
M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
M. HELVIUS BLASIO.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
Q. FULCINIUS TRIO.
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
Curule Ædiles. *T. Quinctius Flaminius.*
Sp. Posthumius Albinus Magnus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *Cn. Tremellius Flaccus.*
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.
Tribunes of the People. *C. Livius Drusus.*
C. Aurelius Scaurus.
T. Villius Tappulus.
C. Silius Nerva.
C. Lætorius Mergus.
A. Gabinus Nepos.
M. Minucius Thermus.
L. Fabricius Luscinus.
T. Mænius Nepos.
Q. Papirius Turdus.

Quæstors. *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus.*
Claudius Unimannus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus.
Q. Fabius Pictor.
M. Aurelius Scaurus.
L. Valerius Tappus.
L. Cornelius Blasio.
Pro-Prætor in Farth. Spain. *Q. Ogulnius Gallus.*
Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Cælius Nepos.*
C. Apustius Fullo.
Q. Cælius Achilles.
597. Y. of R.
296. Consulship. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LUPUS.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, a second time.
Prætors. *Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.*
Q. MARCIUS REX.
P. PORCIUS LÆCA.
P. LICINIUS MURÆNA.
C. AFRANIUS STELLIO.
SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.
Curule Ædiles. *L. Mummius Nepos.*
L. Atilius Regulus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Acilius Balbus.*
L. Rutilius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. *Q. Ælius Pætus.*
M. Fufius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
C. Titius Nepos.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
M. Atilius Serranus.
C. Cosconius Nepos.
M. Junius Silanus.
P. Sempronius Blæsus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
Quæstors. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio.*
C. Lælius Nepos.
L. Hostilius Mancinus.
C. Nigidius Figulus.
C. Valerius Tappus.
Ser. Fabius Pictor.
P. Cornelius Sylla.
L. Posthumius Tympanus.
Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Fabius Pictor.*
L. Cornelius Blasio.
L. Valerius Tappus.
598. Y. of R.
297. Consulship. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
M. CLAU-

M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS, a second time.
The former triumphs over the
Dalmatians; the latter over
the Ligures.

Prætor in Far- M' MANILIUS NEPOS.
ther Spain.

*Curule*Ædiles. M. Porcius Cato.
C. Sempronius Rutilus.

Plebeian Æ- L. Oppius Salinator.
diles. M. Licinius Stolo.

Tribunes of the Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
People. P. Juventius Thalna.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Cn. Helvius Blasio.
C. Atinius Labeo.
A. Arunculeius Cotta.
M. Auburius Geminus.
C. Veturius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Blaesus.
T. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors. Q. Servilius Cæpio.
Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Pompeius Nepos.
M. Titius Nepos.
T. Juvenius Thalna.
L. Cæcilius Denter.
C. Arunculeius Cotta.

Pro-Prætor in P. Porcius Læca.
Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Valerius Tappus.
Ser. Fabius Piclor.
L. Posthumius Tympanus.

599. Y. of R.
298. *Consulship.* Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
L. POSTHUMIUS ALBI-
NUS.
The latter died in his office;
and in his room was chosen
M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.
M' Valerius Messala.
C. Cassius Longinus.

Censors.

The fifty-fifth Lustrum.

Prætor in Far- L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSO-
ner Spain. NIUS.

*Curule*Ædiles. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Livius Drusus.
diles. A. Gabinius Nepos.

Tribunes of the L. Aurelius Cotta.
People. C. Plautius Hypsæus.
A. Terentius Varro.
C. Apustius Fullo.
M. Porcius Licinus.
Cn. Pupius Nepos.
Sp. Mummius Nepos.
Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Sex. Roscius Nepos.

Quæstors. C. Terentius Varro.
L. Calpurnius Piso.
L. Scribonius Libo.
Cn. Calpurnius Piso.
M. Popilius Lænas.
A. Licinius Nerva.
L. Lollius Nepos.
Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Cæcilius Denter.
Ser. Fabius Piclor.
L. Posthumius Tympanus.

600. Y. of R.
299. *Consulship.* Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.

Prætor in Far- L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
ther Spain.

*Curule*Ædiles. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
M. Fufius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- C. Titius Nepos.
diles. Q. Ælius Pætus.

Tribunes of the M. Junius Brutus.
People. C. Numicius Nepos.
Cn. Sicinius Nepos.
C. Claudius Canina.
M. Claudius Marcellinus.
Q. Cotius Achilles.
Q. Nævius Matho.
Q. Catius Nepos.
Sex. Tullius Nepos.
C. Flavius Fimbria.
P. Licinius Crassus.

Quæstors. Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.
D. Junius Brutus.
M. Pinarius Posca.
C. Ælius Tubero.
P. Ælius Ligus.
L. Acilius Glabrio.
L. Flaminius Nepos.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Cæcilius Denter.
Ser. Fabius Piclor.

601. Y. of R.

300. *Consulship*. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, the third time.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

He died in his office.

Prætor. MARCUS PORCIUS CATO. He died in his *Prætorship*.*Prætor in Farther Spain*. M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.*Curule Ædiles*. Q. Fabius Emilianus.

Q. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Furcius Nepos.

P. Jervinus Taler.

Tribunes of the People. M. Scatinus Aricinus.

M. Atilius Serranus.

Claudius Unimanus.

L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus.

M. Aurelius Scaurus.

L. Valerius Tappus.

Ti. Sempronius Blæius.

C. Petillius Spurius.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

M. Atilius Bulbus.

Quæstors. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Emilianus.

L. Hostilius Tubulus.

M. Licinius Crassus.

C. Lutatius Cætes.

C. Cæsius Saxula.

C. Atilius Serranus.

Sex. Axtisius Nepos.

Sex. Albinus Carrinus.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Flaminius Nepos.

L. Cæcilius Denter.

L. Mummius. Appian only affirms that he triumphed over the Lusitanians.

602. Y. of R.

301. *Consulship*. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor in Farther Spain. SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.*Curule Ædiles*. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

L. Aurelius Cotta.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Hostilius Mancinus.

C. Plautius Hærius.

Tribunes of the People. C. Lælius Nepos.

C. Nigidius Figulus.

L. Posthumius T. mpanus.

M. Fulcinius Nepos.

M. Pletorius Nepos.

M. Statilius Nepos.

C. Valerius Tappus.

M. Cincius Alimentus.

C. Malvius Nepos.

C. Ricilius Nepos.

Quæstors.

L. Fabius Philus.

D. Junius Silanus Manlianus.

C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Ser. Fulvius Flaccus.

Sex. Atilius Serranus.

L. Duvetius Nepos.

C. Petillius Lænas.

Q. Petillius Spurius.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. C. Aurelius Scaurus.*Pro-Quæstors*. C. Cluvius Saxula.

Sex. Albinus Carrinus.

Sex. Atilius Nepos.

L. Flaminius Nepos.

603. Y. of R.

302. *Consulship*. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

M. ACILIUS BALBUS.

Prætors.

C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

M. ALBINUS GEMINUS.

M. FUFIVS NEPOS.

C. TITIVS NEPOS.

L. AURUNCULEIVS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

Q. Servilius Cæpio.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Junius Brutus.

Q. Cælius Achilles.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Pompeius Nepos.

M. Furius Crassipes.

C. Aurunculeius Cotta.

L. Cæcilius Denter.

C. Trebonius Asper.

M. Titius Nepos.

M. Toranius Nepos.

T. Juventius Thalna.

M. Turpilius Nepos.

A. Trebius Gallus.

Quæstors.

L. Æmilius Paulus.

C. Terentius Varro.

C. Licinius Crassus.

Q. Calpurnius Piso.

P. Manilius Nepos.

P. Gallonius Nepos.

M. Atinius Labco.

Q. Sterti-

Q. Stertinius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in *C. Cæcilius Nepos.*
Macedon.

Pro-Quæstors. *C. Popilius Lænas.*
Sex. A. Cæcilius Nepos.
Q. Petillius Spurius.

The third Punic war.

604. Y. of R.

303. Consulship. *L. MARCIUS CENSORI-*
NUS.

M. MANLIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Far- *C. VETILIUS NEPOS.*
ther Spain.

Prætor in Ma- *P. JUVENTIUS THALNA.*
cedon.

Other Prætors. *Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ÆMI-*
LIANUS.

A. TERENTIUS VARRO.

Q. FABIUS PICTOR.

Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Curule Ædiles. *Ap. Claudius Pulcher.*
Ser. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Æ- *L. Cæcilius Metellus.*
diles. *Claudius Unimanus.*

Tribunes of the *L. Scribonius Libo.*
People. *L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.*

Cn. Calpurnius Piso.

A. Licinius Nerva.

Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.

Sp. Mæcilius Tullus.

M. Popilius Lænas.

L. Lollius Nepos.

Sp. Antius Restio.

C. Urbinius Nepos.

Quæstors. *M. Claudius Marcellus.*

Cn. Servilius Geminus.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus.

M. Æmilius Lepidus Percina.

P. Furius Philus.

C. Fulvius Flaccus.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

Pro-Prætor in *M. Aburicus Geminus.*
Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. *P. Manilius Nepos.*

Q. Stertinius Nepos.

Sex. A. Cæcilius Nepos.

P. Cæcilius Nepos.

Q. Petillius Spurius.

The Secular Games celebrated the fourth time.

605. Y. of R.

304. Consulship. *SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBI-*
NUS.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO
CÆSONIUS.

Prætors. *L. AURELIUS COTTA.*

Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.

C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.

Prætor on board *L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.*
the fleet order-
ed for Africa.

Prætor in Far- *C. PLAUTIUS HYPÆUS.*
ther Spain.

Prætor in Ma- *Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.*
cedon.

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.*
M. Pinarius Poſca.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Lælius Sapiens.*
diles. *C. Nigidius Figulus.*

Tribunes of the *D. Junius Brutus.*
People. *C. Ælius Tubero.*

L. Acilius Glabrio.

M. Pomponius Nepos.

Q. Apronius Nepos.

P. Licinius Crassus.

P. Ælius Ligus.

L. Volumnius Flamma.

C. Fundanius Fundulus.

M. Sextilius Nepos.

Quæstors. *Ser. Sulpicius Galba.*

L. Cornelius Lentulus.

P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus.

T. Didius Nepos.

P. Rupilius Nepos.

P. Popilius Lænas.

Ap. Claudius Centho.

M. Sergius Silus.

Pro-Consul in *M. Manilius Nepos.*
Africa.

Pro-Prætors in *Q. Fabius Pictor.*

Sicily and Hi- *Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.*
ther Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus.*

P. Manilius Nepos.

P. Furius Philus.

Q. Petillius Spurius.

P. Gallonius Nepos.

Q. Stertinius Nepos.

606. Y.

606. Y. of R.

305. *Consulship*. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO
AFRIC. ÆMILIANUS.
C. LIVIUS MAMILIANUS
DRUSUS.

Consuls. L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.
L. Marcius Censorinus.

The fifty-sixth Legion.

Prætors. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS
CALVUS.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Q. COTIUS ACHILLES.

*Prætor on board the fleet design-
ed for Africa.* M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Prætor in Farther Spain. CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS.

Curule-Ediles. Sp. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. TITIUS NEPOS.
M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.

Tribunes of the People. L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
L. LUTATIUS CERCO.

C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
C. GENUCIUS NEPOS.
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

Sex. ANTISTHIUS NEPOS.
M. LICINIUS CRASSIUS.

Ti. MEMMIUS NEPOS.
M. CÆSONIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors. C. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALLUS.
L. PLANTIUS HYPSEUS.
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
T. POSTHUMIUS TYMPANUS.
Ser. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.
M. TITINIUS CURVUS.
P. VIRGINIUS RUTILUS.

Pro-Consul in Africa. L. CAPURNIUS PISO CÆSONIUS.

Pro-Prætor on board the fleet in Africa. L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. Q. CECILIUS METELLUS.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. Q. NAVIUS MATTA.

Pro-Quæstors. Ser. SULPICIUS GALBA.

P. RUPILIUS NEPOS.

Ap. CLAUDIUS CENITHO.

M. SERGIUS SILUS.

P. MANILIUS NEPOS.

Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

607. Y. of R.

306. *Consulship*. CN. CORNELIUS LENTU-
LUS.

L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS.
He triumphs over the Achæ-
ans and Corinthians.

Prætor in His-ther Spain. C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.

Prætor in several other Places. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SER-
VILIANUS.
CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. VALERIUS TAPPUS.

SERVIUS FABIUS PICTOR.
L. POSTHUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Curule-Ediles. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
A. LICINIUS NERVA.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.
CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Tribunes of the People. Sex. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Sex. ALBIUS CARRINAS.
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

M. FURIUS LUSCUS.
Ser. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

D. JUNIUS MANLIANUS.
L. DURONIUS NEPOS.

A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
C. FURIUS ACULEO.

Quæstors. C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
L. RUPILIUS NEPOS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLE.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. CORNELIUS SALLA.
L. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
C. LICINIUS NERVA.

Pro-Consul in Africa. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICA-
nus ÆMILIANUS. He tri-
umphs over Africa, Carthage,
and Asdrubal.

Pro-Prætor on board the fleet in Africa. M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. Q. CECILIUS METELLUS MACEDONI-
cus. He triumphs over Ma-
cedon, and the false Philip.
Pro-

Pro-Prætor in *L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus.*
Sicily. *Ser. Sulpicius Galba.*

Pro-Quæstors. *L. Plautius Hypsæus.*
T. Posthumius Tympanus.
M. Sergius Silus.
Ap. Claudius Centho.
P. Virginus Rutilus.

Carthage and Corinth destroyed by the
Romans.

608. Y. of R.

307. Consulship. *Q. FABIVS MAX. ÆMILI-*
ANUS.
L. HOSTILIUS MAN-
CINUS.

Prætor in Hi- *C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.*
ther Spain.

Prætors in dif- *SP. MUMMIUS.*
ferent Coun- *M. TORANIUS.*
tries. *T. JUVENTIVS THALNA.*
M. PINARIUS POSCA.

Curule Ædiles. *M. Æmilius Lepidus Porcina.*
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio.

Plebeian Æ- *L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.*
diles. *D. Junius Brutus, afterwards*
Callaicus.

Tribunes of the *C. Licinius Crassus.*
People. *Q. Calpurnius Piso.*
P. Manilius.

Q. Petillius Spurius.
Q. Stertinius.

M. Servilius.
P. Gallonius.
C. Terentius Varro.

M. Atinius Labco.
L. Arennius.

Quæstors. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus.*
M. Perpenna.

C. Memmius Gallus.
M. Aquilius.

C. Livius Salinator.
P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.

Q. Antonius Balbus.
C. Persus Flaccus.

609. Y. of R.

308. Consulship. *SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.*
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors. *M. TITIVS.*
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

L. LOLLIVS.
SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTVS CATVS.

VOL. II.

Q. POMPEIVS.

M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.

Curule Ædiles. *Sex. Atilius Serranus.*

C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Plebeian Æ- *D. Junius Silanus Manlianus.*
diles. *L. Hostilius Tubulus.*

Tribunes of the *M. Claudius Marcellus.*
People. *C. Calpurnius Piso.*

C. Furius Brocchus.

L. Lætorius Plancianus.

C. Papirius Turdus.

C. Fulvius Flaccus.

C. Æbutius Carus.

C. Lucretius Trio.

D. Quinctius.

C. Servilius Casca.

Quæstors. *Cn. Octavius.*

L. Valerius Flaccus.

T. Annius Luscus.

A. Gabinus Nepos.

Sp. Lucretius Gallus.

T. Villius Tappulus Annalis.

L. Cornelius Sisenna.

Pro-Consul in *C. Lælius Sapiens.*
Hith. Spain.

Pro-Consul in *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmili-*
Farth. Spain. *anus.*

610. Y. of R.

309. Consulship. *AP. CLAUDIVS PVLCHER,*
who triumphs over the *Salassi.*

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLVS
MACEDONICVS.

Prætors. *M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDVS POR-*
CINA.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

M. TITIVS.

Q. POMPEIVS, etc.

Curule Ædiles. *P. Furius Philus.*
L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Æ- *Ser. Fulvius Flaccus.*
diles. *L. Dronius.*

Tribunes of the *Titus Didius.* The other nine
People. *are unknown.*

Quæstors. *C. Marcius Figulus.*

C. Antonius Nepos.

L. Aurelius Orestes, etc.

611. Y. of R.

310. Consulship. *L. CÆCILIUS METELLVS*
CALVVS.

Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
SERVILIANVS.

4 Q.

Censors.

Censors. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus
Æmilianus.
L. Mummius.

The fifty-seventh Lustrum.

Prætors. L. Hostilius Tubulus.
A. Licinius Nerva.

Tribunes of the People. C. Fannius Strabo. The other
nine are unknown.

Quæstors. L. Tremellius, Flaccus, Scæva, etc.
Pro-Consul in Q. Cæcilius Metellus Mace-
donicus.
Hith. Spain.

612. Y. of R.

311. *Consulship.* CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
Q. POMPEIUS.

Prætors. D. JUVENTIUS SILANUS
MANLIANUS.

L. Hostilius Tubulus, etc.

Tribunes of the People. P. Mucius Scævola. The other
nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Q. Cæcilius Macedonicus.
Hith. Spain.

Pro-Consul in Q. Fabius Maximus Servili-
anus.
Farth. Spain.

613. Y. of R.

312. *Consulship.* C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Prætors. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, etc.

Tribunes of the People. C. Memmius Gallus. The other
nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Q. Pompeius.
Hith. Spain.

614. Y. of R.

313. *Consulship.* CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Prætors. B. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HIS-
PALLUS.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Tribunes of the People. A. Gabinus.

Ti. Claudius Asellus. The other
eight are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Q. Servilius Cæpio.
Farth. Spain.

615. Y. of R.

314. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO
NASICA SERAPIO.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CAL-
LAICUS.

Prætors. T. Didius, etc.

Tribunes of the People. C. Curatius. The other nine
are unknown.

Pro-Consul in M. Popilius Lænas.
Hith. Spain.

616. Y. of R.

315. *Consulship.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS
PORCINA.

C. HOSTILIUS MAN-
CINUS; who abdicated.

Prætors. P. MANILIUS NEPOS.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. Cassius Longinus, who pub-
lished a law for voting by
tablets.

M. Antius Brisso. The other
eight are unknown.

Quæstors. T. Sempronius Gracchus, etc.

Pro-Consul in D. Junius Brutus Callaicus.
Farth. Spain.

617. Y. of R.

316. *Consulship.* P. FURIUS PHILUS.
SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Censors. App. Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Fulvius Nobilior.

The fifty-eighth Lustrum.

Prætors. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, etc.

Tribunes of the People. L. Furius Brocchus. The other
nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Hith. Spain.

Pro-Consul in D. Junius Brutus Callaicus.
Farth. Spain.

618. Y. of R.

317. *Consulship.* SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS;
who triumphs over the *Var-
dæi*, a people of *Illyricum*.

Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Prætors. C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

M. COSCONIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. P. Rupilius Rufus. The other
nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Sex. Atilius Serranus.
the Country of
the Veneti in
Italy.

619. Y. of R.

318. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO A-
FRICANUS ÆMILIANUS,
a second time.

C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors.

Prætors. C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.
L. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS, etc.
Tribunes of the People. C. FANNIUS STRABO. The other nine are unknown.
Pro-Consul in D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.
Farth. Spain.
620. Y. of R.
319. *Consulship.* P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO.
Prætors. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS RUFUS.
C. OCTAVIUS, etc.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Lucretius Flavius Vespillo.
Tribunes of the People. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who was killed in his office.
M. OCTAVIUS CÆCINA.
Q. MUMMIUS.
L. RUBRIUS VARRO.
P. APULIUS SATURNINUS.
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO, etc.
Pro-Consul in D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.
Farth. Spain.
Pro-Consuls in Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS.
Campania.
Cn. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
621. Y. of R.
320. *Consulship.* P. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
P. RUPILIUS.
Prætors. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, etc.
Tribunes of the People. Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS. The other nine are unknown.
Pro-Consul in D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS,
Farth. Spain. who triumphs over the *Lusitanians* and *Gallicians*.
Pro-Consul in P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRIC.
Hither Spain. Æmilianus, who takes *Numentia*, and obtains a triumph at *Rome*.
622. Y. of R.
321. *Consulship.* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS
MUCIANUS, the *Pontifex Maximus*.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS,
the *Flamen* of *Mars*.
Censors. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS.
Q. POMPEIUS.
The fifty-ninth *Lustrum*.
Tribunes of the People. C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in P. RUPILIUS, who received the
Sicily. honour of an *Ovation*, after
he had reduced the slaves in
Sicily.
623. Y. of R.
322. *Consulship.* C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. PERPENNA.
Tribunes of the People. C. ATINIUS LABEO. The other nine are unknown.
Pro-Consul in P. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCI-
Asia. nus.
624. Y. of R.
323. *Consulship.* C. SEMPRONIUS TUDI-
TANUS, who triumphs o-
ver the *Iapidians*, a people of
Istria.
M. AQUILLIUS.
Pro-Consul in M. Perpenna.
Asia.
625. Y. of R.
324. *Consulship.* CN. OCTAVIUS.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS RU-
FUS.
Pro-Consul in M. Aquillius.
Asia.
626. Y. of R.
325. *Consulship.* L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA.
Pro-Consul in M. Aquillius.
Asia.
627. Y. of R.
326. *Consulship.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES.
The secular games, for the fourth time.
Censors. Q. Fabius Max. Servilianus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus,
who both abdicated.
Prætor in Si- T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
cily.
Tribunes of the People. M. Junius Pennus. The other nine are unknown.
Quæstor in C. Sempronius Gracchus.
Sardinia.
Pro-Consul in M. Aquillius, who triumphs.
Asia.
628. Y. of R.
327. *Consulship.* M. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
Censors.

Consuls. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
L. Cassius Longinus.

The fifth Lustrum.

Prætors. C. FANNIUS STRABO.
L. OPIMIUS.
Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS, etc.

Pro-Consul in L. Aurelius Orestes.
Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstor C. Sempronius Gracchus.
in Sardinia.

629. Y. of R.

328. *Consulship.* C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.

Pro-Consul in M. Fulvius Flaccus.
Transalpine
Liguria.

Pro-Consul in L. Aurelius Orestes.
Sardinia.

Pro-Consul at L. Opimius.
Fragellæ.

Pro-Consul in Q. Fabius Maximus.
Hither Spain.

630. Y. of R.

329. *Consulship.* Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS
BALEARICVS.
T. QVINCTIVS FLAMINI-
NVS.

Prætors. SEX. JULIVS CÆSAR.
Q. MARCIVS REN.
Q. ÆLIVS TUBERO.
L. JULIVS CÆSAR, etc.

Tribunes of the C. Sempronius Gracchus.
People. Aufæius Nepos. The other eight
are unknown.

Pro-Consul in C. Sextius Calvinus.
Transalpine
Gaul.

Pro-Consul in L. Aurelius Orestes.
Sardinia.

Pro-Consul in Q. Fabius Maximus.
Hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in M. Fulvius Flaccus, who tri-
Transalpine umphs over the *Ligures, Vo-*
Gaul. *contii, Saluvii, etc.*

631. Y. of R.

330. *Consulship.* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNO-
BARBUS.

Tribunes of the C. FANNIUS STRABO.
People. C. Sempronius Gracchus.
M. Livius Drusus.

Q. Rubrius Varro.
M. Bæbius Tamphilus. The
other six are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
the Balearic
islands.

Pro-Consul in C. Sextius Calvinus, who tri-
Transalpine umphs over the *Ligures, Vo-*
Gaul. *contii, Saluvii, etc.*

Pro-Consul in L. Aurelius Orestes, who tri-
Sardinia. umphs over the *Sardinians.*

632. Y. of R.

331. *Consulship.* L. OPIMIUS.
Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS AL-
LOBROGICVS.

Prætor in Asia. QUINTIVS MUCIVS SCÆVOLA.

Tribunes of the M. Minucius Rufus.
People. L. Calpurnius Piso Bestia.

C. Licinius Nerva. The other
seven are unknown.

Quæstor in Asia. P. Rutilius Rufus.

Pro-Consul in Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Transalpine
Gaul.

Pro-Consul in Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balea-
the Balearic ricus.
islands.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.





150/150

THE
ROMAN
HISTORY,

FROM THE BUILDING OF ROME
TO THE RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND OTHER PLATES.

VOL. III.

By N. HOOKE, Esq;

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M.DCC.LXX.

T H E

Roman History.

S E V E N T H B O O K.

From the death of the younger GRACCHUS, in the year of Rome 632, when, *real Liberty expiring*, the *Form* only of the old Constitution remained, to the Dictatorship of SYLLA, in 671, who changed the very *Form* of that Constitution.

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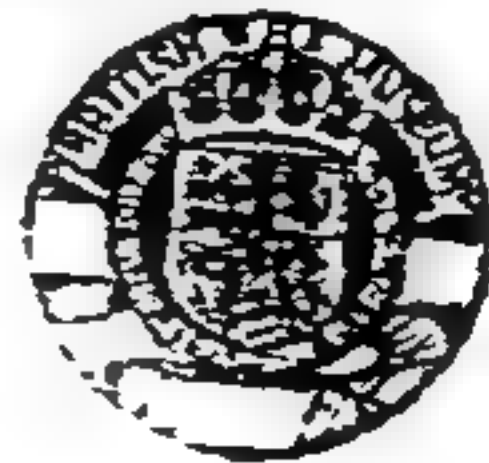
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I N T R O D U C T I O N.

WHEN, in the year of *Rome* 386, the contest between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, on occasion of the new laws preferred by the Tribune *Licinius*, was come to such a degree of heat, as to threaten a sudden flame of civil war; the great CAMILLUS, being then Dictator, turned himself towards the Capitol, and having prayed the Gods to put an end to the commotion, made a vow to build a temple to CONCORD, if union might be restored among his fellow-citizens. To his devotion he added his best endeavours to re-establish tranquillity, not by a bloody exercise of his dictatorial power, but by exhorting the furious disputants to mutual concessions. His persuasions proved effectual: the *Patricians* suffered the new laws in favour of the *Plebeians* to take place; the *Plebeians* consented to the creation of a new magistracy [the *Prætorship*] in favour of the *Patricians*; and, by this compromise, an end was put to the fierce, and dangerous conflict: and what, though already mentioned, is well worthy to be repeated, The domestic

See Vol. I
B. iii. c. 4.

peace,

VOL. III.

B

peace, thus restored, had no considerable interruption^a for the space of 230 years, till those Licinian *laws of freedom and equality*, the observance of which had so long maintained the happy *coalition*, were outrageously violated by the *Nobles*. To put a stop to this abuse, which, if not

^a In the year 465 there was a *secession* of the debtors and bankrupts to mount *Janiculum*; but, as Mr. *Moyle* observes (Vol. I. p. 116.) "this is omitted by several historians in the catalogue of the *Roman* seditions;" and "all authors agree that it was composed without bloodshed by *Hortensius* the Dictator, and that it ended in the revival of an excellent but antiquated law." He adds, "From this tumult to the sedition of *Gracchus*, in the 620th year of the city, *Rome* enjoyed a profound quiet and prosperity, not interrupted by the least domestic dissensions; an example of lasting tranquillity that can be paralleled in no monarchy whatsoever. This interim of time was the most happy and most glorious period of the *Roman* Commonwealth, &c." *Ibid.* ch. v.

^b During the *Regal State*, and for many years after the establishment of the *Commonwealth*, none but the *Patricians*, that is, none but the Senators and their descendants, were *NOBLE*. Hence in many places of *Livy*, and other authors, we find *nobilitas* used for the *Patrician* order, and so opposed to *plebs*. But in aftertimes, when the *Plebeians* obtained access to the *Curule* magistracies, they (without ceasing to be *Plebeian*) procured, by those honours, the title of *NOBLE*, and left it to their posterity: [Vid. *Sigon. de Jur. Civ. Rom.* lib. ii. c. xx.] And these *Plebeian Nobles* were, generally speaking, united with the *Patricians* in political views and measures.

"The common division of the people into *nobiles*, *novi*, & *ignobiles*, was taken from the right of using pictures or statues: an honour only allowed to such whose ancestors or themselves had bore some *curule* office, that is, had been *Curule Aedile*, *Censor*, *Prætor*, or *Consul*. He that had the pictures or statues of his ancestors, was termed *Nobilis*; he that had only his own, *Novus*; he that had neither, *Ignobilis*. So that *jus imaginis* was much the same thing among them as the right of bearing a coat of arms among us: and their *Nobilitas* *Honor* is equivalent to our upstart gentleman."

What Mr. *Kennet*, in the same chapter, writes concerning another division of the *Romans*, the times we are entering upon make very proper to be here transcribed.

"When we find the *Optimates* and the *Populares* opposed in authors, it would be unreasonable to make the same distinction betwixt these parties, as *Sigonius* and others lay down, *That the POPULARES were those who endeavoured by their words and actions to ingratiate themselves with the multitude; and the OPTIMATES those who so behaved themselves in all affairs as to make their conduct approved by every good man*. This explication agrees much better with the sound of the words, than with the sense of the things. For at this rate the *Optimates* and the *Populares* will be only other terms for the *virtuous* and the *vicious*; and it would be equally hard in such large divisions of men, to acknowledge one side to have been wholly *HONEST*, and to affirm the other to have been entirely *wicked*. I know that this opinion is built on the authority of *Cicero*; [*Duo genera semper in hac civitate fuerunt—ex quibus alteri se populares, alteri optimates et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea, quæ faciebant, quæque dicebant, jucunda multitudini esse volebant, populares; qui autem ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarent, optimates habebantur*. *Cic. pro Sext. 45.*] but if we look on him, not only as a prejudiced person, but as an orator too, we shall not wonder, that in distinguishing the two parties he gave so infamous a mark to the enemies side, and so honourable a one to his own. Otherwise the murderers of *Cæsar* (who were the *Optimates*) must pass for men of the highest probity; and the followers of *Augustus* (who were of the opposite faction) must seem in general a pack of profligate knaves. It would therefore be a much more moderate judgment, to found the difference rather on *Policy* than on *Morality*, rather on the principles of Government, than of Religion and private Duty."

Kenn.
Art.

Ibid.
Part II.
Book II.
c. 1.



checked,

checked, must totally ruin the free constitution of *Rome*, was the enterprize of *Tiberius Gracchus*, for which he was murdered by a band of Rufian-Senators, headed by *Scipio Nasica*, who had neither magistracy, nor even the warrant of a special commission from the Senate; though the greater part of its members approved the attempt, and assisted him in the execution. But when *Caius Gracchus* was to be taken off, for having renewed his brother's enterprize, the nobles, who remembered the disadvantages they brought themselves under, by acts of violence without the shew of authority, and who had now a Consul fit for their purpose, and wholly at their devotion, armed him with a despotic power to execute the dictates of their rage. And when *Opimius*, by massacres and by executions, without previous forms of process, had cut off the most active partisans of the popular cause, he had the piety (in this, without question, an emulator of the devout CAMILLUS) to erect, in memory of his exploit, a temple to CONCORD, as if by the soft arts of persuasion, and by mutual concessions, the civil commotion had been quieted. The people could not behold this monument of tyrannical outrage without indignation. Under the inscription, on the frontispiece of the temple, was fixed up in the night, by an unknown hand, a line to this effect:

See Vol. II.
B. II. c. 7.

Plut.

SENSELESS FURY BUILDS A TEMPLE TO CONCORD.

And, indeed, what could be more extravagant than to hope, that domestic peace and union would be the effect of such measures; or that any measures could be effectual to those ends, so long as the source of the disunion remained?

A late celebrated writer considers the government of *Rome* as then brought to its *perfect* state, when its honours were no longer confined to particular families [the *Patrician*], but proposed equally and indifferently to every citizen; who by his virtue and services, either in war or in peace, could recommend himself to the notice and favor of his countrymen; and therefore he commends the *Tribunes of the Commons* (as I have elsewhere observed) for their labouring this point, and says, they were certainly in the right, and acted like true patriots." Nevertheless the same writer, in the very same discourse, presently adds, "The Tribunes however would not stop here; nor were content with securing the rights of the Commons without destroying those of the Senate; and as oft as they were disappointed in their private views, and obstructed in the course of their ambition, used to recur always to the populace; whom they could easily inflame to what degree they thought fit, by the proposal of *factious* laws for dividing the public lands to the poorer Citizens; or by the free distribution of corn; or the abolition of all debts;

Dr. MIDD.
Pref. to
L. of Cic.
p. 37.

See Vol. I.
3d Edit.
P. 471, and
Hooke's
Observ. on
Rom. Sen.
p. 193.

* VECORDIAE. OPVS. AEDEM. FACIT. CONCORDIAE.

“ which are all contrary to the quiet, and discipline, and public faith of
 “ societies. This abuse of the tribunician power was carried to its greatest
 “ height by the *two Gracchi*, who left nothing unattempted, that could
 “ mortify the Senate, or gratify the People; till by their *Agrarian Laws*,
 “ and other *seditious* acts, which were greedily received by the city, they
 “ had in great measure overturned that *Æquilibrium* of power in the Re-
 “ public, on which its peace and prosperity depended.”

See V. I. Surely it must appear somewhat strange, that this admired author
 should applaud the *Tribunes*, as *true Patriots*, for effecting that which it
 was impossible for them to effect by any other measures than those which
 he condemns as *factious* and *seditious*. Should it be granted, that what he
 says of *dividing the public lands*, *distribution of corn*, and *abolition of debts*,
 is, in the general, true, yet certainly it is not true with regard to the parti-
 cular case of the *Roman Republic*. In vain would *Licinius* (in 386) have
 obtained the law which capacitated PLEBEIANS for the highest offices in
 the state, had the *Patricians* been still permitted to engross to themselves
 the *lands* and possessions belonging to it*. Nor, to make that *law* effec-
 tual, and thereby establish an *Æquilibrium* of power in the Republic,
 would his *Agrarian Law* have been sufficient, without the *Abolition of the*
 S. B. III. *Debts*; those debts retaining the debtors in a real servitude to the *Patrician*
 creditors, the noble usurers. (There was experience of this during many
 years after the *Plebeians* were, by a law enacted in 308, made capable of
 the military Tribuneship.) Whatever portion, in the distribution of the
 public lands, might have fallen to any poor indebted commoner, his cre-
 ditor would soon have got it from him in payment either of the principal
 sum, or of exorbitant interest. And so long as the nobles were possessors

See
 Hooker's
 Observ. on
 Rom. Sen.
 p. 65.

* Dr. *Middleton*, in judging of these mat-
 ters, seems to have paid too blind a defe-
 rence to the authority of *Cicero*. The inge-
 nious translator of some of *Cicero's* orations
 into *English*, not dazzled by the splendor of
 his author's amazing talents, writes thus, in
 the preface to his third volume, p. 7. “ I am
 “ sorry to say it, but it appears that our
 “ author, though an excellent *Senator*, was
 “ but an indifferent *Patriot*; and, though
 “ always an advocate for the *Government*, he
 “ seems often to have lost sight of the *Cen-*
 “ *sitation*.—

“ As our author, from his first entering
 “ upon public life, was a party in all the
 “ transactions of his own times, it is unjust
 “ to form a decisive notion of public mea-
 “ sures, persons, or characters, from his wri-
 “ tings.—If I find that the people of *Rome*,
 “ from the confession of our author, from the
 “ concurring testimonies of all writers, and

“ from the nature of their constitution, had
 “ not only a *natural* but a *positive* right to
 “ the benefit of *Agrarian Laws*, I am war-
 “ ranted by historical credibility to look up-
 “ on this as an indisputable fact. Therefore
 “ when I see them struggling for the enjoy-
 “ ment of those privileges, I am bound in
 “ common justice to think them *in the right*,
 “ and those who oppose them *in the wrong*.
 “ —When I see a justifiable measure pur-
 “ sued, and all the reason that I know for
 “ opposing that measure, must be gathered
 “ from the representations of the other party,
 “ with whom there is *no difference as to facts*,
 “ common sense obliges me to be very cau-
 “ tious, and distrustful in believing the re-
 “ presentations of that party, and look upon
 “ them as colourings designed to *heighten the*
 “ *beauty* of his own features, and to give a
 “ stronger relief to the deformity of his anta-
 “ gonist.”

of

of all the lands, so long they could not but be absolute Lords of the State.

“ Land (says a very ingenious writer) is the true center of power ; and the
 “ balance of dominion changes with the balance of property.—This is, an
 “ eternal truth, and confirmed by the experience of all ages and govern-
 “ ments; and so fully demonstrated by the great *Harrington*, in his *OCEANA*,
 “ that it is as difficult to find out new arguments for it, as to resist the co-
 “ gency of the old.” The nobles of *Rome*, in the time of *Tiberius Grac-
 chus*, seem to have been fully convinced of this ; when, even upon the
 terms of receiving, in money, the value of the lands they had usurped,
 they could not with any patience listen to the proposal of transferring them
 to the poor *Plcbeians*.

See
 Moyle's
 Works,
 Vol. I.
 p. 72.
 See Rom.
 Hist. Vol.
 II. B. vi.
 c. 7.

The *Æquilibrium*, of which the admired writer speaks, had been de-
 stroyed some years before either of the *Gracchi* was in the office of Tri-
 bune : their attempt was to re-establish equality and liberty. And as to
 the charge against them, that they *were not content with securing the rights
 of the Commons, without destroying those of the Senate*, it may be answered,
 that the proper authority of the Senate, that is, their influence in the
 direction of those affairs, which concerned the *whole* State, was not the
 thing in question, in the times of the *Gracchi* : nor does it appear that they
 had any view or desire to destroy it. *Caius* enlarged the prerogative of the
 Senate in one instance ; and, while times continued *regular*, that is, while
 things stood upon a foot of equality, the Senate's authority, its influence,
 its weight in the councils, and transactions of the State, was never dimi-
 nished. The people did always suffer themselves to be governed by the
 sentiments of the Conscrip Fathers, when those sentiments did not tend
 to the destruction of equality : but the Fathers, intoxicated and blinded
 by their covetousness and ambition, neither would nor could see their
 own interest, as a Senate, in the reformatiions proposed by the *Gracchi* ;
 they chose rather to have power than authority, rather to be feared than
 revered. And therefore it would seem that all the mischiefs which,
 after the murder of those two excellent patriots, happened to the Repub-
 lic, from civil dissensions, ought to be principally imputed to the Senate's
 inexcusable folly of returning to its old pursuit of constitutional wealth
 and sway.

Ib. c. 10.
 See
 Hook's
 Observ. on
 Rom. Sen.
 p. 201.

If it should be said, that, when *Rome* had attained to that prodigious
 height of power and opulence, to which she was raised by the conquest of
Macedon and *Carthage*, the SCHEME of *confining the estates of the great men
 within the limits prescribed by the Licinian Law, or within any fixed limits,
 and of binding the Roman Freemen of inferior rank from alienating their
 Lands*, was impracticable ; the proper answer seems to be, That, if so,
 then it was impracticable to preserve the constitution any longer : For no-
 thing can be more absurd than to imagine *Liberty* and *Equality*, an *Æqui-
 librium* of power, to endure in a State, where the majority of those, who
 make the laws, and determine the most important affairs of the Public,

have:

have no Land^a, no stable Property; and who, for a subsistence, depend chiefly on what they can get by selling their votes to the rich and the ambitious. And from these premisses this inference will, I think, be unavoidable, That all the severe censures, which have been passed upon those persons, who, after the murder of the GRACCHI, aimed at *Oligarchy* or *Monarchy*, all the invectives against JULIUS CÆSAR, as *the Invader and Destroyer of the liberties of his country*, are idle talk, empty, unmeaning declamation.

^a The ingenious writer, above quoted, imagines (perhaps without sufficient ground) that *Polybius* was unacquainted with the true causes of the Revolutions of the *Roman* Government. I shall transcribe, from the writer's Essay, some passages that are invidious to his charge against the *Greek* Historian, and are pertinent to our present subject.

Macle's
Works,
Vol. I.
p. 63.
[Varr. de
Re Rom.
l. 1. c. 10.]

" *Romulus* — to reward the good affections of his new subjects, made an equal distribution among the people, of the territories belonging to *Rome*, except of the Crown and Church Lands: and, as he grew greater, divided all the Conquered Lands among the multitude (a custom followed by most of the succeeding Kings.) This donation was a false step, never to be reconciled to the true interest of sovereign power, from that eternal principle, that *equality of possession makes equality of power*: and whenever the balance of property sways to the People, the Monarchy naturally resolves into a popular government. —

P. 63, 64.

—" The generous ambition of extending their Empire, made the Kings of *Rome* sacrifice the rights of the Monarchy to the liberties of the People; for without Freedom and Property they found it impossible to compose a brave or a numerous militia: both which are the genuine roots of a Commonwealth; for a People that have property in possession, and swords in their hands, rarely submit to the dominion of one."

— P. 71. " The [*Roman*] Monarchy resolved into an Aristocracy; and that into a Democracy; and that too relapsed into a Monarchy, as the balance of lands varied from one order to another.

" These periods and revolutions of Empires are the natural transmutations of dominion, from one form of government to another; and make the common circle in the generation and corruption of all States. The succession of these changes *POLYBIUS* knew from experience, but not from their true natural causes: for he plainly derives these alterations from moral reasons; such as vices and corruptions, the oppression and tyranny of their Governors, which made the People impatient of the yoke, and fond of new forms; and not from the change of the only true ground and foundation of power, Property."

The Reader, if he considers those extracts, from *Polybius's* sixth book, which are in p. 118—123 of the *Observations on the Roman Senate*, will, perhaps, judge, that he imputes the destruction of Liberty, and of the *Æquilibrium* of Power, in the *Roman* State, to covetousness and ambition, no otherwise than as the unequal and undue distribution of property among the members of it, in the latter times of the republic, was owing to the prevalency of those vices.

C H A P. I.

A brief relation of the domestic and foreign Transactions of the *Romans*, from the death of *Caius Gracchus*, in the year 632, to the beginning of the *Jugurthine war* in 642.

The Consuls for the year 633 were *P. Manilius* and *C. Papirius Carbo*.

THAT *Papirius Carbo*, whom we have seen a Commissioner for the execution of the *Agrarian Law*, and, professedly, a fast friend of *Caius Gracchus*, should be immediate successor, in the Consulship, to *Opimius*, the principal actor in the murder of *Gracchus*, will appear very strange, if we do not call to mind, that it was customary to elect the Consuls many months before the time appointed for their entrance on the office. *Carbo* had unquestionably been designed to the Consulship, while *Gracchus's* friends were the prevailing party : otherwise, it would be very hard to account for his being, at this time, in that high station^a. For, that the late massacres, perpetrated by the Nobles, had struck an extreme terror into the minds of their adversaries, there needs no stronger proof than the part which *Carbo* acted, presently after his taking possession of the consular fasces. When *Opimius* was, by one of the Tribunes, brought into judgment before the people, for having put *Roman* citizens to death without previous trial and condemnation, *Carbo* undertook his defence. Indeed the commencing this prosecution, while the accused and his faction were^b triumphant, seems to indicate that it was a mere farce.

Y.R. 633.
Bel. Chr.
119.
332d Conf.

^a Though the time of the *Comitia* for other matters was undetermined ; yet the Magistrates, after the year of the City 601, when they began to enter on their place on the kalends of *January*, were constantly designed about the end of *July*, or the beginning of *August*. *Kenn. Pt. II. B. III. ch. xvi.*

^b *Popillius*, formerly condemned to banishment for the like violent and illegal proceedings against the friends of *Tiberius Gracchus*, had just been recalled at the motion of *L. Calpurnius Bestia*, one of the Tribunes. *Cic. in Brut.*

Cicero boasts much of this, That, not at the motion of *Opimius*, nor by a decree of the Senate, but at the request of a Tribune, *Popillius* was restored, HIS ENEMIES BEING SLAIN. *Nunquam de P. Popillio L. Opimius fortissimus consul---senatum aut populum est co-bortatus. Post Red. ad Quir. iv.*

Nil unquam senatus de P. Popillio decrevit : nunquam in hoc ordine Q. Metelli mentio facta est : Tribunitiis sunt illi rogationibus, INTER-FECTIS INIMICIS, restituti. Post Red. in Sen. 15.

And .

force, where the *Tribune* acted in concert with the *Nobles*, who knew before-hand what *Carbo*, in his fright, would do, and were sure of a judgment in favour of *Opimius*. Be that as it will, *Carbo* employed all his eloquence (and he was a great orator) to defend the murderer of his friend *Caius Gracchus*. Nor did he content himself with urging, in behalf of his client, the decree of the Senate under which he had acted; but maintained that the action itself was just, and that the killing *Gracchus* was for the public good¹. His rhetoric being assisted by the influence of his consular authority, and by the whole weight of the Senate, who were made parties in the cause, it is no great wonder if, at this juncture, *Opimius* was acquitted. The *Comitia*, likewise, at the motion of *Octavius*, one of the *Tribunes*, abrogated the law of *Caius Gracchus* in relation to the distribution of corn, and past another where the largess was less; and, according to *Cicero*, necessary for the people.

But *Carbo*, who had thus basely deserted one party, was himself in the following Consulship of *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, deserted by both parties, and suffered to fall a victim to the early glory of the celebrated *Lucius Crassus*, an orator, at that time but one and twenty years of age: who picked out this hated offender, as a proper subject whereon to make the first trial of his talent for accusing at the bar². *Crassus*, being naturally bashful, and having to do with a man of eminent abilities, no sooner began to speak, but his heart failed him, he turned pale, trembled, and was unable to proceed. The *Prætor*, *Fabius Eburnus*, who presided in the court, perceiving his distress, adjourned the trial to the next day.

The matter of the charge is no where mentioned; but from passages which *Cicero* has preserved of *Crassus's* oration, it appears, that the prosecution was set on foot by *Carbo's* new friends. “*Carbo*, (says *Crassus*) “ though you defended *Opimius*, the judges will not therefore look upon “ you as a good citizen; for that you then dissembled, and in your defence of *Opimius* had something else in view, is manifest: because you “ have often in public assemblies deplored the death of *Tiberius Gracchus*; “ were an accomplice in the murder of *Publius Scipio*; in your *Tribune-*

And again, *Ille qui expulsi sunt inquit, sed tamen legibus et B. INIMICIS INTERFECTIS, ergo et tunc tunc in interitum in laqueum sunt.* Pro Dom. 23.

¹ *Carbo. Opimianum defendebat apud populum. C. Carbo censo in his de C. Gracchi non legibus, sed in iure pro salute patriæ factum defendebat.* Cic. de Crat. l. iii. c. 27.

² *Tit. Liv. l. vi. cap. 8.* report, that one of *Carbo's* slaves, having stolen from him a little money, which were many papers that would

have served to convict him, brought it to *Crassus*, who generously sent back the slave in chains to his master, together with the box unopened; and the same author, l. iii. c. 7. says, that *Carbo* was condemned to banishment, but in this disagrees with *Cicero*; and though the former story has in itself nothing improbable, yet as *Cicero* never mentioned it in any of his panegyrics on *Crassus*, the truth of it may very well be doubted.

“ ship proposed *that* law [the law^a empowering the People to re-elect
 “ as often as they pleased the same men to be their Tribunes] and always
 “ dissented from the *honest*.”

Y. R. 634.
 Bef. Chr.
 118.
 333d Conf.

Cicero tells us^b, that *Carbo's* coming over to the *honest* not being sufficient to engage the *honest* to protect him, he, to avoid an ignominious sentence^c, put an end to his own life, and (as the report went) by poisoning himself^d with Cantharides.

It was in this Consulship that the renowned CAIUS MARIUS first became a Statesman, being now one of the^e Tribunes of the People; a Hero who had no Statutes nor Pictures of his Ancestors to shew, had no eloquence, no *Greek*; but whom, nevertheless, we shall hereafter see a match for the learned, and illustrious NOBLES, in their own way of carrying on business; of talents not inferior to theirs for terminating civil disputes and promoting CONCORD. At the time of his election to the Tribuneship, he was known only for a brave soldier, and skilful officer, of singular assiduity and alacrity in service, unblemished life, strict probity, exemplary sobriety, and a peculiar patience of hardships and discipline. By these qualities, especially the last, he had, during the *Numantine* war, recommended himself to the esteem and favour of *Scipio Æmilianus*, whose only difficulty in that war was to banish luxury from his camp, and restore the ancient discipline among his troops. *Scipio*, from his observation of the martial talents of *Marius*, who was then but twenty-three years of age, gave a kind of prophetic testimony of his future glory: for, being asked in flattery, by some of his officers, *where, in case of any accident to himself, the Republic would find a general?* he, gently clapping *Marius* on the shoulder, answered, *Perhaps, here*: words, which, as *Plutarch* reports, were heard by *Marius* as oracular, and which animated him with the hope of being one day able to make a figure in his country. Yet he laboured under great disadvantages with regard to this ambition, by reason of his obscure birth, and illiberal education. Born at *Arpinum*^{*}, or in a village near it, he had there passed all his early youth with his Parents, who

Plut. in
 Mar.

* A City
 anciently
 of the Sam-
 nites, now,
 in the
 Kingdom
 of Naples.

^a The law did not pass in the Tribuneship of *Carbo*. See Vol. II. p. 542.

^b De leg. l. iii. c. xvi. Cui ne reditus quidem ab bonos salutem a bonis potuit asferre.

^c Cic. in Brut. cap. xxvii. speaking of T. Gracchus and *Carbo*: *sed eorum alter propter turbulentissimum tribunatum ab ipsâ Republicâ interfectus est; alter propter perpetuam in populari ratione levitatem morte voluntaria se a severitate judicium vindicavit.*

N. B. By this it would seem that *Carbo* was prosecuted for the part he had acted in the dispute, before his Consulship; and so *Pighius* conjectures that the inquisition was

continued concerning the sedition, and the accused tried by the Prætors.

^d Cic. Ep. Fam. l. ix. ep. 21. Caius [Papirius Carbo] accusante L. Crasso, cantharidas sumpsisse dicitur.

^e *Pighius* conjectures he was Quæstor in 629, and his Province *Sicily*; though it does not evidently appear that he was ever Quæstor, since nothing certain can be built upon this passage of *Valerius Maximus*, which is the only foundation of his supposed Quæstorship: *Arpini honoribus judicatus inferior, quæsturam Romæ petere ausus est: patientia deinde repulsarum, irrupit magis in curiam quam venit.* Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. ix.

C

were

Y.R. 634 were poor, and earned their bread by the labour of their hands: As *Ennius* soon* as he was able to bear arms, he had entered himself a soldier^a, and, from that time, had lived, almost wholly, in camps and the toils of war; and to use the phrase which *Plutarch* has borrowed from *Plato*) had never sacrificed to the *Muses* or the *Graces*: However, in the military road to Honour, he took such effectual care to distinguish himself, that, when [after serving the term, by law required, for a qualification] he put in for the post of *Tribune in a Legion*, he had the vote of every Tribe: For though few of the Citizens knew his face, none of them were strangers to his Name and Character.

That Intrepidity, Resolution, Steadiness, would be the stile of his behaviour in *Civil* offices, no less than in *Military*, he gave sufficient ground to expect, presently after his commencing *Tribune of the Commons*, which (as above mentioned) was in this year 634. Having proposed to the People a law more effectually to prevent candidates for offices from tampering with the voters, the Senate (who did not like the measure) made a decree that the law in question should not be put to the vote, and they sent for *Marius* to give an account of his conduct in this matter. *Marius* appeared indeed, but not as to answer for his conduct. Without any ceremony, he let the Consul know that he would send him to prison, if the decree were not instantly revoked. *Cotta*, turning to *Metellus*, asked his opinion, who signifying his approbation of the decree, *Marius* called in one of his serjeants, and bade him lead *Metellus* to prison. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes; but not one of them interposed, and the Senate were obliged to revoke their decree. Then *Marius* hastened to the *Comitia*, and got his law past.

This action of their new Tribune made the People imagine they had found a champion who would fight all their battles against the Senate, with the like inflexible resolution: He very soon undeceived them: for, with a steadiness equal to that, with which he had opposed the Senate's decree, he opposed a motion of one of his Collegues, for a free distribution of

* Is natus, et omnem pueritiam Arpinialtus, ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit, Stigendius facundis, non Græca facundia neque urbanis munditiis, sese exercuit; ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem, &c.

Plutarch reports, that *Marius* made his first campaign under *Scipio Æmilianus*, at the siege of *Numantia*, and was then about 18 years old. But neither of these can be true if, as *Plutarch* himself repeatedly tells us, *Marius* died at the age of 70. For it is certain that the death of *Marius* happened in the year of Rome 667; consequently he was born in 597, and was twenty-three, in the

year 620, when *Scipio* besieged *Numantia*. And as 17 was the age when the *Romans* were reckoned capable of bearing arms, and, according to both *Sallust* and *Plutarch*, *Marius* became a soldier about that age, we must suppose that he had served five or six years before he came under *Scipio's* command, who had no military employment from the year 606 to 619. It is also reasonable to think, that *Marius*, when *Scipio* made him the compliment above-mentioned (in the Text) was an officer, and had more experience in war than is to be got by serving one year, or a year and a half. Dr. Middleton, nevertheless, in Vol. I. p. 24. of his *Life of Cicero*, has adopted *Plutarch's* mistake.

A MAP OF PART OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE.



corn to the citizens, and defeated the design: so that now, says *Plutarch*, he gained the esteem of both parties, being looked upon as a man who would gratify neither at the expence of what he thought the public good. He seems however to have lost a great part of his credit, when, not long after, standing successively for the Curule Ædileship, and the Plebeian, both in one and the same day (the first instance of the kind, he could carry neither; and when, three years after his Tribuneship, though chosen Prætor, he was the last named, and even the validity of his election disputed, as if procured by illegal methods. It seems a slave of one *Cassius Sabaco*, a particular friend of *Marius*, had been seen in the voting-place among the citizens, who were giving their suffrages. *Sabaco*, upon his examination, could not deny the fact, but pretended, that, being extremely thirsty, he had called for some water, and that his servant, though he had indeed brought it, did not stay a moment*. Among those, whom the accusers of *Marius* desired might be examined, was his patron *Caius Herennius*, who pleading that the law exempted patrons from giving testimony against their clients, the Judges would have admitted the excuse; but *Marius* himself opposed it: he said, that, from the time any man became a Magistrate, he was nobody's client; which, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was not true but of those who obtained the Curule Magistracies. It does not appear what evidence *Herennius* gave, or whether he gave any; not what foundation there was for the charge; but in the end, the Judges being equally divided in opinion, *Marius* stood confirmed in his office. We are not told where his jurisdiction was. The next year he went *Proprætor* into further Spain, where he had some success against the *Lusitanians*, and settled a Colony of *Celtiberians* at *Colenda*, in reward for their having assisted him in his expedition. From this time we hear no more of him as acting any part in public life, till the *Jugurthine* war, a memorable period of the Roman story, on account both of the surprising events of the war itself, and of the civil commotions it gave birth to at Rome. But before we enter on the war with *Jugurtha*, it will be proper to see what had been doing in the military way, while the affair of *Caius Gracchus* was depending, and what was afterwards done during the ten years between his murder and that war.

N. R. 1. 1.
B. 1. 1.
110.
333d C.

The conquests of the Romans in Transalpine Gaul.

OF all the Nations beyond the Alps, the *Salyi*, says *Florus*, were the first who felt the Roman arms. The city of *Massilia**, ever faithful and friendly to Rome, had complained of the hostile incursion of those her

Or Sallu-
vii. See
Vol. II. p.
540.
* Mar-
seilles.

* *Sabaco* for this affair, was the next year, 638, expelled the Senate by the Censors *Mellus Dalmaticus*, and *Domitius Ænobarbus*, (two very wrong-headed men, if we judge of them by their behaviour when Generals.) They said that *Sabaco* deserved to be stigmatized, whether he spoke true or false: if

false, for his perjury; if true, for his intemperance. They also degraded 32 of the Senators, among whom was *C. Licinius Geta*, a man of consular dignity, and who was himself afterwards chosen Censor. *Liv. Epit. lib. lxii. Cic. in Cluent. Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. ix.*

C 2

neighbours.

See Vol.
II. p. 554.

neighbours. It has been already mentioned, that in the years 628 *Fulvius Flaccus*^a, then Consul, began the war, and that it was continued by one of the succeeding Consuls, *Sextius Calcinus*, who vanquished the enemy in a pitched battle, made a complete conquest of their country, and, the next year, when Proconsul, having built the city of *Aix*, planted there a *Roman Colony*, the first that ever past into *Transalpine Gaul*.

Aurunois
in Bur-
gundy.

Auvergne.

Y. R. 632.
Bef. Chr.
120.

After this success there could not be wanting a pretext to make further acquisitions. It was alledged, that the *Allobroges* (who inhabited a tract of country that lies between the *Rhone* and the *Alps*, from the *Isere* to the lake of *Geneva*, and whose capital was *Vienne*) had granted protection to *Teutomalius*, king of the *Sabji*, when dispossessed of his kingdom. This was sufficient. But it was further alledged, that they had ravaged the lands of the *Ædui*, at that time in alliance with the Republic: for the *Romans* seldom failed to have allies at the back of whatever people they purposed to subdue. It is said however, that the *Ædui* had of their own motion sought the friendship of the *Romans*, and were proud to be by them called Brethren. Over these *Allobroges*, assisted by the forces of *Bituitus*, king of the *Arveni*, the Consul *Domitius*^b, in 631 obtained, by means chiefly of his elephants, a victory, in which he slew 20000 of the enemy, and took 3000 prisoners. The vanquished brought a new army into the field. Their whole force is said to have amounted to 200,000 men; yet *Fabius* (successor of *Domitius*) with only 30000 gave them an intire overthrow upon the banks of the *Rhone*; in which river, the bridge breaking under them in their flight, most of them were drowned. *Domitius*, who was still in the Province, hearing that *Bituitus*, totally discouraged by his second defeat, was disposed to ask peace of the Consul, and submit, invited him to an amicable conference; and, when the King came, seized on his person, and sent him prisoner to *Rome*, the Proconsul being angry that he chose rather to yield to the Consul than to him. The Senate, says *Valerius Maximus*, could not approve the deed, yet would not release the King, lest he should renew the war; but having got his son into their hands, they gave him a *Roman* education, and then sent him home^c.

Fabius,

^a The same *Fulvius* who was afterwards slain with *Caius Gracchus*.

^b Collegue of that *Fannius*, who, being elected Consul on the recommendation of *C. Gracchus*, employed his consular power in opposing him.

^c This year *Q. Mucius Scaevola*, called the *Æger*, to distinguish him from *Q. Mucius Scaevola*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, went Prætor into *Asia*, where he reformed the abuses of the Publicans, and regulated the affairs of the province with so much justice and integrity, that the *Asiatics* instituted a festival in

honour of him, and called it *Mucia*, from his name. *P. Rutilius Rufus*, one of the most worthy men in *Rome*, assisted him in quality of Quæstor. *Cic. de Fin.* lib. i. cap. iii. *Ascon. Pæd. in Divinat.* § 2 *Verr. Val. Max.* lib. viii. cap. xv. § 6.

Val. Max. (lib. viii. cap. xv. § 6.) says, that *Q. Mucius Scaevola*, collegue to *Crassus* in the Consulship (which *Scaevola* was the *Pontifex Maximus*) so excellently administered affairs in *Asia*, that the Senate used to propose his Government as an example to the Magistrates that were sent into the provinces.

Pigbius

Fabius, at his return to *Rome*, called himself *Allobrogicus*, and had a triumph, of which the captive Monarch, clad in the splendid arms he used to wear, was the principal ornament. *Domitius*, some time after, with the same King to attend him, had the like honour of the *triumph*: though indeed he had already triumphed abroad; for with his army following him in procession, he had been riding up and down the conquered countries, like an overgrown idiot, upon an elephant. *Florus* remarks, that these two Generals were the first of the *Romans* that ever insulted the vanquished nations, by erecting, in their countries, trophies of the victories obtained over them. Sueton. in Ner. cap. 2.

In this same year *Quintus Metellus* (the eldest son of *Macedonicus*) had his triumph, as conqueror [in 630] of the islands called *Baleares*: and the vain man, for having with his heavy-arm'd Legionaries defeated a number of Fishermen, who went naked, and fought only with slings, foolishly took the title of *Balearicus*.

In 634 the Consul *L. Metellus* leading an army into *Illyricum*, the *Segeſtani*, a people of that country, surrendered to him: after which, he, without any provocation, entered *Dalmatia*, where, being received amicably, he took up his winter quarters in the capital, and, for this exploit, he had a triumph upon his return to *Rome*, and called himself *Dalmaticus*. Y. R. 634.
Bef. Chr. 118.
App. in Illyricis.

The next year *M. Porcius Cato*, and *Q. Marcius Rex*, being Consuls, the former was sent into *Africa*, (on what occasion is not known) and there died. *Marcius*, who had *Transalpine Gaul* for his province, subdued the *Stæni*, at the foot of the *Alps*, and planted a Colony at *Narbonne*, called from him *Narbo Marcius*, which became the capital of the *Roman* conquests in *Transalpine Gaul*, when, four years after, they erected them into the form of a Prætorian province. Y. R. 635.
Bef. Chr. 117.

* In the following Consulships of *L. Metellus Diadematus*, (second son of *Macedonicus*) and *Q. Mucius Sævola*; *C. Licinius Geta*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus*, it does not appear that any thing was done in the way of conquest. Y. R. 636.
Y. R. 637.

But in the year following, *M. Æmilius* ^b *Scaurus* (colleague to *M. Metellus*, third son of *Macedonicus*) having *Transalpine Gaul* for his province, made a successful expedition against the *Carni*, at the foot of the *Alpes Penninæ*. He afterwards employed his army in draining the marshes near the *Trebia* and *Placentia*, and making roads in that country. At his return home, he Y. R. 638.
Auct. de Vir. Illust.
Strab. lib. v. p. 217.

Pighius (in anno 632 & 654) says, that both *Sævolas* were Prætors in *Asia*, and that both employed *Rutilius*, the one as his Quæstor, the other as his Lieutenant; and applies the two Quotations above from *Asconius Pædianus* to *Sævola* the Pontifex, though *Asconius* speaks of *Rutilius* as being Quæstor, not Lieutenant to *Sævola*.

* It was in the former of these Consulships that *Marius* suffered the affront before mentioned, when he stood for the Ædileship, and in the latter, that being chosen Prætor he was prosecuted for briguing.

^b A further account of *Scaurus* will be given where the knowledge of his character is more necessary.

was decreed a triumph; and, by the Censors *Metellus Dalmaticus*, and *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, named President of the Senate, in the place of *Metellus* *Minucius*, who died this year, and whose bier was carried by his four sons, of whom one had been Consul and was now Censor, the second had also been Consul, the third was at this time Consul, and the fourth soon after [the very next year] obtained the Consulship.

Scantus this year got two new laws passed; the one, forbidding the use of some foreign dainties; the other concerning the votes of the Freedmen^a.

The *Sordisci*, a People of *Thrace*, originally descended from the *Gauls*, who followed *Brennus*, having made an irruption into *Macedon*, *C. Percius Cato* (who had been raised to the Consulship with *M. Acilius Balbus*) was sent with an army to defend the province. Surprised by the Barbarians in an ambush, his army was routed with such slaughter that scarce a man, except himself, escaped. The conquerors immediately spread themselves over *Thessaly* and *Dalmatia*, as far as to the *Adriatic*, where finding a vast extent of waters that put a stop to their progress, they, in despite and rage, darted a shower of javelins into the sea. Soon after, *Didius*, Prætor of *Illyricum*, falling upon them suddenly, while they were plundering the country, put them to the rout, and drove them back into *Thrace*. *Cato*, at his return to *Rome*, was prosecuted for extortion in his province, and being condemned, went into banishment to *Tarraco* in *Spain*. The sum in question was no more than about 32 pounds, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, or 150 according to *Cicero*; a mere trifle; but *Paterculus* most gravely remarks, that men had more attention to the nature of the crime, and the disposition of the criminal, than the extent of the injustice done. The Knights, who were the Judges at this time, must have been very worthy men, contrary to what *Cicero* would have us believe; or this remark of *Paterculus* is very much misplaced. The condemnation of *Cato* was undoubtedly owing to some private spleen, or perhaps the public indignation against him, for letting himself be surprised by the enemy, and thereby losing the lives of so many citizens, whose kinsmen and friends could not forgive him.

In this Consulship happened an accident which alarmed the *Roman* superstition, and was followed by a discovery that occasioned a good deal of noise and bustle at *Rome*. *Helvius*, a *Roman* Knight, going with his daughter into *Apulia*, was overtaken upon the road by a storm of thunder.

^a Freedman. This, as *Pigbius* conjectures enacted that the Freedman should vote in the four Urban Tribes, whereas from the time of *Sempronius* (the father of the *Gracchi*) they had been confined to one Tribe.

It is said that this haughty Consul was so offended with the Prætor *Decius Mus*, for not

rising up when he passed by him, that he made his Lictors force him to it, and break his Curule Chair to pieces. He also by edict prohibited the bringing causes before that Prætor's tribunal. *Aul. de Vir. Illustr. in Scant.*

A flash

A flash of lightning killed the young woman, and the horse she rode upon, at the same time stripping her of her clothes, and the horse of his saddle, and bridle. The Augurs declared that this mischance portended disgrace to unmarried women, and the Equestrian order. Soon after a criminal correspondence was discovered between three *Roman* Knights and three *Veitals*.

And the next year, when *C. Metellus*, surnamed *Caprarius* (the fourth son of *Macedonicus*) and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, were Consuls, *L. Metellus* the Pontifex, and the pontifical college condemned *Æmilia*, the most guilty of the three priestesses, to the usual punishment in such cases; but acquitted the other two, *Marcia* and *Licinia*, the latter of whom was defended by her relation *Crassus* the Orator, he being then 27 years old.

The People, dissatisfied with this sentence, ordered the cause to be tried anew; and by a special commission appointed *L. Cassius* to be Judge; a man so severe, that his Tribunal was called *Scopulus Recrum*; that is, the rock, on which, those who were arraigned before him, were sure to split, if they were guilty. He condemned *Marcia* and *Licinia*, and several others; and, to expiate their crime, the Senate, after consulting the *Sibylline* books, ordered a temple to be built to *Venus Verticordia*, who was to be implored to change the hearts of the *Roman* women, and make them more chaste. When the statue of this Goddess was to be consecrated, the *Romans* judged it proper to give the honour to her of all the ladies who had the best reputation for chastity. First a hundred ladies of the most irreproachable manners were selected from the rest; then from this number ten were taken by lot; and these ten gave the preference to *Sulpitia*, daughter of *Paterculus*, and wife of *Fulvius Flaccus*.

Among the accused was *M. Antonius*, the famous orator, and grandfather of the Triumvir. He was at this time *Quæstor*, and just setting out from *Brundisium* for *Asia*, when he received notice that an accusation was lodged against him before *Cassius*. By the law he might have declined appearing, as being employed in the service of the Commonwealth; but chusing to stand a trial, he came back to *Rome*. It is said that, though innocent, he was somewhat alarmed, when the prosecutors demanded that a young slave, who was supposed to be privy to his intrigue, should be examined by torture, because he doubted of the resolution and steadiness of the youth. But the boy bid his master fear nothing, offered himself to the torture, and supported it with an unshaken constancy.

An inundation of Barbarians from the North, at this time threatened *Italy*. The *Cimbri*, a People whose origin is uncertain, but who not long before this inhabited the *Cimbria Chersonesus* (now *Jutland* and *Holstein*) had

* *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Sibylline* books directed the *Romans* to bury alive two *Greeks* and two *Gauls*, as offerings to certain strange malignant Genii. *Plut. in Quæst. Rom. c. lxxxii.*

in a confederacy with the *Teutoni*, their neighbours, left that country to seek for new habitations. *Plutarch* makes their number amount to 300,000 fighting men, who were followed by a yet greater number of women and children. At first they fell upon the *Boian Gauls*, who inhabited part of the *Hercynian* forest (which part had from them the name of *Bobemia*) by whom being repulsed, they turned towards the *Roman* provinces, penetrating into *Noricum*. The Consul *Papirius*, whom the Senate immediately ordered into *Ilyricum*, to oppose their progress, posted himself in the passes of the *Alps*, and thence sent to ask why they ravaged the territory of the *Norici*, who, he said, were *Friends of the Romans*, though in truth, the *Romans* had no treaty of friendship with them. The *Cimbri*, by their Ambassadors, answered, that they respected the *Roman* name, had no intention to attack any nation in alliance with *Rome*, were going to quit *Noricum*, and to seek a settlement in countries where the *Romans* had no concern. *Papirius*, believing this answer to proceed from fear, and wisely projecting to gain abundance of honour by a stroke of perfidy, furnished the *Cimbrian* Ambassadors with guides, who, under pretence of conducting them back by the best road, were to lead them by such a round-about way, as to give him an opportunity, by taking a shorter, to surprize them, and with his whole army fall upon them at once. The stratagem did not succeed; the *Cimbri*, though surprized, were not disconcerted; they drove the Consul out of the field, and, had it not been for the sudden tempestuousness of the weather, would have destroyed his whole army. The Barbarians made no advantage against the *Romans* of their victory; but, for some reason unknown, turned away to the country of the *Helvetii*, where they were probably joined by the *Ambrones* (who are thought to have been a Canton of the *Helvetii*) and from thence spread themselves over *Transalpine Gaul*, carrying with them slaughter and desolation.

Metellus, the other Consul, made a successful expedition against the *Sordisci*.

And the next year *M. Livius Drusus* (who was in the consulship with *L. Calpurnius Piso*) forced them to repass the *Danube*, which served ever after as a barrier between them and the *Roman* provinces.

According to *Liv. Epit.* l. lxvii. and *J. L. Obsequ. de Prodig.* 103. the *Teutoni* did not join the *Cimbri* till some years after this: but *Quintus Patricius*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*,

Entrepian, and *Orosius*, speak of the *Teutoni* as joined with the *Cimbri* in all their wars with the *Romans*.

C H A P. II.

The occasion of the *Jugurthine war* ; its commencement, progress, and conclusion.

SALUST tells us, that he wrote the History of the *Jugurthine war* for these two reasons, That it was an important and bloody war, and of great variety in the fortune of it ; and that, during this war, the *first stand* was made against the insolent pride of the Nobility ; the *commencement* of a struggle maintained with such party rage as at length to produce a civil war, and the desolation of *Italy*.

To give an account of the cause and origin of the *Numidian war*, it will be necessary to go a little back. It has been formerly observed, that *Masiniſſa* received from the Romans the Kingdom of *Numidia*, in reward of the services he had done them against the *Carthaginians*. At his death he left three legitimate sons, *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Manastabal*, who, without dividing their father's Kingdom, shared * the Government of it among them. The two latter dying, *Micipsa* reigned alone. This Prince had two sons, *Adherbal* the elder, *Hicmſſal* the younger. He had also a nephew, named *Jugurtha*, the son of his brother *Manastabal*, but whom, being born of a concubine, *Masiniſſa* had left in a private condition. *Micipsa* however took him into his own house, and educated him with his own sons. *Jugurtha* had great natural talents, was remarkably handsome, and excelled in strength. Active and industrious, he continually exercised himself in riding, throwing the lance, disputing the prize with his companions in the race, or in hunting lions and other wild beasts ; at which sports he always endeavoured to be the first, or among the foremost, to wound the beast. And though he performed more hardy exploits than any of his companions, and was much superior to them all in his exercises, yet, never boasting of his advantages, he was by all extremely beloved. At first the King of *Numidia* rejoiced in the good success of his care, as thinking *Jugurtha* would be an honour to the Kingdom. But afterwards reflecting on his own great age, the tender years of his sons, the temptation of a throne, and the fondness of the *Numidians* for his nephew, he began to fear, lest the daring and ambitious spirit of that Prince should meet with too favourable an opportunity to display itself. Under these apprehensions the King would have privately made away with him, had he not been afraid of a sedition, or a general rebellion, as the probable consequence of such

* The elder *Scipio* is said to have made him by the verbal will of *Masiniſſa* when dying. See Vol. II. Book V. ch. xxvi.

an act. Being at this time to furnish the *Romans* with a body of troops to serve under *Scipio* at the siege of *Numantia*, he resolved to give *Jugurtha* the command of them, entertaining some hope of getting rid of him by the chance of war; a hope founded on the forward and enterprising spirit of the youth. But this measure, taken for the destruction of *Jugurtha*, turned to his advantage. By his ability in council, his bravery in fight, his strict obedience to orders, and his success in every enterprize, he gained in a short time the esteem and love both of the *Roman* soldiers and of their General. There were at that time in the army many persons, both of the old and new Nobility, with whom wealth was preferable to virtue and honour, all furious party men, very powerful at *Rome*, and more known than esteemed among the confederates. These men inflamed the ambition of *Jugurtha*, by telling him that, at the death of *Micipsa*, he might easily make himself the master of *Numidia*; that he did not want ability for such an enterprize, and that at *Rome* all things were venal.

When *Scipio*, after the reduction of *Numantia*, was about to send back the auxiliary troops, he, in the presence of the whole army, made *Jugurtha* magnificent presents, accompanied with extraordinary praises; and then leading him into his own pavilion, there admonished him privately, to cultivate the friendship of the *Roman* people, rather by services to the public, than by gifts to private men; adding, that it would be dangerous to attempt to purchase of a few, what belonged to many; that if he would continue in the diligent exercise of his talents and virtues, he could not fail of acquiring both glory and a crown^{*}; but that if he should be so hasty to attain his purpose as to have recourse to bribery, his money would prove his destruction. After this advice, he dismissed him with a letter for *Micipsa* to the following effect:

“Your *Jugurtha* has behaved himself incomparably well in the war of *Numantia*; to know this, will, I am sure, give you much joy. To me his merit has made him very dear: and I shall use my best endeavours that he be equally so to the senate and people of *Rome*. I congratulate you on this occasion with the cordiality that our friendship requires. Your nephew is indeed worthy of you, and of his grandfather *Mafniffa*.”

Micipsa, finding the reports he had already heard of his nephew's merit, confirmed by the *Roman* General, and, perhaps, now finding his

* If we call to mind the unprecedented division, which the first *Africanus*, upon the death of King *Mafniffa*, made of the regal power among his three sons; and if we compare it with the discourse of the *Roman* Nobles, in the camp, to *Jugurtha*; the encouragement, which accompanied the more sage advice of the second *Africanus* to the youth, to hope a crown; and the proceedings of the *Roman*

Senate, in relation to the affairs of *Numidia*, after the death of *Micipsa* and *Jugurtha*'s usurpation of the kingdom; may we not from the whole, without too great refinement, conclude, that the *Romans* had, at least, from the demise of *Mafniffa*, if not long before, formed the design of taking *Numidia* into their own possession?

former scheme less practicable than before, turned his thoughts how to gain the affection of *Jugurtha*, and to secure, for a friend and protector of his children, him, whom he could not destroy as an enemy ; and with this view he adopted him, and, by his will, left him joint heir with his own sons. And when, a few years after, he found himself drawing near his end, he is said to have pressed his nephew, in a very pathetic manner, to be friendly to his sons, and to have exhorted his sons to imitate the virtues of his nephew, their adopted brother, telling them what a reproach it would be to them, if it should appear to the world, that their father had been more happy in adopting, than in begetting sons.

The old King died, and, when the funeral was over, the three Princes met to consult about their affairs. At this meeting, *Hiempsal*, the younger of the legitimate sons, a youth of high spirit, seated himself on *Adherbal's* right hand, that *Jugurtha*, whom he had always despised for his mean birth, might not be in the middle, the place of honour among the *Numidians* ; and it was with great difficulty he was prevailed upon by the earnest intreaties of his brother to remove to the left of *Jugurtha*. And when *Jugurtha* proposed the repealing all the acts and edicts made by *Micipsa* in the five last years of his reign, because the King was then old, and his intellects impaired, *Hiempsal* briskly answered, “ by all means ; I am entirely of your opinion ; for within the three last years you were adopted into the family.” Words, which sunk deeper into the mind of *Jugurtha* than any one at that time imagined. His whole study from that moment was how to accomplish a speedy revenge.

According to *Sallust*, *Jugurtha* compassed his design by corrupting the host, with whom *Hiempsal* had taken up a temporary residence. This traitor admitted by night into the house a party of soldiers, who having found *Hiempsal* in a loft, where he had hid himself upon the first alarm, cut off his head, and carried it to their master^a. Upon the news of this base murder, the *Numidians* divided themselves into two parties ; the greater number declared for *Adherbal* ; but all the best soldiers adhered to *Jugurtha*. The latter soon appeared in the field, and took some towns by force ; others voluntarily submitted to him ; and he pushed for the entire monarchy of *Numidia*.

Adherbal, though he had dispatched Ambassadors to *Rome*, to inform the Senate of the murder of his brother, and his own situation, yet, depending upon his superiority in number, ventured a battle with the enemy. Being vanquished, he fled into the *Roman* province, and from thence proceeded to *Rome*.

Jugurtha, now master of all *Numidia*, and having leisure to reflect upon what he had done, began to dread lest the *Romans* should take up the quarrel of his rival. His only hope of being screened from their

^a If we believe the epitome of *Livy*, *Hiempsal*, was vanquished and slain in battle by *Jugurtha*.

resentment was in his own treasures, and the covetousness of the Roman Nobles. He dispatched Ambassadors therefore in all haste to *Rome*, with immense sums of money, and with orders, first, by most ample presents, to secure his old friends, then to acquire new; and lastly, to buy all who were to be bought. The Ambassadors executed their commission with unwearied diligence; and such a change, says *Sallust*, ensued, that *Jugurtha*, from being hated and detested, became a great favourite of the Nobility, inso-much that some, engaged by hope, others, gained by actual bribes, made themselves solicitors to the rest of the Senate, that no severe decree might pass against the King. When the Ambassadors thought themselves sufficiently secure of their point, the Senate gave audience to both parties. *Adherbal* is said to have made a long speech, wherein he displayed the uncommon kindness which his father *Micipsa* had shewn to *Jugurtha*, from his very infancy to the time when he adopted him; the extreme baseness of the latter, whom no obligations could engage to gratitude. He repeatedly expressed a concern that he should be troublesome to the Senate before he had merited their favour by any service, yet he hoped that the remembrance of *Masiniissa's* services, and constant zeal for the glory of the Roman name, would be sufficient to procure, from the Roman Senate and People, a protection for his grandson.

As soon as the King had done speaking, *Jugurtha's* Ambassadors, relying more on the force of their presents than the justice of their cause, returned a short answer; That *Hiempsal* had been slain by the *Numidians* for his cruelty; that *Adherbal* had been the aggressor in the late war; that because, being vanquished, he could not do the injury he intended, he now complained; and that as to *Jugurtha*, he earnestly requested of the Senate not to think, that *he* was a different man from him they had known at *Numantia*, nor give less credit to his actions than to his enemy's words.

This said, *Adherbal* and the Ambassadors withdrew, and the Senate went upon the affair. Not only all those of the *Fathers* whom *Jugurtha* had corrupted, but those who were under their influence, treated with scorn whatever had been alledged by *Adherbal*, extolled, in the highest strains of praise, the virtue of the King, pleaded for him, solicited for him, and, in short, expressed as much zeal for the justification of his infamous actions, as if their own honour had been in question. Some few there were, who, preferring justice and good conscience to money, declared for succouring *Adherbal*, and severely revenging the murder of his brother. The man who spoke the most warmly for this measure, but not from any love of virtue or justice, was *Æmilius Scaurus*^a, a person of high birth, of active spirit, factious, greedy of power, honours and riches, but very skilful in concealing his vices. He observing in how open and shameless a manner the King's money was distributed among the Senators, and

^a He was afterwards Consul and Prince of the Senate, as we have observed, in the year 635.

apprehending lest such prostitute venality should rouse the popular indignation, laid a restraint, for the present, on his habitual covetousness.

The party, however, which favoured *Jugurtha*, prevailed; and it was voted that ten Commissioners should be sent into *Africa*, to divide *Numidia* between the two rivals. At the head of these Commissioners was *L. Opimius*, a person of great distinction, and at that time of great weight in the Senate, because he had so cruelly executed the revenge of the Nobles upon *C. Gracchus* and the commons. Though *Opimius* had been bought by *Jugurtha*, and had appeared his friend at *Rome*, yet, when that Senator landed in *Africa* with the other Commissioners, he was received with wonderful ceremony by the *Numidian*; who, presently after, by rich presents, in private, and a promise of richer, gained him so effectually, that he preferred the interest of the King's ambition to his own reputation, honour, and every other concern. The greater part of his colleagues were likewise gained to the King by the same means; so that, in the division of *Numidia*, the most populous and most fertile provinces, which are those bordering upon *Mauritania*, were assigned to *Jugurtha*. *Adherbal's* share had a better appearance, as being better provided with harbours, and fine buildings, but, in reality, had more of shew than of strength.

Jugurtha perceiving, by this new partition of *Numidia*, that his crimes, instead of being punished, were rewarded by the Roman deputies, became perfectly convinced of the truth of what his friends at *Numantia* had told him, that all things were venal at *Rome*; and being likewise animated by the promises of those whom he had just loaded with presents, he boldly resolved to possess himself of the territory allotted to *Adherbal*. With this view, at the head of a great army, he made incursions upon his frontiers, carrying thence abundance of captives, cattle, and other booty; into his own dominions. He supposed that *Adherbal* would resent and revenge the injury, and, by making reprisals, furnish him with some shadow of pretence to commence a war in form. But *Adherbal*, being a weak and spiritless Prince, conscious of his inferiority to his brother, not only in troops, but in the art of war, and depending more upon the friendship of the *Romans* than upon his *Numidian* subjects, sent deputies to *Jugurtha* to complain of his depredations; and, though he received an insulting answer, he chose to bear every thing rather than expose himself to an open war. *Jugurtha* finding that he could not provoke *Adherbal* to have recourse to arms, and being eager to attain his purpose, threw off all disguise, and with a numerous and regular army invaded his neighbour's kingdom, with a manifest purpose to make a conquest of it. *Adherbal* had now no other choice, but either to abandon his kingdom a second time, or attempt to defend it with the sword. He chose the latter. The armies of the two Kings advanced to meet each other, and both encamped near *Cirta*. *Jugurtha*, the night following, surprised the camp of his enemy, and forced it. *Adherbal*, with a few horse, fled to
Cirta,

Cirta, and, had it not been for a considerable number of *Romans* then in the town, who defended the walls against the pursuers, the same day had seen the beginning and end of the war between the two Kings.

Jugurtha laid close siege to the place, employing his utmost efforts to take it before any message should arrive from *Rome*; for he had learnt that the distressed King had sent Ambassadors thither before the late battle. The Senate having advice that the Kings were at war, dispatched three young *Romans* to signify to both, that it was the will and appointment of the Senate and people of *Rome*, they should desist from the war, and have recourse to reason, instead of arms, for terminating their differences. These Ambassadors made the more expedition, because, while they were preparing for their departure, a report arrived (though not much credited) of the battle, and of the siege of *Cirta*. When, after their arrival, they had declared their commission to *Jugurtha*, he answered to this effect, that there was nothing he so perfectly revered as the authority of the Roman Senate—that from his earliest youth he had always endeavoured to behave himself so as to merit the approbation of every good man—that it was by a virtuous, not a vicious, conduct, he had gained the favour of that great man, *P. Scipio*—that *Micipsa*, for the same reason, and not for want of sons, had adopted him—that the more praise-worthy his course of life had been, the less patiently was he able to bear with insults and injuries—that *Adberbal* had insidiously attempted his life; and that, for his part, he had only taken measures to preserve himself—that the Roman people would not do justly, if they forbade him to defend what was his right by the law of nations; and he concluded with saying, that he would shortly send Ambassadors to *Rome*, to satisfy the Senate in every particular.

With this answer, and without having been permitted to see *Adberbal*, the Ambassadors returned to *Italy*, while *Jugurtha* renewed his attacks on the place with fresh vigour.

Adberbal, after five months siege, driven to extremity by famine, engaged two of his followers to attempt making their way through the enemy's quarters to the next sea-port, and thence to *Rome*, with a letter from him to the Senate. His messengers had the fortune to succeed; they arrived at *Rome*, and delivered the letter. It contained a moving complaint of *Jugurtha's* unjust violences, and more cruel intentions. In the most pressing terms, he begged of the *Fathers*, not that they would restore him to his kingdom (they might give *that* to whom they pleased; it was theirs); not that they would preserve him from death; but only that they would save him from falling into the hands of *Jugurtha*, the most cruel of men, and who would not fail to tear away his life by the most exquisite tortures.

Some of the *Fathers* were of opinion, that they ought, with all possible expedition, to send an army into *Africa*; and, in the mean time, come to a resolution concerning what punishment should be inflicted on *Jugurtha*,
for

for his disobedience to the orders of the Senate. His friends however bestirred themselves so effectually in his behalf, that they hindered this advice from being followed. All that the favourers of *Adberbal* could obtain was, that new Commissioners, men of dignity and weight in the Republic, should be sent into *Africa* to decide the differences between the two Kings. At the head of these Commissioners was *Æmilius Scaurus*, now Prince of the Senate. They set sail three days after their being named; and landing at *Utica*, sent orders to *Jugurtha* to repair to them immediately, they having a message to him from the Senate. The King was much disconcerted to find that men of such high rank and distinction were come to oppose his designs. But though he feared the resentment of the Senate, should he disobey their orders, yet, urged by the eager desire he had to accomplish his grand design, he made a general assault, in hopes to carry the place at once, destroy his rival, and so leave nothing to be adjusted between them by the Commissioners. Failing in this attempt, and fearing to provoke *Scaurus*, whom he chiefly dreaded, by any further delay, he repaired to the Commissioners, attended by a few of his cavalry, leaving the greater part of his army to continue the siege. Many useless conferences were held; terrible menaces were sounded by the Commissioners in the name of the Senate for his not having raised the siege. The *Numidian* heard them with much respect, but a total disregard as to any change of his measures. He trusted doubtless to his money; and *Scaurus* and his colleagues were not ashamed to return to *Rome* without having obtained any thing in favour of *Adberbal*.

When the ill success of this commission was once known at *Cirta*, the *Italians*, by whose steady courage the town had been chiefly defended, and who hoped they should be spared out of respect to *Rome*, advised *Adberbal* to surrender himself and the city to *Jugurtha*, to covenant only for his life, and leave the rest to the Senate. The unhappy Prince, knowing that it was in their power to force him to a compliance, followed their advice. *Jugurtha*, admitted into the place, discharged his first fury upon *Adberbal*, whom he put to death by torture; and then massacred all whom he found in arms, whether *Numidians* or strangers.

Notwithstanding this new murder, with all its aggravating circumstances, *Jugurtha* did not want advocates, who, when the matter was brought before the Senate, endeavoured to extenuate the crime, and lessen the horror of it in the minds of those whom at first it had extremely shocked; and so assiduous were these pensioners of the King in his defence, that if *C. Memmius*, Tribune of the People elect, a man of spirit, and a declared enemy to the usurped power of the Nobles, had not fully apprized the *Roman* People, that a few leading men of a faction were bent upon screening *Jugurtha* from the punishment due to his crimes, the affair had been entirely dropt: such a mighty influence had the gold of *Jugurtha* upon the minds of the venerable Fathers.

But

But when the Senate, conscious of their own guilt, began in earnest to fear the People's resentment, they (in conformity to the *Sempronian Law*) decreed that the provinces of the Consuls elect should be *Italy* and *Numidia*. *Numidia* fell to *L. Calpurnius Bestia*, *Italy* to *P. Scipio Nasica*. Soon after an army was enrolled for the expedition into *Africa*, and all the funds decreed for its support.

Jugurtha receiving advice, that, contrary to his expectation, the *Romans* were determined to commence a war against him, dispatched his son and two of the most trusty friends to the Senate, with private orders (like those which he had formerly given to his Ambassadors on occasion of the murder of *Himylas*) to buy every man that was to be purchased. But when these drew near to *Rome*, *Bestia* moved to know the pleasure of the Senate, whether they should be admitted within the walls, or not. Whereupon it was decreed, that unless they were come to surrender both the King and his kingdom, they should leave *Italy* in ten days. The Consul signified to them this resolution, and they returned to *Numidia*.

Bestia, in the mean while, having compleated his troops, chose for his Lieutenants, men eminent by their quality, and no less distinguished for their skill in intrigues, (among whom was *Scaurus* before-mentioned) under the shelter of whose authority he flattered himself he might, with impunity, do whatever his passions should dictate. The Consul was a brave man, patient of fatigues, a vigilant and able General; but these excellent qualities were rendered fruitless by a sordid avarice; so that, though, upon his first entering into *Numidia*, he acted with vigour; yet *Jugurtha* being informed of his ruling passion, very soon made court to it with success. *Scaurus* entered into the infamous traffic; and it was not the first time that he had been corrupted by *Jugurtha's* gold. The king, at first, had hoped no more than to purchase a suspension of the war, while he might carry on his intrigues at *Rome*; but when he learnt from his Agents that they had entirely gained *Scaurus*, he presently entertained the flattering project of concluding a peace, in person, with these worthy Generals. But, before he repaired to the Consul, he took care to have an hostage for his security. *Sextus*, the Quæstor, was dispatched to *Tacca*, a town belonging to *Jugurtha*, under pretence of receiving a quantity of corn which *Calpurnius* had publicly ordered the King's Deputies to provide, there being now a truce in order to the King's surrendry in form.

When *Jugurtha* was come to the *Roman* camp, *Calpurnius*, to blind the public, assembled his council, where the King, after making a short apology for his conduct, offered to surrender himself and his kingdom to the Senate and People of *Rome*. The particular conditions were adjusted in private with *Calpurnius* and *Scaurus*; and, the next day, the King's surrendry was formally accepted by the Council, as if the terms had been regularly debated, and unanimously approved; and, in pursuance of an order of the Council, thirty elephants, some cattle, and a considerable number

of

of horses, with a small sum of money, were delivered up to the Quæstor. The peace thus concluded, the Consul, leaving his army behind him, returned home, to preside in the Comitia for the election of Magistrates.

When the transactions in *Africa*, and the manner in which they had been carried on, were publicly known at *Rome*, they became the matter of common conversation in all companies, and were every where spoken of by the people with detestation. The Senate knew not what resolution to take, whether to disavow or ratify the shameful treaty made by their Consul. What chiefly hindered them from breaking it, was the great influence of *Scaurus*, said to have been the adviser and associate of *Bestia* in the late transactions. The anger and indignation of the Tribune *Memmius*, before spoken of, brought them to a determination. Having called the People together, he upbraided them with their servile patience under oppression from the Nobles; with having infamously suffered their protectors and defenders to perish undefended and unrevenged; and with fearing, even now, those whom they ought to make tremble, and whom they saw lying at their mercy. “I mean not to excite you to arms in order to do yourselves justice, a method our forefathers had frequent recourse to; there is no need of violence, none of *seceding*; the oppressors have taken infallible measures for their own destruction. When they had cut off *T. Gracchus*, whom they charged with aiming at the sovereignty, terrible were the prosecutions against the people of *Rome*. After they had slain *C. Gracchus* and *M. Fulvius*, they put great numbers of the *Plebeians* to death in prison; nor were they induced to end those violent proceedings, by any regard which they had to the Laws, but by their own caprice. Well; let the attempt to restore to the Commons their rights pass for a design to seize the Government; be it, that it was lawful, even by spilling the blood of Roman citizens, to revenge an offence which could not otherwise be revenged. Let us grant these things. But have you not seen with indignation, though you winked at it, and said nothing, the public treasury robbed, Kings and Republics paying taxes to a few of the Nobility, who ingrossed to themselves all the honours, and all the riches of the state? Nor were they content to commit these iniquities with impunity; but at length our Laws, the majesty of the Roman People, all things divine and human, were betrayed by them to a foreign enemy. Nor do the guilty feel any shame or sorrow for what they have done; they stalk magnificent before your eyes, boasting of their sacerdotal and consular dignities, and some, of their triumphs; as if they really prized these things for the honour, not the lucre, which they brought. Slaves, purchased with money, obey not the unjust commands of their masters; and will you, Romans, who are born to empire, tamely endure to be enslaved? But who are they that have thus possessed themselves of the Commonwealth? The most flagitious of men, with hands embrued in blood, insatiably covetous,

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“ men of matchless wickedness, and matchless arrogance, who make
 “ a traffic of faith, honour, religion, disregarding all distinction of right
 “ and wrong. Some have provided for their own safety by murder-
 “ ing your Tribunes, others by unjust prosecutions, the greater part by
 “ massacres of the Commons; and thus the more loaded any man is
 “ with crimes, the more secure he is from punishment. Yet, instead of
 “ fearing you, after so many crimes, they take advantage of your want of
 “ spirit to make you fear them. As they have, all, the same objects of
 “ hate, desire, and fear, they are thence united. And this union among
 “ good men is friendship; among bad men faction. — But will not you
 “ exert your endeavours to throw off the yoke of these men, and to
 “ maintain that liberty which your forefathers procured to themselves
 “ by their virtue, and delivered down to you? You will ask me, per-
 “ haps, what measures I would advise? My answer is, I would have you
 “ prosecute the betrayers of the Republic; not in the way of venge-
 “ ful violence, not by acts of power, but by the method of legal pro-
 “ cess, and by the evidence of *Jugurtha*, who, if he has in good ear-
 “ nest made a surrendry of himself and his kingdom to the Roman People,
 “ will be obedient to your orders. If he slight them, you may thereby
 “ judge what sort of peace and surrendry that is, by virtue of which
 “ *Jugurtha* reaps impunity for his crimes, a few great men immense
 “ riches, and the Republic nothing but loss and disgrace. But perhaps
 “ you are not yet weary of their domination, and, rather than do as I
 “ advise, chuse to have kingdoms, provinces, laws, rights, tribunals, war
 “ and peace, in short, every thing divine and human, depend on the will
 “ of a few men; while you, the Roman People, victorious over all your
 “ enemies abroad, and giving laws to other nations, are content with
 “ barely living and breathing. For who among you has had the resolu-
 “ tion to refuse the yoke of servitude? But, though I think it very disho-
 “ nourable to have suffered an injury without revenging it, I could well
 “ enough bear that you should pardon these guilty men, because they are
 “ your fellow-citizens, if it were not that your mercy to them would be
 “ destruction to yourselves; for so obstinately bent are they upon evil,
 “ that they would think it nothing to have escaped punishment for the
 “ mischief they have done, unless they might thence be authorized to con-
 “ tinue their wicked courses; and you will find yourselves under a neces-
 “ sity of submitting to perpetual servitude, or of defending your liberty
 “ by force of arms.—

“ I advise you therefore once more, and exhort you, not to let so great
 “ iniquity escape unpunished. The matter in question, at present, is, not
 “ any embezzlement of the public money, any oppression of our allies
 “ by extortion; those crimes, though of a very heinous nature, are
 “ grown so customary as to be overlooked. The authority of the Se-
 “ nate, the empire of the Roman People, the Commonwealth itself, has
 “ been

“ been set to sale both at home and abroad ; and unless strict enquiry be
 “ made into this misconduct, and the guilty be punished, what remains for
 “ us but to live in bondage under their tyranny ? For to do with impunity
 “ whatever a man pleases, is to be a King.

“ After all, my intention, Romans, is not to raise in your minds a
 “ wish that your fellow-citizens may be found guilty rather than innocent,
 “ but only to exhort you not to pardon the guilty to the ruin of the in-
 “ nocent. Consider, that, in the affair of government, it is not of so ill
 “ consequence to forget a benefit done to the public, as to forget an in-
 “ jury. A good man, if he be neglected, will only be the less active in
 “ doing good ; but a bad man more active in doing evil. Besides, if the
 “ State suffers no injury from bad men, it seldom wants any assistance
 “ from the good.”

Memmius, by frequently haranguing the People in this strain, persuaded them to send *L. Cassius* (at this time *Prætor*) into *Africa*, to bring *Jugurtha* thence to *Rome*, upon the public faith ; that, by the evidence of the King himself, *Scaurus*, and the rest, who were accused of taking the King's money, might be convicted.

While these things were doing at *Rome*, those who were left by *Besbia* to command the army in *Numidia*, following the example of their General, became guilty of the most scandalous practices. Some, corrupted by *Jugurtha's* gold, restored to him his elephants ; others sold him his deserters ; others again plundered countries with which the *Romans* were not at war. To so excessive a degree had a spirit of covetousness prevailed, and, like a plague, infected them all !

Cassius had not much difficulty in persuading the King to make trial of the clemency of the Roman People, rather than of their power ; and the *Prætor's* character of integrity was such, that, having privately engaged his own faith for *Jugurtha's* safe return, this Prince considered it as a security equal to that of the public faith.

The *Numidian*, when he came to *Rome* with *Cassius*, appeared not in the magnificence of a King, but in the garb and with the behaviour of a person in distress. *Memmius* assembled the People. Their rage against *Jugurtha* was such, that some of them were for laying him in irons, others for putting him to death without delay, unless he discovered his associates in wickedness. Yet the Tribune, more studious to maintain the dignity of the Roman People, than to gratify their anger, declared, that, for himself, he would have no part in violating the public faith. After which, having ordered silence, and *Jugurtha* being brought forth, the Tribune rehearsed all his foul deeds in *Numidia*, and (by his agents at *Rome*) giving him to understand, that though the Roman People knew by whose advice and assistance he had perpetrated all his crimes against that Father who adopted him, and against the two sons of that Father ; yet they were desirous to have a more distinct information from himself ; which information, if he

faithfully gave, he might hope much from the honour and clemency of the Roman People; but if he suppressed the truth, he would not thereby save his accomplices, but ruin himself and all his hopes. When *Memmius* had ended these words, and the Assembly were all attention to hear what the King would answer, *Laebius*, another of the Tribunes, instantly called out, forbidding the King to speak. The multitude expressed their indignation by clamour, menacing looks and gestures, and, in short, all the ways by which violent anger is used to express itself, in order to deter him from his purpose. Nevertheless, as he had received an ample bribe, impudence carried it. The People, thus fooled, broke up the assembly, and separated. There was at this time, at *Rome*, a certain *Numidian*, named *Massiva*, the son of *Gulussa*, and grandson of *Masinissa*, who, upon the surrendry of *Cirta*, and the murder of *Adherbal*, had fled from *Africa*, because he had been against *Jugurtha* in that quarrel. *Sp. Albinus*, who, with *Q. Minucius Rufus*, succeeded *Bestia* in the Consulship, and to whom the conduct of the war in *Numidia* had fallen by lot, persuaded *Massiva* to sue the Senate for the kingdom of *Numidia*, since he was descended from *Masinissa*, and since *Jugurtha*, by his atrocious deeds, had made himself both feared and detested. *Massiva*, readily listening to the advice, made and pressed his suit to the Senate. *Jugurtha* finding his friends begin to fail him, some of them being restrained by a consciousness of guilt, others by the ill repute they were already in, and the fear of encreasing their infamy, ordered *Bomilcar*, his most intimate and most trusty confident, to hire assassins to take off *Massiva*, secretly, if possible; if not, in any way that it could be done. The Confident quickly found persons qualified for such work: these informed themselves of all *Massiva*'s daily motions and haunts; and, when the business could be no longer deferred, one of the ruffians, who had waylaid him, did it effectually, but with so little caution, that he was seized in the very fact; and being urged by many, and especially by the Consul *Albinus*, confessed who had employed him. *Bomilcar* was arraigned for the murder, but more agreeably to natural justice, than to the law of nations, he being one of *Jugurtha*'s retinue, who had come to *Rome* upon the public faith. *Jugurtha*, though manifestly guilty of the murder, spared no pains to bear down the truth, till he perceived that the odium of the fact was not to be stifled by favour or money; and then, though he had engaged fifty of his friends to be sureties for *Bomilcar*'s appearance; yet, being more concerned for the preservation of his kingdom than the safety of the sureties, and fearing lest the rest of his subjects would not dare to obey him, if *Bomilcar*, for his obedience, should be punished, he sent him off privately into *Numidia*. And, in a few days after, he himself departed, being ordered by the Senate to leave *Italy*. It is reported of him, that when he was got out of *Rome*, he frequently looked back upon the city without saying a word; but at length broke out — “O venal city, ripe for destruction, and ready to sell thyself, whenever there shall be found a purchaser!”

And

And now the Consul *Albinus*, with the utmost diligence, prepared all necessaries for the army, and soon appeared there himself, eagerly bent on putting a speedy issue to the war, either by treaty or victory, before the new elections, which were not far off, could give him a successor. On the other hand, *Jugurtha* endeavoured, by all means, to gain time. One while, he would promise to surrender himself; and, presently after, pretend distrust; now, he would retire before the *Romans*, and then, in his turn, press hard upon them, that he might not discourage his own men. The war being thus protracted till near the time for the election of Consuls, *Albinus* left his brother *Aulus*, in quality of Proprætor, to command the army, and returned to *Rome*, without having done any thing either in the way of arms, or by negotiation; which made many conjecture, that he had secret intelligence with the King; for they could not believe that, after such diligent preparations for war, it could be so easily protracted by indolence alone, without fraud.

The elections at *Rome* happened to be retarded by quarrels among the Tribunes; two of whom endeavoured to get themselves continued in their office for another year. *Aulus* imagined that these domestic broils would give him time to finish the war by a victory; or, at least, by the terror of his arms, to draw a good sum from *Jugurtha*. In the month of *January*, therefore, he drew his forces out of their winter quarters, and, by long marches, in very bad weather, led them to a town called *Sutbul*, where the King had deposited his treasures. It was surrounded with a strong wall, and stood on the top of a steep hill, and, at the foot of this hill, was a muddy marsh, formed by the winter floods, which made the place inaccessible; nevertheless, either really blinded by his avarice, or as a feint to terrify the King, he erected moveable galleries, threw up trenches, and made all the other preparations for a siege.

Jugurtha, perceiving the vanity and weakness of the man, artfully contrived to heighten his presumption, by sending to him frequent offers of submission, and by pretending great fear, that made him keep with his army in places difficult of access. At length, by giving *Aulus* hopes of a good bargain, he drew him from *Sutbul*, into a retired part of the country, whither the Roman followed him, as if he pursued a flying enemy; but, in reality, that their infamous traffic might be the better concealed. In the mean while the King, by his emissaries, practised with some officers of the Roman army to desert to him, or abandon their posts upon a signal given. His negotiations succeeding to his wish, he, on a sudden, in the dead of night, surrounded the camp of *Aulus*. A cohort of *Ligurians*, and two troops of *Iberian* horse, went over to *Jugurtha*; and the first Centurion of the third Legion, abandoning that part of the rampart which he had been appointed to defend, gave the enemy entrance into the camp. Most of the *Romans* threw down their arms, and fled to a neighbouring hill, where, when *Jugurtha* had the next day invested them, he signified

to *Aulus*, in a parley, that though, both by famine and the sword, he had him and his army at mercy; yet, sensible of the instability of human affairs, he was willing, in case *Aulus* would conclude a treaty of peace, to grant him and his soldiers life and liberty, on condition of their passing under the yoke (a gallows) and quitting *Numidia* in ten days. Hard and ignominious as these terms were, death, otherwise inevitable, terrified the *Romans* into a submission.

It may well be imagined, that the anger of the people of *Rome*, and especially of the braver sort, was raised to a high pitch against *Aulus*, on the first news of the late scandalous treaty. The Consul, *Albinus*, fearing the odium which might be brought upon him, on account of his brother's ill behaviour, and fearing likewise the danger which might attend that odium, had recourse to the Senate for their judgment concerning the late treaty. The Fathers decreed, that no treaty could be binding which was made without the authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*. But though *Albinus* had raised recruits for the army, and got auxiliary forces from the allies, he was not suffered by the Tribunes of the Commons to carry with him those troops into *Africa*. However, he went thither himself. His army had, according to the late agreement, quitted *Numidia*, and were now in winter quarters in the Roman province. After his arrival, he would gladly have gone in quest of *Jugurtha*, in order to lessen, by some exploit, the odium occasioned by his brother's ill conduct, yet, remembering the shameful flight of the soldiers, and the licentiousness they were fallen into through a total neglect of discipline, he thought it most adviseable to attempt nothing.

In the mean while, *C. Mamilius Limetanus*, one of the Tribunes, preferred a bill to the People at *Rome* for appointing Commissioners to make enquiry after those by whose encouragement *Jugurtha* had slighted the decrees of the Senate; those Ambassadors or Generals who had taken the King's money; those who had delivered him up his elephants and deserters; and those who had made any conventions with him relating to peace or war; and to draw up informations against the offenders, in order to their trial. The guilty, though they durst not openly oppose this bill, used all clandestine means possible, by the agency of their friends, and especially those among the *Latine* and other *Italian* allies, to defeat the measure. But all their intrigues were ineffectual, the People being incredibly zealous on this occasion, more from hatred to the Nobles, against whom the bill was levelled, than from any concern for the Common-weal. So violent was party rage at that time! Now, while the rest of the Nobility were struck with fear, *M. Scaurus*, who had been Lieutenant to *Bestia*, as was above-mentioned, found means, in the hurry and confusion the city was in, by the stormy exultations of the Commonalty, and the flight of the *Patricians*, to get himself appointed one of the three Inquisitors, who, by the *Mamilian Law*, were to take cognisance of the matters in question. But though he
had

had such an amazing influence as to be chosen one of the Triumvirs, it seems that he had not sufficient to screen his associates in iniquity. It is remarkable that *Sallust* does not mention the persons who were arraigned and condemned on this occasion ; but says, that the prosecutions were carried on with greater severity and violence, according to the then prevailing caprice of the Commons, who now grew insolent upon victory, as the Nobles had often done before.

On this occasion *Sallust* falls into a digression concerning the rise [that is, the revival] of the opposite factions at *Rome*. His words are observable, and are to this effect :

• “ The distinction of the People and Senate into opposite factions, with all
“ the evils that followed it, arose at *Rome*, not many years before ; and was
“ the effect of profound repose, and a full enjoyment of those things which
“ are in the highest estimation among men. For, before the destruction of
“ *Carthage*, the People and Senate proceeded with much temper and con-
“ cord in the administration of the State : neither was there any contention
“ among the citizens for superiority and pre-eminence. The fear of their
“ foreign enemies preserved good order in the whole community : but, as
“ soon as they were rid of that fear, then instantly rushed in ambition and
“ debauchery, excesses which prosperity delights in. Inasmuch that the
“ peace and repose which they had so passionately wished for in times of
“ war and public danger, proved, now they had obtained it, more destruc-
“ tive and calamitous than either ; for now the Nobility began to turn their
“ dignity into tyranny, the People their liberty into licentiousness ; and
“ each individual, considering only himself, studied nothing but to gain
“ wealth by every means possible.

“ Thus, whilst the two parties were quarrelling and fighting for power, the
“ Commonwealth, which lay between them, was miserably rent in pieces. It
“ must be owned, that, in the efforts of faction, the Nobility proved the more
“ prevalent : the authority of the populace, as it is loose and diffused, was
“ found to be of inferior force in the hands of a multitude : so that war
“ abroad, and all affairs at home, were wholly managed by a few men : in
“ their disposal lay the treasury, the provinces, the several magistracies,
“ public dignities and triumphs. The Commonalty were oppressed by po-
“ verty, and by serving in the armies, while the spoils of victory were en-
“ grossed by the Generals, and a few Grandees. Nay, the parents and chil-
“ dren of those very soldiers were, at the same time, driven out of their
“ rightful settlements, if they chanced but to border upon a great man’s
“ estate. In this manner did avarice, supported by power, insolently, and
“ unmeasurably, invade, violate, and lay waste all things : utterly regard-
“ less of justice, and even of common prudence, till, with a blind pre-
“ cipitation, it ran furious to its own perdition. For from the moment
“ that, amongst the Nobility, there arose such as preferred genuine glory
“ to

“ to usurped power, the State was in an uproar, and such civil feuds ensued, as if the universe had been tumbling into a chaos.

“ For after *T. Gracchus* and his brother *Caius*, men whose ancestors had, in the Punic and other wars, done signal service to the State, began to assert the liberties of the Commons, and expose the wickedness of the Oligarchy, the Nobles, conscious of their own guilt, and thence sorely dismayed, had recourse, sometimes to the aid of our *Italian* allies, and to such as enjoyed the rights of *Latium*; sometimes to the Roman Knights, whom the hopes of a confederacy in power with the *Patricians* had detached from the interest of the Commons; and, thus assisted, set themselves forcibly to defeat the pursuits of the *Gracchi*. First, they assassinated *Tiberius*, while a Tribune of the People: a few years after, *Caius*, while a *Triumvir* for planting new colonies; and, with him, his colleague, *Marcus Fulvius Flaccus*. And, in truth, the *Gracchi*, from an eager desire of carrying their point, in some instances shewed a want of temper. But a good man would chuse rather to suffer an injustice, than, by unjust measures, to ward against it. The victory which [by the worst of means] the Nobles obtained against the *Gracchi*, they made a most insolent use of, dooming numbers of citizens to death, or to banishment; measures which rather weakened than strengthened the foundation of their own power. For it has proved the ruin of many great States, that the contending parties therein have been bent upon gaining victory at any rate, that they might wreak their vengeance on the vanquished.”

Cic. in
Brut. c. 33,
34.

It is said that the *Triumvirs* proceeded with great severity, which, if we confide: that *Scarrus* was one of them, is as strange and unaccountable as that he should have been chosen to that office. *L. Opimius*, *Sp. Albinus*, *Calpurnius Bestia*, and *C. Cato*, all men of consular dignity, were condemned; as also *Sulp. Galba*, one of the pontifical college, the first Priest, according to *Cicero*, who was condemned by a public sentence. As for *Opimius*, the memory of his cruelties, in the affair of *C. Gracchus*, was so fresh, that the People had no compassion for him; and he was obliged, says *Plutarch*, to pass his old age in the dishonour and shame, which he had brought upon himself by his avarice and corruption. Yet *Cicero* laments the fate of this *Opimius*, calls him *Præstantissimus*; and says he was the only Roman that, having deserved well of the Republic, was ever condemned by the People; and complains, that he who had left so illustrious a monument in the Forum, should have his own monument, his sepulchre, totally neglected on the shore of *Dyrrachium*. By the monument, which *Opimius* left in the Forum, the Orator doubtless means the Temple which *Opimius* erected to Concord, in memory of his having humbled and quieted the People by a massacre of three thousand of the citizens. The same writer calls the Judges who condemned *Opimius* and his associates, *Gracchani Judices*; by which it would seem he means the

Roman Knights, to whom, by a law of *C. Gracchus*, the right of judging had been transferred. Yet, as the Judges, whoever they were, must have formed their sentence by the report of the Commissioners, of whom *Scaurus*, Prince of the Senate, was the chief, a man whom *Cicero* calls *the Guardian of the Republic*, declaring that he not only admired him, but loved him; it is very strange that the report should be so little in favour of a person who had deserved so well of the Republic as the orator would have us think *Opimius* had done.

Q. *Cæcilius Metellus*, the son of *Calvus*, and nephew of *Macedonicus*, was now raised to the Consulship with *M. Junius Silanus*. The province of *Numidia* fell by lot to *Metellus*, who having no confidence in the old army, made new levies with great diligence, and got together vast quantities of provisions, arms, and all things necessary for a difficult war. Though *Metellus*, says *Sallust*, was of a contrary party to the People, yet on account of his good qualities, and especially because he was proof against corruption [by money], a necessary virtue at this juncture, they conceived great hopes of his success. The Consul chose *G. Marius*, and *P. Rutilius* for his Lieutenants. At his arrival in *Numidia* he found the troops so extremely dissolute, so unfit for action, or for enduring fatigue, that, though he knew the Roman People impatiently expected an end of the war, he would not venture to lead the army against the enemy, till he had restored the antient discipline. Even the common soldiers were grown too indolent to make their own bread, or dress their own victuals; they sold their allowance of corn, and bought bread, and victuals ready dressed; and they kept servants, and beasts of burden, to fetch wood, and do all other drudgery, which they should have done themselves. *Metellus* set himself to rectify these disorders; and, while he was thus employed, *Jugurtha*, who had intelligence of his proceedings, and knew he was not to be bribed, began now to be really afraid, and to think seriously of surrendering himself. To this end, he sent Ambassadors to the Roman General, with humble assurances that, if he might have his own life and the lives of his children granted, he was ready to yield every thing else to the pleasure of the Roman People. But *Metellus*, considering the *Numidians* as a faithless People, fickle, and fond of change, instead of hearkening in earnest to the embassy, secretly tampered with the Ambassadors, each of them separately; and, finding them fit for his purpose, engaged them by large promises, to deliver up to him *Jugurtha*, alive, if possible, and, if that could not be done, his dead body. In public, the Consul gave such an answer to the Ambassadors as the King had wished. Not many days after this, *Metellus* marched his forces into *Numidia*, where he found not any thing like a face of war. The country houses were full of inhabitants, the fields covered with cattle, and the husbandmen at work in their farms, as in a time of profound peace. From the towns the King's officers came out, and met the Consul, offering to furnish him with provisions, and with carriages;

and, in a word, to obey all his commands. Nevertheless he marched on with the same caution as if the enemy had been near at hand, causing the country on all sides to be viewed a great way round, because he suspected those tokens of submission to be mere feints, and to be employed to cover some insidious purpose. For *Jugurtha* was so full of guile, and so expert a General, that it was difficult to determine whether he were more to be feared, absent or present, in peace or in war.

Not far from the route that *Metellus* kept, there was a *Numidian* city called *Vacca*, the most flourishing mart in the whole kingdom, and in which were settled many *Italian* merchants. Here the Consul placed a garrison, both for the sake of trying whether this would be quietly borne, and for the conveniency of the army, which, by the means of so many traders, might be amply supplied with every thing necessary.

In the mean while *Jugurtha*, by repeated Ambassies, implored peace; offering to surrender every thing to *Metellus* without any condition but his own life, and the lives of his children. The Consul bribed the last Ambassadors, as he had done the former, to deliver up their master to him; and then dismissed them, without either refusing or promising the King the peace he desired, expecting every hour the execution of the promises of those he had corrupted.

When *Jugurtha* compared the words of *Metellus* with his actions, and perceived that arts and devices, like his own, were employed against him; that he had only words of peace from the Consul, and war in fact, that he had lost his principal city; that the enemy became acquainted with his country, and that his people were excited to revolt; he resolved, being thus constrained by necessity, to try the fortune of arms. With this view, having learnt the route taken by the *Romans*, and gathering hopes of victory from the advantages of a certain spot where he could post himself, he raised as great a force as he could, and, by private ways, got before the army of *Metellus*.

At a few * miles distance from the river *Mutbul*, which ran from the South, there stood, parallel to the river, a waste uncultivated mountain.

* The usual reading is *twenty* miles. But this seems to be a mistake of the Transcribers. For it is evident, from the context, that the mountain was not far from the river, probably not above *three* miles, at most. Mr. Gordon, and other Translators of *Sallust*, by not sufficiently attending to the story, have bestowed admirable senses on the *Romans*: For, according to them, *Metellus* descends [without the help of glasses] the *Numidians* in ambush at *ten miles* distance, and, at the same distance, his Lieutenant *Rutilius* bears the shouts of the two armies when engaged in fight. That

the Copyist made a mistake in the *number* of miles, one of the Annotators (in the *Var. Edit.*) thinks to be certain, for this reason: That it was impossible for *Rutilius* to do in one day what he is said to have done, if the mountain had been twenty miles from the river.—Nec enim fieri potuit, ut *Rutilius* ab hec monte præmissus a *Metello* ad flumen, uno eodemque die eo pervenerit, castra munierit, et — rursus redierit ad *Metellum*, si tantum spatium interfuisset.

URSIN.

Over this mountain the Consul must needs pass in pursuing his march. In the mid-way between the mountain and the river rose a high hill, covered with wild olives, myrtles, and such trees as delight in a dry sandy soil; the plain around it being barren and desert, except those parts that were nearest the river. Along this hill *Jugurtha* posted himself with all his cavalry, and a body of chosen infantry; the whole extended in a long line not deep in file. He gave the command of his elephants, and part of the foot, to *Bomilcar*, posting him in that part of the line which was next the river.

After this disposition, he passed through the several divisions of his troops, urging them to call to mind their former bravery and success, and to defend themselves, and his dominions, from *Roman* covetousness; told them, that they were going to engage with those whom they had before vanquished, and constrained to pass under the yoke, cowards who had only changed their General, not their hearts. He added, that he had taken all the precautions of a provident General to secure to them the victory; that they had the advantage of the ground, surpassed the enemy in number, and were better soldiers. While the King was thus encouraging his men, and instructing them to keep themselves ready to fall on, *Metellus*, who as yet knew nothing of the enemy, was coming with his legions down the mountain. When he first descried *Jugurtha's* army in ambush, he knew not what to make of the unusual appearance; for the objects were not distinct, yet the trees and bushes did not sufficiently conceal the *Numidians* and their horses. It was not long before he discovered the King's stratagem; whereupon he made a halt, and changed the disposition of his troops, strengthening that side which was next the enemy, and then marched down into the plain. Perceiving that the *Numidians* did not stir from their post, and fearing lest his army should be distressed by thirst, in a parched and barren soil, he sent forward *Rutilius*, one of his Lieutenants, with some light cohorts, and a part of the cavalry, to mark out a camp near the river; for he imagined that the *Numidians* would retard his march by frequent attacks, and since they durst not venture a pitched battle, attempt to weary out his men with labour and thirst. He then moved on slowly. *Jugurtha* no sooner perceived that the rear of the *Romans* had passed his front, than he detached two thousand foot to possess themselves of that part of the mountain by which the Roman army had descended, that it might not serve for a place of retreat to them; in case they were routed. This done, he sounded a charge, and, attacking them in the rear, and on both flanks, at the same instant, threw them into some disorder. The efforts of those who made the stoutest opposition were eluded by the manner in which the *Numidians* fought, by whose missile weapons they were wounded, while unable to bring them to a close engagement. For *Jugurtha's* cavalry, whenever they were pressed, did not retire in a body, or to any one place, but dispersed themselves as widely as possible,

and, if the *Romans* did the like, in order to pursue them, the *Numidians* turned short upon the pursuers, and, being the more numerous, were sure to have the advantage. And when, to shun the vengeful fury of their enemies, the hill seemed to offer them a more secure retreat than the plain, their horses could easily make their way through the thickets, while the horses of the *Romans*, not being used to that work, were not able to follow them.

Jugurtha and *Metellus* shewed themselves, on this occasion, to be able Generals, and the victory was long contested between them. *Metellus's* soldiers were better than those of the King, but the King had the advantage in numbers, and in situation. The *Romans* being aware that they had no retreat, and that they could not bring the enemy to a close engagement, found it necessary, especially as the night was coming on, to force them, if possible, in their post on the hill. Exerting their utmost strength and bravery in this attempt, they succeeded; yet few of the *Numidians* were slain, which was owing to their swiftness, and the *Romans* being unacquainted with the country.

During this conflict, *Bornilcar*, to whom (as was before observed) the King had given the command of the elephants, and a part of the infantry, had, at a distance, followed *Rutilus*, whom the Consul had sent before to mark out a camp near the river: and, when the *Numidian*, having learnt, by his scouts, that *Rutilus* was encamped, heard the shouts of the two armies that were engaged, imagining that perhaps *Rutilus* would return to the assistance of his General, he extended his troops in such a manner as he thought was necessary to intercept him, and, in that disposition, advanced towards the Roman camp. The *Romans*, though surprised at his sudden appearance, drew themselves up in order so expeditiously as to be ready to receive the charge, which they did with great resolution. The battle did not last longer than while the *Numidians* had hope in their elephants; and finding these beasts, by reason of the trees and bushes that hampered them, become wholly unserviceable, they threw down their arms and fled, escaping by favour of the night. Four of the elephants were taken; the rest, forty in number, were killed. After this victory, the victors, uneasy because *Metellus* had stayed longer than they expected, advanced in good order, to seek him. He, in the mean time, was marching towards the river, and, it being dark, the two parties, on their approach, mistook each other for the enemy. A battle would have ensued, if some horsemen, detached to get intelligence, had not discovered the truth.

Metellus continued four days in the same camp, and thence sent out spies to learn what was become of *Jugurtha*, how he was employed, whether he was still master of an army, and how he bore his defeat.

The King had retired into places difficult of access, and was there collecting a more numerous army than he had before; but chiefly of husbandmen and peasants; for after a defeat none of the *Numidians* follow the King except his horse guards, but each man retires whither his inclinations

tions lead him ; nor does this bring any stain upon their honour, it being the custom of the nation.

Metellus perceiving, by this account, that the King's spirit was not yet broken by his defeats, and considering that it was impossible to force him to fight but upon his own terms, and that the *Romans* lost more men by a victory, than the *Numidians* by being vanquished, resolved to change his manner of carrying on the war. He led his forces into the most fertile parts of the country, laid waste the lands, burnt many small towns and castles, put all the youth able to bear arms to the sword, and gave up every thing else as a prey to his soldiers. This proceeding spread such an universal terror, that great numbers of the inhabitants submitted to the *Romans*, gave hostages, and supplied the army with corn and other necessaries in abundance. Garrisons also were readily received wherever *Metellus* thought fit to place them. By these measures *Jugurtha* found himself more distressed than by the defeat he had lately suffered, being now obliged to pursue an enemy, on the avoiding of whom he had once built his whole hope of safety. However, he did not pursue with his whole force, because he would not, on any terms, hazard a general engagement ; but, causing the main strength of his army to keep together in a proper situation, he, by private roads, and in the night, attended the motions of *Metellus* with a chosen body of horse, and, falling suddenly on some parties of Roman soldiers that had roamed from the army, and were strolling about the country, slew a great number of them, and took many prisoners ; nor did a single man escape unhurt. After which, he, according to the *African* method of making war, again disappeared^a.

In the mean time, the news of the Consul's progress had caused a mighty joy at *Rome* ; *Metellus* was the great subject of popular applause. “ He “ had conducted himself and his army after the old Roman manner ; by “ resolute bravery he had gained a victory over enemies who had the advantage of the ground ; he had possessed himself of their country ; and “ had driven *Jugurtha* (elated by the base and dastardly behaviour of “ *Aulus*) to seek a refuge in wilds and deserts.” For all these favours of heaven, the Senate decreed thanksgiving to the immortal gods ; and, when the consular fasces were transferred to *Serv. Sulpitius Galba* and *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, for the new year, the Senate continued *Metellus* in his command of the army, with the title of Proconsul. The honours done to the merit of this General made him more eager than ever to compleat his glory by a final victory : yet all his marches and motions were with the utmost caution. That he might spread more widely the terror of the Roman arms, he divided the troops between himself and *Marius* ; the two leaders

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^a This year *M. Æmilius Scaurus* and *Li-
vius Drusus* were Censors. *Livius* dying,
the law required that *Scaurus* should abdi-
cate ; yet he refused to do it, till some of the

Tribunes of the Commons threatened to put
him in prison, if he did not obey. *Plut. in
Quest. Rom.* p. 276.

marching

marching and encamping separately, yet not at ^otoo great a distance to be able to succour each other on occasion.

Jugurtha, by sudden irruptions and frequent attacks, kept the Roman legions in continual alarm, and yet found means to avoid a battle : which *Metellus* having, for some time, experienced, he resolved to lay siege to *Zama*, a considerable town, and of great strength, in hopes that the King would lead his army thither to relieve it. The King, receiving early notice of the Proconsul's design, got to *Zama* before him, and strengthened the garrison with a body of deserters, promising the inhabitants at the same time that he would hasten to their succour. And, accordingly, while *Metellus* was busy in an assault upon the town, and the soldiers, whom he had appointed to guard his camp, were negligently beholding the action, the *Numidian* appeared on a sudden, and forced his way into the camp by one of the gates. The Consul, upon notice, dispatched all the Roman cavalry, and, soon after, *Marius* with the infantry of the allies, to repel the enemy ; and the King did not long abide the charge, but retired to a place of security. Next day *Metellus* having posted all his horse on that side of his camp which *Jugurtha* had assaulted, renewed his attacks on *Zama*. The *Numidian* appeared again, fell suddenly upon the Roman cavalry, and put the foremost ranks into disorder. As he had mixed some foot with his horse, his troops stood firmly to the charge, and the engagement was long and obstinate. *Metellus* finding, after some time, that he could neither take the town, nor force *Jugurtha* to a pitched battle, thought proper to raise the siege ; and, the season being far advanced, he retired into that part of the Roman province which lay nearest to *Numidia*, and there passed the winter. But he did not spend it in idleness ; for since the way of arms had not succeeded to his mind, he applied himself to destroy the King by the treachery of his own friends. To this end, having contrived to draw *Bomilcar* (*Jugurtha's* chief favourite before spoken of) to a private conference, he solemnly promised him that the Senate should grant him pardon, and the possession of all his effects, if he would deliver up the King either alive or dead. It is said that *Bomilcar* was easily prevailed upon ; because he feared, lest, if a peace with *Rome* were concluded, he should be given up to punishment for the murder of *Masfinia*. Yet it would seem that he made some scruple to assassinate his master : for, at this time, he only endeavoured to persuade him to a voluntary surrendry, exhorting him to take pity upon himself, his children, and his subjects, and to consider that he had sufficiently tried his fortune ; that his kingdom was now much weakened ; that the *Numidians* had long suffered all the calamities of war, and might consult their own safety, if he neglected it. At last *Jugurtha* consented to send Ambassadors to the Proconsul, with an offer to submit to whatever conditions of peace he should think fit to prescribe him. *Metellus*, by the advice of his council, first ordered him to pay 200,000 pounds weight of silver, to deliver up all his elephants,

elephants, and a certain quantity of arms and horses ; all which he executed punctually. The Proconsul then demanded that he should yield up the deserters^a. *Jugurtha* obeyed in this also, and gave up the much greater part of them ; some few, in the beginning of the negotiation, had escaped to *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania*. But when, lastly, the *Numidian* was ordered to repair to *Tifidium*, there to receive further directions, he began to hesitate. Conscious of his crimes, and fearing lest their due punishment was approaching, he spent several days without having power to come to any resolution. At length, the terrible apprehension of being precipitated from the height of Royalty, to the low condition of a Slave, determined him to try once more the chance of war.

SALLUST reports, that, about this time, CAIUS MARIUS, being in winter-quarters at *Utica*, and having offered certain sacrifices to the Gods, was told by a Diviner [an *Haruspex*,] *that great and wonderful favours to him were prognosticated in the entrails of the victims; and he might, therefore, boldly pursue whatever designs he had formed, secure of success by the protection and assistance of the heavenly powers.* The historian adds, that MARIUS had, before this, been seized with an ardent desire of the Consulship^b, and that, excepting a noble birth, he had, in truth, every qualification requisite for rising to that high station ; *industry, probity, great military skill; in the field, the high and daring spirit of a warrior; in the city, moderation, the disposition and deportment proper to civil life. Superior and insensible to all the allurements of riches and sensuality, he thirsted after glory alone. And so well had he behaved himself in the several offices through which he had passed, as to be always thought, by those who remarked his conduct, to deserve a higher station than what he actually filled.* Yet, as worthy a man as MARIUS WAS TILL THIS TIME^c (for Ambition hurried him,

^a According to a fragment of *Appian*, these deserters were *Tbracians* and *Ligurians*. The same author adds, that *Metellus* caused the hands of some of them to be cut off ; and that, by his orders, the rest were fixed in the ground, up to the middle, then wounded and tormented by the soldiers with darts and arrows, and then burnt while they were yet alive. *App. in Fragm. lib. viii.*

^b It was seven years since he had been Prætor ; whereas the law required but three years interval between the Prætorship and the Consulship. *Cic de Offic. l. iii. c. 20.*

^c *Tamen is ad id locorum talis Vir (nam postea ambitione præceps datus, est, &c.)* I shall here take the liberty to offer to the Reader's consideration the following *Question*, which the present case suggests, *Whether the practice, which some historians, of great name, have*

fallen into, of prefacing their account of a man's actions with giving his CHARACTER, either as drawn by former writers, or as it resulted to themselves, from a survey of all they knew of his conduct, be not an unfair practice ? Unfair, sometimes with regard to the person, whose actions they are going to relate ; always unfair with regard to the reader : Because such paintings will naturally prevent his making a free use of his own judgment, and may oftentimes mislead him ? It is a trite observation, that, in point of moral behaviour, no man is more unlike to another, than one and the same man has been to himself, in different periods of his life : And yet, if, before we read the history of a warrior or a statesman, we are impressed with a very disadvantageous opinion of the turn and disposition of his heart, we shall be apt, without any other reason, to impute

him, afterwards, into strange excesses), he had not hitherto ventured to stand for the Consulship; the Nobility having for a long time, appropriated

impute to unworthy motives all his public actions, in every stage of his life; in which censure it is ten to one that we err widely.

And so likewise, if the character be greatly to the advantage of the person characterised, this will incline us to overlook, or to construe favourably, or, at least, to seek some covering to palliate, his very worst actions, actions of baseness the most shameful and inexcusable.

Of each of these consequences of *Character-drawing*, I shall give an instance.

PLUTARCH, by introducing his account of MARIUS's life and actions, with a very odious *Character* of him, (such as he, indeed, deserved in his last years) has misled (as I conceive) certain * modern writers of *Roman History*, to apply that character to the whole conduct of MARIUS from his very first entrance into the world at 17 years of age.

* See Hist. Rom. by the Jesuits Caerou and Rouille, Tom. iv. † M. Cremona, Tom. ii. p. 177.

Il ne connut JAMAIS (says the ingrat as Continuator of Mr. Rollin's Roman History) les loix de la droiture, de la franchise, de la reconnaissance, dès que sa fortune, ou l'exécution de ses projets s'y trouva intéressée. C'est un homme qui n'eut qu'une passion, l'envie de s'agrandir, mais qui ne se fit JAMAIS un scrupule d'y tout sacrifier. C'EST CETTE AMBITION QUI LE TIRA DE LA CHARRUE pour lui faire prendre la profession des armes, par laquelle il eut pour s'élever. Il fit ses premières campagnes au siège de Narbonne sous Scipion l'Africain, &c.

† Vid. sup. p. 10. Note a. Dacier's Plat. Tom. x. p. 281. Vid. 1637. p. 11.

The Continuator has this from the Greek Biographer, whose testimony concerning MARIUS, when *Tribune of the Commons*, he likewise adopts a few pages after. MARIUS — SE FIT ÉGALEMENT ESTIMER DES DEUX PARTIS, COMMUNE CHERCHANT A PLAIRE NI AUX UNS, NI AUX AUTRES, MAIS ENVIÉGEANT UNIQUEMENT LE BIEN PUBLIC.

These two passages must surely appear not to be very consistent; but this, I think, they will serve to evince, That an Historian, by *Character-drawing*, at the entrance of his work, may, sometimes, bring even himself into inconveniences.

Plutarch, indeed, seems not to have been disposed to do justice to the character of MARIUS. Perhaps, the rough soldier's total neglect of Greek literature, and his declared con-

tempt of the Greek language, may have biased the mind and pen of the Greek philosopher and historian more strongly than he himself was aware of.

“ If he could have been persuaded,” says Plutarch (in the introduction to his life of MARIUS) “ to pay his devotions to the *Grecian Muses and Graces*, he would not, after bearing so many honourable offices, and performing so many glorious exploits, have given the reins to implacable anger, ill-timed ambition, and insatiable avarice; passions which carried him to the commission of such horrible injustices and cruelties, as rendered him, in his old age, both infamous and miserable.”

[By the way; we are not bound to reckon this among the most judicious of Plutarch's reflections, seeing, by his own account, SYLLA, who did sacrifice to the *Muses and Graces*, had more vices than MARIUS, and surpassed him in cruelty].

Our Biographer intimates to us, that Metellus laid the foundation of MARIUS's fortune, by appointing him to be one of his Lieutenants, and that MARIUS behaved himself *ingrately* towards his General, from the very day they landed in Africa.

Now, in the first place, how can this *Lieutenancy* be said, with any propriety, to be the foundation of MARIUS's fortune, who had, already been raised to the *Tribunship of the Commons*, and, after that, to the *Pretorship*, and was, at this time, esteemed the best Soldier in the Commonwealth?

And, in the next place, though we find, that MARIUS's *Lieutenancy* proved an immediate step to the Consulship, Does it any where appear, that this was the intention of METELLUS? Did he mean so great a benefit to MARIUS? No, the contrary is evident: So that no gratitude was due from MARIUS to METELLUS; as to a person, to whom he owed either the foundation of his fortune, or the means of rising to the Consulship.

“ MARIUS,” says Plutarch, “ did not consider himself as obliged to the Consul for the honourable post of Lieutenant, but to Fortune only, who was now pleased to favour him with a fine opportunity of displaying his abilities, and, thereby, rising to
“ the

priated the office to themselves ; just as if, by Law, they had an exclusive right to it ; handing it from one to another, and looking upon every

Y.R. 645.
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“ the highest dignities in the State. *He disdained to do any thing for the glory of his GENERAL ; but, in all his actions, had a view to his own glory, and to that alone.* In this view he, on every occasion, gave signal proofs of his courage ; and, as he never declined any great and important enterprise, through fear of the difficulties and dangers which attended it ; so he never, through *pride*, disdained to charge himself with the execution of the most inconsiderable. Surpassing all the other officers in foresight and military skill, he vied with the *common soldiers* in temperance and in patient enduring of hardships and fatigue ; chusing to eat and lodge no better than they ; and, whenever a camp was to be fortified, mixing among them, and putting his hand to the work : by which means he not only gained their affections, but made them content and chearful in the performance of duty. For the *Roman soldiers* were much better pleased, when a commander condescended to share their labours, than when he indulged them in sloth and idleness.”

How to reconcile this conduct of MARIUS with *his disdaining to do any thing for the promotion of METELLUS's glory*, seems to be somewhat difficult : Because certain it is, that, by whatever *passions* MARIUS might be secretly animated, he well knew, that he could do no exploit under the direction and auspices of his General, but what would redound to the credit of his GENERAL : and it is not to be doubted, that METELLUS's *principal view*, when he chose MARIUS for his Lieutenant, was the advancement of his own honour, to which he thought the exemplary behaviour of MARIUS, and his distinguished talents for military affairs, would be greatly instrumental ; and, in this, he was not disappointed.

Nor is there any shadow of proof, that MARIUS, *from the time of his landing in Africa, had malevolent * dispositions toward's his General.* If he had such dispositions, he kept them concealed from METELLUS ; or, if not, SALLUST was perfectly ignorant of this particular, when he wrote the *Jugurthine War* : for this Historian, having related how *Jugurtha* surprised the *Roman camp*, and forced

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his way into it, whilst METELLUS was employed in the attack of *Zama* (the siege of which place he did not undertake 'till the second year of his command, and towards the end of the campaign) tells us, that the *Proconsul*, when he detached MARIUS, with the auxiliaries, to recover the camp (from which the guard in their consternation had fled) “ conjured him, with tears in his eyes, by their FRIENDSHIP, and by his regard for his country, not to suffer a spot on the honour of her victorious army to remain, nor the enemy to escape with impunity.” [“ *Eumque, lacrumans, per AMICITIAM, perque Rempublicam, obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostes inulcas abire sinat.*”

It does not appear, that MARIUS, when Lieutenant to METELLUS, acted otherwise than as a brave and able officer, zealous for the service of his Country, and the honour of his General ; nor that he had a more inordinate ambition, than even the most HONEST of the Nobles, his contemporaries. He was now 48 years old, had maintained a conduct hitherto unexceptionable, and, having been *Prætor* seven years before, had a legal right to stand for the *Consulship*. SALLUST, in his account of MARIUS, has marked the *first steps* by which this famous *Roman* deviated from the path of virtue into that of the most enormous wickedness ; and has plainly told us the temptation, the provocation, by which he was seduced.

It was METELLUS's contemptuous treatment of him, that kindled those passions of resentment and revenge, with which he afterwards flamed. A brave man, and of superior lustre in that branch of merit which was most esteemed at *Rome*, is it any wonder that he did not easily brook the haughty injustice of a Grandee, to whose successes in war, during two years, he had remarkably contributed, and who, yet, despised, and insulted him, for not being nobly born ?

The insolence of the Nobles, and their violation of those laws of equality which had been the source of *Roman* greatness, may justly be considered as the occasional cause of all those mischiefs which MARIUS brought upon his country.

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* See Catrou, tom. xiv. p. 59.

Y. R. 625. New Man, how distinguished soever by his merit, as a *prophane* person, But now, the prevailing passion
 But C. unqualified for admission to that sacred honour. But now, the prevailing passion

I come now to give an instance of the inconvenient consequence of Ciceronian writing, when it is in the mouth of the person characterised.

Tom. ix. p. 251. The Continuator of M. Rollin's *Roman History*, when he first speaks of METELLUS, makes no scruple to say,—"THIS CONSUL HAD ALL THE QUALITIES THAT CAN RENDER A MAN ESTIMABLE; C. Consul avait tout ce que peut rendre un bon citoyen." Yet, not many pages after, we find that METELLUS had so little sense of honour, as to think *it right* at liberty to use any means by which he might acquire the glory of successfully terminating the war, committed to his conduct.—"I prit les quartiers d'hiver dans la Province Romaine, à portée de la *Summe*. Il ne donna pas ce temps-là à l'oisiveté et aux délices, comme il étoient souvent les autres Généraux: et ne perdant point vue de Jugurtha, il dressa de nouvelles batteries pour parvenir à finir la guerre. Il jura vraiment loüable, s'il n'eût employé que des voies d'honneur. Mais nous avons vu qu'il n'étoit pas scrupuleux sur cet article. Tout moyen lui étoit bon pour réussir."

This is said on account of the Proconsul's secretly practising with Bomilcar, the King's chief confidant, to deliver up his royal master alive or dead into the hands of his enemies: on this confidant, METELLUS promises the felon, that the Senate shall not only pardon the murder he had committed at Roma, but confirm him in the possession of his whole fortune.

When the ingenious Writer says, *Nous avons vu qu'il n'étoit pas scrupuleux*, &c. he refers to METELLUS's former tampering, for the same purpose, with every one of the many *ambassadors*, whom Jugurtha, from time to time, had sent to him, with offers of submission. "I prit les quartiers d'hiver, en les entretenant chacun en particulier; et les croissant qu'il étoit à ce qu'il pouvoit d'eux, il leur proposoit et se mettoit à leur persuader de s'engager à lui contre Jugurtha et sa mort. Constatte par ses discours, et que prouve que même les plus sages du temps ou nous en sommes, se résentoient du depe-

RISSEMENT DES MOEURS. METELLUS, par ses discours, se mettoit à leur persuader de s'engager à lui contre Jugurtha et sa mort. Constatte par ses discours, et que prouve que même les plus sages du temps ou nous en sommes, se résentoient du depe-

May we not here apply to METELLUS De Off. himself, the censure which CICERO passes l. iii. 20. on MARIUS for having calumniated METELLUS? *Pessimusne MARIUM virum bonum judicare?*—Explica, atque excute intelligentiam tuam, ut videris, quæ sit in ea, species, forma, et notio VIRI BONI. Cedit ergo in VIRUM BONUM nentiri emulacionis causa?—Nil profecto minus. Et ergo illa res tanti, aut communi ulli niam expandam, ut VIRI BONI et splendorem et nomen ac iustas? QUID EST, quod afferre tantum utilitas sit, qua dicitur, possit, quantum auferre, si BONI VIRI nomen eripuerit? *fructus justitiamque detraxerit?* Quid enim interest utraque ex parte se quis convertat in bellum, an in hominis figura immanitatem gerat bellum?

It may not perhaps be improper, on the present occasion, to add to this passage from Cicero's Offices, some few of the many things which he elsewhere speaks in commendation of MARIUS,

---Caium Marium vidimus, qui mihi secun- Paradox 2.
 cis in rebus suis ex fortissimis beneficiis: in adversis, unus ex summis viris videbatur, quod bonitas esse mortali nihil potest. Neque, infame, rebus quibus viris virtus habeat, nomen tantum virtutis, sed et quid sit, et valeat, ignorat---

---Quædam aliquam gratiorem et constantior- Orat. pro
 rent et præstantiorum virtute, prudentia, reli- Balb. 20.
 giorum, et patrum [C. MARIO?]

---Pacatum cum exeret militi tribunus Orat. pro
 militibus, in exercitu C. MARI, PROPINQUUS Mil. 3.
 ejus imperatoris: interfectus ab eo est, et cum esset in fine. Fuit enim prædicti edolej-
 unt periculis, quoniam periculi insisteret malis.
 Alii, quod illi vir summus, fidele jelu-
 ca et generis liberauit.

Plutarch tells us, that MARIUS not only adopted the young man, but, with his own hands, crowned him as a victor. But what the Biographer adds is remarkable, and surely discovers an unreasonable prejudice against MARIUS, *Heureux* [I use M. Dacier's Translation] s'il avoit pu être ainsi par ses propres

Tom. ix.
 P. 255

passion of MARIUS being soothed and encouraged by the Diviner's prediction, he confidently requested, of his General, permission to go to Rome, there

Y. R. 645.
Bef. Chr.
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Tom. xiv. p. 80. *la vertu, et à la sagesse, et non à sa propre ambition, et à son desir d'honneur.* So likewise, when the Father Cato has related how Jugurtha surprised the Roman camp while the General was making an assault upon Zama, he thus proceeds: "*Metellus, tout occupé de son de son attaque, n'apprit que des fautes de son camp, que Jugurtha y avoit pénétré. A l'instant il députa Marius, avec toute la cavalerie de son armée, pour en passer l'ennemi. Ne soufflez pas,*" *lui dit il, les honnes aux yeux, [The good Father omits per amicitiam perque Rempublicam obsecrat *] "que le*

* Vid. sup. p. 41. *Numide puisse se vanter d'avoir été plus heureux à nous surprendre, que nous à forcer Zama."* MARIUS EUT REGARD A SA PROPRE GLOIRE.---IL VOLE OU SON HONNEUR L'APPELLE." Thus we see, that, according to these Writers, MARIUS never did a virtuous action, never did what was right from a right motive. And this indeed is expressly said by PLUTARCH.---*Si pour bien juger des plus belles actions des hommes, il ne faut les considérer ni par elles-mêmes, ni par la fin qu'ils ont eue, ni par les honneurs qu'ils ont attirés à leurs auteurs, mais seulement par les motifs qui les ont produites, il est certain que ni LES EXPLOITS de Pyrrhus ni ceux de MARIUS, NE MERITENT DES GRANDES LOUANGES, DESTITUES DE CE QUI DOIT SILL LES FAIRE LOUER, je veux dire, d'un motif juste & honnête, qui est l'ame des grandes actions. Il n'y a que les travaux entrepris pour LA JUSTICE, et pour LE BIEN D'S HOMMES qui soient véritablement louables. Or CE N'A JAMAIS ETE LE DUT de Pyrrhus, ni de MARIUS. L'un et l'autre n'ont jamais rien fait que pour satisfaire leur AMBITION PARTICULIERE, et pour remplir ce DESIR INSATIABLE DE GLOIRE QUI LES DEVOIROIT.*

M. Rollin, in the Preface to his second volume of *Roman History*, says the same of ALL the Romans, That VAIN GLORY was le MOTIF UNIQUE de leurs plus belles actions. Whether this notion be well founded I shall examine elsewhere; at present let us suppose it an indisputable truth: and then let us ask, What advantage could Metellus have over

Marius in point of Moral character? None, most certainly. Metellus, if he committed fewer crimes than Marius, was not, for that reason, more virtuous than He. They had neither of them any spark of real Virtue.

But let us suppose, as Plutarch seems to do, that it was possible for the old Romans to undertake and perform great actions, from a Love of Justice, and a regard to Public Good; or, in other words, that they were capable of Virtue: How does it appear, from any thing, recorded of Metellus, that he had more virtue than Marius?

If, in imitation of some writers, we were to begin the history of the actions of this Metellus with the Character of him, such as he seems, by his Conduct, to have really deserved, it would be to this effect.

That he was haughty and insolent, despising all merit in men, who were not of his own rank and high birth. That he was closely connected with the *Honest*, and employed his influence to support them in their usurpations on the rights of the people. That, though not to be corrupted himself, by money, he was a safe friend to those *honest* men who took bribes from a foreign enemy.

That, to acquire the glory of subduing that enemy, when he was General of the Roman army, he did not scruple to employ any means, even the basest and most odious; and that, when he had opportunities of serving his country, by weakening the enemy, he neglected his duty out of private pique and envy.

I say, How greatly would this character, previously given, diminish our admiration of those parts of his conduct, on account of which he bears a good name in history, and is, at this day, spoken of, as a man of real and distinguished merit? The particulars, I mean, are:

1. That he steadily refused the oath pressed upon the *Senators* by the Marian faction, an oath which all the other *honest* members, as well as the dishonest, meanly took.

2. That he chose to go into exile rather than commence a civil war.

Y. R. 645.
 Bc. Chr.
 107.
 344 Conf.

there to present himself a candidate for the Consular dignity. METELLUS, who, though possessed of many good qualities, had a mind tainted with the pride and haughtiness common among the Nobles, pretended, at first, to wonder at his Lieutenant's project, and advised him, as out of friendship, to be satisfied with his condition, and not entertain any views above it: and having sententiously intimated to him, *That ALL things were not to be coveted by ALL men*, exhorted him, *carefully to avoid asking of the Roman People, what they might with good reason refuse him*. But MARIUS, notwithstanding this, and a great deal more to the same effect, persevering to solicit his discharge, the Proconsul, at length, answered him sharply, "You need not be in such haste to go away; it will be time enough for you to stand for the Consulship, when my son may be your colleague." The son, at this time, served under his father, and was about *twenty* years of age.

Such contemptuous treatment, far from diverting MARIUS from his purpose, served only to make him more eager in the pursuit of it, and to kindle in his breast an inextinguishable anger against METELLUS. FROM THIS TIME, putting himself wholly under the guidance of the worst of counsellors, *Ambition* and *Revenge*, he said and did every thing, which those passions dictated to him. To the soldiers that were under his command, in their winter quarters, he allowed unusual liberty, relaxing the rigour of their discipline, which he had hitherto always enforced, by his own example, no less than by his authority. Amongst the Roman merchants (of whom there were great numbers at Utica) he severely censured his General's conduct, insinuating, that he was a vain man, had the pride of a King, and, being too fond of command, had protracted the war, without necessity: and he boasted, that, were he himself intrusted with only one half of the army, he would, in a few days, have *Jugurtha* in chains. The merchants listened to this discourse the more readily, and thought it the more reasonable, because they had suffered, in their commerce, by the continuance of the war, and because no measures seem expeditious enough to men who are in great haste to be rich.

Not to neglect any means by which his views might be promoted, he made court, even by flattery, to a poor unhappy *Namidian*, the faculties of whose mind were impaired by disease. His name was *Gauda*; he was grandson of *Mastissa*, and being a son of *Mastanabal*, was brother to *Jugurtha*, though by a different mother. King *Micipsa*, by his will, had

This was, doubtless, very laudable, especially if those who propose it to him could have supported him: but it might be the effect of mere regard for his own preservation, it not being likely that he and his friends would have got the better of *Marius*.

[By the way, what sort of *honest* men were those, who, for the sake of his personal interest, would have involved their country in a civil war? *Memmius*, the *Tribune of the Commons*, dehorted the people from ways of violence on a much more weighty occasion. *Vid. supr.*]

named

named this *Gauda* to be next in succession to the crown, after his three immediate heirs. The crazy man having been refused by the Proconsul, certain honours, which could not be granted him without violating the *Roman* customs, was grievously affronted. In the height of his discontent, *MARIUS* accosts him, “*What? a man of regal dignity——and a man of such importance——a grandson of MASINISSA to be treated so ignominiously? Demand satisfaction at Rome, for the insult you have suffered from the General. You may depend upon my assistance. Nothing could hinder your immediate possession of the kingdom of Numidia, were Jugurtha either killed or taken prisoner; and one of these would quickly be effected, if I were Consul, and intrusted with the command of the troops.*”

By these, and other such like methods, *MARIUS* engaged *Gauda*, the *Roman* Knights, the Soldiers, and many of the Merchants (and the hope of a speedy peace engaged still more) to write to their friends at *Rome*, inveighing against *METELLUS* for his slow procedure in the war, and expressing their earnest desires, that the conduct of it might be given to *MARIUS*. The concurrence of so many persons, in soliciting for his promotion, did him great honour; and the times too seemed much to favour his pretensions; the *Nobles* having lately suffered a terrible overthrow by the *Mamilian* * Law, and the *Commons*, in general, being now disposed to raise *New Men* to the highest dignities.

* Vid.
supr. p. 30.

THOUGH *Jugurtha*, by a fraudulent treaty, had been stripped of a considerable part of his treasure, his arms and his troops, yet he now, with great diligence, assembled an army, fortified the towns in his possession, and endeavoured, by promises and threatenings, to bring over those which had revolted from him. *Metellus* had put a garrison into *Vacca*, one of the largest and richest cities of *Numidia*, and had given the government of the place to *T. Turpilius Silanus*, an *Italian*, his particular friend, with whom he was connected by the ties of hospitality, subsisting from father to son. The chief men of the city, being gained by *Jugurtha*, took the opportunity of a public festival to invite the Governor, the Tribunes, and other officers of the garrison, to feast at their houses. Each man stabbed his guest, and then the inhabitants fell upon the *Roman* soldiers, and put them all to the sword. Of all the *Italians*, *Turpilius* alone escaped: whether this was owing to pity in his host, to compact, or to chance, is not clear: but one thing (adds *Sallust*) seems to admit of no doubt, that, by whatsoever way he escaped, he was a base and detestable wretch, seeing, in so great a calamity (amidst a general massacre of his soldiers, countrymen, and friends) he could prefer an inglorious life to unsullied honour.

^b *Plutarch* says, the inhabitants of *Vacca* sent *Turpilius* away in safety, because of the lenity of his government. *Plut. in Mar.*

Metellus,

Y.R. 545.
Bef. Chr.
107.
344 Corf.

Metellus, the second day after his loss of the town, recovered it by surprise, gave it up to be plundered, and put most of the inhabitants to death.—The Governor *Turpilius*, being brought to a trial, and making but a weak defence, the Council of War condemned him, and, as he was a *Roman* citizen with only the privileges of *Latium*, he suffered the punishment of being first scourged, and then beheaded¹.

About the same time, *Bomilcar*, perceiving that *Jugurtha* had begun to suspect him, turned all his thoughts to prevent, by a timely murder of his master, the probable consequences of that suspicion: and, the more easily, to succeed in the enterprize, he engaged a *Numidian* Nobleman, named *Nabdalsa*, to be his associate in it. *Nabdalsa* was very rich and very popular, and had used to command a separate army, for performing those military operations, to which *Jugurtha*, when happening either to be employed in others of greater importance, or to be fatigued with business, could not, in person, attend. These two conspirators having fixed a day for the assassination, *Nabdalsa* repaired to the army (at that time, posted in the midst of the *Roman* winter-quarters, to preserve the country from being pillaged). Nevertheless, through fear, he failed to keep his appointment. *Bomilcar* therefore sent a letter to him, reproaching him with his neglect, and encouraging him to continue steady in the resolution they had taken; for that *Jugurtha* would certainly be destroyed; and the only question was, whether he should perish by the bravery of *Metellus*, or by theirs. When this letter arrived, *Nabdalsa* was lying upon his bed, to take a little rest after fatigue. Having read and considered it, he fell asleep. Soon after, a *Numidian*, who managed the General's private affairs, and was his favourite, and the confident of all his designs, except the last, entered the tent, and seeing a letter upon the pillow, took it up, read it, and then fled to *Jugurtha*. *Nabdalsa*, awaking, missed his letter, and, being informed of his servant's flight, sent after him in all haste, but to no purpose. He himself therefore went directly to the King, assured him that he intended to have discovered the whole affair, had he not been prevented by his servant, and, with tears, begged he might not lie under the suspicion of so great a crime. *Jugurtha*, disguising his real thoughts, returned a mild answer; and when he had put *Bomilcar*, together with many of his accomplices, to death, continued his dissimulation, fearing, should he give

¹ *Appian* tells us, that the *Roman* General put to death all the Senators of *Nauca*. *App. in Fragm.*

² According to *Plutarch*, *Marius* so irritated the Council against the accused, that *Metellus*, though unwilling, could not avoid pronouncing sentence of death upon him; and when, afterward, the innocence of *Turpi-*

lius appeared, *Marius* every where boasted, that he had lodged in *Metellus*'s breast, a fury that would perpetually torment him for having killed his host.

M. Dacier observes, that the innocence of *Turpilius* had not been discovered, when *SALLUST* wrote.

the reins to his revenge, he might thereby occasion an insurrection: but, after this time, he had no repose of mind by night or day. Fearing his own subjects now, as much as he feared the *Romans*, he could not think himself secure in any company. He had always a circumspective eye, was affrighted at every noise, and, not knowing where he could sleep in safety, was perpetually shifting his apartment, contrary to all regal decorum. Sometimes, starting out of his sleep, and snatching up his sword, he raised an alarm in the dead of night: so near to madness had the excess of his fear reduced him.

The Proconsul, having received intelligence, by deserters, of the fate of *Bomilcar*, applied himself to make preparations for the war, just as if it were now at its commencement: and judging, that if, by an exertion of his authority, he detained his Lieutenant, who never ceased importuning him for leave to go home, little benefit was to be expected from his presence, he at length dismissed him [about twelve days, says *Plutarch*, before the election of Consuls.] The letter from *Utica*, and the public haranges of the Tribunes, had so prepossessed the People of *Rome* in favour of *MARIUS*, that the reception he met with there fell nothing short of his sanguine hopes: for the Comitia not only raised him to the Consulship [with *L. Cassius Longinus*] but voted him the command of the army in *Numidia*, though the Senate had, already, by a decree, assigned that province to *METELLUS*.

MARIUS, whose chief object, now, was victory in the war against *JUGURTHA*, immediately demanded of the Senate, recruits for the legions; summoning, at the same time, all the bravest men of the *Latin* nation, to attend him: (with the most of these he was personally acquainted, by their having served with him; and of the rest there were few whose characters he had not learned by common fame.) Many even of the discharged veterans he prevailed upon, by the force of persuasion, to follow him in his *African* expedition: nor did he neglect to ask auxiliary troops from the Kings and States in alliance with *Rome*.

The recruits, which the Consul demanded, were most readily and cheerfully voted by the Senate; who bearing him no good will, and believing that the People, in general, disliked the service in *Numidia*, hoped that he would either be unable, through want of men, to pursue the war, or would lose the affection of the multitude, by constraining them, against their inclinations, to give in their names. But, herein, the Fathers were disappointed: for the People flocked in crowds to be enlisted; every man pleasing himself with the hope of returning home crowned with victory, and enriched with spoil. *MARIUS*, indeed, by an harangue to the multitude, had contributed, not a little, to raise their expectations. Ever since his election, he had made it his daily practice to insult the Nobility, sometimes particular persons, sometimes the whole body; boasting continually, that he had wrested the Consulship from them, like spoils from a

Y. R. 645.
Bef. Chr.
107.
344 Cons.

Y. R. 646.
Bef. Chr.
106.
345 Cons.

Y. R. 645.
B. Chr.
106.
345 Conf.

vanquished enemy: and, when all his demands had been complied with, and he was about to levy soldiers, he assembled the People, and spoke to them in the following manner:

“ I know, *Romans*, that the behaviour of those who have obtained from your favour, the high offices in the State, has, generally speaking, been very different from what it was before their promotion. While candidates, they are full of modesty, humble petitioners, attentive and active to oblige. Are they elected? instantly they become proud, and lazy for the rest of their lives. But this is not my turn of mind. The good of the Commonwealth is, to my apprehension, of much greater moment, than whether this man or that be advanced to the Consulship or Prætorship. Nor am I insensible of the weighty charge laid upon me by your very great kindness. *To make preparations for the war, and, at the same time, to be frugal of the Public money; to compel to the Service those whom you are unwilling to displease; to attend to every thing that concerns the Public, both at home and abroad; and to do all this amidst a confederacy of envious, factious men, determined to oppose all your measures,* is a more arduous task than you, fellow citizens, can easily imagine.

“ I consider too, that, in the discharge of high offices, if other men fail, they are protected from condemnation and censure by the antiquity and lustre of their families, the heroic actions of their ancestors, the credit of their relations and friends, and the numerous crowd of their clients and dependants: but that I have nothing of all this to trust to; that my sole hope and confidence must be in my own virtue and integrity.

“ I am likewise aware, that all eyes are upon me, and that while every honest and candid observer (pleased with my successful endeavours to serve the state) wishes well to me, the Nobles are incessantly watching for an opportunity to compass my ruin. It concerns me, therefore, to take the more care, that *your Hopes* be not disappointed, and that *their Cabals* prove ineffectual. From my early youth, I have been inured to toils and dangers. The course which I have hitherto pursued from a disinterested principle, shall I continue it now, when you have bestowed on me so noble a reward? Those who have only a semblance of virtue, a disguise which ambition has occasionally induced them to put on, find it difficult to preserve, in their conduct, even that appearance, when they are actually in power: to me, who have all my life been in the practice of virtue, the habit of well doing is become natural.

“ You have ordained, that I shall have the management of the war against JUGURTHA; an ordinance highly displeasing to the Nobles. Now, pray consider with yourselves, whether it would not be better to alter your choice, and employ, upon this, or any other like occasion,

“ some one out of that worthy body; a man of an ancient family, who
 “ has abundance of images, and no experience in military affairs. You will
 “ see the hurry, the confusion he will be in, having much to do, knowing
 “ nothing of the matter, and applying himself to some poor man of the
 “ Commons to instruct him. For this has, generally, been the case: he,
 “ whom you had appointed to the command, has been obliged to find some
 “ other commander from whom to receive directions. Nay, I myself know
 “ persons, who did not begin, till they were chosen Consuls, to read the
 “ history of our ancestors, and the military precepts of the *Greeks*. Pre-
 “ posterous proceeding! For though, in the order of time, the election to
 “ offices be prior to the exercise of them, yet, in the order of things, qua-
 “ lification and experience should precede election.

“ *Romans*, compare me, who am but a *New Man*, with these haughty
 “ Nobles. Such exploits as they are wont only to read or hear of, I
 “ have, partly, *seen performed*, by other brave men, and have, partly, my-
 “ self performed: what they have learned from books, I have learned in
 “ the service. Now, whether Practice or Speculation be of the greater
 “ value, do you judge.

“ They despise me, for my being a *New Man*; I them, for their
 “ being *slothful* towards: they reproach me with my want of fortune, I
 “ them, with the want of virtue. And it is my opinion, that though
 “ all men have one common nature, those who excel most in courage
 “ and in fortitude, are the most noble. If the question could be put to
 “ the fathers of *Albinus* and *Bestia*, whether (had it been in their option)
 “ they would have chosen *them* for their sons, or such men as I am:
 “ what answer do you think they would make? Doubtless, that they
 “ should have chosen to have the most worthy men for their sons. But,
 “ if the Nobles have reason to despise me, they have the same reason
 “ to despise their own progenitors, whose Nobility, like mine, took its
 “ rise from military virtue. They envy my advancement; let them
 “ envy, too, my integrity, my toils, the dangers I have passed through:
 “ for by these I arrived at the Consular dignity. Blinded with pride,
 “ these men live in such an infamous manner, as if they slighted the
 “ honours you have to bestow; and yet they sue for them as confidently
 “ as if, by their course of life, they had deserved them. Ridiculous
 “ delusion! They propose to themselves to riot in the pleasures of a lazy
 “ effeminacy; and then to receive the rewards of a laborious virtue!
 “ When they make harangues before you, or in the Senate, their
 “ eloquence is chiefly employed in extolling their fore-fathers; from the
 “ relation of whose gallant actions they imagine a lustre will be derived
 “ to themselves. The event is quite contrary to their expectation: for
 “ the more illustrious the lives and exploits of the ancestors were, the
 “ more scandalous are the sloth and demerit of the descendants. The
 “ truth is, the glory of ancestors is as a light, which, shining upon their
 Vol. III. H “ posterity,

Y. R. 646.
 Bet. Ch.
 106.
 345 Cori.

Y. R. 645. " posterity, makes them conspicuous to the public eye, and suffers neither
 Bel. Chr. " their good nor their bad actions to be concealed. There is no such light,
 106. " I confess, shining upon *me*; but, what is far better, my actions have a
 345 Cor. " lustre of their own. Mark the equity of these Nobles! The honours
 " which they arrogantly claim to themselves, in reward of other mens at-
 " chievements, they think me unworthy to receive in reward of my own.
 " And for what reason am I deemed so unworthy? Why, truly, because I
 " have no images, and my Nobility is recent: but, surely, the man who
 " acquires Nobility to his family, is a much more honourable person than
 " he, who, born of a noble family, becomes a disgrace to it, debases it,
 " makes it, by his infamous conduct, less noble than it was.

" I know very well, that if they were now disposed to answer to what I
 " have been saying, they could do it with a most copious and flowing elo-
 " quence, and with great accuracy: nevertheless, as they have, in all places,
 " given a loose to their tongues against me, and against *you* too, ever since
 " you conferred this great dignity upon me, I was resolved to speak my
 " mind; lest my silence should be interpreted into a consciousness of guilt:
 " not that I imagine I can suffer any real hurt from harangues: for, if
 " what the Orator delivers be true, it must be to my praise; if false, my
 " life and manners confute it. But, since *you* are blamed, both for pro-
 " moting me to this high station, and for intrusting me with a charge so
 " important as the present war, please to consider again and again, whether
 " it will not be prudent to revoke your decrees. I have no images,
 " as I told you before; I cannot, in order to inspire you with confidence
 " in my abilities and integrity, boast of ancestors, who have been honoured
 " with *Consulships* or *Triumphs*: but, if it be necessary, I can shew you
 " SPEARS, A BANNER, RICH HORSE-TRAPPINGS, and other military^a
 " rewards, which have been given me by the Generals under whom I
 " have served; and I can shew you, upon my body, scars of wounds; and
 " they are all *before*. These are my images; such is my nobility; not a
 " Nobility like theirs; not an inheritance, but an acquisition; a Nobility
 " which I have myself purchased at the price of hardships, labours, and
 " perils.

" That I have no eloquence, I readily confess; and the want of it gives
 " me very little concern: virtue needs no paint, no artificial ornament to
 " set it off: let our great men have recourse to the false colouring of
 " eloquence: for, in truth, they need it, to hide the infamy of their actions:
 " I never was instructed in *Grecian* literature: nor had I any inclination
 " to learn that, which, I found, did not, in the least, contribute to the
 " increase of virtue in the teachers. But I have learnt lessons which
 " qualify a man much better to be a useful member of the Commonwealth:
 " I have learnt to rout an enemy in the field, to force him in his strong

^a See Vol. I. B. ii. ch. 25. concerning the military rewards in use among the Romans.

holds,

“ holds, to fear nothing but infamy, to bear cold and heat, to lodge upon
 “ the bare ground, to endure, at the same time, both hunger and fatigue.
 “ It is by the practice of these lessons that I shall animate my troops; my
 “ glory shall not be the fruit of *their* toils *only*; I shall not indulge myself
 “ in ease, while they are suffering hardships. To keep your soldiers to strict
 “ discipline, while you are taking your pleasure, this is to act the part of a
 “ tyrant, not of a General. The other method of proceeding is the only
 “ one that becomes a commander of his *fellow citizens*; and it was by such
 “ conduct that our fore-fathers acquired renown, both to the Republic and
 “ to themselves. And yet our present Nobles, having no likeness to *them*,
 “ despise *us*, who endeavour after it; and demand of you all places of power
 “ and trust, not on account of any thing they have done to deserve those
 “ honours, but as due to them by inheritance. How grossly are the un-
 “ derstandings of these men deceived by their excess of pride! Their an-
 “ cestors left them every thing that it was in their power to leave them;
 “ their wealth, their images, the glory of their exploits: but they did not
 “ transmit their *virtue* to their descendants; this was impossible.

“ They call me a clownish, uncouth, ill-bred fellow: and why? because
 “ I do not make elegant entertainments, nor keep a buffoon, nor give a
 “ higher price for a slave that is to be my cook, than for one that is to
 “ work at my farm. Every part of this charge I readily avow. For I re-
 “ member to have heard my father and other worthy persons often say,
 “ that delicacies and fineries belong to women; labours and rugged industry
 “ to men: that the *good* aspire to glory, more than to wealth, and think no
 “ furniture so ornamental as arms.

“ But since our Nobles are not of this opinion, let them proceed in their
 “ own way. Leaving sweat and dust and such things to us (who indeed
 “ prefer them to the costly banquets of the luxurious), let *them* go on as
 “ they begun; let them *love*, and *drink*, and *pamper their bellies*; let them
 “ spend their riper years, as they have spent their youth, in the lowest of
 “ sensual gratifications. To *these* let all their thoughts be confined.—
 “ No, not so, say our worthy Nobles: *When we have made ourselves infamous*
 “ *and detestable by the practice of all the most scandalous vices, we will then*
 “ *contrive to snatch the rewards due to the virtuous and brave.* And thus
 “ luxury and sloth, vices so fatally mischievous to the Commonwealth, are
 “ to be no hindrance to the ambition of men, the most shamefully stained
 “ with them; no obstacle in their way to the public honours, even the
 “ highest dignities of the state!

“ And now, having answered these Nobles so far as was necessary, not
 “ indeed to expose fully the base enormities of their conduct, but to vin-
 “ dicate my own character; I shall add a word or two in relation to the
 “ present state of public affairs. In the first place, as to *Numidia*, fear
 “ nothing, *Romans*; in effect, the victory is yours; for you have now
 “ removed every thing that hitherto defended *Jugurtha*; every thing,

Y. R. 445.
Bel. Chr.
106.
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“ indeed, that could defend him, *covetousness, ignorance, pride*. Add to
 “ this, that you have an army there, well acquainted with the country.
 “ It is an army, I confess, not so fortunate as courageous: for, through
 “ the covetousness or temerity of its commanders, it has suffered a great
 “ diminution: and it is for this reason, I would have you, that are of an
 “ age to bear arms, join with me, and take upon you the care and defence
 “ of the Commonwealth. And do not suffer yourselves to be discouraged
 “ by the mishaps of others, or by the haughty behaviour of some former
 “ generals. Both in marches and in battles, you shall always have me
 “ near at hand to consult with, and to share with you every danger into
 “ which I lead you: I and you shall be upon an equal foot, with regard
 “ to the fatigues, hardships, and perils of war. Never doubt, then, but,
 “ with the help of the Gods, we shall conquer; we shall *certainly* and
 “ *speedily* acquire both wealth and honour. And, were these *uncertain*,
 “ or *at a distance*, yet surely it becomes all honest men to support the
 “ cause of their country: for no mortal will be made immortal by sloth;
 “ nor did ever any father wish that his children might never die, but that,
 “ while they lived, they might live and act like worthy men. *Romans*, I
 “ should say more, if words could put courage into cowards: to the brave,
 “ I think, I have said enough.”

Marius, perceiving that the spirits of the multitude were elated by his discourse, caused provisions, money, and other necessities for the war, to be, with all expedition, embarked; and he sent them away under the care of his Lieutenant, *A. Manlius*. His own diligence he applied wholly to the business of levying soldiers: nor did he, on this occasion, observe the ancient custom of admitting into the army those only, who had some estate, and belonged to one or other of the five first classes; without distinction, he accepted of all* that presented themselves; so that the greater part of his recruits were of the *Capite-censi*, citizens, so poor, that they paid only a small poll-tax. His conduct, in this particular, (says *Sallust*) was, by some, imputed to the scarcity of better men; by others, to his ambition; the most needy, those who have nothing to lose, and who think no action dishonourable that is gainful, being the properest aids to a man, whose enterprise is the acquisition of power.

During these transactions at *Rome*, *Metellus*, in *Africa*, had been engaged, partly in military expeditions, partly in fruitless negotiations.

After the departure of *Marius*, the Proconsul led his forces against *Jugurtha*, and obtained an easy victory over him: for the King, having put to death a great number of his old friends, and the rest having, through fear, deserted him (some flying for refuge to *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania*, others going over to the *Romans*), was fallen into the extremest perplexity. It was impossible for him to carry on the war without ministers and without

* *Plutarch* reports, that *Marius* did not refuse to enlist even slaves. *Plut. in Mar.*

generals; and yet, whom could he trust after so much perfidiousness as he had lately experienced? no advice, no person, nothing could please him: he marched, and countermarched; and changed his general officers every day: one while he advanced towards the enemy, and presently after turned away to the deserts; nor could he determine which he had more reason to distrust, the courage of his people, or their fidelity. Whilst he was in this wavering and distressful condition of mind, *Metellus*, on a sudden, came upon him. That part of the *Numidian* army, which the King commanded in person, maintained its ground for some time; but the rest was routed and put to flight at the very first shock. *Jugurtha* made his escape, through the deserts, to *Thala*, a large and wealthy town, the chief repository of his treasures, and the place where his sons received their education. Upon advice of these particulars, *Metellus*, believing he should put an end to the war, could he but take *Thala*, resolved to march thither, and invest it; though the river that was nearest to the town was fifty miles distant from it, and the whole space, between them, waste and without water. Leaving his baggage behind, he took with him only ten days provision, loading with water, from the river, the beasts of burthen, and commanding those of the *Numidians* who, after the late battle, had submitted to the *Romans*, to bring him water and provisions on a certain day at a certain place. It is related that, when he arrived at this place (where the *Numidians* punctually met him according to the orders they had received), there fell such a vast quantity of rain, as was alone more than sufficient for the army; and that the soldiers, from a superstitious turn of mind, preferred the rain-water to that of the river; persuading themselves, that the plenteous shower was an evidence of their being under the special protection of the immortal Gods: and this persuasion greatly heightened their courage. The next day, contrary to *Jugurtha's* expectation, the *Roman* army appeared before *Thala*. The towns-people, though astonished at so strange an event (for they had thought themselves sufficiently secured by the desert), were not the less active and diligent in taking the necessary measures for defence. But the King, imagining now, that no enterprize of war was too difficult for the *Roman* General, quitted the town in the night, taking with him his children, and a great quantity of his money: nor did he ever, after this, stay above one day or one night in the same place. He pretended to be upon business that required haste; but, in truth, was apprehensive of treachery, which he hoped to prevent by such continued motion, as must hinder the disaffected from having convenient leisure and opportunity to form combinations and conspiracies.

It was forty days before the *Romans* could, by indefatigable labour and many sharp conflicts, make themselves masters of *Thala*; and even then they were disappointed of the hoped-for spoil: for the *Roman* deserters, so soon as they perceived the wall shaken by the battering rams, carried the gold and silver, and whatever else was deemed valuable, into the royal palace;

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palace, and when they had there filled themselves with wine and good cheer, set fire to the edifice, chusing rather to perish in the flames with the palace and its treasures, than to fall into the hands of *Metellus* [a General noted for being *cruel**, rather than *justly severe* to deserters.]

Jugurtha, on his leaving *Tea*, had retired among the *Getulians*, a savage people to the south of *Numidia*, who had never heard of the *Roman* name. He gathered a great multitude of these together, and taught them something of military discipline. Then, by presents and promises, he gained to his interest the favourites of his father-in-law *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*; and, by their means, engaged him to arm against the *Romans*. To this *Bocchus* was the more easily persuaded, because, in the beginning of the war, he had, without success, sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, with the offer of his friendship and alliance. (For though, at that time, nothing could be more seasonable or more advantageous to the Republic than a treaty of alliance with the *Mauritanian*, yet, through the avarice and influence of a few men in power, who would do nothing, right or wrong, but for money, his offer had been rejected).

When the two armies were joined, and the Kings had mutually pledged their faith to each other, *Jugurtha*, to raise the anger of the *Mauritanians* against the *Romans*, represented them as a people injurious, oppressive, insatiably covetous, and the common enemies of mankind. “*They have just the same cause for waging war against you, and against every independent Prince and State, as against me—THEIR LUST OF DOMINATION. I am now regarded as their enemy; not long ago, the Carthaginians and King Perses were considered in the same light; and so will every King, hereafter, who shall be thought rich enough to merit that distinction.*”

The combined armies, upon advice that *Metellus* had lodged his booty and prisoners, together with his heavy baggage, in *Cirta*, bent their march thither. It would amply reward the labour of the enterprize, could they possess themselves of the place; and in case they should be hindered from seizing it, by the *Romans* coming to its relief, yet, at least, a battle would ensue, which, at this time, was what the politic *Numidian* most eagerly desired; lest *Bocchus*, having leisure to reflect, should lay aside his hostile purposes, and entertain thoughts very different from those of war.

As the *Moors* were a new enemy, with whose manner of fighting the *Roman* General was unacquainted, he had not now the same forwardness, as heretofore, to come to an engagement at all adventures: but, fortifying a camp at a small distance from *Cirta*, he there waited an opportunity of giving battle with advantage.

* A great part of *Getulia* was subject to *Jugurtha*.

Salust tells us, that such ties of affinity were of little strength among the *Numidians* and *Moors*; because every man being free to take as many wives as he could maintain, the

husband's heart was divided among this variety, and never so captivated and engrossed by any one of his wives, as to make her his companion and friend: he treated them all with equal contempt.

It was during this inaction he received notice, by letters from *Rome*, that the People had assigned the province of *Numidia* to *Marius* (their advancing him to the Consulship he had learnt before). *Sallust* reports, that the grief and vexation of *Metellus* were far beyond what either decency or virtue could allow; “ he restrained neither his tears nor his tongue; and, though, in other respects, an excellent man, wanted fortitude to maintain a character of dignity in such adverse and trying events. Some imputed his impatience to pride; others to that quick sense, which every man, conscious of worthiness, must unavoidably have of contumelious treatment; many thought, that to see a victory, which he had gained, snatched out of his hands, was the principal cause of his immoderate concern: but I have been sufficiently assured, that the advancement of *Marius*, not the wrong done to himself, was the insupportable torment; and that he would have borne his removal from the province with more temper, had any other than *Marius* been appointed to succeed him.”

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Restrained, therefore, by the discontent of his mind, and *thinking it a folly to purchase advantages to another with danger to himself, he attempted nothing farther in the way of arms*; but dispatched deputies to King *Bocchus*, to admonish him, “ Not to become an enemy of the Roman People, without provocation: that he had now a fine opportunity of entering into friendship and alliance with them, which would be more for his benefit than a war. That, whatever confidence he might place in his riches or in his military force, it would be highly imprudent to change certainties for uncertainties, and blend the affairs of his kingdom, that were now in a flourishing condition, with the desperate fortune of *Jugurtha*.”

To this the King, with a courteous calmness, answered, “ That peace was what he earnestly desired, but that he pitied the misfortunes of *Jugurtha*; that if *he* might be included in the treaty, all other matters would, with ease, be amicably adjusted.” The Roman General sent a reply to the King’s answer; messengers from both sides went backwards and forwards; the time passed away; and, *agreeably to the desire of Metellus, no progress was made in the war.*

But now the Consul, *Marius*, who, by his diligence and popularity, had raised soldiers sufficient (and somewhat more than had been granted him) to compleat the legions, arrived with his recruits at *Utica*. Here the army was delivered up to him by *P. Rutilius*, the Lieutenant of *Metellus*: for this angry General, that he might not have the pain of *seeing* those things, which he could not even *bear of* with patience, carefully avoided an encounter with his hated successor; and made the best of his way to *Rome*. Contrary to his expectation, he was there received with the utmost demonstrations of public joy, and as a man equally dear to the *Senate* and to the

Commons;

Commons; the envy of the *latter* [who had triumphantly carried their point] being now entirely subsided.

It would seem, that, after the *Roman* army had been strengthened by the troops which *Marius* brought with him into *Africa*, *Jugurtha* had not the same eagerness as before to come to a general battle. For no sooner did the two Kings hear of the Consul's arrival, than, separating their forces, they retired into places difficult of access, there to watch opportunities when they might suddenly issue out and fall with advantage upon straggling parties of the *Romans*, who, they hoped, would grow secure and remiss in discipline; this being commonly the case of soldiers, who have laid aside all fear of an enemy. But *Marius* was too active and cautious to be easily surprized. By exercising his new raised men in frequent skirmishes, and in reducing many castles and small towns (neither strong by nature, nor well garrisoned), he brought them gradually to be upon an equality with his veterans, both in courage and in the exact observance of discipline. And, in order to raise yet higher the spirits of *all* his soldiers by experienced prosperity, and by hope still more pleasing, having led them into a rich and fertile country, and there amassed abundance of spoil, he most graciously divided among them the whole.

On the other hand, the two Kings had no success in the method, they had chosen, of carrying on the war, for the Consul so watched their motions, as to prevent the execution of any important design they could form; and, in frequent instances, when either the *Getulians* or the *Numidians*, having pillaged the territories of the *Roman* allies, were going off with their booty, he intercepted, and routed them; and, once, near *Cirta*, he pushed *Jugurtha* to such extremity, that, to make his escape, he was forced to throw off his armour.

But *Marius*, considering that enterprizes of this kind, how fortunate soever, had more of show than of substance, and contributed little towards bringing the war to a conclusion, resolved now to invest, one after another, all those fortresses and towns of *Numidia*, which, by their situation, or garrisons, or numerous inhabitants, gave the enemy any advantage in the

* That *Metellus*, for his victories over the *Numidian* King, was honoured with a magnificent triumph, and the surname of *Numidicus*, we learn from *Velleius Paterculus*, l. II. c. xi. and from other writers. Nevertheless, from what *A. Gellius* reports to have been said by *Metellus*, in a speech to the People, it is concluded, that his triumph had been opposed by one of the Tribunes. Qua in re quanto universi me unum antistatis; tanto vobis quam mihi majorem injuriam atque contumeliam facit, Quirites: et quanto probi injuriam facilius accipiant quam alteri tradunt, tanto ille

vobis quam mihi pejorem honorem habuit: nam me injuriam ferre, vos facere vult, Quirites: ut hac conquestio, istic vituperatio relinquatur. *A. Gell.* xii. 9. It is likewise reported, that an accusation of having embezzled the public money was brought against *Metellus*: but that, when the accuser had obliged him (according to custom) to produce his books of account, none of the Judges would look into them, lest they should seem to doubt of his integrity. *Val. Max.* l. II. c. x. *Cic. pro. C. Balb.* c. v. and *Ep. ad Attic.* l. I. ep. xvi.

war.

war. By this means *Jugurtha*, would be deprived of his strong holds, if he did not come to their relief; or, if he did, would be forced to a battle; in which (for any thing that appeared to the contrary) he must depend wholly upon his own forces. For *Bocchus*, either from the levity and inconstancy of his character, or with a view to deceive and surprize the *Roman* army, had frequently sent messengers to the Consul, with assurances, *That he earnestly desired to be in friendship with the Romans*; who might, therefore, (he said) lay aside all apprehension of hostilities from him.

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Marius, in pursuit of his resolution, began with castles, and certain inconsiderable, but well fortified, towns. Some of these he took by assault; others he terrified into a surrendry; and he reduced others by fair words and promises. But when he found that *Jugurtha*, instead of coming to their defence, and offering him battle, continued to keep at a great distance, wholly busied in other affairs, he thought the proper time was come for enterprizes of greater importance, and more difficult execution, than any of those in which he had hitherto employed his troops.

Capsa, a large and strong town, said to have been built by the *Lybian Hercules*, stood in the midst of a vast desert: and, as the inhabitants were exempted from paying taxes, and enjoyed other advantages of a gentle government, it was with reason believed, that *Jugurtha* might depend upon their fidelity. Against an enemy they were well fortified by bulwarks, arms, and men; and still better by the difficulty of approaching them: for, excepting the lands near the town, the whole country around was waste and barren, without water, and infested by serpents, animals always pernicious, but more so when inflamed by thirst. The *Roman* General conceived a strong desire to attempt this place, not only because the reduction of it would be useful with regard to the operations of the war, but because it was difficult to effect, and he remembered, that *Metellus* had acquired great honour by the conquest of *Thala*, a town for situation and strength much like *Capsa*: the difference was, that not far from *Thala* were some springs of water, whereas the *Capsenses* had but one spring, and that was within the town: nor had they any other supply of water, but from the heavens^a.

Marius, to conceal his purpose, sent away his Lieutenant, *A. Manlius*, with a detachment of light-armed soldiers to the city *Laris*, (where he had placed his military chest and his stores) telling him that he was going to pillage the country, and would join him in a few days. He then marched directly towards the river *Tana*. As corn was scarce^b and water too, the General made the best provision he could to supply both wants. He had,

^a *Salust* observes, that the scarcity of water in *Numidia*, and the other inland parts of *Africa*, was by the inhabitants the more easily borne, as they lived mostly upon milk and venison, without the use of salt or any other seasoning that provokes appetite or increases thirst: the purpose of eating and drinking,

among them, being to satisfy a natural hunger and thirst, not to gratify a fantastic luxury.

^b The *Numidians* were much more solicitous about grass for their cattle, than the production of grain; and what corn the land had produced this year, had, by the King's order, been carried into places of defence.

Y R. 605 a few days before, collected a good quantity of cattle: and during his
E. C. march, he distributed, in equal proportions, among the companies of foot
and troops of horse, a certain number of those beasts, directing that, as fast
as they were killed, bottles should be made of their hides: so that when,
after five days, he arrived at the river, the soldiers had made a considerable
number of leather bottles. Here he halted, and pitched a camp; but gave
orders to his men, that, after taking due refreshment, they should be ready
to march at sun-set; at which time, leaving their baggage behind, they
were to load themselves and their beasts of burden with water, and with
nothing else.

At the hour appointed *Marius* led out his troops, and having marched all
night, encamped again in the morning. Next night he renewed his march;
and the third, long before day-break, arrived at a place full of small hills,
not above two miles from *Capsa*: there he passed the remaining part of the
night, taking all possible care to avoid being discovered. So soon as day
appeared, the *Capsenses*, who had no apprehension of an enemy in their
neighbourhood, came out of the city in great numbers; *Marius* perceived
it, and straight commanded his whole cavalry, and likewise the swiftest of his
infantry, to fly instantly to the city, and seize the gates: he himself followed
with all possible expedition, nor suffered a man of his army to stray, for
the sake of plunder. The inhabitants, terrified to excess, quite stunned
with the suddenness of their calamity, and seeing many of their fellow-ci-
tizens already in the hands of the enemy, surrendered without resistance.
Marius, nevertheless, put to the sword all the *Numidians* that were able to
bear arms, sold the rest for slaves, and burnt the city, when he had first
given the plunder of it to his soldiers^a.

The execution of so important an enterprize without any loss of men,
added greatly to the renown of *Marius*. His soldiers (whom he governed
with a gentle hand, and enriched with spoil) extolled him to the skies;
while the *Numidians*, on the other hand, dreaded him as a being more than
human. Allies and enemies all believed him to be, at least, inspired,
and to act in every thing by the direction of the Gods. After what had
happened to the *Capsenses*, few of the towns, against which he advanced,

^a *Sallust*, though he confesses, that the General's proceeding, in this instance, was contrary to the laws of war, seems disposed to extenuate the iniquity, by telling us, that *Marius* did not act thus from a spirit of covetousness or cruelty, but because the place was very commodious to *Jugurtha*, and not accessible to the *Romans* without much difficulty; and because the people were an inconstant, perfidious race, not to be kept to duty either by kindness or by severity. But it may here be observed, that, if the historian speaks of the disposition of the *Capsenses* towards their own Prince, he contradicts what

he told us before, viz. that they were esteemed a people whose fidelity might be depended upon, [fidelissimi habebantur]. If he means, that they were perfidious to the *Romans*, of this the *Romans* could have no experience. The truth seems to be, that *Marius* committed this unjustifiable, cruel act, in order to bring the war to a speedy conclusion, by terrifying the *Numidians* into a desertion of all their towns, without waiting till they were attacked: for we find, by the sequel of the story, that his cruelty had this effect with regard to most of them.

made any opposition ; those which did, he forced ; the greater number were deserted upon his approach ; and he gave them all to the flames : over the whole country were spread fire, slaughter, and desolation.

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The Consul closed this campaign with an exploit not less difficult in prospect (if we except what regarded *the march of the army*) than *Capsa* had been.

Not far from the river *Muluccha*, which divided the kingdom of *Jugurtha* from that of *Bocchus*, there was, in the midst of a plain, a high and rocky hill, of considerable breadth at top ; on which stood a small fortress, or castle, well stored with men, arms, and provisions, and furnished with a spring of water. The way up to this castle was very narrow, and, on each side, bordered with a precipice : the rest of the hill nature had formed in every part, with such a declivity, as, for its steepness, might well be taken for the effect of human contrivance and industry ; mounds and turrets, and the other machinery commonly used in sieges, could not be employed here. Nevertheless, as *Jugurtha* had here deposited his treasures, *Marius* set his heart upon making the conquest. The success of his first efforts did not correspond to his hope. To get up to the castle, by the narrow way above mentioned, was repeatedly attempted in vain. The enemy, with ease, broke to pieces his covered galleries [*vineæ*,] or destroyed them with fire : insomuch that, after losing a considerable number of his bravest soldiers, he began to think of entirely dropping the enterprise. While his mind was in restless anxiety, fluctuating and undetermined, a *Ligurian*, of the auxiliary troops, going out of the camp, in search of water, observed, on the side of the hill (opposite to that side where the *Romans* made their attack) some snails crawling about the rocks : he picked up one, and then another, and continued climbing, in pursuit of more, till insensibly he got almost to the summit. Not meeting with any thing to check his progress, natural curiosity prompted him to proceed. In the place, where he chanced then to be, was a tall oak, which, growing out of the side of the hill, had been forced, by the rocky soil, to tend downward at first ; but, when freed from that constraint, had taken a turn, and sprung upward, as all trees naturally do. The *Ligurian*, availing himself, one while of the branches of this tree, and then of the prominences of the rocks, mounted, at length, so high, as to be able to take a view of the level on which the fortress stood ; nor was he, in any degree, disturbed in his survey, the attention of the *Numidians* being wholly engrossed by the conflict on the opposite side. When he had made such observations above, as he thought might afterwards be of use, he came down by the same way he had gone up, but with more thought and circumspection, considering carefully every step of the descent.

And now highly pleased with his important discoveries, away he speeds to the General, informs him of all, presses him to attempt the fortress on that side, and offers to be himself foremost in the danger, conductor of

the troops that should be appointed to the service. The General immediately orders some of his attendants to go with the *Ligurian*, and examine into the truth of his report. Of these though some bring word that the thing is difficult, yet, others affirming it to be easy, *Marius's* hope of conquest is revived, and he resolves to make the experiment.

Out of the trumpeters belonging to the army, the Consul chose five, that were deemed the most active and nimble of the whole corps; and he gave to these, for a guard, four centurions [with their companies], commanding all to observe the directions of the *Ligurian*, and appointing the very next day for the execution of the design.

The soldiers of the detachment were bareheaded (that they might the better see their way,) and barefooted (that they might climb the more easily) and being wonderfully assisted by the dextrous activity of their guide (as the historian relates the adventure), made a shift, though with great difficulty, to mount to the top of the hill. *Marius*, in the mean time, had only kept the enemy in a continued alarm, in order to fix their attention wholly to his side; but now, having learnt how far his detachment had succeeded, he sallied out of his covered galleries, and, causing his men to form a *Tortoise*, that is, to cover themselves with their shields close compacted, led them on towards the fort: his archers, slingers, and engines for casting stones and darts, he employed, at the same time, to distress the enemy. The besieged, emboldened by former successes, fought now, not behind, but before the walls of their castle; and the defence they made was vigorous and resolute, till, on a sudden, they heard the sound of trumpets behind them. Consternation, flight, dispersion and despair, ensued. The Romans pushing on, over heaps of slain, quite to the castle, entered with the fugitives (or scaled the walls), and became masters of the place^a. And thus had *Marius* the good fortune to draw glory to himself, even from his own inexcusable temerity.

It was during the siege of this fortress, that the Consul's Quæstor, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, made his first appearance in the camp; bringing with him a considerable body of horse, which, in pursuance of orders from his General, he had raised in *Latium*, and among the Allies.

^a The particulars of this action, as related by *Sallust*, if the reader understands them, it is well; the transcriber confesses he does not. The fort seems to have been taken by surprize, much in the same manner as the *English* sailors took *Gibraltar*, in 1704: but, as to *Marius's* advancing his vineæ almost to the walls of the castle, and his being engaged in conflict with the *Numidians* under the walls of it, this seems inconsistent with the historian's account of the difficulty of ascending thither. MONS SAXEUS medietate castelle, satis patens, IN IMMENSUM

EDITUS, UNO PER ANGSTO AD ITURELICTO, omnis natura, velut opere, atque consilio præceptis.—ITER castellanorum ANGUSTUM admodum, UTRINQUE PRÆCISUM; VINÆ cum ingenti periculo FRUSTRA agebantur. Nam CUM EA PAULO PROCESSERANT, IGNI, AUT, LAPIDIBUS CORRUMPEBANTUR; MILITES NEQUE PRO OPERE CONSISTERE PROPTER INIQUITATEM LOCI; neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare; optumus quisque cadere, aut fauciari; ceteris metus augeri.

Sylla was descended from *Cornelius Ruffinus*, whom, in the year 478, after he had been twice Consul and once Dictator, the Censors *Fabricius* and *Æmilius* expelled the Senate for having ten pounds of silver plate in his house^a: and this branch of the noble *Cornelian* family had made no figure in the Republic since that time, and was almost sunk into obscurity, as well as poverty, when “*Sylla* produced it again into light, by aspiring to the honours of the State. He had been carefully instructed in all the learning of *Greece* and *Rome*; but, from a peculiar gaiety of temper, and fondness for the company of mimics and players, was drawn, when young, into a life of luxury and pleasure; so that *Marius*, [if we may believe *Valerius Maximus*] complained, that, in so rough and desperate a service, Chance had given him *so soft and delicate a Quæstor*. When he arrived in *Africa* he knew nothing of the art of war: but, whether roused by the example, or stung by the reproach, of his General, he behaved himself in the *Quæstorship* with the greatest vigour and courage, suffering no man to out-do him in any part of military duty or labour.” Backward to receive favours, eager to *requite*, when he had received; ready to assist all who asked his assistance, and even doing kind offices to many without waiting to be asked; making himself equal and familiar to the lowest of the soldiers, and yet, in his converse with them, never seeking to wound the reputation of his General, or of any other worthy person (the common practice, says *Sallust*, of wicked ambition); by all this he soon acquired, not only the character of a brave and skilful officer, but the affection both of *Marius* and of the whole army.

Jugurtha, after the loss of *Capsa*, and other his best fortified and most important places, together with an immense treasure, became sensible that nothing could retrieve his affairs, but a victory in the field: he sent messengers therefore to King *Bocchus* to urge him to march his forces with all possible expedition into *Numidia*; for that now was the time to give battle to the enemy. The *Mauritanian* demurred; it was found necessary to bribe his Ministers; nor could these prevail till he himself was bribed with the promise from *Jugurtha*, of a *third part* of *Numidia*, in case the *Romans* should be driven out of *Africa*; or the *Numidian* King, by a treaty of Peace, be left in possession of his dominions entire. Allured by this offer, *Bocchus* came with a numerous army to the assistance of his ally. *Marius* was moving off towards his winter-quarters, when, about an hour before night, he found himself, on a sudden, encompassed on all sides by the united forces of the two Kings. They had chosen not to appear till towards the close of the day, because *darkness*, in case they were defeated, would be advantageous to them; and, in case they proved victorious, would be no disadvantage, they being well acquainted with the country; whereas, in both cases, to the *Romans*, who were strangers, the

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Middle-
ton's Life
of Cicero.

^a *Plut.* in *Sylla*. *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. *Val. Max.* VI. ix. *Sallust*.

night

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345 Conf.

night would unavoidably create difficulties and perplexity. The Consul's army being attacked and broken in upon in divers parts, before he could put it in any order for battle, or give out any word of command, the soldiers, both old and new (for these latter had learnt so much of the art of war, threw themselves into circular bodies, and thus, fronting every way, sustained the charge of the enemy. In this surprize, hurry, and confusion, *Marius*, though unable to perform *all* the functions of a General, yet, with a troop which constantly attended him (and which he had filled with men chosen rather for their bravery than on account of any personal regard), flew about to every quarter; one while succouring his own people in distress, then falling in amongst the thickest of the enemy, and still fighting valiantly in person; so that he both assisted his soldiers and gave them an example of courage unappalled by danger. The day was now spent, and the ardour of the barbarians did not slacken, but rather increased, from the persuasion they had, that the night would be favourable to them.

Marius, counselled by the distress of his situation, in order to secure a retreat for his men, seized upon two hills that stood very near each other; on the one, not spacious enough for an encampment, yet happily furnishing a plenteous spring of water, he directed *Sylla* to pass the night with the cavalry: he himself, having gradually drawn together his disordered infantry, led them up the other hill, which, for the most part being high and steep, and, therefore, requiring little fortification, was very commodious for a camp. The two Kings, though compelled to cease the fight by the difficulty of following him, did not suffer their forces to retire, but made them spread themselves round both hills: and these barbarians, having kindled many fires, spent the greater part of the night in mirth and riot, dancing and shouting; which was their customary manner on the like occasions: even the leaders, because they had not run away, were highly elated, and behaved themselves as if they had been victorious. *Marius*, from his hill, perceiving their folly, forbade the usual sounding of the trumpets at the watches of the night, and ordered a perfect silence to be kept throughout his camp: but, when morning approached, and the barbarians, fatigued with their sports, were fallen asleep he commanded the trumpeters of his army to sound all at once, and all the soldiers to give a shout, pouring down at the same time, upon the enemy; who, awaking suddenly at the noise, were so struck and stupified with fear, as to be incapable of attempting a defence. More of the *Africans* are said to have perished in this surprize, than in all the former battles.

And now the Consul renewed his purpose of retiring into winter-quarters; and, because of the plenty of provisions always to be had in the maritime towns, thither he bent his course. In this march, notwithstanding his late success, and the total disappearing of the enemy, he

used the same circumspection and precaution, as if their forces had been in fight. The army advanced in the form of a square: on the *right* of which were the cavalry, commanded by *Sylla*; on the *left*, *Manlius* with the archers and slingers and the *Ligurian* cohorts: before the front and behind the rear of the main body marched the light-armed infantry, under the conduct of the Tribunes: the deserters, of small account as soldiers, yet useful, because acquainted with the country, were sent out to *discover*. At the same time, the Consul, as if he had appointed no officers under him, was himself every where, attentive to every thing, commending, and reprimanding, with just distinction. Nor was he less careful in a camp, than on a march. Going the rounds in person, he visited the watch and every quarter; not so much from any distrust of those employed to execute his orders, as from a persuasion, that the soldiers would more willingly submit to labour and fatigue, if they saw their General partake with them therein. And, indeed, during the whole time that he had the conduct of this war, he kept his men in good discipline more by the fear of shame, than of punishment. Many imputed this to ambition, and to a desire of ingratiating himself with the soldiers; while some imagined, that being inured, from his early youth, to hardships and labours, he took a real delight in what the rest of the world call distress and misery. Be that as it will, this is certain, the interest and honour of the Republic could not have been more advanced by the exercise of the utmost rigour in command, than they were by his mild and gentle methods.

After four days march, when the *Roman* army drew near to *Cirta*, the scouts, which *Marius* had sent out, appearing on a sudden, hastening back, all at the same time; a sure sign that the forces of the enemy were not far off. But as these scouts came from different quarters, and yet made one and the same report of the enemy's approach, the Consul could not possibly know on which side he should be attacked. To be prepared, therefore, on every side, to sustain the charge, he kept his men in the very order of their march, and halted where he then was. This measure disappointed *Jugurtha*: for he had divided his strength into four parts, flattering himself that some one of them would certainly have an opportunity of coming upon the backs of the *Romans*. The *Moorish* horse began the action, boldly charging the *Roman* cavalry, commanded by *Sylla*, who discovered great ability as well as resolution in sustaining the shock and repulsing the enemy. During this conflict King *Bocchus*, at the head of a body of foot, just brought him by his son *Volux* (who, loitering in his march, had not been in the former battle), attacked the rear-guard of the *Roman* army. *Jugurtha*, with the most numerous division of his troops, faced the *Roman* van, conducted by *Marius* in person: but he no sooner received advice of *Bocchus's* being come up, than he privately, with a few attendants, wheeled

Y. R. 649.
Bef. Chr.
106.
345 Conf.

V. R. 426 wheeled off to that King's body of Infantry, crying aloud, as he joined
 B. C. 146. them, *It is in vain for the Romans to continue the fight; for I have just*
 146. now killed Marius with my own hand. And this he spoke in *Latin*^b, that
 the Roman soldiers might understand him: at the same time he shewed
 them his sword, red with the blood of a foot soldier, whom, with his own
 hand, he had killed a little before. How much reason soever the Romans
 had to suspect the veracity of the reporter, it did not hinder the report
 from having, in great measure, the desired effect. They were terrified and
 disheartened; while, on the other hand, the barbarians, inspired with
 fresh courage, pushed their enemies with more vigour and fury than be-
 fore: insomuch that these were on the very point of running away, when
 Sylla, who had routed the cavalry of the Moors, and was happily returned
 from the pursuit, recovered the day by falling suddenly on the flank of
 their infantry. King Bocchus instantly fled. Jugurtha, tenacious of the
 advantage gained by means of his stratagem, obstinately continued the
 fight, till the few horsemen that attended him were all slain, and he
 found himself inclosed on the right and left by the Roman cavalry: single
 he then broke through all opposition, escaping unhurt by a shower of
 darts that were thrown at him as he went off. About the same time, the
 Consul, who, after putting the Numidian horse to flight, received notice,
 that his rear-guard had given ground, was coming with all diligence to
 their succour. In conclusion, the Africans were totally routed on every
 side^c.

Marius, now unquestionably conqueror, and pursuing his march with-
 out further molestation, arrived at Cirta. Hither, about five days after
 the battle, came Ambassadors from King Bocchus, with this request, "That
 the Consul would be pleased to send to him two persons, of principal
 trust, with whom he might amicably confer upon matters which con-
 cerned both his interest and that of the Roman people." The Consul,
 without delay, dispatched Manlius and Sylla, to negotiate with the Moor.
 These deputies, though sent to the King at his desire, judged it adviseable
 to speak to him, before they heard what he had to say to them: to the
 end that, if he were inclined to war, they might, by their rhetoric, dis-
 pose him to peace, and, if desirous of peace, add more warmth to that
 desire.

Sylla, to whom, not as senior, but as the more eloquent, Manlius, on this
 occasion, yielded the precedence, addressed the King in words to the fol-
 lowing effect.

^a Jugurtha had learnt the *Latin* tongue in Spain, while he served under Scipio, at the siege of Numantia.

^b According to Orosius, (lib. V. cap. xv.) the action, near Cirta lasted three days. At length, the victory fell to Marius by means

of a mighty fall of rain, which, while it refreshed the Romans, faint with thirst, rendered useless the shields of the barbarians. For being covered with elephants skin, the nature of which (he says) is to suck in water like a sponge, they became too heavy for the arm.

" King

“ King *Bocchus*, it is a singular pleasure to us, that the Gods have
 “ at length disposed so great and worthy a man as you to be our friend
 “ rather than our foe; and have admonished you to break that unnatu-
 “ ral union, which, to the injury of your own most excellent character,
 “ you had formed with *Jugurtha*, the very worst of men. We, to
 “ our inexpressible joy, are hereby freed from the odious necessity of pur-
 “ suing, with one and the same undistinguishing sword of vengeance, *him*,
 “ the most criminal of offenders, and *you*, who have only been led into a
 “ mistake.”

Having thus paid the due compliment to the King's transcendent merit, the orator proceeded to *inform* him, “ That the *Romans* had always, even
 “ from their low beginning, made it their choice to have friends rather
 “ than slaves, and had thought it safer to rule over willing subjects than
 “ such as are compelled to obedience. [Do you want an ally?] It is im-
 “ possible for you to have a more commodious alliance than ours: be-
 “ cause, in the first place, we are at a great distance from you, so that
 “ there cannot easily happen any occasion of quarrel between us; and yet
 “ we can be as friendly and serviceable to you, as if we were your near
 “ neighbours; and, in the next place, we have vassals in abundance,
 “ more than enough; but neither we nor any other people ever so aboun-
 “ ded with friends, as not to wish for more.”

After these, and some other such like empty words, they intimated to him, “ that he had now a fine opportunity of correcting his mistake, and
 “ that the *Romans* were a people who never suffered themselves to be out-
 “ done in acts of kindness.”

Bocchus is said to have answered in very soft and gentle terms, apologi-
 “ zing for his error, and assuring the deputies, “ That he had taken arms
 “ with no purpose of hostility against the *Romans*, but purely to defend
 “ his own territories, being unable patiently to see a part of *Numidia*,
 “ which, by right of war, belonged to him, as having conquered it from
 “ *Jugurtha*, laid waste by *Marius*. That he had formerly sent Ambassa-
 “ dors to *Rome* with an offer of his friendship, and that his offer had been
 “ rejected: that, however, he chose to be silent on that head, and should
 “ willingly now, if *Marius* would give permission, dispatch a second Em-
 “ bassy to the *Roman* Senate.”

It would seem that *Manlius* and *Sylla* expressed their approbation of this
 proposal: yet we find that it was not put in execution till some time after
 their departure. For *Jugurtha*, being informed of their arrival, and fear-
 ing the consequences, had, by rich bribes, gained to his interest some of the
 King's favourites; and, through the influence of these, the *Moor* fluctuated
 awhile in uncertainty and irresolution. At length his fear of the *Romans*
 got the ascendant in his mind; and he then appointed five of his chief
 confidants, men of approved fidelity and ability, to be his Ambassadors to
Marius: and they were secretly empowered to conclude a peace upon any

V.R. 646. *terms*, in case the Consul permitted their proceeding to *Rome*, to negotiate
B.C. 106. that affair.

106. C. 11. *Marius*, after disposing his troops in winter-quarters, had, with a detachment of his cavalry and light-armed cohorts, made an excursion into a solitary part of the country, there to besiege a tower, wholly garrisoned by *Roman* deserters; and he was at this time engaged in that enterprise.

The *Moorish* Ambassadors, in their journey to the winter-quarters of the *Roman* army, fell into the hands of some *Getulian* robbers, and were by them stripped so bare, that when they appeared before *Sylla*, who, in the absence of *Marius*, commanded in chief, they made a most despicable figure. *Sylla*, nevertheless, received them with all the respectful civility due to their character, and not only supplied them with every thing necessary, but, over and above, made them noble presents; a liberality, which wrought on their minds with such power, as to convince them fully, that all the reports, they had heard of *Roman* avarice, were false; and that *Sylla* was sincerely their friend. For, even at that time (says the * historian) there were many persons ignorant of the practice of giving, in order to corrupt, and who imagined that no man was munificent but from good-will: that all presents were unquestionable proofs of kindness. Under the force of this persuasion, the Ambassadors of King *Bocchus* disclosed to their *Roman* friend the whole of their instructions, requesting his advice and assistance in the business committed to their care. *Sylla* promised every thing they asked, and counselled them in what manner to address the Consul, and, afterwards, the Senate.

Forty days they had been waiting to perform their commission to *Marius*, when he, having failed in his enterprise, returned to *Cirta*; and from thence (being there informed of their arrival) signified his pleasure, that they and *Sylla* should come to him from *Utica*: he summoned likewise the Prætor of that place, and from every quarter of the province, such of the *Romans* as were of Senatorian rank. Before this Council he laid the business with which the King had charged his ministers; and the result of the deliberation was, *Permission to them to proceed to Rome; and a cessation of all hostilities till their return*. Of the five *Moors*, three set out for *Italy*; the other two returned to the King; who, though he heard with pleasure all the particulars of their report, was with nothing so much delighted as with their account of that extraordinary warmth of friendship which *Sylla* had for him.

V.R. 647. About this time the consular fasces were transferred to *C. Atilius Serranus*, and *Q. Sertorius Cæpio*; but *Marius*, in quality of Proconsul, remained, by order, at the head of affairs in *Africa*.

* This Consulship was memorable for the birth of *Pompey the Great* and of *Cicero*. *Vell. Pat. lib. iii. A. Gell. lib. xv. cap. 28.*

The *Moorish* Ambassadors arrived at *Rome*, and had an audience of the Senate ; where, having first confessed that their master, misled by the wicked artifices of *Jugurtha*, had been faulty, they prayed, that he might be forgiven his fault, and be admitted into *friendship* and an *alliance* with the *Roman Republic*.

To which humble address they received this answer :

“ The Senate and People of *Rome* are not accustomed to forget either services or injuries. Since *Bocchus* repents of his fault, they grant him pardon. Friendship and an alliance he shall obtain, when he has deserved them.”

Bocchus, on receiving advice of what had passed, requested of *Marius*, by letter, to send *Sylla* to him once more. The Proconsul complied : *Sylla*, escorted by a detachment of cavalry and light armed infantry, set out for *Mauritania*. On the fifth day of his journey, a body of horse appeared on a sudden, in a wide plain. They did not exceed 1000, yet, by the loose order of their march, were so spread as to seem much more numerous to the *Romans* ; who likewise imagined them to be enemies, and therefore instantly prepared to receive them as such. This apprehension of danger was, however, quickly removed by the return and report of some horsemen sent out to discover. And presently after, *Volux*, the son of *Bocchus*, riding up, and addressing himself to the Quæstor, informed him, that *The troops he saw had been sent by the King to meet him, and to be his guard*. After this, the two corps joined ; and they marched that day and the next without any alarm. But, in the evening, when they had pitched their camp, *Volux*, with a look of consternation and distress, comes hastily to *Sylla*, tells him, *Jugurtha is not far off ; the scouts have brought this intelligence* ; entreats and presses him to steal away privately in the night, and begs to be the sole companion of his flight.

Sylla disdainfully answered, That *he neither feared the Numidian, who had been so often routed ; nor distrusted the courage of his own men ; but, were he sure to perish, he would stand his ground, rather than, by treacherously deserting soldiers committed to his conduct, preserve an uncertain life, which he might possibly lose in a very short time by some natural and common distemper*.

Nevertheless, when *Volux* advised that the whole army should move off in the dark, the Quæstor approved of this measure ; and, accordingly, gave orders, that the soldiers, when they had supped and lighted many fires in the camp, should set forward at the first watch of the night.

At sun-rise, when, all being thoroughly fatigued with their nocturnal march, *Sylla* was marking out ground for a camp, the *Moorish* scouts brought tidings, that about two miles before them, directly in their way, *Jugurtha* had posted himself with all his forces. The *Roman* soldiers, in mighty consternation, presently imagined themselves betrayed by *Volux* ; and some were for executing vengeance upon the traitor without delay.

V. R. 547.
B. C. 105.
106 C. 105.

Sylla had the same suspicion of the young Prince, yet would not suffer him to be hurt. He exhorted his *Romans* to call up all their courage, putting them in mind, that, in frequent instances, a few brave men had prevailed against multitudes: he invoked *Jupiter* to witness the perfidious wickedness of *Bocchus*; and then, turning to the Prince, “*Volux, you have the heart and intentions of an enemy; begone out of my camp this instant*.” The Prince, with tears in his eyes, begged of the *Quæstor* not to harbour that suspicion, assuring him, that what had happened was wholly owing to the elegant subtilty of *Jugurtha*. “By his spies, he got notice of my coming to meet you, and learnt the route I was to take. However, since he has no great numbers with him, and has placed in my father all his hopes, it is not probable he will venture upon any open attempt, while I am here. So that I think the best course will be, confidently to pursue our way, and march through the very midst of his camp. I will either send my *Mors* forwards, or leave them here, behind, as you shall chuse, and I will, alone, accompany you.”

Nothing more adviseable occurring to *Sylla*’s thoughts, and his critical situation not allowing time to deliberate, he followed the Prince’s counsel; which, by the event, appeared to have been both sincere and judicious: for they passed on safe and unmolested; and, in a few days, they arrived at the place whither they had been directed to go.

[The historian accounts for the inaction of *Jugurtha*, on this occasion, by supposing him to be held in suspense and irresolution by surprise, as not having imagined that the *Romans* would come on: but, perhaps, it would be better accounted for, by saying, that the *Numidian* was too able a politician, to act so very foolish a part, as what they had apprehended.]

There was at this time in the court of King *Bocchus*, and upon a foot of freedom and familiarity with him, a certain *Numidian*, named *Ajpar*, whom *Jugurtha* (having received intelligence of *Sylla*’s being sent for) had dispatched thither, to be a spy upon the actions of the *Moor*, and to discover his intentions. *Dabar*, another *Numidian*, was likewise about the King, at the same time, and highly favoured by him, on account of his many excellent talents. This man, whose father was the son of *Masiniſſa*, by a concubine, had, in many instances, shewed himself a zealous friend to the *Roman* interest: for which reason the *Moor* fixed his choice on him as the fittest person he could employ, to be his messenger to the *Roman Quæstor*: and he gave him in charge, thus to say:

“*Bocchus* is ready to perform whatever the *Roman People* require of him. He refers it to you, *Sylla*, to appoint the place and time for your conference. *Ajpar* must be summoned to it; otherwise it will be impossible to avoid the insidious wiles of his master: but you need not apprehend any

“inconve-

“inconvenience from the presence of that minister: for the settling of all
 “matters shall be private, between *Bocchus* and you alone.” Y.R. 647.
Bd. Ch.

Sylla answered, that “he would not speak fully of the business of his
 “commission, but to the King, when no other person was present, or, at
 “most, very few; and that what he purposed to say before *Aspar* would
 “be very short.” At the same time, he furnished *Dabar* with the answer
 which the King was to give to it. 105.
346 Com.

Place and time were appointed, and the parties, accordingly, met. *Sylla*,
 addressing himself to the King, “*I was sent by the Roman Consul to ask*
 “*you, whether you are for peace or war.*” To which *Bocchus*, pursuant to
 his instructions, “*If you will come hither again ten days hence, you shall*
 “*have an answer. I am not, at present, resolved.*” This said, each retired
 to his camp. But, when the night was far spent, the King sent privately
 for *Sylla*, who being come, and no body else present, except trusty inter-
 preters, and *Dabar*, who was sworn to secrecy, *Bocchus* opened the con-
 ference with a speech. If the speech given us by *Sallust* be genuine*, it
 may, perhaps, for unmeaning words, vie with that, which *Sylla* formerly,
 made to the King. Vide supra,
p. 65.

What *Bocchus* said to the purpose was this: “That he would,
 “henceforward, take no part in the war between the *Romans* and
 “*Jugurtha*; would never stir beyond the river *Mulucha*, which had
 “been the boundary between himself and *Micipsa*; nor ever suffer
 “*Jugurtha* to come within that limit.” He added, “if you have any
 “thing further to ask, worthy of me and of the *Romans*, it shall not be
 “refused.”

To this *Sylla* answered, “That the *Roman* arms having been success-
 “ful in the war, the Senate and People of *Rome* could not possibly
 “think themselves under any obligation to him for the offers he had
 “made: that, if he desired to oblige them, he must do something that
 “would appear to be done for their interest more than for his own;
 “and that this would not be difficult: for, as he had now *Jugurtha* in his
 “power, he might deliver him up to the *Romans*; who would, then
 “indeed, be greatly indebted to him, and then every thing he desired,
 “would follow of course, *friendship, alliance*, and that *part of Numidia*
 “which he claimed.”

Bocchus objected “His ties of affinity and consanguinity with the
 “*Numidian*, the treaty of confederacy between them, as likewise the
 “danger to himself, should he act so faithless a part, of thereby losing the
 “affections of his people, who loved *Jugurtha*, and hated the *Romans* :”
 Nevertheless, wearied out by importunate sollicitation, the *Moor* consented,

* *Sallust* pretends (seemingly without any
 good reason) that *Bocchus* was not sincere in
 this message; and that he was, a long time,
 in debate with himself, Whether he should

betray *Jugurtha* to *Sylla*, or *Sylla* to *Jugur-*
tha. *Sed ego conperio, Bocchum magis Punica*
fide quam, &c.

at length, to do all that Sylla desired, and it was then agreed to deceive Jugurtha, by making him hope, he should be included in the treaty of peace between Rome and Mauritania.

Accordingly, *Lucius*, the day following, intimated to *Aspar*, that the Romans were willing to terminate the war upon conditions; that he had learnt this from Sylla by *Delar*, and, therefore, wished to know the disposition of the Numidian King. Away went *Aspar*, full of joy, to the camp of his master: and, after eight days, returned with this answer: “Jugurtha would gladly come into any measures for putting an end to the war; but having, more than once, experienced, that treaties, made with Roman Generals, are vain and ineffectual, has little reason to trust *Marius*. If *Lucius* be desirous of procuring a peace, that shall be durable and advantageous, both to himself and to his ally, let him contrive a meeting of all the parties, as if to confer about peace, and there deliver up Sylla into the hands of Jugurtha. A valid treaty, a treaty made by order of the Senate and People of Rome, will then instantly ensue: for they will never suffer to remain in the power of his enemies such a man as Sylla, a man of his importance, a Roman Noble, fallen

* *Lucius* seems, when he puts this words into the mouth of Jugurtha, seems to have forgot that Sylla was, at this time, a man of very little consequence. His family, though noble, had sunk into obscurity, his fortune was low, nor does either his reputation or his interest seem to have risen to any considerable height, before the Social War. He could not obtain the *Prætorship* till he was past the legal age; and, when he did obtain it, it was thought to be by the force of bribes.

But, perhaps, the historian by *tellurion* means no more than that Sylla was *Quæstor* of the Roman army, and *homo nobilis*, as he styles him in the same passage.

As to Jugurtha's attempt to persuade King *Boetius*, that the most effectual means to obtain from the Romans, an advantageous and durable peace, would be, to betray a Roman *Quæstor* (then bearing the character, too, of an Ambassador) into the hands of their most hated enemy, it only indicates, that the Numidian looked upon the *Mæc* as a very weak Prince, and wholly unacquainted with the temper of his enemies. For, that Jugurtha himself did not imagine, he should be enabled, by the possession of Sylla's person, to procure a peace with Rome, we may well conclude from his neglecting to seize him,

when he with *Volux* (not long before,) in the way to the court of *Bituntinus*, passed through the Numidian camp. Doubtless, Jugurtha's sole view in his endeavours to engage King *Boetius* in so unpardonable an act of treachery, was to make the condition of the *Mæc* as desperate as his own; in which case he might have counted upon the steadiness of his ally, and been able to hold out some years longer against the Romans.

This, I say, from the idea given us by the historians of Jugurtha's abilities, we should naturally conjecture to have been the aim of his proceeding; Not a peace with Rome, but means to continue the war.

At the same time it must be confessed, that some parts of Jugurtha's conduct seem quite irreconcilable with common sense, and would incline one to believe, that he was really frightened out of his wits.

A late excellent writer observes, that “nothing is more common than to see men give themselves up to a PASSION---to their known prejudice and ruin, and in direct contradiction to the loudest calls of SELF-LOVE. — Every caprice of the imagination, every curiosity of the understanding, every affection of the heart, is perpetually showing its weakness [the weakness of SELF-LOVE] by prevailing over it. Men daily, hourly,

* Vide *scilicet*, p. 68.

“ fallen into captivity, not through cowardice, or any neglect of duty, but
“ through a warm zeal to serve his country.”

Y.R. 647.
Bel. Ch.
100.
346 Com.

Bocchus, when he had a good while pondered this advice, promised to follow it. But whether he, at that time, meant to perform his promise (the historian tells us) is uncertain: because, though he frequently renewed it, he as often gave the like promise to *Sylla*.

In the night, preceding the day appointed for the conference, the *Moor* gathered about him his chief confidants, changed his mind on a sudden, dismissed them, and fell into great perturbation of mind; betraying, by the frequent alterations of his countenance, the inward struggles by which he was agitated. At length, however, he sent for *Sylla*, and, in concert with him, laid an ambush for the *Numidian King*.

Next morning, upon notice brought that *Jugurtha* was not far off, *Bocchus*, as if to do him honour, went out, accompanied by a few courtiers, and by the *Roman Quæstor*, to meet him at a certain eminence, that was in view of the men lying in wait. To this eminence the *Numidian*, attended by a considerable number of his friends, came unarmed, according to agreement. The signal instantly given, the ambush rose, surrounded *Jugurtha* and his followers, seized him, and massacred them: he was delivered up bound into the hands of *Sylla*, and, by him, conducted to *Marius*.

Thus ended ^b the *Jugurthine War*, to the real dishonour of both *Marius*

“ hourly, sacrifice the greatest known interest
“ to fancy, inquisitiveness, love, or hatred,
“ any vagrant inclination.”

Therefore, that *Jugurtha*, whose greatest interest (that which his habitual SELF-LOVE called loudest for) was the undisturbed possession of the kingdom of *Numidia*, should, nevertheless, from his fear or jealousy, or hatred of a rival, expose himself, when at *Rome*, to the resentment of the *Roman People*, by murdering *Massiva*: and that in revenge of the insult put upon him by the *Romans*, in constraining him to appear at the bar of the people's judicature, to undergo an examination, he should compel the whole *Roman* army, officers, and soldiers (when fallen into his power,) to pass under the yoke, may, perhaps, be considered as not wonderful, and only as instances exemplifying the observation above mentioned: viz. that the most cunning, wicked men will, to gratify a particular passion, do actions the most foolishly impolitic with regard to the very interests they are habitually in pursuit of. But that *Jugurtha*, after the perpetration of that

murder, and after putting that gross affront upon the *Roman* army, should (being in his *Janus*) hope to obtain from the *Roman Senate* and *People* a tolerable peace, and, from the sole motive of that hope, divest himself, in a great measure, of the means of defence, by giving up so large a part of his strength and treasure, as we are told he did, to his enemies, presents a difficulty, the solution of which I shall leave to the reader.

^b The historians have not been careful to tell us how the newly conquered country was disposed of. *Sextus Rufus* says, that *Numidia*, from the time of *Jugurtha's* captivity, belonged to *Rome*: yet *Piutarch* [in *Mario*] speaks of a King of *Numidia*, whom he calls *Himpsal*, to whom young *Marius*, when driven out of *Italy* by *Sylla*, fled for protection. The same king, under the name of *Mandrestal*, is mentioned by *Appian*, [App. de Bell. Civ. lib. i. p. 388.] From *Sylla's* promise to *Bocchus*, it may with some reason be conjectured, that the third part of *Numidia* was yielded to that Prince.

p. 38.

p. 61.

Vid. supra,
p. 28.

p. 30.

and

and *Sylla*, who are said, nevertheless, to have warmly^a contended for the GLORY of that gallant exploit which brought the war to its conclusion.---
The GLORY of having engaged Jugurtha's father-in-law and confederate in arms to invite him to a friendly conference, and, under that cover, betray him into the hands of his most implacable enemies.

Marius continued in *Africa* the remainder of this year, and all the next, till *Rome* wanted the service of so able a General against the *Cimbri* and their allies.

C H A P. III.

The War with the CIMBRI. The Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Consulships of MARIUS.

WE left the *Cimbri*, in the year 646, plundering and laying waste *Transalpine Gaul*. Little more is said of them till the year 644, when they defeated the Consul *Silanus*^a.

The following year the Consul *Aurelius* had no better success than his predecessor.

And in 648, *L. Cassius Longinus* (the colleague of *Marius* in the Consulship) suffered a notable overthrow from the *Tigurini*^a, who were, probably, assisted by the *Cimbri*. They surprised him in an ambush; where both he and his Lieutenant, *Calpurnius Piso*, lost their lives. His other Lieutenant, *Papilius*, made a shameful capitulation with the barbarians: for he consented to give hostages, deliver up the half of his baggage, and pass with his army under the yoke. Being arraigned, at his return to *Rome*, for misconduct, he went into banishment to avoid trial.

In the present year (647) it fell by lot to the Consul *Servilius Cæpio* to conduct the war against the *Cimbri* in *Gallia Narbonensis*.

^a In this dispute, father *Cætreu* has espoused *Sylla's* cause with remarkable zeal—"Thus
 " was *Sylla* fortunate to a degree not to be
 " paralleled; no embassy was ever more
 " completely successful.---His stars, if I may
 " so speak, delivered him out of all dangers,
 " and accomplished his most sanguine hopes.
 " He had the HONOUR of finishing, almost
 " without the effusion of blood, a war, which
 " *Marius* had not been able to bring to a
 " conclusion, by many sieges and many
 " victories. --- Though a Proquestor only,
 " he, from the time of his first [second] cam-
 " paign became equal in reputation to the

General himself. --- At least he was
 " looked upon at *Rome* as the chief con-
 " queror of *Nuviana*. --- It seems as if
 " Justice required that HEAVEN should give
 " *Marius* the mortification of seeing the
 " GLORY of the campaign divided between
 " a subaltern and himself." &c. &c. &c.
 tome xiv. p. 167.

^b According to *Ficrus* (l. iii. c. 3.) the *Cimbri*, before the battle, sent Ambassadors to the Consul and Senate, requesting, that lands might be assigned to them; on which condition they offered to assist the *Romans* in their wars.

Before his departure from *Rome*, he obtained a law in favour of the *Senators*. *Caius Gracchus* had transferred from them to the *Knights*, the administration of justice. Some of the *Senators* (the number uncertain) were now admitted to be of the Bench of Judges: and *Cæpio*, for this service, got the title of *Patron of the State*.

Cæpio, after his arrival in *Transalpine Gaul*, recovered, from the *Cimbri*, *Tolosa*, the capital of the *Tectosages*. The inhabitants of the place had been in alliance with *Rome*, and had received a *Roman* garrison; which they afterwards betrayed to the barbarians: but now they, by night, admitted the Consul into the town; who, nevertheless, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. He is said to have found in the temples an immense quantity of gold*, the greatest part of which he appropriated to his own use: nay, *Orosius* tells us, that the Consul, having sent away this treasure under a guard to *Marseilles*, treacherously caused that guard to be massacred in the way, and then made the whole his own.

It would seem that *Cæpio's* forces were not sufficient to oppose the *Cimbri*, for, after the election of *P. Rutilius Rufus* and *Cn. Mallius Maximus* to the Consulship, the latter, by order, led an army to *Cæpio's* assistance, who, at the same time, was continued in his command in quality of Proconsul.

On *Mallius's* arrival in *Gaul*, he and *Cæpio* divided the province between them, and made the *Rhone* their boundary. Soon after, the *Cimbri* fell upon a part of the Consul's army, commanded by his Lieutenant *Aurelius Scaurus* (who himself had been Consul three years before:) they defeated it, and took the commander prisoner.

Mallius, terrified by this disaster, thought it proper to call *Cæpio* to his succour. The Proconsul, at first, haughtily answered, that each ought to take care of his own province: yet, presently after, fearing

* For the same reason doubtless it is that *Cicero* (in *Brut.* c. 35.) commends him; whilst other writers give him an odious character. *Crassus*, the famous orator, spoke in favour of *Cæpio's* law (*Cic. in Brut.* c. 42, and 44.) and his speech on that occasion served *Cicero* for a model by which to form his own eloquence. It would seem that a part of the speech was to the following effect: "Deliver us (said the orator, addressing himself, in the name of the Senate, to the People) "from our miseries. Rescue us from the jaws of those, whose cruelty cannot be satisfied without blood. Rescue us from slavery, do not suffer us to be held in bondage to any but ourselves, to whom we can and ought to be slaves." *Cic. de Orat.* l. i. c. 52. & *Parad.* v. c. 3.

* Authors differ about the value of this treasure, but all their accounts seem extravagant. *Pofidonius*, as quoted by *Strabo* (l. iv. p. 188,) reckons it at 15,000 talents. *Orosius* makes it 100,000 pounds weight of gold, and 110,000 pounds of silver; and *Justin* (l. xxxii. c. 3.) raises it to a much higher sum. It happened, that every one who had a hand in seizing this gold came to some miserable end; whence it became a common proverb, to say of a man reduced to extreme misery, *he has got some of the gold of Toulouse*. *A. Gell.* l. iii. c. 9.

¹ *Cicero* (*pro Planc.* c. 5.) calls *Mallius* an obscure man, without virtue, without sense, of manners vulgar and contemptible; and complains of the *Roman* People for preferring him, at this election, before his competitor *Q. Catulus*.

Y. R. 647.
Cic. in
Brut. c. 44.
Jul. Obsequ.
c. 39.
Val. Mix.
l. vi. c. 9.
Dio. Cass.
ap. 630.

L. v. c. 15.

Y. R. 648.
Bet. Chi.
104.
347 Conf.

Oros. l. v.
c. 16.

Liv. Epit.
l. lxvii.

Dio. Cass.
ap. Vales.
p. 630.

Y. R. 648. left *Mallius* should obtain a victory over the enemy without him, he passed
 B. C. 100. the *Rhone*; but would neither encamp his forces with those of the Con-
 sul, nor consult with him. Confident of success, and bent upon having the
 whole glory of it, he encamped his troops between those of *Mallius* and
 the *Cimbri*.

The barbarians had been informed of the misunderstanding between the
 two *Roman* Generals; but, from *Cassius*'s motions, imagining now that they
 were reconciled, sent deputies to the Consul to treat of an accommodation.
Cassius, into whose camp, as nearer to them than the other, they naturally
 came, finding that it was not to him, but to the Consul, they had orders to
 address themselves, far from treating them in the manner due to their cha-
 racter, was once, in his rage, upon the point of putting them to death.
 His proceeding did by no means please either the soldiers, or the officers
 of his own army; who, apprehending fatal consequences from such in-
 temperate passion, forced him, in a manner, to repair to the Consul's camp,
 there to deliberate upon the measures proper to be taken. Nothing was
 concluded; the whole time passed in dispute, mutual reproaches, and af-
 fronts: and the two Generals parted more exasperated than ever against
 each other.

In this ill humour they had the folly to come to a battle with the enemy,
 in which they were totally defeated; they lost 80,000 men, beside servants,
 sutlers, and other followers of the camp, to the number of forty thousand.
 It is said, that scarce ten of the whole army escaped with the two com-
 manders to carry the news of the defeat to *Rome*. Of this number was the

famous *Sertorius*, who, though wounded, yet, according to *Plutarch*, swam
 across the *Rhone* in his armour.

The conquerors^a, pursuant to a vow they had made, reserved to them-
 selves nothing of the spoil: they threw the gold and silver into the river,
 cut to pieces the arms and clothes of the dead, drowned the horses, and
 hanged up their prisoners upon trees. And it being now unanimously de-
 termined, in council, to invade *Italy*, they sent for their prisoner *Aurelius*,
 probably with a view to learn something from him that might be of use to
 them in their intended expedition: *Aurelius* endeavouring to persuade
 them not to pass the *Alps*, because the *Romans* were (he said) invincible,
Bojorix, one of the *Cimbrian* chiefs, killed him upon the spot.

The alarm and consternation, which the loss of the army occasioned at
Rome, exceeded all imagination. The People, who imputed it wholly to
Cassius, were so enraged against him, that they deposed him^b from his com-
 mand,

^a *Extolius* and *Orosius* mention four nations who shared, in this victory, the *Cim-
 bri*, *Teutoni*, *Tigurini*, and *Ambrones*. *Plu-
 tarch* ascribes the principal glory of it
 to the last, who appear to have been a

people of *Switzerland*: he speaks of them
 as the bravest and most terrible of the whole
 allied army; they were thirty thousand in
 number.

^b The next year, *L. Cassius*, Tribune of
 the

mand, and confiscated his estate : a proceeding of which there had been no example ; no General, how culpable soever, having received the like affront.

Rutilius, the colleague of *Mallius*, had direction to raise new forces to oppose the barbarians. He performed his commission with an extraordinary care, being the first who introduced the custom of teaching the soldiers the use of their weapons by masters taken from the schools of the gladiators : a practice adopted by the succeeding Generals ; and, in later times, mention is made of these masters for the soldiery, under the name of *Campidoctores*°.

At the next election of Consuls, *Marius*, then *absent*, and who *had been Consul but three years before*, was, by the voice of the whole Roman People, named for one, though the laws forbade any man, who had held that station, to be placed in it again without an interval of ten years, and likewise forbade the choosing any man to it who did not stand candidate in person. Neither *Metellus*, vainly boasted of by his party as *the conqueror of Numidia*, nor any other of the Nobles, had the confidence to stand in competition with him in this time of real danger. *Gallia Narbonensis* was the province assigned to him ; *Italy* to his colleague *C. Flavius Fimbria*.

Marius, on his return to *Rome*, had a triumph for his conquest of *Numidia*. The principal ornaments of the procession were *Jugurtha* and his sons in chains. It is said, that the King appeared like a man out of his senses. The ceremony over, he was thrown into a dungeon, being condemned to be there starved to death. The gaolers, in their haste to strip him, tore off the tips of his ears to get the pendants he wore in them. Six whole days he passed in the dungeon struggling with famine, and retaining to the last moment an ardent desire of life^p.

Marius, through absence of thought, went into the Senate, after the ceremony, in his triumphal robe, which was unprecedented. Perceiving

the People, passed a law, ordaining, that no person, who had been condemned and deprived of his command by the People, should sit in the Senate. *Cæpio's* name was not inserted, but he was the only person affected by this law. Ten years after his first condemnation, he was accused a second time before the People, by the Tribune *Narbanus*, on account of his sacrilege in seizing the gold of *Toulouse*. The orator *Craſſus* undertook his defence. *Scaurus*, President of the Senate, espoused his cause, and two of the Tribunes opposed their colleague's proceeding ; but violence, which was then grown common at *Rome*, decided the affair. In a tumult that ensued, *Scaurus*

received a blow with a stone, and, together with the opposing Tribunes, was put to flight ; and *Cæpio* was condemned. It is not certain what became of him afterwards. According to *Strabo*, l. iv. p. 138. he was banished, and retired to *Syracusa* ; but *Valerius Maximus* (inconsistently with what he relates, l. iv. c. 7.) tells us, (l. vi. c. 9.) that *Cæpio* was strangled in prison, and his carcase ignominiously dragged with a hook to the *Gemoniæ*.

° This year the *Lusitanians* defeated a Roman army in *Spain*. *Jal. Obseq.* c. xl.

^p It is thought that *Jugurtha's* two sons passed their days in captivity at *Venusia*. *App. de Bell. Civ.* l. i. p. 376.

V. R. 643.
Bel. Civ.
103.
347 Cons.

V. R. 644.
Bel. Civ.
103.
348 Cons.

V. R. 645.
Bel. Civ.
103.
348 Cons.

Sall. Bell.
Jugurth.
in fin.
Liv. Post.
l. lxxv.
Plut. in
Mari.

Y. R. 649. the whole assembly surprised and shocked at the novelty, he instantly left
 Bo. C. 1. the house, and, in a very short time, returned in the usual habit.

177.
 345 C. 1. So well had *Rutilius* disciplined the new raised troops, that *Marius*, ha-
 ving his choice, preferred them, for the expedition against the *Cimbri*, to the
 army which he himself had commanded in *Africa*. He chose *Sylla* for his
 Lieutenant, as thinking him (says *Plutarch*) a man of too little consequence
 to give him jealousy.
 Plutarch.
 Syll. 1. 2.
 L. 1. 1. 2.
 § 2.

And

§ We have here an instance (and there are many such) of *Plutarch's* want of memory, or, perhaps, of his little concern to make his stories either probable or consistent with one another.

In his Life of *Marius*, after relating how *Bocchus* betrayed *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*, he immediately adds the following account.

“ This gave the first rise to that sad and
 “ deplorable civil war which almost ruined
 “ the whole Roman empire: for many that
 “ envied *Marius*, ascribed the success
 “ entirely to *Sylla*: and *Sylla* himself
 “ made a seal, whereon was engraven *Boc-*
 “ chus delivering up *Jugurtha* to him:
 “ and this he constantly used, whereby he
 “ highly provoked *Marius*, a man extremely
 “ ambitious and jealous of a rival for glory,”
 &c.

We have again, in the biographer's Life of *Sylla*, the successful negotiation of the *Quæstor*, his vanity, his seal, and the consequent anger and jealousy of *Marius*.

“ For this success *Marius* triumphed:
 “ but being conscious that the GLORY of the At-
 “ tainment was due to *Sylla*, envy made
 “ him grieve inwardly: and *Sylla* being
 “ himself naturally vain, and this being the
 “ first time that, from a low and private
 “ condition, he had risen to be in some con-
 “ sideration with his fellow-citizens, his am-
 “ bition carried him to such a degree of
 “ ostentation, that he caused a SEAL to be
 “ made, whereon was represented *Bocchus de-*
 “ livering up, and *Sylla* receiving *Jugurtha*;
 “ which SEAL he made use of ever after.
 “ This touched *Marius* to the quick; ne-
 “ vertheless, in his second Consulship, think-
 “ ing *Sylla* too far beneath him to be
 “ feared as a rival, he appointed him
 “ to be his Lieutenant: and, in his third
 “ Consulship employed him as a Legionary
 “ Tribune.”

In this account (though it be adopted by *M. Verrius*, the *Jesuits*, *M. Rollin*, and others,) it seems difficult to discern the least air of truth. Is it, in any degree, probable, that *Sylla*, who (as *Plutarch* observes) had but just started out of obscurity, and was very ambitious of rising to the highest honours, would be so impolitic, as immediately to provide himself with such a Seal as is described, and from this time constantly wear it; that is, coolly and deliberately contrive to make *Marius*, who was then the People's chief favourite, his enemy, and set him at defiance, by appropriating wholly to himself a glory, which naturally belonged to the commander in chief?

Or, is it propable, that, if *Sylla* had such folly and arrogance, and if *Marius* was thereby touched to the quick, and so highly provoked, as the historian reports him to have been, he would have chosen this enemy and rival for glory to be his Lieutenant in his second Consulship?

Marius was jealous of *Sylla* as of a rival for glory: nevertheless, *Marius* appointed *Sylla* to be his Lieutenant, looking upon him as a man of too little consequence to be his rival for glory. This is *Plutarch's* account.

The truth seems to be, that the SEAL in question was never thought of till many years after the end of the *Numidian* war, when King *Bocchus*, to whom an alliance with *Rome* had been granted, made a glittering golden present to the *Roman* People. And this might be gathered from another passage in *Plutarch's* Life of *Marius*, where, speaking of him after his return from *Asia*, he says, that he was neglected like a weapon of war in time of peace; and adds, “ that among all those, whose lustre eclipsed
 “ the glory of *Marius*, he was the most
 “ exasperated against *Sylla*, who owed his
 “ RISE to the hatred which the NOBLES bore

“ to

And now, instead of being too gentle and remiss in point of discipline, which *Sallust* imputes to him, with regard to the troops in *Numidia*, he was, on the contrary (by the report of *Plutarch*,) “severe in command, and exact even to rigour. Nevertheless, his impetuous spirit, stern look, and thundering voice, were considered by the soldiers, when grown familiar with them, not as terrible to themselves, but only to their enemies.”

Y. R. 649.
Bef. Chr.
103.
348 C. C. C.

A notable act of impartial justice helped much to conciliate to him the affections of the army. His nephew, who served in the post of a Legionary Tribune, having several times solicited a young soldier, under his command, to unworthy compliances, and finding him always inflexible, had, at length, recourse to violence. The soldier, being determined to expose himself to any danger rather than yield, drew his sword, and ran the Tribune through the body. Being cited before *Marius* to receive sentence for having killed his commander; the General, when he had informed himself fully of the facts, not only acquitted the accused, but, with his own hands, crowned him as a conqueror.

Plut. in
Mar.
Cic. pro
Mil. c. 4.
Vid. supra
p. 42.

When *Marius* arrived in *Gaul*, he learnt that the *Cimbri*, after ravaging all the country, from the *Rhone* to the *Pyrenees*, had, by those mountains, entered *Spain*¹. This gave the Consul leisure to perfect his troops in military discipline: and (according to *Plutarch*) the *Romans*, notwithstanding the departure of the *Cimbri*, found enemies in *Gaul*: for he tells us, that *Sylla*, this year, took prisoner *Copillus*, the General of the *Tectosages*².

Liv. Epit.
67.
Plut. in
Mar.
Jul. Obseq.
c. xli.

Plut. in
Sylla.

When

“to himself.” And then he proceeds in the following manner. “When *Bocchus*, King of *Numidia*, dedicated in the Capitol, some golden victories bearing trophies, and, with them, a sculpture in gold, representing himself, delivering up *Jugurtha* to *Sylla*, *Marius* was thereupon almost distracted with rage; not able to endure that *Sylla* should arrogate that honour to himself.

“*Marius* attempted by violence to pull down those figures; and *Sylla* strenuously opposed his attempt: but the war of the confederates, THEN, on a sudden, threatening the city, put a stop to the sedition, that, ON THIS OCCASION, was just ready to break out.” [The war of the confederates was kindled in 662.]

By this date we see, that the dispute between *Marius* and *Sylla* for the glory of putting a fortunate end to the *Jugurthine*

war (which ended in 647) was not till fifteen years after its conclusion, when *Marius*'s interest was on the decline, and *Sylla* had made great progress in the road to the highest honours: for he had been already *Prætor*: and two years after this time (viz. in 664) was chosen to the Consulship. And it would seem that the SEAL was a copy of King *Bocchus*'s present, and not the original; though it is very possible that *Sylla*, to pique *Marius* (whom he then did not fear) and to raise his own credit with the People, might, when *Bocchus* (with whom he had formed a sort of friendship) determined to make a present to the *Romans*, of a sculpture in gold, suggest to him the device.

¹ *Florus* places this irruption of the *Cimbri* into *Spain* before the Consulship of *Silanus*, l. iii. c. 3.

² About this time, *M. Scaurus*, President

Y. R. 659.
Bel. Chr.
102.
349 Cons.

When the time came for electing the chief Magistrates at Rome, the Comitia chose *Marius* (in his absence) a third time to the Consulship, and continued

Ascen. in
Scav.

dent of the Senate, and who had been Consul and Censor, was accused by *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, Tribune of the People, of having profaned several sacred rites of the Romans, and particularly those of the *Dii Penates* celebrated at *Lavinium*. The crime seems to have been a heavy one, but it is described in too vague a manner to be accurately understood at this time. The real source of the prosecutor's enmity to *Scavrus* was, that another person, assisted by *Scavrus's* interest, had succeeded *Domitius's* father in an Augur's place, to the exclusion of *Domitius* himself. But, though animated by personal hatred, *Domitius* had the generosity to reject the information that was secretly offered him by one of *Scavrus's* slaves, and to deliver up the traitor to his master. For want, perhaps, of this intelligence, *Scavrus* was acquitted, though with some difficulty; but *Domitius* grew such a favourite with the People, that he was afterwards chosen Consul, Censor, and Pontifex Maximus.

Val. Max.
vi. 3.

His generosity in the affair of *Scavrus* undoubtedly contributed something to his popularity; but his chief merit was a law which he made, to substitute a popular election of priests of every denomination, to the old method of co-optation by their colleagues: or, rather, to unite both these methods, as had always been practised in the election of a Pontifex Maximus. Seventeen tribes, taken by lot, were to be assembled, and the person who had the suffrages of the majority was to be co-opted, without a power of refusal, by the College in which the vacancy happened.

Cic. de
Leg. A-
g. 2. 7.

Domitius, in his Tribuneship, accused also *Junius Silanus*, for misconduct in the war against the *Cimbri*, by whom he had been defeated, when Consul, five years before. He was acquitted by the People: two tribes only condemned him. *Cic. pro Corn. 2. in Fragm. and Ascen. in loc.*

C. Servilius Glaucia, another of the Tribunes, got a law passed, the import of which seems to have been a repeal of that which *Cornelius* enacted in the year 647, and a restoring to the *Roman* Knights all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed. *Cic. in Brut. c. lxxii.*

It is not certain, what was the import of *Cornelius's* law, or of *Glaucia's*: the first, according to *Jul. Obsequens* (c. 39), divided the right of judicature between the Senators and the Knights; and *Cicero* (in *de Invent. l. 1. c. 49.*) treats of it as favourable to the Senate; whereas he tells us, that *Glaucia*, by his law, gained over the Knights to his interest (in *Brut. c. 62.*) *Cicero* (in *Divinat. in Cael. c. 3.*) speaks favourable of the judgments passed by the Roman Knights; and *Ascenius* (in *loc.*) says, that the Roman Knights continued to be Judges for forty years after the time of *C. Gracchus*, and that they judged uprightly: that *Sylla* then transferred the right of judging to the Senators, and these judged iniquitously. And *Cicero* (*Ad. i. in Verr. c. 13.*) says, that for near fifty years together, during which time the right of judging was in the Equestrian order, there was not the least suspicion of any Judge's taking money, though the Senators, when they were Judges, became infamous for that crime.

Yet this account cannot be strictly true; for according to the same *Ascenius* (in *Orat. pro Corn. 1.*) *Plebeius*, in the year 664, got a law enacted, that fifteen men out of each of the thirty-five tribes should be appointed Judges, by which means some Senators came to be nominated. And *Cicero* (*pro Corn.*) tell us, that, by the *Plebeian* law, the Senators were first admitted to judge among the Knights. *Livius Drusus* in the year 662 obtained a law, that the Judges should be one half Senators and the other Knights; but this law being abrogated the same year in which it was enacted, *Cicero*, in the passage above cited, takes no notice of it.

It would seem, upon the whole, that *C. Gracchus's* law continued in force till the year 664, when the *Plebeian* law took place; and that this latter was superseded by *Sylla's* law, which, in 672, gave the right of judicature entirely to the Senators.

Glaucia obtained likewise a law, which granted the freedom of the city to whoever of the *Latin* allies should bring an accusation against a Roman Senator, and prove his charge. *Cic. pro Balb. c. 24.*

continued him in his command. It was expected that the barbarians would return from *Spain* the next spring; and the *Roman* soldiers declared they would not march, against so dreadful an enemy, under any other General. The other Consul was *L. Aurelius Orestes*.

Y. R. 650.
Bef. Chr.
506.
349 Conf.

The *Cimbri* remained this year also in *Spain*, nor do we hear of any thing considerable performed, during the course of it, by the *Romans* in *Gaul*; excepting, that a numerous and warlike people, called the *Marfi*, are said to have been brought, by *Sylla's* means, into an alliance with *Rome*. Id. Ibid.

Towards the end of the year, *Aurelius* dying, *Marius* left the command of the army with his Lieutenant *Aquilius*, and returned to

Plut. in
Mar.

It was about this time, that the scandalous debaucheries of two of the *Fabii* gave great offence at *Rome*, and were punished in the most exemplary manner.

One of them, who was the son of *Fabius Servilianus*, felt the indignation of his own father, who first banished him into the country, and, upon his continuing unreclaimed, ordered two slaves to put him to death. To screen the slaves from being examined by torture, old *Fabius* immediately manumitted them; and he himself, upon an accusation's being lodged against him for this stretch of the paternal authority, chose to decline a trial, and went into exile to *Nuceria in Campania*. Val. Max. vi. 1. 5. Oros. v. 16.

Allobrogicus, the father of the other *Fabius*, was dead; but *Q. Pompeius*, the Prætor, supplied his place, decreed young *Fabius* unfit to manage his own fortune, and appointed him a guardian. Val. Max. iii. 5. 2.

The famous *Scævola*, the Augur, upon his return from the government of *Asia*, in the year 579, was tried for mal-administration and extortion in his province. His accuser was *T. Albucius*, a man of a singular character, who was possessed with such a fondness for every thing that was *Greek*, that he resided generally at *Athens*, and seemed willing to forget both his native country and his mother-tongue. *Scævola*, in his way to his government, passed through *Athens*, where *Albucius* coming to pay him a visit, the Governor, by way of ridicule on his silly affectation, addressed him, after the *Grecian* manner, with the word *χαίρε* [hail] and his whole train of attendants, officers of the army, domestics, and even Lictors, did the same. *Albucius* was so nettled at

this affront, that, upon *Scævola's* return to *Rome*, he brought against him the accusation above mentioned; but the conduct of the accused was found to be irreproachable, and the trial served only to make *Albucius* still more ridiculous.

Lucil. ap.
Cic. de
Fin. l. i.
c. 3. &
Cic. de O-
rat. l. ii.

Not long after, he was accused of the same crime with which he had charged *Scævola*, and was not equally fortunate in clearing his character: *Albucius* had been Prætor in the year 647 or 648, and at the expiration of his office, was appointed Governor of *Sardinia*, where having extirpated a few gangs of robbers, he sent to *Rome* to demand a solemn thanksgiving for this important exploit; and in the mean time paraded about the island with all the triumphal pomp. The Senate, to mortify his vanity, refused his request, though it was known to be a thing of course, and had never before been denied to any Governor. To complete his disgrace, the people of the island accused him of extortion, and he was found guilty. Stung with these repeated insults from his ungrateful country, *Albucius* retired to his favourite *Athens*, where he is said to have died more like a philosopher than he had lived.

70.
Cic. de
Provinc.
Conf. c. 7.

This year *M. Fulvius Nobilior* is said to have gained some advantage against the *Cimbri* in *Spain* (*Front. Stras. l. xi. c. 5. § 8.*) *Calpurnius Piso* defeated the *Tbra-cians*, and penetrated as far as *Rhodes* and *Caucasus* (*Jul. Obseq. c. 41. Flor. lib. xxxvi. 4.*) and *M. Antonius*, the orator, now Proconsul in *Asia*, with the assistance of the *Byzantines*, destroyed the *Gilician* pirates, for which he had a triumph. Cic. de Orat. l. i. c. 18. Liv. Epit. l. lxxviii. Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 62.

Cic. Tusc.
v. 37.

Rome,

Rome, to preside at the election of new Consuls. On his arrival, he gained over to his interests *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, one of the Tribunes, who was in greatest favour with the People.

To *Saturninus*, when Quæstor, had been committed the care of supplying the City with corn; and because he did not discharge the office well, the Senate appointed *Scæurus* to execute it in his stead. Provoked at this affront, he became a violent enemy to the Nobles, and was therefore easily engaged to employ his influence on the People to chuse *Marius* a fourth time to the Consulship. *Marius* himself affected to decline the office: whereupon *Saturninus* called him traitor to his Country, as refusing to assist her in so dangerous a war. The stratagem was too gross not to be discerned, yet the people, sensible of the need they still had of so able and fortunate a General as *Marius*, continued him in the Consulship; appointing for his colleague, *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, a man honoured by the Nobles, and esteemed by the Multitude.

Marius, soon after, set out for *Transalpine Gaul*; and *Catulus*, accompanied by *Sylla* as his Lieutenant, led an army to the foot of the *Alps*.

The barbarians, being defeated by the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, had left that country, and returned into *Gaul*. And they now resolved to divide their forces, and to enter *Italy* on different sides: the *Cimbræ* were to march through *Noricum*; the *Teutoni* and *Ambrones* through *Gallia Narbonensis*. *Marius* posted his army between two branches of the *Rhône*. In order to have provisions the more easily conveyed from the sea to his camp, by means of the river, the mouths of which were choked up with mud and sand, he caused his soldiers to dig a canal from the river to the sea; a work which still subsisted in *Plutarch's* time, and had the name of *Fossa Mariana*.

At length the enormous multitude of the *Teutoni* and *Ambrones* approached the *Roman* army, and with terrible cries, defied them to battle. *Marius* declined the challenge. To accustom his troops to the fierce countenances and hideous noises of the barbarians, he posted his men successively, in different corps, upon the ramparts of the camp, from whence they might have a full view of the enemy; who not only ravaged the country round about, but frequently insulted the *Romans* in their intrenchments. Provoked at this insolence, the soldiers murmured in private, and complained that their General had no confidence in them, since he would not lead them against the barbarians. *Marius*, being informed of the complaints, was pleased with the ardour of his troops, and signified to them, that he had no distrust of their courage, but only waited, by the admonition of oracles, for a favourable time and place in which to give battle. These oracles were two vultures and a *Syrian* woman named *Martba*. The vultures he had tamed, and he used to let them loose about the camp, at proper times, their appearance being

being deemed a good omen. *Martha*, whom his wife had sent to him from *Rome*, was esteemed a prophetess; because, at a combat of gladiators, she had luckily guessed which of them would have the victory. She wore a large purple mantle fastened with clasps, and bore in her hand a spear wrapped round with bunches of flowers, and was carried about the camp in a litter. Great honours and respect was paid her, and *Marius* never sacrificed but by her orders.

It is reported, that an officer of the *Teutoni*, remarkable for the greatness of his stature, challenged the *Roman* General to single combat. *Marius* answered—*If the fellow is in such haste to die, let him go hang himself.* Then, pointing to an old gladiator of a very low stature, he added, *Let him first vanquish this little man, and then I will fight the conqueror.*

The Barbarians, having in vain attempted to force *Marius's* camp, at the expence of a great number of their men, resolved, without regarding any more the Consul, to march directly forward to *Italy*. They passed* very near the *Roman* intrenchments, and, with insolent raillery, asked the soldiers, whether they had any messages to send to their wives? *Marius* followed the enemy, kept always near them, and at night intrenched himself on the most advantageous spot he could find. When they were got to *Aquæ * Sextiæ*, they encamped in a vast extent of ground along the banks of a small river, (probably the *Arce*), and the Consul on an eminence: an advantageous post, only it wanted water. This (says *Plutarch*) he did on purpose, and when his soldiers complained of his having encamped them in a place where they must die with thirst, he shewed them the river; saying, *Ionder is water; but you must purchase it at the price of your blood*: they answered, *Why do not you lead us thither, while we have any blood in our veins?* *Marius* replied, *You must first fortify your Camp.* The soldiers obeyed, though with reluctance; but the sutlers and servants, impatient to have drink for themselves and their beasts, snatching up what weapons they could find, went in a body to fetch water from the river. It would seem that the *Teutoni* were a good way up the river on the same side with the *Roman* camp: the *Ambrones* on the other side, lower down; and over-against the enemy. When the *Roman* sutlers had reached the river, they were at first attacked by only a small number of the Barbarians, the rest being at dinner, or bathing; but on hearing the noise made in the skirmish, the whole body of the *Ambrones*, amounting to above thirty thousand men, issued out, most of them flushed with wine: yet they did not approach in disorder, or with confused cries, but regulated their march by a kind of musick which they made by beating upon their armour; and they frequently repeated their

* *Plutarch* says, it is reported, that the Barbarians were six days in passing by the *Roman* intrenchments in a continued march.

Y. R. 457.
B. C. 107.
330 B. C.

own name, *Ambrones*, *Ambrores*. It happened, that the *Ligurians* marched at the head of the *Roman* army: and the same name having been that of their nation, they too immediately began to cry out, *Ambrones*, so that the field resounded with this word from every quarter. The *Ambrones* had the river to pass; and in passing it broke their order; and, before they could form again, the *Ligurians* charged them, and the *Romans* advancing at the same time to sustain their allies, the enemy quickly turned their backs. Many of them perished in the river, which the *Romans* crossing, pursued the runaways even to their camp.

Here a new kind of enemies presented themselves against both the pursued and the pursuers. The wives of the *Ambrones*, armed with swords and hatchets, and gnashing their teeth with rage, discharged their fury equally upon their husbands (whom they called traitors) and upon the enemy. The night coming on, the *Romans* retired, but spent that night in great anxiety and terror; for their camp was not yet fortified, and, though the greater part of the *Ambrones* had been cut to pieces, an immense multitude remained of the Barbarians, by whom they expected every moment to be attacked. That night, however, and all the following day, passed without any action; early the next morning the Consul drew up his foot in order of battle, upon an eminence before his camp, making his cavalry descend into the plain. He had before detached three thousand of his infantry under the conduct of *Claudius Marcellus* to lie in ambush, and at a proper time, to fall upon the enemy in the rear. The *Teutoni*, seeing the *Romans* drawn up for battle, had not patience to wait till they should come down into the plain, but advanced furiously up the hill to attack them. *Marius* ordered his men not to stir, till the Barbarians were near: then, having first thrown their darts, to fall upon them sword in hand, and push them down the hill with their bucklers. The *Teutoni* were soon driven into the plain; and the foremost had scarce begun to rally, when *Marcellus*, on a sudden, charged them behind. Being thus attacked, at once, both in front and rear, they made but a short resistance. More than a hundred thousand of them (according to *Plutarch*) were killed or taken prisoners^a.

D. d. E-
c. 107.
XXVII.
Plut. in
Mar.

According to some authors, the *Roman* army unanimously made a present to their General of the whole spoil. *Marius* caused it to be sold

^a In the Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxxviii) it is said, that 200,000 of the Barbarians perished in this and the former battle; and that 90,000 were taken prisoners.

The report of *Valerius Paternulus* (l. ii. c. 12.) is, that above 150,000 were killed in both actions, and that the whole nation of the *Teutons* was extinguished.

Valerius Maximus (l. vi. c. 1. § 3. exterr.)

tells us, that, after the battle, the young women of the *Teutoni* requested of *Marius* that they might be given to the Vestal virgins, promising perpetual chastity: but this being denied them, they hanged themselves the night following. *Flerus* (iii. 3.) relates nearly the same story of the *Cimbrian* women.

at

at a very low price to the soldiers, chusing rather to act in that manner, than to make a pure donation of it; and this, probably, to avoid the appearance of setting too small a value on their present. This proceeding acquired him universal esteem: the great united with the multitude in applauding him.

As to the arms taken from the Barbarians, *Marius* set apart, for the ornaments of his triumph, all the richest and most glittering: the rest he ordered to be heaped together, that he might make a sacrifice of them to the Gods. Crowned with laurel, and clothed in a robe of state, he was going, with his own hands (according to the *Roman* custom) to set fire to the pile, when certain horsemen, riding full-speed, appeared on a sudden. Coming up to him, they dismounted, accosted him with the news of his being Consul for the *fifth time*, and delivered him letters that notified his election; a new subject of joy to the whole army: *Marius* finished his sacrifice, amidst their universal acclamations.

The colleague appointed to *Marius* was *Manius Aquillius*, commissioned afterwards to conduct a war against the revolted slaves in *Sicily*; of which more hereafter.

Catulus continued at the head of the army, which he had led to the foot of the *Alps*. That he might not be obliged to weaken his forces by such a division of them as would be necessary to defend the passes of the mountains, he had retired over the *Atbesis**. After he had pitched his camp, he caused forts to be raised on each bank of the river to defend the pass, and a wooden bridge to be built, by which he might have a communication with the guard on the farther side. In the mean time the *Cimbri* came down the *Alps* that were yet covered with snow^b, and, advancing to the *Atbesis*, encamped within sight of the enemy. This done, they threw into the channel earth, trees, and vast pieces of rocks, and, when the stream, by being straitened, became rapid, they cast into it things of great weight, which, being carried down by the current with violence against the piles of the bridge, so shook it, that it seemed in danger of being carried away. The *Roman* soldiers did not wait for the event, but being seized with terror, abandoned their camp. *Catulus* finding it impossible to stop his men, put himself at their head, that the army might seem to have only obeyed the command of their General, and not run away through fear of the enemy: an instance of the most noble and disinterested conduct, according to *Plutarch*; the General sacrificing his private glory to the good of his country: yet certainly this noble action, so highly praised by the historian^c, is capable of a construction not much

^b *Plutarch* reports, that the Barbarians, out of a sort of bravado, climbed up naked over heaps of ice and snow to the tops of the hills, and then, upon their large

shields, let themselves slide down to the bottom.

^c “ I do not believe (says Monsieur *Crevier* very judiciously), that *Marius*, on the like occasion, would have been willing

Y. R. 651.
B. C. Cn.
101.
350 C. C.

Y. R. 652.
B. C. Chr.
100.
351 Conf.

* The A.
dige.

M. R. 400 to the advantage of *Carulus*, [or of *Sylla*, whom the same historian represents as the chief councillor of this General, and his right-hand for execution.]

The guard of the fort on the other side of the river defended themselves with resolution against the attacks of the *Cimbri*; who, admiring their bravery, granted them at length an honourable capitulation, and swore to it upon a brazen bull.

After taking the fort, the *Cimbri* spread themselves over the country and pillaged it. In this situation of things, *Marius* was sent for to Rome: on his arrival, the Senate offered him a triumph, but he deferred his acceptance of that honour, till the war should be terminated by another victory, which he spoke of as a thing certain: and presently setting out for the camp of his late colleague, he at the same time ordered thither his own army from Gaul.

The two Generals, having joined their forces, passed the *Po*. The *Cimbri* were at no great distance, but deferred offering battle, till their friends, the *Teutoni*, should come to their assistance, according to agreement. In the mean time they sent Ambassadors to the Consul, demanding that lands and towns might be assigned them, sufficient both for themselves and for their brethren. *What brethren do you speak of?* (said *Marius* to the Ambassadors): They answered, THE TEUTONI. To which the Consul replied, *Do not trouble yourselves about providing for your brethren; we have already given them land, and they will always keep possession of it.* The Ambassadors, finding themselves insulted, broke out into passion, threatening to make him repent his behaviour so soon as the *Teutoni* should arrive. *They are here already* (said *Marius*), *and it would not be kind in you to go away without saluting your brethren.* After these words, he caused the kings (or leaders) of the *Teutoni*, whom he had taken prisoners, to be brought forth in chains.

The *Cimbri*, on the return and report of their Ambassadors, advanced without losing a moment; and having encamped not far from the Consul, their King *Bojorix*, at the head of a small body of cavalry, came forward, and defied *Marius* to battle, bidding him name the day and place. The Consul answered, that *it was not the custom of the Romans to take counsel of their enemies about giving battle; nevertheless, he would have that complaisance for him, to do what he had desired.* It was thereupon agreed, that the time should be the third day from thence,

“ to deserve the like praise: and, indeed, *Pisarch* (in *Sylla*) tells us, that *Carulus* was no great warrior.” *Hist. Rom.* tom. IX. l. xxx.

Scorpus (President of the Senate) had a son, who served in the cavalry: he fled full speed to Rome. His father, on notice of his arrival,

forbad him ever to appear before him; whereupon the young man killed himself. *Front. Strat.* l. iv. c. 1. § 13. *Aur. Vict.* in *Scor.*

* *Flerus* tells us, that the *Cimbri*, after the action upon the *Arbesis*, were enervated, by living luxuriously.

and

and that the field of battle should be the plain of *Vercelle*; a plain commodious for the *Roman* cavalry, and large enough for the Barbarians to draw up their numerous forces. Thither the *Romans* and *Cimbri* repaired punctually at the day appointed. *Catulus's* army consisted of 20,300 foot; *Marius* had 32,000. The number of the *Roman* cavalry is not mentioned. *Plutarch* is the only writer who gives us any particulars of this battle, and his account is very unsatisfactory; the memoirs of *Sylla*, who became *Marius's* greatest enemy, and was now Lieutenant to *Catulus*, being his chief and almost only authority*. [Once he quotes the memoirs of *Catulus*.] *Plutarch* relates, that the Consul posted *Catulus*, and his troops in the center, and, having divided his own forces into two bodies, placed them on the wings, a little advanced towards the enemy, that he might have the glory of defeating them before the Proconsul's troops could engage. The *Romans* had the advantages of the sun and wind.

The *Cimbri* drew up their infantry in a square body, each side thirty furlongs in length. Their cavalry, amounting to 15,000, seem to have been at first posted on the right of their infantry, from whence they wheeled off by degrees, in order to come upon the rear of the enemy. This stratagem the *Roman* Generals perceived; but their soldiers thought it a flight, and therefore advanced as to the pursuit, without waiting for orders. The whole body of the *Cimbrian* infantry moved forward (says *Plutarch*) like the waters of a vast sea. *Marius* and *Catulus* lifting up their hands towards heaven, vowed, the one to sacrifice a hecatomb to the Gods, the other to dedicate a temple to *the fortune of this day*. A mighty cloud of dust arose, and covered both armies. *Marius*, according to *Sylla's* memoirs, was so unfortunate as to lose himself in this cloud. Though the *Cimbrian* phalanx was three miles deep, he passed it by, and wandered up and down the plains a good while without being able to find the enemy. But *Catulus* and *Sylla* had the good fortune to find them; and, with only about 20,000 men, stood the whole brunt of this battle. The excessive heat (for it was in the end of *July*) greatly incommoded the *Cimbri*, accustomed to a cold climate; and they had the farther disadvantage of the sun's shining full in their faces. It is said, that their foremost ranks had somehow linked themselves together, to hinder their order from being broken. These therefore were cut to pieces, the rest being put to flight, and driven to their camp. There the women, mounted upon the waggons, furiously assaulted those that fled, whether husbands, brothers, or fathers. They sent deputies to *Marius*, to demand of him, either liberty, or a slavery, which

* The same memoirs relate, that *Sylla*, by his industry, in a time of scarcity, supplied the troops of *Marius* with provisions in abundance; a service which greatly displeased

Marius, because of his extreme jealousy of *Sylla*, who, regarding him as an enemy to his advancement, had left him, and attached himself to *Catulus*.

Y. P. 400. fated their sex and virtue, offering to become slaves to the vestals, and to
B. C. 100. bind themselves to the observance of perpetual chastity like them. This
grace being refused, they murdered their children and themselves. To
this romantic account it is added, that the *men*, for want of trees, upon
which to hang themselves, made running knots upon their necks with
cords, the ends of which they fastened to the horns, or feet of their cattle,
and, driving the beasts forward with goads, made a shift to get themselves
strangled, or trodden to death. Nevertheless, 60,000 of them were taken
prisoners.

We are told (says *Plutarch*) that *Marius's* soldiers, though they
carried off all the baggage, had taken only two standards, while
Catulus's men brought thirty into their camp; and that, as a farther
proof that this part of the army had the greater share in the victory,
upon almost all the darts by which the *Cimbri* had fallen, was found
inscribed the name of *Catulus*. Notwithstanding all this, the whole
honour of the victory was, in after times, and is still, given to *Marius*.
And, even when the event was recent, *Catulus* was thought sufficiently
honoured, by being adorned (as *Juvenal* expresses it) with the second
laurel-branch.

At *Rome*, the People, on the night they received the news of the
victory, began their suppers with libations to *Marius* as to a Divinity.
They stiled him the *Third Founder of Rome*, and would have had him
triumph, without the Proconsul's sharing with him in that honour. This
however, he refused; and the two Generals, after their return home,
triumphed together.

It is said, that, from this time, *Marius* never drank but out of a
goblet, such as *Bacchus* was imagined to have used after his conquest of
Italy. He likewise built a temple to Honour and Virtue; *Catulus*
another, not to Fortune in general, but (in discharge of his vow) to the

Thus *Plutarch*: but *J. A. P. A.* (l. ii. c. 2.) says, the number of the prisoners and the
dead amounted to about 100,000; and he
adds, that by this victory, *Marius*, notwith-
standing the mischiefs he afterwards did, hin-
dered his country from wishing that he had
never been born. *Strabo* (l. v. c. i.) tells
us, that, in this important action, the *Romans*
lost no more than 300 men. According to
him, and the *Epitome of Livy* (l. lviii.)
120,000 of the enemy were killed in this
battle, and 60,000 taken prisoners.

It is reported, that *Marius* gave the free-
dom of *Rome* to 1000 men of the *Cimbri*,
a people of *Umbria*, in reward of their bravery
in this war; and when it was afterwards

remonstrated to him, that what he had done
was illegal, he answered, that the din of
arms had hindered him from hearing the
voice of the laws. *Plut. in Apollonem.* and
in Mari.

Hic tamen & Cimbros, & summa pe-
ricula rerum
Excipit, & sibi trepidantem protegit urbem.
Atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros, stragem-
que vocabant,
Qui nunquam attigerant maiora cadavera,
coram,
Nobilis ornatur lauro collega secundâ
Juv. Sat. viii.

* *Marius.*

Fortune

Fortune of this day (*Fortunæ huiusce diei*), meaning the day on which the *Cimbri* were vanquished: but the inscription was applicable to every day in the year^a.

Y. R. 652.
Cic de
Leg. l. ii.
c. 11.

C H A P. IV.

The second SERVILE WAR in Sicily.

DURING the war against the *Cimbri* and their allies, the Republic had another war to maintain against the Slaves in Sicily^b. In the year 649 *Marius*, having obtained leave of the Senate to ask, from foreign states, assistance against the *Cimbri*, had sent to *Nicomedes*, King of *Bitthynia*, for recruits. The King excused himself, alledging, that a great number of his subjects had been forcibly carried away into slavery, by those who farmed the revenues of the Republic in the East. The complaint appearing to the Senate to be well grounded, they passed a

Diod. Sic.
l. xxxvi.
ap. Phot.

^a This year one *Publicius Malleolus*, for having murdered his mother, was sewed up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown into the river. *Vid. Aul. ad Herenn. l. i. c. 13. Cic. Orat. c. 30. Orat. l. v. c. 16.* This is the second instance, mentioned in history, of Parricide among the *Romans*. *Romulus* (says *Plutarch*) decreed no punishment for this crime, as being a wickedness he had never heard of; nor was there any example of it, till after the second *Punic* war: and, according to the *Epitome of Livy* (l. lxxviii.) if the reading be right, *Malleolus* was the first who was punished in the above manner. Hence some have thought, that the law against Parricide was enacted upon this occasion. But *Cicero* (*pro Rosc. Amer. c. xxv.*) commends the old *Romans*, as being wiser than *SOLON*; who had provided no punishment for Parricide. He calls those old *Romans* our ancestors (*maiores nostri*), which he would hardly have done, had they lived in his own time; and he was five years old, when *Malleolus* was condemned. Nor was that kind of punishment unknown to the *Romans* of the early times. *Plautus* mentions it in *Aulular.* and *Val. Max.* (l. i. c. 1. § 13.) tells us, that *Tarquin* ordered *M. Tullius* one of the *Duumvirs* who had the care of the *Sibylline* books, to be sewed in a sack, and thrown into the sea, for giving a copy of a book, containing the *Secreta Civium Sacerorum*, to one *P. trenius Sabinus*.

^b Some commotions (soon suppressed) of

the Slaves in Italy, had been the prelude to this *Sicilian* war. The most considerable of them had a *Roman* Knight, named *Vettius*, for its author. He had fallen desperately in love with a young slave, and bought her for seven talents, which he promised to pay at a certain time. The term elapsed, and he had not the money; for, though his father had been extremely rich, he himself had squandered away the inheritance by his extravagance; yet the bad state of his affairs, was not publicly known. He requested, and obtained of his creditor, farther time; but at the expiration of it, being still insolvent, and his creditor urgent, he took a mad and desperate resolution. He bought, upon credit, a great many suits of armour, armed his own slaves to the number of four hundred, assumed the diadem, the purple robe, all the marks of sovereignty, and proclaimed himself king. His first exploit was to seize and murder his importunate creditor. His forces increasing to seven hundred men, he fortified a camp to serve as an asylum for all that would join him. His army amounted to three thousand five hundred men, when *L. Lucullus*, then *Prætor*, with four thousand foot, and three hundred horse, came to an engagement with him, in which *Vettius* gained some advantage. But the *Prætor*, having afterwards found means to gain over *Appolonius*, whom *Vettius* had made his principal officer, the new King was betrayed, and reduced to kill himself. *Diod. Eclog. book xxxvi.*

decree,

Y R 6m. decree, that no freemen of the *Roman* allies should in any province be
 B 1000. treated as slaves, and that the *Præ* consuls and *Præ* tors should take care that
 3500m. all such as had been injuriously forced into slavery, should be set free: in
 ——— obedience to this decree, *Licinius Nerva*, *Præ* tor in *Sicily*, gave liberty,
 in a few days, to above eight hundred slaves. The chief men of the island,
 foreseeing how much they should be losers, by the execution of this
 decree, addressed themselves to the *Præ* tor, and begged of him to man-
 nage no more of the slaves. *Licinius*, either prevailed upon by bribes,
 or desiring to ingratiate himself with the rich, would no longer listen to
 the complaints of such of the slaves as, having been forced into slavery,
 had recourse to him for redress. On the contrary, he gave them rough
 language, and sent them home to their masters. The slaves hereupon
 had recourse to arms. About 200 of them, having posted themselves
 upon a rock, fortified it, and defended themselves for some time against
 all the efforts of *Licinius*. At length he sent for one *C. Titinius*, who
 had been, some years before, condemned to death; but having escaped
 from punishment, now practised robbery. To this man *Licinius* promised
 pardon and protection, if by his means, the slaves should be reduced.
Titinius with a body of his associates, went over to the rebels, as if to spirit
 them against their enemies. Being well received by them, and, for
 his bravery, declared their General, he, soon after, betrayed them into the
 hands of the *Romans*. This insurrection, thus suppressed, was immediately
 followed by another. In a few days, the rebels amounted to 1000 men
 and, after a victory which they obtained over a *Roman* detachment, their
 number increased to above 6000. They then chose themselves a King,
 one *Salvius*, a pretender to the art of divination by inspecting the entrails
 of animals. After some time spent in plundering the country, *Salvius* laid
 siege to *Mergantia*; and *Licinius* advanced with a view to relieve the
 place. But the rebels turned upon him, and, having the advantage of
 the ground, defeated him. Only 600 men of the *Roman* army fell in this
 action, but 4000 were taken prisoners: for *Salvius* had prudently pro-
 claimed *Quarter* to all who should throw down their arms.

On the report of this victory, such multitudes flocked in to the rebels
 from all parts, that their army was doubled, and they renewed their at-
 tacks upon *Mergantia*, at the same time promising liberty to the slaves
 within the town. But, their masters making them the same promise, in
 case of victory, the slaves fought so bravely, that they forced the rebels
 to raise the siege. Nevertheless, *Licinius* annulled the promise made to
 those slaves, who thereupon went over to the enemy.

The contagion of rebellion spread itself to the territories of *Ægysa*
 and *Libæum*. *Athenis*, a *Cicilian*, a pretender to divination by the
 stars, got together about 1000 of his fellow-slaves; and he too, assumed,
 the title of King. His army increasing to 10,000 able bodied men (for
 he would not, like King *Salvius*, receive promiscuously all that came to
 him)

him) he laid siege to *Lilybæum*, a place that was deemed impregnable. *Athenio*, after some time, became sensible of his error, and then, that he might quit his enterprize without dishonour, pretended, that the Gods had foretold him, by the stars, that if the army continued the siege, some sudden misfortune would certainly befall it. A fleet from *Mauritania*, with succours sent by King *Bocchus* to the Romans, happened to arrive at *Lilybæum*, just at the time when *Athenio* began to decamp; and those *Africans* landed soon enough to fall upon the rear of the rebel army, which suffered a considerable loss: but this loss was more than compensated to *Athenio* by the increase of credit which his astrological prediction gained him.

Y. R. 652.
Bef Chr.
100.
351 Conf.

In the mean time *Salvius*, who had assumed the name of *Tryphon*, a name formerly borne by one of the Kings of *Syria*, chose *Triocala*^a for his palace of residence. There he built a palace, fortified the castle (which was before very strong,) and enlarged the town. From hence he sent, as King, a command to *Athenio* to come and join him with the forces he had collected. Contrary to all men's expectations, *Athenio* obeyed, and marched to *Triocala* with 3000 men: the remainder of his army he had dispersed over the country to pillage it, and to engage as many of the slaves as they could to take part with him. The two Generals, for some time, lived amicably together, but, at length, *Tryphon*, suspecting *Athenio* of a design to supplant him, caused him to be seized, and put under confinement.

The next year [650] *Licinius Lucullus*^b, who succeeded *Licinius Nerva*, in the Prætorship of *Sicily*, landed in the island with 17,000 men. On the news of their arrival, *Tryphon*, released *Athenio*, and marched with him, at the head of 40,000 men, to meet *Lucullus*. The battle was long doubtful. *Athenio* fought with great bravery, but, having received three wounds, by two of which his legs were lamed, he at length fell among the dead. Hereupon the slaves lost courage, and took to their heels. Twenty thousand of them were slain; the rest, by favour of the night, escaped, with their King, to *Triocala*. *Athenio*, though grievously wounded, was not killed; in the dark, he made a shift to creep away, and join his companions. The rebels, much disheartened by their loss, held a counsel to deliberate upon the state of their affairs. Some proposed *submission to their masters at discretion*; but the prevailing opinion was *to fight it out to the last*. *Lucullus* gave them time to recover themselves; for it was nine days after the battle, before he invested *Triocala*: and then the rebels made so resolute a defence, that they obliged him to quit the enterprize. Nor did the Roman General take any further measures to crush the rebellion^c: his only care was to enrich

^a *Triocala* (*quasi τρια καλα*) was so called, on account of three sorts of beauty which were there united: the strength of its situation (for it was built upon a high rock), springs of excellent water, and fruitful fields below.

^b Father of him who afterwards conducted the war against *Mithridates*.

^c According to *Florus* (l. iii. c. 19.) *Athenio* took *Lucullus's* camp; nor does the historian mention any victory obtained, this year, over the slaves.

Y. R. 652. himself at the expence of his province. Of this, at his return to *Rome*, he
 Bel. Chr. was accused before the people, and found guilty.

100.
 351 Cons. The Prætor *Servilius*, who (in 651) succeeded *Lucullus*^{*}, had no success
 E. R. loc. against the rebels. *Tryphon* was now dead: his successor, *Athenio*, always
 c. 19. brave and enterprising, forced the *Roman* camp, took towns, and ravaged
 Diod. Sic. the country at pleasure.

l. xxviii.
 op. Phot. In the present year (652) the fifth consulship of *Marius*, the Senate
 thought proper to commission his colleague *Aquilius* to conduct that war, in
 which three Prætors had been foiled. This new General applied himself
 chiefly to cut off the enemies provisions; nor does he seem to have offered
 them battle till the next year, when their number was considerably dimi-
 nished. He then entirely defeated them in a general engagement, where-
 in, it is said, he fought hand to hand with *Athenio*, and killed him, after
 being wounded by him in the head. About 10,000 of the rebels escaped
 to their strong holds, where *Aquilius* afterwards destroyed them, chiefly by
 famine¹. A thousand still remained under a leader, named *Satyrus*, and
 these surrendered themselves. The Proconsul promised them pardon; but
 when he had transported them to *Rome*, he condemned them to fight with
 wild beasts. This they refused to do, and chose rather to fall by the
 hands of one another: *Satyrus* alone remaining, he ran upon his own
 sword, and was the last that perished on account of this rebellion, which
 had lasted four years. We are told, that in this, and the former *Servile*
 Athen. l. vi. c. 12. War in *Sicily*, a million of slaves were destroyed.

C H A P. V.

The sixth Consulship of Marius, Year of Rome 653. The violences of Saturninus, Tribune of the Commons. Metellus Numidicus banished. Saturninus and his associates in sedition are crushed. Metellus is recalled by a decree made in 654, and returns in 655. Marius makes a voyage into Asia; has a conference there with Mithridates; and returns to Rome in 656.

The condemnation of Servilius Cœpio to banishment, in 658.

The trial and acquittal of his prosecutor, Norbanus, in 659.

Rutilius Rufus is maliciously prosecuted, and unjustly condemned to banishment, in 660.

Y. R. 653. **A**T *Rome* *Marius* had put up for a sixth Consulship, with more
 Bel. Chr. eagerness than was common in suing for a first. It is said, that
 99.
 352 Cons. on this occasion he bribed the People, and by the same means prevailed

^{*} It would seem from *Flerus*, that *Lucullus* was successor of *Servilius*.

¹ *Flerus* reports, that all those of the slaves

who escaped from the battle, killed one another: only *Athenio* was by the *Romans* torn to pieces, through their eagerness to seize him.

to have *L. Valerius Flaccus* chosen for his colleague, in opposition to *Y. R. 653.*
Metellus Numidicus.

Saturninus was now Tribune of the Commons a second time. *A. Nonius* had been his competitor for that office, and had carried the election; but, in returning home, was murdered by him. Early the next morning, one of the Prætors, named *Glaucia*, whom *Cicero* calls *the most wicked man that ever lived*, assembled the Tribes in a furtive manner, and *Saturninus* was there declared Tribune. Supported by *Marius* and *Glaucia*, he proposed a law, enacting, that the lands in *Gaul*, which the *Cimlri* had seized, should belong to the jurisdiction of *Rome*, and be divided among the People: that the Senate, within five days after the Law's being past, should give it the sanction of their authority, and swear solemnly to the observance of it; and that whatever Senator should refuse to take this oath, should be expelled the Senate, and pay a fine of twenty talents. We are told that the view of *Marius*, *Saturninus*, and *Glaucia*, who all joined their interest to promote the passing of this law, was to ruin *Metellus Numidicus*, who, they knew, would not take the oath proposed^a.

Saturninus, to carry his point, sent into the country to solicit the votes of the rustic Tribes, upon whom he chiefly depended; because many belonging to those Tribes had served in the war under *Marius*. On the day when the Comitia met to determine concerning the Law, the Nobles and the Citizens opposed it with great vehemence, while the People from the country as zealously contended for it. The Citizens, finding their party the weaker, cried out, *It thunders* (an evil omen, which made it illegal to determine any thing in that Assembly.) *Saturninus* answered with anger, *It will hail by and by, if you are not quiet*. A skirmish presently followed, in which, the country people having the advantage, the law, of course, was carried.

Then *Marius*, who had acted underhand in all this affair, assembled the Senate, and declared to them, that, for his part, he would never take

^a The Consul had long hated *Metellus*; and the Prætor and Tribune bore him no less enmity, because, in his Censorship (Year of *Rom.* 650) he would have turned them both out of the Senate, for irregularity of conduct, if his colleague and cousin german, *Metellus Caprarius*, son of *Metellus Calvus*, had not hindered it.

It was about the same time (according to *Died. Sic. apud Fulv. Ursin.*) that *Saturninus* insulted certain Ambassadors, whom *Mithridates* had sent to *Rome*, to engage to him the friendship of the principal Senators, that he might meet with no opposition from

the *Romans* in the ambitious designs which he had formed against his neighbours. The crime was heinous, and the criminal, being prosecuted, was in danger of being delivered up to the King of *Pontus*. Nevertheless, by his abject supplications to the Populace, with tears, and protestations, that what he had done was from zeal for the People's interests, which required that no attention should be giving to the Ambassadors, but rather a war declared against *Mithridates*, he procured such a numerous rabble to appear for him, that the Judges durst not condemn him.

Plut. in
Mar.
Rutil. ap.
Plut.
Liv. Epit.
l. lxx.
App. de
Bell. Civ.
l. i. p. 367.
In Brut. c.
lvii.
Plut. in
Mar.
App. loc.
cit.

App. p.
368.

Aud. de
Vir. Illust.
in Saturn.
App. loc.
cit.

Y. R. 631. so unjust an oath; and that he did not think any wise man would:
 E. C. 1. that, even supposing the law to be a good law, it was yet an affront to
 99. the Senate to compel them to give their approbation of it. This he said
 335 Conf. to entrap *Metellus*, who, he knew, would keep steady to whatever
 Plut. in he should once deliver as his opinion. *Metellus* declared, he would never
 Mar. swear to observe the law in question, and the Senators, in general, made
 the same declaration.

App. loc. On the last day allowed for taking the oath, the Consul, in the morning,
 cu. having hastily convened the Senate, told them, that he was afraid of the
 People, who were zealous for the law; that, therefore, he had thought,
 of an expedient; which was, to swear to maintain, and observe the law,
so far as it was a law; and that afterwards it might easily be made
 appear, that a law which had been carried by force, and when it thun-
 dered, could be no law. This said, without waiting to hear the opinion
 of the Fathers, he went to the temple of *Saturn*, and, together with his
 friends, took the oath*. All the rest of the Senators, through fear,
 App. p. swore in their turns, except *Metellus*, who resolutely persisted in his
 369. opinion.

Plut. in “To do ill (he said) in any circumstances, is the effect of a corrupt
 Mar. heart. To do well, when there is nothing to fear, is the merit of a
 “common man: but to do well, when a man exposes himself thereby to
 “the greatest dangers, is peculiar to the truly virtuous.”

App. loc. Next day, an officer having, by *Saturninus's* order, arrested *Metel-*
 cu. *lus*, and brought him from the Senate-house before the People; and the
 Tribune having represented to the Assembly, that they must never hope
 for the execution of the law in question^c, so long as that Senator
 remained in the city, they, by a decree, condemned him to banishment.

By

* *Plutarch* says nothing of the Consul's assembling the Senate a second time. The historian tells us, that when *Saturninus* summoned the Senators before the People to take the appointed oath, *Marius* said, that he had not the presumption to depend upon one deliberation in an affair of such consequence; that therefore he would swear, and would obey the law, if it was a law.

^c *Saturninus* obtained likewise another law, for allotting 100 acres of land in *Africa* to each of *Marius's* veteran soldiers. *Aul. de Vir. Illust. in Saturn.* [This writer, however, seems to refer the law in question to the first Tribuneships of *Saturninus*.] One of the Tribunes, named *Bæbius*, opposed the passing this Law, but

the People drove him with stones from the Rostra. Another law of *Saturninus* enacted, that Roman colonies should be planted where the People pleased in *Sicily*, *Acbaia*, and *Mac-don*: that the gold, which *Cæpio* had brought from *Toulouse*, should be laid out in the purchase of lands, and that *Marius* should have the privilege to make three Roman citizens in each colony; but these colonies were never planted. *Cic. pro Balb. c. 21.*

The Tribune likewise proposed to make a distribution of corn amongst the People at a low price. *Cæpio*, who had been formerly Consul, and condemned for his misconduct in the *Cimbrian* war, was now *Quæstor Urbanus*. [He, probably, sued for public

By the same decree the Consuls were ordered to make an edict, forbidding all the subjects of the Republic to receive him; and one day's time only was allowed to the Senate, for coming to a determination. Many persons flocked to him, and offered to defend him by force; but he would not consent that his Country should be involved in a civil war on his account. He chose to leave the City: *Affairs, said he, will change, and I shall be recalled: or, if they continue in their present state, it is more desirable to be absent. The safety of his country (says Cicero) was dearer to him than the sight of it; and he chose rather to depart from the City, than from his opinion.* Wherever he went, he received great marks of respect and esteem, and, at length, fixed his residence at *Rhodes*, where he applied himself to the study of philosophy.

Y. R. 653.
Bef. Chr.
99.
352 Conf.
Plut. in
Mar.

Pro Balb.
c. 5.
Liv. Epit.
l. lxx.

Saturninus now aimed at a third Tribuneship, and *Glaucia* to be Consul for the next year, though the laws required two years interval between bearing the office of Prætor and that of Consul. *Marius*, to make his court to both parties, pretended to each to be in their interest, privately incensing one against the other, that he might bring them both into a dependance upon himself. It is said, that, the principal men of the Senate having applied themselves to him to persuade him to defend the State against the enterprises of *Saturninus*, he, at the same time, received *Saturninus* into his house, by another door: and, pretending an indisposition, that obliged him to go frequently out, he went to and fro from one apartment to the other.

Plut. in
Mar.

Non content with pursuing his own ambition, *Saturninus* had the insolence to present, as a candidate for the Tribuneship, *Equitius*^d, who called himself *Gracchus*, and pretended to be a son of the famous *Tiberius Gracchus*; but was indeed of the dregs of the People.

Auct. de
Vir. Illust.
in Saturn.
App. p.
369.

public offices, that he might be raised again to his former rank and privileges.] Upon his representing to the Senate, that the treasury could not bear the expence of purchasing the corn required, the Conscrip Fathers decreed, that *Saturninus* would act contrary to the good of the state, if he brought the law in question before the People. The Tribune, nevertheless, proposed the law, and, though some of his colleagues interceded, he ordered the urns for balloting to be brought out. Hereupon *Cæpio*, with a croud of people attending him, broke down the bridges, overset the urns, and, by force, hindered the law from passing. *Auct. ad Heren. l. i. c. 12.*

^d He had before attempted to get this *Equitius* acknowledged for the son of *Tiberius*, and, as such, put upon the register of the Roman citizens. *Metelius Numidicus*, who was then one of the Censors, refused to receive him, affirming, that all the sons of *Tiberius Gracchus* (who had but three) were dead. *Sempronia*, the sister of *Tiberius*, when brought into an assembly of the People, by one of the Tribunes, that she might own the impostor for her nephew, had absolutely disowned all relation to him, and expressed a contempt of him. *Val. Max. l. ix. c. 7. § 2. Id. l. iii. c. 8. § 6. Auct. de Vir. Illust. in Saturn.*

Y. R. 555.

V. M. c.

L. M. c. 7.

§ 11.

App. de

Bell. Civ.

l. i. p. 359.

C. M. l. v.

c. 17.

App. de

Bell. Civ.

l. i. p. 359.

C. M. c. C.

Rabir. c. 2.

L. M. Ep. 1.

l. ix.

C. M. loc.

c. 11. & 12.

Cat. orat.

l. c. 2.

Plut. in

Mar.

App. loc.

c. 1.

C. M. c. C.

Rabir. c.

10.

Oros. l. v.

c. 17.

Dio. Cass.

2p. Val.

p. 538.

App. de

Bell. Civ.

l. i. p. 370.

On this occasion *Marius* thought proper to interpose his authority, and to send the candidate to prison: notwithstanding which, the faction of *Saturninus* prevailed. They broke open the prison doors, carried *Equitius* upon their shoulders to the voting place, and declared him Tribune, together with *Saturninus*.

On the day of election of Consuls for the new year, *M. Antonius*, the famous orator, was chosen without difficulty or opposition. *Glaucia* had for his competitor *C. Memmius*, a man of distinction, and probably the same who, in his Tribuneship, had caused *Jugurtha* to be brought from *Africa* to *Rome*. The Prætor and *Saturninus*, apprehending a defeat, employed their assassins to dispatch *Memmius*: and they knocked him on the head in the Forum, in the presence of all the people. Upon this outrage, the assembly broke up tumultuously, and *Saturninus* went to his own house, attended by *Glaucia*, the Quæstor *Sausseius*, the false *Gracchus*, and a multitude of the rabble. It is reported (by *Florus*) that these saluted him King. The Senate met and passed a decree, that the Consuls should take care that the Republic received no detriment. This invested those Magistrates with an absolute power; and *Marius*, who could now no longer protect his old friend, besieged him in the Capitol, whither he and his followers had retired in arms. The Consuls were supported by all the Prætors except *Glaucia*, all the Tribunes except *Saturninus*, the whole Senate, the whole order of Knights, and the best men of the People. The more easily to quell the sedition, they cut the pipes which conveyed water into the Capitol. In this extremity, the Quæstor *Sausseius* proposed setting fire to the place; but *Saturninus* and *Glaucia*, depending upon *Marius's* friendship, surrendered themselves on the public faith, which *Marius* pledged to them for their safety. This, according to *Cicero*, the Consul had no right to do, without a decree of the Senate. Be that as it will, all the leaders of the sedition were massacred* by the enraged multitude that same day, the 5th of *December*, which was the very day the Tribunes entered upon their office.

It would seem that, immediately after suppressing this sedition, *Cato* and *Pompeius*, two of the Tribunes, presented a petition to the People for the repeal of *Metellus's* banishment: one of their colleagues, *P. Furius*, the son of a freedman, and whom *Metellus*, in his Censorship, had

* According to *F. D. P. c.* (l. ii. c. 12.) *Marius* shut up the chiefs of the party in the Senate-house, and there had them put to death. *Appian* (l. i. p. 370.) tells us, that the People, thinking that *Marius* intended to screen them from punishment, got upon the top of the building, pulled off the tiles, and with these knocked the prisoners on the head. *Orosius* (l. v. c. 17.) says, the Roman Knights broke open the Senate-

house, and killed them. Others affirm, that *Saturninus* was killed by *Rabirius*, a Roman Knight; but *Cicero* (*pro Rabir. c. 2.*) defending him, when arraigned for this very crime, says, that *Scæva*, a slave of one *Q. Cræto*, killed *Saturninus*. The same author tells us, that *Marius* put to death the Prætor *Glaucia*, though he was not named in the decree of the Senate. *Cic. 3 in Cat. c. 6.*

degraded from the rank of a *Roman Knight*, opposed the request: nor would he be prevailed upon to desist from his opposition, though the son of *Metellus*, in presence of all the People, fell down upon his knees, and begged it of him with tears; a behaviour which occasioned his bearing afterwards the surname of *Pius*.

In the magistracy^b of *M. Antonius* and *A. Posthumus Albinus*, Consuls for the year 654, *Sex. Titius*, one of the Tribunes, proposed a law for dividing some lands amongst the People, and, on this occasion, had no regard to the *intercession* of his colleagues: nevertheless he was obliged to desist from his enterprise, because two crows, flying over the Comitia, had fought with their beaks and claws; and the *Augurs* had thereupon declared that the law must be dropt, and sacrifices be offered to *Apollo*.

This *Titius*, when out of his office, was prosecuted before the *Roman Knights*, and condemned to banishment, for having in his house a picture of *Saturninus*; an act of rigour justified by *Cicero*.

Furius, likewise, who had opposed *Metellus's* return, was, after the expiration of his office, accused of treason by *Canuleius* and *Decianus*, two of the Tribunes. The enraged People, without so much as hearing his defence, tore him in pieces. And because *Decianus*, in a speech on that occasion, lamented the death of *Saturninus*, he was, next year, brought to a trial and banished, though a very worthy man, according to *Valerius Maximus*.

The times now favoured *Metellus Numidicus*. At the motion of the Tribune *Calidius*, he was, with the universal consent of the People, recalled from banishment^c. At his return to *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him, and the day was not sufficient for receiving the congratulations of the Senate and the rest of the Citizens.

Plutarch reports, that *Marius*, to avoid seeing the return of *Metellus*, set out, before that time, on a voyage to *Asia*, under pretence of discharging a vow he had made to *Cybele*, the mother of the Gods. If so, *Metellus* did not arrive in *Italy* till the year 655, for we find *Marius* at *Rome* in that year, being the Consulship of *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos*,

^b In this Consulship was born, at *Rome*, *Julius Cæsar*, on the fourth of the Ides, i. e. the twelfth of the month *Quintilis*, afterwards, from him, called *July*.

^c *Metellus*, at this time, resided at *Tralles* in *Lydia*: letters to inform him of his recall, were brought to him, while present at the celebration of some games: he deferred reading them till the shew was over. No emotions were discovered by his looks. "Banished, or recalled (says *Val. Max.*) he had the same serenity of countenance;

"the same firmness and steadiness of soul in both fortunes:" *Eundem constat pari vultu & exulem fuisse & restitutum: adeo moderationis beneficio, medius semper inter secundas & adversas res animi firmitate versatus est.* *Val. Max.* l. iv. c. 1. § 13.

N. B. This does not very well accord with what *Sallust* reports of his temper and behaviour, on occasion of *Marius's* being appointed to succeed him, in the conduct of the *Numidian* war. See above, p. 55.

Y. R. 653.
Bet. Chr.
99.
352 Conf.

Y. R. 654.
Bet. Chr.
98.
353 Conf.
Jul. Obseq.
l. xlv.

Cic. pro
Rabir. c. 9.

App. loc.
cit.

Dio. Cass.
ap. Val. p.
637.
Cic. pro
Rabir.

c. 9.
Val. Max.
l. viii.

c. 1.
Cic. pro
Planc.
xxviii.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
l. i. p. 370.
Plut. in
Mar.

Y. R. 655.
Bet. Chr.

97.
354 Conf.

and

Y. R. 655. and T. *Didius*. These Consuls, in the beginning of their administration, obtained the enacting of two laws; the first, to revive an old custom now fallen into neglect, viz. That of notifying to the People three market-days (that is, twenty-seven days) before hand, the purport of any law that was to be proposed to the Comitia. The second, that if the law consisted of several articles, the People might be free to separate them, and reject those which they did not approve, while the sanction of their authority was given to the rest.

Cic. de O. *Aquilius*, who had been colleague to *Marius* in his fifth Consulship, and had compleated the reduction of the rebel slaves in *Sicily*, was now brought to trial, on the charge of grievous extortion in that province. *Antonius*, Consul of the last year, undertook the defence of the accused, and, because the facts were too clear against him to be disputed, confined himself wholly to move compassion in the Judges. That the orator was a perfect master of the pathetic, may be thought sufficiently proved by this, that he drew tears even from *Marius*, who was one of the bench.

Val. Max. A certain Tribune of the People, named *Duronius*, repealed, this year, one of the sumptuary laws; [*legem de coercendis conviviorum sumptibus latam.*] On this occasion, *Duronius* made a speech of a very extraordinary tenour, to the People, from the Rostra. "Restraints have been imposed upon us, *Romans*, which are not to be endured: we are fast bound in the galling chains of servitude: a law was enacted, nay, is still in force, to confine the expences of our tables. What a twang of antique rusticity! we abrogate, we annul that law: for what is a man's liberty, who is not free to ruin his fortune by costly entertainments, if it be his pleasure so to do?"

App. in During the wars with the *Cimbri*, and with the Slaves of *Sicily*, the *Romans* sent no forces into *Spain*: they only sent Ambassadors thither, from time to time, to prevent, if possible, all matter of quarrel. But now they ordered the Consul *Didius* into that country with an army. *Sertorius* accompanied him thither, in quality of Legionary Tribune. The Consul fought a battle, successfully, with the *Vaccæi*^s; and, afterwards, forced the People of *Terminum* to abandon their town, which was strongly situated, and live in a plain, where they had neither walls, nor fortifications. He then reduced *Celenda*, after a siege of nine months, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. Not far from this town, was a

^s *Frontinus* (Stratag. l. ii. c. 10. § i.) tells us, that *Didius* fought a great battle in *Spain*; that night having put an end to it, the *Roman* General then caused the greatest part of his dead soldiers to be buried; and that the *Spaniards*, the next day, seeing more of their own people slain, than of the enemy, they concluded themselves vanquished; and

submitted to the conditions of peace imposed by *Didius*. According to the Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxx.) *Didius*, when Proconsul, fought successfully against the *Celtiberians*. Whether these battles are the same, or different from what are related in the text, on the authority of *Appian*, is uncertain.

colony of *Celtiberians*, to whom, for their services against the *Lusitanians*, *Marius*, by authority from the *Roman* Senate, had granted some lands for a possession. It is pretended, that these *Celtiberians*, being poor, lived by robbery; and, for this, *Didius*, under pretence of dividing the territory of *Colenda* among them, decoyed them to his camp, and there caused them all to be massacred, men, women, and children. For these exploits he had a triumph.

In the winter, *Sertorius* being quartered at *Castulo*, a city upon the *Betis*, the debauchery and licentiousness of his soldiers, provoked the inhabitants to conspire with their neighbours, the *Gyrifani*, to surprize the *Romans*, and put them to the sword. The *Gyrifani* were accordingly admitted in the night. *Sertorius* made his escape, and rallying those of his men, who had likewise escaped, fetched a compass, re-entered the city, by the same gate, whereat the *Gyrifani* had been admitted, and where the inhabitants had neglected to post a guard. Townsmen and strangers he put all to the sword, and then, making his soldiers cloath themselves in the habits of the *Castulonians*, and *Gyrifani*, led them straight to the city of the latter, where, being mistaken for *Spaniards*, and admitted as such, they slew a great number of the inhabitants, and sold the rest for slaves.

It appears by the *Capitoline* tables, that the *Roman* arms prospered this year in *Further Spain*, under the conduct of *C. Cornelius Dolabella*, and that he had a triumph for his exploits ^a.

In the following Consulship of *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Licinius Crassus* (father of the Triumvir,) the Senate, by a decree, prohibited human sacrifices, which, according to *Pliny*, had, till that time, been openly practised: nor was the practice yet totally abolished at *Rome*, if we may believe *Dio Cassius*, who mentions two men being sacrificed in the *Campus Martius*, in the times of *Julius Cæsar*.

Marius was now returned from *Asia*. Though he had made the performance of a vow to *Cybele* the pretence for his voyage thither, his real design (according to *Plutarch*) had been to kindle a war in *Asia*, and particularly with *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, who, of all the potentates there, seemed the most disposed thereto.

As *Marius* had not the talents necessary to make a considerable figure in time of peace, his reputation among the people declined daily, and he therefore wanted to be again at the head of an army, that he might fill *Rome* with the fame of his achievements, and his house with the spoils of *Pontus*. He arrived at the court of *Mithridates*, and was treated by him with great civility and marks of esteem; yet was not thereby induced

^a All the barbarous nations bordering upon *Macedon* (except a people called the *Dentileti*) seem to have been up in arms, about

this time, against *Rome*: but the particulars of this war are not transmitted to us. *Cic. in Pis. c. 34.*

Y. R. 655.
Bel. Chr.
97.
354 Conf.

Plut. in
Sertor.

Y. R. 656.
Bel. Chr.
96.
355 Conf.
Plin.
l. xxx. c. 31.
Dio. Cass.
l. iv.
p. 226.
Plut. in
Mar.

It is uncertain what province fell to *Scævola*, but, it is probable, there was nothing to do in it, seeing he gave it up, that he might not put the public to expence.

His colleague *Crassus*, less frugal and more ambitious, searched the Alps (says *Cicero*) to find a triumph where no enemies were to be found. At length he met with a gang of robbers, who had no certain leader; and who, neither by their reputation, nor their numbers, were worthy to be called enemies of the Roman people. Those robbers he reduced, and for this exploit he demanded a triumph at his return to Rome. The Senate, out of regard to his dignity and authority, were going to grant his request, when his colleague interposed, and forbade the decree to pass.

Under the following administration of *L. Domitius Ænobarbus* and *C. Cæcilius Calvus*, *P. Sulpicius*, a young man famous for his eloquence, accused *Norbanus* before the Roman Knights, for a tumult he had raised the last year, when Tribune, on occasion of the trial of *Cappio*; the same *Cappio* who, in 648, had been deposed from the Proconsulship, for his misconduct in the Cimbrian war. One of the crimes, now laid to *Cappio's* charge, was his riotous opposition to a law of *Saturninus*, for distributing corn to the people at a low price. The chief men of the Senate interested themselves for the accused; the Consul *Crassus* pleaded his cause, and two Tribunes of the Commons interposed their authority: but *Norbanus*, having inflamed the multitude, they drove away his opponents with stones, wounded *Æmilius Scaurus*, President of the Senate, and condemned *Cappio* to banishment. *Norbanus's* crime was heinous, the proofs clear, the parties against him strong, but nothing could resist the eloquence of *M. Antonius*, who undertook his defence. He gave such colours to actions, truly unjustifiable, that the Judges, men of great probity, according to *Cicero*, absolved the criminal, without thinking they dishonoured themselves.

In the following Consulship of *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius, Sylla*, who, the last year, had, without success, stood for the Prætorship, now, partly by a popular behaviour, and partly by the help of money, got himself chosen to that office, though he had not passed through the *Ædileship*. We are told that *Cæsar Strabo*, a man of a facetious wit, to whom the new Prætor, on occasion of some quarrel, had said, in a threatening manner, *I shall use the power of my office*; answered him, laughing, *Right; it is your office indeed*; for you bought it, and paid for it.

P. Rutilius Rufus^a, who had assisted *Scævola* in correcting the abuses

^a *Rutilius* had formerly stood competitor for the Consulship which *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, the President of the Senate; and *Scaurus* having carried the election, *Rutilius* accused him of

having bribed the voters. *Scaurus*, being acquitted, accused *Rutilius* of the same crime, with as little success. *Cit. in B. ut. c. 30. and de Orat. l. ii. c. 69.*

Y.R. 658.
Bel. Chr.
94.
357 Conf.

Æcon. in
Orat. in
Pif.
C. in P. l.
c. 26.
B. de In-
vent. l. ii.
c. 37.
A. 60, loc.
cit.

Y.R. 659.
Bel. Chr.
93.
358 Conf.

Cic. de O-
rat. l. ii.
c. 47, 48.

Y.R. 660.
Bel. Chr.
92.
359 Conf.

Plut. in
Sylla.

been driven thence by *Mithridates*, surnamed *Eupator*, King of *Pontus* ^b.

Y.R. 661.
Bef. Chr.

This *Mithridates* (who struggled long with the *Romans* for the empire of *Asia*) had ascended the throne at eleven or twelve years of age. It is said, that, during his minority, his tutors attempted to destroy him, by mounting him on a fiery horse unbroken; a danger he escaped by his address: that they afterwards plotted to poison him, but that he, aware of their design, guarded himself against it by excellent antidotes: and it is added, that the frequent use of these gave him a constitution proof against the most deadly poison. He applied himself to the study of physic, and grew fond of being thought skilful in that art; insomuch, that his courtiers, to humour his vanity by a servile complaisance, used to slash, or burn themselves, in some part of their bodies, on purpose to give him an opportunity of shewing his skill in the cure. To secure himself from assassination, he pretended to be extremely fond of hunting, and (if we may believe *Justin*) was seven years without sleeping a night in any house; he lay in the mountains, and seldom in the same place. This manner of life rendered him robust, hardened his body against the changes and inclemency of the seasons, and prepared him to sustain all the fatigues of war. During his nonage, the *Romans* took from him the *Greater Phrygia*, which they had assigned to his father, as the reward of his services in the war with *Aristonicus*, and to which he had pretensions of an earlier date, it having been given to his great grandfather *Seleucus Calinicus*.

91.
360 Conf.

Strab.
l. x. p. 472.
Just.
l. lxxvii.
c. 2.

Plut. de
Adulat. et
Amic.
discrim.
Justin.
l. xxxviii.
c. 3.

Vid. Vol.
II. p. 544.

Just.
l. xxxviii.
cit.
App. in
Mithridat.
p. 180.

Among the first acts of his reign, he put to death not only his guardians, but his mother and his brother. After this, he formed vast projects for enlarging his dominions^c. He subdued a great part of *Scythia*,
all

^b He was descended from a long series of Kings, who had reigned in *Pontus* before him. The first of them was one of those seven Princes, that slew the *Magians*, and settled the kingdom of *Persia* on *Darius Hystaspes*, and, having obtained the sovereignty of this country, transmitted it to his posterity, through sixteen generations; *Mithridates Eupator* being reckoned the sixteenth from him. *Polyb.* l. v. p. 388. *Florus.* *Diod. Sic.* *Aurel. Vict.* *Appian.*

1. The first of these, of whom we find a name in history, is that *Mithridates*, who, dying in the year before Christ 363, was succeeded by his son. [*Diod. Sic.* l. xv.]

2. *Ariobarzanes* (then Governor of *Phrygia* for *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, King of *Persia*,) who, having reigned twenty-six years, was succeeded by his son.

3. *Mithridates*, the second, in the year

(before Christ) 337. — On his death he was succeeded by his son.

4. *Mithridates*, the third, who, having very much enlarged the kingdom of *Pontus*, by new acquisitions, was reckoned as the founder of it, and therefore is, by historians, called *Kistes* (i. e. the Founder.) He reigned in *Pontus* thirty-six years, and on his death, which happened in the year 266, left his kingdom to his son, *Ariobarzanes*.

From this *Mithridates the Founder*, *Mithridates Eupator* was the eighth: but of these history furnisheth us with the names only of six, and these are; 1. *Mithridates Kistes*. 2. *Ariobarzanes*. 3. *Mithridates*. 4. *Pharnaces*. 5. *Mithridates Evergetes*. 6. *Mithridates Eupator*.

Plut. in
Demetr.
Appian.
Diod. Sic.
l. xx.
Vid. Pri-
deaux.

^c The state of *Asia*, at this time, is thus represented by M. *Crevier*.

The *Romans* possessed *Asia*, properly so called,

all *Colchis*, and the adjoining countries, and obliged the *Thracians*, the *Esperians*, the *Armenians*, and all the nations of the *Tanais*, the *Palus Meotis*, and at the mouth of the *Danube*, to enter into alliance with him, and assist him with their forces.

It is said, that, elated with his victories, he proposed to himself nothing less than the conquest of all *Asia*; and that, with this view, he privately left his court, and, attended by a few of his friends, went over all that continent, in order to know the strength of the towns and fortresses. But, perhaps, this story was invented to make the king appear, in some sort, the aggressor in the war, which he afterwards sustained against the *Romans*.

At his return home, his wife *Laudice*, who, in his absence, had been unfaithful to him, conspired with her lovers to take him off by poison: both crimes being discovered by a slave, the King put her, and her accomplices, to death.

After this, he leagued himself with *Nicomedes*, King of *Bitynia*, and son of *Prusias*; in consequence of which they made themselves masters of *Paphlagonia*. *Pylamenes*, King of that country, having complained at *Rome*, the Senate, by their Ambassador, ordered the two Kings to restore what they had usurped. *Mithridates* (says *Justin*) thinking himself a match for the *Romans*, returned for answer, that *Paphlagonia* had fallen to his father by inheritance, who having never been blamed for claiming it, it was wonderful, that the same claim should be considered as a crime in the son. But the historian, afterwards, tells us, that the King obeyed the decree of the Senate.

The *Bitynian* promised to restore his share of *Paphlagonia* to *Pylamenes*, the lawful King; and, by way of fulfilling his promise, proclaimed his own son King of that country, by the name of *Pylamenes*.

called, that is, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which had been left them by the will of *Attalus Philometor*, and conquered them from *Aristonicus*.

Nicomedes Philopater, son of *Prusias*, reigned in *Bytynia*.

Paphlagonia had long had its Kings, whose common name was *Pylamenes*. As it was situated between the dominions of the Kings of *Pontus* and *Bitynia*, it had suffered much from those two powerful neighbours; and its ancient Kings seemed to have been reduced very low, from the time of *Mithridates Euphrates*.

Next to *Paphlagonia*, along the coast of the *Euxine* sea, was the kingdom of *Pontus*.

Cappadocia was under *Ariarathes*, the son of another of that name, who died in the service of the *Romans* in the war with *Aristonicus*.

Galatia was divided between several tetrarchs.

But all these states, and the other parts of *Asia Minor*, without being immediately under the *Roman* sway, respected their greatness, and in a manner received the law from them. Especially when any troubles or quarrel arose, between the Princes, or States of those countries, the *Romans* did not fail to make themselves the arbitrators of them, and their opinion amounted, in effect, to a command. *Crev. vol. X. book xxxii.*

This affair had no important consequences : but the enterprizes of *Mithridates* upon *Cappadocia* produced an open rupture between him and the *Romans*.

Ariarathes, King of *Cappadocia*, had married *Laodice*, the sister of the King of *Pontus*, and by her had two sons. *Mithridates*, nevertheless, that he might possess himself of *Cappadocia*, not only contrived, by the means of one *Gordius*, to get *Ariarathes* assassinated, but formed the design of destroying those sons of his own sister. Before he could execute this project, *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, seized the vacant throne of *Cappadocia*. Hereupon *Mithridates*, pretending to espouse the interest of his nephews, sent succours to his sister *Laodice*, in order to expel the usurper : but the Queen had already married him.

The King of *Pontus*, much displeased with these tidings, marched an army into *Cappadocia*, drove out *Nicomedes*, and placed the elder of *Laodice's* sons upon the throne. Not many months after, he proposed to his nephew, that he should recal *Gordius*, the assassin, from banishment. In this proposal, his view was to have a pretence for war, in case his nephew denied his request, and, in case he granted it, to get rid of him by the same hand which had murdered his father. The young King refused, and both sides prepared for war. *Mithridates* brought into the field 80,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 600 armed chariots ; and the *Cappadocian*, assisted by the neighbouring Kings, had an army no less numerous. The King of *Pontus*, doubtful concerning the event of the war, invited his nephew to an amicable conference, and there stabbed him with his own hand, in sight of both armies. He then placed his own son, a child of eight years old, upon the throne of *Cappadocia*, gave him the name of *Ariarathes*, and assigned him *Gordius* for his tutor.

The *Cappadocians*, oppressed by their governors, sent into *Asia* for the younger brother of their late King, and put him at their head. But this Prince, being defeated in battle by *Mithridates*, fled out of the country, and soon after died.

Nicomedes, fearing lest the King of *Pontus*, now in possession of *Cappadocia*, should from thence invade *Bithynia*, which bordered upon it, suborned a young man, of great beauty, to call himself a son of the late *Ariarathes*, and petition the *Roman* Senate for the crown of *Cappadocia*. Queen *Laodice* joined in the fraud, and went to *Rome* with the impostor, there to own him for her son by her former husband. *Mithridates*, with equal impudence, sent *Gordius* to the Senate to assure them, that the boy, who actually reigned in *Cappadocia*, was a son of the late King *Ariarathes* *. The Conscrip^t Fathers took *Cappadocia* from *Mithridates*, and

Paplagonia

* *Justin*, from whom we have this story, says, that *Mithridates* pretended the boy was son of that *Ariarathes*, who lost his life in

fighting for the *Romans* against *Aristonicus*. But this cannot be true, if what the historian had said before be true, that the boy

Paphlagonia from *Nicomedia*, and declared both countries free. But the *Cappadocians*, accustomed to monarchical government, desired they might have a King. Their request being granted, their choice fell upon *Ariobarzanes*, a *Cappadocian* noble. *Mitridates* did not openly oppose the execution of this decree, but, we are told, that he, underhand, stirred up the *Armenians* against the *Cappadocians*; and we find that *Sylla* had a commission to restore *Ariobarzanes* to his dominions, and that he effected it, after having driven from thence *Gordius* and the *Armenians*.

According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* made a progress as far as to the *Euphrates*, and, while he was encamped on the banks of that river, *Asaces*, King of the *Parthians*, sent Ambassadors to him, desiring an alliance with the *Roman Republic*: Though the *Parthians* were a nation the greatest for extent of dominion, the most warlike, and the richest in *Asia*, they were little known at *Rome*. *Sylla* reckoned among the most fortunate of his adventures that of being the first *Roman* to whom the *Parthians* had sent a solemn embassy. At the audience which he gave to the Ambassador, he placed himself in the middle between him and the King of *Cappadocia*; and the *Parthian* minister, for having suffered this, paid afterwards the forfeit of his head.

Sylla, at his return to *Rome*, was accused of having plundered the allies of the Republic, during his administration in *Asia*: but his accuser dropt the prosecution*.

was but eight years old: for the Consul *Perperna* finished the war with *Aristonicus* in the year 623. *Mitridates* therefore, it is probable, pretended, that the boy in question, was the grandson of that *Ariarathes*, who had six sons by his wife *Laudice*, the five eldest of which the mother poisoned, that she might not be deprived of the administration of the kingdom. The sixth, who was preserved by his relations, afterwards married *Laudice*, sister of *Mitridates*, and was assassinated by his order. Of the two sons of this marriage, *Mitridates* killed one with his own hand, and dethroned the other, who, soon afterwards, died with grief.

* A sort of professors had been introduced into *Rome*, who called themselves *Latin Rhe-*

toricians, and pretended, by certain rules and definitions, to teach the *Roman* youth the art of eloquence. *Crassus*, the orator, now in the Censorship with *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus*, thought there was nothing to be learnt of these masters, but impudence; in conjunction, therefore, with his colleague, he, by edict, obliged them to shut up their schools. *Cic. de Orat.* l. iii. c. 24.

The magistracy of these two Censors passed almost intirely in disputes between themselves; the source of which was, perhaps, their difference of character: *Domitius* being frugal, *Crassus* given to expence. Their quarrels were too ridiculous to deserve a place in history.

C H A P. VII.

Livius Drusus, Tribune of the People, undertakes, without success, to procure to the Italian allies the privileges of Roman citizenship.

IN the Consulship of *L. Marcius Philippus* and *Sex. Julius Cæsar*, great commotions were raised at Rome, on account of some laws proposed by a Tribune of the People, *M. Livius Drusus*^a, the son of that *Drusus*, whom the Senate had spirited up to defeat the projects of *Caius Gracchus*.

The historians have left us a very unsatisfactory account of the Tribuneship of this *Drusus*; they are not agreed among themselves in relation to his character, or to his views, or to the subject of his laws: nor are the facts they relate altogether consistent with what they say of him.

According to *Appian*^{*}, the Tribune chiefly aimed at procuring the right of Roman citizenship for the Italian allies: but most authors affirm, that his main design was to assert the authority of the Senate. The men, who opposed him with the greatest vehemence, were the Consul *Marcius Philippus* and a Senator named *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, who had formerly been in such intimate friendship with the Tribune, that they had exchanged wives; which, *Strabo* says, was an antient custom amongst the Romans: yet these friends quarrelled afterwards about a ring that was sold at an auction, and were reconciled.

To bring the People to favour his projects, *Drusus* proposed several laws for giving lands, and distributing corn to the poorer citizens; and these laws he is said to have carried by force^b, and by the assistance of the allies, to whom he promised the freedom of Rome. He also planted in Italy and Sicily many colonies of Roman citizens, not indeed by virtue of new laws, but in consequence of such as had been already enacted. If we may believe some authors, he was so profuse in his grants, that he himself said, he had left nothing for any body to give away, unless it were dirt and air. It was, probably, at this time, and to the end

^a This *Drusus* was uncle to the younger *Cato*, and great uncle to the famous *M. Brutus*. *Cic. pro Mil. c. 7. & in Brut. c. 62.*

^b In some contest upon occasion of these laws, *Drusus* ordered one of his clients to seize the Consul *Philippus*. The man grasped him by the throat with such violence, that the blood started out at his nose:

The Tribune made a jest of this: *It is not blood, says he, it is the gravy of thrushes*: for, it seems, *Philippus* loved good eating. After this, the Consul, by order of *Drusus*, was dragged to prison. *Val. Max. l. ix. c. 5. § 2. Auct. de Vir. Ill. &c.* The last cited author also relates, that *Drusus* threatened to have *Cæpio* thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock.

Y. R. 667.
Bel. Chi.
90.
361 Conf.
* App. de
Bell. Civ.
l. i. p. 371.
Cic. de O-
rat. l. i.
c. 7.
Vell. Pat.
l. ii. c. 19.
Liv. Epit.
l. lxx, lxxi.
Auct. in
Orat. pro.
C. Corn.
Flor. l. iii.
c. 17.
Sallust.
Ep. 2. de
Rep. Or-
dinand.
Dio. Cass.
ap. Vellei.
p. 638.
Strab. l.
xi. p. 515.
Plin. l.
xxxiii.
c. 1.
Liv. Epit.
l. lxxi.
App. loc.
cit.
Flor. l. iii.
c. 17.
Auct. de
Vir. Illust.

Y. R. 662. that the Public might be the more able to bear the expence of his largesses, that he ordered one eighth part of alloy to be mixed with the silver coin^a.

Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Liv. Ep. t. l. lxxi. Aſcon. in Orat. pro Scaur. Liv. Ep. t. l. lxxi. Cic. pro Rab. Post. c. 7. App. p. 372. Cic. loc. cit. & pro Cluent. c. 56.

The Senate, and especially *Æmilius Scaurus*, pushed on *Drusus* to take away the right of judging from the Knights. He either could not, or would not, execute this scheme. But he proposed a law^b, ordaining, that the right of judging should be equally divided between the Senators and the Knights; and that all Judges, who should be charged with taking money for giving judgment, should be brought to trial^c; for hitherto the Knights were not liable to be called to account for any sentence they had passed, nor were they affected by several laws to which the Senators were subject. The Equestrian order strenuously opposed this last cause of the law, as well as the former part of it. “Not that they imagined (says *Cicero*) that it was no crime to take money for giving judgment; but they thought it unjust that their body should be subject to the same laws as the Senate. They said, the Senators have no reason to complain. They have rank, authority, interest,

^a According to the text of *Pliny* (l. xxxiii. c. 3.) as explained by *Harduin*, there was at this time in the treasury of *Rome* 1,920,829 pounds of gold, which, by *Arbutnot's* calculation, amounts to 52,102,486 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling, but he thinks the sum too extravagant, and that, perhaps, *Pliny's* numbers are not correct. *Arbutnot's* Tables, p. 191.

^b *Vell. Paternulus* says, this law transferred the right of judging to the Senate. *Florus* seems to be of the same opinion. According to *Appian*, it ordained, that the number of Senators, which did not then amount to quite 300, should be doubled, that the new members should be of the Equestrian order, and that from the whole body of the Senate, thus constituted, the Judges should for the future be elected. The author of the lives of illustrious men seems to agree with *Appian*. But the accounts given by these authors are not consistent with the arguments which *Cicero* puts into the mouths of the Roman Knights, upon this occasion.

^c *Appian* reports (p. 372) that the Roman Knights, conniving at one another, it was grown very common for the Judges to take bribes. But *Ajconius* says, the Knights were Judges for forty years, and judged without reproach. Then *Sylla* transferred the right of judicature to the Senators, and they judged ignominiously for ten years. After this *Aurelius Cotta* procured a law, that the

Judges should be chosen from among the Senators, the Knights, and the Tribuni *Ærarii*. And *Cicero* (1 *Act. in Verr. c. 13.*) tells us, that for near fifty years (he means from the time of *C. Gracchus* to *Sylla*) during which the Roman Knights were the Judges, there never was the least suspicion that any of them took money for giving judgment: whereas he brings many instances to prove, that the Senators were notoriously guilty of that crime, when the right of judging came to be in them. Speaking of his own time, he says, foreign nations, I imagine, will send Ambassadors to *Rome*, to request of the People to abrogate the law concerning extortion and embezzling the public money. For then the Governors of provinces will only plunder them of so much money as they want for themselves and their children; whereas now they must have enough to purchase patrons and advocates, and to bribe the Prætors and Judges. The famous *Q. Catulus*, in a speech made on occasion of *Pompey's* proposing a law for restoring to the Tribunes some of their ancient privileges, says, that the corruption of the Senatorial Judges was the reason why the Roman People so earnestly desired the re-establishment of the Tribunician power. *Pompey* also complained of this iniquity of the Senators, and promised, in his Consulship, to find a remedy for it.

“magistracies,

“ magistracies, priesthoods, triumphs, the command of armies, and
 “ provinces; and when they began their pursuits of these honours, they
 “ knew the conditions annexed to them. We, too, by the favour of the
 “ *Roman* People, had we coveted high offices, might have been raised
 “ to the dignity of Senators: but, contented with our own order, and
 “ the rank of our forefathers, we preferred a quiet life without glory,
 “ to the storms of envy, and the perplexity of such trials, as this law
 “ would involve us in. If it be objected, that we are as much Judges
 “ as they are Senators, it is true, but they voluntarily sought that
 “ dignity: we, by being Knights, are forced to become Judges. Where-
 “ fore, either restore to us our youth, that we may sue for offices, or,
 “ since this cannot be, suffer us to continue in that condition of life,
 “ for the sake of which, we have renounced all pretensions to offices and
 “ honours.” This plea was urged without effect. *Drusus* got his law
 passed, in spite of all opposition.

Y. R. 662.
 B. C. Chr.
 90.
 361 Conf.

But now the allies solicited the Tribune to perform his promise, and procure them the freedom of *Rome*. As the Senate and the People equally disliked this project, he found himself greatly at a loss, how to put it in execution. It is said, that, in order thereto, the *Italians* laid a plot to murder the Consul *Philippus* at the *Ferie Latine*, but *Drusus* gave him notice of the danger. It seems *Philippus* opposed the Senate with no less vehemence, than he did the Tribune. In a speech to the People during the *Ferie*, he made a sharp invective against the Conscript Fathers, and said, he must find a way to have another Council: For with the Senate, such as it was, he could not carry on the Public business. On the Ides of *September*, *Drusus* convened the Fathers; and, after complaining heavily of *Philippus*, proposed to them to deliberate on the offensive words uttered by him against the Senate in the late assembly of the People. *Crassus*, the orator, warmly espoused the cause of the Senate, and it was thought (says *Cicero*) that as, on former occasions, he had surpassed all other men in eloquence, so, on this, he surpassed himself. The Consul, a man of great spirit and resolution, and the next in eloquence to *Crassus* and *Antonius*, though by far unequal to either, answered with much heat; and by way of punishing the orator for having failed in respect to him, imposed a fine upon him, and demanded sureties for the payment of the money. *Crassus* replied, that he would never acknowledge the authority of a Consul, who would not respect him as a Senator; that he was not to be terrified by a demand of sureties; that his tongue must be cut out, before he would be silent, and that, even then, his breath should oppose the insolence of the Consul. After haranguing long with great vehemence, acuteness, and strength, he gave his opinion in words weighty and eloquent, says *Cicero*; that it should be made appear to the *Roman* People, that the Senate had never been wanting to the Republic,

Auct. de
 Vir. Illust.

Cic. de O-
 rat. l. iii.
 c. 1.

The 13th.

Y. R. 652. either in wisdom or in fidelity. This, adds, the writer, was the last ora-
Ref. C. 11. tion of this divine man, for, in the vehemence of his action and discourse,
 92.
361. Conf. he was seized with a pain in his side, and then fell into a violent sweat,
 which was succeeded by a shivering fit: but as the Senate had with una-
 nimity gone into his opinion, he would not leave the house, till he had
 seen the decree registered: after which he went home ill of a fever, and
 died in seven days.

L. E. 1. The *Italians*, seeing no probability of their obtaining the freedom of
App. 1. *Rome* by a law, began to hold consultations*, how to procure it by force
B. C. 1. of arms: and then *Drusus*, being looked upon as the author, or at least the
 113. 172.
Aug. 1. occasional cause, of these cabals, became odious to the Senate. Shortly
H. 1. after, he was stabbed in a gallery of his own house: and though the house
 113. 172.
S. 1. was, at that time, crowded with people, the assassin escaped unknown. The
Aug. 1. suspicion (according to some writers) fell upon *Philippus* and *Capio*; ac-
V. 1. 1. cording to others, upon *Q. Varius*, Tribune of the Commons. No enquiry,
C. 1. however, was made concerning the murder^b. And the Senate, at the mo-
Nat. D. 1. tion of the Consul *Philippus*, abrogated all the laws of *Drusus* by one de-
1. 1. 1. cree, declaring, that they had been carried contrary to the Auspices, and
Id. pro that the People were not bound by them: *Cicero* tells us, that the Senate
M. 1. 1. frequently assumed this power.
Id. de Leg.

1. 1. 1. As to the character of *Drusus*, authors differ extremely. *Vell. Pater-*
Crat. 1. *culus* commends him highly; perhaps, in flattery, to the Emperor *Tibe-*
pro C. *rius*; for this Prince, (in whose time *Paterculus* wrote) was, by the mother's
C. 1. 1. side, descended from the family of *Drusus*. The greater number of writers
Al. 1. 1. represent the Tribune, as ambitious, proud, and violent. *Cicero* is of
Senec. de both opinions; for sometimes he speaks honourably of him, and, at other
Brev. Vit. times, with contempt.
c. 6.

Val. Max.
1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1.
Dio Cass.
ap. Val. 1.
p. 618.
Flor. 1. 1.

C H A P. VIII.

Aug. 1. The war called the MARSIC, the SOCIAL, the ITALIC war; being the
V. 1. 1. war of ROME with her ITALIAN ALLIES.

C. 1. **I**T has been already observed, that the *Italians* had begun to concert
Nat. D. measures for supporting, by arms, their claim of the freedom of
Deor. 1. 1. *Rome*. The murder of *Drusus* confirmed them in this resolution: for
c. 1. now they totally despaired of obtaining, by treaty, those privileges, to
In Val. 1. which they had so just a pretension.—The *rights* of a city sustained chiefly

* According to *Plutarch*, it was about this time, that King *Bacchus* dedicated to the Gods, in the Capitol, a *calyx* in gold, representing himself delivering up *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*: at which *Marius* was highly offend-

ed, &c. Vid. supra, p. 76, in the note.

^b *Seneca* (de Brevit. Vit. c. 6.) tells us, that some people thought *Drusus* killed himself; but that nobody thought he died too soon.

by their arms, they having, in all its wars, furnished two thirds of the troops. Y. R. 662.

By the *Italians* were anciently meant, all the nations within the *Rubicon* (which falls into the *Adriatic*, not far from *Ariminium*) and the *Arnus*, which discharges itself into the *Tuscan* (or *Hetrurian*) sea, near *Pisa*, the first town of *Hetruria*. The country between these rivers and the *Alps* had the name of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and was reduced to the form of a province. The *Italians* were not called subjects, but allies; and, as they had been subdued (most of them after many defections) at different times, the conditions of their alliance were different. The *Latines*^a, properly so called, enjoyed the greatest privileges: what these were is uncertain; but they were less^b than those of *Roman* citizens, and greater than those of the other *Italians*. That these had not the right of suffrage, is manifest

Sigon. de
Jure Ital.
Polyb. l.
ii. c. 16.

^a The boundaries of *Latium* were anciently the *Tiber* to the West; the *Anio* and the *Sabines* to the North; the *Velci* and the river *Ufens* to the East; and the *Tyrrhenian*, or *Tuscan*, sea to the South. This country, in the time of the *Social War*, extended to the *Liris* on the East, and to the country of the *Marsi* on the North. The nations of Old *Latium*, were the *Albani*, *Rutuli*, *Velci*, and *Æqui*: of New *Latium*, the *Osii*, *Ausones*, and *Hernici*. And all these *Sigonius* thinks had, in process of time, the full rights of *Latium*. *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Ital. l. i.*

^b By the *Roman* law no one, who had the full rights of citizenship, could belong to another city. *Duarum civitatum civis esse nostro jure civili nemo potest: non esse hujus civitatis civis, qui se alii civitati dicarit, potest.* Cic. pro Balb. c. 11. Nor was any man obliged against his will to change his city. *Itaque & ex Latio multi, & Tusculani & Lanuvini, & ex cæteris generibus gentes universæ in civitatem sunt receptæ; ut Sabinorum, Velcorum, Hernicorum: quibus ex civitatibus nec coacti essent civitatem mutare, si qui noluissent, &c.* Cic. pro Balb. c. 13. None therefore could be *Roman* citizens, but such as lived in *Rome*, or in its proper territory; and, though many among the *Latines*, and even whole nations, as the *Sabines*, *Velci*, and *Hernici*, were made free of *Rome*; yet the full privilege of citizenship extended only to those of them, who, accepting it, removed from their own cities to *Rome*, which none of them were compelled to do. *Sigo-*

nias [*de Antiq. Jur. Ital. l. i. c. 4.*] thinks, that all the *Latines* had the right of suffrage, but that the *Consuls* had a power to order them to depart from *Rome*, at the time of holding the *Comitia*. And this he endeavours to prove by several examples. *Spurius Cassius*, Consul in the year of *Rome* 267, having called as many as he could of the *Latines* and *Hernici* to vote in an *Agrarian* law, his colleague, *Virginius*, by edict, commanded every one, who had not a habitation in *Rome*, to quit the city. And the Consul *Fannius*, in a like case, commanded the *Latines* to leave the city, though they had been invited thither by *Caius Gracchus*, to give their suffrages. And *Cicero* (*pro Sext. 10.*) tells us, that the *Latines* took nothing more leniently, than their being ordered by the *Consuls* to leave *Rome*, which seldom happened. *Sallust* says, that when *Mumilius*, the Tribune, proposed a law for prosecuting those, by whose fault *Ingurthæ* had disobeyed the orders of the Senate, the guilty prepared to defeat the law, chiefly by means of the *Latines*, and the *Italian* allies. In the trial of *Publius Pyrgensis*, in the year of *Rome* 541, *Livy* mentions a Tribune's calling for the urns to determine by lot where the *Latines* should vote. *Sic lingue allata est, ut sortirentur, ubi Latini suffragium ferrent.* Liv. xiv. 3. *Grænovius* is so much offended with the notion of the *Latines* having the right of suffrage, that he would have *Livy's* text altered in this place. *Cujatius* thinks, the

historian

Y. R. 652. fest from their entering into the present war to obtain it. And it would
 B. Chr. seem likewise, from the *Latines* adhering firmly to *Rome*, in this quarrel, that
 90 they had much greater privileges than the other allies. The *Sabines* like-
 551 Conf. wise steadily supported the cause of *Rome*; but these (according to *Vell.*
Paterc.) had the right of suffrage.

The allies, in general, were subject to tribute, and obliged to furnish
 soldiers for the *Roman* armies, commonly in the proportion of two to
 one. Yet the auxiliaries were never admitted among the legions, but
 served in separate cohorts under Prefects, who received their orders from
 the *Roman* Generals.

The detail of the actions in this great and difficult war, and the order
 of time in which they happened, are indistinctly related by the historians.
 At first, the *Italians* concerted their scheme in secret, entered into a con-
 federacy, and gave hostages to one another. The *Romans*, however, had
 notice, that a conspiracy was forming, and they sent spies up and down the
 country to procure further intelligence. One of these happening to see
 a young man of *Asculum* (in *Picenum*) carried as a hostage to a neighbour-
 ing town, gave notice of it to *Servilius*, who, in quality of Proconsul^a or
 Prætor, watched that part of the country. *Servilius* hastened to *Asculum*,
 and reprimanded the inhabitants with great severity and many threaten-
 ings, which so exasperated them, that they fell upon him, and slew him,
 together with his Lieutenant *Fonteius*, and massacred the *Romans* they
 found in the place. Instantly, as if this had been the signal for a general
 revolt, the *Marfi*, *Peligni*, *Vestini*, and *Marrucini*, took arms; and their
 example was soon followed by the *Picentes*, *Ferentani*, *Hirpini*, *Pompeiani*,
Venusini, *Apuli*, *Lucani*, and *Samnites*, and, in a word, by all the nations
 between the two seas, from the *Liris* eastward to the extremity of ancient
Italy. The *Marfi*, a people renowned for bravery, and over whom,
 or without whom, it is said, the *Romans* never triumphed, gave their
 name to this war, because they were the first in the revolt; though it is
 called also the *Social* and the *Italian* war.

historian does not speak of the *Latines* in general, but of those citizens of *Latium* who had the freedom of *Rome*; and many such there were.

Sigonius argues, that *Cassius* and *Gracchus* would not have called the *Latines* to vote, unless these had had a right of suffrage; nor unless their privilege of voting had depended on the Consuls, would these magistrates have forbid them to remain in the city.

But as it is hard to conceive, that all the *Latines* had a title to vote in the *Comitia*; because in that case the electing of magis-

trates and the making of laws would have been chiefly in their hands (they being seldom ordered to depart the city,) it is most probable, that the right of suffrage belonged only to some particular men, or cantons, among them.

^a *Appian* says, that from hence it appears, that in ancient times the several countries of *Italy* were subject to Proconsuls: but *Sigonius* blames this conjecture, for there is no instance of a *Roman* Proconsul or Prætor presiding among the *Italians*, except on occasion of a war in *Italy*. *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Ital.* l. i. c. 21.

Before

Before the confederates proceeded to acts of hostility, they sent an embassy to *Rome*, to represent, that they had served the Republic in all her wars, and had every year furnished a double proportion of troops; and to demand that, since by their means the City had been raised to her present height of power, they might be acknowledged as citizens. The Senate answered haughtily, that, if the *Italians* were sensible of their error, their Ambassadors would be received, otherwise not. Upon the report of this answer, the Allies chose *Corfinium* (the chief town of the *Peligni*) for their principal place of arms, and destined it to be the capital of *Italy*, instead of *Rome*: they then constituted a Senate, composed of 500 members, and, out of these, elected two Consuls, and twelve Generals, or Prætors. Their first Consuls were *Q. Pompedius Silo*, the chief of the *Marfi*, and *C. Aponius Mutilus* (called by some historians *C. Papias*), a *Samnite*. To *Pompedius*, and six of the Prætors, they allotted the North and West parts of the revolted country, and to *Aponius*, and the other six Prætors, the South and East parts.

At *Rome*, the Nobles became odious to the People, who looked upon them as the authors of the war, by their having rejected the request of the *Italians*. *Q. Varius*, the same who had been suspected of murdering *Drusus*, laid hold of this opportunity, and, notwithstanding the intercession of the Tribunes, his colleagues, obtained a law for enquiring by whose fault it had happened, that the Allies had taken arms^a. In consequence of this law, many of the Senators and Nobles were summoned to their trials. *Bestia* and *Cotta* (the nephew of *Rutilius*) to avoid a sentence, went into voluntary exile. *Mummius Acbaicus* is said to have been banished to the island *Delos*; but, if he were living at this time, he could not be less than a hundred years old. *Antonius*, the orator, saved himself by his eloquence; and *Æmilius Scaurus*, who, on different accounts, had been often accused, and as often acquitted, found means to escape once more^b. *Q. Varius* himself, when out of office, was condemned by his own law, and was banished. [He afterwards suffered death by torture, but at whose command is not known.]

^a *Appian* says, the purport of the law was to bring into judgment all who had openly, or secretly, favoured the pretensions of the *Italians*: that the *Roman* Knights put the Tribune upon this project, that they might have an opportunity to revenge themselves on their enemies, and that they guarded him with drawn daggers, till he had carried his law. *App. de Bell. Civ.* l. i. p. 373.

^b Whatever difficulties *Scaurus* might have found to escape in former trials, he got rid of this with great ease. To all the

declamations of his adversaries, he made only this laconic reply: *Q. Varius*, a Spaniard of *Sucro*, accuses *M. Scaurus*, Prince of the *Roman Senate*, of having excited the Allies to take up arms. *M. Scaurus*, Prince of the *Senate*, denies the charge: no witness is produced: which of the two will you believe, Romans? This kind of defence had such an effect on the assembly, that the Tribune thought it the safest way to desist, and declared that he would give him no farther trouble. *Ascon. in Cic. pro Scaur. Quintil.* v. 12.

Y. R. 662.
Bef. Chr.
90.
361 *Conf.*

Vell. Pat.
l. ii. c. 16.

Ascon. in
Orat. pro
Scaur.

Id. loc. cit.
Val. Max.
l. viii. c.
6. § 4.
App. p.
373.

Cic. Tusc.
Quæst. l.
ii. c. 24.
Id. pro
Scaur. &
Ascon. in
loc.
Id. in
Brut. c.

89.
Id. de Nat.
Deor. l.
iii. c. 33.

But

Y.R. 662.

Liv. Fam.

Liv. 10.

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Y.R. 662.

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But now the Senate made diligent preparation for war. The *Latines*, *Sabinians*, *Hebrurians*, and *Umbrians*, and even some places in the revolted provinces, continued faithful to the Republic, and furnished their contingents of men. Foreign nations sent auxiliaries to her, and *Servilius*, then Quæstor in *Cisalpine Gaul*, brought her a reinforcement of *Gauls*. The conduct of the war was committed to the Consuls *L. Julius Cæsar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*. It is thought, that *Cæsar* had *Samnium* allotted to him for his province, and *Rutilus* the country of the *Marfi*. And, in order to stop all prosecutions, on account of *Varus's* law, and thereby free the city from intestine dissensions, the Senate ordered the courts of justice to be shut up, during the *Italian* war. To each of the Consuls were assigned five Lieutenants, who, under their direction, commanded separate armies with Proconsular authority. The Lieutenants of *Rutilus* were *C. Marius*, *Cn. Pompeius*, father of *Pompey the Great*, *Q. Cæpio*, *C. Perperna*, and *Valerius Messala*. *Cæsar's* chief officers were *Cornelius Sylla*, *P. Lentulus*, *T. Didius*, *P. Licinius Crassus*, and *M. Marcellus*. These Generals, leaving a sufficient garrison in *Rome*, set out with 100,000 men, divided into several armies: nor were the forces of the *Italians* less numerous.

App. p. 373.

Oros. l. v. c. 13.

Dio Cass. 47. Valer. p. 641. App. loc. cit.

App. p. 373.

Prognatus, one of the Generals of the allies, defeated a considerable body of troops under *Perperna*, and slew 4000 of his men. Whereupon, the Consul *Rutilus* deprived *Perperna* of his command, and joined the remains of his routed troops to those of *Marius*. The two Generals encamped on the banks of the *Liris*, near each other: *Vettius Cato*, who had already vanquished in battle the Consul *Cæsar*, and taken *Aesernia*, a *Roman* colony on the *Volturnus*, now advanced to hinder *Rutilus* and *Marius* from passing the *Liris*. *Marius* advised the Consul not to hazard a battle, till his raw soldiers were disciplined; but *Rutilus* neglected the advice, thinking that his Lieutenant envied him, and wanted a seventh Consulship, that he might have the glory of finishing the war. His suspicions, if we may believe *Dis Cassius*, were not ill-founded. Be that as it will, *Rutilus* passed the river, and fell into an ambush, lost 8000 of his men, and was himself mortally wounded. *Marius* knowing, by the number of dead bodies that floated down the stream, that the armies were engaged, drew out his forces, passed the river, and easily made himself master of the enemies camp: so that *Vettius* was obliged to pass the night on the field of battle, and to march off next morning for want of provisions.

When the bodies of the Consul, and of the other officers that had fallen in the battle, were brought to *Rome* to be interred, the consternation among the People was so excessive, as to induce the Senate to make a decree, that thenceforward the bodies of the slain should be buried on the spot where they died: and this, as a prudent example, was followed by the enemy.

* *Orosius* says, it was the *Telenius*, in the country of the *Marfi*.

Q. *Capio* having obtained some small advantage over the allies, the Senate ordered, that *Marius* and he should share between them the forces which *Rutillius* had commanded. This honour greatly raised the presumption of *Capio*; of which the *Italian* Consul *Pompedius*, found means to make advantage for his cause. Leaving his army, he went to the *Roman* camp, and, together with two slaves, sumptuously dressed, who, he said, were his sons, surrendered himself to the General. To gain the more credit, he had brought with him large pieces of lead covered with gold and silver, which, as his treasure, he deposited in the hands of *Capio*. At the same time, he urged him to fall upon the *Italian* army, while without a leader, and offered himself to be his guide. *Capio* gladly listened to the proposal; and when he had brought his army near the place, where an ambush was laid for him, *Pompedius*, under pretence of reconnoitring the enemy, rode up to an eminence, and from thence gave the appointed signal to his men, who instantly rushed out upon the *Romans*, made a great slaughter of them, and killed *Capio* himself. What remained of his army joined that of *Marius*, by order of the Senate.

During these transactions, the confederates had great success in other parts of *Italy*. In *Campania*, *Lucania*, and *Apulia*, they had possessed themselves of several important towns, which had refused to join with them in the war. And *M. Lamponius* had routed a *Roman* army, commanded by *Licinius Crassus*, Lieutenant to the Consul *Cæsar*. The Consul himself, after his defeat by *Vettius Cato*, had recruited his army with a considerable body of *Gauls* and *Numidians*, and marched to the relief of *Acerræ*, then besieged by *Aponius*. Hereupon the *Italian* General brought *Oxinta*, the son of *Jugurtha*, from *Venusia*, where he was kept in confinement, and gave him the title of King. The *Numidians* deserted in such numbers to their sovereign, that the Consul, fearing they would all leave him, sent what yet remained with him into *Africa*. After this, *Aponius* attempted to force the *Roman* entrenchments, but lost 6000 men in the action. Yet *Cæsar*, it is said, left *Acerræ*, and we do not find that *Aponius* raised the siege of it. However, at this time, the Citizens of *Rome* laid aside the military habit which they had worn from the beginning of the war.

The next account we have of *Cæsar*, is, that his forces, consisting of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, were attacked, on a march, by *Marius Egnatius*, who cut off the greater part of them. Nevertheless, the Consul recruited his army, and marched once more to the relief of *Acerræ*: But it is not said that he attempted any thing against *Aponius*; or *Aponius* against him.

In the mean time, three of the *Italian* Generals, *Afranius*, *Judacilius*, and *Ventidius*, had routed the army of *Cn. Pompeius*, and driven him to take refuge in *Firmum*, a city of *Picenum*. After this victory, *Judacilius* and *Ventidius* turned their arms another way, leaving *Afranius* to besiege *Firmum*. To the relief of this place, *Sulpius* advanced by unfre-

Y. R. 66. quented roads, and while the besieged, in concert with him, made a
B. C. 100. fully upon the besiegers, he attacked their camp on the other side, and set
362 C. 100. fire to it. This disaster terrified the *Italian* soldiers, that they fled in dis-
order to *Arulum*; but their General, disdaining to fly, fell in the engage-
ment. *Pompeius*, soon after, invested *Arulum*, the siege of which lasted
a long time.

The *Marsi*, under what General is uncertain, attacked *Marius* in his
camp: He repulsed them, and drove them into some vineyards, whither
he did not think it advisable to follow them. But *Sylla*, who lay en-
camped on the other side of those vineyards, fell upon the enemy, and
made great havock of them. Above 6000 of the *Italians* fell in the two
actions. The *Marsi*, however, soon recruited their forces, and frequently
offered battle to *Marius*, which he constantly declined. He was, during
this war, if we may believe *Plutarch*, extremely slow, irresolute, and in-
active; which, the historian says, might be owing to his being advanced
in years (for he was then sixty-five,) or to his being troubled with nervous
disorders. The enemy surrounded him with entrenchments, and insulted
him daily^p: But of this he took little notice, and, at length, laid down
his command, under pretence of wanting health.

The ill success of the *Romans* in this campaign encouraged the *Umbrians*
and *Hebrurians* to think of revolting from the Republic. In so great
an extremity, the Senate not only ordered the freedmen to be enlisted
in the legions, but even began to yield the point they had so obstinately
refused. The Consul *L. Julius Cæsar* obtained a Law^q (which from his
name was ever after called *Lex Julia*;) ordaining that the freedom of the
city should be given to the *Latines*, and to those of the other *Italians*, who

^p *Plutarch* reports that *Pompeius Silo* went
up one day to *Marius's* entrenchments and
called out to him: *Marius, if you are a*
great general, come down into the plain and
fight us: to which *Marius* answered, *If you,*
Silo, are a great general, force me to a battle
against my will.

^q According to *Appian*, the *Julian Law*
gave the Freedom of *Rome* only to those of
the *Italians*, who had not entered into this
war against the Republic. *Cicero*, in the
place above quoted, says, in general, that by
this Law the Allies and *Latines* obtained the
Freedom of the City. It is probable, the
Law included all who would take the bene-
fit of it: For *Appian* himself, p. 382, says,
that privilege was given to all the allies;
to each nation as they laid down their arms.
Strabo likewise tells us, that the *Italians* con-
tinued this war for two years, until they

had procured themselves the Freedom of the
City, for which they had taken up arms.
Strabo, lcc. *supra cit.* In the Epitome of *Livy*
l. xxx. it is said, that the Senate gave the
Freedom of *Rome* to the nations of *Italy*.
And *Vell. Paterculus*, after mentioning the
ill success of the *Romans* in this war, adds,
that they recovered strength by granting the
Freedom of the City by degrees to those who
had not taken up arms, and to those who
laid them down in time. Now as we find
no Law, during the course of this war, which
gave the privilege of Citizenship to the allies
in general, except the *Julian Law*, it is pro-
bable, that it extended to all who chose to be
included in it. This likewise helps us to
account the more easily for the ill success of
the *Italians*, the next campaign, notwith-
standing the great advantages they gained in
the present year.

had

had not taken up arms against the Republic, and to those who should lay them down. According to *Appian*, this Law, being sent into the several towns of *Hetruria*, kept the people of that country steady to the interest of *Rome*. Some authors, however, mention a victory over the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, but it is uncertain, whether this victory was obtained before the passing of that Law, or after it.

In the following Consulship of *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*^{*}, and *L. Portius Cato*, new Censors were elected a year before the usual time: And therefore *Sigonius* conjectures they were chosen to assign to the allies their proper tribes. That the allies might have little sway in the *Comitia*, the Senate would not distribute them into the old thirty-five tribes, but created for them eight new tribes; ordering, that these should give their suffrages the last, so that they seldom came to vote at all: an affair, which afterwards occasioned great disturbances in the Republic.

Another Law, which was at this time obtained by *C. Papirius Carbo*, and *M. Plautius Silvanus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, imported, that all foreigners, who were free of the cities allied to the Republic by league, should likewise have the Freedom of *Rome*, provided they had at that time an habitation in *Italy*, and gave their names in to the *Roman* Prætor, within sixty days after the promulgation of the Law.

This *Plautius*, by the assistance of the Nobles, procured a Law, which deprived the *Roman* Knights of the sole right of judicature. It ordained, that *each* tribe should, out of their own body, annually elect fifteen persons to act as Judges; an honour now made common to all the three orders in the state[†].

At this time, great numbers of Citizens being plunged in debt, and their creditors demanding payment, not only of the principal, but of the interest; which last, though allowed by custom, was prohibited by law, the debtors not only refused to pay, but some of them even threatened to prosecute their creditors for usury. *A. Sempronius Asellio*, then Prætor Urbanus, after endeavouring in vain to reconcile the parties, gave permission to the debtors to plead the Law; which so enraged the creditors,

^{*} *Cicero* tells us, that he was present at a conference between *Pompeius* the Consul, and *Vettius* the General of the *Marfi*, who had given the *Romans* a cruel defeat the year before, in which the Consul *Rutilus* was killed: It was held in sight of the two camps, and managed with great decency: The Consul's brother, *Sextus*, being an old acquaintance of *Vettius*, came from *Rome* on purpose to assist at it; and at the first sight of each other, after lamenting the unhappy circumstance of their meeting at the head of opposite armies, he asked *Vettius*, by what title he should now

salute him, of friend or enemy; to which *Vettius* replied, "Call me friend by inclination, enemy by necessity." *Quem te appellem, inquit? at ille: Voluntate hospitem, Necessitate hostem.* *Phil.* xii. xi. which shews, that these old Warriors had not less politeness in their civil, than fierceness in their hostile encounters. *Midd. Life of Cic.* vol. I. p. 18.

[†] Some think, that the same Tribune was author of the Law *de vi*, which may be rendered concerning assault and battery: But others are of opinion, that this Law was not enacted till the year 675.

Y. R. 663.
App. d.
B. d. C. v.
l. i. p. 379.
Liv. Ep. c.
l. lxxiv.
Oros. l. v.
c. xviii.
Y. R. 664.
Bef. Chu.
89.
363 Conf.
Sigon. de
Antiq.
Jur. Ital.
l. iii. c. i.
App. loc.
cit.
Vell. Pat.
l. xi. c. xx.
Cic. pro
Arch. c. iv.

Cic. Or. 1.
pro C.
Corn. &
Ascon. in
loc.

Liv. Epit.
l. lxxiv.
Val. Max.
l. ix. c. 4.
§ 4.
App. p.
382.

N. R. 664.
Bel. C. 17.
83
163 Conf.

that they fell upon him, and murdered him, while he was performing the sacrifice in the Forum. In this riot they were assisted by *L. Cissius*, one of the Tribunes of the People; and though the Senate offered a reward to whoever should discover the authors of the murder, effectual care was taken by the uturcs to prevent the appearing of any informer.

L. Epit.
l. lxxv.

L. Epit.
l. lxxv.
l. lxxv.
App. p.
500.

During the broils in the City, war was carried on with vigour abroad. The Consul *Pompeius* continued the siege of *Ajculum*¹, while his colleague *Portius Cato* successfully fought several battles with the *Marfi*: but in an attempt to force their camp, he was slain², and his army routed. It would seem that, after this, *Pompeius* turned the siege of *Ajculum* into a blockade; for it is said, that he routed the *Marfi* and *Marrucini*, and reduced the *Vestini* to surrender themselves. The Prætor *Cosconius* took *Salapia* and *Canne*, and besieged *Canusium*, but the *Samnites* defeated him in battle, and obliged him to raise the siege: yet, in a second action, he, and the Prætor *Luceius*, obtained a victory over them, and slew 15,000 of their men, together with one of their leaders, *Marius Egnatius*.

Plin. l. 14.
c. 5.

Oros. l. v.
c. 13.
l. v. in
Sylla.

In the beginning of the campaign, *Sylla* made himself master of *Stabiae*, and razed it to the ground. He then joined to his own forces a Roman army, which had just slain their General *Posthumus Albinus*, for treating them haughtily³. *Sylla* made no enquiry concerning the criminals, alleging, that to make the crime be forgotten, the soldiers would fight with greater bravery.

App. p.
70.

The historians have left us such romantic accounts of some of the remaining exploits of *Sylla*, during this war, that it may reasonably be suspected, they took them from his own Memoirs. We are told, that while he lay encamped near *Pompeii* in *Campania*, *L. Cluentius* came and pitched his camp within three furlongs of him. This *Sylla* looked upon as so great an affront, that though he had sent out some part of his army to forage, he immediately gave battle to the enemy, in which he was vanquished, and put to flight. Nevertheless, the foragers having joined him, he again attacked *Cluentius*, defeated him, and forced him to remove his camp to a greater distance: the latter, however, got succours from the *Gauls*, and then offered battle to *Sylla*. When the two armies were drawn out, a huge *Gaul* came forward, and challenged the bravest of the *Romans* to fight him: this gigantic hero being slain by a little *Numidian*, the *Gauls* were terrified, and instantly took to flight. The *Italians*, seeing their army broken, fled likewise. *Sylla* pursued them, and, before they could reach *Nola*, whither they bent their course, slew 30,000 of

¹ *Val. Pat.* reports, that an army of 75,000 *Samnites* fought a battle before *Ajculum* with 40,000 *Romans*; but he neither tells us at what time, nor who were the Generals, nor which side gained the victory.

² As we may believe *Oros.* l. v. c. xviii.

Cato had boasted, that by his exploits he had equalled *Marius*; and, for this boasting, the son of *Marius* killed him, during a battle with the *Marfi*.

³ The Epitome of *Livy* says, *Albinus* was meditating treason.

them :

them: and as the people of *Nola* would open but one of their gates, lest the enemy should enter with their friends, *Sylla* cut off 20,000 more of *Cluentius's* army round the walls of that place, and, among the rest, *Cluentius* himself, who died fighting valiantly. Yet this hero, it seems, slew nobody; for we are told, that *Sylla* did not lose * a single man, or, at most, but one. What follows has less of the *marvellous*.

Y. R. 664.
Bef. Chr.
88.
36; Conf.

* Eutrop.
l. v. c. 2.

The *Roman* General marched to *Æculanum*, a town of the *Hirpini*, and summoned the inhabitants to surrender.—These, expecting the *Lucanians* to come to their assistance that very day, desired time to deliberate. *Sylla* granted them only an hour, and employed that time in laying faggots to the walls, which were of wood. When the hour expired, he set fire to the faggots; and though the *Æculani* surrendered themselves, yet as fear had determined them to make this surrendry, *Sylla* plundered the town, as if he had taken it by force. The rest of the towns belonging to the *Hirpini* voluntarily submitted.

App. loc.
cit.

After these achievements, *Sylla* turned his arms against the *Samnites*. Near *Æsernia*, *Aponius* surprised him in a pass, out of which it was not easy to escape. The *Roman*, to deceive the enemy, pretended a desire to capitulate; and having obtained a truce, took advantage of it, while the *Samnites* were negligent, to march off in the night, leaving a trumpeter in his camp to sound the watches. Returning suddenly by a way which *Aponius* did not think of, he fell upon him, and routed his army. In this action, *Aponius* was wounded, and few of his men escaped. *Sylla* plundered the enemies camp, and then marched to *Bovianum*, which he took after an assault of three hours.

Frontin.
Strat. l. i.
c. v. § xvii.

App. p.
381.

In the mean time, *A. Gabinius*, after some successful engagements with the *Lucanians*, and reducing several of their towns, was slain in an attempt to possess himself of the enemies camp.

Liv. Epit.
l. lxxvi.

Sulpicius defeated the *Marrucini*, and forced them to submit to the Republic.

The *Marfi* also, being frequently vanquished by *Muræna* and *Metellus Pius*, at length sued for peace.

To *Pompeius*, the *Vestini* and *Peligni* made their submission. The latter having seized their General *Vettius Cato*, in order to deliver him up to the *Romans*, one of his slaves snatched up a sword and killed him. Now, said he, *that I have set my master at liberty, it is time to provide for myself*; and in that instant ran the sword through his own body.

Senec. de
Benef. l.
iii. c. xxiii.
Macroh.
Saturn. l. i.
c. ii.

Corfinium, the capital of the *Peligni*, being now in the hands of the *Romans*, the allies made *Æsernia*, in *Samnium*, their principal town, and chose themselves five Generals, of whom the chief was *Pompedius Silo*.

Dio l. Sic.
in Eclog. l.
xxxvii.

Asculum still held out against *Pompeius*. *Judacilius*, one of the *Italian* commanders, and an *Asculan* by birth, advanced to the relief of the place, but had only eight cohorts with him. To facilitate his enterprize, he

App. p.
378.
Oros. l. vi.
c. 18.

he gave notice to the *Atilians* of his approach, desiring them to make a sally upon the besiegers, as soon as he should come in sight. *Judacilius* had personal enemies in the place; and either by their influence, or through fear, the *Atilians* kept close within their walls. Nevertheless, sword in hand, he forced his way over the *Roman* entrenchments, and marching with his men up to the gates of the town, was then received by the inhabitants: but despairing of the preservation of the place, when he had first massacred all his enemies, he gave a great feast to his friends; at the close of which, he drank off a cup of poison, that he might not survive the ruin of his native city¹.

Pompeius, after this, entered *Asculum*. He put to death all who had any command in the place, and all the principal citizens, dismissing the rest of the inhabitants, after he had stripped them of their effects. The slaves, with all the plunder, (which he sold;) in short, the whole prey he converted to his own use, though the treasury, as *Orosius* tells us, was so much exhausted, that the houses about the Capitol, which had been assigned to the several orders of priests and augurs, were sold to raise money for the exigencies of the state.

The conqueror had the honour of a triumph; and, among the rest of the captives led in the procession, were *P. Ventidius* and his wife; she bearing in her arms a son, who afterwards became Consul of *Rome*, and, in the time of the second Triumvirate, had himself a triumph for his victories over the *Parthians*.

In the end of the campaign, *Sylla* went to *Rome* to sue for the Consulship. He was forty-nine years of age, or, according to *Plutarch*, fifty; and few men had done greater exploits than he, before their arrival at that dignity². But, probably, the credit and influence of *Marius* had stood in the way of his ambition. He now obtained the Consular Fasces, and the People gave him for his colleague *Q. Pompeius Rufus*.

The

V. Pat.
L. C. 17.
P. in
M. R.
L. Ep.
L. C. 17.
V. R. 465.
B. C. 17.
87.
364 Cons.

¹ The writers [*Appian* and *Orosius*] who mention this story, place it in the beginning of the siege of *Asculum*; but it is not probable, that *Judacilius* would have killed himself so soon, had he seen the town in a condition to hold out a long siege. *Crevier*.

² Dr. *Middleton* observes, that "*Marius* in this war performed nothing answerable to his great name and former glory: his advanced age had increased his caution, and after so many triumphs and Consulships, he was jealous of a reverse of fortune: so that he kept himself wholly on the defensive, and, like old *Fabius*, chose

" to tire out the enemy by declining a battle;
" content with snatching some little advantages, that opportunity threw into his hands, without suffering them however to gain any against him.

" *Sylla*, on the other hand, was ever active and enterprising; he had not yet obtained the Consulship, and was now fighting for it, as it were, in the sight of the Citizens; so that he was constantly urging the enemy to a battle, and glad of every opportunity to signalize his military talents, and eclipse the fame of *Marius*; in which he succeeded to his wish, gained

" many

The affairs of the allies continuing to decline, they sent an embassy to *Mitridates* king of *Pontus*, requesting succours from him. The king answered, that he would pass into *Italy* as soon as he had subdued *Asia*.

Y. R. 665.
Diod. Sic.
in Eclog.
l. xxxvii.

Pompedius, if *Diodorus* is to be credited, raised an army of above 50,000 men, 21,000 of which were slaves. With these forces he retook *Corvianum*, but was defeated in battle by *Mamercus*, and afterwards lost his life in an engagement with *Metellus Pius*.

Jul Obi.
c. lv.
App. p.
382

The *Samnites* and *Lucanians* still continued in arms; by we hear of no more warlike exploits performed by them, or against them: The *Romans*, sufficiently employed by their civil broils, and their war abroad with *Mitridates*, had little leisure to attend to the total reduction of the revolted *Italians*. But, in conclusion, each nation of these allies obtained the Freedom of *Rome* successively, upon laying down their arms. Even to the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, was at length granted the same privilege^b. And though some *Roman* historians would disguise it, it seems plain that the Republic granted the Freedom of the City, not generously to each nation subduing it, but by treaty, and as a condition of Peace.

App. loc.
cit.
Vell. Pat.
l. ii.
Strab. l. v.
p. 241.

In this war perished 300,000 men, *Romans* and *Italians*.

Vell. Pat.
l. ii. c. 15.

“ many considerable victories, and took several of their cities by storm, particularly *Stabiae*, a town of *Campania*, which he utterly demolished. *Cicero*, who seems to have followed his camp, as the chief scene of the war, and the best school for a young volunteer, gives an account of one action, of which he was eye-witness, executed with great vigour and success: That as *Sylla* was sacrificing before his tent in the fields of *Nola*, a snake happened to creep out from under the bottom of the altar, upon which *Posthumius*, the *Haruspex*, who attended the sacrifice, proclaiming it to be a fortunate omen, called out upon him to lead his army immediately against the enemy; *Sylla* took the benefit of the admonition, and drawing out his troops without delay, attacked and took the strong camp of the *Samnites* under the walls of *Nola*. This action was thought so glorious, that *Sylla* got the story of it painted afterwards in his *Tusculan villa*.”

^b *M. Montesquieu* observes, that the grant which the *Romans* made to the *Italian* allies of the rights of the city, though considered at first as the foundation of a perpetual peace,

was one of the causes that hastened the ruin of the state: “ for the enormous bulk, to which the city was swelled by it, gave birth to many new disorders, that gradually corrupted, and at last destroyed it; and the discipline of the Laws calculated for a People, whom the same walls would contain, was too weak to keep in order the vast body of *Italy*: So that from this time chiefly all affairs were decided by faction and violence, and by the influence of the great; who could bring whole towns into the Forum from the remote parts of *Italy*; or pour in a number of slaves and foreigners under the form of Citizens; for, when the names and persons of real Citizens could no longer be distinguished, it was not possible to know, whether any act had passed regularly, by the genuine suffrage of the People.” *De la Grandeur des Romains*, c. ix.

This observation is doubtless very just, but it were to be wished, that the ingenious writer, or his ingenious admirer, *Dr. Middleton*, had told us, how it was possible for the *Romans* to avoid making that concession, without exposing themselves to inevitable ruin.

Midd. Life
of Cic. p.
21.

C H A P. IX.

The occasion of the FIRST Mithridatic War. It commences under the conduct of THREE Roman Generals.

Y. R. 665.
V. C. 1075.
P. 152. **T**O check the progress of *Mithridates*, was now the great affair of the Republic: He had made no opposition to *Sylla's* replacing *Ariobarzanes* on the throne of *Cappadocia* (in 661;) yet, not long after, had contrived to have him driven from thence a second time.

Y. R. 665.
V. C. 1075.
P. 152. *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, by his conquests, had very much extended the dominions left him by his ancestors, and had formed a mighty empire. In order to draw him into a war with the *Romans*, *Mithridates* first engaged him to marry his daughter *Cleopatra*, and then, by the agency of *Gordius*, prevailed with him to undertake the dethroning of *Ariobarzanes*; the *Armenian* not imagining, that he should thereby give offence to the *Roman Republic*. The *Cappadocian* king, inactive by nature, and unable to withstand so powerful an invader, retired out of the country upon the first approach of *Tigranes*, and carried off his substance.

Nicomedes Philopater, King of *Bitynia*, dying about this time, his son *Nicomedes* succeeded him, and was confirmed on the throne by a decree of the *Roman Senate*. He had a brother, *Socrates*, surnamed *Chrestus*, who, it seems, made pretensions to the kingdom. This man, with the assistance of some forces lent him by *Mithridates*, drove out *Nicomedes*, and took his place.

V. C. 1075.
P. 152. The two dethroned kings repaired to *Rome*, and there made their complaints to the Senate, who ordered some commissioners, at the head of whom was that *Manius Aquilius*, who terminated the war of the slaves in *Sicily*, to go into *Asia*, and, in conjunction with *Cassius*, then Proconsul of *Asia*, and even with *Mithridates* himself, reinstate *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes* in their respective kingdoms. *Mithridates* would not give assistance to these commissioners; yet he quietly suffered them to restore the dethroned kings; and he put to death *Socrates Chrestus*, who had taken refuge in his dominions.

Y. R. 665.
V. C. 1075.
P. 152. During this seeming inaction of the king of *Pontus*, he took measures to strengthen himself, by an offensive treaty of alliance, which he made with *Tigranes*: it was agreed between them, that, of the conquests they should make, the cities and countries should belong to *Mithridates*, and all the men and plunder to *Tigranes*; who, in this article, had a view to the peopling of *Tigranocerta*, which he was then building, and which he intended to make one of the greatest cities in the world. The king of *Pontus* gained likewise to the interest of his cause the *Gallo-Greeks*, the *Sarmatæ*, the *Bastarnæ*, and the *Scythians*; in a word, he armed almost all *Upper Asia* against

against the *Romans*. Nevertheless, to preserve the appearance of justice, he forbore all acts of hostility against them, and confined himself to observing their motions. It was in these circumstances, that he received an embassy from the *Italian* states to invite him to join his forces with theirs; but, at that time, the affairs of *Asia* were too much embroiled to permit his absence.

The occasion he wanted and wished for, to enter upon action, was soon furnished him by the *Roman* generals; who, for the sake of enriching themselves, had meditated the kindling a war in *Asia*; with this view they endeavoured to persuade *Nicomedes* and *Aricharzanes* to invade the dominion of the king of *Pontus*; promising to lend them assistance. Neither of the kings was willing to provoke so powerful a neighbour: But, at length, the *Bithynian*, who owed a great sum of money to the *Roman* generals, and commissioners, for his restoration, besides what he had borrowed at interest from the *Asiatic Roman*, entered the territories of *Mithridates* in a hostile manner, and ravaged the country, as far as *Amasiris*. The king of *Pontus* had a considerable army on foot, yet suffered, without resistance, these depredations, that he might have many and just causes for the war: and though he knew that the *Roman* commissioners had incited the *Bithynian* to make this incursion, he dissembled his knowledge of it, and sent one *Pelopidas*, to represent to them, that *Mithridates* was the friend and ally of *Rome*, and to desire that they would assist him against *Nicomedes*, or, at least, oblige that prince to give him satisfaction for the injuries he had already suffered from him. The *Bithynian* Ambassadors, on the other hand, accused the king of *Pontus* of ill designs against the *Roman* Republic; designs, which, they said, he had sufficiently discovered, by assisting *Socrates* to dethrone their master, whom the Senate and People of *Rome* had declared king of *Bithynia*; by having seized upon many places in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, though the *Romans* had forbidden all the *Asiatic* kings to hold any possessions in *Europe*; and by the great preparations he had made for war, and the numerous alliances he had formed. *Pelopidas* replied, that there was no occasion for long disputes, the commissioners seeing very well the state of affairs, and therefore he again desired they would restrain *Nicomedes*, or grant aid to *Mithridates*, or suffer him to defend himself. As the king of *Pontus* had not yet violated the league with *Rome*, the commissioners were at a loss what answer to return. At length they pronounced, that it was not their pleasure *Nicomedes* should molest *Mithridates*, nor would they allow the king of *Pontus* to make war upon the king of *Bithynia*, it being contrary to the interest of the *Roman* Republic, that the *Bithynian* should suffer any detriment. *Pelopidas* would have objected to this declaration, but they would not hear him.

Mithridates, on his return home, thinking himself openly injured by the *Romans*, sent his son *Arichathes* with an army into *Cappadocia*, to seize the kingdom; which he did without great difficulty. After this expedition,

Y. R. 665. dition, the king of *Pontus* dispatched *Pelopidas*, a second time, to the
 App. 1. commissioners. The Ambassador told them, that what had been done in
 Mithr. 1st. *Cappadocia*, contrary to their inclinations, was intirely owing to the iniqui-
 1. 122. ty of their conduct, and the prevarication of their answers; that his
 master had sent to *Rome* a complaint against them, and that he summoned
 them to appear there, and defend their cause. He then admonished them
 not to enter upon a war, without being authorized by a decree from the
Roman Senate and People, and boasted of the greatness of *Mithridates*,
 reckoning up the nations that were subject to him, and the number of
 his allies; and concluded, with asking them, either to restrain *Nicomedes*
 from making war upon *Pontus* (in which case he promised them his
 master's assistance to reduce the *Italians*) or renounce that specious league,
 which had nothing of friendship in it, but the name. Provoked at this
 discourse, the commissioners ordered *Mithridates* totally to quit *Cappadocia*,
 and to forbear all hostilities against *Nicomedes*; adding, that they would
 take effectual care, that *Ariobarzanes* should be immediately restored to his
 dominions. They then commanded the Ambassador to leave their presence,
 and forbad him to return, unless the king obeyed the *Romans*.

Without waiting for orders from the Senate, the commissioners hastened
 to form a mighty army. *Bitbynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Gallo-
 Greece*, furnished them with troops, which, added to the *Roman* forces,
 made up 120,000 men. These they divided into three equal bodies, com-
 manded by three generals; *L. Cæsius*, Proconsul of *Asia*, *M. Aquilius*, and
Q. Oppius. The Proconsul encamped on the confines of *Bitbynia* and *Gallo-
 Greece*; *Aquilius* seized the passes by which the king of *Pontus* might enter
Bitbynia; and *Oppius* posted himself on the borders of *Cappadocia*. They
 had also a fleet, which, under the command of *Minucius Rufus*, and *C. Po-
 pillius*, guarded the streights of the *Euxine* sea. Besides these forces, *Nico-
 medes* brought into the field an army of 50,000 foot and 6000 horse.

On the other hand, *Mithridates* made it appear, that *Pelopidas* had not
 exaggerated, when he boasted of his master's strength. The king's army
 consisted of 250,000 foot, and 40,000 horse. He had besides 130 armed
 chariots, and 400 ships of war. His son-in-law, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, as-
 sisted him in this war; and the kings of *Parthia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* favoured
 his cause. His chief generals were *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus*, two brothers,
Cappadocians; but he frequently commanded in person.

87. 1. Near the river *Armnias* in *Paphlagonia*, *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus*, with
 87. 2. the light-armed infantry, 10,000 *Arminian* horse, and some chariots, attacked
 1. 122. *Nicomedes*, though greatly superior in numbers, and totally overthrew
 App. 1st. him. The king of *Pontus* treated all the prisoners kindly, and sent them
 1. 122. home without ransom. This victory, obtained without the assistance of
 the phalanx, and without the advantage of ground, over superior numbers,
 122. by the skill of the generals, and the bravery of the soldiers, made the *Ro-
 1. 122. man* commissioners perceive, that they had been more hasty, than wise,

to

to kindle a war of such consequence, before they were authorized by a public decree.

On the approach of *Mitbridates*, *Aquilius* retreated; *Neoptolemus* pursued him, forced him to an engagement, and defeated him. He fled to the river *Sangar*, crossed it in the night, and continued his flight to *Pergamus*. *Cassius*, on this news, retired to *Leontocephale*, a strong castle in *Phrygia*; but soon quitted that place, and shut himself up in *Apamea*. *Nicomachus* took refuge in *Pergamus*; *Oppius* in *Laodicea*. The land forces of the *Romans* being thus dispersed, their fleet deserted the entrance of the *Euxine* sea, and left the *Bitthynian* ships a prey to *Mitbridates's* Admiral. In a short time, all submitted to the King of *Pontus*. He treated the inhabitants with great clemency, forgave the debts they owed to the crown, and remitted the customary tribute for five years.

After this, he over-ran *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Asia Propria*, *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*. Few places made any resistance, and he possessed himself of all the towns and islands of *Asia Minor*, except *Rhodes*. The *Laodiceans* having, on the King's summons, delivered up to him *Q. Oppius*, the Roman General, he spared his life, but led him about as a spectacle. *Aquilius*, the author of the war, whom the people of *Mitylene* in *Lesbos* had delivered up, was treated with extreme rigour. *Mitbridates* made him go along with the army, mounted upon an ass, and forced him frequently to proclaim, that he was *Manius Aquilius*, the Roman Proconsul. At last he caused him to be put to death at *Pergamus*, by pouring melted gold down his throat, in reproach of the Roman avidity.

C H A P. X.

Civil commotions raised by MARIUS and SYLLA (now Consul, Year of Rome 665.) SYLLA procures the banishment of his rival. The distresses and adventures of MARIUS. He passes into Africa. He returns into Italy on the invitation of CINNA, Consul in 666. The violence and cruelties of MARIUS and CINNA. MARIUS dies in his seventh Consulship, Year of Rome 667.

AS the Republic had resolved to send an army against *Mitbridates*, the Consul *Sylla*, among many competitors, shewed an extreme eagerness to have the command of it; and, either by lot, or by appointment, it fell to him. *Marius* had long set his heart upon this commission; for, notwithstanding his years and infirmities, he was still tormented with ambition and the thirst of glory, passions (says *Plutarch*) which never grow old in man. His avarice likewise sided with his ambition: *Asia* abounded with riches, and a war in that country he thought would

Y.R. 465. be more lucrative than difficult. Nevertheless, he pretended that his sole
 Ben. Cui. reason for desiring this province, was to have an opportunity of teaching
 57. his son the art of war. To persuade the People, that he had yet a con-
 74. Cui. stitution fit to endure the fatigues of a military life, he daily went into the
 ——— *Campus Martius*, and there, though seventy years of age, and extremely
 corpulent, performed his exercises among the *Roman* youth, contending
 with them in horsemanship, &c.

The better to succeed in his project, he joined himself with *P. Sulpicius*,
 then Tribune of the People. This man, says *Paterculus*, was rich and
 eloquent, had great talents, great spirits, and great interest; and whereas
 formerly he had endeavoured to establish to himself a name, by honourable
 methods, yet now, as if he repented of his virtues, he, all on a sudden,
 ran headlong into wickedness. When very young, he had signalized
 himself, by accusing of treason the famous *C. Norbanus*, whom *Anto-*
 nius, the orator, defended. He is mentioned in several parts of *Cicero's*
 works^a, and with great commendation of his eloquence. His entrance
 into public life, according to that author, was very promising: but his
 eagerness, when Tribune, to hinder *C. Caesar Strabo* from being Consul
 before he had passed through the Prætorship, and the applauses he met
 with from the People, on that occasion, carried him farther than he at
 first intended. *Plutarch* tells us, that in *Sulpicius* were united cruelty,
 impudence, avarice, and all sorts of vice: so that it was needless to en-
 quire wherein his wickedness exceeded that of other men, but wherein it
 surpassed itself. It seems, he proposed *Saturninus* for his model, and,
 as the only thing which he blamed in that model, was his not being daring
 and quick enough in his enterprizes, he himself immediately appeared
 attended with a guard of 3000 men, among whom were 600 knights.
 This guard he called the *Anti-senate*. He also publicly sold the freedom
 of the City to strangers and freedmen^b, and received the money at a table
 placed in the Forum. One of his colleagues had proposed a law for recal-
 ling those exiles^c, who had been sent into banishment without being
 heard; but *Sulpicius* would not suffer the Law to pass. Afterwards,
 nevertheless, he himself proposed the same Law, without allowing it to
 be the same, because he had changed the word *exiles* into the words *those*
who had been ejected by force. He then proposed several other Laws,
 among which one prohibited the Senators from contracting debts^d above
 the value of 2000 *denarii*. Another ordered, that the new Citizens (mean-

A. G. ad
 Heron.
 1. 1. c. 23.

P. 1. 1.
 S. 1.
 6. 1. 1. 1.
 6. 1. 1. 1.
 6. 1. 1. 1.

^a *De Hor. R. 2. c. 10. In Brut. c. 19. 55.*
Cicero makes him one of the speakers in the
 three Dialogues he composed *de Oratore*.

^b The *Roman* freedmen had not a title to
 all the rights of Citizenship.

^c It would seem, that by the exiles are

meant those who had been banished by the
Lex Julia, mentioned above, p. 111.

^d Yet, after the death of *Sulpicius*, it was
 found, that he himself had contracted debts
 to the amount of three millions of *denarii*,
 that is, about 96,875 pounds sterling.

ing the *Italians*) and the freedmen should not, in voting, be confined to certain tribes, but be dispersed through the whole : a third was for transferring from *Sylla* to *Marius* the conduct of the *Asiatic* expedition.

To defeat these projects, the Consuls proclaimed holidays, which lasted a long time, during which, it was not lawful to assemble the Comitia : but the Tribune, having gathered about him a multitude, went to the Senate-house, and commanded the Consuls, *Pompeius* and *Sylla*, to revoke their edict concerning the holidays, that the People might give their votes with regard to the Laws in question. The Consuls refused : *Sulpicius's* party drew their daggers ; *Pompeius* made his escape, his son was killed, and *Sylla*, being closely pursued, took refuge in *Marius's* house. Some say, that *Marius* let him out at a back-door : but *Sylla*, in his own Memoirs, quoted by *Plutarch*, denied that he took refuge in *Marius's* house, and affirmed, that *Sulpicius's* followers forced him thither, and then obliged him to return to the Forum, and revoke the edict in question ^a. Be that as it will, it is certain, he revoked the edict, for which reason *Sulpicius* left him in possession of the Consulship, degrading only his colleague *Pompeius*. *Sylla*, immediately after the tumult, left the City, and joined his army, then employed in the siege of *Nola*, which still held out against the Republic. The Tribune, having obtained the Laws he proposed ^b, sent two officers to *Nola*, to receive the army from *Sylla* ; but the soldiers fell upon them, and murdered them. *Marius*, in revenge, put to death many of *Sylla's* friends in the City, and confiscated their effects. In the mean time *Sylla* marched his troops, consisting of 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse, towards *Rome*. *Appian* tells us, that they followed him very readily, because they hoped, that under his conduct they should enrich themselves by the plunder of *Asia*, and feared lest *Marius* would make use of another army in the *Mithridatic* war. All things were in confusion at *Rome*. Some (among whom was the Consul *Pompeius*) fled to the camp of *Sylla*, while others, deserting *Sylla* ^c, took refuge in the City. The Senate found themselves obliged to obey the orders of *Sulpicius* and *Marius*. These, on *Sylla's* approach, sent to him two of the Prætors, *Servilius* and *Brutus* ^d, forbidding him to proceed.

^a *Vell. Pat.* and *Eutropius* say, that *Sylla* was with an army in *Campania*, during this tumult, contrary to what *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Sylla's* own Memoirs affirm. [If those Memoirs of *Sylla* were genuine, it may reasonably be asked, why did not *Paterculus* follow them ?]

^b According to *Appian*, *Sulpicius* concealed his design of giving the conduct of the *Mithridatic* war to *Marius*, till after the tumult

above mentioned, and his obtaining the Law, authorizing the new citizens and the freedmen to vote in all the tribes : nor did *Sylla* suspect any thing of the matter till he joined his army at *Nola*.

^c The same writer tells us, that none of *Sylla's* principal officers staid with him, except his Quæstor.

^d Ambassadors were sent several times to *Sylla* to enquire, why he approached the City

Y.R. 665.

Liv. Epit.

l. lxxvii.

Ascon. in

Orat. in

proCorn.

App. de

Bell. Civ.

l. i. p. 583.

App.

p. 584.

Plut. in

Sylla & in

Mar.

Y. R. 665.
B. C. Chr.
87.
344 Conf.

proceed any farther on his march. The soldiers insulted those Magistrates, pulled off their robes, and broke the Fasces of their Lictors. Hereupon the Senate dispatched new Ambassadors to *Sylla*, intreating him not to come nearer the City, and promising to satisfy him. He answered, that he would stay where he was; and, as if he intended so to do, ordered a camp to be marked out: but the Ambassadors were no sooner gone, than he detached two of his officers, with a body of men, to seize one of the gates of *Rome*, and the wall near the *Esquiline* hill. The detachment entered the City, but the inhabitants drove them back to the foot of the walls. In that instant, *Sylla* arriving, commanded his men to set fire to the houses, and he himself gave the example. *Marius*, *Sulpicius*, and their followers, made what resistance they could; and promised freedom to all slaves that would arm in their cause. Few or none, daring to join them, they fled out of the City. *Sylla* marched on to the Capitol, where he assembled the Senate; and proposed to them the banishment of *Sulpicius*, *Marius*, and the son of *Marius*, together with nine more of their principal adherents. Of all the Senators, *Q. Mucius Scaevola* was the only man who refused to concur in this vote; and when *Sylla* endeavoured to terrify him by menaces, he boldly answered, “Al-
“ though you should threaten me with death, and give me up to those sol-
“ diers, with whom you have surrounded the Senate-house, you shall never
“ persuade me, for the sake of a life, now exhausted to the dregs, to pro-
“ nounce *Marius* an enemy, who has saved *Italy* and *Rome*.” The decree passed; and it would seem that *Sylla*, by edict, set a price upon the heads of the exiles, and confiscated their estates.

Y. R. 665.
B. C. Chr.
87.
344 Conf.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
l. 1. p. 386.

Sulpicius, being taken through the treachery of his slave, was put to death, and his head fixed upon the Rostra. To reward the slave, *Sylla* gave him his freedom; and, to punish his treachery, caused him to be thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. The two Consuls, after their victory, took great care that the City should not be pillaged by the soldiers. The next day, having convened the general assembly, they notified, that, for the future, the People should not be assembled by tribes, but by centuries, and that nothing should be brought before the Comitia, till it had been first approved by the Senate. They likewise annulled all those acts of *Sulpicius*, which had been passed since the proclamation of the holidays: and, to have a Senate at their devotion, they created (if we may believe *Appian*) three hundred new Senators. To the Consul *Pompeius* was assigned the command of an army, which then served under his kinsman *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, who had reduced *Asculum*.

City in arms? to which he always an-
swered, that his design was to rescue it from
tyranny. At last *Marius* and *Sulpicius* sent

orders to him, in the name of the Senate,
not to come within five miles of *Rome*.
Appian.

Affairs being thus regulated, *Sylla* sent his troops before him to *Capua*, intending soon to set out for *Asia*. The *Marian* faction, in the mean time, laid a snare (as it is said) for his life, and the People were so exasperated against him, that, at the election of certain Magistrates, they not only passed by his nephew and his friend, but chose two of the candidates, whom they thought the most disagreeable to him. On this occasion he affected to say, that he was pleased to see the People make use of the liberty he had procured them.

When the Consul *Pompeius* came to take the command of the army appointed him, *Strabo* gave it up to him, without any seeming reluctance: But the next day, the soldiers, suborned by their old general, fell upon the Consul, while he was sacrificing, and killed him. *Strabo* pretended to be in great wrath for this murder, yet he resumed his former command.

At *Rome*, *Sylla*, to ingratiate himself with the People, suffered them to give the Consular Fasces to *L. Cornelius Cinna*, a Patrician of their own party; but had the precaution to make him solemnly swear, he would support *his* interest. The other Consul was *Cn. Octavius*, a peaceable man, and a strict observer of the laws.

Cinna, rash in counsel (says *Paterculus*) but a man in action, dared what no man of virtue would dare, and performed what none but a man of the greatest resolution could have performed. No sooner did he enter upon his office, than he began to entertain projects for overturning all that *Sylla* had done; and even excited *Virginus*, a Tribune of the People, to accuse him of a capital crime: but *Sylla* neglecting the accusation, set out for his province. According to *Appian*, the friends of the exiles, depending upon *Cinna*, began to revive *Marius's* proposal of dispersing the new Citizens among all the tribes; and *Cinna*, had been gained to favour this project, by a bribe of 300 talents: His colleague *Octavius* undertook the cause of the old Citizens. On the day when the Comitia met to determine concerning to this affair, the two parties, each headed by a Consul, came to a battle in the Forum: victory declared for *Octavius*, and, if one may believe *Plutarch*, near 10,000 of the new Citizens were slain^a.

^a *Appian* relates the affair thus: *Cinna* and his party, armed with daggers under their gowns, took possession of the Forum. *Octavius*, attended by the honest part of the people, armed likewise with daggers, kept at home, till he was informed, that the majority of the Tribunes, having forbid proceeding to pass the Law, the new Citizens had driven them from the Rostra;

then he, and his followers, broke like a torrent into the Forum, pushed through the midst of the croud, and having frighted away the rioters, retired to the temple of *Castor*; for out of regard to his colleague he forbore to attack him. Nevertheless, the followers of *Octavius* fell upon the new Citizens, killed many of them, and drove the rest out of the city.

Cinna,

Y. R. 665.
Plut. in
Sylla.

App.
P. 388.

Vell. Pat.
l. ii. c. 23.
Val. Max.
l. ix. c. 7.
§ 6.

Y. R. 666.
Bef. Chi.
86.
365 Conf.

Plut. in
Sylla.
Vell. Pat.
l. ii. c. 24.
Plut. in
Sylla.

App.
P. 389.

58125 l.
Arb.

Plut. in
Sertor.

VI. R. 446.
B. C. 87.
C. 100.

Cinna, who had depended upon his superiority in number, seeing his party, contrary to his expectation, defeated, ran up and down, inviting the slaves, by a promise of liberty, to take arms. This stratagem not succeeding, he left *Rome*, and made a progress through several towns of the allies, soliciting them every where to revolt, and raised money for the expences of the war. While he was thus employed, *C. Marius Gratidianus*, *C. M'ellius*, and *Q. Sertorius*² joined him, but the Senate passed a decree against him to this effect: *Because Cinna has deserted the Republic in her danger, and called the slaves to arms, we declare him fallen from his right of Citizenship, and depose him from the office of Consul.* In his place was substituted *L. Cornelius Merula*, then *Flamen Dialis*. Hereupon *Cinna* hastened to *Capua*, where was quartered a *Roman* army, and having gained the officers who commanded it, and, by their means, got the troops convened, he entered the Assembly without the *Fasces*, and in the habit of a private man. Then, with tears, addressing himself to the soldiers: *From you, Citizens, I received the honour of the Consulship: what you gave me by your suffrages, the Senate, without consulting you, has taken from me. This injury I do not lament so much for my own sake, as for yours. What occasion will there be hereafter to court the favour of the tribes? What occasion for Assemblies and Comitia? And wherein can you be useful, if you suffer your determinations to be so easily annulled?* After complaining much of his own misfortunes, he rent his garment, and coming down from the place where he had harangued, threw himself upon the ground, before the Assembly. The soldiers, moved with compassion, raised him up, gave him back his *Fasces*, and desired him to take courage, and lead them wherever his affairs should require. That this opportunity might not be lost, both officers and soldiers immediately took an oath of fidelity to *Cinna*.

In the mean time, *Ostilius* and *Merula* made diligent preparation for the defence of *Rome*, and sent to make levies of soldiers, not only among the allies, but among the *Gauls*. They, moreover, ordered *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* to come instantly with his army to the assistance of the Republic. He had continued at the head of this army ever since the murder of his kinsman (*Sylla's* colleague in the Consulship) who had been appointed to command it, as we have before observed. Some say, that *Sertius* first offered his service to *Cinna*, who rejected it: Others, that, by encouraging both parties, he fomented a war which he could easily have suppressed in the beginning. Be that as it will, he marched to *Rome*, and joined *Ostilius*, but acted in such a manner, as made

VI. R. 446.
B. C. 87.
C. 100.

² *Sertorius*, according to *Plutarch*, was present at the late conflict in the Forum, and was slain there together with *Cinna*. He had, not long before, stood for the Tribuneship; but though he was so great a favourite

of the People, that, one day, when he entered the Theatre, they broke out into a shout of applause, yet he lost his election through the influence of *Sylla's* party. *Plut. in Sertor.*

it visible he had nothing in view, but his own interest. *Cinna*, on the other hand, to give credit to his party, sent to recall *Marius* and his son from banishment.

We have already seen, that *Sylla* drove *Marius* from *Rome*, and set a price upon his head. In the evening of that day, on which he made his escape, he arrived at a villa of his own, called *Salonium*, and from thence sent his son to some neighbouring farms belonging to his father-in-law *Mucius*, there to provide necessaries for their voyage. He himself went, in the mean time, to *Ostia*, where his friend *Numerius*, having prepared him a ship, he, without staying for his son, but taking with him *Granius*, his wife's son by a former husband, weighed anchor. Passing along the coast of *Italy* with a favourable wind, he was in no small apprehension of one *Geminus*, a man of great interest at *Tarracina*, and his enemy. He therefore bade the sailors keep off from that place, and they were willing to obey, but the wind changing, and blowing hard from the sea, and their vessel being scarce able to resist the waves, *Marius* too being indisposed, and sea-sick, it was with great difficulty they could get so far as *Circeti*, on this side of *Tarracina*.

The storm now increasing, and their provisions failing, they went on shore, and wandered up and down they knew not whither; avoiding, as it usually happens in great dangers, the present evil, and relying on uncertain hopes. The land and the sea were both perilous: they feared to meet with people, and yet, wanting food, feared more to meet with nobody. Towards night they lit upon a few poor herdsmen, who, unhappily, had nothing to give them: but, knowing *Marius*, they advised him to get away, as soon as possible, for they had seen a party of horse in search of him. *Marius* seeing that his attendants, spent with long fasting, were unable to go farther, turned aside out of the road, and hid himself in a thick wood, where he passed the night in great distress. The next day, though pinched with hunger, yet willing to make use of the little strength he had left, he travelled by the sea-side, encouraging his companions by prophecies, upon which, he said, he depended. He told them, that, when he was a child, he brought home an eagle's nest, in which were seven young ones, and that his parents, much astonished at the accident (for it is said, that an eagle never hatches more than two,) having consulted the diviners, these had declared, that he would be the greatest amongst men, and be seven times possessed of the highest magistracy in his country.

When he and his company were now about two miles and a half from *Minturnæ*, they espied a troop of horse making towards them with all speed, and, at the same time, two ships pretty near the shore. Hereupon they ran as fast as they could to the sea, and plunging themselves into it, swam to the ships. *Granius*, and those that were with him, got into one of them, and passed over to the opposite island, called *Ænaria*.

Y R 666.
Bef. Chr.
86.
363 Conf.

Marius, heavy and unwieldy, was, with much difficulty, borne above the water by two slaves, and put aboard the other ship. In this instant the soldiers arrived at the sea side, and from thence called out to the mariners, to bring their vessel to shore, or else to throw out *Marius*. He, on the other hand, besought them with tears, not to deliver him up to his enemies. The mariners, after a consultation, wherein they inclined sometimes to the one side, sometimes to the other, at length answered positively, that they would not deliver up *Marius*. But soon after the soldiers were gone away, and out of sight, the sailors brought the vessel to an anchor, at the mouth of the *Liris*, where it makes a great marsh; and then they advised *Marius* to go on shore, and refresh himself, till the wind should come fair, which, they said, would soon happen; for that when the sea breeze fell, there generally arose a fresh gale from the marsh. *Marius* listened to their advice, and, when they had set him on shore, he laid himself down in a place not far from the sea, not in the least suspecting what was to befall him: for the mariners, presently after, weighed anchor, and sailed away, not thinking it excusable to deliver *Marius* into the hands of those who sought to destroy him, nor consistent with their own safety to protect him. Deserted thus by all, he lay a good while silent on the ground: at length, collecting the remains of his strength, he got up, and travelled along most disconsolately. After wading through bogs, and ditches full of water and mud, he at last stumbled upon an old man's cottage, who worked in the fens. Falling at his feet, he besought him to give assistance to a perion, who, if he escaped the present danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, whether he had formerly known *Marius*, or was then moved, says *Plutarch*, with the majesty of his countenance, answered, *If you want only rest, you may repose yourself conveniently in my cottage; but if you are flying from an enemy, I will bide you in a more retired and secret place.* *Marius* having desired he would do him that good office, the old man led him to a cave, by the river side, and there covered him with reeds, and other light things which would conceal, but not burden him. Scarce had he laid himself down, when he was disturbed by a great noise from the cottage. His enemy, *Geminus*, had sent horsemen from *Tarracina* in pursuit of him, and some of them happening to come that way, most severely menaced the poor old man, as one who had entertained and concealed an enemy of *Rome*. *Marius*, thinking himself in imminent danger, stripped off his clothes, and, leaving his concealment, plunged himself into a great pool of water. From thence his pursuers dragged him naked, and all covered with mud, and in that condition carried him away to *Minerva*, where they delivered him into the hands of the magistrates. There had been published throughout all the towns of *Italy*, a decree of the Senate, importing, that search should be made for him, and that he should be put to death,

if he were found. The magistrates, therefore, in obedience to this decree, cast him into prison, and sent a slave, belonging to the Public, a *Cimbrian* by birth, to cut off his head: for none of their own citizens would undertake the office.

Several authors have reported, that *Marius*, seeing the slave enter the prison, said to him with a strong voice, *Hast thou the audaciousness to kill Marius?* and that, at these words, the *Cimbrian* instantly ran away into the town, and, throwing down his sword before the people, cried out, *I have not the power to kill Marius*: nevertheless, it would seem, from certain passages in *Cicero*, that this story is an invention of some of the later writers. Be that as it will, the *Minturnenses* furnished *Marius* with a ship and provisions; he sailed first to *Ænaria*, where having found *Granius*, and the rest of his company, that had escaped thither, he, together with them, steered his course towards *Africa*. Want of water forced him to put in near *Eryx* in *Sicily*. A Roman Quæstor, who guarded that coast, fell upon *Marius* at his landing, slew sixteen of his men, and was near taking him prisoner. The illustrious fugitive, however, at length arrived in *Africa*, and went on shore near *Carthage*, in the hope that *Sextilius*, the Prætor of that province, a man to whom he had done neither good nor harm, would, out of mere compassion, assist him in his distress. But scarce was he landed, when an officer from *Sextilius* forbade him to set foot in that country, and declared to him, that if he did not obey, he would be treated, conformably to the decree of the Senate, as an enemy of *Rome*. *Marius*, struck with astonishment at this message, remained a considerable time without speaking a word, his eyes fixed upon the messenger. The man, at length, asked him, what answer he should carry back to the Prætor: *Go tell him* (said *Marius*,) *that you have seen Marius, an exile from his country, and sitting among the ruins of Carthage*: meaning by this (says *Plutarch*) to propose the fortune of that city, and his own fortune, as instructive lessons to the Prætor. He went again on board, and wandered about in those seas, a great part of the winter. His son *Marius*, who had taken refuge in the court of *Mandrestal* (or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Hiempsal*,) King of *Numidia*, came from thence, and joined his father.

We left the younger *Marius* in *Italy*, at some farms belonging to *Mucius*, whither he had been sent to get necessaries for his father's voyage, the very day his father set sail from that country. While the son was busy in executing his commission, he had like to have been surprised by some troopers, who were in search of his father; but, by the care of *Mucius's* steward, who had notice of their approach, he was put into a cart covered over with beans, and conveyed to his wife at *Rome*. From thence, together with *Cetbegus*, and some others, he made his escape in the night, went on board a ship, passed into *Africa*, and there implored the protection of the King of *Numidia*. *Hiempsal* treated him, and his

Y R. 566.
Bet. Chr.
96.
365 Conf.

J. E. Epit.
i. lxxvii.
Vell. P. 1.
7-1. Mar.
Pist. App.
& alii.
Cic. pro.
Plan. c. 10.
pro Sext.
c. 22.
Plut. in
Mar.

Y. R. 66. companions, with great civility; but whenever they expressed an intention
B. 1. C. 1. to depart, found some pretext or other to detain them, and it was ma-
nifest he made those delays with no good design. An accident contributed
greatly to their preservation. The hard fortune of young *Marius*, who
was very handsome, nearly touched one of the King's concubines; and this
her pity was the beginning of her love, and a veil to cover it. At first,
he avoided all engagements with her; but, finding he had no other pro-
bable way of making his escape from *Numidia*, and that her passion was
no less generous, than violent, he returned it with kindness; and she,
in requital, procured him, and his friends, the means of escaping.
Having joined his father, they left *Africa*, and sailed for *Italy*, whither
Marius, as was before mentioned, had been invited by *Cinna*. As soon
as they landed, they set about raising soldiers. *Marius* proclaimed liberty
to all slaves that would arm in his quarrel, and, in a short time, got toge-
ther a considerable body of troops; which was soon after strengthened by
500 of his party from *Rome*. He then sent a deputation in form to *Cinna*,
offering to serve under him, and obey his orders as Consul. All *Cinna's*
officers, except *Sertorius*, were of opinion, that *Marius* should be received.
Sertorius, a great warrior, but prudent and moderate, and who dreaded
the revengeful temper of *Marius*, remonstrated to *Cinna*, that, without
the assistance of *Marius*, he was powerful enough to triumph over his
enemies; that *Marius*, if received, would rob him of the glory and ad-
vantage of the war, and prove a troublesome and unfaithful partner in
the government. *Cinna* owned all this to be very just and solid; but he
added, *What face can I reject a man, whom I myself have invited to*
join with me in the war? To which *Sertorius* replied, *I thought Marius*
had come into Italy of his own accord, and therefore I only considered what,
in that case, was expedient to be done. But since he is here by your invi-
tation, you ought not to have even deliberated, whether you are to receive
and employ him. Your promise given precludes all consultation and
uncertainty.

Cinna hereupon wrote immediately to *Marius*, gave him the title
of Proconsul, and sent him the Fasces, and other badges of that dignity.
Marius would not accept of these honours: he said, they did not suit
with his present misfortunes. From the day that he fled from *Rome*,
he had worn an old robe, and neglected his hair and beard; and he
walked slowly, like a man oppressed with calamities: but, through
the disguise of that doleful countenance, something was discerned so
fierce, that he rather created terror, than moved compassion. After
he had joined *Cinna*, they marched together, and encamped on the *Tiber*:
Cinna and *Carbo* over-against *Rome*; *Sertorius* above it; and *Marius* lower
down towards the sea. The last applied himself to cut off all provisions,
that were sent up the river to supply the city; and he possessed himself
of several of the maritime towns; and, among the rest, of *Ostia*, which,
having

Pl. in
Sertor.

Plin. in
M. 1.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
p. 391.
Plin. in
M. 1.
L. 1. c. 1.
App. de
Bell. Civ.
c. 1.

having reduced it by force, he plundered, and massacred the greatest part of the inhabitants. *Cinna* sent a party of soldiers to take possession of *Ariminum*, that no assistance might be sent to *Rome* from *Gaul*. *Appianus Claudius*, to whom the guard of *Janiculum* had been intrusted, received *Marius* and *Cinna* into the place; but they were driven out again by *Pompeius Strabo*, and the Consul *Octavius*. *Strabo* being soon after killed by a flash of lightning^{*}, the sole command of the army devolved to *Octavius*. The incapacity (says *Plutarch*) of this Consul, was not so detrimental to the public affairs, as was his too scrupulous attachment to the laws: for when they advised him to set the slaves at liberty [in order to make soldiers of them, and prevent their going over to the enemy,] he answered, that he could never give to slaves the privileges of that city, the gates of which he had, in obedience to the laws, shut against *Caius Marius*.

Y. R. 666.
Bel. Cir.
86.
365 Conf.

Plut. in
Mar.

About this time, *Metellus Pius*, the son of *Numidicus*, arrived at *Rome*. He had lately commanded an army in *Samnium*, where the Social War was not totally extinguished; and the Senate had desired him to make peace with the *Samnites* upon any honourable terms, and lead his forces to the defence of his country; but while he hesitated about granting the conditions insisted upon by the enemy, *Marius* yielded to all their demands, and they joined themselves to his party.

App. loc.
cit.

At *Rome*, the soldiers of *Octavius* deserted him, and offered their service to *Metellus*, who was much the better General; but, upon his reproving them roughly, and ordering them back to the Consul, they went over to *Cinna*.

Plut. in
Mar.

Marius, in the mean time, reduced *Antium*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, and several other towns, where the *Romans* had magazines of provisions. After this, the confederate Generals drawing nearer to *Rome*, *Octavius*, *Crassus*, and *Metellus*, marched out to oppose them, but did not think it advisable to trust the safety of their country to the hazard of a battle. *Cinna* having proclaimed liberty to all the slaves in the city, who should join him, they flocked to him from thence in crowds. The Senate terrified hereby, and fearing the discontent of the people, who suffered greatly through want of provisions, sent deputies to *Cinna* to negotiate a peace. His first question to them was, whether they had a commission to treat with him as Consul, or as a private person: and they not giving him a satisfactory answer, could effect nothing. After their return to the city, *Cinna* advanced and encamped under the walls. Multitudes went over to him, some through fear of famine, others because they favoured his cause, and his nearness gave them an opportunity to escape. The Senate, unwilling to depose *Merula*, who had been appointed Consul in the room of *Cinna*, were in great per-

Appian.
P. 392.

^{*} *Vell. Pct.* reports, that the plague raged in both armies. He adds, that the joy for the death of *Perseus* was almost balanced

by the grief for the loss of so many citizens as died by the sword, or the pestilence.

plexity. But *Merula*, that he might be no hindrance to the public tranquillity, voluntarily laid down his office; and the Senate immediately dispatched new deputies to *Cinna*, with orders to acknowledge him as Consul¹. They required no other condition of peace, but his taking an oath, not to put to death any of the citizens. He refused to swear², but gave them his promise, that none should be slain with his knowledge, or consent; and even desired, that the Consul *Octavius* might leave *Rome*, lest some misfortune should befall him. *Marius* was standing next to *Cinna's* Tribunal. He did not speak a word, but the gloominess of his countenance, and the malice that appeared in his eyes, sufficiently prognosticated, that he would soon fill the city with slaughter.

Shortly after this conference, *Cinna* entered *Rome*, surrounded with soldiers, but *Marius* stopped at the gate, saying angrily, *That he was an exile, and forbidden by the laws to enter the City: if therefore they wanted his presence, they must reverse the decree of his banishment*. The people accordingly were assembled; but scarce had three or four of the Tribes given their votes, when he, throwing off the mask, entered the city with his guards: a band of about 4000 of the stoutest slaves, whom he had chosen to be ministers of his cruelty. Instantly the gates were shut, that none might escape, and a slaughter ensued, as in a town taken by assault. *C.* and *L. Julius*, with many other considerable Senators, were murdered, and, among the rest, *Antonius* the orator, whose head *Marius* caused to be fixed upon the Rostra. The Consul *Octavius* was slain on his tribunal. *Ancharius*, a man of Prætorian rank, coming to pay his compliments to *Marius*, was murdered by the guards, because their General took no notice of him; and from that time those slaves made it their practice to murder every man whose salutation *Marius* did not return: so that even his friends never approached him, but with terror.

In the midst of these murders, *Marius* assembled the People, and made a speech to them (*Cicero* tells us, he was himself present, and observed, that the old soldier, far from being dispirited by his adversities, seemed to have the strength of his mind renewed.) When he had recounted the series of his late sufferings, he told the People, that, being now restored to his dignity, and having recovered all that he had lost, it should still be his principal care to preserve that courage and virtue which he had never lost.

After the first fury of slaughter, the tyrants resolved to proceed against some of their enemies, by way of trial. *Merula*, to avoid an unjust

¹ According to the Epitome of *Livy*, l. lxxv. the Nobles, forced by the incapacity and treachery of the Generals and Soldiers, who, corrupted by money, either would not fight,

or went over to the enemy, received *Cinna* and *Marius* into the city

² *Appian* says, that both *Cinna* and *Marius* took an oath not to kill *Octavius*.

sentence,

sentence, caused his veins to be opened. As he was priest of *Jupiter*, it was not lawful for him to die with the mitre on his head: he therefore left a writing behind him, signifying that, before his death, he had put off that sacred ornament.

Y. R. 666.
Bet. Chr.
86.
365 Conf.

Catulus, the colleague of *Marius* in the *Cimbrian* war, smothered himself with the vapour of charcoal. It is reported, that *Marius*, when the friends of *Catulus* interceded for him, made no answer but, *he must die, he must die*.

Some authors say, that *Cinna* began to cease his cruelties; but that *Marius*, growing daily more thirsty of blood, proceeded to destroy every man of whom he had the least suspicion; till at length *Cinna* and *Sertorius*, having surprised, and surrounded with soldiers, the murderous guards of *Marius*, put every man of them to death.

Plut. in
Mar. & in
Sertor.

Many of the Nobles fled to *Sylla*, then in *Greece*: his wife and children likewise, with some difficulty, escaped to him, and he learnt from them, that his enemies had burnt his house, and ravaged his lands.

When the time came for chusing supreme magistrates, *Marius* and *Cinna* declared themselves *CONSULS*, without so much as the form of assembling the *Comitia*. On the day of their inauguration, *Marius* caused a Senator, named *Sex. Licinius*, to be thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock. His own death soon after put a stop to his cruelties. He died, according to the most probable account, of a pleuritic fever, on the 13th of *January*, about the seventy-first year of his age.

Y. R. 667.
Bet. Chr.
85.
366 Conf.
Liv. Epit.
l. lxxx.
Vell. Pat.
l. ii. c. 23.

To grace his funeral, *C. Fimbria* (at this time *Quæstor Urbanus*) ordered *Q. Scævola* (the Pontifex Maximus) to be put to death; and hearing afterwards, that he might recover of the wound he had received, summoned him to take his trial before the People. When somebody asked *Fimbria*, *Of what crime he could accuse so good a man?* he answered, *Of not having received in his body the whole of the weapon with which he was stabbed*.

Cic. pro S.
Ros. c. 12.
Val. Max.
l. ix. c. 11.
§ 2.
Vid. Pigh.
ad Ann.
667.

C H A P. XI.

VALERIUS FLACCUS, associated by *Cinna* in the Consulship for the remainder of the year 667, is likewise appointed by him to succeed to *SYLLA*'s command in Asia.

An account of the progress of *Mithridates*, after his defeating the three Roman Generals in 665. The arrival of *Sylla* in Greece in 666. He there vanquishes the armies of *Mithridates*.

SYLLA passes in Asia, and concludes a peace with the King of Pontus (in 668;) returns into Greece in 669; (being the 4th Consulship of *CINNA*, and the 3d year of his holding that magistracy by usurpation.) From Athens *SYLLA* writes a menacing letter to the SENATE, who had suffered him to be declared an exile, and to be loaded with other injuries and indignities.

dignities. In 670, he lands in Italy, totally subdues the Marian faction; and proscribes those of his enemies, who had escaped his sword; and, in 671, he is constituted PERPETUAL DICTATOR.

V. R. 657.

App. P.
195.

Vit. Supr.

P. 123.

H. L. II. c.

18.

Cic. pro.

L. Manil.

c. 3.

App. in

Mithridat.

P. 183.

Val. Max.

I. II. c. 2.

App. in

Mithridat.

P. 186.

Cic. 2. in

V. T. c.

65.

App. in

Mithridat.

P. 186. &

Eq.

Plut. in

Sylla.

Posidon.

ap. Athen.

S. 13.

ON the death of *Marius*, *Cinna* chose *L. Valerius Flaccus* to be his colleague in the Consulship, appointing him to succeed *Sylla* in the conduct of the war against *Mithridates*^{*}, and giving him *Fimbria* for his lieutenant.

We left *Mithridates*, in 665, victorious over the *Roman* armies in *Asia Propria*, and master of all that country, and the islands adjacent, except *Rhodes*. This prince, a second *Hannibal* in his hatred to the *Romans*, dispatched circular letters throughout *Asia*, directing, that the people, on a certain day, should massacre all the *Italians* that were in that country; men, women, and children, freemen, and slaves: and that the effects of the slain should be disposed of, part to his own treasury, and part to the assassins; and he forbade the people, under pain of death, to spare the life of any *Italian*, or to bury him, when dead. Fourscore thousand[†] of that nation perished in this massacre; and the cruelty, with which the *Asiatics* executed the vengeance of *Mithridates*, shewed plainly (says *Appian*) that they were actuated more by hatred to the *Romans*, than fear of the King.

After this he attacked *Rhodes*, by sea and land, with all his forces; but miscarried in the enterprize[‡]. To hinder the *Romans* from entering *Asia*, he resolved to transport the war into *Europe*. With this view he sent his youngest son (called by some *Arctasias*, by others, *Ariarathes*) with a powerful army, through *Thrace* into *Macedon*. *Arbelaus*, the ablest of his Generals, he commissioned to go with a fleet to *Greece*, in order to bring over to his party, the people of that country, either by persuasion or force; and dispatched *Metropbanes*, another of his Generals, into *Eubœa*, and to the sea-coast of *Thessaly*.

The *Athenians* (we are not told for what cause) had been condemned to a fine by the *Romans*, and their magistrates forbidden to exercise their functions: and *Aristion*, an Epicurean philosopher, whom they had sent on an embassy to *Mithridates*, being gained by that monarch, had exhorted them to side with the King; assuring them, that the popular government should be restored, and that not only the public would be bene-

^{*} The King of *Pontus*, by seizing the effects of the Publicans, and of all other *Italians* in *Asia*, had occasioned an almost universal bankruptcy in *Rome*. *Valerius*, before he set out upon his expedition, published a law, importing, that the debtors should not be obliged to pay to their creditors, more than one quarter of the principal sums they owed. *Cic. pro L. Manil. c. 7. Fell. Pat. l. II. c. 23.*

[†] *Plut. (in Sylla)* makes the number amount to 150,000.

[‡] *Cic. (loc. cit.)* tells us, that notwithstanding the *Rhodians* were besieged by *Mithridates*, and that they particularly hated him; yet they did not demolish a statue, which they had formerly erected to him in the most conspicuous part of their town.

fited,

sited, but private persons would reap great advantages from the alliance of so powerful, and so generous a Prince. The people, dazzled with these prospects, gave a favourable answer, and the chief men of the city, finding themselves unable to restrain the madness of the multitude, passed into Italy, and took refuge in Rome.

Archelaus subdued the island *Delos*, which had revolted from the *Atbenians*, slew there 20,000 men, most of them *Italians*, and plundered the temple of *Apollo*^b. The island he restored to the *Atbenians*, and deposited in their city the booty he had taken. But under pretence of guarding it, he sent along with it 2000 soldiers, by whose assistance *Aristion* assumed to himself the chief power in *Atbens*, and put to death, or delivered up to *Mithridates*, all the citizens that adhered to the *Romans*. *Archelaus* likewise brought over to his master's interest, the *Acbeans*, the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Bæotians*, and reduced the *Cyclades*, and all the other islands, as far as the promontory of *Malea*. At the same time *Metrophanes* landed in *Eubæa*, and, soon after, pillaged the territories of *Demetrius* and *Magnesia*. Some say, that *Bruttius Sura*, the lieutenant of *Sentius*, Prætor of *Macedon*, not only attacked *Metrophanes*, and drove him out of the country but gained three victories over *Archelaus* (or, according to some, fought with him three days successively with equal advantage) and forced him to confine himself to his fleet.

Sylla [in the year of Rome 666] arrived in Greece with five legions and some *Italian* cohorts. Having received supplies of men and money from *Ætolia* and *Thessaly*, he marched into *Attica* against *Archelaus*. In his way, almost all the *Bæotians* submitted to him, with the same readiness they had declared for *Mithridates*. Soon after, the other towns of Greece, except *Atbens*, dispatched deputies to him, offering to put themselves under his protection. *Lucullus*, whom he had sent before him, obliged *Sentius* to retire into *Macedon*; and the General, on his arrival, left part of his forces to besiege *Atbens*; while he himself went to attack the *Piræus* (the port of that city) where *Archelaus* had shut himself up.

Atbens was divided into two parts; the one called *Cecropia*, from its founder *Cecrops*; the other *Atbens*, from the Greek * name of *Minerva*, its protectress. They were separated only by a wall, and one common rampart enclosed them. On the west side of the city ran the *Cephisus*; on the east the *Ilissus*. *Phalerum* had been anciently the port of *Atbens*, till the time of *Themistocles*, who, finding a bay near the *Cephisus*, more large and commodious, built there the port *Piræus*. *Pericles* raised walls about it forty cubits high, and of a very extraordinary thickness; and on each side the road, five miles in length, between it and the city, he

^b *Pausanias* (in *Lacon*. c. 23.) ascribes these actions to another of *Mithridates*'s Generals, named *Meatbanes*.

Y. R. 667.
Bef. Chr.
85.
366 Conf.

Cic. in
Brut. c.
89.
App. Mi-
thrid. p.
188.
Id. p. 139.

Plut. in
Sylla.

App. p.
190.

Plut. in
Sylla.

Plin. lvi.
c. 56.
* *Ἀθήνη*.

Cor. Nep.
in Them.
App. Mi-
thrid. p.
190.

built a strong wall. *Athens* had also another port, called *Munychia*, less than the *Piræus*: it was nearer the town, encompassed with the sea, and well fortified.

Sylla, at first, thought to carry the *Piræus* by assault: but being repulsed by *Archelaus*, he retired to *Eleusis* and *Megara*, between *Athens* and *Ceræra*, in order to build towers and engines for carrying on the siege in form. For this work he cut down the sacred woods about *Athens*, and the trees of the fine walks belonging to the academy*, and the *Lyceum*. He demolished the long walls that joined the *Piræus* to the city, and turned them into ramparts, upon which he erected his engines. So great were his preparations, that, for the service of the engines alone, he kept 20,000 mules constantly employed. And, as he wanted large sums of money for carrying on the war, he sent to the council of the *Amphictyons*, or deputies, from the states of *Greece*, then assembled at *Delphi*, and desired they would send him the riches of *Apollo's* temple in that place; adding, that the treasure would be safer with him, or, if he should be obliged to make use of it, he would take care to return the value. To receive this treasure by weight, he sent one of his friends, named *Caphis*, who, being unwilling to violate the holy place, wrote to *Sylla*, that, on his arrival at *Delphi*, the sound of *Apollo's* lyre had been heard from the sanctuary: thinking to terrify the General with an apprehension of the anger of the God. The Proconsul returned answer, that he much wondered *Caphis* had not made the just reflection on what had happened: that music was a sign of joy and not of anger: that therefore he might boldly take away the treasure, and be well assured that the God was kind, and offered it. It was accordingly delivered up to *Caphis*, nor did the inhabitants of *Olympia* and *Epidaureus* dare to refuse him the consecrated treasures in the temples of *Jupiter* and *Æsculapius*.

App. P.
151.

Frontin.
Strabon. l.
1. c. 1. §
57.

Sylla, having finished his works, renewed the siege of the *Piræus*. *Archelaus* neglected nothing that could conduce to the defence of the place, or to the annoyance of the besiegers. Upon the walls he erected moveable towers, equal in height to those used by *Sylla*; sent for a reinforcement of troops from *Chalcis*, and the *Greek* islands; armed the mariners of his fleet; and, in a general sally by night, repulsed the *Romans*, and burnt one of their galleries (they had but two) with all its appurtenances. *Sylla* punished some of the cohorts, which had given ground, by obliging them, in the next engagement, to fight in the van, without shoes, and with their clothes ungirt; and, as for the damage done to the

* The academy was a part of the *Ceræra* which was at the city, from which it was distant about six furlongs. It was the place where *Plato* and his followers held their lectures. *Hipparchus*, the son of *Pisistratus*,

surrounded it with a wall. The *Lyceum* was situate on the banks of the *Ilissus*, and sacred to *Apollo Lycæus*, from whence it had its name. There *Aristotle* and the *Peripateticks* taught.

engines,

engines, it was repaired in ten days time. *Archelaus* therefore made a second eruption upon the works. The attack was brisk, but, by the obstinate resistance of those cohorts, which had recoiled in the last action, and by the singular bravery of *Muræna*, a Legionary Tribune, the *Asiatics* were at length forced to retire, after a loss of near 2000 men. Their General staid so long without the gates, endeavouring to stop the run-aways, that he was shut out, and had been taken prisoner, if the besieged had not expeditiously drawn him up by a cord to the top of the wall.

Winter now came on, which obliged *Sylla* to abate somewhat of his ardour, and retire to *Eleusis*. The siege, however, was continued, and frequent skirmishes happened between the *Romans* and the *Asiatics*.

All this while, *Athens* was so closely shut up, that it could receive no supplies of provisions, and there was a great scarcity in the town. *Ariston*, nevertheless, spent his time in debauchery and feasting with his companions, and is said to have railed from the walls at the Proconsul and his beloved wife *Metella*. *Archelaus* had plenty of every thing in the *Piræus*, because he commanded the harbour; and *Mithridates's* fleet, commanding the seas frequently cut off *Sylla's* provisions. To remedy this evil, the *Roman* sent his Quæstor *Lucullus* with five ships, in the middle of winter, to *Rhodes*, and the east, to get together a fleet. The *Rhodians* durst not put to sea, for fear of meeting with the ships of *Mithridates*: the Quæstor therefore sailed to *Egypt*, to ask assistance of *Ptolemy*; but the King would enter into no alliance with *Sylla*, lest he should thereby draw the war into his own country. *Lucullus*, however, was furnished with a considerable number of ships from the maritime towns of *Syria*.

It has been already mentioned, that *Mithridates* sent his youngest son with an army through *Thrace* into *Macedon*. The young prince, joined by a multitude of *Thracians*, drove out of the last mentioned country, the few *Romans* he found there, subdued it totally, and then marched to oppose *Sylla*; but died on the way, at *Tidæum*. The approach of this army made the Proconsul redouble his efforts to reduce *Athens* and the *Piræus*. *Archelaus* made repeated attempts to supply the city with provisions; but the *Romans* never failed to disappoint him: for they had always timely notice of his designs. Two slaves in the *Piræus*, either out of inclination for the *Romans*, or from a view to their own safety, wrote the resolutions of the besieged on balls of lead, which they threw by slings into the enemies camp. The *Asiatic* General, finding the *Romans* always ready, concluded he was betrayed. To draw the best advantage, therefore, from the treachery, he caused a sally to be made upon the besiegers, at the same time that he sent out a convoy of provisions for *Athens*. The success answered his expectation; *Sylla* became master of the convoy: but the garrison burnt several of the *Roman* engines. The rest of the *Roman* works *Archelaus* endeavoured to destroy by sap, but his purpose being

Y. R. 167. discovered by the tottering of one of the engines, the *Romans* immediately withdrew it, and filled up the hollow. After this example, they fell to digging in their turn, and the pioneers of the two parties frequently met, and fought under ground. At length the besiegers found means to undermine the wall in several places; but supported it with timbers, from which timbers, to the entrance of the mine, they laid a train of sulphur, pitch, and other combustible matter. After this, when they had made a breach above with their battering rams, *Sylla* led his men to the assault, ordering fire to be put to the combustible matter in the mine. Very soon the wall came tumbling down in several places; and, during the consternation of the besieged, the *Romans* lodged themselves in the breaches, and burnt one of *Archelaus's* towers. But he, encouraging his soldiers, and bringing fresh men to succeed those who had given way, made so obstinate a defence, that all the bravery and skill of *Sylla* proved ineffectual to get possession of the place. The *Roman*, after a long attack, sounded a retreat, in order to give his weary troops some repose. The garrison, in the night, built up another wall, not exactly on the foundations of the old one, but in the form of several crescents; the horns projecting towards the enemy. Next day *Sylla* attempted, with all his forces, to destroy this work; imagining it might easily be done, while new and unsettled. However, he met with so warm a reception from the garrison, especially that part of it which defended the horns of the crescents, and galled his flank, that he was forced to give over his enterprize. And being, doubtless, convinced, that it was impracticable to take the *Piræus* with the troops he then had before it, he contented himself with keeping it blocked up on the land-side, and turned his chief efforts against *Athens*; purposing, when he should be master of the city, to bring more forces to the attack of the port.

Plut. in
Sylla.

Dio Cass.
47. V. 16.

Plut. in
Sylla.

The city was already in the utmost distress for want of provisions. *Aristion* alone, and the companions of his tyranny, enjoyed plenty, while the citizens were reduced to feed upon horses, dogs, boiled leather, and the herbs that grew on old walls. The tyrant had even the inhumanity to insult the people in this extremity, to which he himself had brought them. He refused to give a little oil, to supply the sacred lamp which fed the perpetual fire in *Minerva's* temple; and when the high priestess desired of him, in her great indigence, half a bushel of barley, he sent her, in derision, that quantity of pepper. The excessive misery of the *Athenians* constrained them to petition their tyrant, that he would come to an accommodation with the *Romans*. Their Priests and Senators, in a body, went to him with this request, but he insolently caused them to be driven from his presence with blows. However, when at length *Sylla* appeared before the town, *Aristion* seeing no way to escape, was prevailed upon to send a deputation to him. The men he chose for that commission, were two or three of the companions of his debauchery.

These,

These, when admitted by the Proconsul to an audience, instead of making any proposal tending to the preservation of the city, began a pompous harangue in praise of *Theseus* and *Eumolpus*, and the exploits of the *Athenians* against the *Persians*. *Sylla*, tired with their impertinence, bad them be gone with their rhetoric; adding, the *Roman People* have not sent me hither to school, but to punish Rebels.

V. R. 657.
Bel. Cnr.
85.
366 Conf.

During this conference, some old men of the *Athenians* were overheard, in the *Ceramicus* without the city, blaming the tyrant for neglecting to guard a weak part of the wall, opposite to a place, called the *Heptachalchos*. The *Roman General*, being informed of this, went to view the wall; and finding the place accessible in that part, made an assault in the night of the first of *March*, and succeeded.

No sooner was he master of the town, than, by his order, the soldiers put to the sword all the inhabitants that fell in their way; without distinction of sex or age. Such a quantity of blood was spilt in the streets, that it flowed out of the gates. Many of the *Athenians*, believing their native city was going to be destroyed, killed themselves, that they might not survive its ruin. *Aristion* with some of his adherents, retired into the citadel, but it was not long before want of water constrained him to surrender at discretion. The first fury against the *Athenians* being now abated, *Sylla*, at the request of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, two *Athenian* exiles, and of all the *Roman Senators* in his camp, spared the rest of the citizens, saying, that he pardoned the living for the sake of the dead; meaning the great men which *Athens* had produced. Nevertheless, he deprived the *Athenians* of the privileges of chusing their own magistrates, and making laws. He also condemned to death *Aristion*, together with his counsellors, his generals, and all the ministers of his tyranny; but the execution of the tyrant was deferred till another time.

App. Mithrid.
p. 195.
Plut. in Sylla.

The *Piræus* still remained to be reduced. *Sylla* led all his forces against it, and *Archelaus* defended it with his wonted courage, and ability. According to *Florus*, *Sylla* beat down the wall six times, and *Archelaus* as often restored it. Necessity, however, at length, compelled the brave *Asiatic* to abandon the place: and he then retired to the port of *Munychia*. The *Romans* demolished the fortifications of the *Piræus*, and burnt the store-houses, together with the magnificent arsenal built by *Philo*.

App. Mithrid.
p. 196.
Florus, l. iii. c. 5.

Archelaus soon quitted *Munychia*, and went into *Boeotia*, and from thence into *Theffaly*. There he assembled all the *Asiatic* troops that were in *Greece*, and sent for the army of *Archatbius*, now under *Taxiles*, to come and join him. *Taxiles* obeyed, and *Archelaus* took upon him the chief command of all the forces, which consisted of 100,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 90 chariots of war. *Sylla*, from *Attica*, marched into *Boeotia*, to meet the enemy. This he was blamed for, because the vast plains of *Boeotia* were much more convenient for the cavalry and chariots of the barbarians,

App. loc. cit.

Plut. in Sylla.

barbarians, in which their chief strength consisted, than the rough and rocky country about *Athens*. But *Sylla* wanted provisions; and *Attica*, naturally barren, and now ruined by war, could not subsist his army. Besides, he was in anxiety for a body of troops, which, by his order, *Hortensius* was bringing to him from *Thessaly*. *Hortensius*, under the guidance of *Cephis*, escaped the enemy, who endeavoured to intercept him; and, passing over mount *Parnassus*, joined *Sylla* at the foot of it. *Plutarch* says, the proconsular army consisted of no more than 15,000 foot, and 1500 horse. According to *Appian*, it did not amount (auxiliaries included) to a third part of the *Asiatics*. *Sylla* posted himself on an eminence in the middle of the plains of *Elatea*, and in sight of the enemy. *Archelaus*, notwithstanding his superiority of numbers, did not think it prudent to hazard a general action; nevertheless, being prevailed upon by the pressing instances of his officers, he drew out his forces, and offered battle. The *Roman* General would have accepted the challenge; but could neither by remonstrances, nor intreaties, spirit up his men to fight; they were so terrified at the sight of the enormous multitude of the barbarians*. These, on the other hand, despising their enemies, quitted their camp in large companies, without leave of their commander, and went roaming about the country to pillage. *Sylla*, in the mean time, employed his soldiers in the most laborious and difficult works; that he might bring them to demand the fight, rather than submit to such drudgery. After three days, they called out to be led to battle. *Sylla* answered, *You are only weary of labour. If you really desire to fight, arm yourselves immediately, and seize that post*; pointing to a steep rock at the confluence of the *Cephisus* and *Ajissus*. *Archelaus* had already detached a body of his troops to take possession of that rock. The *Romans* obeyed their General, and, by their diligence, prevented the enemy. On this disappointment the *Asiatics* decamped, and marched to *Chæronea*, thinking to surprize it: But *Sylla* again prevented them, and threw into the town a *Roman* Legion, under the command of *Gabinus*. *Archelaus* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Chæronea*, in a place difficult of access, and overlooked by a steep hill, called *Tburium*; where he posted a large detachment. The *Roman* General followed him, and soon after sent off a party of soldiers under the guidance of some *Chæroneans*, to dislodge the enemy from *Tburium*. In the mean time, he drew up his forces in order of battle, and *Archelaus* did the like. While the two armies stood fronting each other, the *Roman* detachment, which by a private road, had mounted unseen to the top of the hill, drove from it the *Asiatics*, who, in their flight, falling in among their own men, put them into disorder. Instantly *Sylla* advanced, and with so much diligence, that he allowed no oppor-

* According to *Appian*, *Archelaus*, so soon as the two armies came near enough to each other, offered battle, and *Sylla* declined it.

tunity, no space, for their chariots to act. Their efforts were so weak, that, according to *Plutarch*, the *Romans*, who had easily repelled them, called out for more, as they used to do at the chariot races in the *Circus*. The historians have left us a very confused description of this battle: the victory they unanimously ascribe to *Sylla*. Of the numerous forces of *Archelaus*, we are told, that only about 10,000 escaped with their General to *Chalcis*; but what is yet more incredible, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Eutropius*, makes the loss on the side of the *Romans* to amount, the first to twelve, the second to thirteen, and the last to fourteen men. It would seem, that *Sylla* invented this fable himself: for in some Memoirs of his, quoted by *Plutarch*, he wrote, that, after the battle, he missed only fourteen of his men, two of whom returned to the camp before night.

In honour of this victory, he celebrated musical games at *Thebes*, and sent to the neighbouring towns for judges to determine to whom the prizes should be given: for such was his hatred to the *Thebans*, that he would admit none of them to be judges; and what doubtless they felt more severely, he took from them half their lands, and allotted the produce to the payment of the money, of which he had robbed the temples of *Jupiter* and *Apollo*.

Scarce were the games over, when he received intelligence, that the Consul *Valerius Flaccus* was crossing the *Ionian* sea with an army, in order to divest him of his authority, and assume the conduct of the war against *Mitridates*. The Proconsul marched directly to oppose him, and in *Thessaly* was joined by some troops, which *Valerius* had sent before him to take possession of that country. Hearing of this defection, the Consul sailed to the *Hellespont*, with a view to pass that way into *Asia*. At the same time *Sylla* turned his arms against *Dorylaeus*, one of *Mitridates's* Generals, who had just entered *Greece* at the head of 80,000 men, and was ravaging *Boeotia* in conjunction with *Archelaus*. The latter endeavoured to dissuade *Dorylaeus* from hazarding a pitched battle with the *Romans*, but with little effect, till some unsuccessful skirmishes convinced him, that his colleague judged rightly. They then retired before the enemy, and encamped near *Orchomenos*, in a vast plain watered by the river *Melas*, which, at a little distance, spreads itself in several muddy marshes covered with reeds. So advantageous a situation induced the *Asiatics* to venture a battle. *Sylla* took measures to render this advantage useless to them. That he might not be surrounded, and that he might secure his wings, he caused several broad trenches^a to be dug in the plain, and at the extremities of these trenches raised little forts to defend the approaches.

^a According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* drew those trenches to enclose the enemy between him and the marshes, so that they might not have

room to employ their numerous cavalry; and their endeavour to hinder the works brought on the battle.

Y. R. 667.
Bef. Chr.
85
366 Conf.

Plut. App.
Lib. Ep.
Lucop.

Plut. in
Sylla.

App. Mi-
thrid.
p. 204.

Plut. in
Sylla.

Frontin.
Stratag. l.
ii. c. 3. §
17.
App. Mi-
thrid.
p. 202.

Y. R. 685. On the day of battle, the *Assians* ranged their chariots in the front; their phalanxes in the second line; the auxiliaries and *Lithian* deserters all armed after the *Roman* manner in the third line; and their light troops in the rear: their numerous cavalry were placed on the wings.

Sylla drew up his infantry in three lines, leaving spaces between the battalions, that the cavalry, which he posted in the rear, might have room to advance to the charge. Before the second line, he caused a great number of stakes to be fixed in the ground, to stop the progress of the chariots; and gave orders to the soldiers of the first line to retire behind those stakes, when the chariots approached. Victory declared for *Sylla*. Having killed 15,000 of the enemy, he pursued them to their camp, and forced it. We hear no more of *Dorylaus*. As for *Archelaus*, we are told, that he hid himself two days, in the marshes, and then found a bark which carried him to *Eubœa*, where he assembled all the *Asiatic* troops, that remained in *Greece*.

Mithridates, in the mean time, by his cruelties in *Asia*, had occasioned *Ephesus*, *Tralles*, and several other cities to revolt from him. Those which he reduced by force, he punished with great severity; but fearing a general defection, he proclaimed liberty to the *Greek* cities, remitted to the debtors the payment of what they owed to their creditors, and gave to all slaves and strangers the freedom of the cities, in which they lived. Hearing of the defeat of his army at *Orchomenos*, he sent orders to *Archelaus* to make peace with *Sylla*, on the best conditions he could obtain. *Archelaus* immediately dispatched a messenger to propose a treaty. *Sylla* very willingly consented; for he had neither ships nor money to carry on the war, and longed impatiently to be in *Italy*, that he might revenge himself upon his enemies, who tyrannized in that country.

Y. R. 685. *Cinna*, without the formality of holding the *Comitia*, had declared himself Consul for the third time, and appointed *Cn. Papirius Carbo* to be his colleague in that office.

The *Asiatic* General knowing these things, proposed, in a conference which ensued, that *Sylla* should leave *Mithridates* in possession of *Asia* and *Pontus*, and return to *Italy*, there to put an end to the civil war, to which end, the king, he said, would supply him with men, money and ships.

On the other hand, *Sylla* advised *Archelaus* to desert *Mithridates*, deliver up his fleet to the *Romans*, and declare himself king in his stead: On which condition he offered him the title of Friend and Ally of the Senate and People of *Rome*. *Archelaus* expressing his detestation of such treachery, *Sylla* replied, *If you, a Capitegian, and the slave, or, if you will, the friend of a barbarian King, refuse, for so great a reward, to commit a base action, how dare you make treasonable proposals to a Roman General—to Sylla? Have you forgot, that you are the same Archelaus who fled from Chæronœa with a handful of men, the remains of 120,000 soldiers? That you afterwards hid yourself two days in the marshes of Orchomenos,*
and

and that Bœotia is now rendered inaccessible by the heaps of your slaughtered troops with which its plains are covered? Archelaus, then changing tone, begged of the Roman to grant peace to Mitbridates. Sylla consenting, these terms were agreed upon.

Y.R. 652.
Bef. Chr.
84.
367 Cons.

The King was to relinquish *Asia* and *Papblagonia*; give up *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*; pay the Romans 2000 talents for the expences of the war, and deliver to them 70 gallies with all their rigging.

On the other hand, Sylla was to confirm *Mitbridates* in the possession of his other dominions, and procure him the title of *Friend and Ally of Rome*.

These articles were sent, without delay to the King of *Pontus*, to be by him ratified. Then Sylla set out for *Macedon*, in his way to the *Hellespont*, and took with him *Archelaus*, who falling sick at *Larissa*, he stopped the march of the army to wait his recovery, expressing the same tender regard for him, as if he had been his colleague, or his intimate friend. He also gave him 10,000 acres of land in *Eubœa*, and honoured him with the title of the *Friend and Ally of Rome*; and though the Proconsul set at liberty all the other prisoners that were friends of *Mitbridates*, yet he put to death *Aristion*, because he was at enmity with *Archelaus*. Such extraordinary kindness to this General raised a suspicion, that he had betrayed the *Asiatics* at the battle of *Chæronea*. *Mitbridates* himself, in a letter to *Arfaces*, king of the *Parthians*, speaking of these times, says expressly, that *Archelaus*, the most unworthy of his servants, had ruined his affairs, by betraying his army. The easy victory which the

Frag. Sal-
lust. l. v.

* *Appian* gives a different account of this conference. According to him, *Archelaus* thus addressed Sylla: "King *Mitbridates*, who inherits his father's friendship for Rome, was compelled to make war against her by the covetousness of other Generals, whom she employed; but now having had experience of your virtue, he sues to you for peace, provided you require nothing but what is equitable."

Sylla answered:

"*Mitbridates* ought first to have sent ambassadors to complain of injuries; but, instead of that, he injuriously invaded the territories of other powers, slaughtered multitudes of people, plundered the public treasuries and the temples, and seized the possessions of the slain. Nor has he acted with more fidelity or moderation, with regard to his own friends, than to us. Many of those he has put to death without cause. And he discovered an in-

"veterate hatred to us, not any necessity of making war, when he exercised all manner of cruelties upon the *Italians* of *Asia*, without distinction of sex or age. Such was the hatred of this hereditary friend of Rome to the Roman name: nor did he think of that friendship, till I had destroyed 160,000 of his men. Equity, therefore, does not demand that we should receive him into an alliance; yet, for your sake, I promise that the Romans shall forgive him, if he sincerely repents. But, if he still dissembles, I advise you, *Archelaus*, to reflect upon the present situation of his affairs, and of your own; and to consider, how he uses to treat his friends, and how we acted towards *Eumenes* and *Masinissa*."

Archelaus, offended at this intimation, replied with heat, "Peace may be concluded upon reasonable terms; I will never betray the forces intrusted to me."

Y.R. 668.
Bef. Chr.
84.
35- Conf

Romans obtained, at *Cbaronea*, over the numerous forces of *Archelaus*, who had fought so bravely in *Asia*, and so stoutly defended the *Piræus*; his giving battle in a place where his troops had not room to act; and *Sylla's* dexterity in corrupting his adversaries with money (an art to which his success in war seems to have been chiefly owing) make the story of *Archelaus's* treachery not improbable^a.

Pto. in
Sylla.

Whilst the Proconsul stayed at *Larissa*, ambassadors from *Mitridates* arrived there, and informed him, that their master approved of all the other articles of the treaty, but would by no means part with *Paphlagonia*, or the seventy galleys demanded. To this *Sylla*, in great anger, *What! Mithridates refuses to give up Paphlagonia and the ships! He, who I thought would have fallen at my feet, and thanked me for leaving him that right-hand, with which he has massacred so many Roman citizens! He'll speak in another tone, when I am in Asia. At present let him sit at Pergamus, and form projects for a war which he has not seen*^b.

The ambassadors, confounded, did not answer a word; but *Archelaus*, taking *Sylla* by the hand, begged of him to moderate his anger. At length he obtained leave to go to the King, promising to return with the ratification of the treaty, or to kill himself in his master's presence.

App. Mi-
thridat.
p. 207.
Pto. in
Sylla.

In the mean time, *Sylla*, to keep the troops in exercise, and enrich them with spoil, turned his arms against the *Medi* and *Dardani*, nations bordering upon *Macedon*: and pillaged their country.

Archelaus, at his return, acquainted the Proconsul, that the peace would be concluded on the terms he had proposed, but that *Mitridates* earnestly desired a conference with him. The reason why the King desired this conference, was to procure the assistance of *Sylla* against *Fimbria*, who made war upon him with great vigour.

App. loc.
cit.
Liv. Epit.
l. lxxxiii.
Dio. Cass.
ap. Val.

Fimbria, a good soldier, but an execrable villain, had (as was before mentioned) been by *Cinna* appointed lieutenant to *Valerius Flaccus*, a man extremely covetous, and disagreeable to the soldiers. The last year, when the army arrived in *Asia*, *Fimbria*, on occasion of a quarrel between him and the Quæstor, was displaced by *Valerius*, and his office given to the Quæstor. *Fimbria* resenting this, stirred up the soldiers to sedition, murdered the General, and put himself at the head of

^a According to *Appian* (*Mitbrid.* p. 214.) the King growing jealous of *Archelaus*, as if, in the treaty of peace, he had yielded too much to *Sylla*, the *Cappadocian*, thereupon, deserted to *Marene* (whom *Sylla* had left at the head of the Roman forces in *Asia*) and persuaded him to renew the war against the King of *Pontus*. *Plutarch* likewise (in *Lucull.*) says, that *Archelaus* deserted to the Romans.

^b The report of the ambassadors, according to *Appian*, was, that *Mitridates* consented to

every thing but the cession of *Paphlagonia*; and they added, "That the King could have obtained better terms from *Fimbria*" [then at the head of the forces, which the *Marian* faction had sent into *Asia* under *Valerius Flaccus*.] *Sylla*, angry at the comparison, answered; "*Fimbria* shall be punished; and when I come into *Asia*, I shall see whether *Mitridates* chuses peace or war." *App. Mitbrid.* p. 207.

the forces. He afterwards defeated in battle one of *Mithridates's* sons, forced the King himself to quit *Pergamus*, and then besieged him in *Pitanes*, a maritime town, whither he had fled. At this time, *Lucullus*, *Sylla's* Quæstor, returning from *Syria* with a fleet, *Fimbria* sent to him, desiring he would block up *Pitanes* by sea, and share the glory of finishing the war, by taking the King of *Pontus* prisoner; a glory which, he said, would far outshine the boasted victories of *Sylla* at *Chæronea* and *Orchomenos*. It is said, that *Lucullus*, either unwilling to act without authority from his General, or to enter into a confederacy with so infamous a man as *Fimbria*, refused to join in the enterprize, and gave the King time to make his escape. Be that as it will, *Mithridates* got safe to *Mitylene* in *Lesbos*.

Y.R. 668.
App. Mithridat.
p. 205.
Plut. in Lucull.

After the King's flight, *Fimbria* ravaged the country at pleasure, committing every where excessive cruelties*. The inhabitants of *Ilium*, fearing the same treatment with their neighbours, surrendered themselves to *Sylla*, by deputies whom they sent to him: whereupon he sent to *Fimbria* not to attempt any thing against that town. *Fimbria*, nevertheless, having, by force or fraud, got admission into the place, put all the inhabitants he met with to the sword, demolished the walls, and burnt the houses. Next day he went round it, to see that nothing was left standing^b. It is also said that he put to death, by torture, the messengers whom *Sylla* had sent to him.

Dio. Cass.
ap. Vales.
App. loc.
cit.
Liv. Epit.
l. lxxxiii.

To reduce this violent outrageous enemy, and to plunder *Asia*, *Sylla* hastened into that country, having first ordered *Lucullus* to sail to the *Hellepont*, thereby to secure the passage of the army. When he had reached *Dardanus*, *Mithridates* arrived there with 200 galleys, and an army of 26,000 men. At the conference which ensued, the King, approaching the Roman Proconsul, held out his hand to him, as a token of friendship. *Sylla*, before he made any return to that civility, asked him, whether he accepted of the peace, on the conditions to which *Archelaus* had agreed. The King making no answer, *Sylla* continued: *It belongs to suppliants to speak; conquerors may be silent, if they please*. Then the King began to justify his own conduct, laying the blame of the war upon the avarice of the Roman Generals, who had deprived him of *Phrygia*, and stirred up *Nicomedes* against him. *Sylla*, at length, interrupting him, said, *I have often heard, Mithridates, that you are very eloquent, but now I am convinced*

Plut. in Sylla.

App. Mithridat.
p. 208.

Plut. in Sylla.

* Dio. Cass. (ap. Vales. 653.) reports, that *Fimbria* having ordered some wretches to be whipped to death, and having observed, on the day of execution, that there were more posts fixed in the ground, than persons condemned, caused some of the spectators to be seized, and whipt at those supernumerary posts, that they might not seem to have

been set up to no purpose.

^b The *Palladium* (says *Appian*) it is thought was found entire among the rubbish. Some chuse rather to believe, that *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* took it away in the time of the Trojan war. The historian calls the *Palladium*, the shrine of *Minerva*.

Y.R. 668. of it by my own experience, since you can give such plausible colours to the
 App. in loc. cit. most unjust and enormous actions. And when he had put the King in mind,
 that the Roman Senate had annulled the bargain made between his father
 and Aquilius about Pbrugia: that Nicomedes complained of his having
 assisted Socrates to invade Bitbynia, and therefore had a right to make
 reprisals; and that Mitbridates should have carried his complaints to the
 Senate, and waited for their answer before he began hostilities: he added,
 App. p. 209. "but, granting you had a right to defend yourself against Nicomedes, what
 "injury had Ariobarzanes done you, that you should divest him of his
 "kingdom? your opposing his restoration, brought upon you this war;
 "a war which you had long before meditated; for you hoped, that,
 "when you had conquered the Romans, you should make yourself master
 "of the whole world, and therefore sought an occasion of quarrel with
 "them. This is undeniably clear from hence, that, before the war
 "began, you made alliances with the Thracians, Scythians, and Sarma-
 "tians, solicited the neighbouring Kings, built a fleet, and provided
 "yourself with pilots and masters of ships; but your designs are dis-
 "covered, chiefly by the time in which they broke out; for when
 "you found that our allies in Italy had revolted from us, you laid hold
 "of that opportunity, attacked Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, the Gallo-
 "greeks, and Papblagonia, and even our province of Asia. Not content
 "with this, you carried your arms into Europe, though, by the decrees
 "of the Senate, the Asiatic Kings were forbid to hold any thing there.
 "You over-ran Macedon, and deprived the Greeks of their liberty: nor
 "did you repent of these actions, till I had delivered Greece and Macedon
 "from your violences, and cut off many thousands of your men. I won-
 "der you now attempt to excuse, what you before asked pardon for, by
 App. p. 210. "Archelaus. Perhaps, you were afraid of me when at a distance, but
 "now, when I am present, imagine I am come to hear a trial, a cause
 "pleaded. The time for trials and pleadings is over: the affair is sub-
 "jected to the determination of war: a war, in which you are the aggres-
 "sor, and we upon the defensive; and, as we have strenuously defended
 "ourselves hitherto, we shall continue to do so to the end." The King,
 terrified at this angry speech, declared, that he ratified the PEACE^b

ON

Confid. sur les Causes, &c. c. 7. ^b Concerning Mitbridates, the ingenious and judicious M. Montesquieu writes thus:
 "Of the many Kings whom the Romans
 "attacked, Mitbridates was the only one
 "who made a courageous defence, and
 "brought them into danger.
 "His dominions were situated most ad-
 "vantageously for a war with Rome, they
 "reached to the inaccessible country of
 "Mount Caucasus, inhabited by a fierce and

"savage people, whom that prince could
 "call to his assistance: from thence they
 "extended along the sea of Pontus, which
 "was covered with his ships, and he was
 "incessantly purchasing new armies of Scy-
 "thians; Asia lay open to his invasions, and
 "he was rich, because the inhabitants of his
 "maritime cities carried on an advantage-
 "ous traffic with nations less industrious than
 "they.

" Pro-

on the conditions settled by Archelaus. Hereupon Sylla embraced him, and made a reconciliation between him and the two kings, *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*. Y.R. 668.

How advantageous soever this treaty was to the Roman General, his soldiers complained, that he had suffered the greatest enemy of the Roman name to depart in peace, loaded with the spoils of *Asia*. Sylla, to justify his conduct, represented to them, that he should not have been strong enough to resist *Mitbridates* and *Fimbria*, had they joined against him. Some days after he marched towards *Fimbria*, who lay encamped under the walls of *Tbyatira* in *Lydia*; and on his arrival in the neighbourhood, sent him a summons to deliver up the command of an army which he held contrary to Law. *Fimbria* answered him sharply, that *his own authority was not very legal*; but his soldiers deserting in great numbers to Sylla, and those who remained with him refusing to take the military oath, he hired a slave to murder Sylla; and this attempt

Plut. in
Sylla.

App. Mi-
thridat.
p. 210.

“ Proscriptions, the custom of which began at this time, had forced several Romans to leave their country. These were received by *Mitbridates* with open arms, and he formed Legions, into which he incorporated those exiles, who proved the best soldiers in his army.

[“ The cities of *Greece* and *Asia*, finding the Roman yoke grow more intolerable every day, reposed their whole confidence in this barbarian king, who invited them to liberty.]

“ On the other side, the Romans, distressed by intestine divisions, and threatened with more imminent dangers, neglected the affairs of *Asia*, and suffered *Mitbridates* to pursue his victories, or take breath after his defeats.

“ Nothing had contributed more to the ruin of most kings, than the manifest desire they shewed for PEACE: by this, they had prevented all other nations from sharing with them in a danger, from which they were so anxious to extricate themselves. But *Mitbridates* immediately made the whole world sensible, that he was an enemy to the Romans, and would be so eternally.” The author, when he penned these last words, had probably in his mind the massacre of the Italians in *Asia*.

Dr. Middleton speaks to the same effect in his *Life of Cicero*.

“ The Italian war was no sooner ended, than another broke out, which, though

“ at a great distance from *Rome*, was one of the most difficult and desperate, in which it ever was engaged, against *Mitbridates*, king of *Pontus*; a martial and powerful prince, of a restless spirit and ambition, with a capacity equal to the greatest designs; who disdaining to see all his hopes blasted by the overbearing power of *Rome*, and confined to the narrow boundary of his hereditary dominion, broke through his barrier at once, and over-ran the Lesser *Asia*, like a torrent, and, in one day, caused eighty thousand Roman Citizens to be massacred in cold blood. His forces were answerable to the vastness of his attempt, and the INEXPIABLE WAR, that he had now declared against the Republic.” Midd. *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 21.

What is here said, by these two excellent writers, concerning the purpose of *Mitbridates*, in massacring so many thousand Italians in cool blood, seems very well founded; that is to say, it was probably the king's intention at the time of his committing that massacre, that the neighbouring states, and all the world, should understand it as his declaration of an INEXPIABLE WAR against the Romans. However, from the ignominious terms of peace to which he submitted by his treaty with Sylla, he soon forfeited all the benefit he could possibly have promised himself from such a declaration.

Y. R. 663. not succeeding, he at last desired an interview with him. The Proconsul sent to him one of his officers, named *Rutilius*. *Fimbria* resented it extremely, that *Sylla* should refuse him a conference, which it was not usual to refuse even to an enemy: however, he asked pardon for what he had done, and made his youth his excuse. *Rutilius* answered, that if he would quit *Asia*, *Sylla* would allow him a safe passage to the sea. To this *Fimbria* replied, that he knew a better way; and then, retiring into a temple in the town, ran himself through with his sword. The wound not proving mortal, he commanded one of his slaves to dispatch him. The slave immediately obeyed, and then killed himself upon his master's body. What soldiers had remained with him, now listed in *Sylla's* army.

Plut. in
Sylla.
App. loc.
cit.

Idem,
p. 212.

Idem,
p. 213.

The Proconsul staid sometime in *Asia*, to settle the government, plunder the inhabitants, amass money for the *Italian* war, and enrich his soldiers. The *Ilienses*, the *Cbians*, the *Rhodians*, the *Lycians*, the people of *Magnesia*, who had all suffered great losses and hardships by *Mitbridates*, were re-established in their liberty, and declared the friends and allies of *Rome*. *Sylla* then published an edict, commanding all the slaves who had been set free by the king of *Pontus* to return to their masters. This edict occasioning great tumults, and some cities revolting, the *Romans* made a prodigious slaughter of the people, both slaves and free, demolished the walls of many towns, and sold all the effects belonging to the inhabitants of many others. Those of *Mitbridates's* party were every where severely punished, especially the *Ephesians*, who had taken from their temples the presents which the *Romans* had dedicated to the Gods. After this, the Proconsul convened at *Ephesus* an assembly of deputies from all the cities of *Asia*. There he represented to them, the kindness of the *Roman* People to the *Asiatics*, in delivering them from the yoke of *Antiochus* the Great, and in declaring them all free, except some nations which they had given to *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, rather as allies than subjects; and he reproached them with their readiness to join *Mitbridates*, and execute his cruel orders. He added, you have been in part punished for these crimes by the king of *Pontus* himself, who exhausted you by rapine and slaughter, deprived you of your lands, cancelled the debts due to you, set your slaves at liberty, placed tyrants in some towns, and gave all sort of encouragement, both by sea and land, to pirates and robbers (from whence you may know, by experience, what patrons you chose to yourselves, in the room of those you renounced) and the authors of these mischiefs have been in part punished by us. Nevertheless, a public punishment must be inflicted for your demerits. But far be it from *Roman* clemency to command impious murders, unmerited confiscations, and to deprive masters of their slaves; barbarous practices, of which my mind abhors the very thought. Regard shall be had to the *Grecian* name, the glory of *Asia*, and our ancient friendship. I shall therefore (and may the Gods prosper it) only fine you

you in a sum to the value of five years tribute, which I now order to be paid, over and above the expences I have been at in this war, and the usual taxes due from the province. I shall settle in just proportions what each city is to advance, and fix a time for payment. All who disobey I shall look upon as enemies.

After this most gracious speech, he sent parties of soldiers into all the towns to collect the several sums required. The people were obliged to borrow money at high interest, and to mortgage their theatres, their gymnasiums, the fortifications of their towns, their walls, and whatever belonged to the public. According to *Plutarch*, the public fine, imposed upon *Asia*, amounted to twenty thousand talents. Besides this, *Sylla* gave up the people to the insolence and covetousness of his soldiers, obliging their hosts to pay to each of them sixteen drachmas a day, and to entertain them and as many of their friends as they should please to invite. Every centurion had fifty drachmas a day allowed him, and two suits of apparel^a.

Nor did the Proconsul defend the *Asiatics* from the pirates, to whom *Mitbridates* had given such encouragement, that they not only infested the seas, but were become terrible to the towns. *Sylla* quietly suffered them, while he was in *Asia*, to take *Jassus*, *Samos*, *Clazomenæ*, *Samothrace*, and to plunder the temple in the last-mentioned place of ornaments to the value of a thousand talents. At length he prepared for his *Italian* expedition; and leaving *Murena* in *Asia*, at the head of that army, which *Fimbria* had lately commanded, he set sail from *Ephesus*, and, the third day, arrived at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleusinian* mysteries.

At *Rome*, *Cinna* and *Carbo* had continued themselves in the Consulship for the new year, and the former had married his daughter to the famous *Julius Cæsar*. On the news of the approach of *Sylla* with a victorious army, a great fleet, and an immense treasure, the Consuls levied soldiers all over *Italy* to a prodigious number, fitted out ships, and collected money and provisions for the impending war. The Proconsul, not daunted at these preparations, wrote a letter to the Senate, wherein he reckoned up all his exploits, from the time of his Quæstorship to that of his Consulship, against the *Numidians*, the *Cimbri*, and the *Italians*; exaggerated his victories over *Mitbridates*, and boasted of the number of nations he had reduced to the obedience of *Rome*: But he gloried in nothing so much, as that his camp had been a sanctuary for the *Roman* Citizens, whom the cruelty of *Cinna* had driven into banishment. He added, that, for a reward of these services to the state, his enemies had prevailed to have him declared an exile, his house demolished, his friends murdered,

^a According to *Salust*, *Sylla*, to gain the affections of his soldiers, first introduced debauchery and drinking among them, and taught them to admire statues and pictures, and to rifle private houses, plunder temples, &c. *Bell. Cat.* c. xi.

and

Y. R. 669.
Bef. Chr.
83.
368 Cons.

Liv. Epit.
lxxxiii.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
l. i. p. 398.

* *Plutarch* says,
the mutiny was occasioned
by a suspicion, that *Cinna* had murdered
Pompey (afterwards surnamed the Great;) that
Cinna, in his flight, was overtaken by a Cen-
turi-
on; that when this man was going to run
him through, he fell on his knees, and offered
him, if he would spare his life, a seal ring,
which was of great value. I do not come,
said the officer, to seal a contract, but to pu-
nish a wicked, and a cruel tyrant; and, at

and his wife and children forced to fly from *Rome* to save their lives: but that he would soon return, and take vengeance, both on his private enemies, and those of the public. The rest of the Citizens, the new as well as the old, he promised not to hurt. The Senate, terrified at this letter, immediately dispatched commissioners, with an earnest request to him to be reconciled to his adversaries, offering him the security of the public faith for the performance of whatever he should demand. At the same time, they forbade the Consuls to make any more levies till an answer could be obtained from him. *Cinna* promised to obey; but no sooner were the commissioners set out for *Rome*, than the Consuls made a progress through *Italy*, enlisted soldiers, and forming different armies to oppose their enemy. Their design was, that the seat of the war should be abroad; and, with this view, they ordered forces to be transported into *Dalmatia*. The first detachment had a safe passage, but the next, meeting with a storm, returned home, and dispersed themselves, giving out every where, that they would not fight against their countrymen. The rest of the army, encouraged by this example, refused to embark for *Dalmatia*. Whereupon *Cinna* assembled them, and by menaces would have compelled them to obey, but they mutinied, and slew him*.

Carbo, by the death of his colleague, remained sole master of the administration, found various pretences to put off the election of a new Consul to the next year. In the mean time, the commissioners who had been sent to *Sylla* returned with an answer to this effect (according to *Appian*) that he would never have any friendship with the actors of such crimes; that if the *Roman* People had an inclination to pardon them, he would not oppose it; but that those would be in the safest condition, who took refuge with him, as he had an army so much at his devotion^b. By which [last] words, says *Appian*, it was plain, he designed to retain his command, and to possess himself of the government*.

Carbo, to keep the *Italians* steady to his cause, would have obliged all the towns and colonies of *Italy* to give hostages for their fidelity. But the Senate hindered the execution of this project. However, by the interest of his party, he got a Law passed, for distributing the freedmen among all the five and thirty tribes, and obtained a decree of the Senate, ordaining that all armies every where should be disbanded.

* *Plutarch* says, the mutiny was occasioned by a suspicion, that *Cinna* had murdered *Pompey* (afterwards surnamed the Great;) that *Cinna*, in his flight, was overtaken by a Centuri-
on; that when this man was going to run him through, he fell on his knees, and offered him, if he would spare his life, a seal ring, which was of great value. I do not come, said the officer, to seal a contract, but to punish a wicked, and a cruel tyrant; and, at

these words, plunged his sword in the Consul's body. *Plut. in Pomp.*

^b The Epitome of *Livy*, l. lxxxiv. (with which *Vell. Pat.* seems to agree) tells us, that *Sylla* offered to submit to the authority of the Senate, on condition, that all who had been banished by the *Marian* faction, and had fled to him, should be restored: and that *Carbo*, and his party, hindered these terms from being accepted.

Sylla paid no regard to this decree. Leaving *Athens*, he marched to *Dyrrachium*, in order to embark there on board a fleet of twelve hundred ship, (1600, according to *Appian*.) Before he set sail, he began, it is said, to fear lest his troops should, on their arrival in *Italy*, disband themselves, and return to their respective homes. But they soon freed him from his apprehensions; for, of their own accord, they took a new oath of fidelity to him; nay, thinking that he wanted money, they made a contribution among themselves, and offered it to him: but he declined their present.

It was in the Consulship of *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Junius Norbanus*, that *Sylla* landed at *Brundisium*, with an army of five Roman legions, and six thousand horse, beside the *Macedonian* and *Peloponnesian* auxiliaries, in all 60,000 men^d. By *Sylla's* account, as given by *Plutarch*, the *Marian* faction had on foot 450^e cohorts of good troops, commanded by fifteen Generals. *Appian* says, their forces, at this time, amounted to 200 cohorts of 500 men each, but that afterwards they were increased. He adds, that the People favoured the Consuls much more than *Sylla*, because he seemed the aggressor, invading his country in a hostile manner; whereas the Consuls, though they had in reality only their own interest at heart, yet pretended a view to the public good. Besides, the People, conscious of being themselves equally transgressors, took up arms out of fear, knowing, that *Sylla* would not be satisfied with chastising them, but was meditating ravages, slaughter, and destruction. Thus far *Appian*. But if we may believe *Vell. Paternulus*, all the best men flocked to *Sylla's* army. Among these, it seems, was *Cethegus*, who had been a great enemy to the Proconsul, and had by him been driven out of *Rome*, when *Cinna* was expelled. *Verres* also, so well known by *Cicero's* pleadings against him, quitted *Carbo*, to whom he had been Quæstor in *Gaul* the last year, carried off the public money with him, and took refuge with *Sylla*, that he might not be obliged to pass his accounts. The Proconsul, says *Cicero*, would not trust him as a friend, but removed him from the army, and placed him at *Beneventum*, where he could do no hurt, being narrowly watched by persons steady to the cause: yet *Sylla*, afterwards, rewarded him, as a traitor, liberally with the estates of some of the inhabitants of that town, whom he proscribed. *Metellus Pius*, *Crassus*, and *Pompey* (the son of *Pompeius Strabo* formerly mentioned,) likewise repaired to *Sylla's* camp. *Metellus*, since his flight from *Rome*, when *Marius* and *Cinna* entered the city, had endeavoured to kindle a war in *Africa*, but had been driven from thence by *Fabius*, Prætor of that province. *Crassus*, on the death of *Cinna*, had raised some forces in *Spain*, transported them into *Africa*,

^d *Vell. Pat.* (l. ii. c. 24.) says, that *Sylla's* army amounted to no more than 30,000 men.

^e *Vell. Pat.* (loc. cit.) tells us, that the *Marian* army consisted of above 200,000 men.

Y. R. 669.

App. de. Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 393. Plut. in Sylla.

Y. R. 670. Bef. Chr. 82. 369 Conf.

App. loc. cit.

App. p. 400.

App. p. 399.

Cic. in Ver. l. c. 12, & seq.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiv. Plut. in Crass.

Y.R. 670.

Vell. Pat.

l. ii. c. 29.

Liv. Epit.

l. lxxxv.

Plut. in

Pomp.

App. p.

399.

Plut. in
Sylla.App. P.
402.

Vell. Pat.

l. ii. c. 25.

Plut. in
Sylla.App. loc.
ciii.

and joined *Metellus*: but, soon quarrelling with him, he left that country, and went to *Sylla*. *Pompey* (afterwards surnamed the Great) was, at this time, about twenty-three years of age. Having, by his credit in the country of *Picenum*, raised three legions, he led them to *Sylla*, and, in his march, defeated *Brutus*, one of the chiefs of the *Marian* faction, who opposed his passage. On his arrival, *Sylla* rose up to receive him (a civility which he paid to none of the other Generals,) and saluted him by the title of Imperator.

Sylla, advancing into the country, fought a battle with the Consul *Norbanus*, at *Canusium*, vanquished him, and slew seven thousand of his men⁵. The Proconsul lost only seventy soldiers on this occasion, or as some say, an hundred and twenty-four; and, if we believe *Plutarch*, he obtained this victory merely by the courage of his troops, for he led them to the attack without forming them into any order. *Norbanus* shut himself up in *Capua*; and the other Consul, *L. Scipio*, marched to oppose the enemy. As he was more solicitous to bring about a peace than to carry on the war, *Sylla*, who knew his disposition, sent him some overtures, which he very willingly listened to: but the Proconsul found various pretences to put off the conclusion of the affair. During this negociation, his soldiers, long practised in wiles and cunning, under so artful a master, corrupted many in *Scipio*'s army by bribes, promises and flattery. At length, all the Consul's troops deserted him, and went over in a body to *Sylla*⁶. *Scipio* was taken prisoner in his tent, together with his son; but the Proconsul, after having in vain endeavoured to engage them into his party, set them both at liberty: so different, says *Velleius*, was *Sylla*, when carrying on the war, from the same *Sylla*, when he had finished it. On the news of this desertion, *Norbanus* is reported to have said, that, in *Sylla*, he had to fight against a Lion and a Fox; but that the Fox was the most dangerous enemy. To him likewise the Proconsul sent deputies to treat of peace; but *Norbanus*, dreading the fate of his colleague, would not so much as return an answer. Hereupon, *Sylla* decamped, and drew nearer to *Rome*, ravaging the country in his march. *Norbanus* directed his course to the same city,

⁵ According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* advanced to meet *Pompey*, and alighted from his horse, as soon as he came up to him.

⁶ In the Epitome of *Livy*, we are told, that, before this battle, *Sylla* sent deputies to *Norbanus* to treat of peace; and that the latter offered violence to them. *Appian* says, that *Sylla* sent deputies to *Norbanus* some time after the battle. Both stories can hardly be true.

⁷ *Appian* reports, that, during the truce,

Sertorius, who had been sent by *Scipio* to consult with *Norbanus* about the articles of peace, seized upon *Suessa* in his way: that, *Sylla* looking upon this step as an infraction of the truce, *Scipio*, either conscious of the fact, or not knowing what answer to make, restored to the Proconsul the hostages he had given in the beginning of the treaty; and that the Consul's army, offended both at the taking of *Suessa*, and the returning of the hostages, deserted to *Sylla*.

but

but by a different route. *Carbo*, the last year's Consul, entered it before either of them, and obtained of the Senate and People a decree, declaring *Metellus*, and all the Senators who had joined *Sylla*, enemies to the State.

Y. R. 670.
Bef. Chr.
82.
369 Conf.

About this time, the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was burnt down in the night. Some said, it was set on fire by *Carbo's* order: some suspecting the Consul; others *Sylla*. This last, in his Memoirs, wrote, that a slave had told him, that if he did not hasten to *Rome*, the Capitol would be burnt, and had named the day when it should happen, which was the sixth of *July*.

Plut. in
Sylla.

The rest of the summer was spent by both parties in recruiting their armies. Multitudes flocked daily to the Consuls, from all parts of *Italy* and *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Sylla*, on the other hand, dispersed emissaries up and down the country, to bring over people to his interest by bribes, promises, and threats; and, that the *Italians* might have no reason to fear him, he entered into a league with them, promising to continue to them their right of *Roman* citizenship. *Sertorius*, seeing the incapacity of the leaders of the *Marian* faction, and losing all hope of preserving *Italy*, after the desertion of *Scipio's* army, had passed into *Spain*; there to assemble troops, and maintain the war against *Sylla* and his adherents.

Liv. Epit.
l. lxxxvi.
Plut. in
Sertor.

At the next election of Consuls, *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, for the third time, and *C. Marius*, the son of the great *Marius*, were appointed to that office.

Y. R. 671.
Bef. Chr.
81.
370 Conf.

Marius, at the head of eighty-five cohorts, fought an obstinate battle with *Sylla*, at *Sacriportus*, not far from *Præneste*: but five cohorts of foot, and two troops of horse, in the heat of the action, going over to the Proconsul, the *Marrians* were routed with great slaughter. *Sylla's* Memoirs, so often mentioned, say, that he killed 20,000 of the enemy, and took 8000 prisoners, with the loss of only twenty-three of his own men^k. Of the prisoners, all that were *Samnites* he ordered to be slain,

Plut. in
Sylla.
App. de
Bell. Civ.
p. 403.

as

ⁱ *Appian* calls this *Marius*, the nephew of the other *Marius*. *Florus* (b. iii. c. 21.) says, he was the brother of *Marius*, meaning *Marcus*, or, according to *Pliny*, (l. xxxiv. c. 6.) *Caius Marius Gratidianus*, whom *Catiline*, by *Sylla's* order, murdered at the tomb of *Catulus*; and whose father (says *Cicero* in *Brut.* c. 45.) was *M. Gratidius*, the sister of whom was *Cicero's* grandmother. *Cic. de Leg.* l. iii. c. 16. *Pighius* (vol. III. p. 191, and 252.) thinks, that both *Marcus* and *Caius* were not adopted sons of the great *Marius*, a thing the very probable. That *M. Marius Gratidianus*, the son of *M. Gratidius*, was adopted by some

Marius or other, seems plain from his name: but the Capitoline Tables, the Epitome of *Livy*, *Pliny* (l. xxxiii. c. 1.) *Valleius Paterculus*, *Dio Cassius*, *Plutarch*, *Auct. de Vir. Illust.* and *Entropius*, call the Consul of this year, *C. Marius*, the son of *Marius*, without mentioning adoption. The Consul, according to the Epitome of *Livy*, was at this time but twenty years of age; the author *de Vir. Illust.* says twenty-five; *Vell. Pat.* twenty-six; and *Appian* twenty-seven.

^k If we believe *Plutarch*, a dream, which *Sylla* had, made him very eager to fight this battle; but his men were so fatigued with endeavouring

Y. R. 671.
Bef. Chr.
81.
170 Conf.

App. p.
404-
Cic. Ep.
Fam. l. ix.
Ep. 21.

Dio Caff.
ap. Valcf.
p. 654-

App. p.
404-

Idem, p.
405-

as perpetual enemies to the *Romans*. *Marius* escaped with the remains of his army to *Præneste*, which *Sylla* soon after blocked up.

About the same time *Metellus* defeated another army of the *Marians*, the victory being facilitated by the desertion of some of their cohorts during the battle. Young *Marius*, seeing his affairs desperate, and being eager to revenge himself upon his enemies, sent orders to *Brutus Damasippus*, the Prætor of *Rome*, to assemble the Senate upon some pretence, and put to death *L. Domitius*, *P. Antistius* (*Pompey's* father-in-law,) *Mucius Scævola*, the Pontifex Maximus, and *C. Carbo*, a relation of the Consul, and, according to *Cicero*, the only good man of the family. This cruel^k order was punctually executed, and, according to the custom then established at *Rome*, the bodies of the slain were thrown into the river.

Sylla, proposing to march to *Rome*, left the blockade of *Præneste* to the care of *Lucretius Ofella*, an obscure man: for the Proconsul, if we may credit *Dio Cassius*, being now almost sure of the victory, began to neglect the Nobles, who had hitherto done him singular service, and to put his chief confidence in men of low birth and no virtue, as knowing, that these would be ready instruments of his wicked purposes, and that they would not arrogate to themselves the glory of any exploit by him performed. On his approach towards the Capitol, those of the *Marian* faction fled from it. The inhabitants, famished with hunger, immediately opened their gates to him, and he, as soon as he was master of the city, confiscated the effects of *Marius's* followers. Then, assembling the People, he told them, that the wickedness of his enemies had forced him upon those measures, and exhorted the citizens to take courage, for that, in a short time, they would see an end of their miseries, and the commonwealth settled upon a good footing. Having ordered all matters in the city, according to the present exigence, and left a guard there, he marched to *Clusium*, where he fought a battle with the Consul *Carbo*: it lasted the whole day, and night put an end to it before victory had declared on either side^l. After this, *Carbo* having sent eight legions under the command of *Marcus* to relieve *Præneste*, *Pompey* laid an ambuscade for those troops, and with great slaughter forced them to retire to an eminence, where he surrounded them: and, though *Marcus* brought them off in the night, yet, they thinking they

endeavouring to favour the junction of a part of their forces with the main army, that they lay down upon the ground to rest themselves; and *Sylla* was prevailed upon not to offer battle. But *Marius* marching up boldly to the entrenchments, *Sylla's* soldiers, in a passion, sallied out upon their enemies, and routed them at the first shock. *Festus*, and some other authors, wrote, that *Marius*, exhausted with fatigue, fell so fast asleep under

a tree, that he did not hear the noise of the battle, and could scarce be waked by the flight of his troops.

^k The Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxxxvi.) places this order before the battle of *Præneste*, and adds, that the Prætor murdered all the Nobles that were in *Rome*.

^l The Epitome of *Livy*, l. lxxxviii. gives the victory to *Sylla*.

had

had been defeated through his fault, the greater part of them disbanded themselves, so that he returned to *Carbo* with only seven cohorts. Y. R. 671.

About the same time, this Consul, in conjunction with *Norbanus*, attacked *Metellus's* camp at *Faventia*, in the evening, but without success. App. p. 406. Ten thousand of their men were killed, 6000 surrendered themselves to the enemy, and the rest were dispersed in such a manner, that only a thousand men retired, with their commanders, to *Arretium*. On the news of this defeat, a legion of *Lucanians*, under *Albinovanus*, deserted their leader, and went over to *Metellus*. *Albinovanus* returned to his General *Norbanus* at *Arretium*, but it was only, the more infamously, to betray him. For, soon after, being bribed by *Sylla*, he invited to an entertainment *Norbanus*, his lieutenants *Apustius* and *Fimbria* (brother of that *Fimbria* who had killed himself in *Asia*,) and all the chiefs of the *Marian* party then in the town, and caused every one of them to be murdered, except *Norbanus*, who did not come to the entertainment. The assassin made his escape to *Sylla*, to whom *Ariminum*, about this time, revolted, and some *Marian* armies, in that neighbourhood, deserted. After so many misfortunes, *Norbanus*, apprehending that none of his people would be steady to him, embarked on board a small vessel, and sailed to *Rhodes*. *Sylla* sent to demand him, and, while the *Rhodians* were deliberating, whether they should give him up, he killed himself in the middle of the Forum.

Carbo, notwithstanding these disasters, made several attempts to relieve *Præneste*, but without success. A detachment of his army was routed at *Placentia*, by *Lucullus*, one of *Sylla's* lieutenants; and all *Cisalpine Gaul* submitted to *Metellus*. Hereupon, *Carbo*, though he had 30,000 men at *Clusium*, two legions under *Damasippus*, and two more, commanded by *Marcus* and *Carinas*, besides a powerful army of *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, yet abandoned *Italy*, and passed into *Africa*. After his departure, his troops at *Clusium* were entirely defeated by *Pompey*, and 20,000 of them cut off. Idem, p. 407.

Some time before this, *Pontius Telesinus*, a *Samnite*, and *M. Lamponius*, a *Lucanian*, had levied 40,000 men in those countries, and attempted to raise the blockade of *Præneste*. According to *Appian*, they were now joined by *Damasippus*, *Marcus*, and *Carinas*, with the troops under their command. But, fearing to be hemmed in between the armies of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, who were advancing, with great expedition, to attack them in front and rear, *Telesinus*, an able general, and a brave man, disappointed their purpose; he decamped in the night, and marched directly to *Rome*. On his arrival there, the terror was no less than when *Hannibal* appeared before the gates. Yet the *Roman* youth marched out boldly, and attacked the enemy, but were repulsed with loss. In the mean time, a body of horse, detached by *Sylla*, came opportunely to Plut. in Sylla. Vell. Pat. l. iii. c. 27. App. loc. cit.

^a *Vell. Pat.* and *Plutarch* make no mention of the *Samnites* being joined by any *Roman* troops.

Y. R. 671.
Bef. Chr.
81.
370 Conf.

the assistance of the citizens, and the General himself, with all his army, approached soon after. His troops were fatigued with their march, which some of his officers observing, and considering, that they were to fight with *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, endeavoured to persuade him to defer the engagement. He, nevertheless, ordered the trumpets to sound a charge. On the other hand, *Pontius Telestinus*, an implacable enemy of the *Roman* name, walking through the ranks of his army, cried out, "The last day of *Rome* is come. The city must be razed to the ground. Wolves will never be wanting to prey upon the liberties of *Italy*, till the wood in which they shelter themselves is cut down." The day was far spent before the battle began, which, it would seem, lasted the whole night, with great obstinacy on both sides. *Sylla's* left wing, in which he commanded in person against *Telestinus*, was entirely routed; and he himself was in imminent danger of being killed by two men, who, at the same instant, threw their darts at him; he escaped by his groom's opportunely striking his horse. It is said, that when he saw his men give ground, he took out of his bosom a little image of *Apollo*, which he had stolen from the temple of *Delpbi*, and had ever since carried about him when engaged in war. Kissing it with great devotion, he expostulated with the God for having brought him to perish dishonourably with his countrymen, at the gates of his native city, after having raised him, by many victories, to such a height of glory and greatness. Then throwing himself among his troops, he endeavoured, by intreaties and threats, to make them face the enemy. All was to no purpose. They were routed with great slaughter, and, in their flight* to the camp, hurried him along with them. There, when it was very late in the night, messengers came to him from *Crassus* (who had commanded the right wing,) with the good news, that he had defeated the left wing of the enemy, and pursued them to *Antenna*, where he kept them blocked up.

Most of the *Samnites* and *Lucanians* fell that night in battle, and, among the rest, *Pontius Telestinus*, who was found the next day with a countenance, says *Velleius*, which more resembled that of a conqueror, than of a dead man.

As soon as it was light, *Sylla* marched to join the forces at *Antenna*. Three thousand of the enemy sent deputies to him, asking pardon, and offering to submit. He answered, that he would spare their lives, if they would do some signal mischief to the rest of his enemies. Whereupon,

* According to *Appian*, they fled to *Rome* with the *Samnites* at their heels, and the *Romans*, fearing lest the enemy should enter the town, let fall the *Portcullus*; so that *Sylla's* men, urged by fear and necessity, returned to the fight, and obtained the victory. But since

Sylla came last before the city, we must suppose, that the enemy was between it and him, and, consequently, that his troops could not fly thither. By the same author's account, the loss on both sides amounted to 50,000 men, and 8000 were taken prisoners.

those wretches turned their swords against their companions, killed a great number of them, and then surrendered themselves to the Proconsul. Y. R. 671.

The enemy being entirely dispersed, *Sylla* sent the heads of *Pontius* App. p. 408. *Telefinus*, *Marcus*, and *Carinas*, (the two last having been taken in their flight) to *Lucretius Ofella*, at *Præneste*, with orders to have them carried round the walls of the town. On the news of *Sylla*'s victory, and of the flight of *Norbanus* and *Carbo*, and of the conqueror's being master in *Rome*, the inhabitants of *Præneste*, in despair of relief, opened their gates to *Lucretius*. *Marius*, in attempting to make his escape through some subterraneous passages, was slain by those who guarded him. Some say, he fell by his own hand: others, that he and the younger brother of *Pontius Telefinus* fought together, and that *Telefinus* being killed, and *Marius* wounded, the latter caused his slave to dispatch him. *Lucretius* Liv. Epit. l. xxxviii. App. p. 408. sent his head to the Proconsul, who, on seeing it, is reported to have said, that the young man ought to have learned to use the oar, before he attempted to manage the helm. Yet *Velleius* thinks, that *Sylla* had a high opinion of *Marius*'s talents, because, upon his death, he immediately assumed the name of Felix, or the Fortunate, a name which, in the opinion of the same author, he would have been most justly entitled to, had his life ended with his victories. *Plutarch* seems to doubt, whether *Sylla*'s prosperity and power did really change his disposition, or only discover his natural wickedness. It is, however, agreed, that no man ever made a more cruel use of victory. The *Romans* soon had an instance of the coolness with which he could perpetrate murders. The 3000 men, formerly mentioned, who, after massacring many of their companions, had surrendered themselves to him upon promise of their lives, he caused to be shut up in a public place, together with some other prisoners, (the whole number amounting to 6 or 8000) on pretence of enlisting them in the Legions. He then assembled the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*, which was hard by; and while he was making a speech to the Conscrip- Plut. in Sylla. Fathers, his soldiers, according to their instructions, began to massacre the wretches he had shut up. Their cries and lamentations greatly terrified the Senators. *Sylla*, without altering his countenance, said to them "Mind what I am saying, Conscrip Fathers; 'tis nothing but a few seditious men whom I have ordered to be punished." Plut. loc. cit. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxviii. Dio Cass. ap. Val. p. 657.

After this, he filled *Rome* with slaughter, sparing none of the adverse party; nay, his friends, without regard to party, murdered, with his connivance, their own private enemies; and all were such, whose birth or fortunes they envied. In the general consternation caused by these murders, *Q. Catulus* had the courage to say to the Proconsul, "With whom do we propose to live, if, in war, we kill all who are in arms, and, in peace, all who are unarmed?" and *C. Metellus* asked him in the Senate-house, "What end there was to be to these calamities?" He added, "We do not petition you to spare such as you have determined to destroy, but to
" quiet

Senec. de Clement. l. i. c. 12. Plut. in Sylla. Oros. l. v. c. 21. Plut. in Sylla.

Y. R. 671. "quiet the apprehensions of those whom you intend to save." *Sylla* answered, "That he was not yet certain, whom he should leave alive." Then *Metellus* (or, according to others, one *Aufidius*) desired him to let them know, who they were whom he had determined to punish. *Sylla* promised he would, and, on the morrow, caused to be fixed up in a public place an edict with a list of the names of eighty* persons, whom he doomed to death. This method of condemnation was called PROSCRIPTION; a method of which *Sylla* was the inventor. By the edict, it was made capital to entertain or save any of the proscribed. A reward of two talents was offered for each head; even a slave was entitled to it for killing his master, and a son for murdering his father. The estates and effects of the condemned were confiscated, and their children and grandchildren declared incapable of holding any office in the state. *Sylla*, says *Sallust*, was the first among men, who appointed punishment for people yet unborn, and prepared injuries for those whose life was yet uncertain.

The day after the first Proscription, *Sylla* published a new list of 220 Persons whom he condemned, and the next day a like number. In an assembly of the People, he told them he had proscribed all he could think of, and that those whom he had now forgot, he would proscribe hereafter; and concluded with saying, that if the People were obedient to him, he would change their condition for the better; but as to his enemies, he would spare none of them. After this speech, he proscribed, according to *Appian*, forty Senators and 1600 Knights. The whole number of the Proscribed amounted, according to *Val. Max.* to 4700; he adds, that *Sylla*, as if he gloried in his cruelty, caused their names to be entered in the public registers; but, probably, this was done, that it might be known, in future times, whose descendants stood excluded from offices. Whatever was the number of the proscribed, that of the slain seems much to have exceeded *Valerius's* account. And (if we may believe *Dio Cassius*) when *Mithridates* ordered all the *Italians* in *Asia* to be murdered, there did not perish near so many of that nation, nor by such cruel deaths, as in consequence of *Sylla's* edicts. Nor did the tyrant confine his cruelty to *Rome*. His assassins roamed over all *Italy*, every where searching out the favourers of the *Marian* faction. It was a crime, not only to have borne arms against *Sylla*, but to have given even the least assistance to his enemies, to have been in friendship with them, to have lent them money, nay, to have travelled in company with any of them. The weight of the storm fell chiefly upon the rich, more people being murdered for their estates, than on account of party, or private revenge. Nor did *Sylla* cease his Proscriptions, till he had enriched all his friends and followers. He became

* According to *Orosius*, this first Proscription was before the surrendry of *Præneste*, or the death of *Norbatus*: for *Marinus* and

Norbatus, *Carbo*, and *Scipio*, were among the proscribed.

the protector of all villains. Among these were *Oppiancius* and *Catiline*. The former, a *Roman* knight of *Larinum* in *Apulia*, having privately caused his wife's brother to be assassinated, that his own son might inherit the whole of his grandmother's estate, and being threatened with a prosecution by the relations of the deceased, he first took refuge in the camp of *Metellus*; and when afterwards he had procured a commission from *Sylla*, he returned to *Larinum* with a party of soldiers, and under cover of the proscription murdered all who had threatened to bring him to trial. *Catiline* had formerly murdered his own brother, and now obtained of the Proconsul, that his brother's name should be inserted among the proscribed, as if he had been still living. In return for this favour, *Catiline* undertook the punishment of *M. Marius Gratidianus*, a man who had been twice Prætor, and so great a favourite with the *Roman* People, for his having promulgated a Law against the adulteration of the coin, that they erected statues to him in all quarters of the City, and offered incense before them. *Catiline* caused *Gratidianus* to be whipped through the town, then dragged to the tomb of *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, where his legs and arms were broke, his eyes put out, and his hands and ears cut off; and when he had been tortured in every member, *Catiline* himself cut off his head, while he was yet alive, and, having carried it to *Sylla* in the Forum, went and washed his bloody hands in the lustral water, that was at the door of *Apollo's* temple. *M. Platorius*, a Senator, was put to death for fainting away at the execution of *Gratidianus*.

In the great danger of the proscribed was *C. Julius Cæsar*. His aunt had been married to the elder *Marius*, and he himself was son-in-law to *Cinna*. All *Sylla's* authority could not prevail with him to divorce his wife; he was therefore degraded from the office of *Flamen Dialis*, deprived of his patrimony, and forced to abscond to save his life. At length, the vestal virgins, and several of the chief men of *Rome*, earnestly intreating, that he might be spared, *Sylla* answered, "You have prevailed; but know that he, whom you so eagerly wish to save, will one day prove the ruin of the party, which you and I have been defending. You have no penetration, if, in that boy, you do not see many *Marius's*."

The tyrant not contented with proscribing particular persons, extended his revenge to whole towns and nations. *Spoletum*, *Interamna*, *Florentia*, *Sulmo*, and *Præneste*, were razed to the ground, most of the inhabitants massacred, and their effects sold. All the *Samnites* he put to death, or banished *Italy*, alledging that, while they remained united, the *Romans* would never have peace; so that, in *Strabo's* days, all their towns were either in ruins, or dwindled into villages.

All *Italy* now submitted to the conqueror, except *Nola* and *Volaterræ*; but the *Marian* faction had still leaders in the provinces. *Sertorius* had assembled an army in *Spain*; *Perperna* prepared to defend *Sicily*, and the

Y. R. 671.
Bef. Chr.
81.
370 Conf.

Cic. pro
Cluent.
vii. & viii.

Ascon. in
Tog. cand.
Cic. de
Offic. l. iii.

c. 20.
Plin.
l. xxxiii.

c. 9.
Liv. Epit.
l. lxxxviii.

Senec. de
Ira, l. iii.
c. 18.

Flor. l. iii.
c. 21.

Plut. in
Sylla.
Cic. de Pet.

Consul.
Val. Max.
l. ix. c. 2.

§ 1.
Vell. Pat.
l. ii. c. 41.

Sueton. in
Jul. c. i.

App.
P. 410.
Flor. iii.
21.

Strab. l. v.
P. 249.

Y. R. 671. Consul *Carbo* and *Domitius* (*Cinna's* son-in-law) were in *Africa*. *Pompey*, in virtue of a commission from *Sylla*, passed with an army into *Sicily*, whereupon *Perperna* abandoned the island. Soon after *Carbo*, who had left *Africa* to go into *Sicily*, stopped at *Cossura*, and from thence sent *M. Brutus* to *Lilybæum*, to learn whether *Pompey* was there. *Brutus's* vessel being surrounded by some of the enemy's ships, he slew himself, that he might not fall into the enemy's hands; and *Pompey*, having dispatched some vessels in pursuit of *Carbo*, took him prisoner, with all his attendants. These he caused to be slain, without suffering them to come into his presence, but the Consul to be brought in chains before his Tribunal; and when from thence he had reproached him in a long and bitter invective, commanded him to be led to execution. [*Pompey* has been censured, with some severity, for his treatment of *Carbo*, a man who had been thrice Consul, and had warmly patronized him, when all the effects of his father, *Pompeius Strabo*, were, after his death, going to be confiscated, for his having embezzled the public money.]

Plut. in
Pom.

Liv. Epit.
l. lxxxix.

App.
p. 410.

Val. Max.
l. v. c. 3.
§ 5.
App. de
Bell. Civ.
p. 411,
412.

Both the Consuls being dead, and the time for the election of new Magistrates approaching, *Sylla* left *Rome*, and went to his camp, from whence, by a message to the Senate, he signified his desire, that they would name an *Inter-rex*. The Fathers pitched upon *Valerius Flaccus*, hoping that he would hold the Comitia for an election of Consuls: but *Sylla* wrote to *Valerius*, advising him to propose to the PEOPLE the creating a DICTATOR, who should hold that office, *not for any fixed term, but till the affairs of Rome, Italy, and the whole empire, that were in great disorder through the late wars, should be entirely settled*. At the bottom of the letter he added, that, *with their approbation, he would burden himself with the care of doing the Republic that service*.

Plut. in
Sylla.
Cic. 3. in
Rul. c. 2.

Valerius, having convened the People, proposed and passed a Law, which not only constituted *Sylla* DICTATOR *for an unlimited time*^a, but likewise ratified every thing he had hitherto done, and gave him a full and uncontrollable power^b over the lives and fortunes of his Fellow-citizens: "A Law (says *Cicero*) the most iniquitous that ever was made, and the most unlike a Law:" and indeed it is harder to conceive how a Law, so contrary to the very essence of civil society, should ever be proposed, than that it should pass, at this juncture, without opposition.

^a There had been no DICTATOR in the Republic during the last 120 years: and this is the first instance of a DICTATOR created by the PEOPLE, or for an indeterminate time: The People had once, indeed, in a time of great distress, during the second Punic War, created a PRO-DICTATOR, but without giving him the power of naming his General of the force. See Vol. II.

^b *Legem interrex noster tulit, ut Dictator quem vellet civium, indicâ causâ, impune posset occidere. 1 de Leg. 3287. Omnium legum iniquissimam dissimillimamque legis esse arbitror eam, quam Lucius Flaccus interrex de Sylla tulit, ut omnia quæcunque ille fecisset essent rata. Nam cum cæteris in civitatibus, Tyrannis institutis, Leges omnes extinguantur atque tollantur, hic Reip. Tyrannum Leges constituit. Cic. in Rul. iii. 2.*

T H E

Roman History.

E I G H T H B O O K.

From the Year 671, when SYLLA was created *Perpetual*
DICTATOR, to the Commencement of the FIRST
TRIUMVIRATE, formed in the end of 693.

C H A P. I.

The Laws and Institutions of SYLLA, when DICTATOR. POMPEY's successes in Africa : For which he obtains a Triumph at his return to Rome. SYLLA abdicates the DICTATORSHIP in 674, and dies in 675.

SYLLA, having rewarded *Valerius*, the *Inter-rex*, with the office of *General of the horse*, came into the Forum, attended by *four and twenty* Appian. *Lictors*; in whose *Fasces*, to the great terror of the City, appeared the *axes*, which were never seen in the *Consular Fasces*, within the walls of *Rome*. Beside these *Lictors*, he had for his guard, a numerous band of *Ruffians*, ever ready to execute his commands; and that all this was not merely *in terrorem* became quickly manifest.

To preserve somewhat of the old form of the Commonwealth, it was the pleasure of the Dictator, that *Consuls*, *Prætors*, and other *Magistrates*, Plut. in Sylla. should be elected as usual. *Lucretius Ofella*, who had lately reduced *Præneste*, Liv. E. it. l. lxxxix. presented himself a candidate for the *Consulship*. The Dictator Appian. forbade him to stand: Nevertheless *Ofella*, having interest with the People, and many friends among the Great, and having recently done the cause of *Sylla's* party so considerable a service, imagined he might safely disregard

Y.R. 671. disregard the prohibition. He persisted therefore, to solicit the voters. The DICTATOR, from his Tribunal, observing it, sent to him a centurion, who killed him upon the spot. A tumult, an uproar^a ensued; the assassin was seized, and brought prisoner to the foot of the Tribunal; *Let him go*, said the DICTATOR, *he has only obeyed my orders*. After this, he caused *M. Tullius Decula*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, to be elected Consuls. The government of *Italy* fell by lot to *Decula*, that of *Macedonia* to his colleague.

Y.R. 672.
Bel. Chr.
80.
371 Conf.

Val. Max.
l. xi. viii.

Plut. in
Sylla. 473.

Appian.
p. 414.

Plut.

After these elections, towards the end of *January*, the DICTATOR made his *Triumphal* entry into *Rome*, on account of his conquest in the East. The Procession, which lasted two days, was adorned with the richest spoils of^b *Asia*: But neither the name of any *Roman* citizen vanquished by him, nor the representation of any city by him taken, that belonged to the *Romans*, appeared there. The principal ornament of his *Triumph* was a long train of Senators and other eminent Citizens, who, having been protected by him from the fury of *Marius* and *Cinna*, followed his chariot, calling him their *Father* and preserver, and proclaiming, that they owed to him their lives, and whatever else they enjoyed that was dear to them. At the same time, some of his soldiers, agreeably to the freedom allowed on these occasions, called his Dictatorship a *disguised royalty*; intimating, that, though he declined the title, he was in effect a KING: Others, who were disposed to call things by their true names, termed it a *manifest tyranny*, that is, an *usurped despotism*.

The ceremony over, *Sylla* ascended the *Rostra*, and, in a studied speech, gave a pompous account of his exploits, ascribing all his success to FORTUNE, and desiring they would give him no other surname, but that of FORTUNATE, [*FELIX*;] which, accordingly, was given him in the

Appian.
p. 410.

^a Appian tells us, that, on this occasion, *Sylla* spoke thus to the People. "A coun-tryman, being bitten by vermin, cleared his shirt of them once or twice; but when he found himself again teized by them, he threw his shirt into the fire. Make the application."

The same author (p. 413.) says, that *Ofella* was treated with this rigour, because he had the audaciousness (in violation of a Law, which the Dictator had lately published) to sue for the Consulship, though he had not yet been either *Prætor* or *Quæstor*, but was still in the order of Knights. But *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. 27. tells, that *Ofella* was *Prætor* when he left *Carbo's* party, and went over to *Sylla*: and it is not probable, that *Sylla's* Institutions were yet published.

^b *Pliny* (l. xxxiii. c. 1.) tells us, that on the first day were carried 15,000 pounds weight of gold [i. e. 960,000 l. sterl.] and 115,000 pounds weight of silver [which is 371,354 l. 3s. 4d. sterling, which he had amassed in the war against *Mithridates*. And that on the second day were carried 13,000 pounds weight of gold [i. e. 832,000 l. sterling] with 6000 of silver [i. e. 22,604 l. 3s. 4d.] which had been saved when the Capitol was burnt, and had been transported to *Præneste* by the younger *Marius*.

^c *Sylla*, in writing to the *Greeks* in their language, stiled himself *Epaphroditus*, *Beloved of Venus*, in that manner translating the word *Felix*. His trophies, that were still extant in *Plutarch's* time, bore this inscription, LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA EPAPHRODITUS.

And

the inscription upon the pedestal of the gilt equestrian statue erected, at this time, to his honour, by a decree of the Senate^a.

Y. R. 672.
Bef. Chr.
80.
380 Conf.

THOUGH *Sylla*, by assuming the DICTATORSHIP, for an indeterminate time, brought the *Romans*, originally governed by *KINGS*, to be again subject (as *Appian* observes^b) to regal domination; yet from some of the first acts of this new King, it would seem, that he never meant to retain the sovereignty, longer than till he had satiated his revenge, and could return, secure of impunity, to the condition of a private Citizen. That he might be able to make a *safe* retreat from public life, he laid the foundation of an Aristocracy in the *Roman* state, by such ordinances as, upon his abdication of the DICTATORSHIP, would leave all authority and power in the hands of the SENATE: taking especial care, at the same time, that the SENATE should consist wholly of his own creatures. His Proscriptions had very much thinned the Assembly, and had left in it (we may presume) few or none, but such as he believed to be entirely at his devotion. To these he added 300 of the most considerable men of the *Equestrian* order: But in making this addition, he complimented^c the

Liv. Epit.
l. lxxxix.
App. de
Bell. Civ.
413.

PEOPLE

And when his wife *Metella* was delivered of twins, a boy and a girl, he gave to both the name of *Happy*, calling the boy *Faustus*, the girl *Fausta*. Plut. in *Sylla*.

The *Triumph* was followed (if we may believe *Appian*) by magnificent games; for the celebration of which *Greece* was exhausted of all her best performers in every kind of exercise; insomuch that, at the *Olympic games*, there was no contention this year, but in the exercise of *running* [ωλήν τὰδὲ δρόμω.] *App.* p. 412.

^a Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι βασιλευσιν. — χερσαῖοι — αὐτοὶ ἐπιτελοῦσι βασιλείας. *App. de Bell. Civ.* l. i. p. 412.

N. B. It appears from these words, that *Appian* did not think the government of *Rome* to have been in the time of its *KINGS* so democratic as *Dr. Middleton* and *Dr. Chapman* have represented it. See *Observations*, &c. p. 99.

^c From *Sylla's* remitting to the People the nomination of the 300 Knights, who were to have admission into the SENATE, *Dr. Middleton* would infer a probability, that the PEOPLE, in virtue of a constitutional right, had, in all times, filled up, by their elections, the vacancies which happened in that house. *Middleton's treatise on the Roman Senate*,

p. 73. He might, with almost as good reason, have inferred, from *Sylla's* being named by the PEOPLE to the DICTATORSHIP, that it had ever been the custom for the PEOPLE to chuse the DICTATORS.

As *Sylla*, by appropriating to the Senators the honour of judicature, deprived the People of the privilege of annually chusing the persons who were to perform the office of Judges; his view, perhaps, in taking the votes of the tribes, upon the 300 Knights, whom he recommended to them for Senators, was to lessen the discontent of the multitude; this compliment carrying some appearance of remitting to them, for the present, the nomination of the greater part of the JUDGES.

Appian [*de Bell. Civ.* p. 386.] speaks of a prior addition of 300 members to the Senate, in the year 665, when *Sylla* was Consul, and says, that this lection was made from the most reputable of the Citizens, in τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν. But *Dr. Middleton*, in his *Treatise on the Roman Senate*, takes no notice of this pretended prior addition: He says only, that “*Sylla* when it [the Senate] was particularly exhausted, added THREE HUNDRED to it at once from the “*Equestrian Order*; which might probably

“ raise

Y. R. 672. PEOPLE with the *choice* of the Persons, gathering the votes of the TRIBES
 B. C. Car. upon every individual of the 300 Knights, proposed to them for their ap-
 80. probation; a *choice*, in which they were, unquestionably, just as free, as
 371 C. C. F. they had been in their *Election* of him to be perpetual DICTATOR.

Cic. in And now he restored to the SENATE a privilege which they had many
 V. IT. 2. years lost [and by their misbehaviour had very justly forfeited] ordaining,
 that none but SENATORS should for the future be appointed to the office
 of JUDGES. And

“ raise the whole number to about 500, and
 “ in this state it seems to have continued till
 “ the subversion of their liberty by J. Cæ-
 “ sar.” For Cicero, in an account of a par-
 ticular debate, in one of his letters to Atticus,
 mentions 415 to have been present at it, which
 he calls a full house. *Middleton's Treatise on*
the Roman Senate, p. 91.

Father Carroz, the Jesuit, passes over the
 pretended addition of 300 members, made
 to the Senate by Sylla in 665, without
 taking the least notice of it in his text, as if
 he gave no credit to Appian's report: and
 though it be mentioned by F. Rouillé, in a
 note on the other's text, it is mentioned only
 as a report made by Appian. M. Crevier
 omits it entirely; and Pighius, in this par-
 ticular, pays no farther regard to Appian's
 authority, than to say in general terms, when
 speaking of Sylla's Consulship in 665, *ampli-*
avit Senatam.

But Dr. Chapman takes for granted the
 prior addition of 300 members reported by
 Appian. “ We are not however (says the
 “ Doctor) to suppose from *this*, or even the
 “ *second* *Lectio* made by Sylla, when raised
 “ to the DICTATORSHIP, that the Senate
 “ from this time amounted to *six hundred*:
 “ For as the house is said to have wanted
 “ much of its due complement in both these
 “ instances, it is probable it fell considerably
 “ short of that number, even after each of
 “ these two additions was actually made.
 “ What therefore the Senate's precise number
 “ was from henceforth, we cannot take upon
 “ us to determine. Only as Cicero *Attic.*
 “ l. i. 14.] in speaking of a debate about
 “ twenty years afterwards, mentions 415
 “ members being then in the house, 'tis pro-
 “ bable, that the whole, in Sylla's time, a-
 “ mounted to 500 at least.

As to the *precise number* of members, of
 which the SENATE, after the addition to

it of 300, did immediately consist; and of
 which Sylla intended it should, for the fu-
 ture, always consist (when complete;) if we
 cannot ascertain it, yet, perhaps, by the
 help of some considerations, which the state
 of things at that time suggests, we may
 make a reasonable conjecture. Tacitus tells
 us (as we see above in the text) that by one
 of Sylla's laws *twenty* Quæstors were to be
 created annually for supplying the SENATE
 to which he had transferred the JUDICATURE.
Lege Syllæ viginti [Quæstores] creati SUP-
PLENDI SENATUI, CUI JUDICIA TRADI-
DERAT. Tacit. Ann. xi. 22. Pighius from
 these words gathers, that Sylla augmented
 the number of the Quæstors for this end
 principally, *that there might be a greater choice*
of men in the Senate, to serve occasionally as
Judges, the sole right of judicature having been
just transferred to the Senators, “ Ex quibus
 “ *verbis fit verisimile, in eum maximè finem*
 “ *ampliavisse Quæstorum Collegium, uti ube-*
 “ *rior deinceps suppetere Judicium e Senatu*
 “ *selectio. Nam è Senatu dicebantur esse non*
 “ *solum Patres Conscripti vel Senatores à*
 “ *Censoribus lecti in eum ordinem, sed etiam*
 “ *populi honoribus usi, quibus in Senatum*
 “ *venire licebat, et sententiæ jus habebant.*”
 [And he conjectures from some passages
 in Tacitus and Cicero, that by Sylla's Law
 for creating TWENTY Quæstors, one half
 of the number was to be chosen by
 the People, the other named by the Con-
 suls.]

That Sylla, when he augmented the
 number of the Quæstors from *eight* to *twenty*,
 had the *Judicature* in view, can hardly be
 questioned; not that this augmentation
 would of itself be effectual for supplying the
 public with a competent number of persons
 to perform occasionally the office of judges;
 but would perhaps be sufficient to keep the
 SENATE up to its due complement of mem-
 bers,

And that the august assembly, thus augmented and *thus honoured with* Y. R. 672.
the JUDICATURE, might thereafter have the contingent vacancies in their
 house regularly filled up with properly qualified persons, he ordained, that, Tacit. An.
 instead of only EIGHT Quæstors, as before, TWENTY should be annually xi. 22.
 created.

But, in order to raise and establish more effectually the authority of the Vell. Pat.
 SENATE, the DICTATOR almost totally annihilated that of the Tribunes, l. ii. c. 30.
 by depriving them of the power of LEGISLATION^b; Liv. Epit.
l. lxxxix.

bers, after his introduction of the 300 Knights into it, and his consigning the Judicature wholly to the Senatorian order. To provide Judges, in sufficient number, was his object in making, at once, so large an addition of members to the SENATE: To keep the SENATE full, after that addition, was his object in augmenting the number of the Quæstors. By the *Plautian* [or *Plotian*] law [*Vid. supra, ann. 664.*] it had been ordained, that each TRIBE should, annually, chuse out of its own body FIFTEEN persons, to serve as JUDGES; and the honour was made common to all the three orders [*Senators, Knights, and Commoners, i. e. the Plebs*] according as the votes carried it in every Tribe. *Cn. Pompeio Strabone, L. Porcio Catone Coss. secundo anno Belli Italici, cum Equester ordo in judiculis dominaretur, M. Plautius Silvanus legem tulit, adjuvantibus nobilibus:—Ex ea tribus singulæ quinos deos ex suo numero creabant suffragio, qui eo anno judicarent.* *Cic. pro Cornel, & ad Att. iv.* The number of persons qualified, by this law, to sit as JUDGES, was therefore [35 times 15] 525. Now supposing the House to have had its usual complement of 300 members, at the time when *Sylla* proscribed 90 of them [*Appian, p. 415.*] if to the remaining 210 we add the 300 Knights, and the 12 additional Quæstors, the sum total of the members of the house will be 522; a number almost the very same with that of the persons, which the tribes, in conformity to the *Plautian* law, furnished annually by election to serve as JUDGES; and if we suppose (and surely there is reason to suppose) that the State had found it necessary or expedient (after taking the Judicature from the numerous body of the Knights) to provide so large a number as the *Plautian* law prescribed, of qualified persons, out of which to chuse the JUDGES, this will account both for *Sylla's* adding so many members at once to the Senate, and for the provision he

made to keep the number always complete; and it may perhaps be thought no weak reason for our fixing the due complement of the Senate at 525.

^b *Mr. Kennet* says, that *Sylla* deprived the TRIBUNES, not only of the power of making Laws, but of interposing [intercession] of holding assemblies and receiving appeals; and for this he cites *Cic. de Leg. l. iii. Cæs. Com. de Bell. Civ. Florus, Plutarch, &c.* I have not been able to find all this either in the authors named, or in, &c. We have *Cæsar's* authority for *Sylla's* leaving to the TRIBUNES the power of INTERCESSION. *Neque etiam extremi JURIS INTERCESSIONE retinendi, QUOD L. SYLLA RELIQUERAT facultas tribuitur.* *Cæs. de Bell. Civ. l. i. c. 5.* And we have, seemingly, *Cicero's* authority for *Sylla's* leaving to the TRIBUNES the power of receiving appeals: unless by *potestatem auxilii ferendi* he means no more than the power of preventing oppressive laws, by their Veto. *Quamobrem in ista quidem re vehementer Syllam probo, qui TRIBUNIS PLEB. suâ lege injuriæ faciendæ POTESTATEM ademerit, AUXILII FERENDI RELIQUERIT.* *Cic. de Leg. iii. 9.*

M. Crevier (upon what authority I know not) writes, that, by one of *Sylla's* ordinances, the TRIBUNES were to be always elected out of the body of the SENATE: To *Appian*, it was not clear that *Sylla* made this regulation; though it afterwards prevailed, *ἐκ τῆς σινοῦς ἀρχῆς, &c. nec constat an eam [Tribunitiam dignitatem] ut nunc est a Plebe ad Senatum transtulerit.* *App. de Bell. Civ. p. 413.*

N. B. Whether this regulation was made by *Sylla*, or afterwards, it carries a proof, that the Quæstors did not always, by their office, become Senators, as *Dr. Middleton* will have it; or that the Tribunes did not, in their way to the Tribuneship, always pass through the Quæstorship, for which the Doctor likewise contends.

Y. R. 572.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
p. 413.

And by decreeing, that no citizen, who had served in the office of TRIBUNE, should ever be capable of holding any superior dignity : a decree which would naturally hinder all persons, whose high birth, or extraordinary talents, might render them formidable to the Aristocratic faction, from seeking, or even coveting the *Tribuneship*

D. Hal.
l. ii.
Diod.
l. xxxviii.

Not content with humbling the PEOPLE, by this diminution of the power of their TRIBUNES, the DICTATOR took from the *Tribes* the privilege, they had obtained by the *Domitian* law, of filling up, by their elections, the vacancies which happened in the several colleges of the PONTIFS, AUGURS, and GUARDIANS OF THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS ; and restored to these colleges the power of supplying their vacancies by CO-OPTATION : increasing, at the same time, the number of members in each college from TEN TO FIFTEEN.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
p. 413, 414.
Pigh ann.

With regard to the CIVIL MAGISTRACY, the DICTATOR enacted, that, whereas certain intervals had been required by Law between the offices of ÆDILE and PRÆTOR, and of PRÆTOR and CONSUL, it should be permitted, for the future, to sue for the higher office immediately after having held the lower. No man, however, was to stand for the Prætorship, who had not been Quæstor ; nor for the Consulship, who had not been Prætor : and he revived the Law, which forbade the conferring on any citizen a second Consulship, before ten years were elapsed from his holding that dignity ^c.

Pomp. de
Orig. Jur.

And, having first augmented the number of the PRÆTORS from SIX TO EIGHT, he decreed, that of these eight, six, at least, should continue at Rome, a whole year, to preside in the several courts of justice, and should, afterwards, have their provinces assigned them by lot.

Cic. Phil.
lip. 2.

And whereas it was the custom for the Prætors, when they entered on their office, to fix up an edict, declaring the method in which they would proceed in trying causes during their year ; which method their successors (being under no obligation to observe it) did not observe, so that the forms of process were continually changing ; *Sylla*, to remedy this inconvenience, ordained, that the PRÆTORS should always use one and the same method in their judicial proceedings.

Cic. in
Verr. 4.

And he further decreed, that it should no longer be permitted to reject above three of the Judges appointed to sit upon a cause : and that in criminal causes the votes might be taken, either publicly, or privately, at the option of the person accused.

^c This law had been often violated of late years, and if *Sylla* restored it at this time, he himself afterwards dispensed with it : For, the very next year, he caused himself to be elected Consul, though he had been in that

magistracy but seven years before. *M. Crevier*, therefore, with reason, thinks it probable that the revival of this law was not till after the second Consulship of *Sylla*.

The antient penalties for bribery and corruption in trials were revived, and such precautions taken, as would be most likely to recover the honour of the Senatorian Judges, who, formerly, when in possession of the Judicature, had not behaved themselves in a manner that did them much credit.

V. R. 672.
Bct. Chr.
80.
371 Conf.

To these regulations concerning the SENATE, the PRIESTS, and the MAGISTRATES OF THE CITY, the DICTATOR added others relating to the GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCES. He decreed, that no Governor should lead his army out of his province, or himself leave the province, without an order from the *Roman* people, or Senate.

That whoever was sent with any command into a province, should hold that command till he was expressly recalled; whereas, before, the office of a commander continued no longer than a set time, upon the expiration of which, if no successor came, he was put to the trouble and inconvenience of getting a new commission from the Senate.

Cic. Ep. 9.
ad. Lentul.
& ad Attic.
Ep. 6. l.
iii.

Nor was any commander to remain, after the arrival of his successor, more than thirty days in his province.

Nor, at his departure from it, to exact from the inhabitants a greater sum than was allowed by the laws.

Cic. Ep.
Fam. 6. l.
iii.

The reformation of the morals of private men^a had likewise some share of the DICTATOR's attention.

Ever since the times of the civil wars, when licentiousness universally prevailed, the crimes of perjury, forgery, robbery, rape, poisoning, and assassination, had been very common. He undertook to check the farther progress of these evils, by enforcing the penalties, which the ancient laws had denounced against the guilty. and by making the sanctions even more severe: Only, with regard to assassins, an exception was made in favour of those who had killed any of the *proscribed*.

Cic. pro
Cluent.

As to the rest of the *proscribed*, who by flight had escaped being murdered, he made a law, that, where-ever they were found, they should be put to death as enemies of the Republic; and that all who had concealed them, should be subject to the same penalty: That their estates should be sold by auction, and their children should be for ever incapable of holding any magistracy: but that such persons as had embraced his party in the late troubles should have the privilege of bearing honours before they were, legally, capable by age.

Cic. pro
Ros. Am.
Plin. l. vii.
Quintil. l.
xi. c. 1.
Cic. in Pis.

At the public sale of some of the confiscated estates he himself pre-

^a We are told, that he laid a restraint upon the disposition to make expensive entertainments; but that he did this, chiefly, with a view to lower the price of provisions: That

he likewise made a law to repress the prevailing folly of making costly and pompous funerals. *Macrob. Sat. l. iii. Cic. Verr. 3. Plin. l. xxxiii. A. Gell. l. ii. c. 24.*

Y. R. 672.

Cic. de
Off. xi. 8.
Plut.

sided, calling them *spoils*, as if they had been taken from a foreign enemy : and the estates, which he gave away, he bestowed in so despotic and haughty a manner, as by this to give more offence, than even by the violence with which he had seized them. He made presents of the revenues of a whole city, a whole province, to women, to musicians, to players, and to the most worthless freedmen^a.

But the Dictator did not confine his bounties to that sort of people ; he extended them to his most illustrious partizans, and particularly to the gold-thirsty *Crassus*^b.

Notwithstanding the low^c price at which the estates of many persons were sold, near two millions sterling, arising from the confiscations, came into the public treasury.

While

^a *Cicero*, in his oration for the poet *Archias*, mentions one of *Sylla's* presents made in pleasantry. When the Dictator was presiding at the sales, a bad poet presented him with an epigram, which had no other resemblance to poetry, than that every line was longer or shorter than the line which stood next to it. To reward his zeal, *Sylla* gave him something of what was then exposed to sale, but upon express condition, that he should make no more verses.

^b We are told, that for the sake of seizing upon the fortune of a very rich man, *Crassus* ventured, of his own private authority, to proscribe him ; and that this so highly displeased *Sylla*, that he never after gave him any employment. *Plut. in Crass.*

^c The estate of *Sextus Roscius*, worth about 60,000 l. was sold for less than 70 l. to *Cbryseogenus*, a favourite freedman of *Sylla*.

This *Roscius*, one of the most considerable citizens of *Ameria* (now *Amelia* in the dutchy of *Spoleto*;) was assassinated in *Rome* ; and, though it was several months after the cessation of *proscriptions*, his name, in order to screen the murderers, was foisted into the list of the proscribed, by the contrivance of *Cbryseogenus* ; who, for the trifling sum above-mentioned, got the estate of the deceased adjudged to him : and the more effectually to secure his possession of it, he engaged *Sylla* to direct a prosecution against the son of *Roscius*, as the murderer of his father [*Plut. in Sylla.*]

“ and had provided evidence to convict him ;
“ so that the young man was like to be deprived, not only of his fortune, but, by a more villainous cruelty, of his honour also, and his life. All the old advocates re-

“ fused to defend him, fearing the power of the prosecutor, and the resentment of *Sylla*,
“ [*Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. 10, 11.*] since *Roscius's* defence would necessarily lead them
“ into many complaints on the times and the oppressions of the great : but *Cicero* (who was then but in his twenty-seventh year)
“ readily undertook it. The popularity of his cause, and the favour of the audience,
“ gave him such spirits, that he exposed the insolence and villainy of the favourite *Cbryseogenus* with great gaiety ; and ventured
“ even to mingle several bold strokes at *Sylla* himself ; which he took care to palliate, by
“ observing, that through the multiplicity of *Sylla's* affairs, who reigned as absolute on earth as *Jupiter* did in heaven, it was not
“ possible for him to know, and necessary even to connive at many things, which his favorites did against his will [*pro Rosc. 45.*]
“ He would not complain, he says, in times like those, that an innocent man's estate was exposed to public sale ; for were it allowed to him to speak freely on that head, *Roscius* was
“ not a person of such consequence, that he should make a particular complaint on his account ;
“ but he must insist upon it, that by the law of the proscription itself, whether it was *Flaccus's* the *Inter-rex*, or *Sylla's* the Dictator,
“ for he knew not which to call it, *Roscius's* estate was not forfeited, nor liable to be sold,
“ [*ib. 43.*] In the conclusion, he puts the Judges in mind, that nothing was so much aimed at by the prosecutors in this trial, as, by the condemnation of *Roscius*, to gain a precedent for destroying the children of the proscribed : he conjures them therefore by all the Gods, not to be the authors of reviving a second

While *Sylla* was thus employed in new-modelling the State, the war went on abroad against the remains of the *Marian* faction, in all parts whithersoever any of them had fled ².

Y. R. 672.
Ber. Clu.
80.
371 Conf.

In *Italy*, *Nola* and *Volaterræ* made a brave defence for two years, but were at length reduced and levelled with the ground.

When *Pompey* had established the peace of *Sicily*, he received orders to go into *Africa*, where *Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Cinna's* son-in-law, supported by *Hiarbas*, king of one part of *Numidia*, was assembling forces. *Pompey* left the island with six legions, 120 ships of war and 800 transports, loaded with all kinds of stores. Part of the fleet anchored at *Utica*, the rest at *Carthage*.

Plut. in
Pomp.

His march was retarded a few days by a ridiculous adventure. Some soldiers having found a treasure in the field, where the camp was pitched, the whole army became at once confidently persuaded, that the field was full of gold and silver, hid under ground by the *Carthaginians* in the time of their calamities. Instantly every man furnished himself with a pick-ax, and to digging they went. *Pompey*, not being able to divert them from their pursuit, only laughed at the sight of so many thousand men turning up the earth to so little purpose. Weary at length of their fruitless labour, they signified to their General, that they had been justly punished for their credulity, and were ready to march whithersoever he pleased to lead them. A battle ensued; victory declared for *Pompey*, whereupon his soldiers proclaimed him *Imperator*. He declined the honour, which, he said, he could not deserve, so long as the enemy's camp subsisted. Hereupon they instantly marched to attack it, though the day was far spent. *Pompey*, in the heat of the late battle, not giving a ready answer to one of his soldiers who asked him the word, had like to have been killed by him; for which reason, he fought in the present action bare-headed. *Domitius* was killed, and his camp taken: Of 20,000 men, whereof his army had consisted, scarce 3000 escaped. The whole country presently submitted, and *Pompey* entered *Numidia*: *Hiarbas* being killed, or taken prisoner, his dominions were given to *Hiempsal*, king of another part of *Numidia*. This expedition, so successful and glorious for *Pompey*, being finished in forty days, he straight returned to *Utica*.

"cond proscription, more barbarous and cruel
"than the first: that the Senate refused to bear
"any part in the first, lest it should be thought
"to be authorized by the public council: that it
"was their business, by this sentence, to put a
"stop to that spirit of cruelty, which then pos-
"sessed the city, so pernicious to the Republic,
"and so contrary to the character and temper
"of their ancestors.——— Roscius was ac-

"quitted, to the great honour of Cicero."
See *Midd. Life of Cicero*, Vol. I. p. 37—
40.

* *Norbanus* (the colleague of *Scipio* in the Consulship, year of Rome 670) who had taken refuge in *Rhodes*, upon the first news of a demand from *Sylla* to deliver him up, killed himself in the Forum of the city.

Y. R. 6-2.
B.C. Chr.
80.
371 Cons.

On his arrival there, he received orders from *Sylla* to send back his whole army, except one legion, with which he was to remain in the province till a successor came. *Pompey*, though much displeased with these orders, resolved to obey. His troops were not of that mind : They mutinied openly, and declared they would not suffer him to put himself defenceless into the hands of the Dictator, whom they made no scruple to call a tyrant. *Pompey* did all he could to appease them, but, notwithstanding his intreaties and even tears, they replaced him several times upon his Tribunal, nor could he quiet them till he had protested, that, if they did not cease their violence, he would instantly kill himself.

Magde.
Plut.

This commotion, in the first accounts brought of it to *Rome*, was related so imperfectly, that *Sylla* imputed it to *Pompey*, and, on that occasion, said, *it was his destiny to be obliged in his old age to make war with children*, meaning the younger *Marius* and *Pompey*. But when the matter came to be cleared up, and the public had declared in favour of the young conqueror, the Dictator resolved to do him all kinds of honour; and, accordingly, went out to meet him on his arrival at *Rome*, and saluted him by the title of *THE GREAT* *. Nevertheless, when *Pompey* demanded a triumph, the Dictator refused it, representing to him, “ That, by law, “ no one could have that honour, who had not been Consul or Prætor : “ For which reason, it had not been granted to the first *Scipio Africanus*, “ who had done very great things in *Spain* : that if a man, too young to “ have even a place in the Senate, should be allowed to triumph, it would “ render odious, not only him, who, contrary to law, received that ho- “ nour, but the supreme magistrate who granted it.” And he concluded with expressly declaring to him, that he would not suffer him to triumph. *Pompey*, in answer, desired him to consider, that the *rising sun* had more worshippers than the *setting sun*. *Sylla* did not hear these words, but, observing an air of astonishment upon every face, he asked the meaning of it. Then somebody repeated what *Pompey* had said : and the Dictator, struck with the boldness of the expression, instantly cried out, *Let him triumph, Let him triumph*.

Accordingly, the young General, not even a Senator, a *Roman Knight* only, had a triumph * for his victories over *Harbas* and the *Numidians* :

* According to *Plutarch*, this was the origin of that surname given to *Pompey*. But *Livy*, (l. xxx.) in fine, makes it owing to the flattery of his friends. Be that as it will, he did not himself assume the title till some years after, when he made war against *Sertorius* in *Spain*. *Plut.*

* We are told, that *Pompey's* soldiers, not

being content with the money he had distributed among them, threatened to interrupt the ceremony of his triumphal procession; and that he declared, he would rather renounce his *Triumph*, than humour them; which made *Servilius*, an eminent Senator, say of him, that he now deserved the honour, and was truly *GREAT*. *Plut.*

and

and the people were highly delighted to see him, after he had received that honour, continue still in the Equestrian rank. Y.R. 672.

Sylla, though he retained the *Dictatorship*, did not chuse to abolish the *Consulship*. At the usual time for electing Consuls, he caused himself, together with *Q. Cecilius Metellus Pius*, to be named to that magistracy. The Dictator had a particular kindness for *Metellus Pius*, as being the first Roman General, who, with an army, had joined him. Y.R. 673.
B.C. Chr.
79.
372 Conf.

Though *Sylla*, by the methods which have been related, had secured to his interest the principal Nobles, and indeed the whole Senate, he would not neglect to make himself creatures, even among the lowest order. Of the slaves belonging to the *proscribed* he enfranchised 10,000 young men; who all became Roman citizens, and, from the name of their patron *Cornelius*, were (according to custom) called *Cornelians*. But the most powerful support, which he provided for himself and his party, were the military colonies which he distributed throughout all *Italy*. Having confiscated the lands of a great number of municipal cities, which had favoured his enemies, he divided those lands amongst the officers and soldiers of three and twenty legions. These amounted to above 100,000 fighting men, who, owing their fortunes and establishment to his decrees, would, of course, be ever ready to support both him and them.

By all these murders, proscriptions, confiscations, grants, laws, and regulations, *Sylla* became able, with safety, to abdicate the Dictatorship, and return to a private life; which he did soon after. His first step towards the execution of this design, was a refusal of the people's offer to continue him in the *Consulship*. He caused his old friend, *P. Servilius Vatia* (afterwards surnamed *Isauricus*), and *App. Claudius Pulcher*, to be elected Consuls. Y.R. 674.
B.C. Chr.
78.
373 Conf.

And now, to the great astonishment of the public, *Sylla*, in the highest fortune to which any mortal had ever attained, and in possession of the most extensive despotism, resigned, of his own mere motion, and without the least compulsion from any quarter, the reins of government to the new Consuls, and retired from public life^a.

The ceremony of his abdication passed in the calmest manner possible. *Appian*. He came to the Forum with his lictors and guards, mounted the

^a *Metellus Numidicus*, the father of *Pius*, had been banished by *Saturninus*, and restored by the Tribune *Calidius*. This *Calidius*, standing for the Prætorship, *Metellus Pius* not only solicited the people for him, in the most pressing manner, but, though actually Consul, and of the first class of the Nobles, condescended to stile *Calidius* his patron, and

the protector of his family. *Cic. pro Plane.*

^b We are told, that *Sylla* was the last of the Roman Generals, who removed the bounds, and enlarged the circumference of the city. This was an honour and privilege permitted to those only, who by their exploits, had extended the empire of the Republic. *Tacit. xii. 23. Sen. de Benef. v. 16.*

Y. R. 674. ^{Bef. Chr.} ³⁻⁵ Conf. Ros^{tr}a, and, from thence, declared to the people assembled, that *he abdicated the Dictatorship, and was ready to give an account of his administration to any person who should require it of him.* He then came down, dismissed his lictors and guards, and accompanied only with a small number of his friends, walked serenely up and down the Forum, every body struck with amazement, and scarce believing the testimony of their own eyes *. He received no affront, no mark of disrespect, but from one young man: This youth not only attacked him with injurious language, while in the Forum; but with repeated insults and reproaches, followed him quite to his house. *Sylla* seemed undisturbed; he only said, as he entered the door, *The behaviour of this young fellow will binder any man, who may hereafter be in the station which I have held, from ever entertaining the thoughts of quitting it.*

Plut. in
Sylla &
Pomp.

Sylla, when he abdicated his sovereign power, did not renounce all attention to public affairs; he endeavoured to hinder *Lepidus* from being chosen Consul for the ensuing year, but failed of success; because *Pompey* with his whole credit, supported the candidate. Observing, that *Pompey* was much elated with this victory, he said to him; *You have great reason, indeed, to triumph; it is a glorious exploit to have caused Lepidus, the most seditious of men, to be named to the Consulship, and even before Catulus, the most virtuous citizen of Rome. Be upon your guard, however; for you have been arming an enemy against yourself.*

Y. R. 675.
^{77.}
³⁻⁴ Conf. ^{Bef. Chr.}

The next year, when *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *Q. Lutatius Catulus* had the Consular Fasces, was the last of *Sylla's* life.

* *Sylla*, after his abdication, made an offering of a tenth part of his effects to *Hercules*. On this occasion, he feasted the people during several days; and such profusion there was in his banquets, that every day a great quantity of provisions was thrown into the *Tiber*. During this feast his wife *Metella* fell dangerously sick. Religious rejoicings were not to be profaned by any melancholy circumstances of death, or mourning. *Sylla*, therefore, exemplary religious, did, by order of the Pontifices, send her a bill of divorce, and caused her to be carried, while yet living, into another house. In this particular he was a strict observer of the law; but at his wife's funeral he violated a law, which he himself had made, to limit the expence of funerals, as he did likewise that which he had enacted against too expensive entertainments. To console himself for his loss, he passed his days in luxurious feasting and debauchery. Some months after, he entertained the public with a show of gladiators; and as, on those days,

men and women sat promiscuously together, *Valeria* (the daughter of *Metella*, and sister of *Hortensius*, the famous orator) who had been, a few days before, divorced from her husband, happened to sit near *Sylla*; she was beautiful, gay, and lively, but virtuous, and of an unblemished reputation. She came behind him, and, resting her hand gently upon his shoulder, took away a thread of his robe, and then returned to her seat. He, turning about, looked as if surprized at her familiarity; whereupon *Valeria* accosted him thus, "It was not out of any want of respect, but from a desire to partake of your good fortune." *Vid. supra.* [p. 164.] *Sylla* was not displeased with this answer, and they immediately made love to each other by their eyes, and, in a short time after, he married her. His marriage, however, with the beautiful *Valeria*, did not prove a charm sufficient to restrain him from an infamous commerce with actresses and singing-women.

He

He had retired to his country-house at *Cumæ*, where he abandoned himself to pleasure. In the midst of his banquetings and debaucheries he was seized with an horrible distemper, called the *Louy Disease*; his entrails were corrupted, and his flesh was full of vermin, the multitude and rapid propagation of which rendered fruitless all the pains that could be taken to make him clean, by bathing and rubbing him, and continually changing his linen. In this miserable condition, to divert his thoughts as much as possible from it, he had recourse to business. Ten days before his death, being informed that the people of *Puteoli*, in his neighbourhood, were at variance among themselves, he drew them up a body of bye-laws for their better government.

Y. R. 675.

Appian.
Plut.

He amused himself likewise with revising, or enlarging, his Commentaries, which are frequently quoted by *Plutarch*. About three days before he died he made his will, in which he remembered all his friends, except *Pompey*, to whom he left no legacy: nor did he name him among the guardians of his son, then an infant almost in the cradle; but he expressed great affection for *Lucullus*, to whom he inscribed his commentaries, and whom he appointed to be one of his son's guardians. And, it is said, that this gave birth to the misunderstanding between *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, which arose afterwards to a very great height.

Appian.
Plut. in
Pom. &
Lucull.

A few days before his death he composed his own epitaph, wherein we may read, not only his true character, but a satisfactory answer to that question, *How could Sylla, after so many murders, and other violences, relinquish with safety his sovereign power?* The epitaph was in substance to this effect, that *no man had ever outdone him, either in obliging his friends, or in avenging himself on his enemies.*

Some think, that *Sylla's* *abdication* the Dictatorship infallibly proved, that *ambition* was not his predominant passion^a, and that he had seized the sovereign power only to make sure of his *revenge*. This vindictive spirit continued with him to the last, as appears by his treatment of *Granius*, the chief Magistrate of *Puteoli*. A certain tax had been imposed on all the cities for the reparation of the Capitol. *Granius* had received the contributions of his fellow-citizens, but deferred paying in the money, imagining he should be able to retain it for his own use, in case *Sylla* died soon. *Sylla* informed of this, and enraged at the insolence of a man who built hopes upon the prospect of his speedy death, sent for him and caused him to be strangled in his presence. The anger and violent agitation he was in, on this occasion, broke an imposthume within him: He threw up a vast quantity of black and corrupted blood, and died the night following through extremity of pain, having concluded all the acts of his life with a stroke of dear revenge.

Plut. in
Sylla.

^a Others are of opinion, that this is no proof of moderation in the ambition of *Sylla*; but rather of his good sense and prudence, being

aware that he had made some of his creatures (*Pompey* in particular) too powerful to remain subject to his despotism.

Y.R. 675.

Appian.
 PAUL. in
 Sylla &
 Pomp.

Such was the end of the famous *Cornelius Sylla*. The Consuls had a warm dispute about his funeral. *Lepidus* was for having him privately interred in the burying-place of his ancestors; but *Catulus*, supported by *Pompey*, prevailed to have his body carried in great pomp through the streets of *Rome*, and burnt in the *Campus Martius*; *Sylla* being the first of the Patrician branch of the *Cornelian* family, whose corpse was not interred. It was feared that his bones might one day be treated as he had treated those of *Marius*, which he had caused to be dug up, and thrown into the river. The tomb in which the ashes of *Sylla* were deposited, was in *Plutarch's* time still to be seen in the *Campus Martius*, with that epitaph upon it which has been before mentioned.

C H A P. II.

LEPIDUS attempts, unsuccessfully, an imitation of SYLLA. In 676, POMPEY is sent into Spain against SERTORIUS.

THE dangerous example of a private Citizen, who had found means to raise himself to sovereignty, and maintain himself in it, made those who came after him sensible that the *Romans* could bear a master; a discovery which proved the source of more revolutions. SCARCE were the eyes of *Sylla* closed, when *Lepidus* formed the project of ascending to the same height of power.

* From his house at *Cama*, where he died, his body dressed in a triumphal robe, was carried to *Rome* upon a bed of state, glittering with gold; four and twenty *Lictors* walked before it with the rods and axes. Of those persons who had served under him, and had partaken of his favours, so great a number came to pay their last duties to their General, that they formed rather the appearance of an army, than that of a funeral procession. In the ceremony of his obsequies, the colleagues of the priests, and the vestals surrounded the corpse; then marched the Senate, with the Magistrates habited in the robes of their respective dignities: after these came the *Roman* Knights; and the troops, with their golden eagles and arms resplendent with silver, closed the march; the trumpets all the way sounding mournful airs.

When they came to the Forum, they stopped; and there (*Sylla's* son *Faustus* being too young for the office) the best orator of *Rome*

(who is not named) made the funeral panegyric: after which, (if we may believe *Appian*, whom *M. Crevier* thinks undeserving of credit, in this instance) some of the most vigorous of the younger Senators took the body upon their shoulders, and carried it to the *Campus Martius*, where the funeral pile was erected. The ladies signalized their respect for the deceased, by an almost incredible quantity of aromatic spices, furnished at their expence, to be consumed on this occasion. For beside 210 great baskets of perfumes, they had caused a statue of *Sylla* to be made to the life, and another of a *Lictor* bearing the *Fasces* before him, and both of cinnamon and other precious aromatics.

[Need we any other proof of the perfect security with which *Sylla* could retire from public life, when we find he had thus gained the hearts of the *Roman* ladies?] The Knights and principal officers of the troops set fire to the pile.

We have frequently seen, in the course of this History, that the great men of *Rome*, to promote the views of their ambition, had made use of one of these two pretences, the interest of the PEOPLE, or that of the SENATE. *Lepidus* had indeed, to accommodate himself to the circumstances of things at that time, declared for the SENATE: But as his colleague *Catulus*, *Pompey*, *Metellus*, and *Crassus*, all men of more weight and interest than himself, were the chiefs of that faction, he thought he should make a more considerable figure, if he espoused the *Marian* cause; most of whose champions had been destroyed in the civil war. To give new life to this faction, at this time almost extinguished, he proposed to abolish some of the Laws made by *Sylla*. *Catulus*, the other Consul, opposed his design with a steady courage and resolution. Hereupon the two factions ranged themselves under their respective leaders. *Lepidus* had gained the populace. He raised forces in *Hebruria*, where the remains of *Marius's* faction had made a brave defence during two years. He drew together all the proscribed who had escaped death: and when his partizans were sufficiently numerous to form an army, he took off the mask, and put himself at their head.

As his strength was not yet considerable, *Catulus* was of opinion, that he should be pushed to the utmost; but the majority of the SENATE inclined to gentler measures, and to negotiation; they sent deputies to *Lepidus*, and an accommodation was concluded; the principal conditions were, that the two Consuls should take an oath not to employ arms against each other, and that *Lepidus* should have the government of *Gallia Narbonensis*, with the command of an army.

This army he led into the Province assigned him, and there remained till the year of his Consulship was expired, without returning to *Rome* to hold the Assembly for electing new Consuls, which it was his function to do. We are told, that he thought his oath obliged him no longer than the year of his office; at the expiration of which he should be at liberty to employ, against his adversaries, those forces which they had imprudently put into his hands. The year expiring without the election of new magistrates, an interregnum ensued: and *Lepidus*, leaving in *Gallia Cisalpine*, a body of troops under *M. Brutus*, to keep that country in his interest, advanced with the greater part of his forces to demand at *Rome* a second Consulship.

Among the fragments of *Sallust*, there is an harangue, spoken on this occasion, by the orator *Philippus*. He reproached the Senators with their

“ When you entered into a treaty with
“ *Lepidus*, he was only a thief, supported by
“ a small number of cut-throats, always ready
“ to risk their blood and their life for
“ bread; he is now a *Proconsul* invested with
“ a command, which he did not buy, but
VOL. III.

“ which you gave him. From all quarters
“ he has gathered about him the most corrupt
“ in the different orders, men whose indigence and vices made them capable of daring any thing, and who, tormented with the remembrance of their past crimes, can
A a “ and

Y. R. 675.
Bef. Chr.
77.
374 Conf.

Y. R. 675.
Bef. Chr.
77.
374 Conf.

their indolence, whereby they had given a seditious man an opportunity of *making himself formidable*: and he concluded his speech in the following manner—"As *Lepidus* is marching with an army against the City, and has associated himself with the vile enemies of the Republic, in contempt of the authority of this Assembly, I am of opinion, that *App. Claudius*, now *Inter-rex*, with *Q. Catulus* the *Proconsul*, and the rest who are in command, should defend the City, and *take care the Commonwealth suffer no detriment*."

The Senate made a decree conformable to the opinion of *Philippus*, whereby they gave an almost unlimited power to those whom they appointed to withstand the enterprizes of *Lepidus*. And whereas *Catulus* excelled more in civil virtues than in military skill, they with him associated *Pompey*, who, though he had contributed to raise *Lepidus* to the Consulship, did not decline the present commission. A battle was fought under the walls of *Rome*, near the bridge *Milvius*. *Lepidus*, being defeated, retired into *Hetruria*, and was immediately declared an enemy to his country: *Catulus* marched in pursuit of him, whilst *Pompey* went into *Cisalpine Gaul*, which, as was before mentioned, *M. Brutus* held for *Lepidus*.

Y. R. 667.
Bef. Chr.
76.
375 Conf.

In the election of new Consuls, which was probably made about this time, the People's choice fell upon *Decimus Brutus* and *Mamercus Æmilius*^d.

Pompey, without difficulty, brought *Cisalpine Gaul* to obedience; only he was stopt a considerable time before *Modena*, which *Marcus Brutus* defended against him: but *Brutus*, at length, surrendered himself *voluntarily*, (so *Pom-*

"and no repose but in seditions; to them peace is a state of violence. These are the men who make insurrection succeed to insurrection, and civil war to civil war; adherents formerly to *Saturninus*, then to *Sulpicius*, afterwards to *Marius* and *Damasprius*, and lastly to *Lepidus*.—Are you moved by his proposals? he demands, that to every man should be restored what appertains to him, and is himself rich only by possessing the fortunes of others. He is for having the Laws, founded upon the rights of war, abolished, and to this he would reduce us by force of arms: For the sake of peace and concord he would have you re-establish the *Tribunitial* power, from which all our civil dissensions arose."

The orator then apostrophizing *Lepidus* as if present—"O thou the most vile and impudent of mankind, will you persuade us that you are moved by the indigence and tears of the *Citizens*, whilst you possess nothing that you have not acquired by arms or injustice? You ask a second Consulship, as if

"you had resigned the first to the Commonwealth. You desire to restore union and concord, you, who are the only disturber of it. Traitor to the Nobles, whom you ought to defend; perfidious even to those whose interest you pretend to support; an enemy to all persons of worth; void of respect both to Gods and men, whom you have made equally your adversaries, by your perfidies and perjury. Go on then, persist in thy enterprize. The Laws, the Gods of our country raise their voice against thee, and cannot suffer thee in the number of our fellow-citizens. Continue what thou hast begun, that thou mayest quickly feel the just punishment thou hast deserved."

^d *Æmilius* was very rich, but very frugal; and, to spare himself the expence of the games, which was indeed excessive, he had declined the office of *ÆDILE*. The People remembered this, and, the first time he stood for the Consulship, rejected him; and were now very far from being unanimous for his promotion.

pey,

pey wrote to the Senate) nevertheless the victor, having sent his prisoner under a guard to *Reggio*, dispatched thither an officer, named *Geminus*, to kill him: And then, in a second letter to the Senate, changed his style and calumniated *Brutus*. This was the father of the famous *Marcus Brutus*, who never forgave *Pompey*, till he was engaged to it by a regard to [what he called] the *public interest*.

Y. R. 676
Bef. Chr.
76
375 Cons.
Plut. in
Brut.

Catulus, having driven *Lepidus* into a corner of *Hetruria*, reduced him to the necessity of fighting; and *Pompey* arriving opportunely from *Cisalpine Gaul*, determined the victory in favour of the Consul. *Lepidus*, with what remained of his troops, escaped into *Sardinia*. He had no success, the Prætor *Triarius* prevented his seizing any place. A domestic grief completed his distress. He learnt that his wife *Apuleia* was false to him. He divorced her; but, as he continued to love her, grief and vexation threw him into a disorder, of which he died. *Perperna* drew together the wreck of the army, and went with it into *Spain*; where *Sertorius* supported the remains of *Marius's* faction.

Plut. in
Pomp.
Plin. vii.
46.

Thus ended the commotions raised by *Lepidus*. The SENATE, contented with having re-established peace, granted an amnesty to those who had been concerned in the last disturbances; and their decree was supported by a decree of the PEOPLE, of which *Cæsar* was considered as the author: not only the general interest of the *Marian* faction, which he favoured, might induce him to this, but the private interest of his brother-in-law, *L. Cinna*, who had been engaged in the cause of *Lepidus*, and who obtained, by this amnesty, leave to return to *Rome*. The SENATE's view, in their lenity on the present occasion, was to hinder the fugitives from going (through despair) to augment the forces of *Sertorius*, already too formidable.

Suet. in
Cæs. v.

Against this General, under whose command were gathered all that now remained of *Marius's* faction, *Metellus Pius* conducted the war in *Spain*, with little success; for he was naturally slow in his motions, and by no means a match for *Sertorius* in military skill. His high birth, and his reputation of eminent virtue, secured him from the affront of being recalled; but it was thought expedient to send him a colleague to be his assistant. *Pompey*, ambitious of the employment, had, for this reason, under various pretexts, kept his troops together at a small distance from *Rome*, though *Catulus* had ordered him to dismiss them. The Senate, having more confidence in the abilities of *Pompey*, than of any other of their Generals, determined to send him into *Spain* with the title of Proconsul, notwithstanding the objection made by some of the Senators, That it would be a strange thing to see a Citizen, and of no higher rank than that of a *Roman Knight*, invested with *Proconsular* authority^d.

C H A P.

^d To this objection *L. Philippus* is reported to have answered: In my opinion, it is not to supply the place of one Consul, but of both Consuls, that *Pompey* ought to be sent into Spain.

C H A P. III.

The War of SERTORIUS in Spain.

Y. R. 676. **I**T has been already mentioned, that, after *Sylla* had, by his wonted arts
 of corruption, gained over to him the army of the Consul *Scipio*, *Ser-*
 torius^c retired into *Spain*; which province had fallen to him by lot,
 after his Prætorship. He found the passes of the *Pyrenees* in the posses-
 sion of the Barbarians, whom only money could render tractable. Some
 of his officers thought it would be disgraceful for a *Roman* Proconsul to
 pay a kind of toll to the mountaineers for leave to pass: but *Sertorius*
 laughed at this unseasonable delicacy, telling them he should never make
 a scruple to buy TIME, which of all things is the most precious to those
 who have engaged in important enterprizes. He purchased his passage,
 entered *Spain*, armed with all expedition what *Romans* he found there
 (of an age to serve,) and provided himself with engines of war, and with
triremes [gallies of three benches of oars.]

Vid. supra,
 p. 155.
 [Y. 670.]

The oppressive rapaciousness of the last Prætors had created in the
 minds of the *Spaniards* an aversion to the *Roman* government. *Sertorius*
 spared no pains to conciliate their good-will; he gained the principal
 persons of the several Cantons by his affability and kindness, and the
 multitude by lessening the taxes: But what more particularly obliged the
Spaniards was, that, instead of taking up his quarters within the cities,
 he erected tents without the walls of them, and there made his whole
 army pass the winter.

No sooner had *Sylla* possessed himself of the sovereign power, but
 he ordered *Annius* with an army into *Spain*. *Sertorius*, to hinder his
 entrance, shut up the passes of the *Pyrenees*, with 6000 foot, under the
 command of *Livius Salinator*. The assassination of *Livius*, by one *Cal-*
purnius Lanarius, opened the way to *Sylla's* General; and *Sertorius*, not
 being in a condition to keep the field against him, retired with 3000 men
 into *Cartagena*; where he staid no longer, than till he could get vessels,

Spain. L. Philippus dixisse dicitur, non se
 illum, sua sententiâ, pro Consul, sed pro Consul-
 libus mittere. Cic. pro Lege Manil. lxii.

^c According to *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. xrv.
Sertorius, after the army had abandoned the
 Consul *Scipio*, under whom he served, fell
 into *Sylla's* hands, who dismissed him with
 life; as he did *Scipio*, and many others.—
Consulem, ut prædiximus, exarmatumque Serto-

rium (proh quanti max belli facem!) & multos
alios, potitus eorum, dimisit incolumes. But *Plu-*
tarch speaks of *Sertorius*, as immediately re-
 tiring to his government of *Spain*, upon *Sci-*
pio's refusing to listen to his advice, when he
 warned him to be upon his guard against the
 wiles of *Sylla*, who pretended to be desirous
 of peace.

whereon

whereon to embark his troops. He cruised some time upon the coasts of *Spain* and *Africa*; and in vain attempted to make descents in different places. At length, having added a few small ships of *Cilician* pirates to his fleet, he passed the Streights, and landed a little beyond the mouth of the *Bætis*, now called the *Guadalquivir*. Y. R. 676.
Bef. Chr. 76.
375 Conf.

While he was there, some mariners, newly arrived from the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate Islands*, gave so charming a description of them, as made him seriously entertain the thought of retiring thither, to pass the remainder of his life in an innocent tranquillity, far from the din of war and the horrors of tyranny. He proposed this to his followers; but the scheme was not suited to the disposition of pirates. They quitted him, and sailed to *Mauritania*, where, having found two parties at war with each other, they offered their assistance to one of them. *Sertorius*, apprehensive of being abandoned by his remaining friends and troops, passed thither likewise, and joined the other party, which he easily rendered victorious; and when, by the taking of *Tingis*, he was become master of the country, he did not deceive those who had reposed confidence in him, but, restoring all that belonged to them, accepted only of a reasonable recompence: and this enabled him to subsist for some time the small body of troops, that was then his sole support. The Canaries.
Tangier.

His thoughts were full of anxiety about the event of things, when he very opportunely received an embassy from the *Lusitanians*, earnestly inviting him to put himself at their head. This people still defended their liberty against the *Romans*, and finding themselves hard pressed at that time, had recourse to *Sertorius*, as to the only General that could protect them; so great a reputation had he acquired in *Spain*, during his short appearance there. Nor were they mistaken in their opinion of him. No captain of his time surpassed him in personal bravery, boldness of enterprize, and execution, nor equalled him in stratagem: On which account the *Spaniards* called him *Hannibal*. He understood likewise perfectly well, how to gain the confidence and affection of his soldiers, liberally rewarding merit, and punishing faults with reluctance. Naturally full of strength and agility, he preserved those advantages by temperate meals, a plain diet, and a perfect sobriety, and was able chearfully to support the fatigue of long watchings, long marches, and all those other hardships to which an enterprizing warrior must unavoidably be exposed. He never drank to excess, even in his most vacant hours; if he had leisure, his diversion was hunting; which in time of war had its use, because he thereby acquired a perfect knowledge of the country. App. de Bell. C. 1. i. p. 421.
Plut. in Sert.

————— *Arva beata*
Petamus arva, divites & insulas,
 &c. &c. Hor. Epod. xvi.

Sertorius

Y. R. 676.
 Bef. Chr.
 76
 775 Conf.

Sertorius left *Africa* with 2600 men, whom he called *Romans*, and 700 *Africans* collected from different nations. The *Lusitanians* supplied him with 4000 light-armed foot and 700 horse. With these forces, he maintained the war against four *Roman* Generals, who had under them 120,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 2000 bowmen and slingers. They were masters likewise of innumerable cities, whereas *Sertorius*, at his arrival, had scarce twenty, that recognized his authority. Of the *Roman* Commanders who were sent against him, he vanquished *Cotta* in a sea-fight, routed *Tidius*, Governor of *Hispania Bætica*, in a battle, wherein he slew 2000 *Romans*, near the banks of the river *Bætis*. By his Quæstor he defeated *Domitius* and *Lucius*, and *Manilius*, Proconsul of the other province of *Spain*; and he cut in pieces the whole army of *Thoranius*, together with their leader, whom *Metellus* had detached against him. As for *Metellus* himself, he was at a loss what conduct to observe with an enemy, that avoided a general action, attacked him when he least expected it, then retreated with expedition, returned presently after to the charge, gave him no repose, nor any opportunity of making advantage of his superior strength. Without fighting, *Metellus* suffered all the evils that attend a defeat; and *Sertorius*, by flying, had all the advantages of those who pursue. He hindered his enemies from getting water, and harassed them in foraging: If they advanced, they found *Sertorius* in their way: if they halted any where, he presently attacked them: if they besieged a city, they were themselves, in a short time, besieged by famine. These things made the soldiers of *Metellus* weary of the war; and *Sertorius* having challenged him to single combat, and he declining it, they turned him into ridicule. To retrieve his credit with them, he laid siege to the city of the *Lacabriges**, an important enterprize, because *Sertorius* received great assistance from that place. As there was but one well in the city, and the other waters, used by the inhabitants, were in the suburbs, and fell immediately into the possession of the besiegers, the conquest seemed easy. Fully persuaded, that it would be an affair but of two days, *Metellus* made his soldiers carry with them no more than five days provisions.

Sertorius, conjecturing his design and his hope, contrived to convey two thousand skins (*Borachios*) filled with water into the place. The considerable rewards, he promised to each bearer of a skin, made the soldiers, both *Spaniards* and *Mæcres*, all competitors for the employment. They had orders to turn out of the town all the useless mouths, so soon as the water was delivered. *Metellus*, thus disappointed, and beginning to want provisions, detached 6000 men to collect what they could find in the adjacent country. *Sertorius* laid an ambush for them, surprised them in their return, killed a great number of them, and seized

* This city was in the country now called *Old Castile*, on the North of the *Douro*.

the convoy; so that *Metellus* was constrained disgracefully to raise the siege, and to call in to his aid *L. Manilius*, who commanded in *Gallia Narbonensis*. This General, with the three legions he had brought with him, was driven out of the field, and reduced, almost alone, to take refuge in * *Ilerda*. By this last victory *Sertorius* opened himself a way into *Gaul*, and he pushed on quite to the *Alps*; in the passes of which he posted guards to stop the troops that might be sent against him.

These successes could not fail to make him much admired by the *Spaniards*; and to his real merit he added artifice, the better to secure their respect and confidence.

A milk-white hind, which had been given him soon after it was weaned, he tamed so well, that it knew his voice, came to him when he called it, and followed him every where. He had no other view, at first, in caressing this animal, than to amuse himself; but, when he saw it so tractable, he conceived the design of making it useful to him. He gave out, that his hind was a present from *Diana*, and often revealed to him the most secret things. To gain the public belief of this, he used, when he had privately received intelligence of any of the enemies motions, to conceal the bearer of it, and feign that the hind had whispered it to him. The intelligence, pretended to be thus received, always proving true, the *Spaniards* regarded him as a favourite of the Gods, and hearkened to him, as to a man inspired: and, that he might profit the more by their zeal to serve him, he armed them after the *Roman* manner, taught them discipline, and made them sensible of the advantage of it.

But nothing contributed more towards his gaining the hearts of the principal men of the nation, than the care he took of the education of their children: for he drew together all those of the highest birth, and placed them in † *Osca*, a considerable city in those days; and he gave them masters to instruct them in the arts of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The children were in reality hostages; but his professed design, in this measure, was only to qualify them to hold employments in the government, so soon as their years would permit. Their parents with delight beheld them, in robes bordered with purple, walking regularly every day to the public schools: where *Sertorius* himself (who paid for their schooling) frequently examined into the progress they made; giving rewards to such as deserved well, with permission to wear, hanging at their breasts, the golden *Bulla*, the ornament worn by the children of the better sort at *Rome*^a.

^a It was customary with the *Spaniards*, as with the *Gauls* and *Germans*, for every lord to have clients or vassals, who devoted their lives to his service, and took an oath not to survive him. Other chiefs had a small number of men, who adhered to them under these conditions; but as to *Sertorius*, his adherents of this kind were computed by thousands; and, we are told, that, after some en-

gagement, wherein he had been defeated and was hard pressed by the enemy, the *Spaniards*, solely intent upon saving him, took him upon their shoulders, and, passing him from one to another, conveyed him within the city walls (near which they then were,) not giving a thought to their own preservation, till they had seen him safe. *Plut. in Sert.*

Sertorius,

Y. R. 676.
Bef. Chr.
76.
375 Conf.
* Now Lerida.
Ep. Pomp. ad Sen. l. iii.
Hist. Salust.
Plut. in Sertor.

† Huesca in Arragon.

Y. R. 676.
 Bef. Chr.
 76.
 375 Conf.

App. &
 Plut.

Sertorius, notwithstanding the extraordinary affection and respect which the *Spaniards* expressed for him, preserved to the *Romans* all the superiority to which they had been accustomed. Of the proscribed Senators who had retired to him, and of the principal persons among his other partisans, he had formed a Senate, consisting of three hundred: affirming, that this was the real *Roman* Senate, and that the other, at *Rome*, was only an assembly of *Sylla's* slaves. Out of his own Senate he chose *Quæstors*, *Lieutenants*, and other Commanders, imitating, as much as possible, the government of the Commonwealth. No *Spaniard* therefore had any command in his army; for he did not propose to strengthen the Barbarians against *Rome*, but to make use of their assistance to deliver her from the tyranny of the usurper. He is said to have been a most sincere lover of his country, and so passionately desirous of returning to it, that, frequently, when his affairs were most prosperous (*never* when in a declining state,) he offered to lay down his arms, on condition he might be suffered to live, as a private subject, at home; declaring, that he should chuse rather to be the most obscure citizen of *Rome*, than, in banishment from thence, to command all the rest of the universe.

With a heart so truly *Roman*, *Sertorius* must, necessarily, be esteemed and beloved by the *Romans* who were in *Spain*: and of this we have a notable proof in the conduct of *Perperna's* soldiers. This General was very rich, and of noble birth, and had been *Prætor* of *Rome*; where he took up arms, with the Consul *Lepidus*, to reverse the acts of *Sylla*, and recal the proscribed *Marians*; and, after their defeat, he carried off the best part of their troops into *Sardinia*; and thence into *Spain*. Though embarked in the same cause with *Sertorius*, yet, being envious of his glory, he was very unwilling to contribute to its increase by joining him, wishing rather to usurp his power. And with fifty-three cohorts (about 25,000 men,) which he had under his command, he did actually continue separate from him, till advice came that *Pompey* was ordered into *Spain*. His troops then declaring to him, that if he did not lead them to *Sertorius*, they would go without him, he, reluctantly, complied: but his bad disposition was, in the end, more detrimental to the common cause, than the strong reinforcement he brought with him was beneficial.

Plutarch, to shew the ability of *Sertorius*, relates two particulars of his conduct, before the arrival of *Pompey*.

The *Spaniards*, under his command, flushed with their successes, were for marching, at all events, to battle, impatient of their General's delays, who waited for a favourable opportunity. He at first endeavoured to dissuade them by mild remonstrances, but, finding that these had no effect, and that they were eagerly bent on fighting, he determined to let them receive from the enemy a lesson that might teach them prudence, and render them more tractable. The *Spaniards*, as he had foreseen, were worsted in the engagement, and would have been entirely cut to pieces, if, with great skill, he had not contrived their retreat.

Discouragement, as it usually happens, was just going to succeed to presumption, when *Sertorius*, to avert this evil, and to give the *Spanish* soldiers a just sense of the reasons of his conduct, made use of the following device. He caused to be placed in the midst of them two horses, the one lean and old, the other fat and full of vigour, and which had a tail abounding with fine long hairs. By the lean horse stood a strong robust man; near the other a little puny fellow. Upon a signal given, these two men, who were each to pluck off all the hairs of his respective horse's tail, fell to work in the following manner: The strong man graspt the tail of his horse, and pulled with all his might, to bring all off at once. The weak man set himself to pluck off the hairs of his horse's tail one by one. Fatigue to himself, and much laughter from the spectators, were the only effects of the labour of the first: the other finished his enterprize in a reasonable time; not a single hair remained on the tail of his horse. *Sertorius* then broke silence; "You see, my good allies, how much more efficacious, than force, is perseverance. A numerous and potent army may, in separate parts, be overcome, though we can make no impression on it while it remains one undivided body. Perseverance can do any thing: Time destroys the mightiest powers, and shews itself the good ally of those who are not precipitate in their measures, but prudently wait the proper seasons for action."

Pompey, in his way to *Spain*, finding the passes of the *Alps* shut up by the troops which *Sertorius* had posted there, made himself a new road over those mountains, and a more commodious one than that of *Hannibal*: After which, continuing his march through *Gallia Narbonensis*, he retook all the places possessed there by the enemy; then passed the *Pyrenees*, and filled all *Spain* with great expectation. Though young, many victories had made his name famous, and prepossessed the public in his favour; inso-much, that the fidelity of those who had hitherto adhered to *Sertorius* began to waver. But, when the two Generals came to blows, the success did not answer the public opinion: *Sertorius* re-established his interest with the *Spaniards*, and acquired new reputation, not only in *Spain*, but even at *Rome*.

While *Sertorius* was besieging *Laurona*^c, *Pompey* drew near in order to succour the place; and once imagining, that he had shut up the enemy between the city and his army, vainly boasted, that the *Lauronites* would have the satisfaction of seeing, from their walls, the besiegers besieged. *Sertorius*, when informed of this, only laughed, and said, he would teach *Sylla's* scholar, that a General ought to look more *behind* than *before* him: And, accordingly, by means of a body of 6000 men, which he had left in his camp, he kept *Pompey* in awe, who could not attack him, without exposing himself to be attacked, at the same time, both in front and rear. The

Y. R. 676.
Bel. Chu.
74
375 Conf.

Ep. Pomp.
ap. Pragn.
Sall. Hist.
l. iii.

Plut. in
Pomp. &
Sertor.

^c This city is thought not to have been far from *Valencia*.

Y. R. 676. young General, perceiving he had been too hasty in his boast, was mortified, ashamed, and perplexed: And, what completely disconcerted him, his foragers fell into an ambush laid for them by *Sertorius*; and a whole legion, that came to their aid, was itself surrounded, and perished, almost entirely, with its commander. The besieged, having now lost all hope of succour, surrendered at discretion. *Sertorius* spared the lives of the inhabitants, but burnt their city; not out of cruelty to them, but to cover with shame both *Pompey* and his admirers, when it should be reported throughout *Spain*, that a city*, which he had undertaken to relieve, had been burnt before his eyes, and so near him, that he might, almost, have warmed himself by the fire that consumed it.

Frontin.
xi. 4.
Plut. in
Sertor.

Thus ended this campaign: both armies went into winter-quarters. *Pompey* and *Metellus* passed the season under tents in the *Pyrenees*, and in the midst of numerous enemies, that harassed them. *Sertorius*, accompanied by *Perperna*, retired into *Lusitania*.

Y. R. 677. It would seem, that, when the operations of war were renewed (in the Consulship of *Cn. Octavius* and *C. Scribonius Curio*,) the two armies were each of them divided, so that *Hirtuleius*, the brave Quæstor of *Sertorius*, remained in *Betlica**, to oppose *Metellus*; and *Sertorius* marched towards the country, now called the kingdom of *Valencia*, to make head against *Pompey*.

75.
376 Conf.

* Andalusia.

Oros. l. v. *Hirtuleius* came to an engagement with *Metellus*, near the city *Italica**, and the conflict proved very hot and bloody; both Generals exposed their persons; *Metellus*'s armour was pierced by a dart; *Hirtuleius* received a wound in his arm, and was at length constrained to quit the field, leaving 20,000 of his men upon the spot. The conqueror owed his victory to his able conduct, in not bringing his men to engage with their enemies till these, who had left their intrenchments at sun-rise, were quite spent with hunger and fatigue, having, without any refreshments, sustained all the heat of the day. Not long after, *Hirtuleius*, attempting, probably, to retrieve his honour, fell in battle, together with his brother. We are told, that *Sertorius*, with his own hand, killed the man who brought him the news of this great loss; for, as he was upon the point of giving battle, he feared, that the report, if spread at that critical time, would dishearten his soldiers. That his own courage was not abated, he well demonstrated, when *Pompey*, having defeated *Herennius* and *Perperna*, near *Valencia*, came in quest of him in the neighbourhood of *Sucro*†. Both Commanders were desirous of coming to a

Frontin.
xi. 7.

Plut. in
Sert. & in
Pomp.

* *Appian* reports, that, at the taking of *Lauroa*, *Sertorius* being informed, that one of his soldiers had, in a brutal manner, abused a woman his prisoner, who, to revenge herself, had even torn out his eyes, he not only ordered the criminal to be executed; but, knowing that the whole cohort was infamous

for these excesses, he put them all to death, without sparing one, though they were citizens of *Rome*. *Appian*, l. i. p. 419.

† *Sevilla* lies upon the *Guadalquivir*.

* A city ruined many ages ago, which stood at the mouth of the river *Sucro*, now the *Xucar*.

battle

battle before *Metellus*, who was marching from *Bætica*, should arrive; *Sertorius*, that he might have fewer enemies upon his hands; *Pompey*, that he might have no partner in the glory of the success he promised himself. The action did not begin till the evening, *Sertorius* waiting till then, because he knew, that to his enemies, not well acquainted with the country, the night would be disadvantageous, whether they should be obliged to fly, or have occasion to pursue.

In the beginning of the engagement, *Sertorius* was at the head of his right wing, and fought with success: but receiving advice that his left had given ground before *Pompey*, he repaired thither; and his presence changed the face of things in a very short time. Even *Pompey's* person was twice in the greatest danger: The second time he saved his life by quitting his horse; for it being richly caparisoned, and the Barbarians falling into contention for the spoil, this gave him opportunity to escape.

Sertorius's right wing, after his leaving it, was totally defeated by *Afranius*, who commanded the left of the enemy: The victorious troops pushed on to the very camp of the vanquished, and began to plunder it. *Sertorius*, in that instant, arrived, cut off a great number of the plunderers, and forced the rest to retire in disorder.

He prepared for another engagement the next day; but, upon receiving intelligence, that *Metellus* had joined *Pompey*, thought it prudent to retire; affecting, however, at the same time, to express an utter contempt for the latter; "If the old woman had not come", I would have sent the boy "back to *Rome* well chastised."

Not thinking that even the flight of his troops, in one body, would be safe, he commanded them to disperse themselves; but assigned them a rendezvous: for this was his method, and what the Barbarians were accustomed to; so that sometimes he was in the mountains almost alone; and, presently after, saw himself at the head of a numerous army. This sudden re-assembling of the dispersed soldiers into one great body *Plutarch* compares to the flowing and concentrating of the melted snows, so as to form one mighty torrent.

What, at this time, gave *Sertorius* no small concern, his hind, during the tumult of the last battle, and the plundering of his camp, was lost; and he now wanted her service more than ever for keeping the Barbarians in respect. Fortunately some of his soldiers met her in a wood, and, knowing her, brought her to him. He promised them a great reward, if they would keep the thing secret; and, having caused her to be hid for some days, one morning he put on an air of gaiety, and told the *Spanish*

ⁿ Why *old*? he was but *fifty-two*; for when he served under his father, in *Numidia*, in the year 645, he was only *Twenty* years of age (*vid. supra*, p. 44.) yet *Plutarch* always speaks of him as, at this time, weighed down with years, almost superannuated.

Y. R. 677. chiefs, who were with him, that he had, the night before, had a dream,
 B. C. 1 hr. which foretold him some happy event by the favour of the Gods. After
 376 C. C. 75. this, he, according to custom, gave audience to those who had business
 with him. The hind was on a sudden let go, and, seeing *Sertorius*, came
 skipping to him, laid her head upon his knees, and licked his right-hand,
 which he held out to her. *Sertorius* caressed her with an extreme ten-
 derness, even to shedding some tears. The Barbarians were at first struck
 with astonishment, but then, recovering themselves, shouted loudly for joy,
 regarding him as a favourite of heaven, and as a person above the rank
 of mortal men.

Plut. in
 Pomp.

At the arrival of *Metellus*, *Pompey* would have lowered his Fasces
 before him, as before his senior and superior; but *Metellus* would not
 suffer it; indeed he always treated *Pompey* as his colleague and equal
 (with this exception only, that, when they encamped together, *Metellus*
 alone gave the word;) and to *Metellus's* opinion *Pompey* constantly paid a
 respectful difference.

Plut. in
 Sertor.

The two Generals, in this perfect concert, marched in quest of *Serto-
 rius*, and, at length, forced him to a battle. The armies met near
Segontia^s; the action continued from noon till after sunset. *Sertorius*
 faced *Pompey*, who, in this engagement, lost his Quæstor *Memmius*, the
 bravest officer in his army, together with a great number of men: But
Sertorius could not improve the advantage, which this gave him, being ne-
 cessitated to go to the assistance of his left wing, which, under the conduct
 of *Perperna*, was almost entirely defeated by *Metellus*. A terrible slaugh-
 ter of this General's troops was now made, and he himself wounded, ha-
 ving exposed his person with great bravery and intrepidity: but this very
 wound gained him the day; for his soldiers, who both loved and honoured
 him, seeing the hurt he had received, and the consequent danger he was in
 of falling into the hands of his enemies, grief and rage augmented their
 strength, and animated them to such vigorous efforts, as the *Spaniards*
 were utterly unable to withstand; and *Sertorius* failed of victory, when he
 imagined himself sure of it.

Urged by necessity, he had now recourse to his usual expedient in like
 cases: He disbanded his army, and, with a small number of brave sol-
 diers, retired into a strong place in the mountains; and there he began
 to improve and increase the fortifications, as if he intended to sustain a
 siege. By this he effectually baffled the enemy; who, hoping to reduce
 the place in a short time, sat down before it, ceased their pursuit of the
 scattered flying *Spaniards*, and thereby allowed them opportunity to re-
 assemble themselves, strengthened with considerable recruits. He had
 ordered them to give him notice so soon as they were collected into a

Sigüenza in Old Castile

body

body sufficiently strong to keep the field. The expected notice received, he, without delay, sallied out, and, having easily forced a passage through the enemy, put himself at the head of the army, that was waiting for him. And now by marches, and counter-marches, he harraßed and quite tired out the armies of *Metellus* and *Pompey*; kept them, by frequent ambushes, in constant perplexity; cut off the provisions that were coming to them by land; prevented, by his cruizers, their receiving any supplies by sea; and at length reduced, both the one and the other, to abandon all that part of *Spain* which had submitted to him. *Metellus* retired into farther *Spain*; *Pompey* into *Gallia Narbonensis*.

Y. R. 677.
Bef. Chr.
75.
376 Conf.
Plut. in
Sert.
Liv. Epit.
xciii.

[GREAT commotions are said to have been at *Rome* during the present year, on occasion of *Sylla's* innovations with regard to the Tribuneship. He had very much abridged (as we have seen) the powers belonging to that Magistracy: but he was no sooner dead, than the Tribunes exerted their utmost efforts to recover their ancient rights, an attempt which produced perpetual war between them and the Consuls: and the conflict was more sharp than ever this year, when the Consul *Curio*^d maintained against the Tribune *Sicinius* the changes made by *Sylla*. Nor were the disputes between these terminated by speeches, but by the assassination of *Sicinius*, *Curio* being suspected of the crime.

Vid. supr.
P. 167.
Sallust.
Hist. iii. in
Orat. Ma-
cri.
Ficinsem.

In the same Consulship, was a deputation from the SENATE to collect from every quarter, all that could be found of the *Sibylline* oracles. The books which contained them had seven years before been consumed in the burning of the Capitol. From *Erythæ* (a city of *Æolis*, the supposed country of the *Sibyl*;) *Ilium*, *Samos*, *Sicily*, and several cities of *Italy*, the deputies made a collection of verses which went under the name of the *Sibyl*; but in which *Varro*, by the acrostics (or initial letters) discovered numerous interpolations.]

THE affairs of *Sertorius* were probably in the situation above-mentioned, when [during the Consulship of *L. Octavius* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*] he received an embassy from *Mitbridates*, king of *Pontus*,

Y. R. 678.
Bef. Chr.
74.
377 Conf.

^d *Cicero* (in *Brut.* 213, & seq.) tells us, that *Curio* was an orator of a singular cast; that he was extremely ignorant, and had nothing to entitle him to the name of Orator, but an abundant flow of words, and a florid diction: That his memory sometimes failed him entirely, insomuch, that one day, in a cause, where they were on opposite sides, *Curio* rising up to speak, forgot, that moment, all he had intended to say, and was reduced to complain, that the adverse party had deprived him of his memory by enchantments. As to his action, it was perfectly ridiculous; his arms, while he spoke, moving like the pen-

dulum of a clock, which gave occasion to *Sicinius*, who had a good deal of humour, and more impudence, to make a smart jest upon him. The two Consuls being on the *Rostra* in an Assembly of the People, and *Octavius* being forced to keep sitting, wrapt up in cloths with cataplasms and fomentations, *Curio* spoke in the name of both. When he had done, *Sicinius* addressing himself to *Octavius*, — You can never sufficiently acknowledge the obligations you have to your colleague: for if he had not swung his arms about as usual, the flies would have eat you up, before this time.

offerings

V. R. 673. offering him the aid of money and ships, and demanding, in return the cession of *Asia*, which he had been obliged to bandon by his treaty with *Sylla*.

App. Mi-
thrid
Flut. in
8. r.

This prince was meditating a renewal of the war with the *Romans*. He had at his court two *Roman* fugitives, *L. Fannius* and *L. Magius*, formerly companions and friends of *Fimbria*. Their hatred of *Sylla* recommended them to *Mitbridates*, and they supported themselves in his favour by flattery. As they had formerly adhered to the party, of which *Sertorius* now protected the remains, they suggested to the king the thought of making an alliance with him: they compared the King to *Pyrrbus*, and *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, and nothing was to stand before two such great Generals.

Sertorius, at the head of his Senate, gave audience to the king's Ambassadors; and when they were withdrawn, he brought the affair under deliberation. The Senators were unanimously for accepting the king's offers; for they wanted both money and ships; and they considered what the king asked in return, as only an empty title. *Sertorius*, however, differed from them in opinion. He said, he should not object to the king's seizing *Bitbynia* and *Cappadocia*, countries always governed by kings, and to which the *Romans* had no ancient title: but that as to *Asia Minor*, of which they were lawfully possessed, at the time when that prince endeavoured to deprive them of it, and which, after he had been driven out of it by *Fimbria*, he had renounced by a solemn treaty, he would never consent that it should fall under the power of *Mitbridates*. He added, "I ought to make my power subservient to the aggrandizing of the Commonwealth, and not aggrandize myself by its losses and decrease. A brave man, undoubtedly, desires to conquer with glory; but he will think life itself too dearly purchased, if at the price of base proceedings."

When this answer was brought to *Mitbridates* by his Ambassadors, it astonished him extremely. *What orders then*, said he, *would Sertorius send, did he preside in the Senate at Rome; he who, while banished, proscribed, and driven to the coasts of the Atlantic sea, sets bounds to my dominions, and threatens me with war, if I make any attempts upon Asia?* The treaty was concluded, upon the conditions prescribed by *Sertorius*: it imported, that *Mitbridates* should have *Bitbynia* and *Cappadocia*: that *Sertorius* should send him a General and some troops, and should receive from the king 3000 talents, and 40 ships. *Sertorius* dispatched one of his Senators, named *M. Marius*, into *Asia*; and to this Proconsul of *Sertorius's* creating, were all the honours of that office paid in the army of *Mitbridates*. If any city of *Asia* was taken, *Marius* entered it in pomp, preceded by his Lictors with their rods and axes, and followed by the king of *Pontus*, who condescended to take the second place. The Proconsul granted liberty to some of the *Asiatic* cities; to others immu-

immunities and exemptions, all in the name of *Sertorius*, without permitting *Mitbridates* to perform any act of sovereignty.

Y. R. 678.
Bef. Chr.
74.
377 Conf.

To return to the war in *Spain*. *Pompey*, as was before mentioned, being reduced by *Sertorius* to take up his winter-quarters in *Gallia Narbonensis*, wrote thence a letter to the Senate, in very high and menacing terms, complaining that they suffered him to want every thing; that, during the three years of his command in *Spain*, he had scarce received the money necessary for the expence of one; and he concluded with this declaration: "I have not only exhausted my estate, but my credit: I have no resource but in you: if you fail me, I give you notice, that my army, and the war itself, will soon be in *Italy*."

Sallust.
Hist. l. iii.

When this letter arrived at *Rome*, *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *M. Aurelius Cotta* were in the Consulship. As *Lucullus* ardently desired to have the conduct of the war against *Mitbridates*, and was apprehensive that *Pompey* only sought a pretence for quitting the war in *Spain*, that he might come to *Rome*, and dispute with him the other employment, which was far more easy and more lucrative, he spared no pains to keep him at a distance, and with that view caused all the money he demanded to be sent to him. This supply put *Pompey* into a condition to return out of *Gaul* into *Spain*.

Y. R. 679.
Bef. Chr.
73.
378 Conf.
Plut. in.
Pomp. &
Lucull.

Metellus, to get the better of *Sertorius*, took measures of another sort. He set a price upon his head, promising by proclamation, to any *Roman* who should kill him, 100 talents and 20,000 acres of land; and, in case the assassin were an exile, liberty to return home. *Plutarch* observes, that this did not suit well with that contempt of *Sertorius*, which *Metellus* always affected in his discourses, styling him *Sylla's* fugitive, and calling his followers the fragments of *Carbo's* shipwreck. How sincere and extreme a dread he had of the superior abilities of *Sertorius*, he manifested yet more fully (as the same historian remarks) by his frantic joy, on occasion of some small advantage he imagined he had obtained over him. He caused himself to be saluted EMPEROR [Imperator] by his soldiers: altars were erected, and sacrifices offered to him in the cities through which he passed: choirs of young men and maidens sung hymns to his praise: and little figures of Victory were made to descend (as in puppet-shows,) and, in the midst of artificial thunder and lightning, put crowns upon his head. All this was followed by the most magnificent and costly entertainments, which he gave in celebration of his mighty achievement; and, at these feasting, the ridiculous oaf, drinking and staring, sat in state, his august person being clothed in the proper robe of TRIUMPH.

Plut. in
Sert.

Plut. in
Sert. &
Sallust. ap.
Macrob.
Sat. iii.
13.

Sertorius had little to fear from the prowess of such an enemy, but much from a spirit of sedition which prosperity had given birth to, among the *Romans* of his own army. Whilst the danger was great and imminent, fear.

App. p.
421.
Plut. in
Sert.

V. R. 679-
Bef. Chr.
73.
378 Conf.

fear kept all submissive to the only man who could protect them : but when that fear was removed, envy and jealousy took place. *Perperna*, who, from the beginning (as formerly mentioned) aspired to the chief command, was the most active in spreading whispers. "What evil genius has made us quit one unhappy state, to precipitate ourselves into a worse? Our own country, where we might have lived in peace and quiet, we forsook, because we disdained to obey *Sylla*, whom the whole universe obeyed; and we came hither to live in liberty. And here we are become the most abject slaves; nay, have voluntarily subjected ourselves to be the guards and satellites of a banished fugitive. He calls us the SENATE: a vain title that exposes us to ridicule. Noble Senators indeed are we, who suffer from him the same imperious and insolent treatment, as the Barbarians of *Spain* and *Lusitania*!"

Discourses of this kind had their effect; and though the discontented feared the power of *Sertorius* too much to hazard an open revolt, yet they contrived to ruin him with the *Spaniards*, by treating them harshly, and loading them with taxes, as if by his order. From hence arose commotions and revolts among those nations; and the persons whom he sent to remedy these evils, designedly made them more difficult to be cured. That *Sertorius*, under these disadvantages, lost ground before *Metellus* and *Pompey*, will easily be supposed; and we are told, that, exasperated by bad success, and reduced to extremities by revolts, he forsook his former character to such a degree, as to let the weight of his wrath against the parents fall upon the children whom he had caused to be educated at *Osca*, of whom he killed some, and sold the rest.

Among

* *Appian* tells us, that when *Metellus* and *Pompey* returned into *Spain*, after passing a winter in the *Pyrenees*, and when their armies approached that of *Sertorius*, many of his *Roman* soldiers deserted to him, which put him into such wrath, that he cruelly treated others who were innocent, and that this produced a general discontent among his *Romans*: but what most of all alienated their minds from him was, that he placed all his confidence in the *Spaniards*, forming of them the guard of his person: and that the *Spaniards*, proud of the preference, contemptuously reproached the *Romans* with want of fidelity. The historian adds, that *Sertorius* would have been entirely abandoned by them, but for the need they knew they had of so good a captain.

M. Crevier has inserted these facts into his text; though *Plutarch* gives not the least hint

of them; and they are neither probable nor very consistent with the removal of that fear of the enemy, which, *Plutarch* tells us, had kept them submissive, while under its influence; nor with other particulars of *Plutarch's* relation, as the reader may observe.

May it not be reasonably questioned, whether *Plutarch* had any better authority for this story, concerning the children, than some Aristocratic party-writer? Would the *Spaniards* so soon have forgot these murders? *Vid. infr. p. 194.*

He adds, that, on account of this cruel proceeding of *Sertorius*, in the latter part of his life, some believed his former mildness and clemency to have been mere disguise and art, the dictate of reflection, and what the necessity of his affairs prompted him to. The historian-moralist declares himself of a different opinion: for though he holds that real

Among those whom *Perperna* drew into his conspiracy, was *Manius*,^{Y. R. 679. Bef. Chr. 73. 378 Conf.} an officer in the army, who, at that time, loved a certain youth; to whom, in order to engage his affections, he discovered the secret; boasting, that in a few days he should be a person of great power and authority: but the youth having more inclination for *Aufidius*, disclosed all to him, who was likewise one in the conspiracy, but knew not that *Manius* was engaged therein. Upon the youth's naming *Perperna*, *Græcinus*, and others, whom *Aufidius* knew to be conspirators, he was much surpris'd and terrified. He made slight of the matter to the youth, and bid him not regard what *Manius*, a vain boasting fellow, had said; and then going immediately to *Perperna*, gave him notice of the danger they were in of a discovery, urging him to the execution of their design without delay. To this all the conspirators having agreed, they provided a messenger, who brought to *Sertorius* counterfeit letters, importing notice of a victory gained by one of his lieutenants with great slaughter of the enemy. *Sertorius*, highly pleas'd with the news, performed a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the Gods; at the close of which, *Perperna* invited him, and those who assist'd at the sacrifice (who were also of the conspiracy) to an entertainment; and, being very importunate, prevail'd with him to come. At all suppers and entertainments where *Sertorius* was present, great decency us'd to be observ'd: for he would not endure to hear or see any thing contrary to the most perfect modesty. But at this entertainment the conspirators, pretending to be drunk, began to hold the most dissolute discourses, proceeding to actions of obscenity, with design to make *Sertorius* angry. He, whether because he had a natural abhorrence of such licentious deportment, or because he perceived, by certain signs they made to each other, and their unwonted failure of respect for him, something of their design, changed his posture, turning upon his bed, as if to avoid seeing any thing more of what pass'd. *Perperna* seized that moment for the execution of his purpose. He took a cup full of wine, and, in drinking, let the cup fall. This was the signal agreed upon; *Antonius*, instantly drew his sword, and, being on the same bed with *Sertorius*, gave him the first wound; then throwing himself upon

real solid virtue, confirmed by reason and habit, will ever be uniform, whatever adversity may happen; yet he thinks, that a man of the gentlest and most virtuous disposition may be so provoked by insolent and injurious treatment, and especially by ingratitude, as to become wicked and cruel towards those, who have injured and betrayed him; and this he supposes to have been the case with *Sertorius*.

The same Moralist leaves it problematical, whether *Sylla* (the most cruel of all monsters)

was not once a good-natured man, and afterwards spoil'd by prosperity and elevation.

But as for *Marius*, he was, it seems, without question, always wicked, and always cruel, cruel by nature; his rising to power made no change in him in that respect. [*Plut. in Syll.*] And this is sufficiently manifest (though there be no other evidence of it, nor shadow of evidence) from his despising the Greek language and literature. *Vid. supr. p. 40.*

Y.R. 679- his stomach, seized his hands, and while he thus deprived him of all
 Bef. Chr. power to make resistance, the other conspirators with many stabs dis-
 73. patched him *.
 378 Conf.

App. Plut. *Perperna*, so soon as he had perpetrated his crime, was for reaping the fruit of it, by taking possession of the command, but found some difficulties in the way. The death of *Sertorius*, so treacherously and cruelly murdered, had put an end to all hatred conceived against him by the multitude; compassion succeeded, they forgot the causes he had given them of complaint, and remembered only his virtues: the *Spaniards*, especially, regretted the loss of him, and looked upon the assassins with horror: many states revolted on the first news of his death, and made their submission either to *Pompey* or to *Metellus*. Nevertheless, *Perperna*, by the means of money, promises, threats, and even punishments, aptly employed, managed so artfully, as not only to hinder the army from disbanding itself, but engage the greater part of it to accept him for their General: with what success we shall see hereafter.

C H A P. IV.

WAR of SPARTACUS the Gladiator.

Y.R. 680. **I**T was during the next year (680) *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus* and *C. Cassius* being Consuls, that the war of *Spartacus* broke out in *Italy*.
 Bef. Chr. 72.
 379 Conf. In the city of *Capua*, one *Lentulus* caused a considerable number of slaves, most of them by birth *Gauls* or *Thracians*, to be trained to the science of gladiators, not on account of any crimes by them committed, but for his own profit. Of these wretches 200 entered into a plot to run away; but their design having been discovered, only seventy-eight of them could put it in execution, and these fled with no other arms than kitchen-knives and spits. Nothing in appearance could be more contemptible, or less likely to make the capital of the universe tremble: but in a government, where great numbers are discontented with their condition, the least commotions are to be feared: and it happened, that those fugitive slaves had a man at their head who was alone worth an army; a man of ability and courage, skilful to employ stratagem, or force, intrepid in dangers, fruitful of expedients in adversity, prudent and moderate in prosperity. In a word, a Hero reduced to the condition of a slave. Such was *Spartacus*. He had too great a spirit to reconcile himself to so infamous a profession, as that of fighting for the amusement of spectators; and he persuaded the

* It would seem, that this murder was committed in the year 680; for *Sertorius* was in the eighth year of his command, having

been called in by the *Lusitanians*, in the second Consulship of *Sylla*.

companions

companions of his fortune to hazard their lives rather in attempting to recover their liberty. However, he was not the only leader of the band : *Crixus* and *Oenomaus* were associated with him in the command : And the difficulties occasioned by this division of authority, was not among the least of those which *Spartacus* experienced in the execution of his enterprize.

Y.R. 680.
Bef. Chr.
72.
379 Conf.

They had scarcely quitted *Capua*, when they met and seized a carriage loaded with the arms of gladiators, arms not fit for war, but better than those with which they had furnished themselves ; and these they soon after exchanged for the proper arms of soldiers ; for a body of the *Capuans* coming out in pursuit of them, *Spartacus* defeated these pursuers, killed a great number of them, and armed his little band with their spoils.

This first success augmented their number, but not sufficiently to embolden them to keep the field. *Claudius Pulcher*, who was sent from *Rome* against them, found them posted upon mount *Vesuvius*. He encamped at the foot of that mountain, and having possessed himself of the only practicable way leading to the summit (all the rest being steep rock and precipice) he supposed that he had so effectually shut up the rebels, as to leave them no possibility of escaping. Nevertheless, the slaves, by means of ladders made of vine-branches, of which they found abundance upon the spot, got down the rock : one only remained above till he had thrown down to his comrades their arms ; and then he likewise descended, and re-joined them. And now *Spartacus*, not contented with escaping from the enemy, attacked them, when they least expected it, defeating them, and took their camp.

This second victory made the slaves of all the neighbouring country flock to him, insomuch that his followers soon increased to 10,000 ; and because he wanted arms for so great a number, he forged, as well as he could, all the iron he could get, into swords and other offensive weapons, and made shields of basket-work, covered with skins of beasts newly killed. Thus armed, they ravaged all *Campania*, and, in some considerable cities, which they took and plundered, committed a thousand cruelties and outrages upon such as fell into their hands, though *Spartacus* did his utmost, by remonstrances and intreaties, to restrain his followers from these excesses. Grown insolent by success, they indulged themselves in the pleasure of gratifying their revenge by all possible indignities towards those they had formerly feared.

From *Rome*, it being now perceived that the affair was serious, they sent the Prætor, *P. Varinius*, against the rebels. *Spartacus* very soon defeated *Furius*, one of the Prætor's Lieutenants, who commanded a detachment of 2000 men ; and, some time after, *Cossinius*, whom *Plutarch* calls the counsellor and colleague of *Varinius*, suffered himself to be surprized in *Lucania* : The enemy were very near taking him in the bath, his troops were defeated, his camp forced, and he himself killed. After these successes, *Spartacus* vanquished the Prætor in several actions, and at length took his

Y.R. 680. Fasces, which from henceforward he caused to be borne before his own Person.

Piut. in Cr. ff. Nevertheless, this glare of prosperity did not so dazzle his eyes, as to hinder him from seeing, that it was impossible for him to triumph finally over the *Roman Power*, and that, sooner or later, he must unavoidably sink under it. He resolved therefore to march his forces towards the *Alps*, and pass those mountains as soon as he could, to the end that the *Gallic* and *Thracian* soldiers, who made the far greater part of his army, might retire to their respective homes, there to enjoy in peace a liberty that had cost them so much labour, and so many perils to recover. Wise as this counsel was, the slaves, because hitherto constantly victorious, rejected it: They saw themselves 40,000 strong, and being full of a frantic confidence, and allured with the hope of becoming rich, by plundering *Italy*, had no inclination to look forward to more distant consequences.

Y.R. 681. B. i. Chr. 71. 380 Conf. When the consular Fasces were transferred to *L. Gellius Poplicola* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Claudianus*, the troops of *Spartacus* had increased to 70,000 men. Three armies were sent against them, two commanded by the two Consuls, and a third under the Prætor *Q. Arrius*. The dissension and division, which arose among the enemy, gave those armies an advantage. *Spartacus* could not keep the *Gauls* of his army in obedience; they separated from him, and, under the command of their countryman *Crixus*, threw themselves into *Apulia*, and pillaged the country; but the Consul *Gellius*, and the Prætor *Arrius*, fell upon them near mount *Garganus**, and of 30,000 men, of which their body consisted, killed 20,000, *Crixus* himself falling in the action.

* Mount St. Angelo.

Sallust. Hist. l. iv. *Spartacus*, not discouraged nor disconcerted by this disaster, directed his march through the *Appennines*, still pursuing his design of gaining the *Alps*, and quitting *Italy*. To oppose his progress, the Consul *Lentulus* advanced; a General of whom *Sallust* doubts, whether his vanity or his folly were the greater. *Spartacus* put his army to the rout, and then, turning back, met *Gellius*, the other Consul, who was coming from *Apulia* to inclose him between himself and his colleague; and though *Gellius* was joined by the Prætor *Arrius*, *Spartacus* defeated them both in a pitched battle.

App. P. 424.

It was a custom at *Rome* to honour the funerals of illustrious persons with combats of gladiators. *Spartacus*, on occasion of this victory, caused the like honours to be paid to the manes of his late companion, *Crixus*. Having picked out 300 of the stoutest men among his prisoners, he compelled them to fight round the funeral pile which he had erected; thus retaliating upon the *Romans* the insult, which he and his companions had suffered from them. The rest of the prisoners, and such of the carriage-horses as were unfit for service, he caused to be killed. And now seeing the number of his soldiers increased, by reason of these successes, to 120,000, he entertained the bold design of marching to *Rome*: however, as the two Consuls, with all

† *Marcellus* the forces they could assemble, posted themselves in *Picenum* †, in his way, he

Ancona.

he dropped that project; but turning against the Proconsul *C. Cassius* and the Prætor *Cn. Manlius*, defeated them, and put them to flight. Y.R. 681.

The Senate were greatly dissatisfied with all their Generals of this year, who had suffered luxury to reign in their camps; so that discipline had lost its vigour^a. New Consuls were chosen, *Cn. Aufidius Orestes*, and *P. Cornelius Lentulus*^b *Sura*. But the chief dependance of the Republic was upon *Crassus*, then Prætor; and who, in *Sylla's* war, had given proof, both of his courage, and of his ability. He received orders to march against *Spartacus*, and his reputation induced many persons of the first rank to accompany him in this war. *Crassus*, who knew that no success was to be expected, unless strict discipline were observed by the troops, quickly shewed that he resolved to re-establish it. He had detached *Mummius* with two legions to observe the motions of the enemy, but with orders not to hazard a battle, or even a skirmish. *Mummius*, nevertheless, imagining he had found a favourable opportunity of gaining some advantage, came to an engagement with the enemy. The Roman soldiers fled in a cowardly manner, and many of them returned to the camp without their arms, which they had thrown away to run the faster. Of these run-aways, *Crassus* decimated 500 of the most faulty. The fifty criminals were executed ignominiously in the sight of the whole army; and nothing of the like nature having been practised, during a great length of time, this example made the deeper impression. Beside this severity, *Crassus* obliged those who had thrown away their arms to find sureties for the new arms he furnished them with; by which proceeding, the Roman soldiers being brought to fear the severity of their General more than the swords of their enemies, they soon retrieved their honour. Of a body of 10,000 slaves, *Crassus* cut in pieces two thirds, and soon after gained an advantage over *Spartacus* himself, whom he drove into *Lucania*. Y. R. 682.
Bef. Chr.
70.
381 Conf.
Plut. in
Crass.

Spartacus continued retiring towards *Rhegium*, having formed the design of passing into *Sicily*, in which island, as it had already been the theatre of two wars with slaves, he hoped to rekindle a fire that was hardly yet extinguished: and, at first, fortune seemed to favour his hopes; for there happened to be in the Streight some ships belonging to pirates, with whom he treated for transporting 2000 of his men into *Sicily*; but the pirates, having received his money, steered a different course. And when, after this, he made an attempt to cross the Streight upon floats and rafts, the rapid current of the sea, which presently destroyed those weak transports, convinced him of the impossibility of succeeding that way. *Crassus*, in the mean time, having followed him in his march, he found himself shut up within the peninsula of *Bruttium*. The isthmus between Flor. iii.
20.

^a Military rewards were lavished (says *Plutarch*) without waiting till they were deserved. *Cato* refused, as not being his due, those that were offered him by the Consul

Gellius, under whom he served at this time. *Plut. in Cat.*

^b This was the *Lentulus* concerned afterwards in *Catiline's* conspiracy.

Y.R. 682. the two seas is about thirty miles over : across this isthmus, *Crassus* caused
 Bet. Chr. a trench to be cut fifteen feet in depth, and as many in breadth, and for-
 70. tified it with a strong and high wall. While this work was carried on,
 381 COMM. *Spartacus* made no attempt to disturb the workmen : His thoughts were
 wholly intent on arming his followers : He was near the sea on three sides,
 and invited merchants to bring to his camp, not gold and silver, but iron.
 Of this he amassed a great quantity, and, having caused arms to be forged,
 supplied all his troops abundantly. And now his great affair was to force
 the barrier, which the *Romans* had formed to shut him up. His first at-
 tempts were not successful. To make his troops resolute through despair,
 he caused a prisoner to be crucified at the head of his camp, that they might
 see with their own eyes the punishment which they must undergo, if, fail-
 ing of victory, they should fall into the hands of the *Prætor*. At length,
 in a tempestuous night, when there fell abundance of snow, he found
 means to fill up a part of the trench with earth and fascines, and passed his
 whole army over it.

Crassus, who had expected to conquer without striking a blow, was in
 such a consternation at the escape of his prey, that, in the first emotion of
 his fear, he wrote to the Senate, that it was necessary to call to his aid
 both *Varro Lucullus*, then returning from the war of *Tbrace*, and *Pompey*,
 who, having entirely re-established the tranquillity of *Spain*, was on his
 way home. However, he soon repented his invitation of those Generals
 to join him : For, having learnt that the *Gallie* slaves, not instructed by
 the misfortune and death of *Crixus*, had again separated themselves from
Spartacus, he fell upon them, put them into disorder, and would have
 intirely cut them off, if *Spartacus* had not come with expedition to their
 succour.

Frontin. ii. The *Gauls* still incamped separate from *Spartacus*, under the command
 5- 34. of two Generals of their own nation, *Gannicius* and *Castus*. *Crassus* found
 means to deceive *Spartacus*, so as to make him think, that the greater part
 of the *Roman* forces were fronting him, while they were really marching
 against the other commander. By this stratagem, he gained a signal vic-
 tory, which almost effaced the shame of the preceding defeats sustained
 by the *Romans*. He recovered five *Roman* eagles, twenty-six ensigns,
 and five *Fasces* with their axes. Thirty-five thousand of the enemy,
 Lib. xcvii. according to the Epitome of *Livy*, remained upon the spot. *Plutarch*
 Plut. in *Crass.* makes the number of the killed amount to only twelve thousand three
 hundred. And he observes, that those slaves fought with so much reso-
 lution, that, of so great a number, only two received their wounds be-
 hind.

Spartacus, after so considerable a loss, found it necessary to retire
 Plut. ibid. farther from the *Prætor*; and he marched towards *Apulia*. *Crassus*
 detached one of his Lieutenants, and his *Quæstor*, to pursue him. These
 officers, despising an enemy that fled, followed him so close and so incau-
 tiously,

tiously, that they gave him a favourable opportunity of turning upon them, and fighting them with advantage. The *Romans* fled in great disorder, and the *Quæstor*, being wounded, did not escape without much difficulty.

Y.R. 682.
Bef. Chr.
70.
381 Conf.

This success occasioned the ruin of *Spartacus*; his soldiers becoming so presumptuous thereupon, that they would not pursue the route he had directed them to take, but would have him turn back in quest of *Crassus*. There was another reason which determined *Spartacus* so to do: He had received advice that *Varro Lucullus* was arrived at *Brundisium*, and this made him apprehend being inclosed between two armies. *Crassus* no less desired a decisive battle, because *Pompey* approached; and the friends of this General, who was very popular, said publicly at *Rome*, that it was necessary to send him against *Spartacus*; for that he alone was born to put an end to the wars that were shameful to the *Roman* name. *Crassus*, therefore, being no less desirous of fighting than *Spartacus*, they soon came to a general action.

On this occasion *Spartacus*, being determined either to conquer or die, killed his horse at the head of his army, saying to his soldiers, that *if he proved victorious, he should have horses enough; if vanquished, he should have no want of them*. Fighting like a man in despair, he broke through the thickest battalions, killed two centurions with his own hand, in endeavouring to come at the person of *Crassus*: His efforts were vain, and he fell dead, covered with a multitude of wounds. Upon his fall, his soldiers all fled, and the conquerors gave no quarter: 40,000 slaves remained on the field of battle.

Nevertheless, a considerable number escaped the slaughter, and formed themselves into different bands. One of these, consisting of about 5000, who were making their way to the *Alps*, fell into the hands of *Pompey*.

Plut. in.
Crass. &
Pomp.

He happened, at this time, to be on his return from *Spain*; where he had, without much difficulty, put an end to the war. For though *Perperna* had prevailed with the army (as was before mentioned) to submit to his command, yet, not having the military talents of *Sertorius*, it was but sport to *Pompey* to subdue him. Stupidly running into a snare which *Pompey* had laid for him, he was entirely defeated, his army dispersed, his principal officers killed on the spot, and he himself taken prisoner.

Perperna, to save his life, signified to *Pompey*, that in *Sertorius's* papers he had found proof of secret correspondence held with him by many persons at *Rome*, even some Consulars and other principal Senators; that he had in his hand their original letters, by which they invited *Sertorius* to bring his army into *Italy*. *Pompey* is much praised for his prudence and generosity on this occasion. He knew that the best way of quieting the discontents of the city, was to free the *Marrians* from those fears, which a consciousness of guilt would suggest, rather than push them to the necessity of seeking their security in a change of affairs,

Plut. in
Sertor.

and

Y. R. 682.
 Ref. Chr.
 70.
 381 Conf.

and the overthrow of the State. He caused therefore all *Sertorius's* papers to be brought to him; and he burnt them without reading them himself, or suffering any other person to read them. And, lest *Perperna* should divulge something of what he knew, and mention names, he would not once see him, but caused him to be instantly put to death. Of the other persons concerned in the murder of *Sertorius*, several were taken by *Pompey's* soldiers, and killed by his order: some fled into *Africa*, where the *Moors* shot them to death with arrows. One only escaped; a wretch, who, hated by all that knew him, spent the remainder of his life in beggary.

After the defeat and death of *Perperna*, the remainder of the party had no resource, but in the victor's clemency. The towns of *Spain* eagerly made their submission; two only ventured to stand out, and both these were taken and destroyed. Thus ended the war in the Consulship of *Cn. Aufidius Orestes* and *P. Corn. Lentulus Sura* (year of *Rome* 682,) after it had lasted ten years: and thus expired the last remains of *Marius's* faction.

Plin. vii.
 26.

Pompey erected, in the *Pyrenees*, many monuments to perpetuate the memory of his exploits. On these monuments were inscriptions, importing, that, in the country between the *Alps* and the extremities of *Further Spain*, he had subjected eight hundred and seventy-six cities.

In his return home he, accidentally, fell in with that band of fugitive slaves before mentioned, a remnant of the army of *Spartacus*. He put them all to the sword; and, on this foundation, and on this alone, was for ascribing to himself the glory of having terminated that war. He wrote to the Senate, that *Crassus* had indeed put the slaves to flight, but that he had plucked up the war by the roots. *Cicero*, too, from a particular dislike of *Crassus*, affected, in his public speeches, to give *Pompey* the honour of finishing that war, declaring, that the very fame of his coming had broke the force of it, and his presence extinguished it. History, however, has done *Crassus* justice, and has transmitted his name to us with this praise, that by his vigilance, ability, and courage, he, in the space of six months, happily terminated a war, which had alarmed the *Romans*, not much less than even that of *Hannibal*. Six thousand of the runaways, who fell alive into the hands of the *Romans*, were crucified along the road from *Capua* to *Rome*.

Cic. in
 Ver. v. 5.
 & pro Leg
 Manil. 30.
 pro Sext.
 31.

Oros. l. v.
 24.
 Appian.

As to quelling the revolt in *Spain*, no body at *Rome* durst venture, either in earnest or in jest, to ascribe the least portion of the merit to any other than *Pompey*; so great a favourite he was of the multitude. And for this achievement he was decreed a *second TRIUMPH*, though still a private citizen, and of the equestrian rank.

Plin. xv.

29.
 Cæ. in Plin.
 24.

Crassus, on account of the mean condition of the enemies he had vanquished, obtained only the *lesser triumph* or *ovation*. Permission, however, was given him by the Senate, at his request, to wear, in the triumphal procession,

procession, instead of the crown of Myrtle, the crown of Laurel, which Y.R. 682. had hitherto been appropriated to the *greater triumph*.*

C H A P. V.

CRASSUS and POMPEY are chosen Consuls for the Year 683. POMPEY makes his court to the PEOPLE, by repealing some of Sylla's Laws.

THE time for the great elections drew nigh: both the victorious Generals aspired to the Consulship, and neither of them had disbanded his army. Many persons at Rome were apprehensive lest Pompey, after the example of Sylla, should make himself master of the Commonwealth: and Crassus declared, that he would not disband his troops, unless those of Pompey were likewise dismissed. The apprehensions, which these things occasioned, Pompey removed at once, by promising to dismiss his soldiers so soon as his Triumph should be over. Plut. in Pomp. & in Crass.

As to the Consulship, they were some difficulties to be surmounted with regard to Pompey. He was born in the 647th year of Rome, and therefore was not at this time full thirty-six years old, and, to be elected Consul, forty-three was the legal age. It would be strange to see a man placed in the highest Magistracy, before he was capable by Law of pretending even to the lowest! But so great and so universal was the admiration of him

* This year [682] abounded with triumphs at Rome. For, besides those of Crassus and Pompey, and Metellus (for he too had the like honour,) M. Terentius Varro Lucullus had a triumph for his conquest of Thrace. In the year 679, he had succeeded his elder brother, L. Lucullus, in the Consulship; and after the expiration of his Magistracy had Macedonia for his province. [Plut. in Lucull.] According to Florus [iii. 4.] he had pushed on his conquests as far as the Tanais, and the Palus Mæoris: he subdued likewise the whole coast of the Euxine sea, from the mouths of the Danube to the Bosphorus of Thrace, and from Apollonia, a city upon that coast, brought away a colossus of Apollo, thirty cubits high, which he placed in the Capitol. He spent only two campaigns in these expeditions. Cicero gives the epithet of TRIUMPHAL to Macedonia, because it furnished so many occasions of triumphing to the Roman Generals. *Provincia ex omnibus una maximè triumphalis.* Cic. in Pis. 44.

VOL. III.

Cornelius Dolabella (Consul in the year 672) had obtained a triumph for his successes in that country. And Scribonius Curio (Consul in the year 677) being sent thither the next year after his Consulship, had subdued the Dardanians to the North, and had likewise conquered Mæsia, and penetrated as far as Dacia.

^b *Quid tam singulare, quam ut legibus solutus ex S. consulto consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset.* Cic. pro lege Manil. xxi. The *Ædileship* was the first office that was properly called a Magistracy, and what could not regularly be obtained till after an interval of five years from the *Quæstorship*; and the *Quæstorian* age (in the latter times of the Republic) was the same with the *Senatorian*, thirty years complete: For Cicero, who declares in some of his speeches, that he had acquired all the honours of the City, without repulse in any, and each in its proper year, or as soon as he could pretend to it, yet did not obtain the *Quæstorship* till

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Y. R. 682. him, that the Senate dispensed with the Laws in his favour; and *Crassus* (who needed no such dispensation) found it not prudent to stand candidate without asking his consent. *Pompey*, highly flattered by an application of that sort from so considerable a man, and having long wished for an occasion to do him a friendly office, went so far as to declare to an Assembly of the People, "That he should be no less obliged to them for giving him *Crassus* to be his colleague, than for their bestowing the Consulship upon himself." Both were unanimously elected: after which, both triumphed for their victories in the wars they had respectively conducted; and *Pompey*, the very next day after his triumph, took possession of the Consulship. As if he had been born to command, he made his first entry into the Senate in the proper post to preside in it.

Y. R. 683. *M. Licinius Crassus*, } Consuls.
 Bef. Chr. *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*, }
 69.
 382 Conf.

The misunderstanding between *Crassus* and *Pompey* revived very soon after their taking possession of the Consular Fasces, and they did nothing memorable in their Magistracy, beside making their court to the People.

Crassus, having consecrated the tenth of his estate to *Hercules*, gave a feast to the whole City, and to each Citizen corn for three months.

Plut. in *Crass.* he had passed through his thirtieth year. See *Midd. Treat. on the Roman Senate*, p. 93. 94.
 " *Crassus*'s father and elder brother lost
 " their lives in the massacres of *Marinus* and
 " *Cinna*; but he himself escaped into *Spain*,
 " where he had contracted a numerous ac-
 " quaintance, while his father was *Prætor* of
 " that country; and he lay there concealed
 " till *Sylla*'s return to *Italy*, whither he pre-
 " sently resorted to him, in hopes to revenge
 " the ruin of his fortune and family on the
 " opposite faction. As he was attached to
 " *Sylla*'s cause both by interest and inclination,
 " so he was much considered in it; and being
 " extremely greedy and rapacious, made use
 " of all his credit to enrich himself by the
 " plunder of the enemy, and the purchase of
 " confiscated estates; which *Cicero* calls his
 " barter. By these methods he raised an
 " immense wealth, computed at many mil-
 " lions, gathered from the spoils and calami-
 " ties of his country. He used to say, that
 " no man could be reckoned rich, who was not
 " able to maintain an army out of his own rents;
 " and, if the accounts of antiquity be true,
 " the number of his slaves was scarce inferior
 " to that of a full army; which, instead of
 " being a burden, made one part of his reve-

nue; being all trained to some useful art or
 " profession, which enabled them not only to
 " support themselves, but to bring a share of
 " profit to their master. Among the other
 " trades in his family, he is said to have had
 " above five hundred masons and architects
 " constantly employed in building or repairing
 " the houses of the City. He had contracted
 " an early envy to *Pompey*, for his superior
 " credit both with *Sylla* and the People;
 " which was still aggravated by *Pompey*'s late
 " attempt to rob him of the honour of ending
 " the Servile War: But finding himself wholly
 " unequal to his rival in military fame, he
 " applied himself to the arts of peace and
 " eloquence; in which he obtained the cha-
 " racter of a good speaker; and by his easy
 " and familiar address, and a readiness to
 " assist all who wanted either his protection,
 " or his money, acquired a great authority in
 " all the public affairs." *Middleton's Life of Cicero*, vol. I. p. 73.

⁴ As *Pompey* had never been a *Senator* before he was *Consul*, and was therefore wholly unacquainted with the rules of the House, the learned *Varro* furnished him, at his request, with a manual of instruction in relation thereto. *A. Gell.* xiv.

Pompey

Pompey took various measures to establish himself in the affection of the multitude. By ancient institution, the Roman Knights, when they had

Y. R. 683.

Plut. in
Pomp.Plut. in
Pomp.

* From the time of *Pompey's* first coming into public life, the People of *Rome* (says *Plutarch*) seem to have entertained a singular affection for him: which is the more extraordinary, as he was the son of a most detestable and most detested father, *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* (Consul in the year 664,) a man infamous for rapaciousness, for murder, and for treachery to both the contending factions. Never did the Romans express so implacable a hatred to any of their Generals, as to this man; who being struck dead by lightening (the year of *Rome* 666) his body was not suffered to be carried with the usual solemnity to funeral: The populace tore it from off the bier, dragged it by a hook along the streets, and insulted it with all manner of outrages.

Vid. supr.
p. 133.
App. de.
Bell. Civ.
Jul. Ob-
seq. 54.Plut. in
Pomp.

The son, on the contrary, had rendered himself so dear to the soldiery, that, at nineteen years of age, he, by his sole influence, prevailed with the army, in which he then served under his father (the very year in which his father was struck dead,) not to execute the resolution they had taken of deserting their General; whom he had just before, in the same hour, preserved from being treacherously assassinated in his tent.

The next year an attack was made upon his fortune, and he himself personally accused: the charge imported, that, after the taking of *Asculum*, his father *Pompeius Strabo* had appropriated the spoil to his own use, instead of accounting for the produce of it to the treasury; and that the son had been a sharer in this robbery. He was called upon therefore to make satisfaction to the Public out of the effects to which he had succeeded. In his defence he set forth, that he had already made satisfaction to the Public, for his father's peculation; and that he had likewise given information to the Prætor of certain robberies committed by his father's secretary, who had thereupon been tried and condemned. As to his own share in the accusation, it appeared, that he had reserved nothing out of the spoils of *Asculum*, but some curious books, and some hunting-nets; and these being of little value,

the prosecution was judged to be malicious. The most eminent orators of *Rome*, *Philippus*, *Carbo* (who was Consul the next year,) and *Hortensius*, defended *Pompey* in this cause. He himself spoke several times, and in such a manner, as to acquire great reputation. The Prætor *Antistius*, who presided in the court, was so taken with his behaviour, that he resolved to make him an offer of his daughter, *Antistia*, in marriage, and even, during the prosecution, they concluded the contract. [This bargain between the judge and the defendant, pending the cause, may, perhaps, be thought not to redound much to the honour of either.] *Pompey* was acquitted; the marriage presently followed: yet, about four years after, he divorced this lady, at the command, or persuasion of *Sylla*, who, from political views, and with the approbation of his wife *Metella*, engaged him to marry *Æmilia*, the daughter of *Metella*, by her former husband (*Æmilius Scaurus*) she being the wife of *Acilius Glabrio*, by whom she was then actually with child. *Plutarch* observes, that *Pompey's* divorcing *Antistia*, was the more cruel, as upon his account (he being deemed a favourer of *Sylla's* cause) her father *Antistius* had been murdered in the Senate-house [by order of the younger *Marius*.] Her mother *Calpurnia* was so affected with these tragic events, that she put an end to her own life. *Æmilia* too soon after died in child-bed.

What chiefly gained to *Pompey*, in early life, the public favour, was his habitual temperance, his martial disposition, his genius for war, and his strict discipline in military service; add to this, that he was generous, and, though naturally grave, affable, and agreeable in speech, and had such an appearance of candour in his air and manner, as engaged confidence.

We have already seen, That, at twenty-three years of age, he, by his own credit and interest, raised three Legions, with which he joined *Sylla*, against the faction of *Marius* and *Cinna*;

That the next year (671) *Sylla* sent him into *Sicily* against *Perperna* and *Carbo*;

D d 2

That

Vid. supr.
p. 154

Y. R. 683. had completed their time of service, which was ten years, presented them-
 Bef. Chr. selves before the CENSORS, to whom they gave an account of the campaigns
 69. they had made, and under what Generals. The CENSORS¹ *L. Gellius*
 382 Conf. and *Cn. Lentulus*, sitting in their curule chairs, at the gate of the temple
 of *Castor*, making the review, *Pompey* appeared. He entered the Forum
 in all the state belonging to his consular dignity, but he himself leading
 his horse by the bridle. When he came in sight of the CENSORS, he
 made the Lictors, who were walking before him, stand aside, while he
 led his horse up to the Tribunal of those Magistrates. The People,
 struck with so singular a spectacle, remained in silence and admiration.
 The elder of the Censors put this question to him, *Pompey, have you*
completed all the years of service which you owed the Commonwealth? He
 answered, (speaking with a loud voice) *Yes, I have completed them all;*
and in all, have been myself the General. At these words the whole Forum
 resounded with shouts of applause; the CENSORS rose up, and conducted
Pompey back to his house: well knowing they should thereby please the
 multitude, who, transported with delight, continued clapping their hands
 all the way.

Cic. in
 Verr. Act.
 i. 1. & 15.
 Acon. in
 Divin.

Another thing by which *Pompey* greatly endeared himself to the
 People, was the change he made with regard to the *Judicature*; which
Sylla had transferred wholly to the SENATORS. Corruption in the
 courts of justice had risen to a most prodigious height. The Judges sold
 their votes, without hiding their shame; and it was grown (says *Cicero*)
 to be an established maxim, that *a wealthy man, how criminal soever,*
could not be condemned. On occasion of *Cicero's* prosecution of *Verres*,
 a celebrated modern, partial enough to the Aristocratical faction, writes
 thus:

That from *Sicily* he passed into *Africa* to
 conduct the war against *Domitius* and *Hiarbas*;
 and that, for having vanquished them, he
 extorted, at his return to *Rome*, the grant of a
 triumph, contrary to the inclination of the
 Dictator, and contrary to custom, the victor
 being only a *Roman Knight*: That he after-
 wards vanquished *Lepidus*, and totally crushed
 his faction: That he was afterwards sent into
Spain against *Sertorius*, but had little success
 there, during the life of that able General:
 That, after the murder of *Sertorius*, he
 brought the war to a happy issue, without
 much difficulty; and that in his return home
 (year of *Rome* 682) he met with, and put to
 the sword, a body of fugitives slaves, part of
 the army which *Craffus* had routed. His
 election soon after to the Consulship has just
 been related.

¹ There had been no CENSORS in the State
 for fifteen years past, when *Lentulus* and *Gel-
 lius* were honoured this year with that high
 office. They expelled out of the Senate sixty-
 four members; among whom were *C. Anto-
 nius* (second son of *M. Antonius* the orator) and
P. Lentulus Sura, who had been Consul the Liv. Epit.
 year before; and whom we shall find hereafter l. xcviu.
 engaged in *Catiline's* conspiracy. *Q. Curius*
 another of the conspirators, was likewise one
 of the sixty-four.

At the closing of the Lustrum, the number
 of the Citizens (which had been greatly
 augmented by admitting the allies to the free-
 dom of *Rome*) amounted to 950,000, accord-
 ing to *Freinsheimus*, who, in this particular,
 forsakes his text, or principal author, the
 Epitome of *Livy*, where we read 450,000.

“ The public administration was at this time, in every branch of it, Y. R. 683.
 “ most infamously corrupt: the great, exhausted by their luxury and Mid. Life
 “ vices, made no other use of their governments, than to enrich them- of Cic. vol.
 “ selves by the spoils of the foreign provinces: their business was to I. p. 79.
 “ extort money abroad, that they might purchase offices at home, and
 “ to plunder the Allies, in order to corrupt the Citizens. The oppressed,
 “ in the mean while, found it in vain to seek relief at *Rome*, where there
 “ was none who cared either to impeach, or to condemn a *noble criminal*;
 “ the decision of all trials being in the hands of men of the same condition,
 “ who were usually involved in the same crimes, and openly prostituted
 “ their judgment on these occasions for favour, or a bribe. This had
 “ raised a general discontent through the empire, with a particular disgust
 “ to that change made by *Sylla* of transferring the right of Judicature
 “ from the Equestrian^a to the Senatorian order, which the People were
 “ now impatient to get reversed: the prosecution therefore of *Verres* was
 “ both seasonable and popular, as it was likely to give some check to the
 “ oppressions of the NOBILITY, as well as comfort and relief to the di-
 “ stressed subjects.—*Cicero*, in his speech, after opening the reasons why, P. 82.
 “ contrary to his former practice, and the rule which he had laid down
 “ to himself of dedicating his labours to the defence of the distressed, he
 “ now appeared as an *Accuser*, adds, the provinces are utterly undone; the
 “ allies and tributaries so miserable oppressed, that they have lost even the
 “ hopes of redress, and seek only some comfort in their ruin: Those who
 “ would have the trials remain in the hands of the Senate, complain, that
 “ there are no men of reputation to undertake impeachments, no severity in
 “ the Judges: The People of *Rome*, in the mean while, though labouring
 “ under many other grievances, yet desire nothing so ardently, as the ancient
 “ discipline, and gravity of trials, For the want of trials, the Tribuni-
 “ cian power is called for again; for the abuse of trials, a new order of
 “ Judges is demanded; for the scandalous behaviour of Judges, the autho-
 “ rity of the CENSORS, hated before as too rigid, is now desired, and grown
 “ popular. In this license of profligate criminals, in the daily complaints of
 “ the Roman People, the infamy of trials^b, the disgrace of the whole Sena-
 “ torian

^a This is a mistake. *Sylla* transferred to the Senators the right of judicature, not from the Equestrian order, but from the persons elected by the tribes out of the three orders. See above p. 115.

^b *M. Crevier* has selected, from a great number, two or three striking instances of the infamy here spoken of: and I choose to borrow them from him, not only to avoid trouble, but because he is so warm a partizan of the *Aristocracy*, as to say, speaking of *Lucullus*

(tom. xi. p. 13.) *His fidelity to Sylla and the ARISTOCRATICAL PARTY proves him to have been a solid man, a man of sound understanding and noble sentiments.* [Sa fidélité pour Sylla et pour le parti de l'Aristocratie prouve un Caractère solide et élevé.]

P. Lentulus Sura had been Prætor in *Spain*, and was accused at his return home of Mal-administration. He bribed the Judges (according to the common practice at that time) and was acquitted; but finding that of thirty-

“ two

Y. R. 683. " torian order, as I thought it the only remedy to these mischiefs, for men of
 Bcf. Cl. " abilities and integrity to undertake the cause of the Republic, and the Laws,
 69. " so I was induced the more readily, out of regard to our common safety, to
 183 Conf. " come

two voices, he had seventeen in his favour, he complained heavily of bad management, and the unnecessary expence he had been put to by his agent's purchasing one voice more than was necessary. *Q. Calpurnius* having been condemned [doubtless because not so rich as his accuser] of misconduct when Prætor in *Spain*, reproached his judges, not for having given sentence against him, but for having done it at too low a price. *You ought to have been better paid for ruining a man, who has been honoured with the office of Prætor. You have sold me for a morsel of bread.*

Oppianicus, a Roman Knight, (before mentioned as a murderer, in speaking of *Sylla's* Proscriptions) [Vid. supr. p. 161.] was now prosecuted by his son-in-law, *Cluentius*, for an attempt to poison him. The two accomplices of the accused had been tried and convicted, which made his case almost desperate. In this extreme peril he applied himself to *Stellus*, one of his judges. This man undertook to buy, for about 3200 l. sixteen voices, the number necessary and sufficient to acquit him, the bench consisting of thirty-two judges. *Stellus*, having received the money, wisely considered, that it would be better for himself to retain the whole for his own use; and that certainly no one would call upon him to refund it, in case *Oppianicus* were condemned. The prudent part therefore would be to get him condemned. In order to this, he promised, on the part of the accused, to some of the judges about 200 l. each, to acquit him; and then, a few days before the trial, told those judges, that *Oppianicus* had broke his word, and had not lodged the money with him. The consequence was, that one part of the judges condemned *Oppianicus*, because he was manifestly guilty; the other part, because they thought he had deceived them. *Cicero* tells us, that *Stellus* had likewise received money from the accuser.

But the instance of *Verres*, who had been three years Prætor of *Sicily*, is, of all, the most astonishing proof of the corruption which prevailed among the Great. His trial was in this year, 683, (*Craffus* and *Pompey* being

Consuls) which was the year before the Consulship of *Hortensius*. The crimes of *Verres*, both for weight and number, are almost incredible. " All the cities of *Sicily* concurred in the impeachment, excepting *Syracuse* and *Messana*; for these two being the most considerable of the province, *Verres* had taken care to keep up a fair correspondence with them. *Syracuse* was the place of his residence, and *Messana* the repository of his plunder, whence he exported it all to *Italy*: and though he would treat even these on certain occasions very arbitrarily, yet, in some flagrant instances of his rapine, that he might ease himself of a part of the envy, he used to oblige them with a share of the spoil: so that partly by fear, and partly by favour, he held them generally at his devotion; and, at the expiration of his government, procured ample testimonials from them both, in praise of his administration: All the other towns were zealous and active in the prosecution, and by a common petition to *Cicero* implored him to undertake the management of it; to which he consented, out of regard to the relation which he had borne to them as Quæstor, and his promise made at parting, of his protection in all their affairs. *Verres*, on the other hand, was supported by the most powerful families of *Rome*, the *Scipios* and the *Metelli*, and defended by *Hortensius*, who was the reigning orator at the bar, and usually stiled the king of the Forum.

" *Cicero* had no sooner agreed to undertake the cause, than an unexpected rival started up, one *Q. Cæcilius*, a *Silician* by birth, who had been Quæstor to *Verres*, and by a pretence of personal injuries received from him, and a particular knowledge of his crimes, claimed a preference to *Cicero* in the task of accusing him, or, at least, to bear a joint share in it. But this pretended enemy was in reality a secret friend, employed by *Verres* himself to get the cause into his hands in order to betray it. His pretensions, however, were to be previously decided by a kind of process called *Divination*,

Midd. Life of Cic. vol. I. p. 80.

In Verr. 2. 18. & 3. 8. it. 11.

Ascon. Argum. in Divinat.

" come to the relief of that part of the administration, which seemed the most
 " to stand in need of it." Y.R. 683.

Hortensius

" on account of its being wholly conjectural ;
 " in which the judges, without the help of
 " witnesses, were to divide, as it were,
 " what was fit to be done ; but in the first
 " hearing Cicero easily shook off this weak
 " antagonist, rallying his character and pre-
 " tensions with a great deal of wit and hu-
 " mour."

Cic. in
Verr. 2.

But as to Verres's advocate Hortensius, who
 had received presents from Verres (a thing
 considered at that time as below the dignity of
 an orator) Cicero reproached him in very sharp
 terms. " Crassus and Antonius would not
 " have undertaken the defence of such a man as
 " Verres, a man lost to all sense of shame ; they
 " would have feared lest, for so doing, they
 " should be thought as shameless as he. They
 " did not care to bring themselves into the di-
 " lemma of being necessitated to appear without
 " delicacy in the article of probity, by defend-
 " ing a cause notoriously wicked ; or without
 " gratitude, by deserting a person whose libera-
 " lity they had experienced."

Quintil.
vi. 3.

Quintilian mentions a smart saying of Cicero
 on this occasion. As he had attacked his
 adversary in an indirect ironical manner, Hor-
 tensius, pretending not to understand him,
 said, *He was not good at expounding riddles ;*
That's strange (replied Cicero) *as you have the*
Sphinx at home ; (an ivory Sphinx, which
 Verres had given him.)

Verres, before he left his province, had
 openly said, that those ought to fear, who had
 robbed for themselves only ; but as for him,
 he had taken enough to satisfy the greediness
 of many ; that he had a powerful friend
 (meaning Hortensius) under whose protection
 he could pillage the people with impunity ;
 that he had been three years Prætor, and
 should be very well content with retaining one
 year's gains for himself ; that he intended
 another for his advocates and defenders ; and
 reserved the third, which was the richest, for
 the judges.

Nevertheless, he was deceived in his ex-
 pectations. " The previous point being
 " settled in favour of Cicero, 110 days were
 " granted to him by Law, for preparing the

" evidence ; in which he was obliged to
 " make a voyage to Sicily. -- On his return to
 " Rome, he found, what he suspected, a strong
 " cabal formed to prolong the affair by all
 " the arts of delay, which interest or money
 " could procure, with design to throw it off,
 " at least till next year, when Hortensius and
 " Metellus were to be Consuls, and Metellus's
 " brother a Prætor, by whose united autho-
 " rity the prosecution might easily be baffled :
 " and they had already carried the matter so
 " far, that there was not time enough left
 " within the current year to go through the
 " cause in the ordinary forms. This put Ci-
 " cero upon a new project of shortening the
 " method of proceeding, so as to bring it to
 " an issue, at any rate, before the present
 " Prætor M. Glabrio, and his assessors, who
 " were like to be equal judges. Instead
 " therefore of spending any time in speaking,
 " or employing his eloquence, as usual, in
 " enforcing and aggravating the several ar-
 " ticles of the charge, he resolved to do no-
 " thing more than to produce his witnesses,
 " and offer them to be interrogated : where
 " the novelty of the thing, and the notoriety
 " of the guilt, which appeared at once from
 " the very recital of the depositions, so con-
 " founded Hortensius, that he had nothing to
 " say for his client ; who, despairing of all
 " defence, submitted, without expecting the
 " sentence, to a voluntary exile. Argum.
 Asc. in
Act. i.

" From this account it appears, that of the
 " seven excellent orations, which now remain
 " on the subject of this trial, the two first only
 " were spoken ; the one called *The Divina-*
 " *tion*, the other *The first Action*, which is
 " nothing more than a general preface to the
 " whole cause ; the other five were published
 " afterwards, as they were prepared and in-
 " tended to be spoken, if Verres had made a
 " regular defence ; for as this was the only
 " cause, in which Cicero had yet been en-
 " gaged, as an accuser, so he was willing to
 " leave these orations, as a specimen of his
 " abilities in that way ; and the pattern of a just
 " and diligent impeachment of a great and
 " corrupt Magistrate.

" The

Y. R. 683. *Hortensius* [that distinguished, illustrious patriot, ever steady to the interest of the Republic] had a great hand in this mischief of corrupting the

"The accusation was divided into four heads: 1. *Of corruption in judging causes.* 2. *Of extortion in selling the laws and interests of the Republic.* 3. *Of plundering the subjects of their estates, and brought home (which was his peculiar taste.)* 4. *Of illegal and tyrannical proceedings.*"

Of all the facts that Dr. Mead has collected from *Cicero's* orations against *Verrus*, I shall insert here the most curious only; that is, the most astonishingly wicked: they are under the last head of accusation.

Midd. Life of Cic. p. 102. "When any vessel, richly laden, happened to arrive in the ports of *Sicily*, it was generally seized by his spies and informers, on pretence of its coming from *Spain*, and being filled with *Sertorius's* soldiers: and when the commanders exhibited their bills of lading, with a sample of their goods, to prove themselves to be fair traders, who came from different quarters of the world, some producing *Tyrian purple*, others *Arabian spices*, some *jewels and precious stones*, others *Greek wines and Asiatic slaves*; the very proof, by which they hoped to save themselves, was their certain ruin: *Verrus* declared their goods to have been acquired by piracy, and seizing the ships with their cargoes to his own use, committed the whole crew to prison, though the greatest part of them perhaps were *Roman Citizens*. There was a famous dungeon at *Syracuse*, called the *Latoriae*, of a vast and horrible depth, dug out of a solid rock, which, having originally been a quarry of stone, was converted to a prison by *Dionysius* the Tyrant. Here *Verrus* kept great number of *Roman Citizens* in chains, whom he had first injured to a degree, that made it necessary to destroy them; whence few or none ever saw the light again, but were commonly strangled by his orders.

Ibid. 27. "One *Gaius*, however, a *Roman Citizen* of the town of *Cesæ*, happened to escape from this dreadful place, and run away to *Messana*; where fancying himself out of danger, and being ready to embark for *Italy*, he began to talk of the injuries which he had received, and of going straight to

Rome, where *Verrus* should be sure to hear of him. But he might as well have said the words in the *Prætor's* palace, as at *Messana*; for he was presently seized and secured till *Verrus's* arrival, who, coming a little soon after, condemned him as a spy or the Fugitive, first to be scourged in the market-place, and then nailed to a cross, erected for that purpose, on a conspicuous part of the shore, and looking towards *Italy*, that the poor wretch might have the additional misery of suffering that cruel death in sight, as it were, of his home.

"The coasts of *Sicily* being much infested by pirates, it was the custom of all *Prætors* to fit out a fleet every year for the protection of its trade and navigation. This fleet was provided by a contribution of the maritime towns, each of which usually furnished a ship, with a certain number of men, and provisions: But *Verrus*, for a valuable consideration, sometimes remitted the ship, and always discharged as many of the men as were able to pay for it. A fleet, however, was equipped of seven ships; but for shew rather than service, without their complement either of men or stores, and wholly unfit to act against an enemy; and the command of it was given by him, not to his *Quæstor*, or one of his Lieutenants, as it was usual, but to *Cleomenes*, a *Syracusan*, whose wife was his mistress, that he might enjoy her company the more freely at home, while the husband was employed abroad. For, instead of spending the summer as other governors used to do, in a progress through his province, he quitted the palace of *Syracuse*, and retired to a little island adjoining to the City, to lodge in tents, or rich pavilions, pitched close by the fountain of *Arethusa*; where, forbidding the approach of men, or business, to disturb him, he passed two of the hot months in the company of his favourite women, and all the delicacy of pleasure that art and luxury could invent.

"The fleet in the mean time sailed out of *Syracuse* in great pomp, and saluted *Verrus* and his company, as it passed; when the *Roman Prætor*, (says *Cicero*) who had not been

Ibid.

Cic. in Verr. 5. 31.

the courts of justice. He governed with so kingly a sway in all trials, Y.R. 683.
that

Cic. in
Verr. 3.
33.

“ been seen before for many days, shewed
“ himself at last to the sailors, standing on the
“ shore in slippers, with a purple cloak and
“ vest flowing down to his heels, and leaning
“ on the shoulder of a girl, to view this for-
“ midable squadron; which, instead of
“ scouring the seas, sailed no farther, after
“ several days, than into the port of *Pa-*
“ *chyus*. Here, as they lay peaceably at an-
“ chor, they were surprized with an account
“ of a number of *pirate frigates*, lying in
“ another harbour very near to them; upon
“ which *the admiral Cleomenes* cut his cables in
“ a great fright, and with all the sail that he
“ could make, fled away towards *Pelorus*,
“ and escaped to land: the rest of the ships
“ followed him as fast as they could; but
“ two of them which sailed the slowest, were
“ taken by the pirates, and one of the cap-
“ tains killed: the other captains quitted
“ their ships, as *Cleomenes* had done, and got
“ safe to land. The pirates, finding the
“ ships deserted, set fire to them all that
“ evening, and, the next day, sailed boldly
“ into the port of *Syracuse*, which reached
“ into the very heart of the town; where
“ after they had satisfied their curiosity, and
“ filled the city with a general terror, they
“ sailed out again at leisure, and in good
“ order, in a kind of triumph over *Verres*
“ and the authority of *Rome*.

Ibid. 35.
36.

“ The news of a *Roman fleet* burnt, and *Sy-*
“ *racuse* insulted by pirates, made a great noise
“ through all *Sicily*. The captains, in excuse
“ of themselves, were forced to tell the truth;
“ that their ships were scandalously unpro-
“ vided both with men and stores, and in no
“ condition to face an enemy; each of them
“ relating how many of their sailors had
“ been discharged by *Verres's* particular or-
“ ders, on whom the whole blame was justly
“ laid. When this came to his ears, he sent
“ for the captains, and after threatening them
“ very severely for talking in that manner,
“ forced them to declare, and to testify it also
“ in writing, that every one of their ships had
“ its full compliment of all things necessary:
“ but finding, after all, that there was no way
“ of stifling the clamour, and that it would
“ necessarily reach to *Rome*, he resolved, for

Vol. III.

“ the extenuation of his own crime, to sacri-
“ fice the poor captains, and put them all to
“ death, except *the admiral Cleomenes*, the most
“ criminal of them all; and, at his request,
“ the commander also of his ship. In conse-
“ quence of this resolution, the four remain-
“ ing captains, after fourteen days from the
“ action, when they suspected no danger,
“ were arrested and clapt into irons. They
“ were all young men of the principal fami-
“ lies of *Sicily*, some of them the only sons
“ of aged parents, who came presently, in
“ great consternation, to *Syracuse*, to solicit
“ the *Prætor* for their pardon. But *Verres*
“ was inexorable; and, having thrown them
“ into his dungeon, where nobody was suf-
“ fered to speak with them, condemned them
“ to lose their heads.” The fathers and mo-
“ thers of these innocent unfortunate young
“ men, passed whole days and nights at the door
“ of the prison, begging only to be allowed to
“ embrace their children, and receive their
“ dying breath. At the gate stood the gaoler, the
“ *Prætor's* *Lictor*, raising taxes upon distress and
“ misery. *You must give me so much for leave to*
“ *go in; and so much for permission to carry in*
“ *viſuals.—But, how much will you give me to*
“ *kill your son at one stroke, and not back him so*
“ *as to make him die a painful death?* The
“ price, exacted for this favour, being paid,—
“ *Well, but there is another article to be settled.—*
“ *Your son's carcase must be thrown to the wild*
“ *beasts, unless you purchase leave to bury it.* This
“ last bargain concluded, the prisoners were
“ brought forth and publicly executed; to
“ the great satisfaction of *Verres*, who thereby
“ got rid of so many witnesses of his mis-
“ conduct.

Cic. in
Verr. 5.
39, 40, &c.

Cic. in
Verr. v.

“ It happened, however, before this loss of
“ the fleet, that a single pirate-ship was taken
“ by *Verres's* lieutenants, and brought into
“ *Syracuse*; which proved to be a very rich
“ prize, and had on board a great number of
“ handsome young fellows. There was a
“ band of musicians among them, whom
“ *Verres* sent away to *Rome* a present to a
“ friend; and the rest, who had either youth,
“ or beauty, or skill in any art, were distri-
“ buted to his clerks and dependents, to be
“ kept for his use; but the few, who were
“ old

Midd. p.
107.

Cic. in
Verr. v.
35, &c.

E e

Y. R. 653. that the sentences given were generally such as he pleased. For, in defend-
 B. C. 65. ing his client, he did not confine himself to exerting the power of his wit
 592 C. 65. and eloquence: Solicitations, caresses, menaces, money, every means of
 gaining his point, he diligently employed. The method of passing
 sentence was by balloting. To each of the Judges were given three
 waxed tablets [little pieces of wood;] on one of which was the letter
 A. for *absolvo*; on another the letter C. for *condemno*; and on the
 third N. L. for *non liquet*, [the thing is not clear, the cause must be
 reheard.] Each Judge, after hearing the cause, was to put one of these
 tablets into a box, or urn [called *Sitella*.] *Hortensius* not only
 engaged some one among the Judges to be a spy upon the rest; but,
 when he had an affair much at heart, contrived to furnish the Judges with
 tablets of different colours, that so when these were taken out of the box,
 he might see with his own eyes, whether the Judges, by him bribed, had
 kept faith with him or not.

Pompey, in a speech which he made to the People before his Consul-
 ship, had promised to put a stop to this scandalous and mischievous
 corruption. It may therefore reasonably be conjectured, that *Aurelius*
Cotta, now Prætor, who passed a law for that purpose, acted in concert
 with him. The law imported, that the Judges should no longer be
 chosen out of the Senate alone, but out of the three orders of the Common-
 wealth; that is to say, the SENATORS, the KNIGHTS, and the TRIBUNES
 or Commissioners of the Treasury; which last were of the order of the
 People: [their business was to remit the public money to the Quæstors for

“ old and deformed, were committed to the
 “ dungeon, and reserved for punishment.
 “ The captain of these pirates had long been
 “ a terror to the *Sicilians*, so that they were
 “ all eager to see his person, and to feed their
 “ eyes with his execution: but, being rich,
 “ he found means to redeem his head, and
 “ was carefully kept out of sight, and con-
 “ veyed to some private custody, till *Verres*
 “ could make the best market of him. The
 “ people, in the mean time, grew impatient
 “ and clamorous for the death of the pirates,
 “ whom all Prætors used to execute as soon as
 “ taken; and, knowing the number of them
 “ to be great, could not be satisfied with the
 “ few old and decrepid, whom *Verres* wil-
 “ lingly sacrificed to their resentment. He
 “ took this opportunity, therefore, to clear
 “ the dungeon of those *Roman Citizens*, whom
 “ he had reserved for such an occasion, and
 “ now brought out to execution, as a part of
 “ the piratical crew: but, to prevent the im-
 “ precations and cries which Citizens used to
 “ make of their being *Free Romans*, and to
 “ hinder their being known also to any other
 “ Citizens there present, he produced them
 “ all with their heads and faces so muffled up,
 “ that they could neither be heard nor seen;
 “ and in that cruel manner, destroyed great
 “ numbers of innocent men! But to finish,
 “ at last, the whole story of *Verres*: after he
 “ had lived many years in a miserable exile,
 “ forgotten and deserted by all his friends,
 “ he is said to have been relieved by the ge-
 “ nerosity of *Cicero*; yet was proscribed and
 “ murdered, after all, by *Marc Antony*, for the
 “ sake of his fine statues and *Corinthian ves-*
 “ sels, which he refused to part with: Hap-
 “ py only (as *Laëtantius* says,) before his
 “ death, to have seen the most deplorable end
 “ of his old enemy and accuser, *Cicero*.”

the

Cic. in
 Ver. v. 23.

Ibid 60.

Senec. l. vi.

Suafor. vi.

Plin. Hist.

N. lib.

xxxiv. ii.

Laëtan. ja.

4.

the payment of the troops.] This law was observed, till the Dictatorship of *Cæsar*. Y. R. 682
Bef. Chr.
69.
382 Conf.

But what, more than any thing, rooted *Pompey* in the affections of the people, was his sacrificing to them, in one important point, the interests of the *Aristocracy*. The attempt of *Sicinius*, in the year 677, to restore to the Tribunes their ancient privileges; and the destruction, he thereby drew upon himself, have been already mentioned. Notwithstanding his unfortunate end, the cause he had espoused was still supported: for, the year following, the Consul *Cotta* found himself obliged to consent that the clause which, in *Sylla's law concerning the Tribuneship*, excluded the Tribunes from the superior offices, should be repealed. And several Tribunes afterwards successively pursued the design of a total re-establishment of the Tribunician power. Nevertheless, six years had passed, and the thing was not effected. *Pompey*, whose ambition carried him to aim at a perpetuity of command, a design which he could no other way compass but by the favour of the People, took the present opportunity of gaining them entirely to his interest; and by exerting his consular power, brought about that change, which the multitude so passionately desired, and to which *Crassus* made no opposition. Cic. pro
Corn. i.
& ibi.
Ascon.

The two Consuls, however, had disagreed very much during their whole administration. *Pompey*, notwithstanding his promise*, had kept his troops on foot near the city; and *Crassus* had not disbanded his army, so that Rome apprehended a new civil war like that of *Marius* and *Sylla*. Towards the close of *December*, when the people, being assembled, had ineffectually entreated the Consuls to put an end to their differences, a Roman Knight, named *C. Aurelius*, who had never intermeddled with public affairs, presented himself before them, and told them, "That in a dream he had seen *Jupiter*, who commanded him to declare to the People in his name, that they should not suffer the Consuls to quit their office, till they were become friends." The multitude, much affected with this dream, pressed the Consuls most earnestly to a reconciliation. *Pompey* nevertheless, stirred not from his curule chair; but *Crassus* rose up, and, approaching his colleague, said: "*Romans*, I think it not below me to make the first advances towards a man whom you honoured with the surname of the THE GREAT, when he was yet very young; and with two triumphs before he was a Senator." At the same time, he held out his hand to *Pompey*, who could not reject so obliging an invitation. Thus was the reconciliation made between them: * Vid. sup.
p. 201.
Plut. in
Crass. &
Pomp.
App. de
Bell. Civ.
p. 427.

* *Cicero*, in justification of *Pompey*, affirms, that it was not possible to avoid this repeal of *Sylla's law*, the *People* were so eagerly bent upon it: And that it was better *Pompey* should

have the merit of it with the *People*, than that some pernicious citizen should thereby make himself popular. *De Leg.* iii. 25.

Y. R. 683. but the people would not depart till the Consuls had caused edicts to be posted up for disbanding their armies.

Yell. Pat. Pompey, who had begun to apprehend lest such a perpetuity of power, as he wished, should draw envy to a dangerous degree upon him, took an oath, that, on quitting the Consulship (which was to expire the last of December,) he would not accept of any government: he kept his word; and his example was followed by his colleague.

This year VIRGIL was born.

CHAP. VI.

The Capitol consecrated. War declared against the CRETANS. The GABINIAN Law in favour of POMPEY (Year of Rome 686.) The war with the Pirates. The MANILIAN Law in favour of POMPEY, (Year of Rome 687.)

Y. R. 684. IN the following Consulship of Q. Hortensius and Q. Cæcilius Metellus (afterwards surnamed Creticus) the rebuilding of the Capitol was finished, fourteen years after its being burnt. Catulus, who had superintended the rebuilding of it, had the honour of performing the consecration^b.

The same year the war against the Cretans, whom the Prætor Marcus Antonius had attacked (as will be hereafter related,) without commission so to do, was undertaken by public authority; and Metellus had the conduct of it, by the voluntary cession of his colleague: who, having been accustomed to a kind of dominion in juridical affairs^c, chose to reside in

Val. Max. In the games which Catulus exhibited on this occasion, he covered with fine linen of various colours the theatres, which till then were open to the heaven. Plin. l. xix. c. 1.

Cic. in Brut. 228. Hortensius had been a volunteer in the first year of the Italian war, commanded a regiment in the second; but when that war was over, stuck close to the bar. He had begun very early to make a figure there, being but nineteen when he pleaded his first cause, to the admiration of all present. Like a statue of Phidias (says Cicero,) the instant he was seen, the same instant he was admired. He charmed the eye no less by his action, than the ear by his voice, and the music of his periods. "He reigned absolute in the Forum when Cicero first entered it, and

" as his superior fame was the chief spur of Cicero's industry, so the shining specimen which Cicero soon gave of himself, made Hortensius likewise the brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground against his young rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of equal contest and emulation: But Hortensius, by the superiority of his years, having first passed through the usual gradation of public honours, and satisfied his ambition by obtaining the highest, began to relax somewhat of his old contention, and give way to the charms of ease; and luxury, to which his nature strongly inclined him, till he was forced, at last, by the general voice of the city, to yield the post of honour

Brut. p. 443.

Midd. Life of Cic. p. 52. vol. II.

in the City, though the *Cretan* war had fallen to him by lot, and he had been at first ambitious of that province. This war will be spoken of more at large, when we come to *Pompey's* expedition against the Pirates.

Y. R. 684
Diod. Ap.
pian &
Dio. apud
Fulv. Ur-
sin.

“ honour to *Cicero*.—*Hortensius* published several orations, which were extant long after his death.—They are said to have owed great part of their credit to his ACTION, which yet was thought to have more of art than was necessary to an orator, so that his compositions were not admired so much by the reader, as they had been by the hearer; while *Cicero's* more valued productions made all others, of that kind, less sought for, and, consequently, the less carefully preserved. *Hortensius*, however, was generally allowed by the ancients, and by *Cicero* himself, to have possessed every accomplishment, which could adorn an orator; elegance of style; art of composition; fertility of invention; sweetness of elocution; gracefulness of action. These two rivals lived, however, always with great civility and respect towards each other, and were usually in the same way of thinking, and acting, in the affairs of the Republic; till *Cicero*, in the case of his exile, discovered the plain marks [marks visible to himself only, as some think] of a lurking envy and infidelity in *Hortensius*: yet his resentment carried him no farther, than to some free complaints of it to their common friend *Atticus*, who made it his business to mitigate this disgust, and hinder it from proceeding to an open breach; so that *Cicero*, who was naturally placable, lived again with him, after his return, on the same easy terms as before, and lamented his death [which was in 703] with great tenderness, not only as the private loss of a friend, but a public misfortune to his country, in being deprived of the service and authority of so experienced a statesman at so critical a conjuncture.”

Brut. 425.
Orator p.
261.
Quintil. xi.
3.

Cic. in
Brut. 425.

Brut. init.

It would be hard to forbear being a little more particular, in this place, concerning the worthiness of the person with whom *Cicero* lived in such constant friendship, and concerning the grievous weight of that misfortune which the public sustained by losing so eminent a patriot, as *Hortensius*.

How able and assiduous a practitioner this patriot was, in corrupting the courts of Justice, has been already taken notice of. This was

before his Consulship. After his ambition had been satisfied by the attainment of that highest honour; he who had ever been a fop*, and inclined to luxury, became wholly a voluptuary and a trifler.

I shall transcribe some part of what *M. Crevier* has given us on this head.

“ If (as *Seneca* thinks) it be true, that there is an infallible and necessary relation between the manners and eloquence of a speaker [talibus hominibus oratio qualis vita, *Ep.* 114.] what we know of the luxury and finical delicacy of *Hortensius*, and his fondness for trifles, will give us an idea of his speeches very conformable to the judgment passed on them by *Quintilian*; who thought them extremely below the reputation he had acquired as an orator.

“ He was so nice with regard to his person, that he dressed himself before a looking-glass, adjusting the plaits of his gown after the most graceful fashion, and then, to keep them in that state, most skilfully binding them with his girdle, the knot of which he contrived to hide in one of the lappets of his gown, which seemed to fall negligently.

“ Foolishly fond of his trees, he watered (if one may here use that word) his Planes with wine. And, it is reported, that, being to plead in a cause where *Cicero* was likewise engaged, he begged his consent to changing the hour; because he was under a necessity of going, without delay, to his *Tusculan* villa, to irrigate with wine a Plane-tree, which he had there planted.

“ His passion for the fish in his ponds was no less extravagant. *Cicero* has jested upon this folly, more than once, in his letters to *Atticus*. And *Varro* enters into particulars: He tells us that *Hortensius*, with regard to his fish, was like misers with regard to their money: he durst not use them. And he not only forbore eating them, but fed them with his own hands; and, when they were sick, took as much care of them as of his slaves [probably more.] He warmed their water, lest they should suffer from the coldness of it; and, it is added, that (like the orator *Craffus*) he wept for the death of a lamprey.”

* Macrob.
ii. 9.
Tome xi.
p. 204.

The

Y. R. 685.
Bef. Chr.
67.
384 Conf.

The next year *L. Cecilius Metellus* (brother of *Quintus*, one of the last years Consuls) and *L. Marcius Rex*, took possession of the Consular fasces : But *Metellus* died in the beginning of January. Another whose name is not transmitted to us, was chosen in his place ; but he likewise dying soon after, and before he could enter upon his office, *Marcius* governed, sole Consul, the remainder of the year, the *Romans* not thinking it proper to proceed to a new election : He did nothing memorable during his Consulship : After the expiration of it, he went into *Cilicia*, the government of which had fallen to him.

Y. R. 686.
Bef. Chr.
66.
383 Conf.

The following year, when *M. Acilius Glabrio* and *C. Calpurnius Piso* were Consuls, was memorable for the *Gabinian* law, which gave to *Pompey* the command of the war against the pirates.

Punt. in
Pomp.
Strab. l.
xiv.

The pirates were, originally, of *Cilicia* ; they owed their beginning to the civil discords in the kingdom of *Syria* between the branches of the family of the *Seleucidae*. The *Cilicians*, favoured by those wars, and the consequent diminutions of the royal authority, carried off a prodigious number of slaves from *Syria*. It was a very advantageous branch of commerce ; because the *Romans*, grown rich since the taking of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, bought slaves without number. The mart for this trade was the island of *Delos* ; and very often 10,000 slaves, brought thither at once, were sold the same day. The kings of *Cyprus* and *Egypt*, ever at war with those of *Syria*, favoured the pirates, because they distressed that country. Of these robbers the *Romans* took little notice, being diverted by more important and more urgent cares from giving attention to them, and from attempting to suppress a power which at first appeared contemptible. The war of *Mitridates*, to whose service the pirates attached themselves, furnished them with opportunities of increasing their strength. Ever since the time when *Sylla* besieged *Athens*, their cruising about had made navigation difficult and dangerous. They very much distressed *Lucullus*, and put him under a necessity of being upon his guard against a surprize from them, when, by *Sylla's* order, he was labouring to assemble a fleet from all the maritime countries subject to the *Romans*, or in alliance with them. The pirates, nevertheless, had not then begun to extend themselves far : They confined their courses to the sea between *Crete* and *Cyrene*, and between the *Piræus*, and the promontory of *Malea*, now *Cape Malio*. But within this space, though not very large, they got such rich prizes, that they themselves gave it the name of the Golden Sea. And they confined themselves to it the rather, because they were not yet strong enough to insult *Sicily* and *Italy* : And *Mitridates*, with whom they acted in concert, was then master of *Asia*, and would not have permitted them to infest its coasts. But when that prince was constrained to abandon his conquests, and had no longer any interest in *Asia*, he gave full scope to the pirates : and the civil wars at *Rome* not permitting *Sylla* to check their progress, their power increased prodigiously. Enriched by the plunder of

Orat. l. v.
c. 23.
Florus, l.
iii. c. 6.

App. Mi-
thrid. p.

the

the coasts of *Asia*, they were soon in a condition to fit out triremes and other large vessels. A multitude of people, ruined by the war between *Mitbridates* and the *Romans*, greatly increased the piratic crew; to whom they repaired, that among them they might find means of subsistence, which they were deprived of at land: And now the pirates began to form armies, and the captains of the ships became Generals. They made descents, surprized cities that were not fortified, and, by assault, or by sieges in form, took others that were in a condition of defence: and, by these military exploits, they pretended to have ennobled their profession. And this notion so far prevailed, that many persons, considerable by birth and fortune, associated with them, and were far from thinking they dishonoured themselves by so doing.

Y. R. 686.
Bef. Chr.
66.
385 Cons.

At length they formed a kind of commonwealth, of which *Cilicia* was the center: a country difficult to approach, because of the rocks and shoals that lined the coasts. Hence, though an assemblage from almost all the nations of the east, they were called *Cilicians*. They had magazines, or staples, upon the coasts where they cruized, for depositing their booty, and had even naval arsenals well supplied with every thing necessary for building and equipping ships. They likewise erected high towers, from whence they might perceive their prey at a vast distance; and, at length, they succeeded so well, as to engage in their interest great and powerful cities, *Pbaselis*, *Olympia*, and several others, which the commodiousness of a trade, carried on at the sole risque and expence of the pirates, induced to become their confederates.

Muræna, whom *Sylla* had left in *Asia*, made some efforts to stop the rapid progress of their power, but ineffectually: so that, in the year 675, *P. Servilius* (who had been Consul the year before) was sent from *Rome* with both land and sea forces against them. These robbers, nevertheless, had the boldness to venture a battle with the *Roman* fleet; and, though the Proconsul obtained the victory, it was not without the loss of a great number of his men. After his victory, he pursued them into their retreats, took and demolished several of their fortresses, and even those two considerable cities, *Pbaselis* and *Olympia*, which had entered into an alliance with them. Making an incursion into the country, he likewise forced the city of *Isaura*, and subdued the nation of the *Isauri*. The fruit, however, of all these conquests was little more than the honour to himself of a triumph, with the surname of *Isauricus*. His triumph was, probably, in the Consulship of *Lucullus* and *Cotta*, in the year of *Rome* 679; in which year the Prætor *Marcus Antonius*^b was charged with the war against the pirates, and had a more extensive commission, than had ever before been given to a *Roman* General: for he had the superintendence of all the sea coasts subject to the *Roman* empire. The maritime

Cic in
Verr. 1. 1.
4. & ibi
Ascon.

^b This Prætor was son of *Marcus Antonius*, the famous orator, and father of *Marc Antony*, the Triumvir.

Y. R. 686. countries, which he was commissioned to defend, were made sensible of
 B. d. Cn. his authority, no otherwise, than by the rapines he there committed :
 65.
 385 Conf. and, though his power extended over all the seas, he confined his opera-
 ————— tions to the attacking *Crete*, which had furnished some troops to the king
 F. v. l. iii. of *Pontus*, and a retreat to the pirates. *Florus* tells us, that, believing
 c. 7. himself sure of victory, he carried more chains than arms in his ships.
 The *Cretans*, who, notwithstanding the reduction of so many kingdoms
 and states under the *Roman* yoke, had hitherto preserved their liberty,
 were not intimidated. They put to sea, met him, defeated him and took
 many of his ships. To insult the vanquished, they tied the prisoners to
 the sails and rigging of their vessels, and in that manner returned
 triumphantly into their ports. *Antonius*, as meanly discouraged now, as
 he had been presumptuously confident before, compleated his infamy by
 clapping up a peace with the *Cretans*. He felt his disgrace; and, having
 already a bad habit of body, shame and grief quickly brought him to his
 end. He died (in 682) bearing the surname of *Creticus*, that had been
 given him in derision.

Vid. supr.
 P. 212.

Flor. l. iii.
 c. 7.

In the year 684, the war against the *Cretans* was undertaken by public
 authority, and the conduct of it given to the Consul *Metellus* (colleague
 of *Hortensius*,) as has been before mentioned. He acquitted himself of his
 commission with success: He defeated *Lasthenes*, one of their principal Ge-
 nerals, reduced the strongest cities of *Crete* (*Cydonia*, *Gnossus* and
Lybius) and obliged *Panares*, the author of the war, and even *Lasthenes*,
 to surrender themselves prisoners. Nevertheless, as the Consul treat-
 ed the conquered with rigour, and they were naturally obstinate, and
 were supported by a great number of pirates, who had long had cor-
 respondence in the island, and places of retreat there, they still made a
 vigorous resistance.

Plut. in
 Pomp.
 App. Mi-
 thrid.

P. 235.
 Dio. l.
 xxxvi.

Things were in this situation, with regard to *Crete*, when the Tribune
Gabinus (in the Consulship of *Acilius Glabrio* and *Calpurnius Piso*) moved,
 that the conduct of the war against the pirates might be given to *Pompey*.

The power of the pirates was arrived to such a height, that they had
 above a thousand good ships, well manned and furnished with skilful
 pilots. They affected magnificence, and their ships glittered with gold
 and silver; their oars were silvered over; and the curtains of the cabins
 were of purple. If they went on shore, it was to feast themselves in the
 most sumptuous and costly manner; and these entertainments were accom-
 panied with concerts of musick; their insolence and depredations had
 risen to an excess beyond all imagination. They had taken above 400
 cities, and had plundered thirteen of the most famous temples in the
 world of all their riches: but their principal employment and delight,
 was to insult the *Romans** and humble the pride of *Italy*. They landed
 there,

* When any one, who was taken by them, declared himself a *Roman*, they pretended

there, infested the main roads, and rifled the country houses that were not far from the sea. Y. R. 686.

But of all the mischiefs done by the pirates, that which occasioned most complaints at *Rome*, was the scarcity and dearness of provisions, a matter that always greatly affects the People. The multitude therefore were overjoyed at the proposal made by *Gabinus* to commission *Pompey* to clear the seas of those vermin. But the Tribune is said not to have been actuated by any zeal for the public welfare, but to have formed his project with the sole view of gaining *Pompey's* favour, and thereby mending his own fortune. He did not indeed name *Pompey* in the Law, but the public voice sufficiently declared him to be the man intended, and the Law was so worded, as to constitute, not a General, but a Monarch throughout the whole extent of the *Roman* empire. *Gabinus* proposed, that, out of the Consulars, the People should chuse one, to whom the command should be given for three years over the whole *Mediterranean*, from the pillars of *Hercules*, and over all the provinces bordering on that sea, as far as fifty miles within land. The person elected was to have power to chuse out of the Senators fifteen Lieutenants, and to take money at discretion, both out of the public treasury, and from the farmers of the revenue: and he was to have a fleet of 200 sail, with power to raise both soldiers and seamen, in what numbers he should judge necessary. Plut. in Pomp.

The Senators, who in general were very much alarmed at the Tribune's motion, which manifestly tended to give the Republic a sovereign, exclaimed loudly against it: they fell upon *Gabinus* with such rage, that if we may believe *Dio*, he was near being killed upon the spot. The People, informed of the violence offered to their Tribune, turned their fury against the Senators, insomuch that they were forced to seek their safety by flight. The Consul *Piso* distinguished himself on this occasion, telling *Pompey*, that, as he trod in the steps of *Romulus*, he ought to expect the like end: words, which brought *Piso* into the same danger with which he had threatened *Pompey*. For the multitude gathered about him, and his life would have been in great hazard, if *Gabinus*, who feared the odium that would be brought upon himself, by the murder of the Consul, had not controuled their fury. *Opposition* to the Tribune's bill, Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 32. Plut. in Pomp. Dio.

to be frightened, and to tremble: they struck their thighs, and fell at his feet, to ask him pardon. And when they had obtained forgiveness, they placed themselves about him, put on his shoes, clothed him in his proper habit, that (as they said) they might never mistake him any more; and when, in this manner, they had a long while made him their sport, they placed a ladder on the side of their

ship, next the water, intimating to their prisoner, that he was now in full liberty to leave the vessel, and go whithersoever he pleased; and, upon his declining the favour, they threw him overboard.

The daughter of that very *Marcus Antonius*, who had been appointed to clear the seas of them, was carried by them from his house at *Misenum*. Plut. in Pomp.

Y. R. 686. from some of his colleagues, was now the Senate's resource; but of the
 Bef. Chr. whole number two only, *L. Trebellius* and *L. Roscius Otbo*, had the courage
 66. to brave the danger.
 385 Cens.

The day came for the tribes to give their suffrages upon the Law in question. *Pompey* acted his part to perfection. He ascended the *Rostra*, and addressed the People *to spare him*; [he was then but in the 39th year; and every body saw him in perfect health, and full of vigour; yet] *he was quite spent with his past fatigues; — and — indeed — he was afraid of envy, — He desired nothing so much as the tranquillity of a private life: — Besides, — the Commonwealth had many other persons more capable of serving it: Of which capable persons, however, he would name none; because he would not give offence to any worthy man, whom, possibly, he might chance not to mention.*

Gabinus likewise played his part in this comedy, undertaking to answer *Pompey's* reasons. He said, it were to be wished that the state abounded with men of superior merit, but that these were rare; and when a state was so happy as to possess ONE, it ought to reap advantage from his abilities. *For (turning to Pompey) you were not born for yourself only, you were born for your country.*

The Tribune *Trebellius* rose up to speak, but, observing that nobody was disposed to hear him, he only pronounced his VETO. *Gabinus* thinking himself authorized by the example of *Tiberius Gracchus* (in the case of his colleague *Octavius*) moved to have *Trebellius* deposed from his office: And seventeen of the thirty-five tribes had already voted for deposing him, when he desisted from his *opposition*.

Plut. &
Dio.

Roscius Otbo, intimidated by the danger which his colleague had just escaped, and not being able, by any exertion of his voice, to make himself heard, amidst the noise of a multitude in so violent an agitation, only lifted up two fingers in the air, to signify that he would have the power, which was proposed to be given to *Pompey*, divided between two. The People understood his meaning perfectly well, and raised a cry of indignation so loud, that a raven, it is said, flying over the Assembly, was struck with the noise, as with a thunder-clap, and fell dead in the midst of the Forum.

Midd.
P. 118.
Plut. in
Pomp.
& Dio.

Nevertheless, the grant of a power so exorbitant, and unknown to the Laws, was strenuously opposed by *Catulus*, *Hortensius*, and all the chief men of the Senate (*Cæsar* excepted) as dangerous to the public liberty, nor fit to be intrusted to any single person. They alledged, that these unusual grants were the cause of all the misery the Republic had suffered from the proscriptions of *Marius* and *Sylla*, who, by a perpetual succession of extraordinary commands, were made too great to be controuled by the authority of the Laws; that, though the same abuse of power was not to be apprehended from *Pompey*, yet the thing itself was pernicious, and contrary to the CONSTITUTION of *Rome*; that the equality of

DEMOCRACY required, that the public honours should be shared alike by all who were worthy of them ; that there was no other way to make men worthy, and to furnish the city with a number and choice of experienced commanders : He concluded — “ You love *Pompey*, and you have reason “ so to do. But your affection for him transports you too far ; you “ charge him with all the most dangerous commissions, you expose him to “ the greatest dangers, Should you unfortunately happen to lose him, In “ whom would you place your confidence ? ” Upon which, as *Cicero* says, *be reaped the just fruit of his virtue, when they all cried out with one voice,* Y.R. 686. Bef. Chr. 66. 385 Cons. Pro Leg. Man. 20.

IN YOU, CATULUS.

The greater part of the day being spent in these disputes and harangues, it was necessary to put off the decision of the affair to another Assembly. *Pompey* retired into the country, to shew his modesty, and to have the honour of being named in his absence to so important an employment. As there had been a precedent for the Law a few years before in favour of *M. Antonius*, a man much inferior both in merit and interest, it was carried against the united authority of all the magistrates, but with the general inclination of the People. *Pompey* returned by night to *Rome*, in order to shun the concourse of the multitude, and the congratulations of his friends, who, coming to meet him, would have made his entry a kind of triumphal procession. At break of day he came abroad, and offered a sacrifice ; and the People being again assembled, granted him several things, which had not been granted him by *Gabinus's* law : for they decreed him 500 ships, 120,000 foot, 5000 horse, twenty-four Lieutenants to be chosen out of the Senate, two Quæstors, and 6000 talents. From the greatest scarcity of provisions, which had been known for a long time in *Rome*, the credit of *Pompey's* name sunk the price of them at once, as if plenty had been actually restored.

But though the Senate could not hinder the Law, yet they had their revenge on *Gabinus*, the author of it, by preventing his being chosen one of *Pompey's* Lieutenants, which was what he chiefly aimed at, and what *Pompey* himself solicited : though *Pompey* probably made him amends for it some other way. Since, as *Cicero* * says, he was so necessitous at this time, and so profligate, that, if he had not carried his Law, he must have turned pirate himself. * Post red. in Senat. 5.

As *Pompey's* first view was to restore plenty to the city, and this by delivering *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the coasts of *Africa*, the three granaries of *Rome*, from the fear of the pirates, he so distributed his fleet, that in forty days all the seas, from the Streights to *Greece*, were perfectly cleared : provisions came in great abundance to the *Roman* markets, and *Pompey* was extolled to the skies. Only the Consul *Piso*, through an inflexible obstinacy, prevented, or retarded, the levies of soldiers and seamen which had been granted ; which obliged *Pompey* to return to *Rome*. He was received with the loudest applauses ; and the indignation of the

Y. R. 686.
Bef. Cnr.
66.
383 Corf.

People against *Piso* rose to such a height, that they were disposed to deprive him of the Consulship: *Gabinus* had already drawn up a Law for that purpose; but *Pompey* would not suffer things to be carried to that extremity. On the other hand, the Senate would not support the Consul in his last measures; so that *Pompey* obtained full satisfaction. He presently left *Rome*, and, at *Brundisium*, embarked again, in order to finish his enterprise.

Plut. in
Pomp.

The pirates, as fast as they were driven out of their lurking-places, bent their course towards *Cilicia*, which was their most secure retreat. *Pompey*, in pursuing them to that coast, met several of their small fleets, which surrendered to him: he treated his prisoners with great humanity, and this conduct very much facilitated the completion of his enterprize: for those of the pirates, who had avoided his Lieutenants, because more severe, came in from all parts to submit to him, and gave him intelligence of the retreats of the most resolute, and the most guilty of their associates. On the coast of *Cilicia*, near *Coraceum*, the whole remaining strength of the pirates, collected into one fleet, waited for him to give him battle. *Pompey*, with a fleet of sixty ships, defeated them without much difficulty. They shut themselves up in *Coraceum*, and sustained a siege; but at length, thinking it most prudent to submit, they surrendered to the victor their cities, the islands they had fortified, and, in a word, all their possessions, and themselves.

And thus was terminated the war with the pirates, the forty-ninth day after the departure of *Pompey* from *Brundisium*.

Pompey, in this expedition, had taken above 20,000 prisoners, and the question was how to dispose of them. He could not entertain the thought of putting them to death; and, on the other hand, it was not safe to leave it in their power to renew the late mischiefs. He reflected (says *Plutarch*) that man is neither brutal nor unsociable; that violence is a vice contrary to his nature, and may be changed by a change of habitation, and manner of living, as even the fiercest of wild beasts are, by such methods, made tame. He resolved therefore to remove his prisoners far from the sea-coast into the inland parts, and there disperse them. He settled many in certain cities of *Cilicia*, which were almost deserted; and especially in *Soli*, which had been lately ruined by *Tigranes*. It was afterwards called *Pompeiopolis*, from the name of its restorer. He likewise transplanted a considerable number of them into *Acbaia*, and even into *Italy*.

Vid. supr.
p. 216.
Cic. pro
leg. Man.
c. 12.

Pompey made a great figure in this war with the pirates; but his conduct towards *Q. Metellus*, who had been commissioned to reduce the island of *Crete*, dishonoured him. The success of *Metellus* in that enterprize, and the obstinate resistance of the *Cretans*, aided by the pirates, have been already mentioned. As they had heard much of *Pompey's* lenity and clemency, they sent deputies to him in *Pamphylia*, where he then

then was, having reduced *Cilicia*, declaring by them, that they surrendered themselves to him, and were ready to submit to all that he should command. Ambitious of ruling alone, *Pompey*, contrary to all reason and decency, received the deputies of the *Cretans*, and their associate pirates : and pretending, that his commission included all *Crete*, because no part of that island was fifty miles from the sea, he, by letter, ordered *Metellus* to cease the war : and he afterwards sent thither *Octavius*, one of his Lieutenants, to receive the submission of the people ; and in his name, and by his authority, to establish a peace. *Metellus* paid no regard to these orders, but pressed the siege of the place he had invested ; so that *Octavius* a Roman commander, was shut up in a town with pirates, to sustain a siege against a Roman army. When *Metellus* had forced the place, he caused the pirates to be executed, and treated *Octavius* himself with the utmost contempt : representing to him the unworthiness of his General's conduct, who, to gratify a mean jealousy, had taken under his protection the enemies of Gods and men.

This affair continued in suspense till the next year, when the command of the war against *Mithridates* was given to *Pompey* ; who then, being employed in more important cares, left *Metellus* to complete the conquest of *Crete* without interfering any more. For this conquest, *Metellus* acquired the surname of *Creticus* ; but his triumph was postponed, through the intrigues of *Pompey*, and the Tribunes of his faction.

In the following Consulship of *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus*, *Manilius*, one of the Tribunes, no sooner entered on his office, than he raised a fresh disturbance in the City, by the promulgation of a Law, for granting to slaves set free, a right of voting among the tribes ; which gave so much scandal to all, and was so vigorously opposed by the SENATE, that he was presently obliged to drop it : but being always venal, as *Velleius* says, and the tool of other mens power, that he might recover his credit with the People, and engage the favour of *Pompey*, he proposed a second Law, that *Pompey*, who was then in *Cilicia*, extinguishing the remains of the piratic war, should have the government of *Asia* added to his commission, with the command of the *Mithridatic war**, and of all the Roman armies in those parts.

This was, as *Plutarch* observes, putting the whole Roman empire into the hands of a single man. The Senate therefore were more alarmed by this proposal, than they had been by that of *Gabinus* : But the People, who at that time idolized *Pompey*, appeared so eagerly bent to exalt him, that of all the Fathers, not one, except *Hortensius* and *Catulus* (who had

* It was about eight years since *Lucullus* was first sent to that war, in which, by a series of many great and glorious acts, he had ac-

quired a reputation both of courage and conduct equal to that of the greatest Generals.

Y. R. 687.
Bef. Chr.
65.
368 Conf.

Observa-
tions on
the Life
and Wri-
tings of
Cicero,
p. 17.
2d edit.

both been Consuls) ventured to speak in favour of the ancient maxims. *Servilius Isauricus*, a consular person; *Cæsar* (with a view, perhaps, to commissions for himself of the like irregular kind) and even *Cicero* then Prætor, *Cicero*, the consummate patriot, supported the Tribune's proposal, though (as an ingenious and elegant writer observes) "They had not the least pretence of public necessity to justify it, as they seemed to have had in the commission they gave him against the pirates, who were, at that time, very formidable enemies: But *Lucullus*, who commanded in *Asia*, had overcome *Mitbridates* in several battles, and was as capable of finishing the war, as he whom they appointed to be his successor. With an eloquence worthy of a better cause, he most artfully reflected on *Lucullus*, whose reputation, as well as his authority, was to be made a sacrifice to the envy of *Pompey*: Then he proceeded to descant upon *Pompey's* character, which he set off with all the ornaments of rhetoric; attributing to him the whole success, not only of the *African*, *Spanish*, and *Piratic* wars, but even of that against the *Slaves*, the honour of which was solely due to *Crassus*. Thus by cruelly injuring two of the greatest Generals that were in the Commonwealth, by a most servile flattery of the man who was manifestly overturning all its LIBERTIES^a, he brought the People to consent to [or rather made the People more ardently desirous to pass] the MANILIAN Law: which, had a regard to the interest of his country been his constant principle, he ought to have opposed as violently, as he did afterwards the *Agrarian* Law, or any other attempt against the safety and freedom of the state."

Manilius's

^a i. e. All those remains of ROMAN LIBERTY, that could subsist under an usurped, Anticonstitutional, infamous ARISTOCRACY, or OLIGARCHY; where not only Officers of Trust, and even the highest Magistracies, but Judiciary Decrees, were openly bought and sold. *Vid. supra*, p. 204, 205.

"We have, says M. Crevier, the discourse which *Cicero* pronounced on this occasion. It is more to his honour, as an orator, than as a patriot, or commonwealth's man. *Dio* censures him for it, with a severity which I shall not imitate. This historian is almost always unjust in his judgment of those who distinguished themselves by their VIRTUS [i. e. their zeal for the Aristocracy] in the times we are speaking of. In truth, it is very hard to clear *Cicero* from the charge of not being faithful enough to the maxims of the ARISTOCRACY." [as if it was a proof of

Virtue to adhere to those maxims in the Roman DEMOCRACY.] "But he had the Consulship nearly in view, and it behoved him therefore to gain the people's favour, and make sure of the friendship of *Pompey*. I am, nevertheless, persuaded, that if *Cicero* had looked upon *Manilius's* project, as a measure pernicious to the Commonwealth, he would never have promoted it, for the sake of any personal advantage to himself."

This is surely having a faith absolutely implicit in the virtue and integrity of *Cicero*, such a faith as *Cicero*, in excuse of himself, pretends to have had in the virtue of *Pompey*. How far this faith is defensible, I shall leave to the reader's consideration. Most persons, who are members of a FREE state, will, I imagine, judge, that if *Pompey* aspired to the commission in question, or discovered a willingness to accept it, he was by no means fit to be

Vid. supra,
p. 218,
219.

be





Manilius's bill, passing into a Law, placed *Pompey* at the utmost height of his wishes; he saw himself raised, by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens, to a power almost equal to that which *Sylla* had forcibly usurped. But his natural disposition, and a long habit of profound dissimulation, made him pretend great affliction, when he received the news of the honour done him. His friends vied with each other in expressing their joy; but he, frowning and striking his thigh, cried out, *O Gods! am I then condemned to endless labour? How much better would it have been for me to have lived without glory and unknown, than to be thus for ever armed, for ever making war! Must I then be always exposed to that envy which persecutes me? Must I never be suffered to enjoy, in the tranquillity of a country life, the dear company of my wife and children?* This dissimulation, this hypocrisy (says *Plutarch*^a) was intolerable even to his most familiar friends, who well knew, that, beside the pleasure of having his ambition satisfied, he had another exquisite joy, from the mortification of his hated rival *Lucullus*, to whom nothing could be more offensive, than to be supplanted in his command by *Pompey*. But, before we enter on *Pompey's* exploits, in the war against *Mitridates*, it will be proper to take a view of what had passed in *Asia* and the East, since the PEACE which that prince concluded with *Sylla*, in the year 668 of *Rome*; and of the present situation of things in that country.

Y.R. 687.

Plut. Dio.

Appian.

C H A P. VII.

The occasion and commencement (in 669 or 670) of the SECOND MITHRIDATIC WAR; under the conduct of MURÆNA. He concludes a peace with the King in 672, by order of SYLLA, then DICTATOR. The THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR commences in 679, under the conduct of L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS, then Consul: and is carried on by him to the year 687, when he is succeeded in the command by POMPEY.

THE King of *Pontus* had no sooner made peace with the *Romans*, then he turned his arms against the People of *Colchis*, who had thrown off his government: but they requesting him to give them his

be trusted with it; unless it were intended by his constituents as a thing eligible and desirable, to reduce the government to a *Monarchy*.

I have observed, that this ingenious *French* writer seems frequently to make the *ARISTOCRACY*, and the *COMMONWEALTH*, or *FREE STATE*, synonymous terms; whereas the *Freedom* of the *Roman People*, from the time

of *Sylla*, who, by Laws of his own, established the *ARISTOCRACY*, was surely, at best, no better than the freedom of outlaws and banditti, who are under the guidance of suitable leaders; and the *SENATE* itself was notoriously a *Spelunca Latronum*.

* N. B. This historian, in the beginning of his *History of Pompey's Life*, makes *sincerity* and *veracity* parts of his character.

son

App. Mi-
thridat.
F. 214

son *Mitridates* to be their king, and he granting their request, they immediately submitted. The father, nevertheless, suspecting that the late rebellion might be the effect of his son's intrigues to obtain for himself a kingdom, sent for him, bound him with chains of gold, and then put him to death.

After this he undertook the reduction of the *Bosporani*, who had rebelled at the same time with the people of *Colchis*: and for this enterprize he made such great preparations, both of men and ships, as gave reason to think he had the *Romans* more in view, than his rebellious subjects. And this seemed the more probable, as he retained several fortresses in *Cappadocia*, notwithstanding his engagement, by treaty, to yield that country to *Triobarzanes*.

Muræna, who had been left by *Sylla* in *Asia* with *Fimbria's* Legions, and who with much ardency aspired to the honour of a triumph, was glad of these pretexts for renewing the war. While this project engaged all his thoughts, *Archelaus*, with his wife and children, took refuge with him. This General had been suspected by *Mitridates*, ever since the battle of *Chærona*, and the subsequent negotiation with *Sylla*; in which the King thought his interest had been sacrificed by his General to that of the *Romans*. *Archelaus*, who knew his master's temper, and therefore his own danger, put himself for safety into *Muræna's* hands, and then urged him to renew the war: an advice which he readily listened to; it being so agreeable to his own predetermination. He entered *Cappadocia*, seized the city of *Comana*, and there plundered the rich temple of *Bellona*. On these hostilities, the King of *Pontus*, by an embassy^a, remonstrated to *Muræna*, that he acted contrary to the treaty lately concluded. As the treaty between *Sylla* and *Mitridates* had not been put in writing, the parties having been contented with the execution of the conditions, *Muræna* answered, that he knew nothing of it. He continued his incursions and depredations, and took up his winter-quarters in *Cappadocia*^b. The King sent his complaints to *Rome*, and, while he waited for an answer, suffered *Muræna* unmolested to pursue his hostilities. At length *Calpurnius* arrived, bringing with him, not a written decree of the Senate, but a mere verbal order to *Muræna*, to discontinue the war against *Mitridates*. At least, this is what he said to the Roman General in public, but they saw each other in private, and the war went on as before.

App. ibid.
p. 215

Memnon.
apud Phot.

Muræna passed the river *Halys*, as if intending to march to *Sinope*, the capital of the kingdom of *Mitridates*, and the place where he was born.

^a The Ambassadors are said to have been some Greek philosophers, who endeavoured, instead of serving the King, to render him more odious to the *Romans*.

^b It is probable, that all this passed in the year 670, the Consulship of *Scipio* and *Norbanus*.

Against the *Roman* General, the king detached *Gordius*, whom he soon after followed in person, with numerous forces. The armies approached near to each other: the *Halys* only was between them. *Mitbridates* passed the river in spite of all opposition from the enemy. A general action ensued, but with what success does not appear. Each side pretended to the victory; yet it would seem, that neither had great cause to boast: For *Mitbridates*, after the battle, retired towards *Colchis*, and *Muræna* into *Phrygia*. The king, however, celebrated his pretended victory by a solemn sacrifice, after the manner of the *Persians*, from whom he derived his origin. This was the last action of the second war with *Mitbridates*, which had lasted about three years. *Sylla*, being created Dictator, sent his absolute orders to *Muræna* to desist from hostilities. *Gabinus*, the bearer of these orders, was likewise com-
App. u. li. sup.
Y. 672.

Muræna seems to have had no good title to a triumph, yet he had that honour: perhaps *Sylla*, who knew in what manner *Mitbridates* had celebrated his pretended victory, was willing, for the honour of the *Roman* name, to grant a triumph to *Muræna*.

Mitbridates, as we have seen, had twice made peace with the *Romans*; but he had no written treaty, either with *Sylla* or *Muræna*. He sent Ambassadors therefore to *Rome*, to demand a decree of the Senate, authorizing what had been stipulated between him and the *Roman* Generals: But as *Ariobarzanes* had likewise sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, to complain, that *Mitbridates* had not restored to him all *Cappadocia*, *Sylla*, who was then Dictator, decreed, that the king of *Pontus* should, previously to any new transaction, evacuate *Cappadocia* intirely, as had been agreed. *Mitbridates* obeyed; and afterwards sent a new embassy finally to settle the treaty. But *Sylla** was then dead, and the thoughts of the *Romans* were so much engrossed with intestine troubles and divisions, that the Ambassadors could not obtain audience of the Senate: they returned therefore, without an answer, to their master, who was not sorry to have that pretext for accusing the *Romans* of an intention to renew the war.
App. Mitbrid. p. 216.
Y. 673 & 674.
* He died in 675.

He had taken care to keep his troops in exercise, by making war upon several nations on the borders of the *Phasis* and mount *Caucasus*, and likewise upon the people of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, whom he subjected, and over whom he made his son, *Machabes*, king.

And now the difficulties, into which the war of *Lepidus*, and, afterwards, that of *Sertorius*, had thrown the *Roman* Commonwealth, made the king of *Pontus* believe he might renew hostilities with advantage. However, at first, he did not appear himself, but engaged *Tigranes* to
Y. 675 & 676.

act, who, having entered *Cappadocia*, became presently master of it, ruined twelve *Grecian* cities in that country, and carried off the inhabitants, to the number of 300,000, to people his favourite city, *Tigranocerta*.

Liv. Epit.
l. cent.
Y. 678.

Vid. supra,
p. 189,
190.

Plut. in
Luc.

Y. 679.

In the year of *Rome* 678* died *Nicomedes*, king of *Bitbynia*, who, by his will, made the *Roman* People his heir; whereupon *M. Junius Silanus*, Proconsul of *Asia*, received orders to go into that kingdom, and reduce it into a *Roman* province. *Mitbridates*, who had long entertained the design of seizing that kingdom, would by no means acquiesce in its becoming a part of the *Roman* dominion. It was at this time therefore he threw off the mask, and having sent the famous embassy, before spoken of, to *Sertorius*, undertook this his THIRD WAR against the *Romans*, with more confidence than he had done the two former; his preparations being more judiciously made. Instead of an innumerable multitude of Barbarians of different nations and languages, whose confused noises could only terrify the soft *Asiatics*, and whose arms glittered with gold and precious stones, he assembled an army of 120,000 stout soldiers, formed and disciplined after the *Roman* manner. To this body of infantry he added 16,000 troopers well mounted, and 100 chariots armed with scythes. He likewise fitted out a fleet of 400 sail, well manned; and he amassed above nine millions of bushels of corn, which he distributed, in different magazines, along the coast. Thus prepared for war, he attacked *Bitbynia* both by land and sea.

The Consular Fasces had been transferred to *L. Licinius Lucullus** and *M. Aurelius Cotta*; and the province of *Gallia Cisalpina*, had

* Consulship of *L. Octavius* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*.

* *Plutarch* tells us, that the father of *Lucullus*, who had been Prætor in *Sicily*, was accused and found guilty of extortion, and that his mother, sister of *Metellus Numidicus*, was a woman of very indiscreet conduct. *Lucullus* distinguished himself by a very uncommon degree of fraternal affection. He was older than his brother *Marcus*, and therefore sooner capable of holding offices; but never would accept of any office till his brother became capable, by his years, of being associated with him: And the *Roman* People were so pleased with this turn of his mind, that in his absence they chose him *Ædile*, conjointly with that brother who was so dear to him: He was much addicted to letters, and could write and speak readily in the *Greek* as well as the *Roman* language. A history of the *Marse* War, written by him in *Greek*, was extant in *Ph-*

tarcb's time. He was fortunately absent from *Italy* during those dreadful times, when *Marius* and *Sylla* caused such desolation there. He had no share in the Dictator's tyrannical proceedings. Nevertheless, *Sylla* always treated him as a person he esteemed and loved, and employed him in his most important affairs: and, as a mark of particular friendship, inscribed his Commentaries to him, and left him guardian to his son (as was before mentioned.) *Cicero* declares, that *Lucullus* set out from *Rome* with little or no experience in war, and arrived in *Asia* an accomplished general: but we learn from others, that *Lucullus* had served with distinction in the *Social* War, and had been *Sylla's* Quæstor, and in that capacity had commanded a fleet, and fought several battles, in all which he came off victorious. He had been *Ædile* in 674; Prætor at *Rome* in 676; and Prætor in *Africa* in 677.

fallen

fallen by lot to the former: But news being soon after brought to *Rome*, that the government of *Cilicia* was vacant (by the death of *L. Octavius*, who had succeeded *Servilius Isauricus*;) *Lucullus*, ardently desirous of conducting the war against *Mitbridates*, employed all his thoughts to get *Cilicia* assigned to him; because, as *Cappadocia* joined to *Cilicia*, if he obtained this province, the accomplishment of his other desire would be a natural consequence.

In order to obtain his wish, he was forced to pay humble court to the mistress of one *Cethegus*, an infamous, contemptible man, but who had found means to make himself so very popular, that nothing was done at *Rome* without his approbation; and there was no access to him, but through his mistress, *Precia*. *Lucullus* gained her by presents. It greatly flattered her vanity, that a Consul, and such a man as *Lucullus*, should solicit her protection. The province of *Cilicia* was given to him by the People, and, of course, as he had foreseen, the conduct of the war against the king of *Pontus*. However, his colleague, *Cotta*, desiring to have part in that enterprize, obtained of the Senate to send him with a fleet to guard the *Propontis*, and to defend *Bitbynia*. Plut. in Lucull.

Lucullus carried only one legion from *Italy*: He found four in *Asia*, but two of the four were those who (as above* related) had formerly killed *Flaccus* their General, and afterwards betrayed *Fimbria*: all stout soldiers, experienced in war, and inured to fatigues, but intractable, seditious, and accustomed not to obey their commanders, but to be humoured by them. *Lucullus* had the skill to bring them under better discipline; (though not to keep them in obedience to the end of the war.) * Vid. supr. p. 146.

And whereas the exactions of *Sylla*, and the oppressions and extortions of the publicans and usurers, had greatly indisposed the cities of *Asia* towards the *Roman* government, *Lucullus* applied himself to remedy this evil, as much as the cares of the war would allow him to do. He checked the *Harpies* (as *Plutarch* call them) in their course of oppression, till he could entirely expel them; insomuch, that the states of *Asia* left him in full liberty to march without fear to the aid of his colleague *Cotta*, who, by imprudence, had brought himself into very great danger. For being arrived in *Bitbynia*, and finding *Mitbridates* there with his army, he aspired to the glory of conquering him without the aid of *Lucullus*. Defeated near *Chalcedon* both by land and sea in one day, he lost 4000 *Romans*, and above 60 ships, and was obliged to shut himself up in that city, where he had no hope of succour, but from his colleague. If *Lucullus* had followed the inclinations of his soldiers, he would not have attempted to relieve *Cotta*, with whom they were greatly offended, on account of his project of conquering without them. They would have had their General turn his arms towards *Pontus*; but he, having Liv. Epit. l. xciii. Mitbrid. p. 218. Plut. in Luc.

Strab. l.
xii. p. 575.
Plut. in
Luc.

called them together, declared to them, that he had rather rescue a single *Roman* citizen from danger, than conquer all the dominions of *Mitbridates*. He began his march therefore towards *Bithynia*; upon advice of which, *Mitbridates* left *Chalcedon* and *Costa*, and met *Lucullus* near *Otræ*, a city of *Phrygia*; but a mass of fire falling between the two armies, this prodigy so terrified them, that they separated, as it were, by consent. *Lucullus*, judging from the enormous multitude which followed *Mitbridates*, that he would soon be obliged to retire for want of provisions, resolved to avoid an action. Accordingly it so fell out: the king decamped, and, to conceal his march, set forward in a very dark and rainy night, and arrived before *Cyzicum*, an important city^d, and one of the keys of *Asia*. The inhabitants had suffered a considerable blow in the naval battle of *Chalcedon*, where they had lost 3000 men and ten ships, so that he expected to carry the place with ease. He formed ten camps about it, and made his fleet shut up the two extremities of the Streight, that separated the island from the continent. *Lucullus*, nevertheless, who had followed the enemy, and had encamped at a small distance from them upon an eminence, where he was safe from insult, and at hand to cut off their provisions, boasted to his soldiers, that, without fighting, he should force *Mitbridates* to quit his enterprize.

The *Cyzicenians* sustained the siege with wonderful resolution, only they were somewhat disturbed for having no news of the *Roman* General. They could see his camp, but did not know that it was his; for the enemy had made them believe, that it was the camp of the *Armenians* and *Medes*, sent by *Tigranes* to the aid of *Mitbridates*. *Lucullus* very soon found means to undeceive them.

App. Mi-
thrid.
221.
Plut. in
Luc.

The king's army began to suffer famine; however, he would not yet abandon his enterprize: only, to be less straitened for want of provisions, he sent away almost all his cavalry, the beasts of burden, and that part of his infantry, which, having suffered most, was least capable of service. *Lucullus* intercepted this detachment, near the river *Rhyndicus*; many were killed on the spot, and 15,000 taken prisoners, together with 6000 horses, and a prodigious number of beasts of burden. *Lucullus* brought all to his camp, passing within view of the besiegers, in a kind of triumph. The famine increased in the king's camp; for the sea, by which he had been hitherto supplied with provisions, became impracticable on account of the bad season. Many therefore died of hunger, some fed on human flesh; others, who, abhorring that diet, fed upon grass and herbage, sunk through weakness; and the great number of the dead, that remained without burial, brought the plague into the camp: *Mitbridates*, nevertheless, continued the siege, waiting the success of some batteries he had planted.

^d It was about fifty miles in circumference, and situated in an island of the *Propontis*.

The *Cyzizenians*, who knew the weak condition of his troops, made a vigorous sally, destroyed his works, and burnt all his engines. Nothing remained now for the king but flight, and this was difficult in the presence of a victorious army. To divert the thoughts of *Lucullus* to another object, he equipped another squadron of ships, that was to go to the *Ægean* sea. *Aristonicus*, the admiral, carried ten thousand pieces of gold with him, in order to corrupt, if possible, *Fimbria's* legions, which *Mitbridates* had long been in hopes of seducing. His hopes had some foundation, as those soldiers were mutinous and seditious, and had been adherents to *Marius's* faction, of which he had actually with him some persons, sent to him by *Sertorius*. *Fimbria's* soldiers pretended to listen to the proposals of *Aristonicus*, but, having contrived to draw him to a place, where they were masters, seized both his gold and him, and killed those that accompanied him.

In the mean time, *Mitbridates* was making the best dispositions he could for retiring from before *Cyzicum*. He directed two of his Generals to march his land forces, which were still about 30,000, to *Lampsacus*. As for himself, he embarked for *Parium*, and had a safe passage; but his land army was pursued, and overtaken near the *Granicus* (or the *Æsepus*) by the *Romans*, who cut in pieces near 20,000 of them, and took many prisoners. Those few that escaped shut themselves up in *Lampsacus*. *Lucullus* appeared before the place, and they would have fallen into his hands, if *Mitbridates* had not sent ships to carry them off with all the inhabitants. The *Roman* General returned to *Cyzicum** and was received with acclamations by the inhabitants, who, in honour of him, instituted a festival, which they called *Lucullea*.

It is said, that *Mitbridates*, in this unfortunate expedition, did not lose less than 300,000 men, including the necessary followers of an army.

Lucullus turned his thoughts to drive *Mitbridates* entirely out of *Bitbynia*; but, for that purpose, he wanted a fleet, *Mitbridates* being master of the sea: Nevertheless, he declined an offer made him by the Senate of 3000 talents, to equip a fleet: He answered, that the zeal and fidelity of the allies of the Republic would supply him with what he wanted. Accordingly he drew together a great number of ships from the cities of *Asia*, and, in a little time, was able to distress *Mitbridates* by sea, as well as by land. His lieutenants, *Voconius Barba* and *Valerius Triarius*, took the principal cities of *Bitbynia*, *Apamea*, *Prusa*, *Prusias*, *Nicea*: and *Mitbridates*, after a shipwreck, in which he lost a great number of vessels, near *Parium*, was obliged to shut himself up in *Nicomedia*, whither *Cotta* first, and afterwards *Triarius*, came to besiege him.

* The siege of *Cyzicum* seems to have been begun towards the end of the year 679, in which *L. Lucullus* was Consul; and it was

raised in the beginning of the Consulship of *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus* and *C. Cassius Varus*, year of Rome 680.

Piut. in
Luc.

The king, far from being driven to despair by so much bad success, or from confining himself to the defensive, actually sent away a fleet to support the revolt which *Spartacus* had excited in *Italy*. He had given the command of this fleet to two of his own officers, and *M. Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent to him with the title of Proconsul. *Lucullus* sailed in quest of this fleet, found it the road of *Lemnos*, and destroyed the whole, being thirty-two ships of war, with a great number of transports; and the three admirals were made prisoners. *Lucullus*, considering *Marius* as a traitor to his country, and apprehending that he might escape due punishment, by dying sword in hand, had taken the precaution, before the battle, to order his soldiers not to kill any man who had but one eye, which was *Marius's* case; the victor put him to death by torture.

The intire evacuation of *Bitbynia* by *Mitbridates*, was the consequence of this victory; for having received advice, that *Lucullus* was advancing against him with the utmost expedition, he set sail from *Nicomedia*, to return into his own kingdom: But not far from *Heraclea* a violent storm dispersed his fleet, and sunk many of his ships. The whole coast was covered with the wrecks; and this completed the ruin of his maritime forces. Being himself in a ship too large to approach the shore, during the violent agitation of the sea, he was constrained to go on board a pirate's sloop; in which he escaped to *Heraclea*.

Memnon.
aped Phot.

This city did not belong to him; but was a petty *Grecian* Republic, which, discontented with the exactions of the *Romans*, and yet dreading their power, remained fluctuating between the two parties. It was by means of a secret intelligence, with one of the principal citizens, that the king got admittance; but, being once admitted, he easily brought the citizens to declare in his favour: after which, under pretext of defending the town against the *Romans*, he placed there a garrison of 4000 men, then marched to *Sinope*, and from thence to *Amisus*.

Lucullus, after conferring with *Cotta*, left to him the care of besieging *Heraclea*, gave the command of the fleet to *Triarius*, and resolved in person to pursue *Mitbridates* by land, and carry the war into his dominions.

App. Mi-
thrid. p.
224.

The king neglected nothing in so pressing a danger, sent Ambassadors and letters to the *Armenian* and *Partbian* kings, and to the kings of *Scythia*. The minister whom he sent into *Scythia* betrayed him; carrying the gold and presents, with which he was intrusted, into the camp of *Lucullus*. The king of *Partbia* would have nothing to do with a quarrel that seemed foreign to him. Only *Tigranes*, solicited by one of his wives, the daughter of *Mitbridates*, made some promises, but was not in haste to put them in execution. The king of *Pontus*, thus reduced to place all his hopes in himself, undertook to traverse the march of *Lucullus*, sending

R. Y. 610. light-armed troops to harass him, and intercept his convoys; insomuch, that

that the *Roman* General, in order to have bread, made 30,000 *Gallo Greeks*, each with a *medimnus* * of corn upon his shoulders, march along with the army. But this scarcity was of no long duration: the *Roman* army soon found itself in a plentiful country; which, not having for a long time past experienced the calamities of war, supplied the conquerors with such abundance, that an ox was sold for a drachma, a slave for four, and the rest of the booty was reckoned of no value, because they could find no purchasers.

* Some-
what more
than a
bushel.
Plut. in
Luc.

Lucullus, not meeting with any resistance, laid siege to two cities, neighbouring one to the other, *Amisus* and *Eupatoria*. He did not, however, press the siege of those places. Blocking them up, he advanced into the country as far as *Themiscyra*, near the *Thermodon*. His soldiers, greedy of plunder, were much dissatisfied with his manner of carrying on the war. Many places, which had surrendered to him, he had received on capitulation: he had taken none by force of arms: and it was manifest that he intended to spare *Amisus*, which was one of the royal cities of *Mitbridates*, who had a palace in it. *Lucullus* despised their murmurs, but thought himself obliged to justify his conduct to those, who thought that he did not follow *Mitbridates* close enough, but imprudently gave him time to assemble new forces. “There is nothing I wish
“more, said *Lucullus*, than to see *Mitbridates* again at the head of
“an army, numerous enough to make him believe he is in a condition to
“contend with us, and under no necessity of flying at our approach.
“Should he despair of defending himself by his own strength, he will
“have recourse to his son-in-law *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, the most pow-
“erful prince of *Asia*, and who is seeking a pretence for making war a-
“gainst us: and what more specious pretext can he have, than that of
“defending a prince his ally, who implores his protection?” In fact, *Lucullus* suffered the rest of the campaign to pass without any considerable surprize, and *Mitbridates* took advantage of this inaction to draw together, during the winter, 40,000 foot, and 4000 horse, with which, in the beginning of the spring, he passed the *Lycus*, and marched to meet the *Romans*, who were advancing in quest of him.

Plut. ibid.

The two armies, though for a considerable time in view of each other, came to no general engagement. In a skirmish of the cavalry, *Mitbridates* had all the advantage; insomuch that the *Roman*, sensible of the enemy's superiority in horse, and therefore of the necessity of avoiding the plains, removed his camp to an eminence, where he could not be forced to fight against his will.

* Y. 681.
App. Mi-
thrid. p.
225.

It was about this time, that *Lucullus* narrowly escaped being assassinated by *Oltacus*, prince of the *Dandarians*, a nation in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Meotis*. This prince having promised *Mitbridates* to rid him of *Lucullus*, came to the *Roman* camp as a deserter, and so

Plut. in
Lucull.

* *L. Gellius Poplicola* and *Cn. Corn. Lentulus Clodianus*.

far insinuated himself into the good graces of the General, as to be often admitted to his table, and even to his councils. The *Dandarian*, having chosen a day for the execution of his purpose, commanded his servant to keep his horse in readiness for him without the camp; and, at noon, when the excessive heat disposed every body, soldiers and officers, to take some repose, he went to *Lucullus's* tent, expecting to be readily admitted. But as *Lucullus*, who had fatigued himself very much the day before, and had passed the night without sleep, was just then laid down to rest, his servant signified this to *Oltibacus*. The prince, nevertheless, answered peremptorily, That he *would* go in; for that he must speak to the General upon an affair of importance. To which the servant replied, *There is nothing more important than my master's health*: and then, without hearkening any further to him, roughly with both his hands pushed him away. *Oltibacus*, afraid of being suspected, left the camp immediately, and returned to *Mitbridates*.

App.
Mithr. p.
226.

Plut. in
Luc.

In the mean time, both armies began to suffer famine, having eaten up the country where there were. The *Romans* had no provisions, but what they brought from the territories of *Ariobarzanes*, and were obliged to detach large bodies of troops to escort their convoys. *Mitbridates* rightly judged, that if he could intercept their convoys, he should reduce *Lucullus* to the same state to which *Lucullus* had reduced him before *Cyzicum*. This therefore he attempted: whereupon two considerable actions ensued, in both which the *Romans* were victorious. In the second, the king's detachment, amounting to 4000 foot and 2000 horse, was so entirely overthrown, that only two men escaped to carry to their master the news of his misfortune. The victors passed insulting before his camp, with a long train of carriages, loaded with spoils, and provisions; and this sight spread so great a consternation among his troops, that he lost all confidence in their service, and, being distressed, by the want of provisions, resolved to steal away from his army: and this resolution he imparted to the principal persons of his council, who immediately turned their thoughts to save their baggage, by sending it off with all expedition. The soldiers, observing these preparations for flight, stopt the baggage: a scuffle ensued; the enraged multitude plundered the carriages, and massacred those to whom they belonged. *Dorylaus*, one of *Mitbridates's* principal Generals was murdered solely for the sake of the purple robe which he wore. Upon this uproar, the king came out of his tent, and endeavoured to pacify the troops; but no body hearkened to him; and when, without either officer, or slave to attend him, he sought to escape by flight, he was thrown down, and must have been trampled to death, if one of his eunuchs, who perceived him in that miserable condition, had not given him timely aid, and a horse to carry him off. *Lucullus*, apprised of what had passed, sent his cavalry in pursuit of the runaways, while he himself with the
Legions

legions entered the camp. A body of Gallo-Grecian horse pursued *Mitbridates* so close, that it would have been scarce possible for him to escape, had not the pursuers found in their way a mule loaded with gold. Their stopping to seize the rich prey^a gave him time sufficient. He arrived at *Comana*, and from thence went to *Tigranes* in *Armenia*. By this victory, all *Pontus* was subjected to the *Romans*. *Lucullus* took the city of *Cabira*, where *Mitbridates* had passed the preceding winter; hither came the commanders of forts and castles^b, bringing the keys of them to the victor without delay. He followed *Mitbridates* in his flight, till he learned that the king had entered the dominions of *Tigranes*: then, turning back, he reduced *Armenia Minor*, and some nations in the neighbourhood of *Colchis*: after which he led his army towards the cities of *Amisus* and *Eupatoria*, which had been only blockaded during his absence. He presently took *Eupatoria* by assault: *Amisus* cost him more trouble, having a good engineer for its governor, a man well skilled in the science of defending towns. *Lucullus*, nevertheless, chusing a time to assault the walls, when the governor did not expect it, carried the place. The governor made his escape by sea, and, in going off, set the city on fire, the better to secure his retreat; or, perhaps, to prevent the *Romans* from enriching themselves with the plunder. It was

App. Mi-
thridat.
p. 227.
Plut. in
Luc.

* Y. 682.

^a The king's secretary had fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and, though *Lucullus* had given orders that particular care should be taken of him, yet those to whose charge he was committed, having discovered that he had 500 pieces of gold about him, killed him for the sake of the money. *Plut. in Lucull.*

Lucullus had likewise forbid the soldiers to plunder the camp, it being, probably, his purpose to have all the spoil collected, and then equally distributed among them, according to ancient custom. But times were changed: the sight of so many gold and silver vessels, purple carpets, and other rich spoil, made them regardless of the General's orders. *App. Mitbr. p. 227.*

^b In these castles, the *Roman* General found great treasure and many prisoners, who had been long shut up. Of these some were *Greeks*, other princes of the royal family, whom the public supposed to be dead. *Nysa*, the sister of *Mitbridates*, and widow of *Nicomedes*, became *Lucullus*'s prisoner on this occasion, and very fortunately for her: For the sisters and wives of *Mitbridates*, who had not fallen into the hands of the *Romans*, but were kept under guard, near *Pharnacia*, perished miserably. The king, not finding *Tigranes* very forward to assist him, and therefore thinking himself

irretrievably ruined, sent the eunuch *Bacchidas* to *Pharnacia*, with orders to his two sisters, *Raxana* and *Statira*, who had never been married, and were then about forty years of age, to die. *Raxana* loaded with imprecations her barbarous brother: the other, affecting an heroic courage, highly praised the goodness of the king, who, not being able to protect them, spared them at least the shame of captivity, and perhaps of a treatment most unworthy of their rank.

Berenice and *Monimia*, two of the king's wives, perished in the same castle. *Berenice* was accompanied by her mother, then very old, who would share with her daughter the cup of poison; and she quickly expired. But the daughter, being young, was not so soon dispatched; so that *Bacchidas*, being in haste, strangled her. When *Bacchidas* signified to *Monimia* the king's order to die, which left her to chuse what kind of death she pleased, she snatched off the diadem that encircled her head, and, having put it round her neck, hung herself up by it: but, the weight of her body soon breaking it, she threw it upon the ground and spit upon it, saying, *Wretched bandage, couldst thou not do me such a service as this at least!* And then she presented her throat to the eunuch's sword. *Plut. in Lucull.*

* Consulship of *Cn. Aufidius Orestes* and *L. Corn. Lentulus Sura*.

originally *Grecian*, and a colony from *Athens*; for which reason especially, the victor was very desirous to save it. He would have had his soldiers extinguish the fire, and forbear plundering; but seeing them ready to mutiny, he suffered them to plunder, hoping that this would engage them to stop the conflagration. But they, on the contrary, searching into every dark corner with torches^a for hidden treasures, set fire themselves to a great number of the houses. A heavy rain, however, happily falling, extinguished the fire. *Lucullus* gave orders for rebuilding what was destroyed, and signalized his humanity in many instances; after which he set out for *Asia*, there to pass the winter, sending, at the same time, his brother-in-law, *Appianus Claudius*, to *Tygranes*, to demand of him to deliver up *Mitridates* to the *Romans*.

Plut. in
Luc.
• Y. 683.

Asia was, at this time, in a state of extreme distress. The fine of 20,000 talents, laid on by *Sylla*, had given occasion to numberless oppressions by the *Roman* farmers of the taxes, and by the usurers. The cities were constrained to sell the ornaments of their temples, and the paintings and statues which adorn their public buildings. Fathers sold their sons and daughters: and, even after this, they themselves were so cruelly treated, that slavery, into which they fell at last, seemed to them a redemption from it. *Lucullus*, to remedy these evils, in the first place, prohibited the exacting a greater interest than twelve *per cent.* which it was the custom of the *Romans* to pay for money lent. In the second place, he entirely cancelled those debts, of which the interest had exceeded the principal. And, lastly, he decreed, that the fourth part of the debtor's estate should be made over to the creditor, till the discharge of the debts; declaring farther, that whoever should add the interest to the principal, and exact interest for the whole, should lose both absolutely. By these methods, in less than four years the debts were paid off, and the estates became clear in the hands of the owners. The usurers, though they had already received 40,000 talents†, the double of the principal sum; yet, accumulating interest upon interest, pretended that 80,000 talents‡ were still due to them from the province.

In great wrath therefore were these usurers; and they hired certain mercenary orators to declaim against *Lucullus* at *Rome*; where, the greater part of those who governed the State being in debt to the same usurers, these doubted not of the success of the invectives. *Lucullus*, however, enjoyed the unmixed delight of being incessantly blessed by multitudes, and even whole nations, which he had relieved from misery. The fame of his justice spread into the neighbouring provinces, and made them envy the happiness of the people who had such a governor.

^a *Lucullus* is reported to have wept when he saw the desolation of this city, and to have said to his friends, that he had always looked upon *Sylla* as the happiest of men, in that he had been willing and able to preserve *Athens*

from destruction; but his own hard fate would make him resemble *Mummius*, who took *Corinth*, and destroyed it. *Plut.*

† 7,750,000 l.

‡ 15,500,000 l.

• Consulship of *M. Licinius Crassus* and *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*.

In the mean time, *Appius Claudius* returned from the court of *Tigranes*, to whom he had been sent to demand *Mitbridates*.

Tigranes was, at that time, the most powerful king of *Asia*; much more powerful than his father had been, who had reigned over a part only of *Armenia*. He had passed his youth as a hostage among the *Parthians*, and did not obtain his liberty, without making a cession to them of a considerable part of the dominions of his ancestors; but he had no sooner mounted the throne, than he conceived thoughts of aggrandizing himself; and, having subdued several petty princes his neighbours, he thence assumed the pompous title of King of Kings. Having augmented his strength by these conquests, he retook from the *Parthians* the country which he had been obliged to resign to them; and he even entered their territory, and ravaged it. He subdued *Mesopotamia*, and filled it with *Greeks*, transplanted from *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*. He constrained the *Arabians*, called *Sœnitæ*, to quit their deserts; and, having settled them in permanent abodes, employed them in carrying on the commerce of the different parts of his vast dominions. And, at length the *Syrians*, quite tired out by the divisions that were perpetually reviving between the princes of the house of the *Seleucidæ*, cast themselves under his protection: And it was in the city of *Antioch*, the capital of the kingdom of *Syria*, that he gave audience to *Appius Claudius*. Plut. in Luc. & Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

This course of prosperity, not interrupted by any stroke of adverse fortune, had rendered *Tigranes* frantic with pride. He had amongst his servants several kings, whom he constrained to wait upon him; and particularly four, who, when he was on horseback, attended him on foot, meanly habited; and, when he gave audience sitting upon his throne, they stood on each side with their hands across, to express, by that attitude, that they were humble slaves, ready to suffer whatever their imperious master should ordain. Plut. in Luc.

This theatrical shew made no impression upon *Appius*. When he was admitted to an audience, he told the monarch plainly, that he was come to carry away *Mitbridates* as a conquered enemy, destined to adorn the triumph of *Lucullus*; and to declare war against *Tigranes* himself, in case of his refusal to deliver up the king of *Pontus*. The *Armenian*, having never heard a word of such freedom, during the five and twenty years he had reigned, was disconcerted by the unexpected haughtiness of the young *Roman*. Nevertheless, he affected to appear unmoved, and answered with an air of serenity, that he would not abandon his father-in-law; and that, as to himself, if the *Romans* thought proper to begin a war with him, he should know what measures to take in his defence, and would make them repent of their aggression. As *Lucullus*, in his letter to him, had stiled him only King, not King of Kings, he put on the superscription of his answer, only the name of *Lucullus*, without

adding *IMPERATOR*. However, he did not omit to send the customary presents to *Appius*: and, when the *Roman* refused them, *Tigranes* insisted, adding other presents more considerable. *Appius*, judging it not proper to appear so much out of humour, as to act towards the king like an enemy, accepted a cup, but sent back the rest, and returned to *Lucullus* with all possible expedition.

This embassy had a good effect in favour of *Mitridates*; with regard to whose interests *Tigranes* had hitherto shewn himself remarkably cold, having never so much as seen him, since his coming into *Armenia*. But now he invited him to court, and had frequent conferences with him.

Lucullus had no sooner received the answer of *Tigranes*, than he prepared to carry the war into that prince's dominions. Leaving *Asia*, he rejoined his army in *Pontus*, where *Cotta* had just got possession of *Heraclea*, after a two year's siege; the commander of the garrison having betrayed the town to *Triarius*, the *Roman* admiral, who attacked it by sea. *Cotta* carried off great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity, rifled the temples of their treasures, and of their statues of the Gods; and, when he was possessed of all the riches of the place, he set it on fire, reducing the greater part of it to ashes: after which he returned to *Italy*, leaving the troops, that had been under his command, to *Lucullus*.

Ap. Phot. The people of *Heraclea* having sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to complain of *Cotta's* violences, he was very ill received there at his arrival. *Memnon*, an historian of *Heraclea*, reports, that *Cotta* was deprived of his dignity of Senator; that the captives were set at liberty by the Senate; and that the People, before whom the affair was brought, restored to the *Heracleotes* their territory and port.

Plot. in
Luc.
App. Mi-
thridat.
p. 227.
Memnon.

Lucullus, soon after his entering *Pontus*, took *Sinope*, where *Mitridates* was born, and had passed his infancy, and which, for these reasons, he had made the capital of his dominions. As the place was taken by assault, *Lucullus* could not, at first, hinder his soldiers from committing great disorders and slaughter; but, at length, he put a stop to their violence; and those of the inhabitants, who had escaped, he treated with great clemency.

The only considerable place, which remained to *Mitridates* in *Pontus*, was the city of *Amisus*, and this very soon surrendered. *Lucullus* passed the winter in *Pontus*, and, whilst he was there, received ambassadors from *Macchares*, one of the sons of *Mitridates*, who had made him king of *Bosporus*. This prince, seeing his father abandoned by all his subjects, followed their example; and having before courted the friendship of *Lucullus*, during the siege of *Sinope*, sent him now a crown of gold. *Lucullus*, on his part, acknowledged *Macchares* king, and the ally and friend of the *Roman* people.

The

The next year (684) nothing was talked of, but the mighty preparations of *Tigranes*, who, in conjunction with *Mitbridates*, was soon to enter *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*; and thence to go and attack the *Romans*, even in the province of *Asia*. * Y. 684.

Lucullus, despising such an enemy, disdained to keep upon the defensive, and leaving *Sornatius*, one of his Lieutenants, with 6000 men, to keep the country in awe, he, with only 12,000 foot and 300 horse, marched away to attack *Tigranes* in the heart of his kingdom.

As the *Armenian* king was one of the most powerful sovereigns at that time in the world, the enterprize of the *Roman* General seemed rash to many. His soldiers followed him with reluctance; and at *Rome*, when his design was known there, some orators, instigated by his enemies, exclaimed that *Lucullus* made war upon war, not by necessity, nor for the service of the Commonwealth, but to be always at the head of an army, and to enrich himself more and more, regardless of the dangers to which he exposed the State. Plut. in Luc.

Nevertheless *Lucullus* pursued his plan, crossed the kingdom of *Ariobarzanes* (a prince always in alliance with the *Romans*) and advanced to the *Euphrates*, which he passed without much difficulty, and encamped that day upon its banks. The following days he crossed *Sophene*, without hurting the country in the least; which gained him the affection of the inhabitants, so that they received the *Roman* troops with joy, and supplied them with all the provisions they needed. He was extremely desirous to advance; and his soldiers having expressed some eagerness to attack a fort, which was said to be full of riches, *There's the fort we must take*, said *Lucullus* to them, pointing to mount *Taurus*, which was very distant; *what we leave behind us will be the reward of our victory*. He continued his march, and having passed the *Tigris*, drew near to *Tigranocerta*.

That *Lucullus* should thus penetrate to the very center of the enemy's country, without opposition, cannot but seem wonderful. The senseless and almost incredible pride of *Tigranes* was the cause of it. The first man who brought the news of *Lucullus's* approach had his head cut off, in reward of his service. After this example, we may naturally suppose, that nobody was in haste to bring advice of the motions of the *Roman* army; and, while the king's dominions were actually a prey to the enemy, his courtiers said to him in flattery, that *Lucullus* would be a great General, indeed, if he only ventured to stay at *Ephesus*, and did not immediately fly from *Asia*, when he should see what an innumerable multitude of soldiers he had to contend with. But, at length, *Mitrobarzanes*, one of those who had easiest access to him, ventured to tell him the truth, and inform him of the arrival of *Lucullus*. *Tigranes*, still besotted with the

* Consulship of Q. Hortensius and Q. Cecilius Metellus.

notions of his own grandeur, commissioned this courtier to go with 3000 horse and a strong body of foot, and bring him the *Roman* General alive, and put his army to the sword. The event was, that *Mitrobarzanes*, falling with fury upon an advanced part of the *Roman* army when pitching their camp, lost his life in the action, and the troops were cut in pieces. *Tigranes* began then to open his eyes, and to see his danger; and finding himself obliged to abandon *Tigranocerta*, he retired towards mount *Taurus*, in order to collect his forces from all parts of his dominions; sending at the same time to *Mitridates* to come and join him. *Lucullus*, by several detachments, did all he possibly could to hinder the assembling of *Tigranes's* troops, and to harass the king himself, in his retreat. *Murena* fell upon him in a pass, and so distressed him, that he was constrained to fly with precipitation, leaving his baggage a prey to his enemies. But as it was impossible for *Lucullus* to subsist his army long in an enemy's country, without a victory, he, in order to draw *Tigranes* to a general battle, resolved to besiege *Tigranocerta*, his beloved city, his own work, and his glory, and which he had called after his own name. The king, somewhat humbled at first by the checks he had received, listened to the counsels of *Mitridates*, who, by letter, and by *Taxiles*, one of the best Generals of the *Armenian*, advised him not to give battle to the Romans, Troops invincible in action; but destroy them, by employing his numerous cavalry to cut off their provisions. But when *Tigranes* saw so great a number of soldiers, of different nations, assembled round him, *Armenians* and *Gordyemians*, *Medes* and *Adiabeniensians*, led by their kings; *Arabians* from the country between *Babylon* and the *Persian* gulph; *Albanians* and *Iberians* from the coasts of the *Caspian* sea; and even the free nations and *Nomades* (*Tartars*) from the neighbourhood of the *Araxes*, who, being subject to no prince, were allured by the presents and largesses of the *Armenian* king, this monarch returned to his former confidence: and in this confidence he was mightily upheld by the folly of all around him; whose discourses, at banquets and councils, were nothing but empty boastings and menaces. Intoxicated with pride and presumption, he thought the advice, to avoid fighting, which *Taxiles* continued to give, had the appearance of treachery, and it had like to have cost that officer his head. And as for *Mitridates*, the *Armenian* suspected him of giving the same counsel from envy. This suspicion made *Tigranes* in haste for a battle, lest the king of *Pontus* should come and share with him the glory of defeating the *Romans*; and having expressed his concern that he had only *Lucullus* to fight with, and not all the *Roman* Generals together, he put his whole army in march.

His forces were, in reality, numerous enough to inspire so vain a prince with great confidence: For he had twenty thousand archers and slingers, and fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which might be said to be cased up in iron, so covered they were with their impenetrable armour; and

and his infantry amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand men, besides the pioneers and other labourers, to the amount of thirty-five thousand. When this prodigious multitude had passed mount *Taurus*, and was near enough to be perceived from *Tigranocerta*, the besieged raised shouts of joy, and from the top of the walls menaced the *Romans*, by pointing to that cloud of avengers.

Lucullus called a council to deliberate upon the measures proper to be taken. Some were for having him raise the siege, and march against *Tigranes*; others advised him to continue the siege, and not leave behind him a place so important, and furnished with so strong a garrison. He answered, that he thought both opinions right: and accordingly, dividing his army, left *Murena* with six thousand foot before *Tigranocerta*; and, taking with him the rest of his infantry, which hardly amounted to ten thousand men, all his cavalry, and about one thousand slingers and archers, marched away to meet the enemy. Plut. ibid.

The small army of *Lucullus* appeared so contemptible in the eyes of the *Armenian* troops, that the first sight of it produced abundance of jests among them. Each of the kings, who then followed the standard of *Tigranes*, addressed him for leave to attack, with their own people only, that handful of *Romans*, against whom, they said, it was below the dignity of the *King of Kings* to move in person. Even *Tigranes* himself condescended to pleasantry; *If they are ambassadors, they are too many; if soldiers, too few.* And thus the day passed in raillery and bravadoes.

Lucullus, the next morning, put his troops in march, to pass a river which divided the two armies. The Barbarians were on the east side of it; and as the best ford was in an angle, made by the winding of the stream westward on his left, the *Romans*, in moving to that ford, unavoidably turned their backs upon the enemy. *Tigranes*, who perceived that motion, began to triumph; calling to *Taxiles*, *See there! your invincible Romans are flying from us!* *Taxiles* replied, *I wish your good fortune may at this time produce what I always thought could never happen. But I see their arms glitter; and I know that, when they are upon a march, they cover them with cases of leather. When they have their shields and helmets uncovered, and shining, it is a sure indication that they are advancing against an enemy.* He had hardly finished these words, when the foremost of the *Roman* eagles was seen suddenly to turn to the right, followed by the whole column, in order to pass the river. *How!* (cried out *Tigranes*, in the greatest astonishment) *those people are coming to us!* He repeated these words two or three times; and then drew up his army with much precipitation. Of the center he took the conduct himself, gave the right to the king of the *Medes*, and the left the king of the *Adiabeniens*: and, in the front of the right wing, he posted that heavy unwieldy cavalry, in which the Barbarians placed their chief confidence.

Just

* One of
the Dies
Atri.

Just as *Lucullus* was about to pass the river, somebody observed to him, that he was going to fight on an *unlucky day*. (It was the 6th of *October*, the day in which *Cepio* had formerly been defeated by the *Cimbri*, and which from that time was marked as unfortunate * in the *Roman Calendar*.) Say you so? (said *Lucullus*) then I am going to make it a *lucky day*. Instantly he crossed the stream, and advancing the foremost, held out his sword drawn, to signify to his troops that they should endeavour at a close engagement with the enemy, whose missile weapons (their darts and arrows) would thereby be rendered almost useless in their hands. Directing his *Thracian* and *Gallo-Greek* horse to flank the enemy's heavy-armed cavalry (before-mentioned) which were posted at the foot of a hill, he himself, at the head of two cohorts only, fetched a compass, and gained the top of that hill: where he no sooner arrived, than he cried out, *The victory, soldiers, is ours*. He ordered his men not to throw their javelins, but, keeping them in their hands, made use of them to wound the enemy in their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts of their bodies. The iron troopers did not wait to be attacked: terrified with the approach of the two cohorts, they instantly fled, and in their fright threw themselves precipitately among their own infantry, causing there the like dismay and confusion; so that these too turned their backs, but could not easily fly, having been drawn up deep in file, and being now huddled into a vast unwieldy throng. The slaughter therefore was dreadful, and the more so, as *Lucullus* had forbid his men to lose time, by stopping to strip the dead. Treading over bracelets and gorgets enriched with precious stones, they pursued the Barbarians very far; nor ceased the havoc, till the General, seeing his victory absolutely complete, ordered a retreat to be sounded. It is said, that on the side of the *Armenians* above 100,000 foot perished, and almost all the cavalry; and that, of the *Romans*, only five men were killed, and some hundreds wounded.

The *Romans* soldiers, returning by the same way they had come, now gathered up the rich spoils of the vanquished. *Tigranes* had galloped off at the beginning of the rout with a few attendants. Seeing his son among these, he took off his diadem, and, weeping, gave it into his hands, at the same time exhorting him to fly a different way: The young prince, not daring to put it on his head, delivered it to the care of one of his pages; and, this page being afterwards taken prisoner, it thus happened, that the very diadem of the *Armenian* king became part of the spoils, which fell into the hands of the victor.

The ancients, who have mentioned this overthrow of *Tigranes's* forces, have spoken of it with amazement. *The sun* (says one writer) *never beheld such a day*. *The victors* (says another) *were themselves ashamed of having drawn their swords against such contemptible cowardly slaves*. *Livy* † tells us, that the *Romans* had never gained a victory, in which their

† Apud
Plut. in
Lucull.

number

number was so much inferior to that of the enemy, for the conquerors were not the twentieth part of the conquered.

The military skill of *Lucullus* has been much admired [more perhaps than it deserved,] in that he knew how to conquer by quite contrary methods of proceeding; a skill, which he had manifested in the wars he successively conducted against *Mitridates* and *Tigranes*.

The former of these kings he had totally defeated at *Cyzicum* and *Cabiræ*, by temporising and prudent delays: the latter by activity and expedition, forcing him to a battle, while the troops of his ally, the king of *Pontus*, were yet at a distance.

Mitridates had used no diligence to join his ally, having deceived himself (it is said) into a persuasion, that *Lucullus* would proceed against the *Armenian* with the same slowness, as formerly against himself, when before *Cyzicum*. Apprized of the defeat of *Tigranes*, by some of the fugitives from the battle, he sought him out carefully, and found him in a most piteous condition, dejected, terrified, quite destitute, a real object of compassion. Far from aggravating his distress, by returning the insults, which he himself, in the like adversity, had formerly received from him, *Mitridates* wept with him, endeavoured to console him, revive his courage, and inspire him with the hope of seeing better days; and at the same time (to do him honour as a king) gave him his own guard, and his own servants, to attend him.

The natural consequence of *Lucullus*'s victory, was the taking of *Tigranocerta*; which did not, however, surrender immediately. The governor found means to defend it for some time, distressing the besiegers chiefly by discharging upon them the *Naphtha*, a kind of *Bitumen*, which easily kindles, and which water itself can hardly extinguish. But it happened that an intestine war broke out in the city. The governor, distrusting the *Greeks*, and not without reason, (they being all of opinion, that it would be best to open the gates to the *Roman General*) disarmed them. The latter apprehending something worse, rose in a body, and having armed themselves with clubs instead of swords, and wrapt their coats about their left arms to serve them in the place of bucklers, boldly attacked the Barbarians, who, though completely armed, were not able to withstand their fury. The victors, so soon as they had knocked any one down, seized his arms; and this, in a short time, put them in a condition to possess themselves of some of the towers that flanked the walls; which having done, they called to the *Romans*, and assisted them in entering.

Lucullus, master of the place, immediately seized and secured the royal treasures, and then gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. They found in it, beside other riches, eight thousand talents in gold ^{1,550,000*l.*} and silver money ^b. The general out of the whole booty, gave to

^b *Arbutnot* understands these eight thousand talents to have been found in the King's treasury. *Arbut.*
Tab. &c.

each soldier eight hundred drachmas. Supplying the *Greeks* with what money was necessary for the expence of their journey, he sent them all back into their own country : and with the like generosity he treated those people, whom *Tigranes* had forced from their own countries, to settle at *Tigranocerta* ; which now on a sudden, from a great city, was reduced to a small village, and no longer made any figure in the country. But thus, by dispersing the inhabitants of a single city, *Lucullus*, re-peopled a great number ; and these always loved and honoured him, not only as their benefactor, but even as their founder.

The amiable humanity of the *Roman* General became every day more conspicuous, and so effectually subdued the Barbarians, as to make force unnecessary. Having found several princesses in *Tigranocerta*, he treated them with all the regard due to their sex and rank ; a conduct which naturally acquired him the warm friendship of their husbands, who were in the service of *Tigranes*. The *Arabian* kings came of themselves to him, to put all their interests into his hands. The nation of the *Sopbenians* promised him obedience ; and the *Gordyenians* (it is said) were for leaving their country and cities, to follow him with their wives and children. One cause of so warm an affection for him was this :

Appius Claudius, whom *Lucullus* had appointed his Ambassador to *Tigranes*, made a considerable stay at *Antioch*, waiting the arrival of that prince, who was then employed in the siege of *Ptolemais*. Not wholly to lose his time, *Appius* contrived to open a negociation with *Zarbienus*, king of the *Gordyenians*, who, he knew, impatiently bore the tyranny of *Tigranes*. The intrigue was discovered, and the king with his wife and children put to death, before the *Romans* entered *Armenia*. When *Lucullus* was become master of the country, he went to *Gordyene*, caused obsequies to be performed for the unfortunate *Zarbienus*, erected a funeral pile, adorned it magnificently, set fire to it himself, and, in conjunction with the relations and friends of *Zarbienus*, (whom he stiled his companion, and the friend and ally of the *Romans*) made the customary libations : and lastly, he raised a stately monument for him, applying to that use part of the treasures found in his palace, which were very considerable. [He found also in the magazines of that prince above 300,000 *medimni* (or bushels) of corn.]

Whilst *Lucullus* was yet in *Gordyene*, he received an embassy from *Arfaces* king of *Partbia*, soliciting his friendship and alliance. The *Roman* received the proposal amicably, and, in return, sent Ambassadors to the *Partbians*. These ministers soon discovered that *Arfaces* was fluctuating, and uncertain, whether to espouse the cause of the *Romans*, or that of the two kings, who both were pressing him earnestly to join with them.

* *Arfaces* was a name common to all the kings of *Partbia* of this race. The proper name of him who now reigned was *Sinatrax*.

The *Armenian* offered to make a cession to the *Parthian* of *Mesopotamia*, *Adiabene*, and that part of *Armenia*, which the *Parthians* had formerly taken from *Tigranes*, and which he had since reconquered. The letter which *Mitridates* wrote to *Arfaces* to engage him in the confederacy, is still extant among the fragments of *Sallust*. It contains an *Invective* against the *Romans*, more copious and particular, indeed, but the same in substance with what one historian has put into the mouth of *Jugurtha*, ^{vid. sup.} against the same people, on occasion of that prince's alliance with king ^{P. 54.} *Bocchus*.

Lucullus, dissatisfied with the ambiguous answers of the *Parthian*, who seemed disposed to stand neuter, resolved to attack him in his dominions. To this he was animated by the thought, how glorious it would be for him, in the course of one war, to dethrone three kings, the most powerful of any in the universe.

He sent orders therefore to *Sornatius*, whom he had left in *Pontus* (as was before related) with 6000 men, to come and join him with those troops in *Gordyene*, from whence he intended to invade the country of the *Parthians*.

Sornatius's soldiers had long been disposed to mutiny, and now they broke out into open disobedience. They declared peremptorily, that they would neither march to join *Lucullus*, nor yet continue in *Pontus*, but would return to *Italy*. This example of mutiny spread, like a contagion, to the camp of the Proconsul; whose soldiers grown rich and voluptuous, and desirous of repose, applauded the noble resolution of their fellow-soldiers of *Pontus*, and loudly declared themselves determined to follow their example. *Lucullus* therefore was necessitated to drop his design (for the present at least) of marching against the *Parthians*.

Tigranes, utterly^d confounded under the sense of the calamity he was fallen into by his late overthrow, remitted all things to the care and direction of *Mitridates*, as one better experienced in military affairs, and better acquainted with the *Roman* way of making war.

Before the beginning of the spring, *Mitridates* had raised an army of^{* Y. 68;} *Armenians* amounting to 70,000 foot, which he caused to be disciplined after the *Roman* manner, and 35,000 horse. The two kings, however, did not take the field, till the middle of summer, and even then

^d Had *Lucullus*, immediately after his victory over *Tigranes*, pursued him, and not given him the opportunity of raising new forces, he must either have driven that prince out of the country, or have taken him prisoner, and thereby put an end to the war. His omitting to do this displeased the *Romans*, as well in the camp as in the city at home, as if his neglect herein had been out of design to draw out the war for the continuing of him-

self the longer in command: and the discontent, which was hereby created, furnished the best reason for that resolution, which was taken hereupon, of sending him a successor, though it was not executed till two years after. *Dio Cass.* l. xxxv. p. 1. [See *Prideaux*, Vol. III. p. 414.]

^{*} Consulship of *Q. Marcius Rex* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*.

they did not seek their enemies, but, every movement, were careful to encamp themselves in places where they could not be attacked ; nor, when *Lucullus* had passed mount *Taurus* in search of them, was he able, by any skill whatsoever, to draw them out, to hazard another general battle. Skirmishes there were, in which the *Armenian* cavalry, fighting as they fled, after the *Partbian* manner, and with barbed arrows, very much galled and distressed the *Romans*.

This manner of making war did by no means suit with *Lucullus's* plan of operations : He must, at length, by such delays, have been starved out of the country ; which was indeed the aim of the two kings. To break their measures therefore, and force them to a battle, he resolved upon an expedient, like that he had used the year before, to bring on a general action. *Tigranes* having left his wives and children at *Artaxata*, the old metropolis of *Armenia*, and there deposited the most and best of his effects and treasures, *Lucullus* put his army in march towards that city, concluding, that *Tigranes* would certainly follow him, to hinder his getting possession of it. The stratagem succeeded. *Tigranes*, upon the first advice of *Lucullus's* design to lay siege to *Artaxata*, marched away with his whole army, and with all expedition, in order to get between the *Romans* and the city. In four days time he effected this purpose, and posted himself on the further side of the river *Arsanus*, which the *Romans* were to pass in their way to *Artaxata*.

Lucullus, confident of victory, crossed the river without hesitation, and drew up his army for action. The fortune of the day was presently decided. The *Armenians* not able, neither horse nor foot, to sustain the sight of the *Roman* infantry, fled at their first approach. Of three kings, who had posted themselves in the front of the *Armenian* army, *Mitridates* was the first that turned his back, behaving himself this day most shamefully. The slaughter was not so great as in the former battle, but there fell more persons of distinction.

The *Roman* General, after this victory, would have continued his march to *Artaxata*, the taking of which would probably have put an end to the war : but it lying at the distance of many days march to the north, and winter coming on with snowy and tempestuous weather, his soldiers, already disgusted with the fatigues of the campaign, which had been very severe, refused, after a few days march, to follow him any further into those cold regions. At first, indeed, they behaved themselves with some degree of respect, sending their Tribunes to make their remonstrances to him. But not obtaining any thing by this method, they assembled in companies tumultuously, during the night, and nothing was heard in the camp but confused and menacing voices. *Lucullus*, in the per-

* *Mitridates* and *Tigranes* were two of those kings, and the third seems to have been a king of *Media*. *Prideaux*, b. vi. p. 415.

plexity which this spirit of revolt threw him into, had recourse to expostulations and entreaties, conjuring his soldiers to have a little patience, only till they had completed the destruction of the *Carthage of Armenia* (so he called the city of *Artaxata*, which was said to have been built by *Hannibal*, when that illustrious fugitive, after the defeat of *Antiochus*, had retired^d to the court of *Artaxias*, the head of the house from which *Tigranes* was descended.) It was all in vain; nothing could move them: marching back therefore to the southward, and repassing mount *Taurus*, he entered into *Mesopotamia*, and sat down before *Nisibis*. *Guras*, the brother of *Tigranes*, was nominally commander in this place, but the person, who really performed the functions of that office, was the same *Callimachus*, who had defended *Amisus* against the *Romans*, and, quitting it, had set it on fire. *Lucullus*, after investing *Nisibis* a few days only, took it by assault. *Guras* he treated with great humanity; but *Callimachus*, though he offered to discover hidden treasures, could obtain no favour. The victor caused him to be laid in irons, in order to his suffering the punishment due to him for burning *Amisus*; a crime which *Lucullus* could not forgive, because it had deprived him of the satisfaction of exercising his clemency and generosity towards one of the most considerable of the *Greek colonies in Asia*.

The *Roman* army, taking up their winter-quarters in this new conquest, passed the bad season much at their ease; for it was in a mild climate, and a fertile country.

Hitherto it would seem (says *Plutarch*) as if Fortune had taken a * Y. 686. pleasure to wait upon *Lucullus*, and to fight for him; but from this period, as if he had quite lost her favour, he could effect nothing without difficulty and labour, and was continually running upon rocks and shelves. It is true, his virtue, his courage, his firmness of soul, suffered no alteration; but his actions had not the same lustre as before; and he was very near losing even the glory he had acquired by his past exploits; and what was worst of all (adds the historian) his adversities were entirely owing to his own misconduct.

He had taken no pains to gain the affections of his soldiers, and they had several causes of discontent. Two successive winters, in which they had undergone great fatigues, the first before *Cyzicum*, and the second before *Amisus*, had given birth to their complaints. And they had been obliged to pass the following winters, either making war in the enemy's country, or under tents in the countries of the allies: For *Lucullus*

^d *Plutarch*, who mentions this tradition, does not speak of it as a certain truth: and *Cornelius Nepos*, in his account of *Hannibal's* misfortunes, says nothing of his going into *Armenia*. He tells us, that, after the victory gained by *Scipio Asiaticus* over *Antiochus* the

Great, *Hannibal* went first into *Crete*, and then to the court of *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, where he killed himself.

* Consulship of *M. Acilius Glabrio* and *C. Calpurnius Piso*.

Sallust. ap. Plut. in Luc.

never quartered his troops in any of the *Greek* cities, or in the cities of the allies of *Rome*. This severe discipline, together with a certain reserve and haughtiness in his manner, alienated the hearts of the soldiers from him. And they were confirmed in this bad disposition by accounts from *Rome*, that the conduct of the General was there censured. Certain speech-makers, whom envy excited against *Lucullus*, publicly accused him of an immoderate desire of command, and an insatiable greediness of riches. They told the People, that he had not pushed the war with vigour against either *Mitridates* or *Tigranes*; but had given these two kings time to retrieve their affairs, in order to make himself appear necessary, and to furnish a pretext for his being continued, year after year, in a command of such vast extent, as to comprehend *Cilicia*, the province of *Asia*, *Bithynia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Armenia*, and *Colchis*, as far as the *Phasis*.

Dio.

Plut. in
Luc.Cic. pro
Sext. xliii.

Gabinus displayed to the eyes of the people a plan, painted upon a banner, of the magnificent palace which *Lucullus* was then building, to intimate that he was making all that expence out of the spoils of the Republic. In short, the discourses and artifices of his enemies had such an effect, as to engage the People to pass a decree, that the oldest of his troops, and especially *Fimbria's* Legions, should have their discharge; that he should be succeeded in the command of *Cilicia* by *Marcus Rex*, Consul of the last year; and by *M. Acilius Glabrio*, Consul of the present year, in the command of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, and of the war against the two kings.

But what gave the final blow to the authority of *Lucullus*, was the discourses and intrigues of *P. Clodius*, (so famous for his enmity to *Cicero*) a thoroughly wicked man, void of all sense of shame, debauched to such an excess, as to be suspected, not without foundation, of incest with all his sisters, one of whom was the wife of *Lucullus*. *Clodius* was, at this time, in the army of his brother-in-law, and greatly dissatisfied on account of *Lucullus's* preferring others, more worthy, before him. This man, from a spirit of revenge, stirred up the soldiers, and especially those who had served under *Fimbria*, to mutiny. Pretending great concern for their interest, he asked them, *Whether soldiers, who had grown old in arms, were never to see an end of their fatigues, but to pass their lives in attacking nation after nation, and running over the world; and this for no other end, but solely to convoy the carriages and camels of Lucullus, loaded with golden vessels glittering with gems?* He added, *The soldiers of Pompey, who have forced none of the royal cities of Asia, nor have had other enemies to contend with, but some exiles in Spain, and slaves in Italy, live now in perfect repose with their wives and children, possessing good lands, and inhabiting fair cities. If we are still to suffer the fatigues of war, let us reserve what strength is left us, for a General who makes it his greatest glory to enrich the soldiers that have served well under his command.*

It

It was during the winter, and while the *Roman* army was in quarters at *Nisibis*, that the spirit of mutiny, thus fostered, grew almost to perfect rebellion. The two kings, doubtless no strangers to the disaffection of the soldiers to their General, took advantage of it. *Tigranes* re-entered *Armenia*, and forced *L. Fennius*, who commanded there for the *Romans*, to shut himself up in a castle. *Mitridates*, with 4000 of his own men, and an equal number of *Armenians*, returned into his kingdom of *Pontus*, and there he defeated *Fabius Adrianus* (one of *Lucullus's* Lieutenants) whose army would have been entirely dispersed, or destroyed, if the king (who, though almost seventy years of age, exposed his person like a young warrior) had not received two wounds, which obliged him to quit the field. This event slackened the ardour of the victors, so that the vanquished had time and opportunity to gain the fort of *Cabiræ*.

Plut. in
Luc.
App. Mi-
thrid.
Dio.

It was not long before the king, cured of his wounds, marched to besiege that fort; but being informed, that *Triarius* was advancing with all the troops he had been able hastily to assemble, he retired. *Triarius* pursued him as far as *Comana*, and even gained over him some small advantage; and with this the campaign ended.

At the return of spring, * *Mitridates*, having without question, re-cruited his army, led it against *Triarius*, whom he hoped to drive entirely out of the kingdom of *Pontus*, before *Lucullus* could come to his aid. *Triarius* kept upon the defensive, and declined a battle. To force him to it, the king made preparations to attack a castle, in which was all the heavy baggage of the *Roman* army. This stratagem succeeded. The soldiers of *Triarius*, to preserve their baggage, obliged their commander to fight; who, it is said, was not backward thereto, having flattered himself with the prospect of the glory he should acquire, by conquering in the absence of his General. The two armies met three miles from *Ziela*, a city that became famous in the *Roman* story from this action. *Triarius* was totally routed; nor perhaps, would any of his troops have escaped the sword of the enemy, if *Mitridates* had not been again wounded^a, and thereby rendered unable to keep the field; which made his Generals order a retreat to be sounded. This was the most bloody defeat the *Romans* had suffered during the whole course of their wars against *Mitridates*: seven thousand *Romans* remained dead upon the field of battle, amongst whom were four and twenty Tribunes, and an hundred and twenty Centurions. *Cicero*, making his court to *Pomyey*, at the expense of *Lucullus*, says, that, when this General received the news of *Triarius's* defeat, it was from public rumour, and not from any soldier who had escaped the slaughter.

* Y. 686.

Cic. pro
Leg. Man.

* The wound was in his thigh. The king had in his army many persons habited and armed after the *Roman* manner; which ac-

counts for his not being upon his guard against a *Roman* Centurion, who gave him the wound. The Centurion was killed upon the spot.

The

The troops of *Lucullus*, though they had before refused to follow him, yet, through shame, consented to march, when they learnt that *Triarius* was in danger; but it was too late: He did not arrive in *Pontus* till after the disaster: He found the dead bodies lying upon the field of battle; and, by neglecting to bury them, he farther exasperated his soldiers against him. And as for *Triarius*, they would have torn him in pieces, if their General had not furnished him with means of saving himself by flight.

Tigranes had recovered the greater part of his dominions, and, having assembled a considerable army, was marching to the assistance of his ally; and this made *Mitridates* industriously avoid, for the present, a battle with *Lucullus*. The *Roman*, not being able to force him to an engagement, resolved to lead his army against *Tigranes*, whose troops he hoped to defeat with ease, by attacking them unexpectedly, when fatigued with a long march: But this plan was disconcerted by the untractableness of his own men; who though they had followed him some time, yet, when they saw that he meant to go into *Cappadocia*, declared peremptorily, they would not follow him thither. *Lucullus* went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, taking them by the hand, and with tears intreating them to advance. There was no kind of submission to which he did not descend; but the evil had taken too deep root to admit of a remedy. They treated him with insolence and contempt, Shewing to him their empty purses*, they said, that *he, who alone grew rich by the war, ought to make war alone*. What confirmed the *Fimbrian* Legions in this insolence, was the arrival of the Consul *Glabrio*, who had been appointed to succeed *Lucullus*. The Consul was already in *Bitynia*, and had caused proclamation to be made in all the adjacent countries, that he prohibited all persons from obeying the orders of *Lucullus*, upon pain of confiscation of their estates, the *Roman* people having put an end to his command. In consequence of this proclamation, the soldiers of *Fimbria* considered *Lucullus* only as a private person: and all that the soldiers of the other Legions, who still retained some respect for their General, could obtain from these mutineers, was, that they would continue with the army to the end of the summer; and even this was upon express condition, that, if the enemy did not appear during the interval, they should be entirely at liberty to withdraw.

Lucullus, to avoid being totally abandoned, was under a necessity of accepting what they thought fit to grant, and consequently of suffering *Tigranes* to ravage *Cappadocia*, and of bearing unrevenge the insults of *Mitridates*. He had wrote to the Senate, that, having subdued those two kings, it was necessary ten commissioners should (according to custom)

* This is related by *Plutarch*, who had before related the considerable booty the soldiers got at the plundering of *Tigranocerta*.

be sent to regulate with him the disposition of his new conquest. The commissioners arrived at this time, and found *Lucullus* so little master of the enemy's country, that he was not even master of his own troops. And this reduced him to say, that, as to any future measures relative to the war, he was entirely out of the question; that those were *Glabrio's* business, who had been named to succeed him. But *Glabrio*, who had expressed great ardour for the employment, while he believed he should have nothing to do, more than reaping the fruits of his predecessor's victories, kept aloof, when he found there were difficulties and dangers to be encountered.

The end of the summer, with which the service of the *Fimbrian* Legions was to end, being come, they marched out of the camp, drew their swords, brandished them in the air, and with loud cries called upon the enemy; who not appearing, they pretended they had performed their engagements, and would now retire. *Lucullus* was under a necessity of dismissing them. He likewise sent part of the other troops to *Glabrio*, retaining with him only an inconsiderable number of soldiers, with whom it was impossible for him to undertake any thing further*.

Pompey, who (as above-mentioned) was already in *Asia*, when he learnt that the *Manilian Law* had transferred to him *Lucullus's* command, lost no time in improving the opportunity, which this commission gave him, of mortifying his rival. Without delay, he caused edicts to be fixed up in all the cities, enjoining the *Roman* troops to repair to him: obedience was punctually paid to his edicts: and even *Fimbria's* Legions,

Plut. in
Pomp. &
in Lucull.

* *Plutarch*, upon this occasion, descants again on *Lucullus's* want of affability and condescension to his soldiers. "If with all the great qualities he possessed courage, vigilance, activity, prudence, and the love of justice, he had likewise possessed that principal talent of a General, the skill of making himself loved by his soldiers, the empire of the *Romans* would not have had the *Euphrates* for its boundary, but the *Caspian* sea and the extremities of the East. For, by conquering *Tigranes*, they would have reaped the benefit of his conquests, and held in subjection to themselves all the nations which that prince had subdued. And as to the *Parthians*, they were not at this time so powerful, as afterwards, when *Crassus* attacked them. Rent in pieces by civil wars, and harassed by their neighbours, their strength was not equal to that of a king of *Armenia*."

The same historian is of opinion, that *Lucullus's* victories were eventually more hurtful

to his country, than beneficial; they being the cause of *Crassus's* unfortunate expedition against the *Parthians*. [As, according to *Polybius*, the safe retreat of the *Greeks* under *Xenophon*, through the whole country of their enemies, was the cause of *Alexander's* invasion of *Persia*.] "The conquests of *Tigranocerta* and *Nisibis*, the immense riches brought from those cities to *Rome*, and the diadem of *Tigranes*, borne in pomp in the triumph of *Lucullus*; these inflamed *Crassus* with the desire of carrying the *Roman* arms into the East. He imagined, that all the wealth of *Parthia* would be the sure prey, as well as ample reward, of whoever would take the trouble of going to seize it. But the arrows of the *Parthians* very soon undeceived him; and his deplorable defeat evinces, that *Lucullus* owed his victories, not to the unskilfulness and unmanliness of his enemies, but to his own undaunted courage and able conduct."

which, by a decree of the People, had obtained their dismissal, went voluntarily, and ranged themselves under the ensigns of *Pompey*; who left his rival not more than 1600 soldiers to attend him in his triumph, and even these were unwilling to stay with him.

Pompey likewise summoned the principal Magistrates of the *Asiatic* nations, and forbade them to pay any regard to the orders of *Lucullus*: And whereas this General, in concert with the ten commissioners, had made some decrees and regulations, *Pompey* cancelled them all, and wherever he went, suffered nothing to subsist, that had been instituted by his rival, whom he endeavoured, by all possible means, to render contemptible.

Lucullus complaining of this strange procedure, some of their common friends proposed a conference between the two Generals. Accordingly they met in *Galatia*. The politest expressions of reciprocal esteem and respect, warm congratulations, high compliments upon each other's victories, were the introduction to mutual accusations (which immediately followed) in the most opprobrious terms. *Lucullus* reproached *Pompey* with his unjust, injurious, insatiable ambition: *Pompey* reproached *Lucullus* with his passion for money, and with the prodigious wealth he had amassed during the war. They parted more inflamed, than before, with anger against each other; and this anger was for ever breaking out in their daily discourse. *Pompey* affected to lower the value of *Lucullus's* exploits, by alledging, that he had fought with nothing but the empty shadows of armies, whereas he himself should have real soldiers to combat; an infantry, which *Mitridates*, grown wise by his misfortunes, had well disciplined, and had armed, not with gilded toys, but with swords and shields; and a cavalry, which the same prince had gradually learnt to make truly serviceable in war. On the other hand, *Lucullus* affirmed, that he had left his successor nothing to do against *Mitridates* or *Tigranes*; that the war was at an end: but that *Pompey* (like those cowardly birds which fall greedily to prey upon dead and mangled bodies, which they did not kill) was accustomed to come in at the close of a war, and fall furiously upon the scattered remains of armies defeated and routed by other commanders; and then ascribe to himself the sole merit of those victories. Thus it was *he*, this mighty man, not *Catulus*, *Metellus*, and *Crassus*, who conquered in the wars of *Lepidus*, *Sertorius*, and *Spartacus*. And how then was it possible, that he should not aspire to the fame of having terminated the wars of *Pontus* and *Armenia*, *HE*, who was so nobly ambitious of a *triumph* over a gang of runaway slaves?

After *Lucullus's* return into *Italy*, violent and long-continued opposition was made to his demand of a triumph. What the event was we shall see hereafter.

C H A P. VIII.

The THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR continued, under the conduct of POMPEY, to the death of MITHRIDATES in 690.

POMPEY's good fortune attended him in the discharge of his new commission. *Pbraates*, king of *Parthia*, and *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, the allies of *Mitbridates*, and on whose aid, after his many losses, he chiefly depended for support, were fallen at variance. For the son of *Tigranes*, revolting against his father, had repaired to the court of *Pbraates*, his father-in-law, with whom having prevailed to espouse his quarrel, he returned into *Armenia* with an army of *Parthians*.

The elder *Tigranes* therefore, had he been never so much inclined to assist the king of *Pontus*, was incapable of doing it; but, in truth, he had no such inclination, having entertained a suspicion, that this good ally, grandfather of the rebel-prince, secretly encouraged him in his rebellion: so that *Mitbridates* was left with only his own troops, which amounted to no more than 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse, to withstand all the forces of the *Romans*. A battle he prudently and industriously avoided; but, to make the best use of the strength he had, employed it to shut up the entrances into his kingdom, and to starve his enemies, by cutting off their supplies of provisions, as often as possibly he could: and it was the easier to distress the *Roman* troops in this respect, as the adjacent countries all around them had been wasted and ruined by *Lucullus*.

Plut. in
Pomp.
App. Mi-
thridat.
p. 238.

Pompey, at the same time that he began his march against the king, dispatched *Metrophanes* to him, to sound his disposition, whether he might be brought to submit; that is, first to deliver up all the deserters, and then surrender himself at discretion. The monarch rejected the second article with indignation: The deserters, either conjecturing the truth, or being informed of their concern in the negotiation, rose, and drew into their mutiny the national troops, who well knew the need they had of those strangers: But at length the king appeased the soldiery, by protesting, he would never deliver up those who had done him service, nor would ever make peace with the *Romans*; that he had never in reality entertained the thoughts of peace; and that the Ambassadors he had sent to *Pompey*, were, in truth, only spies.

The *Roman* General not finding it practicable to dislodge the king from the strong posts he held, and apprehending a want of provisions, turned towards *Armenia Minor*, which, being destitute of troops, presented an easy conquest. *Mitbridates*, to whom that province belonged, followed him thither, and encamped his army so advantageously upon a hill, that he could not be forced to a battle. Drawing his provisions commodiously

Plut. in
Pom. 1.

from the countries behind him, he employed his cavalry to carry off the enemy's convoys; in which they often succeeded; so that, had he continued in that post, he might have greatly distressed his enemy; but he quitted it for want of water, not knowing that water was to be had there. *Pompey* seized the post immediately; and the verdure with which the hill was covered, indicating that there were springs in it, he caused wells to be dug. These were presently filled with water, so as abundantly to supply the whole army.

Not long after *Pompey*, by his superior skill in war, contrived to surprise, and almost entirely destroy, the cavalry of *Mitbridates*; a fatal blow to him, in that it gave the *Romans* a facility in getting provisions. As the king still persisted in declining a battle, *Pompey* undertook to shut him up in his camp by lines drawn round it. Five and forty days *Mitbridates* continued in a manner besieged: at length, pressed by famine, he turned his thoughts to flight; and he made his dispositions so skilfully, as to deceive *Pompey's* vigilance. Leaving fires lighted in his camp, he set out during the night. *Pompey* pursued him the next morning, but without being able to attack him; for he kept himself shut up in his camp the whole day, and renewed his march only when it was dark; and the *Romans*, being unacquainted with the country, were not forward to hazard a battle in the night.

However, when the king drew near to the *Euphrates*, *Pompey* made a secret and expeditious march, got before him, and posted himself in his way to hinder his passing that river, which would have brought him into the dominions of *Tigranes*. *Mitbridates* knew nothing of this march of the *Roman* army; and his troops, having set out as usual in the evening, less vigilant than before, because expecting to be very soon in a place of security, fell unawares, and in the dark, into the midst of their enemies. *Pompey* ordered all his trumpets to sound at once, and all his soldiers to give a shout; which so increased the terror and confusion of the Barbarians, that they presently turned their backs, and fled: and it is said (though it seems not probable, if this conflict happened in the night) that above 10,000 of their number were slain, and that the prisoners were not much fewer. The king with 800 horse opened himself a way through the *Romans*; but his guard did not stay with him long, and he was reduced to continue his flight with only three companions. Among these was *Hypsicratea*, one of his concubines, whom he used to call *Hypsicrates*, on account of her masculine courage and strength. Habited and armed like a trooper, she rode by his side in all his battles, accompanied him in all his expeditions, and in all his flights; and, in this last, did him the office of a groom, as well as of a valet, taking care not only of his person, but of his horse.

Mitbridates, having picked up in his flight about 3000 foot, and some foreign cavalry, arrived at a fort called *Synoria*, on the frontiers of *Armenia*

menia Minor. It was one of the places in which he kept his treasures; he took thence 6000 talents, distributing the rich habits and other things of value among his friends: To each of whom he likewise gave a provision of poison, that they might be masters of their own fate, if they should be in danger of falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*. He had hoped to find an asylum with *Tygranes*; but the *Armenian*, actuated by the suspicion above-mentioned, or pretending so to be, not only seized the Ambassadors whom *Mitbridates* sent to ask his permission to enter his dominions, but set a price upon the king's head, promising 100 talents to any one who should bring it him.

Mitbridates, thus abandoned by his ally, resolved to retire to the *Cimmerian Bosphorus**, where his son *Machabes* reigned: He could go thither only by land, the enemy being masters of the sea: But though the march was long and difficult, the king, supported by his courage, pushed on beyond the springs of the *Euphrates*, passed the *Phasis*, and arrived at *Dioscurias*, situated on the *Euxine* sea in the western extremity of the Isthmus, which divides that sea from the *Caspian*, and there he took up his winter-quarters. *Pompey* had detached some horse and light troops in pursuit of him; but, upon advice of his having passed the *Phasis*, relinquished all hope of overtaking him; and applied himself to found a new city on the spot where he had gained the late victory, calling the place *Nicopolis* [the city of victory.] To people it, he left there such of his soldiers as, by wounds, sickness, or age, were disabled from further serving. With these some families of the country joined, and in process of time the city became considerable.

It was here that the son of *Tigranes*, the only remaining son of three whom he had by *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Mitbridates*, came to the *Roman* camp. The father had put to death the other two on light occasions; whereupon young *Tigranes*, the third son, not thinking his life safe within the power of so cruel a father, fled to *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, his father-in-law, who not only gave him a kind reception, but brought him back into *Armenia* with an army, and laid siege to *Artaxata*, the capital of the kingdom: For *Tigranes* had retired to the mountains. The city being well fortified and well defended, the siege was spun out to a great length; and *Phraates*, the necessity of his affairs recalling him into *Parthia*, returned thither with the better part of his forces. *Tigranes* seized the favourable opportunity, fell upon his son, vanquished him, and drove him out of the country. The prince's first thought, after this disaster, was to repair to his grandfather *Mitbridates*; but meeting, in the way, the news of his defeat, and of the bad state of his affairs, he fled to the *Roman* camp, and threw himself as a suppliant at the feet of *Pompey*, who received him kindly, and was glad of his coming; for being then just going to enter *Armenia*, he wanted a guide well acquainted with the country, and he made use of
young

* Crim
Tartary.
• Vid. sup.
p. 225.

young *Tigranes* for this purpose, marching under his guidance directly towards *Artaxata*. The *Armenian* king, terrified to excess, now turned his mind wholly to make his peace with the *Romans*; and, in his fright, the first step he took was delivering up those Ambassadors, by whom *Mitridates*, when distressed, had asked his protection, to *Pompey*: The negotiation, however, for peace was traversed and impeded by the young prince; and the *Romans*, still advancing, passed the *Araxes*. Reduced to extremity by his fears, *Tigranes* then opened the gates of *Artaxata*, and received a *Roman* garrison into it; and having heard much of *Pompey's* clemency, and honourable dispositions, set forward, without any precaution taken, to resign himself and his kingdom to the pleasure and disposal of the *Roman* General. He laid aside his royal Robe, but retained his crown, or tiara, that he might command some respect, even while, as a suppliant king, he knew himself an object of compassion. When he arrived at the camp of the *Romans* (which was about sixteen miles from *Artaxata*) two Lictors, at the entrance of it, signified to him that he must dismount; for that no stranger had ever been permitted to enter a *Roman* camp on horseback. *Tigranes* alighted, gave them his sword, took off his royal tiara as soon as he came into the presence of *Pompey*, and cast himself prostrate on the ground before him. *Pompey*, hereupon, leaped from his seat, ran to him, and, kindly taking him by the hand, lifted him up, put his crown again upon his head, and placed him on a seat at his right hand, and his son on another at his left. The king said, "He should never have acted in the manner he had just then done, towards any other person of any other nation; but that there could be no dishonour in being vanquished by a General, whom no potentate on earth could ever hope to vanquish; nor in submitting to a man, whom fortune had exalted above all other mortals." To this flattering compliment *Pompey* answered, by assuring the dejected monarch, he should have no reason to complain of his fate; that he should not lose *Armenia*; and should gain the friendship of the *Romans*. After these words of consolation, he invited the king and his son that night to sup with him, appointing the next day for hearing their cause. Young *Tigranes* had not risen from his seat at his father's appearing, nor shewed the least mark of respect for him: He had flattered himself with the hope of being put into immediate possession of the crown of *Armenia*, and was therefore far from being pleased with what had just past. Wholly possessed by his anger, he not only refused to go to the supper to which he was invited, but even intimated, in a kind of threat, that if *Pompey* did not give him satisfaction, he should find some other *Roman* who would be more effectually his friend.

The day following *Pompey*, after holding a great council, (to which he had called both father and son, that he might know their several pretensions) pronounced a decree, by which he ordained, that the elder *Tigranes*,

nes, yielding up to the *Romans* all his conquests on this side the *Euphrates*, and paying 6000 talents, for having made war upon them without cause, should still reign in his paternal kingdom of *Armenia Major*; and his son in *Gordyene* and *Sophene* (two provinces bordering on *Armenia*) during his father's life time, and succeed him in all the rest of his dominions after his death: but to the father was reserved, out of *Sophene*, the treasure he had there deposited, without which he would not have been able to pay the fine of 6000 talents imposed on him. The elder *Tigranes* joyfully accepted these terms, being glad even thus to be again admitted to reign; and he was so overjoyed to hear the *Romans* salute him king, that he promised to give every common soldier fifty drachmas, each Centurion a thousand, and each military Tribune ten thousand. But the son was highly displeased with the decree; and, pretending that the treasure in *Sophene* belonged to him, refused to permit his father to take it away. *Pompey* decided the dispute in favour of the father: the son, enraged more than ever at this decision, meditated an escape; but this design was discovered, and a guard was placed upon him; and, being afterwards detected in soliciting the nobles of *Armenia*, and also the *Partians*, to renew the war, *Pompey* put him among those whom he reserved for his triumph. *Tigranes*, the father, as soon as he had received his treasure out of *Sophene*, paid the 6000 talents, and was thereupon declared a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* people. The king likewise performed now his promise to the soldiers. Vell. Pat.

Pbraates solicited ineffectually for the release of his son-in-law, young *Tigranes*. *Pompey* answered the ambassadors of the *Partian*, *That a father* Plut. & Dio. *had more right over his son than a father-in-law*. And whereas the *Partian* had proposed, that the *Euphrates* should be the boundary of the two empires, *Pompey*, without entering into any discussion, declared, that he knew no boundaries but those of right and justice.

Ariobarzanes, king of *Cappadocia*, ever faithful to the *Romans*, to whom he owed his elevation to the throne, had been the sport of their enemies, had been expelled, restored, and expelled again; now by *Mitbridates*, then by *Tigranes*. The flight of the king of *Pontus*, the ruin of his affairs, and the peace granted by the *Romans* to the king of *Armenia*, confirmed the *Cappadocian* in the possession of his dominion: And *Pompey*, in recompence of his fidelity, gave to him *Sophene*, which he had once allotted to the prince of *Armenia*.

After these regulations, *Pompey* marched northward in pursuit of *Mitbridates*. Liv. Epit. Plut. & Dio. Coming to the river *Cyrus*, he was opposed by the *Albanians*, and the *Iberians*, two potent nations inhabiting the *Isthmus*, between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* seas, and confederates of the king of *Pontus*; but having overthrown them in battle, he forced the *Albanians* to sue for peace, and then wintered in their country.

Y. R. 688.

Bef. Chr.

64
3-9 Conf.Luc. &
Dio.L. AURELIUS COTTA,
L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, } Consuls.

Early the next year he marched against the *Iberians*, who were a very warlike nation, and had never submitted to either *Medians*, *Persians*, or *Macedonians*, during all the time that these, successively, held the empire of *Asia*. But, though *Pompey* found some difficulties in this war, he soon surmounted them, and forced the *Iberians* to terms of peace; their king *Ariocetes*, for hostages, giving his sons.

After this, he reduced the people of *Colchis* to a submission, having taken *Oitabaces*, their king, prisoner (whom he afterwards caused to be led before him in triumph;) and then marched back against the *Albanians*, who, while he was engaged with the *Iberians* and *Colchians*, had renewed the war. He overthrew them in battle with great slaughter, killing, with his own hand, their General *Cosis*, the brother of their king *Orodes* [or *Orases*] and thereby forced the king to purchase the renewal of the last year's peace by rich presents, and also to send his sons to him for hostages.

Having finished this war in the North, he led back his army into the southern parts; for, *Mitbridates* being arrived in the kingdom of *Bosporus*, on the other side of the *Euxine* sea, there was no pursuing of him thither, but round that sea a great way about, through many barbarous *Scythian* nations, and several deserts; which was not to be attempted by the *Roman* army, without manifest danger of a total miscarriage. (All that *Pompey* could do, was to order his fleet, commanded by *Servilius*, one of his lieutenants, to be so stationed, as to hinder supplies of provisions, and other necessaries, from being carried to the king.) In crossing the kingdom of *Pontus*, in his way to *Syria*, he arrived at the place where *Triarius* had been defeated by *Mitbridates*; and, finding the dead bodies of the *Romans* still lying unburied upon the field of battle, he caused them to be interred in honourable manner; which much pleased his army, and made the fault of *Lucullus*, who had neglected that duty, appear in a stronger light. After this, continuing his march, he subdued *Darius*, king of *Media*, and *Antiochus*, king of *Commagene*; and having, by *Scaurus*, reduced *Cæle-Syria* and *Damascus*, and, by *Gabinus*, the rest of those parts, as far as the *Tigris*, he was become master of all the *Syrian* empire. *Antiochus Asiaticus* (the son of *Antiochus Eusebes*) the remaining heir of the *Seleusian* family, who, by the permission of *Lucullus*, had now reigned four years in some part of *Syria*, after *Tigranes* had been forced to withdraw his forces from it, applied himself to the *Roman* General, requesting to be re-established in the kingdom of his ancestors. But *Pompey* answered, That the *Romans* had found *Tigranes* in possession of that country, and had conquered it from him, and

Plur. in
Dio.App. in
Mithrid.
Joseph.
Antiq.
l. xiv. c. 4.
Dio Cass.Julian.
l. xl. c. 2.

and were not to yield the fruits of their victory to another^a. And accordingly he reduced *Syria* into the form of a Roman province. *Antiochus* being thus deprived of his crown, here ended the empire of the *Seleucidae* in *Asia*, after it had lasted two hundred and fifty-eight years.

Y. R. 682.
Bef. Chr.
64.
379 Conf.

What made *Pompey* so fond of this march into *Syria*, was a vain and ambitious desire of extending his conquests to the *Red* sea. He had formerly, while he commanded first in *Africa*, and afterwards in *Spain*, pushed his conquests on both sides of the *Mediterranean* to the Western ocean, and had lately, in his *Albanian* war, led his forces as far as the *Caspian* sea; and, if he could also lead them to the *Red* sea, he thought it would complete his glory.

Plut. in
Pomp.

While these things were doing by the *Romans*, there happened great disturbances and revolutions in *Judea*: They had their original from the ambition and aspiring spirit of *Antipater* (the father of *Herod*.) He, having had his education in the court of *Alexander Jannæus* and his queen *Alexandra*, who reigned after him, insinuated himself into the good graces of *Hyrchanus*, the eldest of their sons, hoping to rise by his favour, when he should come to the crown after his mother: But when *Hyrchanus* was deposed, and *Aristobulus* made king, from whom he had no prospect of favour, he set himself, with all the art he was master of (and that was not a little) to restore *Hyrchanus* to his crown: In order whereto he treated with *Aretas*, king of *Arabia Petraea*, and engaged him to assist *Hyrchanus* with an army: and he had, by his intrigues, drawn great numbers of the *Jews* into the same design. The greatest difficulty was to excite *Hyrchanus* himself to the undertaking: for he, being a quiet indolent man, who loved ease more than any thing else, had no inclination to stir a foot for obtaining a kingdom. But, at length, being made to believe, that his life was in danger, and that he must either reign or die, if he staid in *Judea*, this argument rouzed him to fly for safety, and to put himself into the hands of *Aretas*. This Prince, according to his agreement with *Antipater*, brought *Hyrchanus* back into *Judea*, with an army of 50,000 men; and, having there joined the *Jews* of *Hyrchanus*'s party, gave battle to *Aristobulus*, gained an absolute victory over him, pursued him to *Jerusalem*, entered the city without opposition, drove the vanquished prince to take refuge in the mountain of the temple, and there besieged him. All the priests adhered to *Aristobulus*, but the generality of the people declared for *Hyrchanus*^b.

Joseph.
Antiq. l.
xiv. c. 2.

Joseph.
Antiq. l.
xiv. c. 3.

Scaurus

^a Another reason assigned for this conduct of *Pompey* was, That *Antiochus* being a weak prince, of no courage, or capacity, to protect the country, the putting it into his hands would be to betray it to the ravages and depredations of the *Jews* and *Arabs*.

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^b This happened in the time of their passover, on which occasion *Aristobulus*, wanting lambs and beasts for the sacrifices of that holy solemnity, agreed with the *Jews*, that were among the besiegers, to furnish him with them, for a sum specified. But when they had

L 1

received

Joseph.
Antiq. l.
xiv. c. 4.

Scaurus being by this time come to *Damascus* with a *Roman* army, *Aristobulus* sent thither to him, and, by the promise of four hundred talents, engaged him on his side. *Hyrcanus* offered him the like sum; but *Scaurus*, looking upon *Aristobulus* as the more solvent of the two, chose to embrace his cause; and *Gabinus*, by a present of three hundred talents, from the same quarter, was induced to do the same. And, accordingly, both the *Roman* generals sent to *Aretas* to retire, threatening him with the *Roman* arms in case of refusal. *Aretas* raised the siege, and marched off towards his own country; whereupon *Aristobulus*, having got together all the forces he could, pursued after him, overtook him, and, with a great slaughter, defeated him in a battle, wherein perished many of the *Jews* of *Hyrcanus's* party.

Ibid. l.
xiv. c. 5.

About this time, *Pompey* himself came to *Damascus*, whither resorted to him ambassadors from all the neighbouring countries, especially from *Egypt* and *Judaea*. The ambassadors from *Egypt* presented him with a crown of gold, of the value of four thousand pieces of gold money, and those from *Judaea* with a vine of gold, of the value of four hundred talents, which was afterwards deposited in the temple of *Jupiter*, in the Capitol at *Rome*, and there inscribed as the gift of *Alexander*, king of the *Jews*. [It seems the *Romans* would not own *Aristobulus* to be king, and, for that reason, put his father's name upon it instead of his]. While *Pompey* was in these parts, there came, to make their court to him, twelve kings, who were all seen, at the same time, attending upon him.

Plut. in
Pomp.

Strabo. l.
xii. 7.

As many strong places in *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* still held out for *Mitridates*, *Pompey* found it necessary to march again thither to reduce them; which having, soon after his arrival, in a great measure, accomplished, he took up his winter-quarters at *Aspis* in *Pontus*. Of the places which he reduced, one, called *Καύη*, i. e. *Newcastle*, was the

received the money, which was let down to them over the wall, they refused to deliver the sacrifices. Nor was this the only base action they were guilty of at this time. For there being then at *Jerusalem* one *Onias*, a man of great reputation for the sanctity of his life, who was thought to have obtained, by his prayers, rain from heaven, in a time of drought, they brought him forth into the army; and, concluding that his curse would be as prevalent as his prayers, pressed him to curse *Aristobulus*, and all that were with him. He long refused to hearken to them, but, at length, finding no rest from their opportunities, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, as he stood in the midst of the soldiers, and prayed thus, O Lord God, Rector of the universe, since these that are with us are thy people,

and they that are besieged in the temple are thy priests, I pray thee, not to bear the prayers of either of them against the other. The besiegers were so enraged against the good man for this, that they stoned him to death.

Among other things here found, were *Mitridates's* medicinal Commentaries, which *Pompey* caused to be translated into *Latin* by *Lenæus*, one of his freedmen, a learned Grammarian. For, among many other extraordinary endowments, with which this prince had accomplished himself, he was eminently skilled in the art of physic, and is esteemed the author of that excellent *Alexipharmical* medicine, which, from his name, is now called *Mitridate*, which has ever since been in great use among the physicians. *Plin. l. xiv. c. 2.*

strongest

strongest: there *Mitridates* had laid a great part of his treasure, and the best of his other effects, as reckoning the place impregnable. Here *Pompey* found the private memoirs of the king, which discovered many of his transactions and secret designs.

Y. R. 688.
Bef. Chr.
64.
379 Conf.

Pompey having, while he lay at *Aspis*, settled the affairs of the adjacent countries, as well as their circumstances would then admit, as soon as the spring began, returned again into *Syria*, to do the same in that country.

L. JULIUS CÆSAR, }
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, } Consuls

Y. R. 689.
Bef. Chr.
63.
380 Conf.

On his arrival there, he made *Antioch* and *Seleucia*, on the *Orontes*, free cities, and then continued his march to *Damascus*, intending from thence to make war upon the *Arabians*, in order to carry on his victories to the *Red sea*. But in his way to *Damascus* he made many stops, to examine into the conduct of the princes of those parts, and to hear the complaints that were made against them. For in the declension of the *Syrian* empire, many petty princes had raised themselves upon its ruins in several districts of it, and there exercised tyranny over the people, and depredations on their neighbours. These *Pompey*, as he passed through the country, summoned to him, and, on hearing their causes, confirmed some of them in their toparchies, under the condition of becoming tributaries to the *Romans*; others he deprived, and some he condemned to death for their misadministration. But *Ptolemy*, the son of *Menneus*, prince of *Chalcis*, who was the wickedest of them all, having made himself very rich by oppressing his people, and plundering his neighbours, presented *Pompey* with a thousand talents, and thereby redeeming not only his life, but his principality, continued in the enjoyment of both a great number of years.

Jos. Ant.
Plut. &
Dio.

On *Pompey's* coming into *Cæle-Syria*, *Antipater*, from *Hyrcaus*, and one *Nicodemus*, from *Aristobulus*, addressed themselves to him concerning the controversy that was between these two brothers, each of the delegates requesting his patronage to that brother by whom he was sent. *Pompey*, having heard what they had to say, dismissed them with fair words, ordering, that both brothers should appear in person before him; and promising, that he would then take full cognizance of the whole cause, and determine it as justice should direct. At this audience *Nicodemus* did much hurt to his master, by complaining of the four hundred talents, which *Scaurus*, and the three hundred which *Gabinus* had extorted from him. For this made both those Generals his enemies; and *Pompey* was afterwards much influenced by them in his determination of the dispute. But *Pompey*, being then intent upon making preparations for his *Arabian* war, could not immediately find leisure for this matter; and, soon after, an event happened, which forced him to lay aside, for the present, whatever he had to do in *Syria*, and march again into *Pontus*. It was as follows.

Jos. Ant.
l. xiv. c. 5.

Y. R. 689.

App. in
N. E. 2.Plut. in
Pomp.Strabo. l.
xii.Dio. Cass.
Plut. in
Pomp.

Before *Pompey* left *Syria* in the former year (688) there came ambassadors to him from *Mitridates*, out of *Bosporus*, with proposals of peace. They offered on the king's part, in case he might be allowed to hold his paternal kingdom (as *Tigranes* had been,) to pay tribute for it to the *Romans*, and quit to them all his other dominions. To this *Pompey* answered, that *the king should have come to him in person, in the same manner as Tigranes had done*. The negotiation had no effect; for *Mitridates* could not entertain the thought of surrendering himself: He offered to send his sons, and some of his principal friends; but this offer was rejected: Whereupon he made new preparations for war with as great vigour as at any time before: he levied exorbitant sums upon the people, who, having been lately terrified, and almost destroyed by a dreadful earthquake, changed that respect and zeal, which they had hitherto retained for their sovereign, even in his worst fortune, into indignation and hatred, when they felt themselves thus oppressed by him: for the violences and vexations committed by the officers appointed to collect the taxes were insupportable; and he, falling sick at this time, could not remedy the evil. He was shut up in his palace with three eunuchs, who attended him, and were the only persons admitted to see him. But, notwithstanding his confinement, the levies went on, and sixty cohorts, of six hundred chosen men each, were raised, besides a great multitude of other soldiers, in whom he had less confidence. *Pompey*, having notice of these preparations for war, found it necessary to hasten back again into *Pontus* to watch the king's proceedings. On his arrival, he fixed his residence for some time at *Amisus*, and, while he continued in that place, was guilty of the very folly which he had before censured in *Lucullus*. For he there settled the dominions of *Mitridates* into provinces, and bestowed the rewards as if the war had been ended: whereas *Mitridates* was still alive, and with a great army, and was meditating an invasion on the very heart of the *Roman* dominions. *Pompey*, in distributing his rewards, gave the lesser *Armenia*, with several other territories and cities adjoining, to *Deiotarus*^{*}, one of the princes of the *Galatians*, to recompense him for his adhering to the *Roman* interest during all this war, and honoured him with the title of king of those countries, whereas before he was only a *Tetrarch*.

While the *Roman* forces were in *Pontus*, *Aretas*, the *Arabian* king, took the advantage of their absence to make incursions and depredations in several parts of *Syria*. This called *Pompey* back again into that country.

^{*} This is the same king *Deiotarus*, in whose behalf *Cicero* afterwards made one of his orations, which was spoken before *Julius Cæsar*. *Galatia* was formerly governed by four *Tetrarchs*, of which *Deiotarus* was now one. To

his *Tetrarchy*, *Pompey* added the grants above mentioned, without dispossessing the other *Tetrarchs*. But *Deiotarus* had acquired all *Galatia* at the time when *Cicero* pleaded for him. *Strabo*, l. xii. p. 567.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, } Consuls.
CAIUS ANTONIUS,

Y. R. 690.
B. f. Chr.
62.
381 Conf.

On his arrival at *Damascus*, the cause of *Hyrchanus* and *Aristobulus* was brought to a hearing before him. They both appeared in person, as he had ordered; and, at the same time, several of the *Jews* appeared there against both: these last requested, in behalf of themselves, "That they might not be governed by a king." They pleaded, "That it had been formerly the use of their nation to be governed by the high-priest of the God they worshipped, who, without assuming any other title, administered justice to them, according to the Laws and Constitutions transmitted from their forefathers: that it was true indeed, the two contending brothers were of the sacerdotal race, but had introduced a new form of government, that they might thereby subject the people to slavery."

Joseph.
Antiq. &
de Bell.
Judaic.

Hyrchanus, on his part, urged, "That, being the elder brother, he was unjustly deprived of his birth-right by *Aristobulus*, who, having left him only a small portion of land for his subsistence, had usurped all the rest from him; and, like a man born for mischief, practised piracy at sea, and rapine and depredation at land, upon his neighbours." And for the attesting of what *Hyrchanus* had alledged, there appeared about a thousand of the principal *Jews*, whom *Antipater* had procured to come thither for that purpose.

To this *Aristobulus* answered, "That not his ambition had excluded *Hyrchanus* from the government, but his own incapacity to manage it, being an inactive, slothful man, utterly unfit for the business of the public, and fallen into the contempt of the people: He added, I was therefore forced to interpose, in order to preserve the government from falling into the hands of strangers; and I bear no other title in the state, than what *Alexander* my father had before me." And, for witnesses of this, he produced several young men of the country in gaudy and splendid apparel, who did not, by their dress, or by their behaviour, bring any credit to the cause, in support of which they appeared. *Pompey*, on this hearing, saw far enough into the matter to make him disapprove of the violence done to *Hyrchanus*, but would not immediately determine the controversy; lest *Aristobulus*, being provoked thereby, should obstruct him in his *Arabian* war; an enterprize which he had then much at heart. Giving therefore fair words to both brothers, he dismissed them for the present, promising, that, after he had reduced *Arctes*, and his *Arabians*, he would come in person into *Judea*, and there settle and compose all matters. *Aristobulus*, perceiving how the *Roman* general was inclined, went from *Damascus* without taking leave; which very much angered *Pompey*.

Y. R. 690.

Plut. &
Dio.
App. in
Mithrid.

In the mean time, *Aretas*, though he had hitherto contemned the *Roman* arms, yet, when he found the *Romans* near him, and ready to invade him with their victorious army, sent Ambassadors to make his submission. *Pompey*, nevertheless, marched to *Petra*, the metropolis of *Aretas's* kingdom, and having taken the place, and the king in it, put him into custody; but released him afterwards on his submitting to the terms required, and then returned to *Damascus*.

Joseph.
Antiq. &
de Bell.
Jude.
Plut. in
Pomp.
App. in
Mithrid.

Being there informed of the warlike preparations, which *Aristobulus* was making in *Judea*, he marched into that country, and found him in his castle at *Alexandria*, which was a strong fortress, situated in the entrance of the country on a high mountain. *Pompey* sent him a message to come down to him; which he was very unwilling to do; but at length, by the persuasions of those about him, who dreaded a *Roman* war, he was prevailed with to comply; and, after some discourse with *Pompey* about the controversy depending, he returned again into his castle: And this he did two or three times, hoping by these compliances to gain *Pompey* to his side: but at the same time he was fortifying his castles, and making preparations for his defence, in case the sentence should go against him; of which proceeding *Pompey* being informed, forced him, on his next coming down, to make a cession of all his castles, and to sign orders to those that commanded in them, to deliver them up to the *Romans*. *Aristobulus* grievously resented the putting this force upon him, and therefore, as soon as he got free, fled to *Jerusalem*, and there prepared for war. *Pompey*, not to give him time for assembling his forces, marched after him. The first place where the *Romans* pitched their camp was in the plains of *Jericho*; and here they received the news of the death of *Mitridates*. It was brought to *Pompey* by special messengers sent from *Pontus*. The messengers having their spears wreathed about with laurel, which was always a token of some victory, or other important advantage gained to the state, the army were eager to know what had happened; and whereas there was no tribunal yet erected for the General (the camp being just pitched), and it would require some time to erect one of turf (as was the custom,) they heaped up their pack-saddles one upon another, and thereby made an eminence: *Pompey* ascended it, and from thence communicated to them, that *Mitridates* had laid violent hands upon himself, and was dead; that his son *Pharnaces*, having seized his kingdom, submitted both that and himself to the *Roman* State; and that from him came the letters bringing this account: so that the war, which had caused them so many fatigues, was now at an end. The army immediately expressed their joy by shouts, and nothing was to be seen the whole day, but festivity and sacrifices of thanksgiving.

Joseph.
Jude.
Plut. in
Pomp.Vid. sup.
p. 252.

The sequel of *Mitridates's* story, after his arrival at *Dioscurias*, on the eastern coast of the *Euxine*, is as follows.

Having there wintered, he set out early in the spring for the kingdom of *Bosporus*, which had been a province^a of his empire, and where he had placed one of his sons, called *Macbares*, to govern it with the title of king. But the young king having been hard pressed upon by the *Romans*, while they lay at the siege of *Sinope*, and were masters of the *Euxine* sea by means of their fleet, he made peace with them, and had ever since maintained the terms of it. This having much angered the father, the son dreaded his approach; and therefore, while he was on the way, sent Ambassadors to pacify him, urging in excuse of his conduct, that what he had done was by the necessity of his affairs, and not by choice. Finding that his father was implacable, he endeavoured to make his escape by sea; in which attempt not succeeding, he killed himself, to avoid falling into his father's hands.

It has been mentioned, that from the kingdom of *Bosporus Mitbridates* sent Ambassadors unsuccessfully to treat with *Pompey*, then in *Syria*; and that losing all hopes of obtaining peace from the *Romans*, upon any tolerable terms, he made all the preparations he could for war.

As soon as he was capable (after his sickness formerly mentioned) of acting and managing his affairs in person, he sent troops to *Phanagoria*, on the east side of the Streight, that he might be absolute master of the channel, of which he was already master on the west side, by means of *Panticapeum*. *Castor*, a man of obscure birth, who was governor of *Phanagoria*, had formerly been affronted by the eunuch *Tryphon*; and now, seeing this eunuch arrive with the king's troops, killed him, made the inhabitants take arms, and exhorted them to resume their liberty. The whole city rose. The citadel, in which were several of *Mitbridates's* children, and, among the rest, *Artaphernes*, above forty years old, made some resistance; but the people heaping up wood round about it, in order to set it on fire, the prince's courage failed, and he surrendered himself prisoner, with three of his brothers, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Oxatbres*, and one sister, called *Eupatra*, all four under age. *Cleopatra*, another daughter of *Mitbridates* held out against the rebels, notwithstanding her being thus deserted by her brother; and gave her father time to send ships to carry her off to *Panticapeum*. *Castor* delivered up his prisoners to the *Romans*.

The example of *Phanagoria* was followed by several of the neighbouring towns; so that *Mitbridates*, seeing treasons multiply around him, turned his thoughts to purchase the friendship of the *Scythian* kings, by giving them some of his daughters in marriage, with rich presents: But the soldiers, who were appointed to escort the princesses, delivered them

^a The *Bosporani* were those people who inhabited the northern coast of the *Euxine* sea; which coast (or at least the western part of it) seems to have been subject to *Mitbridates*, as

well as the country called (in this part of the *Roman* story) the *Cimmerian Bosporus*, which is also the name of the Streight, which divides the *Chersonesus* from *Asia*.

into

V. R. 692. into the hands of the *Romans*, having first killed the eunuchs who had the care of them. All these disappointments determined him to make a desperate expedition through the way of *Pannonia* and the *Trentine Alps*, into *Italy* itself, and there attack the *Romans*, as *Hannibal* had done, at their own doors. In order hereto, he collected numerous forces out of the *Scythian* nations, for augmenting his former army, and sent agents to engage the *Gauls* to join with him. There were abundance of *Gauls* settled upon the *Danube*, and the rivers that fall into it, and he had for a long time kept up a good correspondence with these; so that he expected not only to meet with no opposition from them, but to have them for his allies and auxiliaries.

F. deaux. But this enterprize containing a march of above 2000 miles, through all those countries which are now called *Tartaria Crimea*, *Podolia*, *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, *Transylvania*, *Hungaria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Tyrol*, and *Lombardy*, and over three great rivers, the *Boristenes*, the *Danube*, and the *Po*, the very thought of it so terrified the army, that, to avoid it, they conspired against him, and made his son *Pharnaces* their king. *Mitbridates* had always distinguished this son as his favourite, and intended him for his successor. But the prince, who was desirous to preserve, at least the wreck of his father's fortune, and foresaw, that the project of marching into *Italy*, if only begun to be put into execution, would probably occasion the loss of all, by rendering the *Romans* irreconcilable to the family of *Mitbridates*, put himself at the head of the conspirators^b.

The king, informed of what was in agitation, sent some of his guards to seize the prince; but he gained over these soldiers to join him in the conspiracy: into which, by remonstrances and promises, he easily brought likewise the *Roman* deserters, who were encamped without the walls of *Panticapeum*. The prince found no greater difficulty in gaining the soldiers of the other camps; and at the head of this multitude of rebels he presented himself before the place at day-break.

The city soon followed the example of the camps. Some officers, whom the king had sent to enquire the cause of the shouts he heard, having gone over with their soldiers to *Pharnaces*, the inhabitants presently opened the gates to the prince: so that the king was reduced to shut himself up

^b Fear might perhaps concur with ambition in prompting the prince to rebel. The death of his brother *Xipharcus* might make him think his own life very precarious.

P. ad. *Mitbridates*, in the decline of his affairs, had placed *Stratonice*, the mother of *Xipharcus*, in a strong castle (called *Symphorian*) in *Pontus*. She, finding herself like to be deserted, delivered the place to *Pompey*, upon his promise of safety for herself, and likewise for her

son, in case he should happen to fall into the hands of the *Romans*: and *Pompey* continued her in possession of that castle, and of most of the effects in it. *Xipharcus* was at this time in *Pontus* with his father, who, to be revenged on the mother, carried this son to the side of the Streight, on the opposite side on which the castle stood, and there slew him within her view, and left the dead body unburied on the strand.

in the citadel. From thence he sent to ask the mutineers what their demands were: They answered with extreme insolence, “ We demand that *Pharnaces* should be our king. We want a young king, not an old one, governed by eunuchs, and who makes known his power only by cruel- ties to his Generals, his friends, and even his children.”

Y.R. 690.
Bct. Chr.
62.
389 Conf.

Mitbridates came out, in order to speak in person to them; but the soldiers who attended him, thinking it would be best for themselves to follow the stream, offered their services to the rebels. The *Roman* deserters, proud of their number and strength, and ever at the head of the rebel-crew, made answer to this offer of the soldiers, “ That it would not be accepted, unless they first gave some signal proof of their zeal.” And, at the same time, they pointed to *Mitbridates*. In so great extremity, the king had no choice but to return into the fort, which he did not effect without great difficulty, having had his horse killed under him. At the same instant, the whole multitude of the revolted proclaimed *Pharnaces* king; and, for want of a diadem, they bound about his head a broad fillet of *Egyptian* paper, which somebody had taken out of a neighbouring temple.

Prideaux.

Mitbridates, who, from a tower, saw all that passed, sent many times to ask his life of his son, with permission to retire. But as none of his messengers returned, and he found he must die, he made this prayer: O ye gods! the avengers of fathers, if it be true that you exist, and if there be justice in heaven, grant that *Pharnaces* may, one day, bear his sentence of death pronounced by his children. He then called some of his officers and guards, who had hitherto continued faithful to him, and, having praised their generosity, ordered them to repair to the new king; after which he retired into his apartment, distributed poison to his wives, concubines, and daughters*, and took a dose of it himself: this not operating upon him, he had recourse to his sword; but failing to give himself such a wound as was sufficient to do the business, he called to him a *Gallic* officer (who, at the head of some of the rebels, had forced the walls of the castle;) *Brave soldier, you did me great services at the time you fought under me. You will do me a greater now than ever, if you will save me from the shame of falling alive into the hands of the Romans, and being led by them in triumph.* The *Gaul* complied with his desire.

Orof. vi. 5.

Dio. App.

Such was the end of *Mitbridates*†; whom *Cicero* styles the greatest of kings.

Cic. in
Luc.

* Two of his daughters, *Mitbridatis* and *Nysa*, who were to be married to the two *Ptolemys*, the one king of *Egypt*, and the other king of *Cyprus*, desired to have the consolation of dying before their father: they made haste therefore to drink the poison, and expired in a very short time.

The number of this prince's sons and daughters, by his wives and concubines, was

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very considerable. Many of his sons he slew in his displeasure; and many of his daughters he poisoned, when he could not carry them off in his flights. Nevertheless, five of his sons, and two of his daughters were carried by *Pompey* to *Rome*, and there led before him in his *Triumph*.

† The continuance of *Mitbridates's* war with the *Romans*, according to *Justin* was

M m

forty-

Y. R. 690.
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13.

kings after Alexander. He was (says *Velleius*) a very great prince, sometimes by his fortune, always by his magnanimity ; a general in council and design, a soldier in execution, and, for hatred to *Rome*, another *Hannibal*. It is agreed, that he was a very extraordinary person, both for the greatness^a of his spirit, and the endowments of his mind : and that he was learned in all the learning of those times ; and it is affirmed, that of twenty-two nations under his command, he could speak to every

forty-six years ; according to *Appian*, forty-two ; according to *Florus* and *Extrepius*, forty ; and according to *Pliny*, thirty ; but according to the exact truth of the matter, though we reckon the beginning of the war from *Mitridates's* seizing *Cappadocia* (which was the first occasion of it) its duration to his death, will be no more than twenty-seven years ; which, for the sake of a round number, *Pliny* calls thirty, and thereby comes nearest to the truth. *Prideaux*, *Connect.* p. 432.

^a The *summary* given us, by an ingenious and judicious modern, of the wars, and fortunes of *Mitridates*, and of his character as a warrior, may not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader :

Montesquieu de la Grandeur, &c.

— “ This disposition of things [mentioned above in the note, p. 148.] gave rise to three mighty wars, which form one of the noblest parts of the *Roman* history : because we do not, on this occasion, read of princes already overcome by *Luxury* and *Pride*, as *Antiochus* and *Tigranes* ; nor by *Fear*, as *Philip*, *Perfes*, and *Jugurtha* ; but a magnanimous king, who, in adversity, like a lion that gazes upon his wounds, was fired with greater indignation upon that account. This part of the *Roman* history is singular, because it abounds with perpetual and ever unexpected revolutions ; for if *Mitridates* could easily recruit his armies, it is likewise true, that in those reverses of fortune, in which kings stand in greatest need of obedience, and a strict discipline, his barbarous forces forsook him : As he had the art of enticing nations, and stirring up cities to rebellion, so was he likewise betrayed by his captains, his children, and his wives ; as he had sometimes experienced *Roman* Generals to contend with, so, at other times were sent against him, *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*.

“ This prince having defeated the *Roman* Generals, and conquered *Asia*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, was vanquished, in his turn, by

“ *Sylla* ; confined by a treaty to his former limits ; harassed and insulted by the *Roman* Generals. Become once more superior to them, and conqueror of *Asia*, he was driven thence by *Lucullus* ; pursued into his own country ; obliged to fly for shelter to *Tigranes*, and defeated with him : Depending now upon himself alone (the *Armenian* march being irrecoverably lost) he took sanctuary in his own dominions, and re-ascended the throne.

“ *Lucullus* was succeeded by *Pompey*, who quite overpowered *Mitridates*. He then fled out of his dominions, and, crossing the *Araxes*, marched from danger to danger through the country of the *Lazi*, and, assembling in his way all the Barbarians he met with, appeared in *Bosporus* against his son *Macchares*, who had reconciled himself to the *Romans*.

“ Although plunged in so deep an abyss, he yet formed a design of making *Italy* the seat of the war, and of marching to *Rome*, at the head of those nations who enslaved it some years after, and by the same way they then took.”

[I know not whether by these last words, the judicious author intended to intimate, that because the *Roman* State was, some hundreds of years after this time, enslaved by the nations she refers to, it would now have been endangered by an invasion from the same nations. If he did, he must surely have forgot for a moment, that *Rome* was now almost in the highest degree of strength she ever attained to ; and that she was fallen into extreme weakness, and broken all to pieces, when those nations succeeded in their attempt upon her.]

“ Betrayed by *Pharnaces*, another of his sons, and by an army terrified at the greatness of his enterprizes, and the perils he was going in search of, he died in a manner worthy of a king.”

one in their own proper language. Other of his accomplishments have been already mentioned. But that he was inhuman, unnatural in his displeasure, a monster of cruelty (not to mention the massacre in cold blood of 80,000 *Italians* settled in *Asia*) is manifest from his murdering his mother and his brother, and from the great number of his sons, and of his friends and followers, whom, at several times, and often on very slight occasions, he had put to death. He lived seventy-two years, sixty of which he reigned.

Y.R. 690.

Plin. l. vii.
c. 24.

Prid. 4; 7.

Pompey, from the plains of *Jericbo*, where (as was before related) he received the news of the death of *Mitridates*, led his army toward *Jerusalem*. On his approach, *Aristobulus*, terrified, and repenting of what he had done, went out to meet him; and, in order to pacify his anger, promised him an absolute submission, and likewise a considerable sum of money. The *Roman* General accepted the proposal, detained the king, and sent *Gabinus*, one of his Lieutenants, with a body of men, to receive the money; But when *Gabinus* came to the city, he found the gates shut against him; and was told from the walls, that the citizens would not stand to the agreement. *Pompey*, thinking himself mocked by *Aristobulus*, laid him in chains, and marched with the whole army directly for *Jerusalem*. The place, by its situation, as well as by its fortifications, was very strong, and might have held out a long time, if the people within had not been divided among themselves: the adherents of *Aristobulus* were unanimously for defending it; and to this they were the more vehemently carried, by their extreme indignation at *Pompey's* making their king a prisoner: But the partizans of *Hyrchanus* being the stronger, and being determined to receive *Pompey* into the city, the other party retired to the mountain of the temple, where, having broken down the bridges over the deep ditches and vallies that surrounded it, they resolved to maintain themselves. Most of the sacerdotal order adhered to the cause of *Aristobulus*, and shut themselves up with those who had seized the temple; while the main body of the people, not only admitted *Pompey* into the city, but, with *Hyrchanus* at their head, supplied the *Romans* with all the necessaries they could furnish for carrying on the siege of the temple. The north side of it being observed to be the weakest part, *Pompey* began his approaches there. At first he offered the beleagued terms of peace; but these being rejected, he sent to *Tyre* for battering rams, and all other engines of war proper for a siege, determined to exert his utmost efforts for the speedy reduction of the place. Nevertheless it held out three months, and, perhaps, the *Romans* would have been necessitated to quit their enterprize, had it not been for the superstitious rigour with which the *Jews* observed their Sabbath. Formerly it had been carried so high, that they would not defend their lives on that day, but, if then assaulted, would rather patiently yield their throats to be cut, than stir a hand in their own defence. But the mischief and folly of this being sufficiently made appear in what they

Jes. A. c.
& de Bell
Judæc.1 Macc. ii.
32-33.
Ptolem.

they suffered from it in the beginning of the *Maccabean* wars, it was then determined, that the necessary defence of a man's life was not within the prohibition of the fourth commandment. But this being understood to hold good only against a direct and immediate assault, and not against any antecedent preparative leading thereto, it reached not in their opinion, to the allowing of any work to be done on that day, for the preventing or destroying the worst designs of mischief, till they came to be put in execution. Although, therefore, they vigorously defended themselves on the Sabbath day, when assaulted, yet they would not then stir a hand, either to hinder the enemy's works, or destroy their engines, or obstruct their erecting of them, as they did on other days: Which *Pompey* perceiving, ordered, that no assault should be made upon them during their Sabbaths; but that those days should be employed wholly in carrying on his works, and erecting and fitting his engines in such manner, as they might best do execution the following days. And thus the *Romans*, taking advantage of the superstition of the *Jews*, filled up the ditches with which the temple was surrounded, and brought forward their engines of battery, without meeting with any opposition: By which engines they at length beat down a strong tower; and this drew a great part of the adjoining wall with it; so that a breach was made large enough for an assault. *Cornelius Faustus*, the son of *Sylla*, being posted near the breach, immediately mounted it, and was followed by the whole army, who thus entering the place, made a dreadful slaughter of those whom they found within it: it is reckoned, that no less than 12,000 were put to the sword; and, in this massacre, none acted more cruelly than the *Jews* of the contrary faction did against their own brethren. During all this scene of destruction, we are told, that the priests, who were then in the temple, went on with the daily service of it, not being deterred, either by the rage of their enemies, or by the death of their friends; and that many of the priests, while they were so employed, had their own blood mingled with the blood of the sacrifices which they were offering: an instance of constancy much admired by *Pompey* himself.

And thus, after a siege of three months, was the *Temple of Jerusalem* taken by the *Romans*, in the end of the first year of the hundred and seventy-ninth *Olympiad* (*Caius Antonius* and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being then Consuls at *Rome*) about the time of our Midsummer, and on the day which the *Jews* kept as a solemn fast for the taking of *Jerusalem*, and the temple with it, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon*.

As soon as the *Romans* had made themselves masters of the place, *Pompey*, accompanied by several of his chief officers, went up into it, and not contenting themselves with viewing the outer courts, caused the * most sacred

* That the temple was now taken on the day of a solemn fast, is said, not only by *Josephus* in the places last above cited, but also by *Strabo*, l. xvi. p. 763. The taking of *Jerusalem*

sacred parts of the temple to be opened to them; and they entered not only into the HOLY PLACE, but also into the HOLY OF HOLIES, where none were permitted, by the Jewish law, to enter but the high-priest, and he only once in a year, on their great day of expiation. The Jews are said to have more grievously resented the profanation of their temple by Pompey, than all they had before suffered from the Romans during the war.

Y.R. 699.
Bef. Chr.
62.
389 Conf.

Though Pompey found, in the treasures of the temple, 2000 talents in money, besides its rich utensils and others things of great value, he left it all intire and untouched, for the sacred uses to which it was devoted. And the next day he ordered the temple to be cleansed, and divine service to be there carried on, in the same manner as formerly.

Jos. Ant.

The walls of Jerusalem, however, he demolished; and, though he restored Hyrcanus to the office of high-priest, and made him also prince of the country, would not allow him to wear a diadem, or to extend his borders beyond the old limits of Judæa; but deprived him of all those cities which had been taken by his predecessors from the Cale-Syrians and Phœnicians. Gadara (which was one of them) having been lately destroyed by the Jews, he ordered to be rebuilt, at the request of Demetrius, his freedman and chief favourite^b, who was a native of that place. This, and all the rest of those conquered cities, he added to the province of Syria; of which he made Scaurus president, giving him two Legions to keep the country in order. Then, carrying with him Aristobulus, and his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and two of his daughters, as captives to be led before him in his triumph, he set forward in the way to Rome.

App. in
Syr. & de
Bell. Civ.

Pompey on his return from Syria, coming to Amisus in Pontus, found there the body of Mithridates, which had been sent to him from Pharnaces, with many presents to procure his favour. The presents Pompey received, but as to the body, that he might not seem to insult the dead,

Plut. in
Pomp.

Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, was on the 9th day of their month Tamuz (2 Kings xxv. 21.) which usually falls about the time of our Midsummer, sooner or later, according as their intercalation happened. But in their present Kalendar, it is translated to the eighteenth of that Month.

^b The enormous riches and power of this Demetrius reflect no honour upon his patron. He was not ashamed, says Seneca, of being richer than Pompey: and Plutarch relates of him, that before he returned to Rome, he had very fine houses in the most agreeable suburbs of the city, with magnificent gardens, whilst Pompey had only a plain habitation. Frequently at feasts, while Pompey was waiting for his guests, or politely receiving them, De-

metrius had already taken his place at table, with his head covered, and lolling at his ease. But such was the disposition of Pompey; he overlooked every thing in those he loved. Gabinius, Scaurus, and others, acted all kinds of injustice and oppression, under his authority, and enriched themselves by pillaging without any reserve. Pompey suffered it, either through weakness, not daring to check them, or through policy, to attach creatures to him, whom he was afraid to remove by too much severity. It is a blot in his reputation; for it does not suffice for a man in office, that his personal conduct be irreproachable; he is answerable for the misconduct of those who act under his commission. Crevier.

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Y. R. 693 he would not see it, but ordered it to be carried to *Sinope*, and there buried
 Bef. Chr. 62. in the ancient burial place of the kings of *Pontus*; adding such expences
 389 Cons. for the funeral, as were necessary for the solemnization of it in a royal
 manner.

Vid. supr. *Pbarnaces* delivered up likewise to *Pompey* those persons, who, some
 P. 123 years before, had seized *Manius Aquilius*, at *Mitylene*, and put him into
 App. the hands of the king of *Pontus*; and together with these he sent also a
 Mithrid. great number of hostages, whom *Mitbridates* had exacted from various
 P. 250. princes and states, *Greek* and *Barbarian*.

Many governors of fortresses and castles^a in this country had waited the
 D. 3 Caff. arrival of the *Roman General*, in order to surrender them to him in person,
 l. xxxvii. and thereby avoid being made answerable for such parts of the treasures
 there deposited, as they imagined would otherwise be embezzled by under
 officers; so that a prodigious quantity of jewels and rich moveables fell
 into his hands.

And now the conqueror distributed rewards to all those petty princes,
 who had deserved well of the Republic: to *Pbarnaces*, he gave the title of
 P. 123 *Friend and Ally of the Roman People*, confirming him in the possession of the
 App. kingdom of *Bosporus*: Only he excepted, out of the number of his sub-
 Mithrid. jects, the inhabitants of *Phanagoria*, declaring them *free*: Because, by
 P. 250. their revolt, they had given the final blow to *Mitbridates*. *Castor*, the au-
 thor of that defection, was likewise rewarded with the title of *Friend and*
Ally of the Roman People: [This man became afterwards the son-in-law of
 king *Dejotarus*.] From *Amisus* *Pompey* marched into the province of *Asia*
Propria, and took up his winter-quarters in the city of *Ephesus*. While
 he lay there, he rewarded his victorious army, giving to each private sol-
 481. 85. 91. dier 1500 drachmas, and proportionably more to all the officers according
 as they were in higher or lower posts of command; on which occasion, he
 3,100,000. expended out of the spoils taken in this war 16,000 talents: and yet he
 3,875,000. reserved 20,000 talents to be carried into the public treasury at *Rome*, on
 the day of his triumph, to make which as glorious, as possibly he could,
 was now his principal object.

^a In some of these castles *Perseus* found vast riches, especially at *Telaura*, where was the chief wardrobe, or storehouse, of *Mitbridates*: for it contained 2000 cups made of the onyx stone, and set in gold, with such a vast quan-

tity of all sorts of plate, household goods, and furniture, and of all manner of rich accoutrements both for man and horse, that the Quæstor of the army was thirty days in taking an inventory of them.

C H A P. IX.

Extraordinary honours are decreed to POMPEY by the SENATE, at the motion of MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, then Consul; and by the PEOPLE, at the motion of two of their Tribunes. An account of the birth, education, and travels of CICERO; his progress through the Quæstorship, Ædileship, and Prætorship, to the Consular dignity; his acts and proceedings, (in his Consulship) prior to his Discovery of CATALINE'S Conspiracy. Brief histories of C. JULIUS CÆSAR, M. PORTIUS CATO, and L. SERGIUS CATILINA, to that time. The conspiracy is quashed. Honours done to CICERO by the SENATE. He is affronted by one of the Tribunes; but contrives to make the affront turn to his glory.

THE joy at Rome on the news of the death of *Mithridates* may be said to have been intemperate. *Cicero*, who, in a speech (the first he ever made from the *Rostra*) had employed his eloquence with the People to procure for *Pompey* that *unprecedented* commission, which was given him by the *Manilian Law*, employed now his consular and personal influence with the Senate to obtain for him *unprecedented* honours. At the motion of *Cicero*, the FATHERS decreed a public thanksgiving, in *Pompey's* name, of ten days, which was twice as long as had ever been decreed before to any General, even to *Marius* himself, for his victory over the *Cimbri* ^a.

And upon the receipt of the public letters, which brought the account of *Pompey's* success in *Judæa* (which put an end to the wars in the East) two Tribunes of the People, *T. Labienus* and *T. Ampius*, passed a Law, that this singular favourite should, on all festival days, have the privilege of wearing a laurel crown, with his General's robe; and in the equestrian races of the Circus his triumphal habit ^b.

But we read, that in vain would have been these decrees in reward of *Pompey's* victories, in vain would have been the victories themselves, if his eloquent Panegyrist, a most able and vigilant Magistrate, had not preserved Rome (in the close of this very year) from the mischievous machinations of her own Citizens; machinations so big with destruction, that *Pompey*, at his return home, declared himself indebted to *Cicero*, for the satisfaction of seeing again his native country. Before we proceed to the relation of that

^a The reader will not perhaps much wonder at this, if he calls to mind what was formerly mentioned (Vol. II. b. vi. c. 9.) that *Cicero* (a thorough party-man) speaks of *Scipio's* starving a small garrison out of *Numantia* (a town in the heart of *Spain*) as an exploit equally momentous with *Marius's* victory (near the *Po* in the entrance of *Italy*) over the numerous forces of the *Cimbri*; an army

amounting to 300,000 men, which, in the opinion of the public at Rome, threatened the City with speed and total destruction.

^b If we may believe *Patérculus* and *Dio*, *Pompey*, ashamed of these marks of distinction, so contrary to Republican maxims, made use of them but once. *Cicero* seems to say the contrary: *Pompeius togulam illum pictam silentio tuetur suam.*

Li. i.
Ep. 18.
ad Attic.

memorable transaction, it may be proper to give some account of the origin of this famous CONSUL, ORATOR, and PHILOSOPHER, of the *steps* by which he rose to the highest Magistracy, and of the acts of his Consulship anterior to that which was the chief glory of his life.

Midd. vol. I. p. 3. Cic. Ep. ad Art. vii. 5. Fig. Ann. xxxvii. 2. Cic. de Leg. ii. 3. Val. Max. ii. 2. *Marcus Tullius Cicero* was ^a born on the third of *January*, in the 647th year of *Rome*, at *Arpinum*, a city anciently of the *Samnites* (now part of the kingdom of *Naples*) which, upon its submission to *Rome*, acquired the freedom of the City, and was inserted into the *Cornelian Tribe*. It had the honour also of producing the great *C. Marius*; which gave occasion to *Pompey* to say, in a public speech, That *Rome* was indebted to this corporation for two Citizens, who had, each in his turn, preserved it from ruin.

Midd. p. 11. Cic. pro Arch. i. 3. *Cicero's* father ^b, encouraged by the promising genius of his son, spared no cost nor pains to improve it by the help of the ablest masters, and among the other instructors of his early youth, put him under the care of the *Poet Archias*, who, when *Cicero* was about five years old, came to

Midd. p. 2. ^a His mother was called *Helvia*; a name mentioned in history and old inscriptions among the ancient families of *Rome*. She was rich and well descended. It is remarkable, that *Cicero* never once speaks of his mother in any part of his writing.—As to his father's family—Some derive his descent from *Kings*, others from *Mechanics*, but the truth lay between both; for his family, though it had never borne any of the great offices of the Republic, was yet very ancient and honourable, of principal distinction and nobility in that part of *Italy* in which it resided, and of *Equestrian* rank, from its first admission to the freedom of *Rome*. As often as there was occasion to mention the character and condition of his ancestors, *Cicero* speaks of them always with great frankness, declaring them to have been content with their paternal fortunes, and the private honours of their own City, without the ambition of appearing on the public stage of *Rome*. Thus, in a speech to the People, upon his advancement to the Consulship, I have no pretence, says he, to enlarge before you, upon the praises of my ancestors; not but that they were all such as myself, who am descended from their blood, and trained by their discipline; but because they lived without this applause of popular fame, and the splendour of these honours which you confer. It is on this account, therefore, that we find him so often called a *new-man*; not that his family was new or ignoble, but because he was the first of it, who ever sought and obtained the public Magistracies of the State.

^b *Cicero*, being the first-born of the family, received, as usual, the name of his father, and grandfather, *Marcus*. This name was properly personal, equivalent to that of baptism with us, and imposed with ceremonies somewhat analogous to it, on the ninth day, called *Macrob. Sat. i. 16.* the *lustrical*, or day of purification; when the child was carried to the temple by the friends and relations of the family, and before the altars of the Gods, recommended to the protection of some tutelar Deity.

Tullius was the name of the family, which, in old language, signified *flowing streams*, or *ducts of water*, and was derived probably from their ancient situation, at the confluence of the two rivers.

The third name was generally added on Pompeius account of some memorable action, quality, or accident, which distinguished the founder, or chief person of the family. *Plutarch* says, *That the surname of Cicero was owing to a wart, or excrescence, on the nose of one of his ancestors, in the shape of a vetch, which the Romans called Cicero.* But *Pliny* tells us, more credibly, *That all those names, which had a reference to any species of grain, as the Fabii, Lentuli, &c. were acquired by a reputation of being the best husbandmen, or improvers, of that species.* As *Tullius* therefore, the family name, was derived from the situation of the farm; so *Cicero*, the surname, from the culture of it by *Vetches*. This, I say, is the most probable, because agriculture was held the most liberal employment in old *Rome*; and those tribes, which

to *Rome* with a high reputation for learning and poetry, and lived in the family of *Lucullus* ^c.

When *Cicero*, at about seventeen years of age, had changed the *puerile* for the *manly* gown, and had (according to custom) been introduced into the *Forum*, he was placed under the care of *Q. Mucius Scævola*, the *Augur*, ^{Midd. p.} the principal lawyer, as well as statesman, of that age, who had passed ^{13.} through all the offices of the Republic with a singular reputation of integrity, and was now extremely old; *Cicero* never departed from his side, but carefully treasured up in his memory all the remarkable sayings, which ^{Cic. de Amicit. 1.} dropt from him, as so many lessons of prudence for his future conduct; and, after his death, applied himself to another of the same family, *Scævola*, ^{Cic. in Brut p. 89. (edit. S. Corrad.)} the high priest, a person of equal character for probity and skill in the Law; who, though he did not profess to teach, yet freely gave his advice to all the young students, who consulted him.

which resided on their farms in the country, the most honourable: and this very grain, from which *Cicero* drew his name, was, in all ages of the Republic, in great request with the meaner people; being one of the usual largesses bestowed upon them by the rich, and sold every where in the theatres and streets ready parched or boiled for present use.

^{Hor. Sat. l. II. iii. 182. & de Art. Poet. 249 Midd. p. 11.} It was the custom of the great, in these days, to entertain in their houses the principal scholars and philosophers of *Greece*, with a liberty of opening a school, and teaching together with their own children, any of the other young nobility and gentry of *Rome*. Under this master, *Cicero* applied himself chiefly to poetry, to which he was naturally addicted, and made such a proficiency in it, that, while he was still a boy, he composed and published a poem, called *Glaucus Pontius*, which was extant in *Plutarch's* time.

^{Pauf. Bæot. c. 22.} After finishing the course of these puerile studies, it was the custom to change the habit of the boy, for that of the man, and take what they called the *manly gown*, or the ordinary robe of the Citizens: This was an occasion of great joy to the young men, who, by this change, passed into a state of greater liberty and enlargement from the power of their tutors. They were introduced, at the same time, into the *Forum*, or the great square of the City, where the Assemblies of the City were held, and the Magistrates used to harangue to

them from the *Rostra*, and where all the public pleadings, and judicial proceeding were usually transacted: This, therefore, was the great school of business and eloquence, the scene on which all the affairs of the Empire were determined, and where the foundation of their hopes and fortunes were to be laid: so that they were introduced to it with much solemnity, attended by all the friends and dependants of the family, and, after divine rites performed in the *Capitol*, were committed to the special protection of some eminent Senator, distinguished for his eloquence and knowledge of the laws, to be instructed, by his advice, in the management of civil affairs, and to form themselves, by his example, for useful members and magistrates of the Republic.

Writers are divided about the precise time ^{Midd. p. 12.} of changing the *puerile* for the *manly gown*: What seems the most probable, is, that in the old Republic it was never done till the end of the seventeenth year; but when the ancient discipline began to relax, parents, out of indulgence to their children, advanced this æra of joy one year earlier, and gave them the gown at sixteen, which was the custom in *Cicero's* time. Under the emperors, it was granted at pleasure, and, at any age, to the great, or their own relations; for *Nero* received it from *Claudius*, when he just entered into his fourteenth year, which, as *Tacitus* says, ^{Ann. xii. 41.} was given before the regular season.

Under these masters he acquired a complete knowledge of the laws of his country^f; but the knowledge of the Law was but one ingredient of many, in the character which he aspired to, of an *universal patron*, not only of the fortunes, but of the lives and liberties of his countrymen: For that was the proper notion of an ORATOR, or PLEADER OF CAUSES; whose profession it was, to *speak aptly, elegantly, and copiously on every subject which could be offered to him, and whose art therefore included in it all other arts of the liberal kind, and could not be acquired to any perfection, without a competent knowledge of whatever was great and laudable in the universe.* This was his own idea of what he had undertaken.

The transactions of the Forum were greatly interrupted by the civil dissensions; in which some of the best orators were killed, and others banished. Cicero, however, attended the harangues of the Magistrates, who possessed the Rostra in their turns.

In the mean while, *Philo*, a philosopher of the first name in the Academy, with many of the principal Athenians, fled to Rome from the fury of *Metridates*, who had made himself master of Athens, and all the neighbouring part of Greece. Cicero immediately became his scholar, and was exceedingly taken with his philosophy; and, by the help of such a professor, gave himself up to that study with the greatest inclination, as there was cause to apprehend, that the laws and judicial proceedings, which he had designed for the ground of his fame and fortunes, would be wholly overturned by the continuance of the public disorders.

But Cinna's party having quelled all opposition at home, while Sylla was engaged abroad in the *Mitbridatic* war, there was a cessation of arms within the City for about three years, so that the course of public business began to flow again in its usual channel; and *Molo*, the *Rhodian*, one of the

^f This branch of knowledge was thought to be of such consequence at Rome, that it was the common exercise of boys at school to learn the laws of the twelve tables by heart; as they did their poets and classic authors. Cicero particularly took such pains in this study, and was so well acquainted with the most intricate parts of it, as to be able to sustain a dispute on any question with the greatest lawyer of his age: So that pleading once against his friend *S. Sulpicius*, he declared, by way of railery, what he could have made good likewise in fact, that, if he provoked him, he would profess himself a lawyer in three days time.

The profession of the law, next to that of arms and eloquence, was a sure recommendation to the first honours of the Republic, and for that reason was preserved, as it were, hereditary in some of the noblest families of Rome; who, by giving their advice gratis to

all who wanted it, engaged the favour and observance of their fellow-citizens, and acquired great authority in all the affairs of state. It was the custom of these old senators, eminent for their wisdom and experience, to walk every morning up and down the Forum, as a signal of their offering themselves freely to all, who had occasion to consult them, not only in case of law, but in their private and domestic affairs. But in latter times they chose to sit at home with their doors open, in a kind of throne, or raised seat, like the confessors in foreign churches, giving access and audience to all people. This was the case of the two *Scævola's*, especially the *Augur*, whose house was called the oracle of the City; and who, in the *Marfic* war, when worn out with age and infirmities, gave admission every day to all the Citizens, as soon as it was light, nor was ever seen by any in his bed during that whole war.

principak

principal orators of that age, and the most celebrated teacher of eloquence, happening to come to *Rome* at the same time, *Cicero* presently took the benefit of his lectures, and resumed his oratorical studies with his former ardour². And that he might neglect nothing which could help in any degree to improve and polish his style, he spent the intervals of his leisure in the company of the ladies; especially of those who were remarkable for a politeness of language, and whose fathers had been distinguished by a fame and reputation of their eloquence.

Thus adorned, and accomplished, by having run through all that course of discipline, which he himself lays down as necessary to form the complete orator, he offered himself to the bar about the age of twenty-six.

The first criminal cause in which he was concerned, was that of *L. Roscius Amerinus*, of which an account has been already given. He was then in his 27th year; the same age, as the learned have observed, in which *Demosthenes* first began to distinguish himself in *Athens*. *Plutarch* says, that presently after this trial, *Cicero* took occasion to travel abroad on pretence of his health, but in reality to avoid the effects of *Sylla's* displeasure³.

He was twenty-eight¹ years old when he set forward upon his travels to Greece 41.

² In the first or second year of *Sylla's* Dictatorship, *Melo* the *Rhodian* came again to *Rome*, to solicit the payment of what was due to his country for their services in the *Mithridatic* war, which gave *Cicero* an opportunity of putting himself a second time under his direction, and perfecting his oratorical talents, by the further instructions of so renowned a master: whose abilities and character were so highly revered, that he was the first, of all foreigners, who was allowed to speak to the Senate in Greek without an interpreter; which shews in what vogue the Greek learning, and especially eloquence, flourished at this time in *Rome*.

³ There seems no ground for this notion — We have a clear account from himself of the real motive of this journey: “My body (says he) at this time was exceedingly weak and emaciated; my neck long and small, which is a habit thought liable to great risk of life, if engaged in any fatigue or labour of the lungs; and it gave the greater alarm to those who had a regard for me, that I used to speak without any remission or variation, with the utmost stretch of voice, and great agitation of my body: When my friends, therefore, and Physicians advised me to meddle no more with causes, I resolved to

“run any hazard, rather than quit the hopes of glory, which I proposed to myself from pleading: But when I considered that by managing my voice, and changing my way of speaking, I might both avoid all danger, and speak with more ease, I took a resolution of travelling into *Asia*, merely for an opportunity of correcting my manner of speaking; so that, after I had been two years at the bar, and acquired a reputation in the *Forum*, I left *Rome*, &c.” *Brut.* 437.

¹ If *Cicero*, who was born *Jan. 1, 647*, was 28 years old when he began his travels, he did not set forward till the year 675; and, if so, the learned writer of his life might have found a better reason than the passage in *Brut.* 437. for conjecturing that he did not leave *Rome* to avoid the effects of *Sylla's* displeasure: For *Sylla* (if indeed he was then alive) was not then Dictator. He abdicated the Dictatorship in 674, the year in which *Cicero* defended *L. Roscius Amerinus*: And though the orator boasts of his having defended this *Roscius* against *Sylla* himself, in the height of his power, and refers to his oration as extant, in proof of what he says [*quæ ut scis, extat oratio*] it is highly probable, that the bold passages of it, in which he glories, were

Greece and Asia; the fashionable tour of all those who travelled either for curiosity, or improvement^k:

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Vid. supr.
p. 170.

were *never spoken* by him (which was the case with regard to some other of his orations) and it may well be doubted, whether they were ever written before *Sylla's abdication*, or even before his *death*.

Midd. p.
41.

* His first visit was to *Athens*, the capital seat of arts and sciences; where some writers tell us that he spent three years, though in truth it was but six months: He took up his quarters with *Antiochus*, the principal philosopher of the *old academy*; and under this excellent master renewed, he says, those studies which he had been fond of from his earliest youth. Here he met with his school-fellow, *T. Pomponius*, who, from his love to *Athens*, and his spending a great part of his days in it, obtained the surname of *Atticus*; and here they revived and confirmed that memorable friendship which subsisted between them through life with so celebrated a constancy and affection.

P. 42.

"It was in this first journey to *Athens* that he was initiated, most probably, into the *Eleusian mysteries*; for, though we have no account of the time, yet we cannot fix it better than in a voyage undertaken both for the improvement of his mind and body. The reverence with which he always speaks of these mysteries, and the hints that he has dropped of their end and use, seem to confirm what a *very learned and ingenious* writer has delivered of them: That they were contrived to inculcate *the unity of God, and the immortality of the soul*. As for the first, after observing to *Atticus*, who was one also of the initiated, how the gods of the popular religions were all but deceased mortals, advanced from earth to heaven, he bids him remember the doctrine of the mysteries, in order to recollect the universality of that truth. And as to the second, he declares his initiation to be in fact, what the name itself implied, a real beginning of life to him; as it taught the way, not only of living with greater pleasure, but of dying also with a better hope."

Tusc.
Quæst. i.
13.
De Leg. ii.
14.

N. B. Notwithstanding this grave declaration, of his having learnt so important and so pleasing a truth by his initiation, the very learned author of the *Divine Legation*, &c. (above cited) has produced probable evidence, at least, that our traveller, after his return home,

did not believe *the immortality of the soul* in any sense, that could make him die with a better hope, than a man who believes its mortality. Book III. Sect. iii. "The several and various characters he sustained in his life and writings, habituated him to feign and dissemble his opinions. He may be considered as an *Orator*, a *Statesman*, a *Philosopher*; characters all equally personated; and no one more the real man than the other: but each of them taken up and laid down for the occasion. This appears from the numerous inconsistencies we find in him throughout the course of his sustaining them."—The learned writer gives an instance, where "the *Philosopher* confuted the *Statesman*;" he adds, "As in another instance the *Statesman* seems to have got the better of the *Philosopher*. He defends the paradoxes of the Stoics in a philosophic dissertation: but, in his oration for *Muræna*, he ridicules those paradoxes in the freest manner."

N. B. "Nor under one and the same character, or at one and the same time, is he more consistent. In the orations against *Catiline*, when he opens the conspiracy to the *Senate*, he represents it as the most deep-laid design, which had infected all orders and degrees of men amongst them: yet, when he brings the same affair before the *People*, he talks of it as only the wild and senseless escape of a few desperate wretches: it being necessary for his purpose, that the *Senate* and *People*, who viewed the conspiracy from several stations, should see it in different lights.

"We meet with numbers of the like contradictions delivered in his own person, and under his philosophic character. Thus in his *Books of Divination* he combats all Augury, &c. and yet, in his philosophic *Treatise of Laws*, he delivers himself in their favour, and in so serious and positive a manner, that it is difficult not to believe him to be in earnest. In a word, he laughed at the opinions of state, when he was amongst the philosophers; he laughed at the doctrines of the philosophers, when he was cajoling an assembly;

He spent two years in this excursion; and having, after his return, spent one year at the bar, he was, in the next, (the Consulship of *Cn. Octavius* and *C. Scribonius*, year of *Rome* 677) elected to the office of *Quæstor*, “and had the honour to be chosen the first of all his competitors, by the unanimous suffrage of the Tribes, and in the first year in which he” was

“assembly; and he laughed heartily at both, when withdrawn amongst his friends in a corner. Nor is this the worst part of the story. He hath given us no mark to distinguish his meaning: For in his *Academic Questions* he is ready to swear, he always speaks what he thinks: *Jurarem per Jovem, Deosque penates, me & ardere studio veri reperiendi, & ea sentire quæ dicerem*: yet, in his *Nature of the Gods*, he has strangely changed his tone: *Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt quam necesse est*.

“If it be asked then, in which of his writings we can have any reasonable assurance of his true sentiments? I reply, scarce in any but his *Epistles*.---It is only in his *EPISTLES* to his friends, where we see the man divested of the *Politician*, the *Sophist*, and the *Advocate*: and there he professes his disbelief of a future state of rewards and punishments in the frankest and freest manner.” [The passages, cited in *Latin*, are thus translated by the very ingenious Mr. *Melmoth*.]

He says to *L. Mescinius*.---“This advantage we may at least derive from our extreme calamities; that they will teach us to look upon *Death* with contempt; which, even if we were happy, we ought to despise, as a state of total insensibility,” &c. *Ep. Fam. l. v. Ep. 21*.

To *A. Torquatus*.---“I have the consolation in common with yourself, that should I now be called upon to lay down my life, I shall not be cut off from a commonwealth, which I can by any means regret to leave, especially, as the same blow which deprives me of my life, will deprive me likewise of all sensibility.” *Lib. vi. Ep. 4*.

To *Toranius*.---“Now that counsel can profit nothing, and that the Republic is utterly overturned, the only rational part that remains, is to bear with calmness whatever shall be the event; especially, when it is considered, That *Death* is the final period of all human concerns.” *Lib. vi. Ep. 21*.

The ingenious translator is of opinion, that admitting these several passages to be so many clear and positive assertions, that the soul perishes with the body; yet it would by no means follow, that this was *Cicero's* real belief. It is usual with him to vary his sentiments in the letters, in accommodation to the principles, or circumstances, of his correspondents.” After some instances given, the ingenious translator adds, “Other instances of the same variation from himself might be produced; but these, together with those that have already been occasionally pointed out in the course of these remarks, are sufficient perhaps to evince, that *Cicero's* real sentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any particular passages in these letters. In those to *Atticus*, indeed, he was generally, though not always, more sincere.” *Melmoth*, Remark 6. Vol. II. p. 232.

From *Athens* he passed into *Asia*, where he gathered about him all the principal orators of the country, who kept him company through the rest of his voyage; and with whom he constantly exercised himself in every place where he made any stay. The chief of them, says he, was *Menippus* of *Stratonica*, the most eloquent of all the *Asiatics*; and if to be neither tedious, nor impertinent, be the characteristic of an *Attic* orator, he may justly be reckoned in that class.

But as at *Athens*, where he employed himself chiefly in philosophy, he did not intermit his oratorical studies; so at *Rhodes*, where his chief study was oratory, he gave some share also of his time to philosophy with *Pesidomius*, the most esteemed and learned *Stoic* of that age; whom he often speaks of with honour, not only as his master, but as his friend. It was his constant care, that the progress of his knowledge should keep pace with the improvement of his eloquence; he considered the one as the foundation of the other, and thought it vain to acquire ornaments, before he had provided necessary furniture: He declaimed

" was capable of it by Law, the *thirty-first* of his age". [*Cotta* was the same year chosen *Consul*, and *Horatius* *Ædile*.]

The island of *Sicily*, though under the government of one *Prætor*, was divided into the two provinces of *Lilybæum* and *Syracuse*, which had each of them a distinct *Quæstor*. The former fell by lot to *Cicero*. *Sicily* was usually called *the granary of the Republic*, and the *Quæstor's* chief employment in it was to supply corn and provisions for the use of the City; but there happening to be a peculiar scarcity this year at *Rome*, it made the People very clamorous, and gave the *Tribunes* an opportunity of inflaming them the more easy, by charging it to the loss of the *Tribunician power*, and their being left a prey, by that means, to the oppressions of the great. It was necessary therefore to the public quiet, to send out large and speedy supplies from *Sicily*, by which the island was like to be drained; so that *Cicero* had a difficult task to furnish what was sufficient for the demands of the City, without being grievous at the same time to the poor natives; yet he managed the matter with so much prudence and address, that he made very great exportations, without any burthen upon the province: shewing great courtesy all the while to the dealers, justice to the merchants, generosity to the inhabitants, humanity to the allies, and, in short, doing all manner of good offices to every body; by which he gained the love and admiration of all the *Sicilians*, who decreed greater honours to him at his departure, than they had ever decreed before to any of their governors^m.

When

declaimed here in *Greek*, because *Melo* did not understand *Latin*, and, upon ending his declamation, while the rest of the company were lavish of their praises, *Melo*, instead of paying compliments, sat silent a considerable time, till, observing *Cicero* somewhat disturbed at it, he said, *As for you, Cicero, I praise and admire you, but pity the fortune of Greece, to see Arts and Eloquence, the only ornaments which were left to her, transplanted by you to Rome*. Having thus finished the circuit of his travels, he came back again to *Italy*, extremely improved, and changed as it were into a new man: the vehemence of his voice and action was moderated; the redundancy of his stile and fancy corrected; his lungs strengthened; and his whole constitution confirmed.

¹ We have no account of the precise time of *Cicero's* marriage, which was celebrated most probably in the end of the preceding year, immediately after his return to *Rome*, when he was about thirty years old; it cannot be placed later, because his daughter was

married the year before his Consulship, at the age of thirteen; though we suppose her to be born this year, on the fifth of August, which is mentioned to be her birth-day. Nor is there any thing certain delivered of the family, or condition of his wife *Terentia*; yet from her name, her great fortune, and her sister *Fabia's* being one of the *Vestal virgins*, we may conclude, that she was nobly descended.

■ Before he left *Sicily* he made the tour of p. 64. the island, to see every thing in it that was curious, and especially the city of *Syracuse*, which had always made the principal figure in its history. Here his first request to the magistrates, who were shewing him the curiosities of the place, was to let him see the tomb of *Archimedes*, whose name had done so much honour to it; but, to his surprize, he perceived, that they knew nothing at all of the matter, and even denied that there was any such tomb remaining; yet as he was assured of it beyond all doubt, by the concurrent testimony of writers, and remembered the verses inscribed, and that there was a *Sphere* with a *Cylinder*

Midd. p.
62.

Vid. Orat.
Cicero ad
fratrem.
Sunt it.

Pro Planc.
22.

Plut. in
Cic.

Brut. p.
438.

Midd. p.
59.

When five years, from the time of his election to the Quæstorship, were almost elapsed, which was the proper interval prescribed by Law, before he could hold the next office of *Tribune* or *Ædile* (thro' one of which it was necessary to pass in his way to the superior dignities) he chose to drop the *Tribunate*, as being stripped of its ancient power by the late ordinance of *Sylla*, and began to make interest for the *Ædileship*, while *Hortensius*, at the same time, was suing for the *Consulship*. *Cicero* had employed all this interval in a close attendance on the *Forum*, and a perpetual course of pleading, which greatly advanced his interest in the City; especially when it was observed, that he *strictly complied with the law; by refusing, not only to take fees, but to accept even any presents*, in which the generality of patrons were less scrupulous. Midd. p. 74. Brut. p. 40. Plut. in Cic.

As he had now devoted himself to a life of business and ambition, so he omitted none of the usual arts of recommending himself to popular favour, and facilitating his advancement to the superior honours. He thought it absurd, that, when every little artificer knew the name and use of all his tools, a Midd. p. 76. Plut. in Cic.

Tusc.
Quæst. v.
3.

Cylinder engraved on some part of it, he would not be dissuaded from the pains of searching it out. When they had carried him therefore to the gate, where the greatest number of their sepulchres stood, he observed in a spot overgrown with shrubs and briars, a small column, whose head just appeared above the bushes, with the figure of a *Sphere and Cylinder* upon it: this, he presently told the company, was the thing they were looking for, and sending in some men to clear the ground of the brambles and bushes, he found the inscription also which he expected; though the latter part of all the verses were effaced. Thus, says he, one of the noblest cities of Greece, and once likewise the most learned, had known nothing of the monument of its most deserving and ingenious citizen, if it had not been discovered to them by a native of *Arpinum*. At the expiration of his year he took leave of the *Sicilians*, by a kind and affectionate speech, assuring them of his protection in all their affairs at *Rome*; in which he was as good as his word, and continued ever after their constant patron, to the great benefit and advantage of the province.

He came away extremely pleased with the success of his administration; and flattering himself, that all *Rome* was celebrating his praises, and that the people would readily grant him every thing that he desired; in which imagination he landed at *Puteoli*, a considerable port, adjoining to *Baiæ*, the chief city of pleasure in *Italy*, where there was a per-

petual resort of the rich and the great, as well for the delights of the situation, as the use of its baths and hot waters. But here, as himself pleasantly tells the story, he was not a little mortified by the first friend whom he met, who asked him how long he had left *Rome*, and what news there? He answered, *I came from the Provinces: From Afric*, I suppose, says another? No, (replying with some indignation) *I came from Sicily*. A third, who stood by, and had a mind to be thought wiser, said presently, *How! did not you know that Cicero was Quæstor of Syracuse?* [which he was not, but of *Lilybæum*] Upon which, perceiving it in vain to be angry, he fell into the humour of the place, and made himself one of the company, who came to the waters. This mortification gave some little check to his ambition, or taught him however, how to apply it more successfully; and did him more good, he says, than if he had received all the compliments that he expected. For it made him reflect, that the People at *Rome* had dull ears, but quick eyes; and that it was his business to keep himself always in their sight; nor to be so solicitous how to make them hear of him, as to make them see him: So that from this moment he resolved to stick close to the *Forum*, and to live perpetually in the view of the City; nor to suffer either his porter, or his sleep, to hinder any man's access to him. *Pro Plancio*, 26.

statesmen should neglect the knowledge of men, who were the proper instruments with which he was to work: He made it his business therefore to learn the name, the place, and the condition of every eminent Citizen; what estate, what friends, what neighbours he had; and could readily point out their several houses, as he travelled through Italy^a.

He was now in his thirty-seventh year (683) when he was declared *Ædile* (as he was before elected *Quæstor*) by the unanimous suffrage of all the Tribes, and preferable to all his competitors.

This Magistracy gave a precedence in the Senate, or a priority of voting and speaking next after the *Consuls* and *Prætors*; and was the first that qualified a man to have a picture, or statue of himself, and consequently enobled his family. After Cicero's election to the *Ædileship*, but before his entrance into the office, he undertook the famed prosecution of C. *Verres*, the late *Prætor* of *Sicily*, which has been already spoken of in the preceding pages of this work^b.

Cic. in
Pacem.

Midd. p.
79.

In Verr.
v. 14.

Vid. sup.
p. 226. &
173.

Midd. p.
76.

Vid. de pe-
nit. Coni.
11 Hor.
1 Epist. vi.

^a This knowledge, which is useful in all popular governments, was particularly necessary at *Rome*; where the people, having much to give, expected to be much courted; and where their high spirits and privileges placed them as much above the rank of all other citizens, as the grandeur of the Republic exceeded that of all other States: so that every one who aspired to any public dignity, kept a slave or two in his family, whose sole business was to learn the names, and know the persons of every Citizen at sight, so as to be able to whisper them to his master as he passed through the streets, that he might be ready to salute them all familiarly, and shake hands with them as his particular acquaintance.

Plutarch says, that the use of these *Nomenclators* was contrary to the *Laws*; and that *Cato* for that reason, in suing for the public offices, would not employ any of them, but took all that trouble upon himself. But that notion is fully confuted by *Cicero*, who, in his oration for *Muræna* rallies the absurd rigour of *Cato's* *Stoical* principles, and their inconsistency with common life, from the very circumstance of his having a *Nomenclator*.—"What do you mean, says he, by keeping a *Nomenclator*? The thing itself is a mere cheat: For if it be your duty to call the citizens by their names, it is a shame for your slave to know them better than yourself.—Why do you not speak to them before he has whispered you? Or, after he has whispered, why do you salute them as if you knew them yourself? Or

"when you have gained your election, why do you grow careless about saluting them at all? All this, if examined by the rules of social life, is right; but if by the precepts of your philosophy, very wicked." [*Pro Muræna*, 36.] As for *Cicero* himself, whatever pains he is said to have taken in this way, it appears from several passages in his letters that he constantly had a *Nomenclator* at his elbow on all public occasions. *Ad Attic.* iv. 1.

^b In the first contest (there mentioned) with *Cæcilius*, *Cicero* estimates the damages of the *Sicilians* at above 800,000 pounds; but this was a computation at large, before he was distinctly informed of the facts: for after he had been in *Sicily*, and seen what the proofs actually amounted to, he charged them at somewhat less than half that sum; which gave occasion, as *Plutarch* intimates, to a suspicion of some corruption, or connivance, in *Cicero*, for suffering so great an abatement of the fine: But, if there was any abatement at all, it must needs have been by the consent of all parties, out of regard, perhaps, to *Verres's* submission, and shortening the trouble of the prosecutors: For it is certain, that, so far from leaving any imputation of that sort upon *Cicero*, it highly raised the reputation both of his abilities and integrity, as of one, whom neither money would bribe, nor power terrify, from prosecuting a public oppressor; and the *Sicilians* ever after retained the highest sense of his services, and, on all occasions, testified the utmost zeal for his person and interests.

Midd. p.
87 Divin.
in Cæcil.

Cic. in
Verr. i. 18.

Plut. in
Cic.

From

From the *conclusion* of his orations against *Verres* [the five last of which were *never spoken*] we may observe, that *Cicero's* vigour in this cause had drawn upon him the envy and ill-will of the Nobility : which was so far, however, from moving him, that, in open defiance of it, he declares, *That the Nobles were natural enemies to the virtue and industry of all new men ; and, as if they were of another race and species, could never be reconciled, or induced to favour them by any observance of good offices whatever* : That for his part therefore, like many others before him, he would pursue his own course, and make his way to the favour of his People, and the honours of the State, by his diligence and faithful services, without regarding the quarrels to which he might expose himself. That if in this trial the Judges did not answer the good opinion which he had conceived of them, he was resolved to prosecute, not only those who were actually guilty of corruption, but those too who were privy to it : and if any should be so audacious as to attempt by power or artifice to influence the bench, and screen the criminal, he would call him to answer for it before the People, and shew himself more vigorous in pursuing him, than he had been even in prosecuting *Verres*.

From the impeachment of *Verres*, *Cicero* entered upon the ^a *Ædileship*, [year of *Rome* 684] and after the usual interval of two years from

Midd.
p. 111.
In Verr.
v. 14.

^a In one of his speeches he gives us a short account of the duty of it ; “ I am now chosen *Ædile*,” says he, “ and am sensible of what is committed to me by the *Roman People* : I am to exhibit with the greatest solemnity the most sacred sports of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera* ; am to appease and conciliate the mother *Flora* to the People and City of *Rome*, by the celebration of the public games ; am to furnish out those ancient shews, the first, which were called *Roman*, with all possible dignity and religion, in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva* ; am to take care also of all the sacred edifices, and indeed of the whole City,” &c. The People were passionately fond of all these games and diversions ; and the public allowance for them being but small, according to the frugality of the old Republic, the *Ædiles* supplied the rest at their own cost, and were often ruined by it. For every part of the empire was ransacked for what was rare and curious, to adorn the splendour of their shews : The Forum in which they were exhibited was usually beautified with porticos, built for the purpose, and filled with the choicest statues and pictures which *Rome* and *Italy* afforded. *Cicero* reproaches *Appius* for draining *Greece* and the islands of all their furniture

of this kind, for the ornament of his *Ædileship* : And *Verres* is said to have supplied his friends *Hortensius* and *Metellus* with all the fine statues of which he had plundered the provinces.

Several of the greatest men of *Cicero's* time had distinguished themselves by an extraordinary expence and magnificence in this Magistracy ; *Lucullus*, *Scaurus*, *Lentulus*, *Hortensius*, and *C. Antonius* ; who, though expelled so lately from the Senate, entertained the City this year with stage-plays, whose scenes were covered with silver ; in which he was followed afterwards by *Murena* ; yet *J. Cæsar* outdid them all ; and, in the sports exhibited for his father's funeral, made the whole furniture of the theatre of solid silver, so that wild beasts were then first seen to tread on that metal. *Cicero* observed the rule which he prescribed afterwards to his son, of an expence agreeable to his circumstances, so as neither to hurt his character by a sordid illiberality, nor his fortunes by a vain ostentation of magnificence ; since the one, by making a man odious, deprives him of the power of doing good ; the other, by making him necessitous, puts him under the temptation of doing ill.

Pro Dom.
ad Pont.
43.

Asconius.

De Off. ii.
16.

Pro Mu-
ræna.

Plin. Hist.
N. xxxiii.

3.

De Off. ii.
17.

Vid. *supra*.
P. 217.
Midd.
P. 121.

the time of his being chosen *Ædile*, he offered himself a candidate for the *Prætorship*, but the City was in such a ferment all this summer [A. U. 686] that there was like to be no election at all: the occasion of it arose from the publication of some new Laws, which were utterly disliked, and fiercely opposed by the SENATE. The first of them was that of *Gabinus*, in favour of *Pompey*. The consequences of this motion have been already related.

A second Law was published by *L. Otbo*, for the assignment of distinct seats in the theatres to the *Equestrian order*, who used before to sit promiscuously with the populace^a.

Dio,
l. xxxvi.
c. 18.
Pro Mu-
ren. 23.
Midd.
P. 122.

C. Cornelius also, another Tribune, was pushing forward a third Law, of a graver kind, to prohibit bribery in elections, by the sanction of the severest penalties: The rigour of it highly displeased the SENATE, whose warm opposition raised great disorders in the City; so that all other business was interrupted, the elections of Magistrates adjourned, and the *Consuls* forced to have a guard. The matter, however, was compounded, by moderating the severity of the penalties in a new Law offered by the *Consuls*, which was accepted by *Cornelius*, and enacted in proper form, under the title of the *Calpurnian Law*, from the name of the Consul, *C. Calpurnius Piso*. *Cicero* speaks of it still as rigorously drawn; for, besides a pecuniary fine, it rendered the guilty incapable of any public office, or place in the Senate. This *Cornelius* seems to have been a brave and honest Tribune: He published another Law, to prohibit any man's being absolved from the obligation of the Laws, except by the authority of the People; which part of the old constitution had long been usurped by the SENATE, who dispensed with the Laws by their own decrees, and those often made clandestinely, when a few only were privy to them. The SENATE, being resolved not to part with so valuable a privilege, prevailed with another Tribune to inhibit the publication of it when it came to be read; upon which *Cornelius* took the book from the clerk, and read it himself. This was irregular, and much inveighed against as a violation of the rights of the *Tribunate*; so that *Cornelius* was once more forced

Pro Mu-
ren. 19.

^a By this Law, fourteen rows of benches, next to those of the Senators, were to be appropriated to their use; by which he secured to them, as *Cicero* says, both their dignity and their pleasure. The Senate obtained the same privilege of separate seats, one hundred and twenty seven years before, in the second Consulship of *Scipio Africanus* (A. U. 559) which highly disgusted the People, and gave occasion (says *Livy*) as all innovations are apt to do, to much debate and censure; for many of the wiser sort condemned all such distinction in a free City, as dangerous to the public peace: and *Scipio* himself after-

wards repented, and blamed himself for suffering it. Pro *Cornel.* i. Fragment. ex *Asconio*. [Liv. l. xxxiv. 54.] Val. Max ii. 4. *Otbo's* Law, we may imagine, gave still greater offence, as it was a greater affront to the People to be removed yet farther from what of all things they were fondest of, the sight of plays and shows: It was carried, however, by the authority of the Tribune, and is frequently referred to by the *Classic* writers, as an act very memorable, and what made much noise in its time. *Hor. Ep.* iv. 15. *Juv.* iii. 159.

to compound the matter by a milder Law, forbidding the SENATE *to pass* Asc. Arg. pro Corn. any such decrees, unless when two hundred Senators were present. These disturbances, however, proved the occasion of an unexpected honour to Cicero, by giving him a more ample and public testimony of the People's affection; for in three different Assemblies convened for the choice of Prætors, two of which were dissolved without effect, he was declared every time the first Prætor, by the suffrages of all the Centuries. Pro Leg. Manil. 1.

Cicero's conduct, during his Prætorship^b, in the affair of the Manilian Law, has been already related. Vid. supr. p. 222.

When his Magistracy was just at an end, Manilius, whose Tribune Midd. p. 130. expired a few days before, was accused before him of rapine and extortion; and though ten days were always allowed to the criminal, to prepare for his defence, he appointed the very next day for the trial. This startled and offended the Citizens, who generally favoured Manilius, and looked upon the prosecution as the effect of malice and resentment, on the part of the Senate, for his Law in favour of Pompey. The Tribunes therefore called Cicero to an account before the People, for treating Manilius so roughly; who, in defence of himself, said, *that as it had been his prac-*

Midd. p. 124. In Verr. Act. i. 8. Pro Corn. i. Fragm. Pro Rabi. Post. iv. Brut. 252.

^a The business of the Prætors was to preside and judge in all causes, especially of a public or criminal kind, where their several jurisdictions were assigned to them by lot: And it fell to Cicero to sit upon actions of extortion and rapine, brought against Magistrates and Governors of provinces; in which, as he tells us himself, he had acted as an Accuser, sat as a Judge, and presided as Prætor. In this office he acquired a great reputation of integrity by the condemnation of Licinius Macer, a person of Prætorian dignity and great eloquence, who would have made an eminent figure at the bar, if his abilities had not been sullied by the infamy of a vicious life. "This man," as Plutarch relates it, "depending upon his interest, and the influence of Crassus, who supported him with all his power, was so confident of being acquitted, that, without waiting for sentence, he went home to dress himself; and, as if already absolved, was returning towards the court in a white gown, but being met on his way by Crassus, and informed, that he was condemned by the unanimous suffrage of the bench, he took to his bed, and died immediately." The story is told differently by other writers: "That Macer was actually in the court expecting the issue; but perceiving Cicero ready to give judgment against him, he sent one to let him know that he was dead, and stopping his breath at the same time with a

handkerchief, instantly expired; so that Val. Max. "Cicero did not proceed to sentence, by ix. 12. "which Macer's estate was saved to his son Plut. Cic. "Licinius Calvus," an orator afterwards of the first merit and eminence. But from Cicero's own account it appears, that, after treating Macer in the trial with great candour and equity, he actually condemned him with the universal approbation of the People.

^b Though he had full employment as Prætor, both in the affairs of State and Public trials, yet he found time still to act the Advocate, as well as the Judge, and not only to hear causes in his own Tribunals, but to plead them also at the Tribunals of the other Prætors. He now defended A. Cluentius, a Roman Knight of splendid family and fortunes, accused, before the Prætor, Q. Nasa, of poisoning his father-in-law, Oppianicus, who, a few years before, had been tried and banished for an attempt to poison Cluentius. The oration, which is extant, lays open a scene of such complicated villainy, by poisons, murder, incest, suborning witnesses, corrupting Judges, as the poets themselves have never feigned in any one family; all contrived by the mother of Cluentius, against the life and fortunes of her son. Ad Att. i. 4. Pro Cluent.

He is supposed to have defended several other criminals this year, tho' the pleadings are now lost, and particularly M. Fundanius.

tice to treat all criminals with humanity, so he had no design of acting otherwise by Manilius, but, on the contrary, had appointed that short day for the trial, because it was the only one of which he was master; and that it was not the part of those, who wished well to Manilius, to throw off the cause to another Judge. This made a wonderful change in the minds of the audience, who, applauding his conduct, desired, that he would undertake the defence of Manilius, to which he consented, and stepping up again into the *Rostra*, laid open the source of the whole affair, with many severe reflections upon the enemies of Pompey. The trial, however, was dropped on account of the tumults ^a which arose immediately after in the City, from some new incidents of much greater importance.

Plut. in
Cic.

Midd.

p. 132.
Pro Mu-
ren. ii.

Vid. supr.
p. 168.

In Ver.
v. 70.

Ad Att.
i. 1.
Midd.
p. 134.

Cicero, at the expiration of his *Prætorship*, would not accept any foreign province, the usual reward of that Magistracy.—The glory which he pursued, was to shine in the eyes of the City. And he was now preparing to sue for the Consulship, the great object of all his hopes; and his whole attention was employed how to obtain it in his proper year, and without a repulse. Two years were to intervene [contrary to *Sylla's Law*] between the *Prætorship* and *Consulship*; the first of which was usually spent in forming a general interest, and soliciting for it, as it were, in a private manner; the second, in suing for it openly, in the proper form and habit of a candidate. The affection of the City, so signally declared for him in all the inferior steps of honour, gave him a strong presumption of success in his present pretensions to the highest: but as he had reason to apprehend a great opposition from the *Nobility*, he looked upon the public dignities as a kind of birthright, and could not brook their being intercepted, and snatched from them by *new men*: so he resolved to put it out of their power to hurt him, by omitting no pains which could be required of a candidate of visiting and soliciting all the Citizens in person. At the election therefore of the Tribunes on the sixteenth of *July* [688] where the whole City was assembled in the field of *Mars*, he chose to make his first effort, and to mix himself with the croud, on purpose to caress and salute them familiarly by name: And as soon as there was any vacation in the Forum, which happened usually in *August*, he intended to make an excursion into the *Cisalpine Gaul*, and, in the character of a Lieutenant to *Piso*, the governor of it, to visit the towns and colonies of that province, which was reckoned very strong in the number of its votes, and so return to *Rome* in *January* following.

He wrote about the same time ^b to *Atticus*, then at *Athens*, to desire him to engage all that band of *Pompey's* dependants, who were serving under

^a This relates to a conspiracy said to have been formed at this time against the State, of which more hereafter.

^b Cicero was now engaged in the defence of

C. Cornelius, who was accused and tried for practices against the State in his late *Tribunate*, before the *Prætor Q. Gallius*. This trial, which lasted four days, was one of the most important.

Midd.
p. 137.

under him in the *Mitbridatic* war, and by way of jest, bids him tell Pompey himself, that he would not take it ill of him, if he did not come in person to his election.

Cicero being now in his forty-third year, the proper age required by Law, declared himself a candidate for the Consulship, with six competitors; *P. Sulpicius Galba*, *L. Sergius Catilina*, *C. Antonius*, *L. Cassius Longinus*, *Q. Cornificius*, and *C. Licinius Sacerdos*. The two first were *Patricians*; the two next, *Plebeians*. yet *Noble*^a; the two last, the sons of fathers, who had first imported the public honours into their families: Cicero was the only new man among them, or one born of Equestrian rank. *Cornificius* and *Galba* were persons of great virtue and merit; *Sacerdos* without any particular blemish upon him; *Cassius* lazy and weak, but not thought so wicked as he soon after appeared to be; *Antonius* and *Catiline*, though infamous in their lives and characters, yet by intrigue and faction had acquired a powerful interest in the City, and joined all their forces against Cicero, as their most formidable Antagonist, in which they were vigorously supported by *Crassus* and *Cæsar*.

This was the state of the competition, in which the practice of bribing was carried on so openly and shamefully, by *Antonius* and *Catiline*, that the Senate thought it necessary to give some check to it, by a new and more rigorous Law; but when they were proceeding to publish it, *L. Mucius Orestinus*, one of the Tribunes, put his negative upon them.

As the election of Consuls approached, Cicero's interest appeared to be superior to that of all the candidates: For the Nobles themselves, though always envious, and desirous to depress him, yet out of regard to the dangers which threatened the City from many quarters, and seemed ready to burst out into a flame, began to think him the only man qualified to pre-

important in which he had ever been concerned: The two Consuls presided in it, and all the chiefs of the Senate, *Q. Catulus*, *L. Lucullus*, *Hortensius*, &c. appeared as witnesses against the criminal; whom Cicero defended, as *Quintilian* says, not only with strong but shining arms, and with a force of eloquence that drew acclamations from the people. [N. B. The names of the witnesses are sufficient to make us know the real Crimes of *Cornelius*, if we only turn back to the Laws he had published when Tribune, p. 282.]

He published two orations spoken in this cause, whose loss is a public detriment to the literary world, since they were reckoned among the most finished of his compositions: He himself refers to them as such; and the old critics have drawn many examples from

them of that genuine eloquence, which extorts applause, and excites admiration.

C. Papius, one of the Tribunes, published a Law this year to oblige all strangers to quit the City, as one of his predecessors, *Pennus*, had done likewise many years before him: The reason which they alledge for it was the confusion occasioned by the multitude, and insolence of foreigners, who assumed the habit, and usurped the rights of Citizens: But Cicero condemns all these Laws as cruel and inhospitable, and a violation of the Laws of nature and humanity.

^a Many of the *Plebeians* surpassed the *Patricians* themselves in point of Nobility: For the character of Nobility was wholly derived from the *Curule Magistracies* which any family had borne. Vid. *Ascon. Arg. in Teg. candid.*

Ascon.
Arg. lib.
viii.

Orat. 67.
70.

Philip.
v. 17.
Midd.
p. 140.

Ascon.
Argum. in
Teg.
Cand.

Midd.
p. 145.

De Off. iii.
11.

serve the Republic, and break the cabals of the desperate, by the vigour and prudence of his administration : For, *in cases of danger*, as *Sallust* observes, *pride and envy naturally subside, and yield the post of honour to virtue*. The method of chusing Consuls was not by an open vote, but by a kind of *baliot*, or *little tickets of wood*, distributed to the Citizens, with the names of the candidates severally subscribed upon each : But in *Cicero's* case, the People were not content with this secret and silent way of testifying their inclinations ; but, before they came to any scrutiny, *loudly and universally proclaimed Cicero : be first Consul* ; so that, as he himself declared, in his speech to them after his election, *he was not chosen by the votes of particular Citizens, but the common suffrage of the City ; nor declared by the voice of the crier, but of the whole Roman People*. He was *the only new man*,^{*} who had obtained this sovereign dignity, or, as he expresses it, *had forced the intrenchments of the Nobility for forty years past, from the first Consulship of C. Marius, and the only one likewise who had ever obtained it in his proper year, or without a repulse*.

De Leg.
Agr. con.
Rull. ii. 2.
In Pison. i.

De Leg.
Agr. ib.
1, 2.

Antonius was chosen his colleague, by the majority of a few Centuries, above his friend and partner *Catiline*.

Cicero's first care, after his election^{*}, was to gain the good-will of his colleague, and to draw him from his old engagements to the interest of the *Aristocratical Faction* [which our orator calls the *Republic*.] To this end, he tempted him with a kind of argument, that seldom fails of its effect with men of *Antonius's* character, the offer of power to his ambition, and of money to his pleasures : In short, a bargain was presently agreed upon between them, that *Antonius* should have *the best of the provinces, which had been assigned to the Consuls of this year*.—By which address, *Cicero* gained him so entirely, as to have him ever after obsequious to his will.

Sall. Bell.
Cat. 26.

In Pison.
iii.
Midd.
p. 152.

In Cat. iv.
10.

There was another project which he had likewise much at heart, *to unite the Equestrian order with the Senate into one common party and interest*. This body of men, next to the Senators, consisted of the richest [and most knavish] Citizens of *Rome*, who, being the constant farmers of all the revenues of the empire, had a great part of the inferior People dependent upon them. *Cicero* imagined, that the united weight of these two orders [*Conspiratio omnium BONORUM*] would always be an over-balance to any other power in the State, and a secure barrier against any attempts of the POPULAR [whether men of inordinate ambition, or true Republicans, friends of the old constitution, upon the usurped prerogatives of the Senate.] He was the

Ad Att.
i. 6.
Ibid. p. 3.

^{*} *Cicero's* father died this year (689) on the 24th of *November*. In this year also, most probably, *Cicero* gave his daughter *Tullia* in marriage, at the age of thirteen, to *C. Piso Frugi*, a young Nobleman of great hopes,

and one of the best families in *Rome* : It is certain, at least, that *his son* was born in this same year, for he tells us it was in the Consulship of *L. Julius Cæsar* and *C. Marcius Figulus*. Ad Att. i. 2.

only man in the City capable of effecting such a coalition, being now at the head of the *Senate*, yet the darling of the *Knights*, who considered him as the pride and ornament of their order; whilst he, to ingratiate himself the more with them, affected always in public to boast of that extraction, and to call himself an *Equestrian*; and made it his special care to protect them [right or wrong, as we shall see hereafter] in all their affairs, and to advance their credit and interest: so that, as some writers tell us, *it was the authority of his Consulship, that first distinguished and established them into a third order of the State.* The policy was certainly very good, with respect to Cicero's views; for through the year of his Consulship, he had the whole body of *Knights* at his devotion, *who, with Atticus at their head, constantly attended his orders, and served as a guard to his person:* And if the same maxim had been pursued by all succeeding Consuls, it might probably have preserved the liberty of the Republic [*i. e.* the anticonstitutional usurped power of the *Senate*] from being so soon overthrown.

Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxxiii. 2.

Ad Att. ii. 1.

The *Tribunes* entered always into their office on the tenth of December; the *Consuls* on the first of January. A little before Cicero's inauguration, P. Servilius Rullus, one of the new *Tribunes*, had been alarming the *Senate* with the promulgation of an *Agrarian Law*. The purpose of it was, *to create a Decemvirate, or ten commissioners, with absolute power for five years over all the revenues of the Republic; to distribute them at pleasure to the Citizens; to sell and buy what lands they thought fit; to determine the rights of the present possessors; to require an account from all the Generals abroad, excepting Pompey, of the spoils taken in their wars; to settle colonies wherever they judged proper, and particularly at Capua; and, in short, to command all the money and forces of the empire.*

Midd. p. 153--161.

The publication of a Law, conferring powers so excessive, gave a just alarm to all who wished well to the public tranquillity. As soon therefore as Cicero was invested with his new dignity, he raised the spirits of the *SENATE*, by assuring them of his resolution to oppose the Law, and all its abettors, to the utmost of his power; nor suffer the *Senate* to be hurt, or its liberties to be impaired, while the administration continued in his hands. From the *SENATE* he pursued the *Tribune* into his own dominion, the *Forum*; where, in an artful and elegant speech from the *Rostra*, he gave such a turn to the inclination of the People, that they rejected this *Agrarian Law* with as much eagerness, as they had ever before received one.

Contr. Rull. ii. 37.

He began, "By acknowledging the extraordinary obligation he had received from them, in preference and opposition to the Nobility; declaring himself the creature of their power, and of all men the most engaged to promote their interests; that they were to look upon him as the truly popular Magistrate; nay, that he had declared, even in the *SENATE*, that he would be the PEOPLE'S CONSUL." He then fell into a commendation of the Gracchi, whose name was extremely dear to them, professing,

Ibid. 3.

telling, " That he could not be against all Agrarian Laws, when he recol-
 lected, that those TWO MOST EXCELLENT MEN, who had the greatest
 love for the Roman People, had divided the public lands to the Citizens ;
 that he was not one of those Consuls, who thought it a crime to praise the
 Gracchi, on whose counsels, wisdom, and laws, many parts of the present
 government were founded : That his quarrel was to the particular Law,
 which, instead of being popular, or adapted to the true interest of the
 City, was, in reality, the establishment of a tyranny, and a creation of
 ten kings to domineer over them all." This he displays at large, from
 the natural effect of that power which was granted by it ; and proceeds to
 insinuate, that it was covertly levelled at their favourite Pompey, and par-
 ticularly contrived to retrench and insult his authority. " Forgive me,
 Citizens, for my calling so often upon SO GREAT A NAME : you your-
 selves imposed the task upon me, when I was *Prætor*, to join with you
 in defending his dignity, as far as I was able : I have hitherto done
 all that I could do ; not moved to it by my private friendship for the man,
 nor by any hopes of honour, and of this supreme Magistracy, which I
 obtained from you, though with HIS APPROBATION, yet without his help.
 Since then I perceive this Law to be designed, as a kind of engine, to
 overturn HIS POWER, I will resist the attempts of these men ; and, as
 I myself clearly see what they are aiming at, so I will take care that
 you also shall see, and be convinced of it too." He then shews, " how
 the Law, though it excepted Pompey from being accountable to the
Decemvirate, yet excluded him from being one of the number, by li-
 miting the choice to those who were present at Rome ; that he subjected
 likewise to their jurisdiction the countries just conquered by him, which
 had always been left to the management of the General : " Upon which
 he draws a pleasant picture of the Tribune *Rullus*, with all his train of
 Officers, Guards, Lictors, and Apparitors, swaggering in *Mitbridates's*
 kingdom, and ordering Pompey to attend him by a mandatory letter in the
 following strain :

" *P. Servilius Rullus*, Tribune of the People, *Decemvir*, to *Cneus Pom-*
pey, the son of *Cneus*, greeting.
 (" He will not add the title of GREAT, when he has been labouring to
 take it from him by Law.)

" I require you not to fail to come presently to *Sinope*, and bring me a suf-
 ficient guard with you, while I sell those lands by my law, which you have
 gained by your valour."

He observes, " That the reason of excepting Pompey was not from
 any respect to him, but for fear he should not submit to the indignity of
 being accountable to their will : But Pompey (says he) is a man of that
 temper, that he thinks it his duty to bear what you please to impose ; but
 if there be any thing which you cannot bear yourselves, he will take care

" that

“ *that you shall not bear it long against your wills*.” He proceeds to enlarge “ upon the dangers which this Law threatened to their liberties : that, instead of any good intended by it to the body of the Citizens, its purpose was to erect a power for the oppression of them ; and, on pretence of planting colonies in *Italy* and the provinces, to settle their own creatures and dependants, like so many garrisons, in all the convenient post of the empire, to be ready on all occasions to support their tyranny : That *Capua* was to be their head-quarters, their favourite colony ; of all cities the proudest, as well as the most hostile and dangerous, in which the wisdom of their ancestors would not suffer the shadow of any power or magistracy to remain : yet now it was to be cherished and advanced to another *Rome* : That by this Law the lands of *Campania* were to be sold or given away, the most fruitful of all *Italy*, the surest revenue of the Republic, and their constant resource when all other rents failed them ; which neither the *Gracchi*, who, of all men, studied the People’s benefit the most, nor *Sylla*, who gave every thing away without scruple, durst venture to meddle with.” In the conclusion he takes notice “ of the great favour and approbation with which they had heard him, as a sure omen of their common peace and prosperity ; and acquaints them with the concord that he had established with his colleague, as a piece of news of all other the most agreeable, and promises all security to the Republic, if they would but shew the same good disposition on future occasions, which they had signified on that day ; and that he would make those very men, who had been the most envious and averse to his advancement, confess, that the People had seen farther, and judged better than they, in chusing him for their Consul.”

Contr.
Rull. 28.
32.

Ib. 29.

In the course of this contest, he often called upon the Tribunes to come into the Rostra, and debate the matter with him before the People ; but they thought it more prudent to decline the challenge, and attack him rather by sedulously insinuating to the multitude, that his opposition to the Law flowed from no good-will to them, but an affection to *Sylla’s* party, and to secure to them the lands which they possessed by his grant ; that he was making his court by it to the seven tyrants, as they called seven of the principal Senators, who were known to be the greatest favourers of *Sylla’s* cause, and the greatest gainers by it ; the two *Lucullus’s*, *Crassus*, *Catulus*, *Hortensius*, *Metellus*, *Philippus*. These insinuations made so great an impression on the City, that he found it necessary to defend himself against them in a second speech to the People, in which he declared, “ That he looked upon the Law, which ratified all *Sylla’s* acts, to be of all Laws the most wicked, and the most unlike to a true Law, as it established a

^a Is it possible to observe the many strokes of flattery to *Pompey* in this speech without feeling an utter contempt for the speaker, a Patriot Consul ?

“ *tyranny in the City; yet, that it had some excuse from the times, and, in*
 “ *their present circumstances, seemed proper to be supported; especially by HIM,*
 “ *who, for this year of his Consulship, professed himself the patron of peace;*
 “ *but that it was the height of impudence in Rullus, to charge him with*
 “ *obstructing their interests for the sake of Sylla's grants, when the very*
 “ *Law, which that Tribune was then urging, actually established and per-*
 “ *petuated those grants, and shewed itself to be drawn by a son-in-law*
 “ *of Valerius, who possessed more lands than any other man by that*
 “ *invidious tenure, which were all by this Law to be partly confirmed,*
 “ *and partly purchased of him.*” This he demonstrates from the express
 words of the Law “ *which he had studiously omitted (he says) to take*
 “ *notice of before, that he might not revive old quarrels, or move any*
 “ *argument of new dissention in a season so improper: That Rullus, there-*
 “ *fore, who accused him of defending Sylla's acts, was, of all others, the*
 “ *most impudent defender of them: For none had ever affirmed them to be good*
 “ *and legal, but to have some plea only from possession, and the public quiet;*
 “ *But by this Law the estates, that had been granted by them, were to*
 “ *be fixed upon a better foundation, than any other estates whatsoever.*”
 He concludes, “ *by renewing his challenge to the Tribunes to come and*
 “ *dispute with him to his face.*” But after several fruitless attempts,
 finding themselves wholly unable to contend with him, they were forced
 at last to submit, and to let the affair drop, to the great joy of the
 SENATE.

• Vid. sup.
p. 282.

This alarm being over, another accident broke out, which might have
 endangered the peace of the City, if the effects of it had not been pre-
 vented by the authority of Cicero. *Otho's Law*, mentioned above, for the
 assignment of *separate seats for the Equestrian order**, had highly offended
 the People, who could not digest the indignity of being thrust so far
 back from their diversions; and while the grudge was still fresh, *Otho*,
 happening to come into the theatre, was received by the Populace with
an universal hiss, but by the Knights *with loud applause and clapping*: Both
 sides redoubled their clamour with great fierceness, and from reproaches were
 proceeding to blows, till *Cicero*, informed of the tumult, came imme-
 diately to the theatre, and calling the People out into the temple of *Bel-*
lona, *so tamed and stung them with power of his words*^b, and made them so
 ashamed

^b The speech was soon after published,
 tho' from the nature of the thing it must have
 been made upon the spot, and flowed extem-
 pore from the occasion; and as it was much

read and admired for several ages after, as a
 memorable instance of *Cicero's command over*
men's passions, so some have imagined it to be
 alluded to in that beautiful passage of *Virgil*:

Ac Velati magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
Seditio, saxitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Tanque facies & saxa volant, furor arma ministrat:

ashamed of their folly and perverseness, that, on their return to the theatre, they turned their hisses into applauses, and vied with the Knights themselves in demonstrations of their respect to Otho.

There happened about the same time a third instance, not less remarkable, of Cicero's great power of persuasion. Sylla had, by an express law, excluded the children of the proscribed from the Senate, and all public honours; which was certainly an act of great violence, and the decree rather of a tyrant than the Law of a free State: So that the persons injured by it, who were many, and of great families, were now making all their efforts to get it reversed. Their petition was highly equitable, but, by Cicero and the Aristocratical faction, censured as highly unreasonable, in the present disorders of the City: And why? Because, without question, the first use, that they would naturally make of the recovery of their privileges, would be to revenge themselves on their oppressors. It was Cicero's business, therefore, to prevent that inconvenience, and, as far as it was possible, with the consent of the sufferers themselves: On which occasion *this great commander of the human affections*, as Quintilian calls him, found means to persuade those unfortunate men, *that to bear their injury was their benefit; and that the government itself could not stand, if Sylla's Laws were then repealed, on which the quiet and order of the public were established.*—The three cases just mentioned make Pliny break out into a kind of rapturous admiration of the man, *who could persuade the People to give up their bread, their pleasure, and their injuries, to the charms of his eloquence.*

Another

*Tum pietate gravem & meritis si forte virum quem
Appetere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant;
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora muket.*

VIRG. ÆN. i. 152

As when sedition fires th'ignoble croud,
And the wild rabble storms and thirsts for blood;
Of stones and brands a mingled tempest flies,
With all the sudden arms that rage supplies:
If some grave sire appears amidst the strife,
In morals strict and innocence of life,
All stand attentive, while the sage controuls
Their Wrath, and calms the tempest of their souls.

MR. PITT.

Macrob. Sat. ii. 10. One topic, which Cicero touched in the speech, and the only one of which we have any hint from antiquity, was to reproach the rioters for their want of taste and good sense, in making such a disturbance while Roicius was acting.

* This last mentioned effect of Cicero's eloquence, must surely appear to an unprejudiced reader as incredible, as it is extraordinary. Did Cicero, to induce the petitioners to withdraw their petition, employ the same

arguments which swayed him to oppose it? Did he say to them, *You had better desist from your pursuit: For should you obtain a restoration of your privileges, you would naturally make use of the grant to revenge yourselves on your oppressors?* In a speech, made several years afterwards, he declared, *that he had excluded from honours a number of brave and honest young men, whom fortune had thrown into so unhappy a situation, that if they had obtained power, they would probably have employed it to the ruin of*

In Pison.

• Per duel-
lio.

Vid. supr.
p. 94. ad
ann. 653.

Vid. Vol.
I ad ann.
189.

Another transaction of moment in which he was engaged, a little before the last mentioned, was the defence of *C. Rabirius*, a Senator, accused by the Tribune *Labienus*, of treason * or rebellion, for having killed *L. Saturninus*, a Tribune, about thirty-seven years before, who had caused a dangerous sedition in the City. The fact, if true, had been done in consequence of a decree of the Senate, by which all the Citizens were required to take arms in aid of the Consuls *C. Marius*, and *L. Flaccus*.

It is highly probable, that to punish *Rabirius* was not the thing aimed at^d; (nor to vindicate the character or proceedings of *Saturninus*;) but to attack that *assumed prerogative* of the Senate, by which, in the case of a sudden commotion, they used to arm the City at once, by requiring the Consuls *to take care, the Republic received no detriment*: Which vote, it was pretended, gave a sanction to every thing that was done in consequence of it. The practice of thus investing the Magistrates with so extraordinary a power commenced in the early times of the Republic; and tho' the first instance of it was on the occasion of a great and sudden danger from a foreign enemy, the example was afterwards followed in cases of domestic feuds and disturbances, but *had been always complained of by the Tribunes as an infringement of the constitution, by giving to the Senate an arbitrary power over the lives of the Citizens, which could not legally be taken away without a hearing and judgment of the whole People*: And, indeed, experience had shewed, that by such a vote the Tribunes themselves, whose persons the Laws had made sacred, were exposed to be cut off without sentence or trial, and even when engaged in the most laudable measures for the public good.

This point, therefore, was to be tried on the person of *Rabirius*. The *Duoviri*, or two Judges for this trial, according to *Suetonius*, were drawn

the State. Supposing this to have been *Cicero's* opinion, *that they would have so employed their power*—Did he deliver this opinion to them as the reason of his opposing their request?

Or did he tell them, *that their injury was their benefit; for that the government itself could not stand, if Sylla's iniquitous Law relating to them were repealed*? Would it not have been a most intolerable impertinence (not to say impudence) after *Pompey* had repealed the most material and important of all *Sylla's* Laws, without ruining the State, or doing it any real mischief, to speak of the quiet and order of the Republic, as depending on the maintenance of *Sylla's* Laws? (many of which, beside the law relating to the Tribunes, had without ceremony, or any inconvenience, been violated.) Doubtless, if the petitioners

were prevailed upon by words to desist a while from their pursuit, it must have been by a promise to do them justice, so soon as the present alarm, caused by the rumour of a dreadful conspiracy, should be over.

^d *Jus omne retinendæ majestatis Rabirii causa continebatur. [Cic. in Oratore.] Non enim C. Rabirium culpa delicti, non invidia, vitæque turpitudine, non denique veteres, juste gravesque inimicitie civium, in discrimen capitis vocaverunt: Sed ut illum summum auxilium majestatis, atque imperii, quod nobis a majoribus est traditum, de Republica tolleretur! ut nihil posthac auctoritas Senatus, nihil consulare imperium, nihil consensio bonorum contra pestem ac perniciem Civitatis valeret. Cic. pro Rab. c. 1.*

by

by lot, and C. Julius Cæsar, who, the same author tells us, had instigated * Labienus to begin the prosecution, happened to be one of the two : Lucius J. Cæsar was the other, according to Dio, who reports that they were both named by the Prætor †. Hortensius pleaded the cause of the accused, and proved (as Cicero affirms) by many witnesses, that Saturninus was actually killed by the hand of a slave, who, for that service, obtained his freedom from the Republic. The Judges, however, condemned Rabirius; whereupon he appealed from their sentence to the PEOPLE. Cicero pleaded his cause before the Centuries, but was not suffered, by the prosecutor, to speak above half an hour. He opened the defence with great gravity, declaring, “ that in the memory of man there had not
“ been a cause of such importance, either undertaken by a Tribune, or

Midd. p.
164.

* By some passages in *Cic. pro Rabir.* it appears, that Labienus pretended at least to commence the prosecution, in order to revenge the death of his uncle, who was slain in company with Saturninus.

In this affair there were two circumstances which deserve Notice. The first is, that Saturninus, after he had surrendered himself, was killed, contrary to the will of the Consul Marius, and in violation of the public faith, pledged to him by Marius. Now unless the extraordinary commission of *Dent operam*, &c. from the Senate to the Consuls, empowered them only to kill, not to spare, Marius was free to pledge the public faith to Saturninus; and when that had been done, it was highly criminal in any private Citizen to kill him, how flagitious soever his conduct had been. It appears, that Labienus had urged this in his accusation: For Cicero thus answers: “ If, as you have very often affirmed, “ any promise of indemnity were made to “ Saturninus, they were made, not by Rabirius, but by Marius, and, if they were “ broken, that breach is to be imputed to “ him. What promise could pass? Who could “ make any promise but by a resolution of “ the Senate? Are you so much a stranger to “ this City? Are you so very ignorant of our “ government and constitution, as to be ignorant of that?” &c.

The force of this answer I shall leave to the readers consideration.

The other circumstance (of which Cicero takes no notice) is, that Rabirius carried about, from house to house, in a triumphant and most insulting manner, the head of Saturninus;

which proceeding ought naturally to make Rabirius be considered as more maliciously concerned, than any other person in the murder. *Marius senatus consulto armatus Saturninum & Glauciam in Capitolium persecutus obsedit. — in deditionem accepit: nec deditis fides servata — Caput ejus [Saturnini] Rabirius quidam Senator per convivia in ludibrium circumtulit.* Aurel. Viét. cap. 73.

† M. Crevier, to reconcile, as well as he can, these differing accounts, conjectures, that the two Judges were drawn by lot, by a Prætor.

The Jesuit Catrou writes, that though “ it properly belonged to the *Duumviri* to try the cause in the first instance, it was brought before the Prætor, and Cæsar got himself nominated to be one of the Prætor’s assessors; but that Cicero unriddled the affair, brought the cause before the People, and got Rabirius acquitted.” Now both Suetonius and Dio agree in this, that the accused brought the affair by appeal, before the PEOPLE: Neither of them say that he was acquitted. Nay, Dio says, he would certainly have been condemned, if any sentence had been given; which, if true, it is hard to guess what Suetonius means by saying, that nothing was of so much service to the accused, as his trial before the PEOPLE, as the forward severity of the Judge who had condemned him. [*Cæsar*] *forte judex in reum ductus, tam cupide condemnavit, ut ad populum provocanti nihil æque ac judicis acerbitas presuerit:* For it does not appear, that any service was done him, but by the Prætor, who contrived to dissolve the Assembly.

“ defended

“ defended by a Consul: That nothing less was meant by it, than that for
 “ the future there should be no Senate or public council in the City; no
 “ consent or concurrence of the HONEST, against the rage and rashness of
 “ the wicked; no resource or refuge in the extreme dangers of the Repub-
 “ lic.—He wishes, that he had been at liberty to contend what *Hortensius*
 “ indeed had proved to be false, that *Saturninus*, the enemy of the Ro-
 “ man People, was killed by the hand of *Rabirius*. --- That he should
 “ have proclaimed and boasted of it, as an act that merited reward instead
 “ of punishment.—Here he was interrupted by the clamour of the oppo-
 “ site faction; but he observes it to be the faint effort of a small part of the
 “ Assembly; and that the body of the People, who were silent, *would never*
 “ *have made him Consul, if they had thought him capable of being disturbed by so*
 “ *feeble an insult*; which he had advised them to drop, since it betrayed only
 “ their folly, and the inferiority of their numbers^b.—The Assembly being
 “ quieted, he goes on to declare, that though *Rabirius* did not kill *Satur-*
 “ *ninus*, yet, together with the Consuls, and all the best of the City, he
 “ took arms with intent to kill him, to which his honour, virtue, and duty,
 “ called him.-- That to charge *Rabirius* with this crime, was to condemn
 “ the greatest and worthiest Citizens whom *Rome* had ever bred; and tho’
 “ they were all dead, yet the injury was the same to rob them of the honour
 “ due to their names and memories^c.” To this he added many oratorical
 flourishes concerning fame and glory and immortality, and in praise of
Marius, one of the wisest, as well as bravest of the Roman heroes, whose
 spirit, worthy for its holiness to be worshipped, he calls to witness how much
 he thinks himself obliged to vindicate and fight strenuously for the renown of
 all such meritorious heroes. But all this was to very little purpose, if we
 may believe *Dio*; for the People would have condemned the criminal,
 had not *Metellus Celer*, at that time Augur and Prætor, contrived by
 a^d stratagem to dissolve the Assembly before they came to vote: and
Labienus

^b It would give great light to the history of these times, if we could know the dates of the publication of Cicero’s speeches. We may well doubt, whether the Orator was really so stout, on this occasion, as he represents himself: His cajoling the multitude by such an extravagant strain of panegyric upon *C. Marius* [whom at other times he speaks of as the most villainous of all villains] would naturally make one disbelieve his venturing to reproach the popular faction, with the inferiority of their numbers in the present Assembly; and especially if (as *Dio* reports) they were the majority.

^c There is one particular in Cicero’s speech on this occasion, in which it may, to some

readers be difficult to discern the skill of the Orator. His chief purpose, as we have seen, was to maintain that assumed prerogative of the SENATE, whereby, whenever they pleased to think it necessary or convenient, they gave an absolute uncontrollable power to the Consuls, by the vote *Dant operam*, &c. and yet, in this very oration, he makes a new^e and a fine encomium on *Caius Gracchus*, who was murdered, together with 3000 Citizens, by the Consul *Opimius*, in consequence of the Senate’s exerting the said ASSUMED PREROGATIVE.

^e The Assemblies, by Centuries, were in some sense military, the People being under arms, and drawn up in line of battle. They were

^d Vid. sup. p. 288, 289. Vid. Vol. II. B. vi. ch. x.

Labienus did not afterwards revive the prosecution, though he was free to do it^a.

Cicero made a new Law this year to correct the abuse of a privilege, ^{Midd. p. 228.} called *Legatio Libera*, that is, an honorary legation or embassy, granted arbitrarily by the Senate to any of its members, when they travelled abroad on their private affairs, in order to give them a *public character*, and a right to be treated as *Ambassadors*, or *Magistrates*; which, by the insolence of these great guests, was become a grievous burden upon all the states and cities through which they passed. *Cicero's design was to abolish it*, but being driven from that ^{DeLeg. iii. 2.} by one of the *Tribunes*, he was content to restrain the continuance of it, which before was unlimited, to the term of one year.

It was about this time that the news came from the East, of *Pompey's* having happily finished the long war in that part of the world, by the taking of ^{*Vid. sup. 268.} *Jerusalem*. The honours decreed him by the Senate, at the motion of *Cicero*, have been related †; and it is not to be doubted, that the Consul, by his zeal on this occasion, attached to him more firmly than ever *Pompey's* friends; of whose support, in the exercise of his Magistracy, he foresaw he should very soon stand in need^{†Vid. sup. p. 271.}.

And

were held in the field of *Mars* without the City, which might, therefore, in the early times, when *Rome* was weak, and had but a very small territory, be exposed to a sudden incursion of their neighbours: To obviate which danger, a guard was posted, and an ensign planted upon the *Janiculum*; and these continued there so long as the Assembly lasted, the soldiers, who formed the guard at first, being relieved by others who had given their votes. This precaution was no longer necessary at the time of which we are speaking, but was retained through a superstitious regard to an ancient usage; and the Assembly could decree nothing legally, but while the banner was seen flying. *Metellus* hastened to the *Janiculum*, and caused the ensign to be taken down; and the Assembly of course broke up.

^a By the issue of this affair, as well as from the passage above cited [p. 292. note.] of *Cicero's* speech; it seems reasonable to think, that no design had been formed against the life of *Rabirius*; and if I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture, concerning the view of the popular faction in this prosecution, I should say, it was to deter the Consul and his friends, in this very time of alarm, from having recourse to the old, but dangerous expedient, of *Dedit operam consules*, &c. and if *Cicero* had paid

more regard to the admonition, it might have been better for him, and for the public tranquillity.

[†] It has been related above, that *Cicero*, by a promise to his colleague *Antonius*, of yielding to him the best of the provinces assigned to them, had engaged him not to obstruct the measures of his administration. It was the custom for the Senate to appoint what particular provinces were to be distributed every year to the several Magistrates, who used afterwards to cast lots for them among themselves; the *Prætors* for the *Prætorian*, the *Consuls* for the *Consular* provinces. In this partition, therefore, when *Macedonia*, one of the most desirable governments of the empire, for command and wealth, fell to *Cicero's* lot, he exchanged it immediately with his colleague for *Cisalpine Gaul*, which he resigned afterwards to *Metellus*. *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus* [Lib. ii. Ep. 1.] mentions an oration he made to the PEOPLE, on occasion of his resigning his pretensions to this province; and speaks of that oration as the *sixth* of his *ten Consular orations*. [*Sexta cum provinciam in concione deposui.*] The *two first* were against *Rullus's Agrarian Law*. The *third* concerning *Osbo*. The *fourth* in defence of *Rabirius*. The *fifth* concerning the children of the *Proscribed*.

Y. R. 693. And now he took the opportunity, which his Consular authority gave him, of acquiring *the friendship and support* of ^a *Lucullus*, whom probably he thought he might at this time oblige, without disobliging his rival, whose conquests were finished, and whose glory was complete.

Midd. p. 229. Plut. in Luc. *Lucullus* was soliciting the demand of a triumph for his victories over *Mitbridates*; in which pursuit he had been obstructed for three years successively by the intrigues of some of the Magistrates, who, by putting this affront upon him, paid their court to *Pompey*. By the Law and Custom of the Republic, no General, while he was in actual command, could come within the gates of *Rome*, without forfeiting his commission, and consequently all pretensions to a triumph; so that *Lucullus* continued all this time in the suburbs, till the affair was decided. The Senate favoured his suit, and were solicitors for him, but could not prevail, till *Cicero's* authority at last helped to introduce his triumphal car ^b into the City; making him some amends by this service for the injury of the *Manilian* Law, which had deprived him of his government. After his triumph, he entertained the whole *Roman* People with a sumptuous feast, and was much caressed by the Nobility, as one whose authority would be a proper check to the ambition and power of *Pompey*; but having now obtained all the honours, which he could reasonably hope for, and observing the turbulent and distracted state of the City, he withdrew himself, not long after, from public affairs, to spend the remainder of his days in a polite and splendid retreat. He was a generous patron of learning, and himself eminently learned, so that his house was the constant resort of the principal scholars and wits of *Greece* and *Rome*; where he had

• *Prescribed.* The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, against *Catiline*. It was probably, therefore, after his defence of *Rabirius*, that he made this resignation. At what time he cast lots with his colleague, is not said. By *Caius Gracchus's* Law relating to the Senate's appointment of the provinces to the Consuls and Prætors, the Senate was annually to name the provinces, *before the elections* of the Magistrates. [*Cic. de Prov. Cons. 2. pro Dom. 9. Sall. de Bell. Jug. xxix. 47.*]

^a *L. Lucullus* cum victor a Mithridatico bello revertisset, inimicorum calumnia triennio tardius, quàm debuerat, triumphavit. Nos enim Consules introduximus pene in urbem curum clarissimi viri: *Cujus mihi Consilium & auctoritas quid tum in maximis rebus profuisset, dicerem, nisi de me ipso dicendum esset.* Cic. in Luc.

^b The pomp of this triumph was not remarkable for the quantity of spoils, or number of prisoners. The chief fruits of *Lucul-*

lus's victory were in the hands of *Pompey*. A gold statue of *Mitbridates*, six feet high, a shield adorned with precious stones, and abundance of gold and silver plate, together with 2,700,000 drachmas in coined silver, were the most shining part of the shew. But Plut. in Luc. there were also written scrolls, on which were set down the sums with which *Lucullus* had supplied *Pompey* for the war with the Pirates, and those he had remitted at different times to the Quæstors. He had likewise given 950 drachmas to each of his soldiers. 30 l. 13 s. 6 ½ d.

He gave a feast to the whole People, at which above 100,000 casks (containing twelve gallons each) of *Greek* wine were consumed. He adorned the public places and buildings with a great number of statues, but the most valuable thing which he brought from the East was the cherry-tree, unknown till then in *Europe*, but which grew in *Pontus* without cultivation. Ibid.

provided a well-furnished library, with porticos and galleries annexed, for the convenience of walks and literary conferences, at which he himself used frequently to assist; giving an example to the world of a life truly noble and elegant, if it had not been sullied by too great a tincture of *Asiatic* softness, and *Epicurean* luxury.

WE COME NOW to the famed CONSPIRACY, of which *Sallust* has written the history, and which is the subject of a great part of *Cicero's* writings. He had intimations of it, in the very beginning of his Magistracy, but it did not break out till towards the end of his year.

In order to a more perfect knowledge of this part of the *Roman* story, it will be proper to give some account of the life and fortunes of CATILINE, the contriver of the intended mischief, together with a character of the man, as formed upon a view of his conduct *prior* to that wicked conspiracy; and because the METHOD taken to avert the impending evil was extraordinary, and not universally approved, and was attended with very momentous consequences, it may likewise be proper to acquaint ourselves more particularly, than we have hitherto done, with the principal persons, who, in the Senate, appeared in opposition to each other on this occasion. *Sallust* mentions but three who made speeches, the Consul *Cicero*, *Cæsar*, and *Cato*. Of the first a good deal has already been said; but we shall become better acquainted with him, by the following brief histories of *Cæsar* and *Catiline* till the time of the wicked conspiracy of the latter. And because the histories of these two Romans have in some parts of them, a connexion with each other, it may be best to place them together, immediately before *Sallust's* account of the discovery of the plot, and give first the history of *Cato* to that time, which has no connexion, or very little, with either of the other, and is inserted here only to make us know the character he then bore.

MACUS PORCIUS CATO, commonly called *Cato Minor*, or *Cato of Utica*, was great grandson of *Cato the Censor*, and descended from a son which the *Censor* had, in his old age, by a second wife, the daughter of one of his clients. *Cato of Utica* had, by both father and mother's side, one sister, named *Porcia*. His mother, by a former marriage, had a son, whose name was *Servilius Cæpio* (for whom *Cato's* fraternal affection was not less remarkable than that of *Lucullus* for his brother) and several daughters, of whom the most known was the mother of *Brutus*.^b

It is said of *Cato*, that, from his infancy, he discovered by his speech, his countenance, and even his childish sports and recreations, an inflexibility of mind; for he would force himself to go through with whatever he had undertaken, though the task was ill suited to his strength: He was

^b All these lived together, and were bred up in the house of *Livius Drusus*, their uncle by
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their mother, a man of weight in the government at that time.

rough towards those that flattered him, and quite untractable when threatened; was rarely seen to laugh, or even to smile; not easily provoked to anger, but, if once incensed, hard to be pacified.

Plut. in
Cat.

Sylla, having had a friendship with the father of *Cato*, sent often for him and his brother, and talked familiarly with them. *Cato*, who was then about fourteen years of age, seeing the heads of great men brought thither, and observing the sighs of those that were present, asked his Præceptor, *Why does nobody kill this man?—Because*, said the other, *He is feared more than he is hated.* The boy replied, *Why then did you not give me a sword, when you brought me hither, that I might have stabbed him, and freed my country from this slavery?*

He learnt the principles of the Stoic philosophy (which so well suited his character) under *Antipater* of *Tyre*, and applied himself diligently to the study of it. Eloquence he likewise studied, as a necessary means to defend the cause of Justice; and he made a very considerable proficiency in that science. To increase his bodily strength, he inured himself to suffer the extremes of heat and cold; and used to make journeys on foot, and bare-headed, in all seasons. When he was sick, patience and abstinence were his only remedies: he shut himself up, and would see no body till he was well. Tho' remarkably sober in the beginning of his life, making it his rule to drink but once after supper, and then retire, he insensibly contracted a habit of drinking more freely, and of sitting at table till morning. His friends endeavoured to excuse this, by saying, that the affairs of the public engrossed his attention all the day, and that, being ambitious of knowledge, he passed the night at table in the conversation of [tipsy^d] philosophers. *Cæsar* wrote that *Cato* was once found dead drunk at the corner of a street by a great number of people, who were going early in the morning to the levée of some great man; and that when, by uncovering his face, they perceived who it was, they blushed for shame. *You would have thought*, added *Cæsar*, *that Cato had found them drunk, not they him.* *Pliny* observes, that by this reflection, *Cæsar* praises his enemy, at the same time that he blames him. And *Seneca* (his extravagant

Plin. Ep.
iii. 12.

Sen. de
Tranq.
Vit. xxi.
Plut.

Plut. in
Cat.

^c When *Cato* was a child, the *Italian* allies solicited for the freedom of the City; *Pompedius Sili*, one of the deputies, and who had contracted a friendship with *Drusus*, lodged at his house for several days, in which time being grown familiar with the children, he said to them, *Well, will you desire your uncle to befriend us in our business?* *Cæpio* smiling, seemed to consent; but *Cato* made no answer, only he looked steadily and sternly upon the stranger: *And you*, said *Pompedius*, *will not you, as well as your brother, intercede with your uncle in our behalf?* *Cato* seeming by his

silence and by his look to reject their petition, *Pompedius* snatched him up, and, holding him out of the window, shook him several times, threatening to let him fall, if he would not comply: the boy remained unmoved, and, seemingly, unconcerned: whereupon *Pompedius*, setting him down again, said softly to his friends, "Were this child a man, I believe we should not gain one voice among the People."

^d *Cato vino laxabat animum, curis publicis fatigatum.* Sen. de Tranq. Vitæ. c. xv.

panegyrist)

panegyrist) ventures to assert, that it is easier to prove drunkenness to be a virtue, than *Cato* to be vicious. He affected singularity, and, in things indifferent, to act directly contrary to the taste and fashions of the age, [which some hold to be a sure mark of a flaw in the understanding.] Magnanimity and constancy are generally ascribed to him; and *Seneca* would fain make that haughtiness and contempt for others, which, in *Cato*, accompanied those virtues, a matter of praise. *Cato*, says *Seneca*, having received a blow in the face, neither took revenge nor was angry; he did not even pardon the affront, but denied that he had received it: His virtue raised him so high, that injury could not reach him. He is reputed to have been chaste in his youth. His first love was *Lepida*, but when the marriage was upon the point of being concluded, *Metellus Scipio*, to whom she had been promised, interfered, and the preference was given to him. This affront extremely exasperated our Stoic: He was for going to Law with *Scipio*, and when his friends had diverted him from that design, by shewing him the ridicule of it, he revenged himself by making verses upon his rival. When this first flame subsided, he married *Atilia*, the daughter of *Serranus*, had two children by her, and then divorced her for her very indiscreet conduct.

Sen de
Constan.
Sap. c. xv.
Plut.

It has been already mentioned, that he served as a volunteer under *Gellius* in the war of *Spartacus*, and when military rewards were offered him by the commander, refused them, because he thought he had no title to them.

Some years after, he went a Legionary Tribune into *Macedonia*, under the Prætor *Rubrius*: In which station he appeared, in his dress and during a march, more like a private soldier than an officer; for the dignity of his manners, the elevation of his sentiments, and the superiority of his views, set him far above those, who bore the titles of Generals and Proconsuls. It is said, that *Cato's* design in all his behaviour, was to engage the soldiers to the love of virtue; whose affections he engaged thereby to himself, without having that in his intention. For the sincere love of virtue (adds *Plutarch*) implies an affection for the virtuous. Those who praise the worthy without loving them, pay homage to their glory; but are neither admirers, nor imitators of their virtues.

Vid. sup.
P. 197.

When the time of his service expired, and he was leaving the army, the soldiers were all in tears, so effectually had he gained their hearts by his condescending manners, and sharing in their labours [as *Marius* had used to do.]

Before he returned to *Rome*, he resolved to make the tour of *Asia* (where *Pompey* then was, at the head of the *Roman* armies) not only to see that fine country, but to acquaint himself with the manners of its inhabitants, and be an eye-witness of the condition of its states and provinces. In the course of his travels he came to *Antioch*, curious to see one of the finest cities of the East. When not far from it, he perceived, without the gates,

Plut. in
Pomp. &
in Cat.

V.I. sup.
p. 269. in
the note.

Plut. in
Cat.

Id. ibid.

a multitude of people in white habits, and, on both sides of the way, young persons and children ranged in order. He imagined, that this was intended for his reception, which displeased him; for he did not affect pomp and ceremony. He was travelling on foot, according to his constant custom, but his friends being on horseback, he ordered them to dismount, in civility to those, who, he believed, were come out with a design to do him honour. [Among them were the Priests, and the Magistrates of the city.] But when he was at some small distance, the person who had ranged the multitude in order, having a crown upon his head, and a staff in his hand, came forwards, and asked him, *where he had left Demetrius* [Pompey's freedman] *and whether he would soon arrive?* On that question, the friends of *Cato* burst out into a loud laugh; but, for himself, ever serious and austere, he went on, without answering one word to the man who had questioned him; but cried out, *Ob wretched city!*

We are told, that *Cato* coming to make his compliments to *Pompey* at *Ephesus* [no body knows when] that General ran to meet him, and gave him the highest praises, both when present and after he was withdrawn; but did not press his worthy guest to stay with him, as he used to do other young *Romans*.

After his return home he was chosen to the Quæstorship, and had scarce entered upon this charge, when he made a great reformation in the Quæstor's office, and particularly with regard to the *Registers*.

These *Registers*, whose places were for life, and through whose hands incessantly passed the public accounts, being to act under young Magistrates, unexperienced in business, assumed an air of importance; and, instead of asking orders from the Quæstors, pretended to direct and govern, as if they themselves were the Quæstors. *Cato* reduced them to their proper sphere. One of these fellows had the protection of *Catulus*, then CENSOR⁴, whom he engaged to go to the Quæstor's office to solicit for him. As *Catulus* lived in friendship with *Cato*, and was of the same faction, he doubted not of success in his application. But the Quæstor remonstrated to him, that the person, for whom he interested himself, was very criminal, having forged a will. *Catulus*, nevertheless, sued for favour, on his own account, to the guilty Register. Hereupon *Cato* expostulated with the Patriot, on his acting a part so inconsistent with his dignity and his virtue; but finding him still persist in his solicitation, said to him, in a very different tone of voice, *It would be a great shame for*

³ *Julian*, the Apostate, revived the reproach, several ages afterwards, against the inhabitants of *Antioch*, when he was angry with them. *Julian*, *Misopog.*

⁴ The other CENSOR was *Crassus*. These Magistrates discharged no one function belonging to their office. A dispute arose between them, in relation to the people of

Gallia Transpadana, to whom *Crassus*, supported by *Cæsar*, was for granting the freedom of the City. *Catulus* opposed the design; and the colleagues agreed in nothing, but the resolution to abdicate their office, which they actually did. *Plut. in Crass.* & *Suet. in Cæs.*

you, Catulus, if while you are CENSOR, and charged with the inspection of our manners, I should order my serjeants to turn you out of my office. Angry and confounded, Catulus opened his mouth, as if to reply; but having nothing reasonable to say, retired silent and out of countenance. However, he managed so knavishly, as to save the Regilter from any further punishment, than the loss of his employment and salary.

One thing by which Cato extremely pleased the People, was his making the assassins, to whom Sylla had given considerable rewards out of the treasury, for murdering the proscribed, disgorge their gains.

Plutarch tells us, that Cato was so exact in performing the duties of a Senator, as to be always the first who came to the house, and the last who left it; and that he never quitted Rome during those days when the Senate was to sit.

Nor did he fail to be present at every Assembly of the people, that he might awe those, who, by an ill judged facility, bestowed the public money in largesses, and frequently, through mere favour, granted remission of debts due to the State. At first his austerity and stiffness displeased his colleagues, but afterwards they were glad to have his name to oppose to all the unjust solicitations, against which they would have found it difficult to defend themselves. Cato very readily took upon him the task of refusing.

The amount of all this seems to be, that Cato had been a stout, stubborn, ill-natured boy; that he affected singularity when a man: yet was capable both of friendship and of love; was condescending to his inferiors; a brave and hardy soldier; a good senator; in his principles a Stoic; in his practice chaste and temperate, only a little given to tipling in good company; complexionally true and honest; and aspiring to the character of rigid, unrelenting justice.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR was born in the year of Rome 654, in the Consulship of M. Antonius and A. Posthumius Albinus. The Julian family was Patrician: It had been transplanted from Alba* to Rome by king Tullius Hostilius, and, from the beginning of the Commonwealth, had been adorned with the highest dignities. Cæsar was in his sixteenth year when he lost his father, of whom all that we know is, that he had been Prætor, and that he died suddenly one morning while putting on his shoes. Cæsar's mother was Aurelia, a lady of merit, and of a very noble family, though Plebeian; she is much praised for the care she took of her son's education. It has been already mentioned, that in the year 671, he was in great dan-

Pigh.
ad ann.
654. &
676.

Plin. vii.
53.

Auſt. de
Caus. Cor.
Eloq. c.
28.

Suet. in
Cæſ. 6.

* It is said, that the Julii traced back their origin to Iulus the son of Æneas, and therefore, without doubt, the grandson of Venus. The first of the Julian family, who bore the surname of Cæsar, was Sex. Julius Cæsar, Prætor in the year of Rome 545. It is generally thought that this surname denotes an in-

fant, for the birth of whom it was necessary to cut open the mother's womb, a *Cæſo matris utero*, Plin. vii. 9. and that very dangerous and uncommon operation, called the *Cæſarean* operation, has its name from thence. According to another etymology, Cæsar signifies a child born with long hair, a *Cæſarie*.
ger

ger of being put to death as a *Marian*, being the nephew of *Marius's* wife *Julia*, and having married *Cinna's* daughter, whom all the tremendous power of the Dictator could not induce him to repudiate. He was saved through the intercession of the friends of his family; to whom, at the same time, *Sylla* is said to have foretold, that the youth, for whom they interceded, would, one day, be the ruin of their party. *Suetonius* adds, that *Sylla* often admonished the *Optimates* to be upon their guard against that loose-girded boy.

Suet. in J.
Cæs. 1.

Id.

But *Cæsar*, though he thus escaped being murdered by the Dictator, did not think it safe for him to continue in *Italy*; he passed into *Asia*^a, made his first campaigns under *Minucius Thermus*, distinguished himself by his courage, and at the taking of *Mitylene*, acquired the honour of a civic crown, which was given him by his General.

Vid. supra.
P. 179.

From thence he went to the army of *Servilius Isauricus*, then commander against the pirates in *Cilicia*, but he did not stay long there. Upon the news of *Sylla's* death he returned to *Rome*, and was very active in obtaining an amnesty for those of the *Marian* party. Following the example of young persons desirous of acquiring a name, he accused of extortion *Dolabella*, who had been Consul in the year 672, and on his return from his government of *Macedonia* had obtained the honour of a triumph. *Cæsar* produced a great number of witnesses against the accused, and, though not twenty-three years of age, pleaded the cause in so masterly a manner, that his discourse was cited above an hundred years after his death, as not to be read without admiration. Nevertheless, *Hortensius* and *Cotta*, who were then the leading men at the bar, saved *Dolabella* by their eloquence; and *Cæsar* is said to have been mortified at his failure of success. To perfect himself in eloquence, he soon after went to *Rhodes*, to hear the lessons of *Apollonius Molo* the rhetorician, under whom *Cicero* had improved his talents. In his passage thither he was taken by pirates near the island of *Pharmacusa*, which lies opposite to the city of *Miletus* in *Asia*. To these robbers he behaved himself, though their prisoner, as if he had been their master. When they asked him twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them, telling them they did not know who their prisoner was, and he promised them fifty: After which he dispatched most of his attendants to the neighbouring cities, to collect that sum for him; and, with only his physician, and two domestics, remained

Auct. de
Caus. Cor.
Eloq. c.
34.

Plut. in J.
Cæs.

^a *Suetonius*, who seems to delight in expatiating on the private vices imputed to those whose lives he writes, tells us, that *Cæsar* incurably hurt his character, by his familiarity with *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, a prince of corrupt manners, to whose court he went twice; but that this was the only blot upon him of that sort. *Pudicitia ejus famam nihil quidem præter Nicomedis contubernium læst, gravi tamen & perenni opprobrio & ad omnium*

convitia exposito. The historian gives us many severe strokes upon him, but they are all from persons interested to dishonour him, and whose malice is evident, whether they spoke truth or not. His gallantries, mentioned by this writer, were not what would distinguish his character from those of his contemporaries; and he had *Cato's* testimony to his exemplary sobriety. *Suet. in Cæs. 53.*

eight and thirty days in the power of those villains, and during all that time maintained an air of command; so that when he laid down to sleep, if they disturbed him with their noise, he sent them orders to be silent. To amuse himself, he composed verses and oratorical discourses, which he afterwards read to the pirates; and, if they did not admire his performances, he called them fools and barbarians: and though he made himself familiar with them, and took part in their sports and exercises, yet he always sustained his dignity, and threatened them from time to time with crucifixion. The pirates were not displeased with his easy manner, and were far from taking his menaces to be serious. However, when he had paid them the sum promised, he caused himself to be conveyed to *Miletus*, and, having there, with wonderful activity, fitted out all the small vessels he found in that port, came by surprize upon the pirates, who were still at anchor near the isle of *Pharmacusa*. He sunk some of their ships, and took others; and having put his prisoners into confinement at *Miletus*, went immediately to *Junius*, the Proconsul of *Asia*, who was then in *Bitbynia*, to ask his orders for punishing them. The Proconsul, weak, avaricious, and envious of the young man's glory, answered, That he did not intend to have the prisoners executed, but to sell them. *Cæsar* returned to *Miletus* with all expedition, and by his own private authority, before any orders could come from the Proconsul, caused the pirates to be crucified as he had often threatened them he would do: Only, to mitigate the punishment, he directed that their heads should be first struck off.

From thence he went to *Rhodes*, pursuant to his first design, but did not continue there long. *Mithridates* was at that time ravaging the neighbouring countries: whereupon *Cæsar*, that he might not appear idle and indolent, when the allies of *Rome* were threatened with danger, went over from *Rhodes* into *Asia*, and, having assembled some troops, drove the king's lieutenant out of the province, and thereby kept the cities, that were wavering, from a revolt.

On his return to *Rome*, he employed all possible methods to make himself friends, gain the multitude, and draw all eyes upon him. He was frequently the advocate of the distressed; his manners were affable and polite, condescending to the lowest of the People; and he was magnificent in his retinue and his table. His enemies imagined, that he would soon be ruined by his expences, and that his credit would expire with his patrimony. And indeed he was ruined as to his fortune; for before he obtained any magistracy he was thirteen hundred talents in debt; but ^{251,875} his credit with the multitude had taken deep root. It seems to be agreed, that he was what is called a man of pleasure, and was much in favour with the women. In his early youth he had an intrigue with *Servilia*, *Cato's* sister, the mother of *Brutus*; and riper years did not put end to it.

The first office which he obtained by the suffrages of the People, was that of *Military Tribune*, or *Tribune of the Soldiers*, and in that post he supported, with all his credit, those who were for restoring to the *Tribunes*

of the People, all the privileges and authority, of which *Sylla* had deprived them.

The *Marian* party were much delighted with his behaviour on occasion of the funeral of his aunt *Julia*, the widow of *Marius*. He made a speech in praise of that lady in the Forum; and caused images of *Marius* to be carried in the funeral procession: As no such thing had been seen in public since *Sylla's* Dictatorship, this boldness occasioned some clamours; but the People answered them with applauses, were transported with joy, and admired his courage.

At the funeral of his wife *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cinna*, *Cæsar* increased the good-will and affection which the People had conceived for him. It had been customary to make funeral orations upon ancient ladies: But *Cæsar* was the first who did that honour to a young one, his deceased wife; and for so doing was now considered as a man estimable for the goodness of his heart, as before for a thousand other shining qualities. Being *Quæstor*^r when he made these orations upon his aunt and wife, he soon after set out for *Spain*, to perform the business of that office, under the *Prætor*, or *Proconsul*, *Antistius Vetus*.

In the Year 688, *Cotta* and *Torquatus* being *Consuls*, *Cæsar* was *Ædile*. In the games and theatrical^s shews, which in this office he exhibited, according to custom, he acquitted himself with a magnificence, that surpassed every thing of that kind, which had ever been seen.

Vid. sup.
p. 281.
note (c)

Suet.

To do honour to his father's memory, *Cæsar*, during his *Ædileship*, entertained the People with combats of gladiators, to the number of 320 pair; and he had provided many more, but an alarm having been spread in the City, the Senate passed a decree to fix the number of gladiators, that should be allowed to fight on these occasions.

Cæsar seized the opportunity which his office of *Ædile* gave him, to place in the Capitol, during the night, certain statues of *Marius*, which he had caused to be made secretly, with *Victories* bearing trophies, and with inscriptions that celebrated the conqueror of the *Cimbri*. At break of day, the splendor of these statues, which were master-pieces of art, and

^r By the *Roman* Laws, the tie between a *Quæstor* and his superior was sacred. *Cæsar*, faithful to this maxim expressed his gratitude and friendship to *Vetus*, by shewing great kindness to his son.

It was at this time, that, on seeing a statue of *Alexander*, he is said to have sighed, and reproached himself for having done nothing at an age, at which the *Macedonian* had subjected the greater part of the world. He asked his discharge, and quitted *Spain* before the time, animated with a passionate desire to signalize himself, and raise his fortune.

^s Among these shews there were some at the joint expence of himself and his colleague *Bibulus*, others which he gave at his own expence, and this occasioned the honour of the whole to be ascribed to *Cæsar*; whereupon *Bibulus* is said to have complained, in a strain of pleasantry of his own hard fortune, saying, that the same thing had happened to him as to *Pollux*, to whom, conjointly with his brother, a temple was built in the *Forum*; and that, nevertheless, *Pollux* was universally forgot, the temple being never called by any other name, than the temple of *Castor*. Suet in *Cæs.*

finely

finely gilded, drew a mighty concourse of spectators, and every body admired so bold an act, of which the author was presently known by all the world. Many considered this step as an enormous crime, the honours formerly done to *Marius* having been abolished by the decrees of the Senate. They said, it was an essay of *Cæsar's* to try what the *Roman* People were capable of bearing, and to pave his way to the tyranny. On the other hand, the *Marrians*, encouraged by an event so pleasing, and so little expected, came flocking from all parts, and, by their number, astonished those who had imagined that party to be almost annihilated. The Capitol in the mean time resounded with acclamations; many even melted into tears at the sight of those statues, proscribed from the time of *Sylla's* sovereignty; and they extolled *Cæsar* to the skies, as a man worthy of the honour of being allied to *Marius*.

The affair was laid before the Senate, and it was upon this occasion that *Plut. Catulus* said, *It is time, Fathers, to take care of ourselves: for Cæsar no longer attacks the COMMONWEALTH by undermining and sapping, but by open assaults.* Nevertheless, *Cæsar*, by his eloquence, gained the Senate's approbation of what he had done.

Suetonius tells us, that *Cæsar* having, by his splendid shews, gained the good-will of the People, engaged some of the Tribunes to move for a decree, by which *Egypt* should be assigned to him a province; and that the pretence for asking this extraordinary commission, was, that the *Alexandrians* had by violence expelled their king, whom the Senate had complimented with the title of Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People. As *Egypt* was not a province of the empire, it is hard to guess what the historian

^r Concerning this sententious patriot, vid. *supr.* p. 282 & 285, and more hereafter.

^s *Tentavit per partem Tribunorum, ut sibi Ægyptus Provincia plebiscito daretur.* *Suet.* c. 11.

^t *M. Crevier* is of opinion, that what *Cæsar* wanted, was a commission for reducing *Egypt* and the isle of *Cyprus* into a *Roman* province, and this in consequence of a Will said to have been made by *Alexander III.* king of *Egypt*, who died at *Tyre*: by which Will he left the Senate and People of *Rome* all his right to the inheritance of the *Lagides*. He adds, " 'Tis difficult to decide, whether this Will was real or only pretended. *Cicero* mentions it in one of his orations, but without explaining himself clearly [*Cic. in Rull.*] Certain it is, that the Senate sent deputies to *Tyre*, to take possession of the money deposited there by *Alexander*. — *Cæsar* was supported in his project by *Crassus*, then *General*; but he met with opposition from *Crassus's* colleague, *Catulus*, and from several

others, who maintained that there was no such Will, and that it was not for the honour of the *Roman* People to seem greedy of the inheritance of kings."

As to the pretension of the *Romans* to the inheritance in question (supposing the Will to be genuine) *M. Crevier* gives us what he thinks the most probable account.

"After the death of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, the *Egyptians* placed his daughter *Cleopatra* upon the throne. *Sylla*, then Dictator, having with him *Ptolemy Alexander*, the son of another *Alexander*, *Lathyrus's* brother, who died before him, sent that young prince into *Egypt*, to reign there jointly with *Cleopatra*. But *Alexander*, at the end of nineteen days, caused *Cleopatra* to be murdered, for which horrible cruelty he was himself killed by the people of *Alexandria*. I suppose, that this *Alexander* left a son of the same name, who, as his father and grandfather had reigned over *Egypt*, had well-founded pretensions to that kingdom, especially as the legitimate

R r

" poste-

historian means : But, whatever the business was, *Cæsar* was strenuously opposed by the *Optimates*, and did not carry his point.

Midd. 143. In the year 689, he was one of the *Assistant Judges* to the *Prætor*, whose province it was to sit upon the *Sicarii*, that is, those who were accused of killing, or carrying a dagger with intent to kill : and he concurred with the other Judges in condemning by the Law of *assassinate*, those, who in *Sylla's* proscription had been known to kill, or receive money for killing, a proscribed Citizen ; which money *Cato*, when he was *Quæstor* the year before, had made them refund to the Treasury.

Pict. in
Cat.
Suet. J.
Cæf. 11.

Vid. supr.
p. 168.

Suet. J.
Cæf. 13.
Pigh. An.
nal.

In the present year, 690, he sued for the *High-Priesthood*, vacant by the death of *Metellus Pius* ; a post of the first dignity in the Republic. The Tribune *Labienus* had opened his way to it, by the publication of a new Law for transferring the right of electing from the college of Priests to the People, agreeably to the tenor of a former Law, which had been repealed by *Sylla*. *Cæsar* carried this high office, before he had yet been *Prætor*, [being only *Prætor Elect* this year] against two considerable competitors, of the first authority in Rome, *Q. Catulus*, and *P. Servilius Isauricus* ; the one of whom had been Censor, and then bore the title of *Prince of the Senate* ; and the other had been honoured with a triumph : Yet he procured more votes against them, even in their own tribe, than they both had for them out of the whole number of Citizens.

Vid. supr.
p. 203.

Hitherto all that we have learnt of *Cæsar*, is, that he was of the first class of the Nobles, a rake in his early years, and a spendthrift, but remarkably brave and intrepid, magnanimous, polite, eloquent, generous, liberal even to profusion : That with regard to the public affairs, he was of the popular party, and had the courage to make funeral panegyrics on his aunt *Julia*, the widow of *Marius*, and on his own wife *Cornelia*, *Cinna's* daughter, whom he refused to repudiate at the command of *Sylla* [with whose sovereign will and pleasure *Pompey* shewed a mean compliance, by parting with *Antistia* :] That, when he was *Ædile*, he exhibited very fine and expensive shows, and replaced in the Capitol the statues of *Marius* (of

" posterity of *Lathyrus* was extinct by the
" death of *Cleopatra*. The *Egyptians*, how-
" ever, recognized *Ptolemy Auletes*, the natu-
" ral son of *Lathyrus*, for their king.

" I further suppose, that the divisions
" which happened in *Egypt*, whilst *Pompey*
" was making war in *Asia*, and which occa-
" sioned the sending of Embassies to that ge-
" neral, arose from the opposite pretensions
" of *Alexander III.* and *Auletes*. *Pompey* would
" not take cognizance of this difference.
" *Ptolemy Auletes* continued in possession of
" the throne, and *Alexander*, withdrawing to
" *Tyre*, died there soon after.

" *Usher* and *Prideaux*, whom *M. Rollin* has

" followed in his *Ancient History*, gives us a
" different succession of the crown of *Egypt*,
" from *Lathyrus* : But, from a note upon *M.*
" *Prideaux's* text, I think it evident, that
" *Usher's* opinion is not to be sustained. *Græ-*
" *vius*, in a note upon the first *Agrarian* of
" *Cicero*, mentions the third *Ptolemy Alexan-*
" *der*, of whom I speak in this place. I
" thought this a point necessary to be cleared
" up, and I know no better means of recon-
" ciling the testimonies of *Porphyry*, *Appian*,
" *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, than the
" plan which I follow. This system connects
" all the fragments which we find upon this
" subject in different authors."

which

which action he obtained the Senate's approbation :) That notwithstanding a Law made by Sylla (as Suetonius significantly remarks) exempting from punishment the assassins, who for hire had killed the Citizens by him proscribed (which assassins Cato had the year before constrained, as villains and murderers, to refund the money paid them out of the treasury, in reward of their bloody atchievements) he condemned them to suffer as guilty of murder : and that, by these popular measures, and his extraordinary liberality, he became so great a favourite, as to be preferred, for the High-Priesthood, to two eminent Consulars, Catulus and Servilius.

It seemed proper to give this short summary, containing every thing that is well attested, and of moment, in Cæsar's character and public conduct prior to the present time, that the reader may from thence, and not from the conjectures of historians, or party-men, or from predictions made of events after the events were past, form his judgment of the disposition of this illustrious Roman, when Cicero was Consul. For it may be observed, that almost all the modern writers on this subject have endeavoured^u,
in

Vid. supr.
p. 39.
note c.

^u Some considerations have already been offered in the foregoing sheets, to shew the injustice done to the reader, and the inconvenience which may happen to the writer, by prefacing the history of a man's actions with his moral character; such as, to the writer who has considered the whole tenour of his life, he may seem, upon the whole, to have deserved. The character given by Plutarch of Marius, previous to what he relates of the life and actions of that famous Roman, furnished an instance of the injustice and inconvenience of that practice. What has been said of Cæsar by some historians, before they relate his actions, furnishes another.

Cicero's English historian, speaking of the dedication of the Capitol by Catulus (in 684) after the rebuilding of it, writes thus :

Midd.
p. 114.

" On the occasion of this festival he is said
" to have introduced some instances of luxury,
" not known before in Rome, of covering the
" area, in which the People sat, with a purple
" veil, imitating the colour of the sky, and de-
" sending it from the injuries of it, and of gild-
" ing the tiles of this fabric, which were made
" of copper : For though the cielings of tem-
" ples had before been sometimes gilt, yet this
" was the first use of gold on the outside of a
" building." Catulus, however, is not supposed
by this writer to have had any unjustifiable
views in his introduction of those instances of

luxury. [He was not like Cæsar, " the grand p. 32.
" purpose of whose whole life was to oppress
" the liberties of his country; and who, by his p. 113.
" prodigality, was forced to repair his own
" ruin by ruining the Republic.] Cæsar, in
" the sports exhibited for his father's funeral,
" made the whole furniture of the theatre of
" solid silver : But the excess of his expence was
" but in proportion to the excess of his ambition :
" for the rest were only purchasing the Consul-
" ship, he the Empire." But why are we to
suppose, that Cæsar was then more criminally
ambitious than Catulus ? The reason, I sup-
pose is, " that Catulus, being the son of that
" Catulus who was the ablest statesman of his
" time, and the chief assertor of the Aristocra-
" tical interest, and condemned to die by
" Marius, had inherited the virtues, as well p. 51.
" as principles, of his father." Whether this
be any great compliment to the father, the
reader will judge when he has attended to the
following conjecture of our author concerning
the son.

" Brutus, after sustaining the siege of Mo- p. 52.
" dena, surrendered himself into Pompey's
" hands ; but being conducted, as he desired,
" by a guard of horse, to a certain village
" upon the Po, [Orosius says to Rhegium] he
" was there killed by Pompey's orders. This
" act was censured as cruel and unjust, and
" Pompey generally blamed for killing a man
" of

in imitation of some of the ancients, to prepossess their readers with the most

“ of the first quality, who had surrendered
 “ himself voluntarily, and on the condition
 “ his life : But he acted probably by the advice
 “ of Catulus, in laying hold of the pretext of
 “ Brutus’s treason [to called by the conquerors]
 “ to destroy a man, who, from his rank and
 “ authority, might have been a dangerous
 “ head to the Marian party, and capable of
 “ disturbing that Aristocracy which Sylla had
 “ established, and which the Senate, and all
 “ the better sort, were very desirous to main-
 “ tain.” To this let it be added, that Catulus

was by Sylla declared to be the best man in the Republic : From whence we may (not unreasonably) conclude, that he was one of the worst ; that he was one of that tyrant’s satellites, and had a heart, if not a hand, in all his reformations and massacres : And this will account for his being the zealous friend and defender of his brother satellite, Catiline ; which has created a difficulty to those who have entertained a high opinion of Catulus’s virtue, without ever asking themselves why ; or, perhaps, because they have found that Cicero speaks well of him. Not one good action is recorded of Catulus, except his opposition to the passing of the Gabinian and Manilian Laws ; which opposition we shall not readily ascribe to a concern for the public weal, if we

Vid. supr.
 p. 282.
 285.
 Hist de
 Cic. p. 90.

call to mind his malicious prosecution of Cornelius, on account of the reasonable and necessary Laws proposed by that honest Tribune. Of this prosecution, M. Morabin (Cicero’s French historian) in his excellent work, writes thus : *Les plus accredités d’entre le Sénateurs porteroient témoignage contre cet ancien Tribun, et tout le peuple étoit dans une merveilleuse perplexité sur ce qui en arriveroit. De quoi s’agissoit-il au fond ? Cornelius avoit lu lui même son projet de loi ; et parcequ’aucun Tribun n’en avoit usé ainsi avant lui, sans peut-être de s’être trouvé dans les memes circonstances, il plaisoit à Hortensius, à Catulus, à Metellus Pius, à Lucullus, et à M. Æmilius Lepidus, d’en faire un crime [de Lèse Majesté] à ce Magistrat, prétendant qu’il avoit autant qu’il étoit en lui rendu inutile la voye d’opposition. Le véritable attentat — c’étoit de leur avoir fait perdre le droit de dispenser des loix. Tant il est vrai que les plus honnêtes gens sont sujets à s’oublier lorsqu’on les attaque sur leurs intérêts.*

Again, Cicero’s English historian, speaking of the Law, proposed by Manilius in favour of Pompey, tells us, that “ J. Cæsar was a zealous promoter of this law ; but from a different motive than the love either of Pompey, or the Republic : His design was to recommend himself by it to the PEOPLE, whose favour, he foresaw, would be of more use to him than the SENATE’s.”

And was not this the design of Cicero in his zealous defence of the Manilian Law ? Let us hear his panegyrist.

“ He was now in the career of his fortunes ; and in sight as it were of the Consulship, the grand object of his ambition ; so that his conduct was suspected to flow from an interested view of facilitating his own advancement, by paying his court to Pompey’s power : But the reasons already intimated [The reasons are ; “ The mutinous spirit in Lucullus’s troops, and the loss of his authority with them, which Glabrio was still less qualified to sustain, — and Pompey’s success against the Pirates, and his being upon the spot with a great army] and Pompey’s singular character of modesty and abstinence, joined to the superiority of his military fame, might, probably, convince him, that it was not only safe, but necessary at this time, to commit a war, which nobody else could finish, to such a general ; and a power, which nobody else ought to be entrusted with, to such a man. This he himself solemnly affirms, in the conclusion of his speech : I call the Gods to witness, says he, and especially those who preside over this temple, and inspect the minds of all who administer the public affairs, that I neither do this at the desire of any one, nor to conciliate Pompey’s favour, nor to procure from any man’s greatness, either a support in dangers, or assistance in honours : — Whatever pains I have taken in this cause, I have taken it all, I assure you, for the sake of the Republic. — After so many honours received from you, and this very honour [the Prætorship] which I now enjoy, I have made it my resolution, Citizens, to prefer your will, the dignity of the Republic, and the safety of the provinces, to all my own interests and advantages whatsoever.”

That

most unfavourable opinion of *Cæsar's* heart and designs, before he

Midd.
Vol. II.
p. 512.

That the able historian and panegyrist of the faint, *who, now probably, in the regions above, lives in the fruition of endless happiness*, did not, in the present instance, believe him, notwithstanding his solemn affirmation, we may gather, I think, not only from some words in the beginning of the passage above cited, but more evidently from what he says on occasion of the faint's obtaining the Consulship.

Midd.
p. 148.

"*Cicero* was now arrived, through the usual gradation of honours, at the highest which the People could regularly give, or an honest Citizen desire.---The subordinate Magistracies, therefore, being the steps only to this sovereign dignity, were not valued so much for their own sake, as for bringing the candidates still nearer to the principal object of their hopes, who, thro' this course of their ambition, were forced to practise all the arts of popularity; to court the little as well as the great, to espouse the principles and politics in vogue, and to apply their talents to conciliate friends, rather than to serve the Public. But the Consulship put an end to this subjection, and with the command of the State gave them the command of themselves: so that the only care left was how to execute this high office with credit and dignity, and employ the power entrusted to them for the benefit and service of their country.

"*We are now, therefore, to look upon Cicero in a different light, in order to form a just idea of his character: To consider him not as an ambitious courtier, applying all his thoughts and pains to his own advancement; but as a great Magistrate and Statesman; administering the affairs, and directing the councils of a mighty empire.*"

The extract given above (p. 222.) from the *Observations on the Life and Writings of Cicero*, furnishes a plain proof, that the candid author of that elegant piece does not believe what the orator swears, on this occasion, concerning his disinterestedness: neither does M. Crevier believe him, as the reader may see by the note in the same page.

† Lib. vi. p. 21. Vid. Pref. to Midd. Life of Cic. p. xxv. Well---But *Cicero's* historian, upon the authority of *Dio* † [whose authority is to be of great weight when he places *Cæsar* in a bad light, but of no weight when he speaks disadvantageously of *Cicero*] tells us, that *Cæsar* had, beside the design of recommending

himself to the PEOPLE, another [less manifest to the world;] and this was, "*To cast a fresh load of envy upon Pompey, which, by some accident, might be improved afterwards to his hurt.*" Nor was this the worst; for His CHIEF VIEW was to make the precedent familiar, that whatever use *Pompey* might make of it, he himself might, one day, make a bad one. For this is the common effect of breaking thro' the barrier of the Laws, by which many States have been ruined, when, from a confidence in the abilities and integrity of some eminent Citizen, they invest him, on pressing occasions, with extraordinary powers, for the common benefit and defence of the society: for tho' power so entrusted may, in particular cases, be of singular service, and sometimes necessary." [N. B. These two words, *sometimes necessary*, seem to be thrust into the period merely for the sake of *Cicero*, who, during his Consulship, was invested with the extraordinary powers referred to] "yet the example is always dangerous, furnishing a perpetual pretence to the ambitious and ill-designing to grasp at every prerogative, which had been granted at any time to the virtuous, till the same power, which would save a country in good hands, oppresses it at last in bad."

We shall hereafter see, that this is the very argument made use of by *Julius Cæsar* against *Cicero's* dispensing with the Laws, in virtue of his unconstitutional, and (in those times, when very few of the nobles were better men than *Catiline* himself) most dangerous powers from the Senate: Powers, with which, in all probability, *Cicero* would have been very unwilling to see any man of the popular party invested, though even for the crushing of *Catiline's* conspiracy. But the argument, perhaps, is of no force in the mouth of *Cæsar*, because he was not of the number of *Cicero's* honest men.

What *Cicero's* English historian has hazarded concerning *Cæsar*, when sitting as Judge on the *Sicarii*, I shall take notice of in the history of *Catiline*; and likewise of the suspicions entertained of *Cæsar's* being engaged in *Catiline's* first plot. [The concern which *Cæsar* had in the affair of *Rabirius* has been already considered.]

To

Midd.
p. 128.

Vid. supr.
p. 295.
Note (a)

he makes his appearance upon the stage in the great scenes of action.

Crev. Vol. X. p. 265.

To endeavour to blast the character of *Cæsar* as a Citizen of Rome, before any mention of facts, by him committed, that really dishonour him as such, is not peculiar to *Cicero's* English historian. *M. Crevier* having mentioned what *Sylla* answered to *Cæsar's* friends and advocates, *In that boy I see many Marius's*; thus proceeds. *Never was prediction more exactly verified; and it proves that Sylla had great penetration, and knew mankind extremely well.* How was this prediction verified? In what did *Cæsar* resemble *Marius*, except in military skill, courage, activity and fortitude? Did *Cæsar* resemble him in cruelty and abuse of Power? *Cæsar*, in making himself monarch of the State, was more like *Sylla* than *Marius*, but he resembled neither of them in their bad qualities. And *Sylla's* second-sight seems to amount to no more than a discovery, that *Cæsar* had too much spirit and honour to divorce his wife, merely because such a monster as *Sylla* hated her as *Cinna's* daughter.

Vid. sup. p. 161.

Crev. Vol. X. p. 473.

Ib. p. 478, 479.

Again, "As soon as *Cæsar* was informed of *Sylla's* death, he returned suddenly to Rome, principally from the hope of seeing new disturbances, and to take advantage of the commotions raised by *Lepidus*—his inclination for that [the popular] faction manifested itself by the ardour with which he laboured to obtain an amnesty for those who had been engaged in it (and were in exile.) Every thing being quiet in the Commonwealth, *Cæsar*, who had not yet sufficient power to excite commotions in it, &c.

"The ambitious designs he then revolved in his mind more easily escaped the penetration of the most discerning, as he was a man of pleasure, or more properly speaking, abandoned to debauchery—People could not conceive, that he could unite so serious and so arduous a design, as that of changing the form of the Commonwealth, with a life that seemed entirely engrossed by follies and voluptuousness. *Cicero* himself, whose penetration was so great, and who foresaw events at so great a distance [or rather was one of the most short-sighted of mankind, as will appear hereafter] was at a loss in respect of *Cæsar*. I discovered, said he, in all his enterprises, and his whole conduct, a plan continually pursued for raising himself to the ty-

ranny. But when I observed how curiously and skilfully his locks were adjusted, and saw him scratching his head with one finger, it could not enter into my imagination, that such a man was capable of forming, and executing, the design of subverting the Roman Commonwealth." [N. B. *Plutarch* adds, but this was not said till a long time after; so that *Cicero* foretold an event after it was past.]

"It is not to be doubted, but he had that object in view from his earliest years: For we find no step of his, that does not tend thereto, and this determinately and directly." How does this appear? Why, "He always shews himself intent upon reanimating the faction of the people, reviving the *Marian* party, and opposing that of *Sylla*. The first office, which he obtained by the suffrages of the People, was the *Tribuneship* of the soldiers; and, in that post, he supported with all his credit those, who were for restoring to the *Tribunes* of the People all the right and authority, of which *Sylla* had deprived them." [And which *Pompey* did actually restore to them; herein doing well and wisely in the judgment of *Cicero*.]

"On arriving in Italy [from Spain] he seized the first occasion that offered for raising disturbances; and as he knew, that the States of *Gallia Transpadana*, who enjoyed only the privileges of *Latium*, ardently desired to obtain the freedom of Rome, he made a tour through their country, to exhort them to act, and would have made them rise and take arms, if the *Consuls* had not kept in Italy the troops that were to have been sent against *Mithridates*. Thus this attempt of *Cæsar's* proved abortive, &c." This attempt, which has neither motive nor consequence apparent, is imputed to *Cæsar*, upon the authority of *Suetonius* alone; who speaks of some Roman calamities, without mentioning *Gallia Transpadana*, or any other country; and tells us, not any evil that *Cæsar* did, but what he would have done, if, &c.

Vol. XI. p. 445.

Speaking of *Labiæus's* prosecution of *Rabirius*,—"Cæsar set him to work; and being always intent upon depressing the authority of the Senate, and exalting the faction of the People, made no scruple to employ the most odious means for attaining his ends."

LUCIUS

LUCIUS SERGIUS CATILINA^u, of an illustrious family, (from which Sallust. & Cic. *Consuls, and Military Tribunes with Consular power*, had frequently been taken to govern the State) was a man of singular strength both of body and mind, but of a disposition extremely vicious. He had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute, the hardest attempt. From his youth up, he took pleasure in civil broils, civil wars, rapine, and massacres. He was wonderfully constituted for enduring cold, hunger, and want of rest; of a spirit daring, and insidious; expert in all the arts of disguise and dissimulation; greedily covetous of other mens wealth, lavish of his own; violent in his passions, eloquent enough, but not endowed with much wisdom. His boundless ambition hurried him into extravagant and romantic projects, making him aspire to things greatly beyond the reach of his abilities.

Sallust reports, that *Catiline*, when a very young man, had been engaged in many scandalous intrigues; that he had debauched a young lady of illustrious birth, and even a Vestal Nun: and that at last (*postremo*, i. e. not long before his conspiracy) he fell in love with *Aurelia Crestilla*, in whom no good man ever saw any thing to commend but her beauty; and finding her indisposed to marry him, because he had a son grown to man's estate, whom she did not like for a *son-in-law*, he murdered him (at least it was confidently so believed) to facilitate the wicked nuptials. *And this* (says the historian) *in my opinion, was what hurried him to the execution of his atrocious enterprize. For his polluted soul, full of rage against both Gods and Men, could find no rest either waking or sleeping, so incessantly did a guilty conscience torment him.* Hence his face pale, his countenance ghastly, his gait and motion unequal, now quick, then slow; in a word, his appearance was that of a man out of his senses.

He had probably been Quæstor in the year 676, or 677, and after Vid. Pigh. the expiration of his Quæstorship, Lieutenant to *Scribonius Curio*, Proconsul of *Macedon*, A. U. 678: and he was Prætor at *Rome* in 686.

At the Consular election, which was held in the summer of 687, *P. Aufidius* Sallust. *Pætus* and *P. Cornelius Sylla* were declared Consuls: But their election was no sooner published, than they were accused of bribery and corruption by the *Calpurnian Law*, and being brought to trial, and found guilty before their entrance into office, their accusers and competitors, *L. Manlius Torquatus* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, were proclaimed Consuls elect. *Some little time after this*, *Catiline*, who, on the expiration of his *Prætorship*, had obtained * the province of *Afric*, * Cic. pro Cæl. came to *Rome* to sue for the Consulship; but, being accused of extortion

^u *Catiline* was great grandson to *Marcus Sergius Silus*, who distinguished himself by his bravery on many occasions, in the war of *Hannibal*.

and

Dis.
lib. xxxvi.
Vid. Pigh.
ad ann.
687.

and rapine in that government, was not permitted to pursue his pretensions *.

At this time *Cn. Piso*, a young nobleman, extremely bold, indigent, and factious, was instigated by his poverty, and depraved morals, to raise disturbances in the State: with him *Catiline* and *Autronius* entered

* *Te vero, Catilina, consulatum sperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum est? a quibus enim petis? a principibus civitatis, qui tibi cum L. Volcatius Cos. in Consilio fuisset, ne petendi quidem potestatem esse voluerunt? In Tog. Cand.*

Vol. XI.
p. 362.

Cicero's English historian imagines, that *Catiline* came from *Africa* to stand candidate at the *Consular election* held *this year*. His words are "came to Rome this year to appear a candidate at the election." And *M. Crevier* writes, seemingly, to the same effect.— "The *Africans* sent deputies to *Rome* to complain of the oppressions and violences of their governor (*Catiline*) and many very severe censures were passed upon him in the Senate." (*Catilina ex prætura Africam provinciam obtinuit, quam cum graviter vexasset, legati Afri in Senatu tum absente illo quæsti sunt, multæque graves sententiæ in Senatu de eo dictæ sunt. Alcon. in Tog. Cand.*) "This, however, did not hinder him from returning to the City—when *Lepidus* and *Volcatius* were Consuls (*i. e.* in 687.) to stand for the Consulship. But he no sooner arrived, than he was accused of extortion by *Clodius*.—This accusation hindered his appearing among the candidates.—The election of the Consuls excited a great commotion.—*P. Sylla* and *P. Autronius* had been nominated: but two of their competitors, *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus*, having accused them of bribery, and proved the charge against them, they were deprived of their office, and their accusers nominated in their stead."

Father *Catrus*, after enumerating the Crimes of *Catiline*, writes thus:

Tom. 15.
p. 557.
558.

"Such was the villain who appeared in a white robe in the presence of the People, to dispute the Consulship with *Torquatus* and *Cotta*." The father does not suppose, that *Catiline* came to *Rome* time enough to be competitor with *Autronius* and *Sylla*; but arrived after they, being convicted of bribery and corruption, were declared disqualified for

the office: and the father supposes, that the People went to a new election, at which *Catiline* would have stood candidate, but was not suffered so to do, because of the complaints brought against him from *Africa*, and because his trial was not over till after the *Comitia*, where *Torquatus* and *Cotta* were chosen Consuls; and this accords better with *Sallust's* account, than what is said by the two other writers: For it is plain, from the words of the *Latin* historian, that the decree, which prohibited *Catiline's* suing for the Consulship, was not till after the election of *Autronius* and *Sylla* to that Magistracy, and after their disgrace. *L. Tullo M. Lepido cos. P. Autronius & P. Sulla, designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati, pœnas dederant. Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus prohibitus erat petere consulatum, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. And may we not understand the words petere consulatum to mean no more here than ambire magistratum in toga candida? It would seem that Catiline's coming to Rome, in 687, was not in the hope of being chosen Consul at the election of that year, but to make interest, and secure friends, against the Consular election of the next year [688.] For, as Mr. Kennet observes, those, who aspired to that office, generally declared their pretensions about a year before the election, all which time they spent in making circuits round the City to solicit votes. And so Dr. Middleton himself, in speaking of Cicero's suing for the Consulship, tells us, that "there were two years necessarily to intervene between the Prætorship and Consulship, the first of which was usually spent in forming a general interest, and soliciting for it, as it were, in a private manner" (that is, as he explains himself afterwards, mixing with the croud, caressing and saluting the Citizens by name, when the whole City was assembled in the field of *Mars*;) The second in suing for it openly in the proper form and habit of a candidate. And this latter seems to have been *Catiline's* purpose: He came at*

Midd.
p. 133.

entered into a combination, about the fifth of *December*, to assassinate the Consuls *Torquatus* and *Cotta*, in the Capitol, on the first of *January*; which done, *Autronius* and *Catiline* were to seize the Consulship, and send *Piso* with an army to take possession of both *Spains*. But their project some-how getting air, they deferred the intended assassination to the fifth of *February*; at which time they proposed to murder not only the Consuls, but most of the Senators. And if *Catiline* had not been so hasty as to give the signal, when not a sufficient number of his associates were yet assembled before the door of the Senate-house (which frustrated the design,) on that day had been perpetrated the most wicked deed that *Rome* had ever beheld since the foundation of the City.

Not long after this disappointment, *Piso*, though he had no higher office than that of *Quæstor*, was sent into further *Spain* with the authority of *Prætor*. He obtained the commission by the interest of *Crassus*, who, knowing him to be a bitter enemy of *Pompey*, favoured him for that reason: nor indeed was the Senate backward to grant him the province; thinking it an advantage to keep so troublesome a Citizen at a great distance from *Rome*; and besides, there were many who thought he might prove a good defence against the power of *Pompey*, which was become formidable. But *Piso*, in the way to his province, was murdered by some *Spanish* horse of his own army. The historian adds, "Some say, this was owing to his unjust, haughty, cruel behaviour in command, which the Barbarians were not able to endure. Others pretend, that those troopers were some old trusty clients of *Pompey*, and that by him they were instigated to the murder."

In

at the proper time to solicit and secure friends to support him at the next Consular election; which would be in 688. If he had stood candidate, and had been chosen this year, 687, there would have been but one year between his *Prætorship* and *Consulship*; and he could not have spent more time in solicitation, than the short interval between the condemnation of *Autronius* and *Sylla*, and the nomination of *Torquatus* and *Cotta* in their place. Add to this, that as *Catiline*, notwithstanding his eagerness to get the Consulship, did not stand candidate at the election of 688, we may reasonably presume, that he was barred from it by the accusation brought against him of extortion and oppression in his government.

^a This is *Sallust's* account. *Cicero's English* historian has chosen to add some particulars out of *Suetonius*. "This disgrace of men so powerful and desperate, [*Autronius*, *Sylla*,
Vol. III.

and *Catiline*] engaged them presently in a "conspiracy against the State," in which it was resolved to kill the new Consuls, with several others of the Senate, and share the government among themselves. But the effect of it was prevented by some information given of the design, which was too precipitately laid for execution. *Cn. Piso*, an audacious, needy, factious young nobleman, was privy to it; and, as *Suetonius* says, (upon the authority of a rabble of writers, *Tanucius Geminus*, *Aulorinus Naso*, &c.) two more of much greater weight, *M. Crassus* and *J. Caesar*; the first of whom was to be created Dictator, the second his master of the horse. But *Crassus's* heart failing him, either through fear or repentance, he did not appear at the appointed time, so that *Caesar* would not give the signal agreed upon, of letting his robe drop from his shoulder. The Senate was particularly
S I jealous

In the Consulship of *L. Torquatus* and *L. Cotta* [A. U. 688^b] *Catiline* was brought to a trial for his oppressions in *Afric*. Of his guilt nobody doubted. *Cicero*, in a letter written some time before the trial, says to *Atticus*, *If it shall be judged that at noon day it is not light, I shall certainly have Catiline for a competitor*^c. Nevertheless, the criminal had, for his advocate, even the Consul *Torquatus*; who, though not unacquainted (if we may believe *Cicero*) with the rumour of his client's having entered into a treasonable conspiracy, gave no credit to it at that time^d: nor did the illustrious advocate find any great difficulty in getting his client acquitted: For *P. Clodius*, the prosecutor, a young nobleman as profligate as *Catiline* himself, agreed for a sum of money to betray the cause, by suffering the criminal to have, in reality, the nomination of the Judges^e.

And the very next year (689) when *Cicero* was a candidate, in form, for the Consulship, *Catiline*, being then free, stood against him for the same dignity. It has been mentioned, that, during that competition, in order to give a check to the open and shameful practice of bribery and

jealous of *Piso*, and hoping to cure his disaffection by making him easy in his fortunes, or to remove him, at least, from the cabals of his associates, gave him the government of *Spain*, at the instance of *Crassus*, who strenuously supported him as a determined enemy to *Pompey*. But, before his setting out, *Cæsar* and he are said to have entered into a new and separate engagement, - that the one should begin some disturbance abroad, while the other was to prepare and inflame matters at home: But this plot also was defeated, by the unexpected death of *Piso*; who was assassinated by the *Spaniards*, as some say, for his cruelty, or, as others, by *Pompey's* clients, and at the instigation of *Pompey* himself.

Tome XL. M. Crevier, though not over favourable to
p. 364. *Cæsar*, writes thus: "I cannot readily believe that *Cæsar*, whose disposition was always far from cruel, could have a part in so horrid a design, [the massacre of the Consuls and Senators.] I might say almost as much for *Crassus*."

Neither the authority of *Suetonius*, nor that of *Dio*, ought to be of great weight with us on this head, seeing they charge *Sylla* with the same confidence that they charge *Antonius*; yet *Sylla* is not once mentioned by *Sallust*, as either guilty, or even suspected of the present conspiracy; and, being afterwards accused of it, was defended by *Hortensius*, and

acquitted: and *Cicero* warmly asserts his innocence.

^b It was in this year, as *Cicero* tells us, that those prodigies happened, which were interpreted to portend the great dangers and plots that were now hatching against the State, and broke out two years after in *Cicero's* Consulship, when the turrets of the Capitol, the statues of the Gods, and the brazen image of the infant *Romulus* sucking the wolf, were struck down by lightning. In *Catil. iii. 8*.

^c *Catilina, si judicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor. Lib. I. Ep. i. ad Attic.*

^d *Quin etiam parens tuus, Torquatus, Consul reo de pecuniis repetundis, Catilinæ fuit advocatus—cui cum attuit post delatam ad eum primam illam conjurationem, indicavit se audisse aliquid, non credidisse. Orat. pro Sylla, 29. N. B. Torquatus, Sylla's accuser, to whom Cicero addresses himself, was the son of that Torquatus, who, when Consul, had defended Catiline.*

^e *A Catilina pecuniam accepit, ut turpissimè prævaricaretur. De Harusp. Resp. 20.*

Hoc judicio absolutus est Catilina, infamia judicium. Ut & Clodius infamis fuerit, quippe qui prævaricatus est. Nam & rejectio judicium ad arbitrium rei videbatur esse facta. Afcon. in Tog. Cand.

corruption

corruption of *Antonius* and *Catiline*, a new and more rigorous Law, than any in force was proposed, but did not pass; because the Tribune *Mucius Orestinus* put his negative upon it. “ [This Tribune had been ^{Midd. p. 142.} *Cicero*’s client, and defended by him in an impeachment of plunder ^{Ascon. in Tog. Cand.} and robbery; but, having now sold himself to his enemies, made it the subject of all his harangues to ridicule his birth and character as unworthy of the Consulship: In the debate, therefore, which arose in the Senate upon the merit of his negative, *Cicero*, provoked to find so desperate a confederacy against him, rose up, and, after some raillery and expostulation with *Mucius*, made a most severe invective on the flagitious lives and practices of his two competitors, in a speech usually called *In Toga Candida*, because it was delivered in a white gown, the proper habit of all candidates, and from which the name itself was derived.”

In this speech *Cicero* reproaches *Catiline* with all his crimes and vices, and particularly with his incestuous wickedness^f; his late plotting with *Piso* to cut off the chiefs of the Senate^g; and his grievous oppressions of the *Africans*^h: and he intimates to him in a kind of menace, that, though, through the iniquity of the Judges, he had been acquitted

^f Hanc tu habes dignitatem, quâ fretus me contemnis & despicias? an eam quam reliquâ vitâ es consecutus? cum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus, quo non adventus tuus, etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen adferret. *In Tog. Cand.*

Fabia virgo vestalis causam incesti dixerat, cum ei *Catilina* objiceretur. Eratque absoluta hæc *Fabia*, quia soror erat *Terentia* *Ciceronis*, ideo sic dixit etiam si culpa nulla subesset; ita & suis pepercit, & nihil levius inimico summi opprobrii turpitudinem objecit. *Ascon. in loc.*

Cum deprehendere in adulteriis; cum deprehendebas adulteros ipse; cum ex eodem stupro tibi & uxorem & filiam invenisti. *In Tog. Cand.*

Dicitur *Catilinam* adulterium commisisse cum eâ, quæ ei postea socrus fuit; eo stupro duxisse uxorem cum filia ejus esset. Hæc *Luceius* quoque *Catilinæ* objicit in orationibus, quas in eum scripsit. *Ascon. in loc.*

& Prætereo illum nefarium conatum tuum & pene acerbum & luctuosum populo Romano diem, cum, *Cn. Pisone* socio, neque alio nemine eadem optimatum facere voluisti. *In Tog. Cand.*

N. B. *Cicero* speaks here of this plot as a fact known; yet, in his *Orat. pro Sylla*, he

says, it was not known at the time of *Catiline*’s trial in 688, nor known at the time of his second trial when all the *Consulars* appeared for him.

^h Te vero, *Catilina*, consulatum sperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum est? a quibus enim petis? — a principibus civitatis? qui tibi cum *L. Volcatius* Consul in Consilio fuisset, ne petendi quidem potestatem esse voluerunt: — a senatoribus? qui te auctoritate suâ, spoliatum ornamentis omnibus, victum pene *Africanis* oratoribus tradiderunt.

Ne se jam tum respexit cum gravissimis vestris decretis absens notatus est.

In judiciâ quanta vis esset, didicit, cum est absolutus, si aut illud judicium, aut illa absolutio nominanda est — diripuit socios, leges, quæstionis judicia violavit; — quid ego ut violaveris provinciam prædicem? nam ut te illic gesseris non audeo dicere, quoniam absolutus es. Mentitos esse equites Romanos, falsas esse tabellas honestissimæ civitatis existimo: mentitum *Q. Metellum Pium*, mentitam *Africam*; vidisse puto nescio quid illos judices, qui te innocentem judicarunt: *Oh miser! qui non sentias illo judicio te non absolutum, verum ad aliquod severius judicium ac majus supplicium reservatum.* *In Tog. Cand.*

• He was killed by a centurion, according to Plutarch.

on his trial for *extortion* and *rapine* in *Afric*, he would be brought into judgment again; and, for his cruel murder of Marius Gratidianus^b (a man dear to the People) and others, proscribed by Sylla (crimes which he could not have the impudence to deny) would be condemned to a severer punishment than could have been inflicted on him for his male-administration in *Afric*, had he been convicted of it. And we find, that *Catiline*, in the very year when *Cicero* pronounced this invective, was tried for those murders before the Judges who sat upon the *Sicarii*; and who, though they condemned *Bellicus*, *Catiline's* uncle, for killing *Ofella*^{*}, and condemned *Luscus*, and other satellites of *Sylla*, for killing Citizens by him proscribed, acquitted *Catiline*, than whom none was more notoriously, or more odiously guilty. *Asconius*^c says, that this trial was after *Catiline's* repulse from the Consulship; which indeed is sufficiently supported by *Cicero's* now threatening him with it as a danger to which he remained exposed^d.

But what seems here the most worthy of remark is, that the cruel murders with which *Cicero*, in his invective, reproaches *Catiline*, murders notorious, facts confessed, and which the Orator has, in several parts of his writings, painted in the most shocking colours^e, are the very crimes from the punishment of which he once resolved to defend the

^b Quem amicum habere potest is, qui tot cives trucidavit? [Consulatum petis] ab equestri ordine? quem trucidasti.

A Plebe?—cui spectaculum ejusmodi tua crudelitas præbuit, ut nemo sine luctu aspicere, sine gemitu recordari possit. Ibid.

Ejusdem illius Marii Gratidiani quod caput gestavit, objicit quo loco dicit Catilinam caput M. Marii gestasse, quod caput etiam tum plenum animæ & spiritus ad Sullam usque ab Janiculo ad ædem Apollinis manibus ipse suis detulit. *Ascon.* in loc.

Populum vero, cum inspectante populo collum secuit hominis maxime popularis, quanti faceret, ostendit. *In Tog. Cand.*

Quid tu potes in defensione tua dicere, quod illi [Luscus & Bellicus] non dixerunt? Quæ tibi dicere non licebit.—Denique ille negare potuerunt, & negaverunt: tu tibi ne insciendi quidem impudentiæ locum reliquisti. Quare præclara dicentur judicia tulisse, si, qui inscientem *Luscum* condemnarunt, *Catilinam* absolverint confidentem. *In Tog. Cand.*

^c The same *Asconius* tells us, that *Antonius* and *Catiline*, in their answer to this invective, dwelt wholly on the obscurity of the Orator's birth, his being a *novus homo*. *Ascon.* in *Tog. Cand.*

^d Hujus autem criminis periculum, quod objicit *Cicero*, paucos post menses *Catilina* subiit, post effecta enim comitia consularia & *Catilinæ* repulsam, fecit eum reum inter *Sicarios* L. Lucullus [Luccius] paratus eruditusque, qui postea consulatum quoque petiit. Ibid.

^e *Quintus Cicero*, in his letter to his brother *Marcus*, *De Petit. Consulatu*. mentions the shocking barbarity of *Catiline*. Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum consulatum, qui hominem carissimum *Populo Rom.* M. Marium inspectante *Populo Rom.* vitibus per totam urbem ceciderit? ad bustum egerit [Q. Catuli] ibi omni cruciatus vivum lacerarit? Stanti collum gladio sua dextra secuerit, cum sinistra capillum ejus a vertice teneret? Caput sua manu tulerit, cum inter digitos ejus rivi sanguinis fluerent? [*Quintus* adds, with regard to *Catiline's* general course of life] Qui postea cum histrionibus & cum gladiatoribus ita vixit, ut alteros libidinis, alteros facinoris adjutores haberet? Qui nullum in locum tam sanctum, ac tam religiosum accessit, in quo non, etsi in aliis culpa non esset, tamen ex sua nequitia dedecoris suspicionem relinquerit?

criminal,

criminal, for the sake of making him his friend; and unquestionably would have defended, had *Catiline* been accused in form, and brought to trial *before* the Consular elections of 689; and provided he would have condescended to be the Orator's partner and associate in canvassing for the Consulship at that election. It seems very plain, that *all the Consulars* did appear for *Catiline* (when brought to trial *after* his repulse) those Senators whom *Cicero* calls *good and honest men, and friends of the Republic*: It is no wonder therefore that he was acquitted.

In justice to the reader it ought to be here confessed, that the foregoing account of the *two trials* of *Catiline*, the one for *oppressions*, the other for *murder*, does not accord with what is said of them, by certain modern writers, who, with great reason, are much esteemed. Two letters from *Cicero* to *Atticus*, in each of which mention is made of some accusation on which *Catiline* was to be tried, have occasioned a deal of perplexity to the *commentators* upon those letters, and to the *translators* of them, and to *modern compilers* of *Roman history*, who cannot agree concerning the date of the *second* of those letters, nor the *time* when *Catiline* was tried for *extortion*: Nor is it strange, that the *moderns* should differ on these articles, seeing *Asconius* and *Fenestella*, cotemporaries, and both living in the reign of *Augustus*, differ upon the question, whether *Cicero* did actually defend *Catiline*, or not.

The reader will, I hope, excuse the digression, if I step a little aside to examine into these matters; which I am disposed to do, not merely for the sake of ascertaining the facts (which, alone, can hardly be thought worth the trouble) but in order to be better acquainted with *Cicero*, from whose writings our modern *Histories of his Times* are chiefly extracted. I shall begin with inserting such parts of the two letters, as regard the business in hand.

Book I. Ep. I. *Cicero* to *Atticus*.

" I send you the best account, which conjecture enables me to give you,
 " of the competitors I shall have for the Consulship. *Galba* is the only
 " man who has *declared* his purpose of standing,—[yet] it seems certain,
 " that not only he, but *Antonius* and *Cornificius* will be candidates.—Some
 " talk of *Cæsonius*.—*Aquilius* I don't believe has any such intention. But
 " I SHALL certainly have *Catiline* for a competitor, if the Judges will declare
 " that it is not light at noon day."

Cicero Attico sal.

" *Petitionis nostræ, quam tibi summæ curæ esse scio hujusmodi ratio est, quod*
 " *adhuc conjectura providere possit. Prensat unus P. Galba.—Competitores,*
 " *qui certi esse videantur, Galba & Antonius & Q. Cornificius—Sunt qui*
 " *etiam Cæsonium putant. Aquilium non arbitramur, qui denegat.—Catilina,*
 " *si judicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor."*

Ep. II. Cicero to Atticus.

“ In the Consulship of *Lucius Julius Cæsar* and *Caius Marcius Figulus*.
 “ My wife is safely delived of a son.—I formerly gave you a full ac-
 “ count how things stood with regard to my suit for the Consulship. *At*
 “ *this time I am thinking to defend my competitor* Catiline; we have Judges
 “ to our mind, yet such as the *accuser* himself is pleased with: I hope, if
 “ he be acquitted, that he will be the more ready to serve me in our com-
 “ mon petition; but if it fall out otherwise, I shall bear it with patience.
 “ It is of great importance to me to have you here as soon as possible:
 “ For there is a general persuasion, that certain nobles of your acquaint-
 “ ance will be against me; and you, I know, could be of the greatest ser-
 “ vice in gaining them over. Wherefore don’t fail to be here in *January*,
 “ as you intended.”

Cicero Attico sal.

“ *L. Julio Cæsare, C. Marcio Figulo Coss. filiolo me auctum scito, salva*
 “ *Terentia. Ego de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea diligenter.*—Hoc tem-
 “ pore *Catilinam*, competitorem nostrum, defendere cogitamus. *Judices*
 “ *habemus quos volumus, summa accusatoris voluntate. Spero, si absolutus erit,*
 “ *conjuvitiorem illum nobis fore in ratione petitionis: sin aliter acciderit huma-*
 “ *niter feremus. Tuo adventu nobis opus est maturo. Nam prorsus summa bo-*
 “ *minum est opinio, tuos familiares, nobiles homines, adversarios honori nostro*
 “ *fore. Ad eorum voluntatem mihi conciliandam maximo te mihi usui fore video.*
 “ *Quare Januario mense, ut constituisti, cura ut Romæ sis.*”

[*L. Julio Cæsare, C. Marcio Figulo Coss.*] Sous le consulat de *L. Julius Cæsar*, & *C. Marcius Figulus*. On these words M. l'Abbeé de St. Real makes the following remark. “ Il y a des difficultés extraordinaires à dater cette
 “ lettre, & les commentateurs s’y sont épuisés. Par ces Consuls qui y sont nom-
 “ més il semble qu’elle soit de 689, qui est leur année. Cependant cela paroît
 “ comme impossible par le dernier article, où Cicéron exhorte *Atticus* à
 “ venir passer à Rome * le mois de Janvier: car il ne peut entendre que le
 “ Janvier de cette même année, puisque c’étoit pour l’aider à obtenir le consulat
 “ de la suivante, ce qui se devoit décider, suivant la coutume au commence-
 “ ment d’Août, pour le plus tard. Or quand même son fils seroit né, & cette
 “ lettre écrite le premier jour de cette année 689, le tems seroit bien court pour
 “ l’envoyer en Grece, & pour faire arriver *Atticus* à Rome, dans le même mois.
 “ Cette considération jointe à ce que la plupart des vieilles éditions mettent Ja-
 “ nuario ineunte, au lieu de Januario mense, comme il y a dans les plus cor-
 “ rectes des nouvelles éditions, a fait croire à plusieurs commentateurs, qu’elle est
 “ de l’année précédente 688, & que Cicéron a seulement entendu en nommant les
 “ Consuls qu’il y nomme, qu’ils venoient d’être élus pour l’année suivante, & non
 “ pas qu’ils fussent déjà en exercice.

“ Mais puisque cette manière de dater est si hors d’usage, que ces commenta-
 “ teurs n’en ont pu trouver un seul exemple, dans toute l’Antiquité Romaine, pour
 “ appuyer

* Probably, there is here an error of the press.

“ appuyer leur opinion, il me semble qu’il y a bien moins d’inconvenient à croire
 “ que cette lettre est effectivement de l’année qu’elle marque. Car il n’est pas
 “ impossible, que Cicéron crût qu’Atticus étoit déjà en chemin quand il l’écrivoit.
 “ Peut-être aussi ne comptoit-il pas qu’Atticus pût arriver dans tout Janvier,
 “ quoiqu’il le lui écrivoit pour le presser davantage. Que si la naissance d’un pre-
 “ mier fils est un événement de nature à être daté plus particulièrement, que
 “ par l’année dans laquelle il est arrivé, en l’écrivant à son meilleur ami, n’est-il
 “ pas à presumer que Cicéron entendoit quelque jour particulier de cette même
 “ année, quoiqu’il ne l’ait point exprimé? Que si cela est, quel jour peut-il
 “ avoir entendu naturellement, en disant seulement que son fils est né sous tels
 “ Consuls, que le premier jour de leur consulat? comme nous entendons le pre-
 “ mier jour de l’année en disant seulement le jour de l’an. Voilà, ce me semble,
 “ de quelle manière on peut se hasarder raisonnablement à deviner, pour se deter-
 “ miner dans les difficultés de cette nature, Et non pas, comme la plupart des com-
 “ mentateurs, par des subtilités de Grammaire.”

Cicero’s English historian agrees with M. de St. Real, concerning the year in which this letter was written. Midd. Life of Cic. vol. I. p. 146.

“ It is certain, that his son [Cicero’s son] was born in this same year
 “ (689) as he expressly tells us, in the Consulship of L. Julius Cæsar, and
 “ C. Marcius Figulus. L. Julio Cæsare & C. Marcio Figulo Coss. filiolo me
 “ autum scito, salva Terentia.” Ad. Attic. l. i. ep. 2.

And Cicero’s French historian is of M. de St. Real’s opinion as to the day, as well as year, when Cicero wrote the letter in question.—La naissance du fils de Cicéron,—se trouve fixée au premier jour de 689, dans une lettre que le même Cicéron écrivoit à Atticus pour le presser d’arriver incessamment, par la raison du besoin qu’il avoit de lui auprès de quelques personnes puissantes qui paroissent vouloir le traverser dans sa demande. Morabin, Hist. de Cic. p. 92.

M. Mongault, in an answer to M. de St. Real, has given reasons for adhering to the opinion of the old commentators. But, it seems, his reasons were of no weight with either of the said historians, who could not be ignorant of what he has said on this head. M. Mongault writes thus: Cette lettre [the letter beginning with the words L. Julio Cæsare, &c.] a été écrite peu de tems après la précédente, comme M. de St. Real l’a reconnu lui même sans y penser lorsqu’il a traduit *Ego de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea diligenter*, par je vous ai écrit, il n’y a guères, fort particulièrement sur ma prétention, ce qui a un rapport visible à la lettre précédente: or elle a été certainement écrite vers le dix-septième de Juillet, donc celle-ci a dû l’être avant le premier Janvier suivant. Mongault’s Remarks on Cic. Letters to Atticus, tome I. p. 89.

Mais voici quelque chose de plus décisif. Cicéron dit qu’il pensoit à plaider pour Catilina son compétiteur: or l’affaire de Catilina, dont Cicéron parle ici, fut jugée sous le consulat de Cotta & de Torquatus (688) Cæsar & Figulus n’étant encore que Consuls désignés.

We see that all the four writers above cited take for granted, that the trial of Catiline, on the accusation brought against him by Clodius, for

Y. R. 690. for male-administration in *Afric*, is the trial concerning which *Cicero* says, in the first letter, "If *Catiline* be acquitted, I shall certainly have him for a competitor;" and concerning which he says in the second letter, "I am thinking to defend my competitor *Catiline*."

Prepossessed with this persuasion, *M. de St. Real* and *M. Morabin*, to reconcile it with the date of the second letter, *L. Julio Cesare* and *C. Marcia Figulo Coss.* put off the trial to the year 689, when *Cæsar* and *Figulus* were actually in the Consulship; contrary to the express testimony of *Cicero* himself, who tells us, that the Consul *Torquatus* with all the ornaments of his Magistracy appeared at that trial, and was *Catiline's* advocate^a.

M. Mengault too, prepossessed with the persuasion, that both the letters speak of one and the same accusation (*viz.* that of *Catiline's* male-administration in *Afric*) in order, I suppose, to reconcile this persuasion with *Cicero's* testimony concerning the time when *Catiline* was tried on that accusation, will by all means have *L. Julio Cesare* and *C. Marcio Figulo Coss.* to mean when *Cæsar* and *Figulus* were CONSULS ELECT; but he stands alone in this particular.

Cicero's English historian, through a strange degree of inattention, has represented *Cicero* preparing in 689, a defence of *Catiline*, in a cause which, according to the said historian's own account, had been tried and determined the year before^b.

That the trial of *Catiline* for his male-administration in *Afric* was not the trial of which *Cicero* speaks in the second letter to *Atticus*, is sufficiently manifest from comparing the two letters together. In the first, *Cicero* says, *Nobody but Galba has declared himself.-- If Catiline should happen to be acquitted, I shall certainly have him for a COMPETITOR.* In the second, he says, *I am thinking to defend my COMPETITOR Catiline.* The trial, therefore, referred to in the first letter, was now over, and *Catiline* had been acquitted; he being actually at this time one of *Cicero's* Competitors.

If this be not satisfactory, what follows will, I imagine, remove all doubt; and may perhaps evince, that some modern historians, who treat professedly of the times in which *Cicero* lived, are not to be read without the same caution, which *Cicero's* English historian advises us to use, in reading the Greek historians *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dio*, who, he says, were subject to prejudices in their relation of Roman affairs.

Midd.
Pref. p.
xxiv.

Catiline was twice tried upon criminal accusations, and twice acquitted: *bis absolutum esse Lentulum, bis Catilinam.* That his first trial was in the Consulship of *Torquatus* and *Cotta*, for oppressions and exactions in *Africa*, cannot be questioned by any body who has attended to what *Cicero* says in his oration for *Sylla*, and in that for *Cælius*.

Ad. Attic.
lib. i. ep.
16.

^a Orat. pro Sylla, 29. & pro Cæli. 4.

^b See *Middleton's* Life of *Cicero*, p. 138. compared with p. 146.

But another question arises—*Whether Cicero pleaded for Catiline or not at that trial?* “*This question is not decided* (says M. Mongault,) *Asconius maintains the negative against Fenestella:*” And M. Mongault^c, in support of *Asconius’s* opinion, adds, “*There is no fragment remaining of Cicero’s oration, nor any citation from it;*” An argument in which there seems but little force; because as *Cicero* in his posterior speeches and letters reproached *Catiline* so often, and so bitterly, with all his crimes, it is not likely the orator would preserve and publish a speech, wherein he had employed his eloquence to defend him.

Cicero’s French historian is of opinion, that *Catiline* having found means to bribe both his Accuser and the Judges, *did not* make application to *Cicero* to defend him, though the Orator was well disposed to do it. He imagines, that *Catiline* being aware of *Cicero’s* views, which did not coincide with his own, chose rather with money to purchase an acquittal, than owe it in any measure to a man with whom he so little agreed in sentiment^d.

Cicero’s English historian is positive, that *Cicero did not defend Catiline*, Midd. p. but imagines a different reason for his declining that task. He writes ^{139.} thus :

“*Catiline* was brought to a trial for *his oppressions in Afric*: He had been soliciting *Cicero* to undertake his defence; who at one time was much inclined, or determined rather, to do it, for the sake of obliging the nobles, especially *Cesar* and *Craſſus*, or of making *Catiline* at least his friend, as he signifies in a letter to *Atticus*: *I design* (says he) Ad Attic. i. 2. *at present to defend my competitor Catiline, we have Judges to our mind, and yet such as the ACCUSER himself is pleased with: I hope, if he be acquitted, that he will be more ready to serve me in our common petition; but if it fall out otherwise, I shall bear it with patience.* But *Cicero* changed his mind, and did not defend him; upon a nearer view,

^c M. Mongault thinks it highly probable, that *Cicero*, if he had defended *Catiline*, would in his speech *in Tog. Cand.* have reproached him with ingratitude, as he did the Tribune *Mucius*, whom he had formerly defended, when accused of robbery.

^d *Catilina*, qui quoiqu’accusé de concussion & par conséquent exclus de droit de toutes les charges, lui paroissoit le pretendant le plus formidable. En effet l’argent qu’il distribua à P. Clodius Pulcher son accusateur & à ses juges eux-mêmes lava dans le tems cet obstacle & il ne fut point obligé de recourir à *Cicéron*, qui s’étoit attendu à le défendre & qui en avoit au moins eu la volonté. Il s’étoit flatté qu’en se le conciliant par ce bon

office ils s’entendroient mieux dans leur poursuite commune, & que *Catilina* le préféreroit à tout autre pour son collègue: en cela je n’ai garde de vouloir justifier *Cicéron*; sur tout après avoir appris de lui que *Catilina* étoit si manifestement coupable, qu’on auroit aussitôt nié qu’il fût jour en plein midi, que de détruire les preuves des son crime.

Catilina pressentit ses vues; & comme elles ne quadroient en rien avec les siennes, il aimoit mieux acheter son absolution à prix d’argent, que de s’engager à des retours, s’il arrivoit qu’il la dût à l’éloquence d’un homme avec qui il sympathisoit si peu. *Morabin. Hist. de Cic. p. 91.*

“ perhaps, of his designs and traiterous practices; to which he seems to
 “ allude, when, describing the art and dissimulation of *Catiline*, he de-
 Pro Cati. 6. clares, *that he himself was once almost deceived by him, so as to take him*
 “ *for a good citizen, a lover of honest men, a firm and faithful friend, &c*
 “ But it is not strange, that a candidate for the Consulship, in the career
 “ of his ambition, should think of defending a man of the first rank and
 “ interest in the City, when *all the Consular Senators*, and even *the Consul*
 “ *himself, Torquatus*, appeared with him at the trial, and gave testimony
 “ in his favour. Whom *Cicero* excused, when they were afterwards re-
 “ proached with it, by observing, *that they had no notion of his treasons,*
 “ *nor suspicion at that time of his conspiracy; but out of mere humanity and*
 Pro Syll. 29. “ *compassion defended a friend in distress, and in that crisis of his danger*
 “ *overlooked the infamy of his life.*
 “ His prosecutor was *P. Clodius*, a young nobleman as profligate as
 “ himself; so that it was not difficult to make up matters with such an
 “ accuser, who for a sum of money agreed to betray the cause, and suffer
 Vid. in fr. 223. “ him to escape: which gave occasion to what *Cicero* said afterwards in
 “ a speech against him in the Senate, while they were suing together for
 Orat. in Toga Cand. “ the Consulship: *Wretch! not to see that thou art not acquitted, but re-*
 “ *served to a severer trial, and heavier punishment.*”

There are, to my apprehension, not a few infirmities in this passage of the celebrated historian's work. For,

1. The second letter to *Atticus*, to which reference is made, says not a word of *Cæsar*, or of *Crassus*, or of *Cicero's* being determined to defend *Catiline*, for the sake of obliging the nobles, but for the sake only of making *Catiline* his friend.

2. In the next place, the historian cites the authority of *Asconius*, for saying that *Cicero* did not defend *Catiline*; yet *Asconius* delivers that only as his opinion, in opposition to the assertion of *Fenestella*, and gives reasons which are of very little weight. By the way, it should be remembered, that the question upon which *Asconius* and *Fenestella* differ is, whether *Cicero* defended *Catiline* at his trial in 688, for extortion? Nobody supposes that *Cicero*, after making that *invective* called *Orat. in Toga Candida*, and after *Catiline's* repulse from the Consulship in 689, did actually defend him at his trial for murder; though this was most certainly the trial at which *Cicero* once *purposed* to defend him; it being apprehended, at the time when *Cicero* wrote the second letter to *Atticus*, that *Catiline* would, before the Consular elections of that year 689, be brought into judgment on the accusation of *killing the proscribed*.

3. The historian thinks it not improbable, that *Cicero's* change of mind proceeded from his having (in 688) a nearer view of *Catiline's* designs and traiterous practices; whereas we shall presently see, that in the latter part of the year 689, those traiterous practices were (according to *Cicero*)

Cicero) an absolute secret to *the Consulars*, who all appeared for him at the trial which he then underwent.

4. The historian relates, as if it were a thing not only *credible*, but certainly *true*, that *Cicero*, who speaks so often of the *notoriety* of *Catiline's* many and most atrocious crimes anterior to his conspiracy, and has represented his whole life as an uninterrupted series of uncommon wickedness, *took him*, nevertheless, or, at least, *was once almost deceived by him*, so as to take him for a good citizen, a lover of honest men, a firm and faithful friend.

5. There is no evidence, that *all the Consular Senators* appeared (as the historian pretends) for *Catiline* in 688, at his trial for *oppressions and rapine*: But we learn from a passage, in *Orat. pro* Sylla*, that *all the* * C. 29. *Consulars* did appear for *Catiline* at a posterior trial which he underwent. And when *Cicero*, in his speech in *Tog. Cand.* said to him, *Wretch! not* Vid. sup. *to see that thou art not acquitted, but reserved only to a severer trial, and* P. 322. *heavier punishment*, it is not more plain, that this menacing prediction related to a trial, which he had still to undergo, than it is, that this future trial would be *for having killed some of the proscribed, and particu-* Vid. supra. *larly Marius Gratidianus*; a fact which *Catiline* could not have the impu- P. 316. *dence to deny.* note (b)

From the *passage* in *Cicero's* speech for *P. Sylla*, to which I here refer, and which will presently be given at length, it is very evident that *Torquatus*, the prosecutor, apprehensive lest the *advocation* in *Cicero*, and the *patronage* of the *CONSULARS*, who had all been zealous in the measures taken to crush *Catiline*, might be considered, as a presumptive proof of *Sylla's* being entirely innocent of *Catiline's* conspiracy, had therefore reminded the Judges of the *appearing of all the Consulars* for *Catiline himself*, when brought into judgment upon a criminal accusation.—“ Yes” (answers *Cicero*) “ it is very true, they did appear for him: and your father, when Consul, was *Catiline's* advocate, at his trial for *oppressions and rapine*; but your father was *then* ignorant of his traiterous plots: nor did your father afterwards, when he had received some intimation of those plots, appear for him at his *second* trial, though all the other *Consulars* did; they being *then* as ignorant of his treasonable practices, as your father was at the time of the *first* trial. But when those men “ who had been *really accomplices* of *Catiline* in the conspiracy were brought into judgment for it, none of the *Consulars* appeared for them, or gave them the smallest assistance.” And the orator seems, on this occasion, to intimate, that treasons against the Senate was the only crime, from the punishment of which a man might not honourably defend the

* Those of the conspirators, who, after *Catiline's* defeat and death, were tried in form, found guilty and punished.

P. Sylla was, at the same time, accused by the younger *Torquatus*, and defended by *Cicero*.

Vid. supr.
p. 207.

guilty : [yet he had formerly censured *Hortensius* with some severity for defending *Verres*.]

Accusati sunt uno nomine CONSULARES.—*Affuerunt*, inquit, *Catilinæ*, *illumque laudarunt*. Nulla tum patebat, nulla erat cognita conjuratio : defendebant amicum, aderant supplici, *vite ejus turpitudinem in summis ejus periculis non insequabantur*. Quin etiam *parens tuus*, *TORQUATE*, *CONSUL*, *reo de pecuniis repetundis Catilinæ fuit advocatus* :—At idem non adfuit ALIO IN JUDICIO, CUM ADESSENT CETERI. Si POSTEA cognorat ipse aliquid, quod IN CONSULATU ignorasset : ignoscendum est iis, qui POSTEA nihil audierunt. Sin illa res de pecuniis repetundis PRIMA valuit : non inveterata, quàm recens, debuit esse gravior. Sed si tuus parens etiam in illa suspitione periculi sui, tamen humanitate adductus advocationem hominis improbissimi *Sella curuli*, atque ornamentis & suis, & consulatus honestavit ; quid est quamobrem CONSULARES, qui *Catilinæ adfuerunt*, reprehendantur ? At iidem iis, qui † ante hunc [*Syllam*] causam de conjuratione dixerunt, non adfuerint. TANTO SCelere adstrictis hominibus statuerunt nihil a se adjumenti, nihil opis, nihil auxilii ferri oportere. *Orat. pro Sylla*, 29.

† Lege.
Plautia de
Vi interro-
gati. Vid.
Cic. pro
Cœl. 29.

M. Crevier, being fully persuaded, I suppose, that the second letter to *Atticus* was written in the Consulship of *L. Cæsar* and *C. Figulus* [A. U. 689,] and therefore that *Cicero's* determination, there mentioned, to defend *Catiline*, could not relate to his trial for oppressions, which was over, writes thus :

Tome XI.
p. 409.

“ *Cicero the year before*, when he was preparing to stand *this year* (689) for the Consulship, had said, upon seeing *Catiline* accused of extortion, *we shall certainly have him for a competitor, if it be judged that it is not light at noon-day*. *Catiline* was tried and acquitted ; and being afterwards accused either of incestuous commerce with the Vestal *Fabia*^f, or of the murder of the proscribed, applied himself to *Cicero*,
“ to

^f “ For the incest, which *Catiline* committed with the Vestal *Fabia*, a criminal prosecution, in form, (says *M. Crevier*, Tom. IX. p. 361.) was commenced against him. But *Fabia* was *Cicero's* wife's sister, and *Catiline* was protected by *Catulus*. Favour prevailed, and the criminals were acquitted. It will perhaps appear surprising, that *Catulus*, a man of worth, and a good citizen, should interest himself for *Catiline*.” [N.B. It is the character here given of *Catulus*, which, being supposed his due, occasions the surprize at his appearing in favour of *Catiline* ; but the wonder ceases at once, when we call to mind that *Catulus* was one of *Sylla's* crea-

tures, and a brother satellite of *Catiline*, and his zealous defender, when tried for the murder of the proscribed ; by the confiscation of whose estates, *Catulus*, *Hortensius*, *Metellus Pius*, and the rest of the murderous crew, were become rich.] *M. Crevier*, for the fact of *Catiline's* being tried for the affair of the Vestal, cites *Ascon.* in *Or. Cic. in Toga Cand.* and *Orosius*, l. vi. c. 3. But *Asconius* does not say it, but seems rather to intimate, that *Fabia* only was tried. *Vid. supr.* p. 315. note^f. What *Orosius* says, is this : *Eodem anno [683] apud Romanam Catilina incesti accusatus, quod cum Fabia virgine Vestali commisisse arguebatur, Catuli gratia fulius evasit.*

Without

to be his defender. It is not certainly known, whether *Cicero* pleaded so bad a cause; but it is certain, that he was not averse to the undertaking, and that he reasoned thus. *Either I shall get him acquitted, in which case I may count upon his hearty concurrence with me in our common suit for the Consulship; or he will be condemned, and in that case I shall not be entirely disconsolate.*"

Now if *Cicero* defended, or designed to defend, *Catiline*, in a trial which he underwent in the year 689, it could be no other, than that for killing the proscribed; for it does not appear, that he was ever tried upon the affair of the Vestal.

"*Catiline*, says *Cicero's* English historian, was suspected also at the same time [in 689] of another heinous and capital crime, an incestuous commerce with *Fabia*, one of the Vestal virgins and sister to *Cicero's* wife. This was charged upon him so loudly by common fame, and gave such scandal to the City, that *Fabia* was brought to a trial for it; but, either through her innocence, or the authority of her brother *Cicero*, she was readily acquitted: which gave occasion to *Cicero* to say, among other reproaches on his flagitious life, That there was no place so sacred, whither his very visits did not carry pollution, and leave the imputation of guilt, where there was no real crime subsisting."

Though the learned historian speaks here of the affair of the Vestal as in the year 689, [*Catiline* was also suspected at the same time, &c.] yet, according to *Orosius*, the only writer (and he was of the fifth century) who reports that *Catiline* was tried on that accusation, the trial was about the year 683; and, according to *Sallust*, who is our best authority, the incest was committed when *Catiline* was a young man, or, at most, not old enough to stand for the Consulship: He was *adolescens*.

Nor is it credible, that *Cicero* would threaten *Catiline* with a trial for that crime, of which the Orator believed, or pretended, at least, to believe him innocent.

It may fairly be concluded, therefore, that the cause in question was the impeachment of *Catiline* for killing some of the proscribed; and that at this trial *Catulus*, and all the other worthy Consulars, with whom *Catiline* lived in strict friendship, appeared in his defence, gave him an excellent character [*illum laudarunt*] and got him acquitted. *Catulus* indeed was particularly interested in this affair, on account of the great honour which, by one of the murders in question, had been done to his father; to whose manes, and at whose tomb, *Marius Gratidianus* was, by *Catiline*, most devoutly and most bloodily sacrificed.

Vid. supr.
p. 161.

Without debating whether these words of *Orosius*, (from which, if what the writer says be true, it would follow that *Catiline* underwent three trials in all] be of any force against *Cicero's* *bis absolutum Catilinam*, I shall only

observe, that the time, in which *Orosius* places this trial, proves that it could not be the same trial at which *Cicero*, in the second letter to *Atticus*, declares his design to defend the criminal.

And

And now, that I may pursue the purpose of this digression, Does it not indicate an extreme and most unreasonable prejudice against *Cæsar*, to impute, without any hesitation, to him principally the acquittal of *Catiline*, and give this acquittal as one proof, among many (equally cogent) of *Cæsar*'s pernicious designs against his country?

For thus proceeds *Cicero*'s *English historian*, after mentioning *Cæsar*'s being one of the Assistant Judges to the Prætor who was to sit upon the *Sicarii*:—"This gave him an opportunity of citing before him as criminals, and condemning by the Law of Assassinate, all those, who in *Sylla*'s prescription had been known to kill, or receive money for killing a proscribed citizen; which money *Cato* also, when he was *Quæstor* the year before, had made them refund to the treasury. *Cæsar*'s view was [not to execute justice upon those murderers, whom *Cato* had in effect already condemned as murderers, but] to mortify the Senate, and ingratiate himself with the People, by reviving the *Marian cause*, which had always been popular, and of which he was naturally the head, on account of his near relation to old *Marius*. For which purpose he had the hardiness likewise [when *Ædile* in 688] to replace in the Capitol those trophies and statues of *Marius*, which *Sylla* had ordered to be thrown down and broken to pieces. But while he was prosecuting with such severity the agents of *Sylla*'s cruelty, he not only spared, but favoured *Catiline*, who was one of the most cruel in spilling the blood of the proscribed; having butchered with his own hands, and in a manner the most brutal, *C. Marius Gratidianus*, a favourite of the People, nearly related both to *Marius* and *Cicero*; whose head he carried in triumph through the streets to make a present of it to *Sylla*. But *Cæsar*'s zeal provoked *L. Paullus** [*L. Luceius*] to bring *Catiline* also under the lash of the same Law, and to accuse him in form, after his repulse from the Consulship [consequently after *Midsummer* 689,] of the murder of many Citizens in *Sylla*'s proscriptions, of which, though he was notoriously guilty, yet, contrary to all expectation, he was acquitted." [*Bis absolutum Catilinam*. Ad Att. i. 16. Sallust. 31. Dio, l. xxxvi. p. 34.]

* *L. Paullus* was not the accuser of *Catiline* in this cause, nor in this year 689; but towards the end of the year 690, upon the *Plautian Law* of treason: and no trial ensued. See Sallust. — *Asconius* writes thus: *Catilina est absolutus quem post repulsum in petitione Consulatus L. Lucullus, qui postea quoque eundem honorem petiit, lege de Sicariis postulaverat*. On which words *Freinsheimius* makes the following comment. *Haud facile est statuere, quis sit hic Lucullus. Asconius, ex quo hæc desumpta*

sunt, paulo post mentionem facit orationum *Luceii* in *Catilinam*. Hinc nobis verisimile videtur hic legendum esse *Luceius, pro L. Lucullus*. Pulcrè enim omnia conveniunt. Hic accusator *Catilinæ* dicitur ab *Asconio* fuisse paratus eruditusque: *Luceii* eruditio nota est ex epistolis ad eum *Ciceronis*. Idem qui *Catilinam* nunc accusat, consulatum postea petiit nec consecutus est. *Luceius* consulatum cum *Cæsare* & *Bibulo* frustra petiit.

M. Crevier is not so *positive*, as to *Cæsar's partiality* in this affair; he ventures no farther than *conjecture*.

“ The severity with which *Cato* had made the *murderers of the pro-*
 “ *scribed* refund the money they had received out of the treasury, cleared
 “ the way for *Cæsar's* condemnation of them as guilty of murder. It
 “ is perhaps the only public affair, wherein *Cato* and *Cæsar* were of one
 “ mind. *Cæsar*, on the expiration of his *Ædileship*, accepted a commis-
 “ sion for trying Homicides. He was then what the *Romans* called *Ju-*
 “ *dex Questionis*; that is, a commissioner appointed to preside in the
 “ place of a *Prætor*, at the trial of causes within a certain jurisdiction.
 “ He *probably* contrived to get this employment, in order to bring into
 “ judgment, and to punish, as murderers, those who had killed the
 “ proscribed, though they were excepted by name in *Sylla's* Laws.
 “ They had been already condemned, in some manner, by *Cato*; and
 “ when they were brought before *Cæsar's* Tribunal, the People had the
 “ satisfaction of seeing them punished for those very crimes, which they
 “ had before been rewarded for perpetrating. The catastrophe of those
 “ villains was matter of public rejoicing. Among the condemned was a
 “ centurion, called *L. Luscius*, whom *Sylla's* victory had so enriched,
 “ that he was at this time worth ten millions of sesterces. *Bellicus*,
 “ *Catiline's* uncle, who had killed *Lucretius Ofella*, was also con-
 “ demned. But *Catiline*, the most criminal of them all, was, upon
 “ trial, acquitted. History does not tell us the reason of this inequality
 “ in the sentences of the Judges, where the causes were so similar. We
 “ may CONJECTURE, that *Cæsar* was too much *Catiline's* friend, to be
 “ willing to destroy him. In consequence of this acquittal, *Catiline*,
 “ loaded with crimes, a conspirator against the State, thrice brought into
 “ judgment upon heavy accusations, and as often acquitted (without cea-
 “ sing to be thought criminal) was now [in 689] in a condition to stand for
 “ the *Consulship*.”

The reader may observe, that *Catiline* is almost as troublesome to the commentators in *their* way, as he was to *Cicero* in *his* way.

M. de St. Real, and M. Morabin, to get rid of their difficulties, have contradicted *Cicero* in relation to the TIME when *Catiline* was tried for *extortion*.

M. Mongault has been constrained to make *L. Cæfare, C. Figulo Coss.* mean the year when *Cæsar* and *Figulus* were CONSULS ELECT: And, with regard to the *time**, when *Catiline* was tried for killing the pro-
 scribed,

* Upon the words *bis absolutum esse Lentulum, bis Catilinam* (in *Cicero's* 16th letter to *Atticus*, (lib. i.) written in 692, M. Mongault makes the following remark.

“ *Que Lentulus & Catilina avoient été ab-*

“ *sous chacun-eux fois.*” — *Catilina* avoit été
 “ mis en justice LA PREMIERE FOIS pour
 “ avoir fait mourir inhumainement du tems de
 “ *Sylla, Marius Gratidianus*, cousin germain
 “ du pere de *Cicero*, & qui avoit été adopté
 par

scribed, to contradict every writer, ancient and modern, who has mentioned that trial.

Vid. sup.
p. 325. Cicero's *English historian*, as I observed before, has, through inattention, fallen into an absurdity like that of yesterday we shall go into the country.

M. Crevier, though avoiding the mistakes of the other four, has, contrary to the testimony of *Alconius*, and the evidence of Cicero's own words, in his invective in *Toga Canadina*, represented the trial of *Catiline* for murder, as prior to his *repuise from the Consulship*, and prior to that *invective*. And he speaks of *Catiline* as having been *thrice* tried and acquitted before his standing for the Consulship, whereas in fact he had been but *once* brought into judgment; which was for male-administration in *Afric*.

Vid. sup.
p. 324. And when M. Crevier says, "History does not tell us the reason why the judgments of the court were so unlike, when the causes were so similar," it is plain, that he has overlooked what Cicero himself (M. Crevier's principal historian for these times) confesses, that *all the Consular Senators* (except *Torquatus*) appeared for *Catiline* at his trial, posterior to that for *oppressions*, consequently his trial for *murdering the proscribed*.
Orat. pro Sylla, 29.

Vid. sup.
p. 326.
note (c) With regard to this trial of *Catiline* for murder, I further observe, that though his acquittal be imputed, by some modern writers, to *Cæsar*, as if he were the sole judge at the trial, yet it is evident, that more Judges than one sat upon the cause, and it is not clear, that *Cæsar* was of the number. *We have*, says Cicero, (who then purposed to be *Catiline's* advocate) *judges to our mind, yet such as the accuser himself is perfectly content with.* *Judices habemus quos volumus, summa accusatoris voluntate.* And if *Luceius*, Cicero's particular^b friend and great admirer, was the *accuser*, (which seems highly probable) have we not good ground to suspect that the whole transaction was collusive? After *Cato* had forced the assassins to refund the pecuniary rewards of their villainies, and after *Cæsar* had set on foot prosecutions against them as *murderers*, it was hardly possible for *Catiline* to avoid a trial. The business therefore of the *Optimates*, the intimate friends of *Catiline*, was to provide a *prosecutor* and an *advocate*, and judges, through whose *prevarication*, *eloquence*, and *iniquity*, he might be sure to escape; especially as the most eminent *Patriots*, the *Consuls*, the *Chiefs of the Honest*, were to appear to his character, and

par le grand Marius; & il fut accusé depuis
" de *concussio*, comme on a vu dans les let-
" tres x & xi. de ce livre, *Catilia* avoit en-
" core été accusé d'avoir eu commerce avec
" une Vestale; mais Cicéron ne parle point
" de cette accusation, parce que cette Vestale
" étoit sœur de la femme, & qu'il suppose

" qu'elle avoit été accusée sans fonde-
" ment."

^b This is the eminently learned man, who, at Cicero's request, undertook to write the history of Cicero's Consulship, and to praise his conduct beyond its merit. *Ep. Fam. 12. Ad Att. iv. 6.*

make

make his panegyric. It is a great pity, that we have not the oration which *Cicero* had prepared in defence of *Catiline's* hacking to pieces *Marius Gratidianus*, the Orator's near kinsman, and carrying the bloody head, *plenum animæ & spiritus*, through the streets, to make a present of it to *Sylla*. The fact being confessed*, the Orator's task was only to shew, that it was a glorious action, and highly beneficial to the Re-
* Vid. sup. p. 316. note (c.)

I pass now to the examination of that charge against *Cæsar*, which is so often repeated by modern writers of *Roman* history. He is represented as forming projects, even from his early youth, to overturn the *Commonwealth*, invade the liberties of his fellow-citizens, enslave his country, and to do, nobody knows what! "*Cæsar's whole life*," says *Cicero's* English historian, Midd. p. 225. "made it probable that there could hardly be any plot in which he had not some share." Yet of his evil dispositions before *Cicero's* Consulship, or even at that time, there is not the least shadow of evidence produced: But, instead of proper proof, we have his speaking honourably of his aunt and of his wife at their funerals; his erecting, when *Ædile*, the statue of *Marius*, and his espousing the popular party, against the faction of *Sylla's* cut-throats, and the creatures of his usurped despotism.

In order to set this matter in a true light, let us consider the import of the words *Republic*, *Free-State*, *Constitution*, when they are used in relating the history of these times.

Cicero's English historian, in a treatise which he published on the *Roman Senate*, contends, that, "by the original Constitution of the government, p. 33. & 110. even under the kings, the collective body of the People was the real sovereign of *Rome*, and the dernier resort in all cases."—And that even in the most outrageous "insults on the authority of the Senate, p. 123. though the honest of all ranks loudly inveighed against them, and detested the authors of them as men of dangerous views, who aspired to powers that threatened the liberty of the City; yet none ever pretended to say, that the acts themselves were illegal, or that the PEOPLE had not a clear right, by the very Constitution of the Republic, to command and enact whatever they thought expedient."

And the same writer tells us, that, before *Cicero's* Consulship, this Democracy had been changed by *Sylla* into an *Aristocracy*.

"*Sylla* having subdued all who were in arms against him, was now Midd. Life of Cic. p. 31. at leisure to take his full revenge on their friends and adherents; in which, by the detestable method of a proscription, of which he was the first inventor, he exercised a more infamous cruelty than had ever been practised in cold blood, in that, or, perhaps, any other City. The proscription was not confined to *Rome*, but carried through all the towns of *Italy*, where, besides the crime of party, which was pardoned to none, it was fatal to be possessed of money, lands, or a pleasant seat; all manner of licence being indulged to an insolent army, of Sallust. xv. Plut. in Syll.

Plut. in
Syll. p. 32.

Vell. Pat.
ii. 28.

“ carving for themselves what fortunes they pleased.—As soon as the
 “ proscriptions were over, and the scene grown a little calm, *L. Flaccus*,
 “ being chosen Inter-rex, declared *Sylla Dictator for settling the state of*
 “ *the Republic*, without any limitation of time, and ratified *whatever he*
 “ *had done, or should do, by a special Law, that impowered him to put*
 “ *any Citizen to death, without bearing or trial.* This office of Dictator,
 “ which in early times had oft been of singular service to the Repub-
 “ lic in cases of difficulty and distress, was now grown odious and suspected
 “ in the present state of its wealth and power, as dangerous to the public
 “ liberty, and for that reason had been wholly disused, and laid aside,
 “ for one hundred and twenty years; so that *Flaccus's Law* was the pure
 “ effect of force and terror; and though pretended to be made by the
 “ People, was utterly detested by them. *Sylla*, however, being invested
 “ by it with absolute authority, made many useful regulations for the better
 “ order of the government; and by the plenitude of his power changed
 “ in great measure the whole constitution of it, from a democratical to an
 “ aristocratical form, by advancing the prerogative of the Senate, and
 “ depressing that of the People. He took from the Equestrian order the
 “ judgment of all causes, which they had enjoyed from the time of the Gracchi,
 “ and restored it to the Senate; deprived the People of the right of choosing
 “ the priests, and replaced it in the colleges of priests; but above all, he
 “ abridged the immoderate power of the Tribunes, which had been the chief
 “ source of all their civil dissensions; for he made them incapable of any other
 “ Magistracy after the Tribunate; restrained the liberty of appealing to them;
 “ took from them their capital privilege, of proposing Laws to the People;
 “ and left them nothing but their negative; or, as Cicero says, the power
 “ only of helping, not of hurting any one. But that he might not be sus-
 “ pected of aiming at a perpetual tyranny, and a total subversion of the
 “ Republic, he suffered the Consuls to be chosen in a regular manner, and
 “ to govern, as usual, in all the ordinary affairs of the City: whilst he
 “ employed himself in reforming the disorders of the State, by putting
 “ his new Laws in execution; and in distributing the confiscated lands of the
 “ adverse party among his Legions: So that the REPUBLIC seemed to be
 “ once more SETTLED ON A LEGAL BASIS, and the Laws and judicial pro-
 “ ceedings began to flourish in the Forum.”

After giving this account of *Sylla's* usurpation and tyranny, and after relating his end, the historian has these very curious passages:

“ The historian, when he says, that the im-
 “ moderate power of the Tribunes had been the
 “ chief source of all the civil dissensions at Rome,
 “ seems to have forgot that the same immoderate
 “ power had likewise been the only source
 “ of the real liberty, the public virtue, the con-
 “ quests, and the glory of the Republic; and that

the ABUSE of the Tribunitian Authority had
 been wholly occasioned by the ambition,
 avarice, and usurpations of the Aristocratic
 faction, Cicero's benefactors, his good Citizens.
 See Introduction to the fourth book of this
 history; and Introduction to the seventh
 book.

“ *Sylla*

“ Sylla had one felicity peculiar to himself, of being the only man in history, in whom the odium of the most barbarous ¹ cruelties was extinguished ⁵⁰.
 “ by the glory of his great acts. Cicero, though he had a good opinion of
 “ his cause, yet detested the inhumanity of his victory, and never speaks of him
 “ with respect, nor of his government, but as a proper tyranny; calling him ^{De Fin.}
 “ a master of three most pestilent vices, luxury, avarice, and cruelty.” ^{De Off. ii. 8.}

Notwithstanding the peculiar felicity abovementioned, Cicero, we see, remembers Sylla's inhumanity, and never speaks of him with respect; and
 “ As soon as Sylla was dead, the old dissensions, that had been smothered a while by the terror of his power, burst out again into a flame, ^{Midd. p. 50.}
 “ between the two factions, supported severally by the two Consuls, Q.
 “ Catulus and M. Lepidus, who were wholly opposite to each other in
 “ party and politics. Lepidus resolved at all adventures, to rescind the
 “ acts of Sylla, and recal the exiled Marians; and began openly to solicit
 “ the People to support him in that resolution: but his attempt, though
 “ plausible, was factious and unseasonable, tending to overturn THE PRESENT
 “ SETTLEMENT of the REPUBLIC, which, after its late wounds and
 “ loss of civil blood, wanted nothing so much as rest and quiet, to recover
 “ a tolerable degree of strength.” That is to say, Sylla's gang of robbers
 and murderers wanted nothing so much as public peace and quiet, that
 they might have no disturbance in the enjoyment of their plunder and
 depredations. And Catulus, the colleague of Lepidus, being one of
 that gang, and being aided by the rest, disappointed all his designs,
 though, “ he had with him several of the chief Magistrates, and the
 “ good wishes of all the Tribunes,” and of all the popular party; in
 whose minds the odium of Sylla's cruelties was not extinguished by the glory of
 his great acts.

But whoever might dislike Sylla's establishment, it was factious (in the
 opinion of the historian above cited) to solicit the People to make any altera-
 tion in it.

The very ingenious M. Crevier is of the same opinion. Speaking of
 that wise sentence pronounced by Catulus, on occasion of Cæsar's erect-
 ing the statue of Marius — Cæsar no longer undermines, but openly attacks ^{Vid. sup. p. 305.}

^d M de l'Abbé de St. Real speaks to the same effect; only he imputes the oblivion, into which Sylla's cruelties were cast, to his ABDICATION alone.

Sylla, par un retour inespéré ennuyé de vengeance, de pouvoir, de sang & de commandement; moins peut-être par moderation, & par grandeur d'ame, comme on l'a toujours publié, que par inquiétude; s'avisâ de quitter sa Dictature & l'Empire, & de remettre le commandement entre les mains des Consuls: Changement prodigieux, qui rendit dès ce

jour Sylla l'Idole des Romains. On oublia tout le sang de la proscription; pour ne se ressouvenir que de la liberté rendue; & on vit en lui l'exemple d'un usurpateur le plus violent, & le plus sanguinaire, mort paisiblement dans son lit, aimé, adoré de tous les citoyens. [These last words are mere romance, as the whole sequel of the history evinces.] Si SYLLA avoit toujours été bon Republicain, on l'auroit moins aimé, que quand, après avoir subjugué sa patrie, il lui a plu de lui rendre la liberté. Tome iii. p. 61.

Tom. XI. *the Republic*.—"The reflection was just. *The government was at that time*
 P. 265. "*founded upon the Laws and Institutions of Sylla, and it was not possible to*
 "revive the party of *Marius* [*i. e. the popular party*] without introdu-
 "cing a general subversion of all things."

Again, "We have seen, that *Sylla* had deprived them [the sons of the
 "proscribed] of the capacity of holding dignities, and of being admitted
 P. 323. "into the Senate. This was very hard: but *Sylla's Institutions* were then
 "the basis of the government, and it was impossible to infringe him, with-
 "out putting the whole State into confusion. The Consul [*Cicero*] was
 "therefore obliged to oppose their demand, how equitably however it
 "seemed."

The learned writer will, I hope, excuse me, if I say, that the *reason*
 he assigns for thinking that *Catulus* spoke wisely, and *Cicero* acted justly
 in the instances mentioned, could have no place in the minds of *Catulus*
 and *Cicero*: because, in fact, the Laws and Institutions of *Sylla*, were not
the basis of the government, when *Catulus* uttered his wisdom in 688; nor
 when *Cicero* opposed the demand made by the sons of the proscribed, in
 690.

The principal Laws and Institutions of *Sylla*, those that concerned
 the constitution of the government, had been abrogated some years be-
 fore. The TRIBUNES had been reinstated in the ancient privileges of the
 P. 211. Tribunate: to the PEOPLE had been restored the prerogative of *electing*
 P. 306. *the priests*; and the SENATORS had been deprived of *the sole right of judi-*
 P. 212. *cature*.

Except the practice of chusing annually twenty Quæstors, instead of
 Eight, to supply the numerous vacancies in the Senate, whose comple-
 ment of members *Sylla* had much enlarged, scarce any thing remained of
 his innovations, but the *new Senators*, whom he had made powerful by making
 * See p. 329 them rich, in the manner described * above.

These ruffians and their creatures were *Cicero's* REPUBLIC, and their
 settlement in the possession of all the power of the State was the *settlement*,
 which he was so zealous to maintain and preserve; and which the sons of
 the *proscribed*, had they been restored (as equity required) to a capacity
 of holding public dignities, and of being admitted into the Senate, might
 possibly have endangered. As *Cæsar* had no zeal for the preservation of
this settlement, but was for reinstating the children of the proscribed in the
rights and privileges they were born to, we see in what sense he was, at this
 time, an enemy to the REPUBLIC.

I shall here add M. Vertot's account of the State of *Rome*, when *Cicero*
 was Consul.

Vert. Rev. "Debauchery, luxury, and their natural consequence, poverty, gave
 Rom. l. "birth to *Catiline's* conspiracy: the excessive ambition of some private
 xiii. "men strengthened it, at a time when *Rome* had scarce any thing left of
 "a Republican government, besides the bare name. The great ones alone
 "reigned

“reigned with absolute authority, The whole administration was centered
 “in a few families, who handed the Consular dignity about from one to
 “another². A small number of Citizens, by turns, disposed of the
 “command of the armies, as also the government and revenues of the
 “provinces. They being arbiters of peace and war, and accustomed to
 “the homages and honours that go along with sovereign power, it hap-
 “pened very seldom, that any of them, at the quitting of their great
 “places, could easily resolve to return to a private life, because this
 “would put them again upon a level with their Fellow-Citizens. Some
 “gained the affection of their soldiers, either by a remissness in military
 “discipline, or by self-interested liberalities. Others bought with large
 “sums the votes of the people, *to raise themselves, or their creatures, to*
 “*the chief posts*. Those that were out-bribed, and lost the day, eased
 “their envy, by endeavouring to render the power of their rivals sus-
 “pected, and cast about to promote their ruin at the expence of the pub-
 “lic peace.”

If this be a true account of the *Roman Government and Admini-*
stration in the time of Cicero, can this *nominal* REPUBLIC be called *Rome*
in its Free-State? the REPUBLIC *in its ancient Form and Constitution?* Yet
 this is that REPUBLIC; of which, as if it were in its perfect^{*} state, ^{Vid. sup.}
Cicero's English historian, in giving the character of his hero, thus ^{P. 3.}
 writes :

“As to his public conduct, no man was ever a more determined ^{Vol. II. p.}
 “PATRIOT, or a warmer lover of his country than he. His whole cha- ^{562.}
 “racter, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made its true
 “interest inseparable from his own. His *general* view, therefore, was al-
 “ways one and the same, to support the peace and liberty of *the Republic*,
 “*in that Form and Constitution of it which their ancestors had delivered down*
 “*to them*. He looked upon *that* as the *only foundation* on which it could be
 “supported.”

We have seen, that he was not of this mind when he spoke against *Ru-*
lus's Agrarian Law, nor when he rejected the petition of the sons of the
 proscribed; for then he thought *Sylla's Laws* and Institutions were the *only* ^{Vid. sup.}
basis upon which the government could stand. ^{p. 289.}

That *Cicero*, to the time of his attaining the Consulship, never had
 any view in his *public conduct*, but *his own interest* and *elevation*, is abun-
 dantly manifest from so much of his history as has been given in the fore-
^{290, 291.}

² *Cicero's election to the Consulship*, who was
 a *New-man*, and whose promotion is wholly
 ascribed to his merit, might seem to oppose
 what is here said, if *Sallust* had not made us
 known, that the elevation of the Orator to that
 dignity, was but an exception from a general
 rule, and chiefly owing to the public's being

alarmed with the rumour of a dreadful con-
 spiracy ready to break out, of which the cour-
 tezan *Fulvia* had, to many persons, given
 hints and intimations.

³ See a citation in p. 205, from *Middle-*
ton's Life of Cicero.

going pages. What his views were in his *public conduct* during his Magistracy, and after the expiration of it, we shall know by impartially considering his conduct. But the secret of all his politics and patriotism is sufficiently divulged by his panegyrist, where he says, “It is certain there
 M. id. vol. II. p. 157. “ was not a man in the *Republic* so particularly engaged, both by principle
 “ and interest to wish well to its liberty,” [i. e. *to its being absolutely governed by the SENATE, under the influence of Cicero*] “ or who had so much
 “ to lose by the subversion of it: For he was undoubtedly the *First Citizen*
 “ in it; had the *Chief Influence* in the *SENATE*, the chief authority with
 “ the People,—as long as it was governed by civil methods, and stood
 “ upon the foundation of its Laws:” With which Laws * the *SENATE* frequently dispensed; as did *Cicero* himself, during his *Consulship*, as we shall presently see: And there is hardly an *assassin* mentioned in the *Roman* story, whose merit, if he killed a popular man, is not extolled by *Cicero* for the heroic deed. But none have a larger share of the Orator’s praises than *Scipio Nasica* and *Opimius*, the murderers of the two *Gracchi*; the two best Citizens perhaps that *Rome* could ever boast.

* See
 M. id.
 Treat. on
 the Rom.
 Senate, p.
 116.

Thus much it was thought proper to observe concerning *Cicero* and his politics, that we may thence collect the degree of credit which is due to those parts of the *Roman* history, which have been received upon the authority of *Cicero* alone, particularly men’s characters, and the motives from which they acted.

Pr. f. xix.
 xx.

“ As to the nature of my work,” says *Cicero*’s *English* historian, “ tho’
 “ the title of it carries nothing more than *the history of Cicero’s Life*; yet it
 “ might properly enough be called *the history of Cicero’s Times*: since from
 “ his first advancement to the public magistracies, there was not any thing
 “ of moment transacted in the State, in which he did not bear an eminent
 “ part: so that, to make the whole work of a piece, I have given a summary account of the *Roman* affairs during the time even of his minority;
 “ and agreeably to what I promised in my proposals, have carried on a
 “ series of history, through a period of above sixty years, [that is, from
 “ A. U. 647, when *Cicero* was born, to 710,] which for the importance
 “ of the events, and the dignity of the persons concerned in them, is by
 “ far the most interesting of any in the annals of *Rome*.

“ In the execution of this design, I have pursued, as closely as I could,
 “ that very PLAN, which *Cicero* himself had sketched out, for the model of a complete history, where he lays it down as a fundamental
 “ law, *That the writers should not dare to affirm what was false, or to suppress what was true; nor give any suspicion, either of favour or disaffection: That, in the relation of facts, he should observe the order of time, and sometimes add the description of places; should first explain the counsels; then the acts; and, lastly, the events of things: That in the counsels, he should interpose his own judgment on the merit of them; in the acts, relate not only what was done, but how it was done; in the events, shew what share chance, or rashness, or prudence, had in them: that he should*
 “ describe

“ described likewise the particular characters of all the great persons, who bear
 “ any considerable part in the story; and should dress up the whole in a clear
 “ and equable stile, without affecting any ornaments, or seeking any other praise,
 “ but of perspicuity.

“ As I have borrowed my PLAN, so I have drawn my materials also from
 “ Cicero; whose works are the most authentic monuments that remain to us,
 “ of all the great transactions of that age: being the original accounts of one,
 “ who himself was not only a spectator, but a principal actor in them. There
 “ is not a single part of his writings, which does not give some light as Vid sup
 “ well into his own history, as into that of the Republic: But his familiar 276 and
 “ letters, and, above all, those to Atticus, may justly be called the memoirs of 277.
 “ the times; for they contain not only a distinct account of every memorable
 “ event, but lay open the springs and motives, whence each of them proceeded;
 “ so that as a polite writer, who lived in that very age, and perfectly knew Corn.
 “ the merit of those letters, says, the man who reads them, will have no oc- Nep. in Vit.
 “ casion for any other history of those times¹. Attic. 16.

Another polite writer, *Thuanus*, is of opinion, that we have no histories, upon the truth of which we can depend, but such as have been written of transactions, wherein the historians themselves were principal actors, and have been sincere enough to speak the truth of their own motives and purposes. Whether *Cicero* had this sincerity, and likewise a due degree of candour in speaking of the motives and purposes of the Chiefs of the opposite party, the reader will judge occasionally.

Sallust, after relating the universal prevalency, at Rome, of those vices that are the ruin of States, rapacious covetousness, shameless venality, and boundless luxury, adds, that *Catiline* had collected, which, in such

CATI-
LINE'S
CONSPI-
RACY.

Pref. p.
xxii.

¹ The historian, however, has made some use of other helps.—“ After I had gone through my review of *Cicero*'s writings, my next recourse was to the other ancients, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, who had touched upon the affairs of that age. Those served me chiefly to fill up the interstices of general history, and to illustrate several passages, which were but slightly mentioned by *Cicero*; as well as to add some stories and circumstances, which tradition had preserved, concerning *Cicero* himself, or any of the chief actors, whose characters I had delineated.

“ But the *Greek* historians, who treat professedly of these times, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Dio*, though they are all very useful for illustrating many important facts of ancient history, which would otherwise have been

“ lost, or imperfectly transmitted to us, are
 “ yet not to be read without some caution, as
 “ being strangers to the language, and customs
 “ of Rome, and liable to frequent mistakes, as
 “ well as subject to prejudices in their relation
 “ of Roman affairs.”

[N. B. We are not to understand this as said of all the *Greek* historians, who have treated of Roman affairs, but of those *Greek* historians who have written of these times, [and who do not speak so advantageously of *Cicero*, as his *English* historian could wish:] For with regard to other times, [in which *Cicero* is not concerned, and when we have a favourite hypothesis to support,] one *Greek* historian ought to be of greater authority with us than all the Latin writers together. Middleton's *Treatise of the Roman Senate*, p. 20. See *Observations*, &c. p. 80.]

a City

a City it was not difficult to, a band of needy profligates, who attended him as guards to his person: that he had been very assiduous in seeking intimacies with young persons chiefly, whose minds being soft and pliable were easily moulded to what fashion he pleased: that some of these he provided with harlots; others with horses and dogs; and spared no cost to gratify the favourite passions, whatever they were, of his followers. The young men, thus seduced, and made indigent by squandering their fortunes, he trained up to every kind of wickedness; with fearless impudence to become false witnesses; forged deeds; and not to stick even at murder; which they sometimes committed without provocation, without temptation, and merely to keep their hands in exercise^k.

Depending on the aid of these his friends and associates, he formed a design to overturn the government; and raise himself to supreme power. And it is said, that his scheme was not without a foundation of probability; *Italy* being drained in a manner of regular forces; *Pompey* at a great distance, with the best army of the empire; all things quiet at home; the Senate in a careless security; and he himself in great hopes of obtaining the Consulship. But it was chiefly from the support of *Sylla's* veteran soldiers, whose cause he had always espoused, and among whom he had been bred, that he promised himself success in his enterprize. These, to the number of about 100,000, had been settled in the several colonies and districts of *Italy*, in the possession of lands assigned to them by *Sylla*, which the generality had since wasted by their vices and luxury; so that they wanted another civil war to repair their shattered fortunes.

Cic. pro
Mur. xxiii.

Sallust.

About the Beginning of *June* (689) in the Consulship of *L. Cæsar* and *C. Figulus*, *Catiline* began to open his project to his confidants; to each of them at first alone: and having sounded them sufficiently, so as to perceive their several tempers and dispositions, he called together all those who were the most distressed in their affairs, and the most desperately bold; judging it now adviseable to speak to them in a body. In this assembly, there were, of Senatorian rank, *P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura*, *P. Autronius*, *L. Cassius Longinus*, *C. Cetegus*, *P. Sylla* and *S. Sylla*, (the sons of *Servius Sylla*) *L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Lecca*, *L. Bestia*, and

^k N. B. We are to suppose that *Catiline* had the skill to do all this, and to perpetrate numberless other crimes (during a course of more than twenty years profligacy) in such a way, as did not render him, in appearance, unworthy of the friendship of the HONEST, *Cæsar*, and the CONSULARS, &c.—For *Cicero* himself, with all his penetration, was once almost deceived by him, so as to take him for a good Citizen, a lover of honest men, a firm and faithful friend. Me ipsum, me inquam, quondam ille penè decepit, cum & civis mihi

bonus & optimi cujusque cupidus, & firmus amicus & fidelis videretur. Cujus ego facinora oculis prius quam opinione, manibus antè, quam suspitione, deprehendi. Cujus in magnis catervis amicorum, si fuit etiam *Cælius*, magis est, ut ipse molestè ferat errasse se, sicut nunquam in eodem homine me quoque erroris mei permittet, quam ut istius amicitie crimen reformidet. *Pro Cælio*, 6. One of the articles in the charge against *Cælius*, was, that he had lived in friendship with *Catiline*.

Q. Curius: Of the Equestrian order, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*.

Lentulus was descended from a Patrician branch of the *Cornelian* family, one of the most numerous, as well as the most splendid, in *Rome*. His grandfather had borne the title of *prince of the Senate*, and was the most active in the pursuit and destruction of *C. Gracchus*, in which he received a dangerous wound. The grandson, by the favour of his noble birth, had been advanced to the Consulship about eight years before, but was turned out of the Senate soon after by the Censors, for the notorious infamy of his life, till by obtaining the Prætorship a second time, which he now actually enjoyed, he recovered his former place and rank in that supreme council. His parts were but moderate, or rather slow; yet the comeliness of his person, the gracefulness and propriety of his action, the strength and sweetness of his voice, procured him some reputation as a speaker. He was lazy, luxurious, and profligately wicked; yet so vain and ambitious, as to expect, from the overthrow of the government, to be the first man in the Republic; in which fancy he was strongly flattered by some *crafty soothsayers*, who assured him from the *Sibylline books*, that *there were three Cornelius's destined to the dominion of Rome*; that *Cinna* and *Sylla* had already possessed it, and the prophecy wanted to be completed in him. With these views he entered freely into the conspiracy, trusting to *Catiline's* vigour for the execution, and hoping to reap the chief fruit from its success.

Cetbegus, of an extraction equally noble (being of the *Cornelian* family) was of a temper fierce, impetuous, and daring, to a degree even of *fury*. He had been warmly engaged in the cause of *Marius*, with whom he was driven out of *Rome*; but when *Sylla's* affairs became prosperous, he presently changed sides, and throwing himself at *Sylla's* feet, and promising great services, was restored to the City. After *Sylla's* death, by intrigues and faction he acquired so great an influence, that, while *Pompey* was abroad, he governed all things at home; procured for *Antonius*, that command over the coast of the *Mediterranean*, and for *Lucullus*, the management of the *Mithridatic* war. In the height of this power he made an incursion into *Spain*, to raise contributions in that province, where, meeting with some opposition to his violences, he had the hardness to insult, and even wound the Proconsul *Q. Metellus Pius*. But the insolence of his conduct, and the infamy of his life, gradually diminished, and at last destroyed his credit; when, finding himself controuled by the Magistrates, and the particular vigilance of *Cicero*, he entered eagerly into *Catiline's* plot, and was entrusted, as we shall see presently, with the most bloody and desperate part of it, the task of massacring their enemies within the City. The rest of the conspirators were not less illustrious for their birth. The two *Syllas* were nephews to the Dictator of that name, *Autronius* had obtained the Consulship,

but was deprived for bribery; and *Cassius* was a competitor for it with *Cicero* himself. In short, they were all of the same stamp and character; men whom disappointments, ruined fortunes, flagitious lives, had prepared for any design against the State; and all whose hopes of ease and advancement depended on a change of affairs, and the subversion of the Republic. [*i. e.* Of the present *Aristocracy* or *Oligarchy*.]

Sallust.

With these were joined many from the colonies and principle towns of *Italy*, men of family and interest in their several countries. There were likewise several other noblemen engaged in this conspiracy, but with more caution and secrecy: Men, excited to it, not by want, or distress, of any sort, but by the hopes of lawless power¹.

Catiline having assembled at his own house those first-rate heroes above-named, led them into a private part of it, and there, in a spirited harangue, represented to them, “that the government was fallen entirely
“into the hands of a few; that *these* held kings and princes their
“tributaries; that whole nations paid taxes to *these*, while all the rest of the
“*Roman* Citizens, how worthy, or brave soever, remained without inter-
“est or authority, and were looked upon as a contemptible mob, the
“slaves of those, to whom they ought to be a terror:—*Would it not*
“*be better to die in a brave attempt, than to live the sport of such men’s*
“*insolence?—We have poverty at home and debts abroad; our condition is*
“*bad, our expectations worse. Rouse then to action. I call the Gods to*
“*witness, that success is in our hands. Nothing is wanting but to make*
“*the attempt. All that you have so long wished for is now within your*
“*reach, Liberty, Riches, Honours; these will be the sure rewards of an*
“*easy victory.*”

His associates, though (being extremely wretched, destitute of all things, even of every honest hope) they were pleased with the design, in general, of throwing the State into confusion, as imagining that this must some how or other turn to their benefit; yet desired that he would be a little more particular concerning the terms on which they were to engage in the enterprize, the assistance on which they might depend for carrying it on, and the advantages they were to expect from it. *Catiline* promised them *an abolition of their debts*; the *proscription of their particular enemies*, and of the rich; *plunder* in abundance; in short, every advantage that conquest and uncontrouled power could give. He told them, that *Piso*, with an army in *Hisber Spain*, and *P. Silius Nucerinus*, with another in *Mauritania*, were both engaged in the undertaking: That *C. Antonius*, whom he hoped to have for his colleague in the Consulship, was

¹ Some persons there were at that time, who believed *Crassus* not unacquainted with the design; and that to reduce the power of *Pompey*, whom he hated, and who was then at the head of a great army, he would willingly

have promoted any scheme whatsoever and that he hoped, in case the conspiracy succeeded, to make himself, without much difficulty, head of the conspirators. *Sallust.*

his intimate friend, and desperately distressed in his affairs; and that, in conjunction with him, he would, as soon as they should enter upon their office, begin the execution of the great design. He reminded them of the rich fruits, which some there present had reaped from *Sylla's* victory—And when he perceived that his discourse had raised the spirits of the whole company, and filled their minds with pleasing hopes, he pressed them to be active in promoting his interest at the approaching election, and then dismissed the Assembly⁸.

In this conspiracy was *Q. Curius*, a man of no mean family, but who, for his scandalous conduct, had been expelled the Senate by the Censors. Desperately audacious he was, yet had not more boldness than levity; for whatever he heard he disclosed; he could not conceal even his own crimes; in a word, he considered neither what he said, nor what he did. There had been, for a long time, a criminal intercourse between him and *Fulvia*, a lady of quality. He had ruined his fortune by the excess of his liberality to her; and so soon as she perceived that he was poor, he found himself despised. Impatient under this disgrace, he began now to talk big, and to boast of mountains of gold, which he should soon be master of; and, sometimes, instead of the humble suitor, the submissive lover, he put on the fierce tyrant, threatening to stab her, if she would not be obsequious to his pleasure. This change of style made her curious to know the ground of it. She very soon got the secret out of him; and whether she made small account of the promises of a ruined lover, or had no opinion of an enterprize managed by debauchees, and giddy, thoughtless young men, or had too much of common humanity to approve of the detestable design, she disclosed what she had learnt to several persons of distinction; but without mentioning her author. The rumour of a dreadful plot, ready to break out, produced a forward disposition, universally, to confer the Consulship on *Cicero*, his abilities being well known, and he being then one of the candidates. For before this, almost all the nobles stormed through envy, and thought that the Consular dignity would in a manner be profaned, if he, deserving as he was, yet being a *new man*, should be invested with it: But when impending dangers threatened, pride and envy subsided.

Vid. *supra*.
P. 285.

⁸ Some have said that *Curius* did not impart to his associates his whole purpose, till he had first sworn them to secrecy; and that, before he tendered them the oath, he caused a bowl of wine, mixed with human blood, to be handed round from one to another (after the manner used at solemn sacrifices,) of which, when they had all participated, he let them know that his design in this execrable ceremony was to bind them the more strictly to ma-

tural faith, as being privy to each other's guilt in so abominable an act.

Others have thought that this and many other particulars were the inventions of *Cicero's* friends, who, by aggravating the crimes of the conspirators, sought to allay the odium which fell upon him for putting them to death without trial. "For my part (adds *Sallust*) I could never meet with any proof of the fact, proportioned to the unlikelihood of it."

Y. R. 693.
Bef. Chr.
61.
389 Cons.

Accordingly, the *Centuries*, with one voice, proclaimed *M. Tullius Cicero* the first Consul (giving him *C. Antonius* for a Colleague;) a heavy blow, which very much shocked the generality of the Conspirators. *Catiline's* fury, however, abated not in the least; he exerted himself every day more and more: provided magazines of arms in all the most commodious places of *Italy*; borrowed money either on his own credit, or that of his friends, and transmitted it to *Fesulae*, in *Etruria*, to one *Manlius*, a bold and experienced centurion, who, having enrolled a considerable body of men, waited only his orders to take the field.

It is said, that, about this time, *Catiline* gained to his interest a great number of men of all ranks; and some women too, who had once been able to support a vast expence by prostitution, but who, when age had put an end to their gains without lessening their luxury, had contracted heavy debts: By their means he hoped to engage the City slaves to set the City on fire. These women were likewise to draw their husbands into the plot or to kill them.

Midd. p.
167.

Pro Mu-
ren. 23.
In Vatin.
15.

Dio, l.
xxxvii. 43.

Plut. in
Cic.
Pro Mu-
ren. 25.

Catiline, notwithstanding these measures taken for war, declared himself a candidate for the next year's Consulship; and renewed his efforts with greater vigour than ever to obtain it; hoping, if he should be chosen, to govern *Antonius* as he pleased. He pursued his pretension by such open methods of bribery, that *Cicero* published a new law against it, with the additional penalty of a ten year's exile, prohibiting likewise all shows of gladiators, within two years from the time of suing for any Magistracy, unless they were ordered by the will of a person deceased, and on a certain day therein specified. *Catiline*, who knew the law to be levelled at him principally, formed a design to kill *Cicero*, with some other chiefs of the Senate, on the day of election; but *Cicero* gave information of it to the Senate the day before, upon which the election was deferred, that they might have time to deliberate on an affair of so great importance: and the day following, in a full house, he called upon *Catiline* to clear himself of this charge; where, without denying or excusing it, he bluntly told them that *there were two bodies in the Republic*, meaning the Senate and the People, *the one of them infirm with a weak head, the other firm without a head; which last had so well deserved of him, that it should never want a head while he lived.* He had made a declaration of the same kind, and in the same place, a few days before, when, upon *Cato's* threatening him with an impeachment, he fiercely replied, *that if any flame should be excited in his fortunes, he would extinguish it, not with water, but a general ruin.*

At the Consular Election, which came on presently after this, *Cicero* apprehending, there would be an attempt to assassinate him in the Field of *Mars*, took care to throw back his gown, and let the People see a shining breast-plate, which he wore under it: a precaution which deeply imprinting on the Multitude a sense of the common danger, prevented, as he

he told *Catiline* afterwards to his face, his design of killing *not only him*, but *D. Junius Silanus*, and *L. Licinius Murena*, who were declared Consuls elect.

Y. R. 690.
Bef. Chr.
62.
389 Conf.

Catiline, thus a second time repulsed, and breathing nothing but revenge, was now eager and impatient to execute his grand plot. With this view he dispatched *C. Manlius*, then at *Rome*, to *Fesulae*, and the adjacent parts of *Etruria*; *Septimius* to the territory of *Picenum*; *C. Julius* into *Apulia*; and others to different places, where he thought they might be most serviceable to his design. At the same time, he was busily employed in contriving the most effectual means to murder the Consul, and set fire to the City. He posted armed men in convenient places; was himself always armed; ordered his followers to be so too; was ever pressing them to be upon their guard, and prepared for action: Day and night he passed without sleep, and in a hurry; and yet was unwearied with his never-ceasing toils.

Of all these measures for war, massacres, and conflagrations, *Cicero* received intelligence from *Crassus*, who, with *M. Marcellus* and *Metellus Scipio*, came to his house at midnight, and having caused him to be waked, put into his hand a packet of letters, which had been left with *Crassus's* porter by a person unknown. Among these letters was one directed to *Crassus* himself, but without the name of the writer: the rest were directed to other Senators. *Crassus* opened his own, and finding in it an exhortation to him to quit *Rome*, because *Catiline* was soon to make great havock there, he immediately carried all the letters to the Consul; who thereupon convened the Senate, and delivered them, each according to its Direction. Being read aloud to the Assembly, they were found to contain advices of the same import as those to *Crassus*; and it was at this time, (the 21st of *October*) and upon this occasion that the Senate, by a decree, ordered the Consuls to take care that the Republic received no Detriment. *Catiline*, nevertheless, on the sixth of *November*, summoned the principal Conspirators to meet him in the dead of night, at the house of *M. Porcius Lecca*.

Plut. in.
Cic. & in
Crass.

At this meeting it was resolved, that *Catiline* should put himself at the head of the troops in *Etruria*, that *Rome* should be fired in many places at once, and a massacre^b begun at the same time; that in the consternation of the fire and massacre, *Catiline* should be ready with his *Tuscan* army, to take the benefit of the public confusion, and make himself master of the City; where *Lentulus*, in the mean while, as first in dignity, was to preside in their general councils; *Cassius* to manage the affair of firing it; *Cetbegus* to direct the massacre. But the vigilance of *Cicero* being the chief obstacle to all their hopes, *Catiline*

Midd. p.
175.

Cic. pro
Syll. 19.
Plut. in
Cic.

^b *Plutarch*, in a most romantic strain, writes, that in this massacre the whole Senate was to be cut off, and all the Citizens, except the

sons of *Pompey*, who were to be kept as hostages to procure a peace and reconciliation with the father.

Y. R. 690. was very desirous to see him taken off before he left *Rome*; upon which
 Bof Chr. 62. *L. Vargunteius* and *C. Cornelius*, both *Roman Knights* (the first a Senator)
 389 Conf. undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early visit on
 Cic. in pretence of business. They were both of his acquaintance, and used to
 Cat. i. 4. frequent his house; and knowing his custom of giving free access to all,
 Sallust. made no doubt of being readily admitted, as *C. Cornelius*, one of the two,
 xxviii. afterwards confessed.

No sooner was the meeting over, than *Cicero* had information of all
 Cic. in that passed in it; for *Curius* sent *Fulcia* to him, with a punctual account
 Cat. i. 4. of their deliberations. He presently imparted his intelligence to some of
 Sallust. the chiefs of the City, who were assembled that evening, as usual, at his
 xxviii. house, informing them not only of the design, but naming the men who were
 Cic. in to execute it, and the very hour when they would be at his gate; all which
 Cat. i. 4. fell out exactly as he foretold; for the two *Knights* came before break of
 day, but had the mortification to find the house well guarded, and all ad-
 mittance refused to them¹.

The meeting of the conspirators was on the sixth of *November*, in the
 evening; and on the seventh he summoned the Senate to the Temple of
 In Cat. i. Jupiter in the Capitol, where it was not usually held, but in times of
 1. public alarm. There had been several debates before this on the same
 subject of *Catiline's* treasons, and his design of killing the Consul, and
 a decree had passed, at the motion of *Cicero*, to offer a public reward
 Sallust. to the first discoverer of the plot; if a slave, his liberty, and eight hun-
 xxx. dred pounds; if a Citizen, his pardon, and sixteen hundred. Yet *Cati-
 line* by a profound dissimulation, and the constant professions of his inno-
 cence, still deceived many of all ranks, representing the whole as the
 fiction of his enemy *Cicero*, and offering to give security for his beha-
 viour, and to deliver himself to the custody of any whom the Senate
 would name; of *M. Lepidus*, of the *Prætor Metellus*, or of *Cicero him-
 self*: But none would receive him; and *Cicero* plainly told him, That he
 In Cat. i. should never think himself safe in the same house, when he was in danger by
 2. living in the same City with him. Yet he still kept on the mask, and,
 though he stood actually impeached by *L. Paullus*, upon the *Plautian*²

¹ *Catiline* was disappointed likewise in ano-
 Cic. in ther affair of no less moment before he quitted
 Cat. i. 3. the City; a design to surprise the town of *Præ-
 nestæ*, one of the strongest fortresses in Italy,
 within twenty-five miles of *Rome*; which
 would have been of singular use to him in the
 war, and a sure retreat in all events: But *Ci-
 cero* was before-hand with him, and from the
 apprehensions of such an attempt had pre-
 viously sent orders to the place to keep a
 Vell. Pat. special guard; so that when *Catiline* came in
 ii. 26. the night of 1st *November* to make an as-
 fault, he found them so well provided, that

he durst not venture upon the experiment.

² The *Plautian Law de Vi* was passed by
 the Tribune *P. Plautius*, in the Consulship
 of *M. Lepidus* and *Q. Catulus* (A. U. 675.)
 It regarded those who attempted any force
 against the State or Senate; or used any
 violence to the Magistrates, or appeared
 armed in public upon any ill design, or for-
 cibly expelled any person from his lawful
 possession. The punishment assigned to the
 convicted was *Aque & ignis interdictio*. Suet.
 in Jul. 3. Dio, lib. xxxix. Cic. pro Sext.
 & pro Mil.

Law,

Law, he had the confidence to come to this very meeting in the *Capitol*; ^{Y R. 690.} which so shocked the whole Assembly, ^{Bef. Chr. 62.} *that none even of his acquaintance* ^{389 Conf.} *durst venture to salute him; and the Consular Senators quitted that part of the House where he sat, and left the whole bench clear to him.* Cicero was so provoked by his impudence, that, instead of entering upon any business, as he designed, addressing himself directly to *Catiline*, he broke out into a most severe invective against him; and with all the fire and force of an incensed eloquence, laid open the whole course of his villanies, and of his treasons.

“ T O what degree then, do you purpose, *Catilina*, to abuse our pa- ^{In Cat. i.}
 “ tience? How long imagine with your frantic treasons to insult us? ”
 “ When stop your precipitate career of unbridled audacity? Perceive you
 “ not by the nightly guard on the *Palatine*, by the watch kept throughout
 “ the City, by the general consternation, by the assembling of the SENATE in
 “ this fortified place, by the looks of the Senators: Perceive you not, I say,
 “ that your dark designs are brought to light? Which of us, think you,
 “ is ignorant of what you did last night and the night before? *where*
 “ and *with whom* you held counsel, and what resolutions you took? The
 “ Senate knows all this, the Consul knows all, and yet—Oh! degenerate
 “ times! corrupted manners! the traitor lives; lives, did I say? he mixes
 “ with the Senate, he surveys us, and with his eyes marks out every one
 “ whom he has destined for slaughter: whilst we, magnanimous counsel-
 “ lers of State, judge that we discharge our duty to the Commonwealth,
 “ if we escape his fury and his sword. *Catilina*, the Consul should, be-
 “ fore this, have ordered thee away to execution. Did the excellent *Pub-*
 “ *lius Scipio*, the High-Priest, did he, a private Citizen, invested with no
 “ Magistracy, kill *Tiberius Gracchus*, for only causing some little distur-
 “ bance in the government? and shall we, the Consuls, the supreme Ma-
 “ gistrates, suffer *Catilina* to live; a traitor bent to lay waste the world,
 “ by slaughter and conflagration? I pass over, as too remote, the example
 “ of *Quintus Servilius Abala*, who, with his own hand, slew *Spurius Maelius*,
 “ for attempting a revolution in the State. There once was; I say, there
 “ once was, in this our Commonwealth, such patriot virtue, that men were
 “ animated with a keener resentment against a pestilent Citizen, than against
 “ the most implacable foreign enemy. *Catilina*, we have a weighty and
 “ awful decree of the Senate against thee; the State wants not wisdom,
 “ nor this Assembly due authority; we only, we the Consuls, I speak it
 “ aloud, are wanting in our duty.

“ Formerly, when the Senate had ordered the Consul *Lucius Opimius*
 “ to take care that the Commonwealth suffered no detriment, not a day inter-
 “ vened between that order and the death of *Caius Gracchus*, who
 “ was fallen only under the suspicion of seditious designs; though *Grac-*
 “ *chus* was descended of a father, grand-father, and remoter ancestors,

“ all:

Y. R. 690.
Bef. Chr.
62.

389 Conf.

Eighteen
days only
from 21
October.

“ all distinguished for their services to the State: *Marcus Fulvius* too,
“ a person of Consular dignity, shared the same fate, he and his sons.
“ When, by a like decree, the care of the State was committed to the
“ Consuls *C. Marius*, and *L. Valerius*, did not *L. Saturninus*, Tribune of
“ the People, and *C. Servilius*, the Prætor, fall a sacrifice to the justice of
“ their country, without the intervention of a single day? But we, for the
“ space of twenty days, have suffered the Senate’s authority to remain un-
“ active in our hands, as if it were imperfect: For we too are armed with
“ a like decree, but it rests among the records like a sword in its scabbard;
“ a decree, *Catilina*, by which you were doomed to immediate death: yet
“ still you live; you live, not to lay aside your guilty audaciousness, but
“ to harden yourself in it.

“ Mercy, Conscript Fathers, is what I am heartily disposed to, but my
“ conscience condemns me for inactivity and negligence, at a time when
“ such terrible dangers threaten my country. An army formed against
“ the Republic is already encamped in *Italy*, on the borders of *Hebruria*:
“ their numbers daily encrease; their leader we behold within our walls.
“ Should I order thee, *Catilina*, instantly to be seized and dragged to
“ execution, there is reason to fear that all good men would censure me,
“ not as too cruel, but as too slow. But I have been with-held by a
“ certain reason, which still with-holds me. Thou shalt then be put to
“ death, when there is not a man to be found so wicked, so desperate, so
“ like to thyself, who will deny it to be done justly: So long as there is one
“ who dares to defend thee, thou shalt live; but live as thou now dost,
“ surrounded by the guards which I have placed about thee; the eyes and
“ ears of many shall watch thee, as they have hitherto done, when thou
“ little thoughtest of it.

“ What is it, *Catilina*, you can now have in view, when neither the
“ shades of night can conceal your traiterous assemblies; not the walls of
“ your house hinder the voice of your treason from being heard?”

Midd. p.
278—281.

He then goes on to give a detail of all that had been concerted by the
“ conspirators at their several meetings, to let him see, “ that he was per-
“ fectly informed of every step which he had taken, or designed to take;”
and observes, “ that he saw several, at that time in the Senate, who had
“ assisted at those meetings.——He presses him therefore to quit the
“ City, and since all his counsels were detected, to drop the thoughts of
“ fires and massacres;——That the gates were open, and no body should
“ stop him.” Then running over the flagitious enormities of his life, and
the series of his traiterous practices, “ he exhorts, urges, commands him
“ to depart, and, if he would be advised by him, to go into a volun-
“ tary exile, and free them from their fears, that, if they were just ones,
“ they might be safer; if groundless, the quieter: that though he would
“ not put the question to the house, whether they would order him into
“ banishment

“ banishment, or not, yet he would let him see their sense upon it by their
 “ manner of behaving while he was urging him to it ; for, should he bid
 “ any other Senator of credit, *P. Sextius* or *M. Marcellus*, to go into exile,
 “ they would all rise up against him at once, and lay violent hands on their
 “ Consul : yet, when he said it to him, by their silence, they approved it ;
 “ by their suffering it, decreed it ; by saying nothing, proclaimed their con-
 “ sent. That he would answer likewise for the *Knights*, who were then
 “ guarding the avenues of the Senate, and were hardly restrained from
 “ doing him violence ; that, if he would consent to go, they would all
 “ quietly attend him to the gates.——Yet, after all, if, in virtue of his
 “ command, he should really go into banishment, he foresaw what an odium
 “ he should draw by it upon himself ; but he did not value that, if by his
 “ own calamity, he could avert the dangers of the Republic : But there was
 “ no hope that *Catilina* could ever be induced to yield to the occasions of
 “ the State, or moved with a sense of his crimes, or reclaimed by shame,
 “ or fear, or reason, from his madness. He exhorts him, therefore, if he
 “ would not go into exile, to go, at least where he was expected, into
 “ *Manlius’s* camp, and begin the war ; provided only that he would carry
 “ out with him all the rest of his crew.——That there he might riot
 “ and exult at his full ease, without the mortification of seeing one honest
 “ man about him.——There he might practise all that discipline to
 “ which he had been trained, of lying upon the ground, not only in
 “ pursuit of his lewd amours, but of bold and hardy enterprizes : There
 “ he might exert all that boasted patience of hunger, cold, and want, by
 “ which, however, he would shortly find himself undone.” He then in-
 “ troduces an expostulation of the Republic with himself, for his too great
 “ lenity, in suffering such a traitor to escape, instead of hurrying him to
 “ immediate death ; and he answers —— “ If I had thought it the most
 “ advisable to put *Catilina* to death, I would not have allowed that Gla-
 “ diator the use of one moment’s life : —— But there are some of this
 “ very order, who either do not see the dangers which hang over us, or else
 “ dissemble what they see ; who, by the softness of their votes, cherish *Ca-*
 “ *tilina’s* hopes, and add strength to the Conspiracy by not believing it ;
 “ whose authority influences many, not only of the wicked but the weak ;
 “ who, if I had punished this man as he deserved, would not have failed
 “ to cry out upon me for acting the tyrant. Now, I am persuaded, that
 “ when he is once gone into *Manlius’s* camp, whither he actually de-
 “ signs to go, none can be so silly as not to see there is a plot, none so
 “ wicked as not to acknowledge it : Whereas by taking off him alone,
 “ though this pestilence would be somewhat checked, it would not be
 “ suppressed : But when he has thrown himself into rebellion, and car-
 “ ried out his friends along with him, and drawn together the profligate
 “ and desperate from all parts of the empire, not only this ripened plague
 “ of the Republic, but the very root and seed of all our evils, will be
 “ extirpated

Y.R. 699.
 Bef. Chr.
 62.
 389 Conf.

Y. R. 690.
Ref. Chr.62.
389 Conf.

Sallust.

“extirpated with him at once.” Then applying himself again to *Catiline*, he presses him once more to leave *Rome*, and go to *Manlius*’s army.

When the Consul had finished his vehement discourse, *Catiline*, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, with downcast looks and suppliant voice, begged of the Fathers not to believe too hastily what had been said against him : that such was his family, and such had been the tenour of his whole life from his youth up, as might encourage him to hope for every honour he could aspire to : And it was not to be imagined, that he, a Patrician, whose ancestors, as well as himself, had given many proofs of their affection to the Roman people, should wish to overturn the government ; while *Cicero*, a stranger, a tenant only of a house he had lately hired in *Rome*, was zealous for its preservation. But, as he was going on to give harsh and abusive language, the Senate interrupted him by a general outcry, calling him *Paricide*, and *Enemy to his Country*. Urged to fury and desperation by this treatment, he repeated, with a loud and menacing voice, what he had said before to *Cato*, *Since I am circumvented, and driven headlong by my enemies, the flame that is raised about me I will extinguish by the common ruin ;* and so rushed out of the Assembly.

And now, perceiving it in vain to dissemble any longer, he resolved to enter into action immediately, before the troops of the Republic were increased ; and accordingly he left *Rome* that very night with a small retinue, to make the best of his way towards *Etruria*. But, before he went off, had a short conference with *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and others, the boldest of the conspirators, in which he pressed them earnestly to neglect no means of augmenting their number, get rid of *Cicero* as soon as possible, and prepare for a massacre, and the firing of the City ; and he assured them, that he would speedily return at the head of a strong army.

He no sooner disappeared, than his friends gave out that he was gone into a voluntary exile at *Marcellæ*. *Cicero* entertained no doubt of his going directly to *Manlius*’s camp, knowing that he had already sent thither a quantity of arms, and all the ensigns of military command, and particularly a silver eagle, for which he had a superstitious regard, because *C. Marius* had made use of it in his expedition against the *Cimbri*. However, lest the report should gain belief in the City, and it should be said that the Consul had driven an innocent man into banishment, without any previous trial, he called the People together into the Forum, to give them an account of what had passed in the Senate the day before, and of the immediate consequence of it, *Catiline*’s hasty departure from *Rome* : He began, by
 “congratulating with them on the Conspirator’s flight, as on a certain vic-
 “tory ; since the driving him from his secret plots, and insidious attempts
 “on their lives and fortunes, into open rebellion, was in effect to conquer
 “him : That the Parricide himself was sensible of it ; whose chief regret,
 “in his retreat, was not for leaving the City, but for leaving it standing.
 —But if there be any here who blame me for what I am boasting of, that
 “I did

In Cat. 2.

“ I did not rather seize than send away so capital an enemy : I must answer, Y. R. 690.
 “ that the fault is not mine ; no, Romans, it is the fault of the times. Ca- Ref. Chr.
 “ tilina, in justice, ought, long ago, to have suffered the last punishment ; the 62.
 “ custom of our ancestors, the discipline of the empire, and the interest of the 389 Conf.
 “ Republic required it : But, had I put Catilina to death, I should have drawn
 “ upon myself such an odium, as would have rendered me unable to prosecute
 “ his accomplices, and extirpate the remains of the conspiracy ; but, so far from
 “ being afraid of him now, I am only sorry he went off with so few to attend
 “ him : His forces are contemptible, if compared with those of the Republic ;
 “ they are a miserable, needy crew, who have wasted their substance, forfeited
 “ their bails, and who are so far from having the courage to face an armed ene-
 “ my, that they would run away at the sight of a Prætor’s writ. Those of his
 “ accomplices who have staid behind, and whom I see sauntering about in the
 “ Forum, are more to be dreaded than the army itself ; and the more so, be-
 “ cause they know me to be informed of all their designs, yet remain cool and
 “ unconcerned. Yesterday I laid open all their councils in the Senate, upon
 “ which Catilina was so disheartned, that he immediately fled. I cannot guess
 “ what the rest mean : If they imagine that I shall always use the same lenity,
 “ they are much deceived : For I have now gained what I was hitherto waiting
 “ for, Proof, which might convince all people that a conspiracy there actually is.
 “ There remains no longer, therefore, any room for clemency ; the case itself re-
 “ quires severity : Yet I shall still grant them one thing—Permission to quit the
 “ City, and follow Catilina ; nay, I will tell them the way : It is the Aure-
 “ lian road, if they will make haste, they may overtake him before night.

“ Happy Rome, could it be drained of its impurities !

“ To me the absence of Catilina alone seems to have given the City
 “ fresh bloom and beauty. What is the villainy, what is the crime, that
 “ can enter into the heart of man, which did not enter into his ? In all
 “ Italy, what Poisoner, what Gladiator, what Robber, what Cut-throat,
 “ what Parricide, what Forger, what Ruffian, what Debauchee, what
 “ Adulterer, what Strumpet has there been amongst the corrupters, or the
 “ corrupted, of our youth, who did not live in an intimate familiarity
 “ with Catilina ? For these many years, has there been a murder to
 “ which he was not an accessory ? an infamous rape, and he not an ac-
 “ complice ? Had ever any man such talents for debauching youth as he ;
 “ who indulged himself in a criminal flame for others, and others in an
 “ infamous passion for himself ? To some he promised the objects of
 “ their lust, to some the death of their parents¹, &c.”-----Then, after Midd.
 describing the profligate lives of his accomplices, he declared it “ insuffer- P. 185.

¹ N. B. This is the man, whose friendship, a few months before, Cicero courted, and (had Catiline been disposed to strike the bargain) would have purchased, at the price of defend-

ing him, when brought in judgment for murdering, with the most brutal cruelty, a man who had been the People’s great benefactor, and was the orator’s near kinsman. Vid. supr. p. 216, 217, & 104.

Y. R. 690.
Bef. Chr.
62.
139 Conf.

“ ably impudent for such men to pretend to plot ; the lazy against the
“ active, the foolish against the prudent, the drunken against the sober,
“ the drowfy against the vigilant, &c.” He added, “ *If my Consulship,*
“ *since it cannot cure, should cut off all these, it would add no short period to the*
“ *duration of the Republic : For there is no nation which we have reason to*
“ *fear, no King who can make war against the Roman people ; all disturbances*
“ *abroad, both by land and sea, are quelled by virtue of ONE MAN ; but a*
“ *domestic war still remains ; the treason, the danger, the enemy is within ; we*
“ *are to combat with luxury, with madness, with villainy : In this war I profess*
“ *myself your leader, and take upon myself all the animosity of the desperate :*
“ *Whatever can possibly be healed, I will heal ; but what ought to be cut off,*
“ *I will never suffer to spread to the ruin of the City. But it seems Catilina,*
“ *poor man ! has by my threats been so terrified, as to banish himself ! There*
“ *is not one of those who make this complaint, and who talk of his going to*
“ *Marseilles, but would be sorry for it if it were true. By such a change in*
“ *his design, much odium would unquestionably fall upon me ; I should be accu-*
“ *sed of having persecuted an unfortunate man, innocent, uncondemned, never*
“ *brought to trial. Romans, no concern for my own ease or character can*
“ *make me wish that you may hear of Catilina’s being at the head of an army ;*
“ *but this you will certainly hear in three days time.*”

MAC. 137.

He then directed them “ to keep a watch only in their private houses,
“ for he had taken care to secure the public without any tumult ; that
“ he had given notice to all the colonies and great towns of Catiline’s
“ retreat, so as to be upon their guard against him : And as to the body
“ of gladiators, whom Catiline always depended upon as the best and
“ surest band, they were taken care of in such a manner as to be in the
“ power of the Republic ; though, to say the truth, even these were bet-
“ ter affected than some part of the Patricians : That he had sent Q. Me-
“ tellus the Prætor into Gaul and the district of Picenum, to oppose all
“ Catiline’s motions on that side ; and, for settling all matters at home,
“ had summoned the Senate to meet again that morning, which, as they
“ saw, was then assembling. As for those therefore who were left behind
“ in the City, though they were now enemies, yet, since they were born
“ citizens, he admonished them again and again, that his lenity had been
“ waiting only for an opportunity of demonstrating the certainty of the
“ plot : That, for the rest, he should never forget that this was his coun-
“ try, he their Consul, who thought it his duty either to live with them,
“ or die for them.” He added, “ *There is no guard upon the gates, none*
“ *to watch the roads ; if any one has a mind to withdraw himself, he may go*
“ *wherever he pleases ; but if he makes the least stir within the City, so as to*
“ *be caught in any overt-act against the Republic, he shall know, that there*
“ *are in it vigilant Consuls, excellent Magistrates, a stout Senate ; that there*
“ *are arms, and a prison, which our ancestors provided as the avenger of*
“ *manifest*

“ manifest crimes ; and all this shall be transacted in such a manner, Citizens,
 “ that the greatest disorders shall be quelled without the least hurry ; the greatest
 “ dangers without any tumult ; a domestic war, the most desperate of any in our
 “ memory, by me your only leader and General, in my gown ; I will manage so,
 “ that, as far as it is possible, no one even of the guilty shall suffer punishment
 “ in the City : But if their audaciousness and my country’s danger should neces-
 “ sarily drive me from this mild resolution, yet I will effect, what in so cruel
 “ and treacherous a war could hardly be hoped for, that not one honest man shall
 “ fall, but all of you be safe by the punishment of a few. This I promise, Ci-
 “ tizens, not from any confidence in my own prudence, or from any human
 “ counsels, but from the many evident declarations of the Gods, by whose Im-
 “ pulse I am led into this persuasion ; who assist us, not, as they used to do,
 “ at a distance, against foreign and remote enemies ; but by their present help
 “ and protection defend their temples and our houses, &c.”

Y.R. 690.
 Bef. Chr.
 61.
 389 Conf.

We have no account of this day’s debate in the Senate, which met while
 Cicero was speaking to the People, and were waiting his coming to them
 from the *Rostra* : But as to *Catiline*, after staying a few days upon the
 road to raise and arm the country through which he passed, and which
 his agents had already been disposing to his interests, He marched directly
 to *Manlius’s* camp, with the fasces and all the ensigns of military command
 displayed before him. Upon this news the Senate declared both him and
Manlius public enemies, with offers of pardon to all his followers, who were not
 condemned of capital crimes, if they returned to their duty by a certain day ; and
 ordered the Consuls to make new levies, and that *Antonius* should follow *Cati-*
line with the army, Cicero stay at home to guard the City.

Midd.
 P. 189.
 Sallust.

In the midst of all his hurry, and soon after *Catiline’s* flight, Cicero
 found leisure to defend *L. Muræna*, one of the Consuls elect, who was now
 brought to a trial for bribery and corruption. Cato had declared in the
 Senate, that he would try the force of Cicero’s late law upon one of the
 consular candidates : And since *Catiline* was out of his reach, he resolved
 to fall upon *Muræna* ; yet (if we may believe *Plutarch*) connived at
 the other Consul elect, *Silanus*, (who had married his sister) though
 equally guilty with his colleague : Cato was joined in the accusation by one
 of the disappointed candidates, *S. Sulpicius*, a person of distinguished worth
 and character, and the most celebrated lawyer of the age, for whose ser-
 vice, and at whose influence, Cicero’s Law against bribery had been chiefly
 provided.

Midd. p.
 190--195.
 Pro Mur.
 30.

Plut. in
 Catone.

Muræna was bred a soldier, and had acquired great fame in the *Mitribri-*
datic war, as Lieutenant to *Lucullus* ; and was now defended by three the
 greatest men, as well as the greatest orators, at Rome, *Crassus*, *Hortensius*,
 and *Cicero* : So that there had seldom been a trial of more expectation, on
 account of the dignity of the parties concerned. The character of the
 accusers makes it reasonable to believe, that there was clear proof of
 some illegal practices : yet, from Cicero’s speech, which, though imperfect,

Pro Mur.
 9.

is

Y.R. 690.
Bef. Chr.
62.
;39 Conf.

is the only remaining monument of the transaction, it seems probable, that they were such only as, though heinous in the eyes of a *Cato*, or an angry competitor, were usually overlooked by the Magistrates, and expected by the People.

Pro Mur.
6.

The accusation consisted of three heads; *the scandal of Muræna's life, the want of dignity in his character and family, and bribery in the late election.* As to the first, the greatest crime which *Cato* charged him with was *dancing*; to which *Cicero's* defence was somewhat remarkable: "He admonishes *Cato* not to throw out such a calumny so inconsiderately, or to call the Consul of *Rome* a dancer; but to consider how many other crimes a man must needs be guilty of before that of dancing can be objected to him; since no body ever danced, even in solitude, or a private meeting of friends, who was not either drunk or mad; for dancing was always the last act of rioting, banquetings, gay places, and much jollity: That *Cato* charged him therefore with what was the effect of many vices, yet with none of those without which that vice could not possibly subsist; with no scandalous feasts, no amours, no nightly revels, no lewdness, no extravagant expences, &c."

Ibid. 7, 8.

Ibid. 9,
10, 11.

As to the second article, *the want of dignity*, it was urged chiefly by *Sulpicius*, who, being noble, and a *Patrician*, was the more mortified to be defeated by a *Plebeian*, whose character he contemned. But "*Cicero* ridicules the vanity of thinking no family good but a *Patrician*: observes that *Muræna's* grandfather and great grandfather had been *Prætors*; and that his father also from the same dignity had obtained the honour of a triumph: That *Sulpicius's* nobility was better known to the antiquaries than to the People; since his grandfather had never borne any of the principal offices, nor his father ever mounted higher than the equestrian rank. He adds, that, when a Consul, of an ancient and illustrious descent, was defended by a Consul, the son of a Knight, he never imagined that the accusers would venture to say a word about the novelty of a family: That he himself had two *Patrician* competitors; the one a profligate and audacious, the other an excellent and modest man; yet that he outdid *Catiline* in dignity, *Galba* in interest; and if that had been a crime in a new man, he should not have wanted enemies to object it to him." He then shews, "that the science of arms, in which *Muræna* excelled, had much more dignity and splendor in it than the science of the law, [upon the forms of which he casts a great deal of ridicule] being that which first gave a name to the *Roman* people, brought glory to their City, and subdued the world to their empire: That martial virtue had ever been the means of conciliating the favour of the People, and recommending to the honours of the State; and it was but reasonable that it should hold the first place in that City, which was raised by it to be the head of all other cities in the world."

As

As to the last and heaviest part of the charge, *the crime of bribery*, Cicero makes very slight of it, and declares himself “ more afraid of the “ authority than the accusation of *Cato* : ” and, to obviate the influence which the reputation of *Cato*’s integrity might have in the cause, he observes, “ that the people in general, and all wise judges, had ever been “ jealous of the power and interest of an accuser : lest the criminal should “ be borne down, not by the weight of his crimes, but the superior force of “ his adversary. *Let the authority of the great prevail for the safety of the “ innocent, the protection of the helpless, the relief of the miserable ; but let its “ influence be repelled from the dangers and destruction of Citizens : For if any “ one should say, that Cato would not have taken the pains to accuse if he had “ not been assured of the crime, he establishes a very unjust law to men in distress, by making the judgment of an accuser to be considered as a prejudice, “ or previous condemnation of the criminal* ”. He exhorts *Cato* not to be so “ severe on what ancient custom and the Republic itself had found useful ; “ not to deprive the people of their plays, gladiators ”, and feasts, which “ their ancestors had approved, nor to take from candidates an opportunity of obliging by a method of expence, which indicated their generosity, “ rather than an intention to corrupt.”

Y. R. 690.
Bef. Chr.
62.
389 Conf.
Pro Mur.
28.

But, whatever *Muræna*’s crime might be, the circumstance which chiefly favoured him was the difficulty of the times, and a rebellion actually on foot, which made it neither safe nor prudent to deprive the City of a Consul, who by a military education was the best qualified to defend it in so dangerous a crisis. — “ If it be asked, what reason I have to fear *Catiline* ? “ — None at all ; and I have taken care that nobody else need fear him : Yet I say “ that we have cause to fear those troops of his, which I see in this very place. “ Nor is his army so much to be dreaded as those who are said to have “ deserted it : For in truth they have not deserted it, but are left as spies upon “ us, and placed as it were in ambush to destroy us the more securely : All these “ want to see a worthy Consul, an experienced General, a man both by nature “ and fortune attached to the interests of the Republic, driven by your sentence

Vid. infr.
P. 352.

After this he makes high compliments to *Cato* on his eminent virtues ; but rallies him on his Stoic Philosophy ; according to which all sins are equal ; all deviations from right equally wicked ; to kill a dunghill-cock without reason not less criminal than to kill a parent ; a wise man can never forgive ; never be moved by anger, favour, or pity ; never be deceived ; never repent, never change his mind. — These are the principles (adds the Orator, addressing himself to the Judges) which *Marcus Cato* has brought from the school of *Zeno*, not as subjects for exercise and argument only, but to serve him as a rule of life. The consequence is — *Cato* having once said in the Senate, that he would im-

peach a Consular Candidate, he must do it : should he be exorable or compassionate, or own himself mistaken as to the facts, he would forfeit the character of a wise man. *Plutarch* tells us, that the wit and humour with which *Cicero* raillied the profession of *Salpicius* as trifling and contemptible, the principles of *Cato*, as absurd and impracticable, made the whole audience merry, and forced *Cato* himself to cry out, *What a facetious Consul have we !*

All shows of gladiators, within two years from the time of suing for any magistracy, were expressly forbid by *Cicero*’s new law. Vid. supra, p. 340.

“ from

Y. R. 690. "from the guard and custody of the City—But this is no time to throw away
 Bel. Chr. 62. "any of the helps which we have, but by all means possible to acquire more.
 189 Conf. "The enemy is not on the banks of the Anio, which was thought so terrible in

—"the Punic war, but in the City and in the Forum. Good Gods! (I cannot speak it without a sigh) there are some enemies in the very Sanctuary;
 "some, I say, even in the Senate! What will become of us, if, entering into
 "the new year, with these dangers around us, we should have but one Consul
 "in the Republic, and he should be employed, not in prosecuting the war, but in
 "providing a colleague? This consideration, so forcibly urged, of the necessity
 "of having two Consuls for the guard of the City at the opening of the new
 "year, had such weight with the Judges, that, without any deliberation,
 "they unanimously acquitted *Muræna*, and would not, as *Cicero* says, so
 Pro Flacc. 39. "much as bear the accusation of men the most eminent and illustrious."

Not long before the trial of *Muræna*, *Cicero* had pleaded another cause in the defence of *C. Piso*, who was accused by *Cæsar* of having, when Prætor of *Gallia Transpadana*, illegally punished a man of that country. It is highly probable that *Piso* was guilty of the charge, *Cicero* assigning no other reason for his being acquitted, but that he had behaved himself well in his Consulship, A. U. 686.

To return to the affair of the conspiracy.

A few days after the Senate's decree (which invested the Consuls with Dictatorial power) and before *Catiline's* flight, *L. Senius*, a member of that body, read a letter in the House, which, he said, came from *Fesulæ*; importing that *C. Manlius* had taken up arms about the latter end of *October*, and was at the head of a great multitude of people. It was rumoured at the same time that the slaves were arming in *Capua* and in *Apulia*. Hereupon the Senate ordered *Q. Marcus Rex* to *Fesulæ*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus* to *Apulia* and the adjacent country. [These two commanders, with their armies, were then waiting near the City, to be decreed the honour of a triumph, the grant of which had hitherto been obstructed by the malicious calumnies of a FEW MEN, who made sale of every thing, honourable and dishonourable.] On the approach of *Marcus Rex*, *Manlius* deputed some of his officers to meet him in the way, and address him in words to the following effect:

"We call the Gods to witness, GENERAL, that we have not taken
 "up arms either against our country, or with a view to hurt any particular
 "person, but to defend ourselves from injuries, wretched and needy as
 "we are, through the violence and cruelty of usurers; most of us banished
 "from our country, and all deprived of our reputations and fortunes;
 "nor were any of us allowed the benefit of the laws made by our fore-
 "fathers to secure the liberty of our persons, when nothing else is left us;
 "such has been the cruelty of our creditors and the Prætors. We neither
 "desire power nor riches, for the sake of which all the wars and contests
 "among men are commenced and carried on. Liberty is our sole aim,
 "that

“ that liberty which no brave man will lose but with his life. Wherefore
 “ we conjure both you and the Senate to espouse the interests of your
 “ wretched Fellow-citizens; restore to us what the iniquity of the Prætor
 “ has ravished from us, *the protection of the Laws*, and reduce us not to
 “ so desperate a state of distress as shall leave us nothing to think of but
 “ how we may take the amplest revenge on our oppressors; and, since
 “ they will have our blood, make it as costly a purchase to them as we
 “ are able.”

Y. R. 690.
 Bef. Chr.
 62.
 389 Cons.

To this *Q. Marcius* answered, “ That, if they had any thing to request
 “ of the Senate, they must quit their arms, and make their appearance at
 “ Rome in the form of humble petitioners; that such had been the cle-
 “ mency and compassion of the Roman Senate and People on all occasions,
 “ that no one had ever sued to them in vain for relief.”

Catiline in his way to *Manlius's* camp had wrote to most of the *Consulars*,
 and to every Senator and Citizen of the first rank in reputation; “ That,
 “ being on all sides attacked by false accusations, and unable to resist the
 “ faction of his enemies, he submitted to his fate, and was going a volun-
 “ tary exile to *Marseilles*, not from a consciousness of guilt, but out of re-
 “ gard to the public tranquillity, and to prevent any sedition which a strug-
 “ gle in defending his innocence might possibly occasion.”

But *Catulus* produced and read a letter written in a very different stile,
 and which he declared had been delivered to him as from *Catiline*. (The
 main purpose of it was to recommend his *Mistress* to the protection of his
Friend.)

“ *L. Catilina* to *Q. Catulus*, health.

“ Your very singular friendship to me, which I have so often experien-
 “ ced in my greatest dangers, inspires me with confidence to make appli-
 “ cation to it in my present distress.”

He then solemnly asserts his innocence: but frankly confesses, “ that
 “ being provoked by injuries and false accusations, he had, agreeably to
 “ his usual practice, undertaken the common cause of the poor and the
 “ oppressed.—It is not that I want means to satisfy my creditors; for
 “ my estate is sufficient to discharge all the debts I have contracted on
 “ my own account; and *Orestilla* (such is her generosity) would clear all
 “ my engagements on account of others out of her own fortune and that

“ *Cicero*, in his oration for *Murena*, repre-
 “ sents *Catiline* speaking to his associates of
 “ his affairs as being in a desperate condition:
 “ He tells them, “ That it was impossible for
 “ the wretched to find a faithful protector
 “ but in the person of one as wretched as
 “ they themselves; that men of ruined for-
 “ tunes ought never to trust to the promises
 “ of men easy in their affairs: that, conse-

“ quently, all who desired to recruit their
 “ wasted stores, and recover what they had
 “ been robbed of, need only to cast their
 “ eyes upon him, and consider how much
 “ he was indebted, how little he possessed,
 “ and what he was capable of daring; that
 “ the leader and standard-bearer of the un-
 “ happy ought to have very little fear, but a
 “ great deal of misery.”

Pro Mur.
 25.

Y. R. 690. " of her daughter. But, seeing men of no merit, raised to the highest
 Bef. Chr. " honours of the State, and myself slighted and rejected upon groundless
 61. " jealousies, I have taken such measures for preserving the small remains
 389 Conf. " of my dignity, as, considering my circumstances, cannot but appear very
 " honourable. I should have said more to you, but I am just now informed
 " that some troops are in full march against me: In haste therefore I con-
 " clude with recommending *Orestilla* to your protection, intreating you, by
 " the tenderness you feel for your own children, to defend her from all inju-
 " rious treatment. Farewell."

In the mean while *Lentulus* at *Rome*, conformable to *Catiline's* instructions, was endeavouring, by himself or by his emissaries, to engage in the cause all such as, from their vicious manners or necessitous circumstances, he judged would be very willing to help forward a revolution; not Citizens only, but any kind of men who could be usefully employed.

There happened to be at this time in the City certain Deputies from the *Allobroges* (*Gauls* inhabiting the countries now called *Savoy* and *Dauphiné*,) a warlike people, and ever disaffected to the *Roman* power. These Deputies were come to solicit the Senate for some relief under the burthen of those debts with which the nation, as well as many private persons, was overwhelmed, through the oppressive covetousness of the *Roman* governors. They had met with no success, and were about to return home much discontented. *Lentulus* knowing this, and thence imagining it would not be difficult to draw them into the plot, employed one *Umbrenus* to sound them. This man, having traded in *Gaul*, was known to most of the leading men of that country, and was acquainted with their characters. The moment he got sight of the Deputies in the Forum, he walked up to them, and, in friendly manner, like one who took an interest in their affair — *Well, how go matters? What is like to be the issue of your business?* — "Death; our calamities admit of no other remedy; such is the
 " insatiable covetousness of the Magistrates, and the cruel insensibility of
 " the Senate." — *That is very hard indeed. — Have you the spirit to act
 like men? — If you have, I believe I can shew you a way to get entirely out of
 your unfortunate circumstances.* — "Be our friend then. Take pity of our
 " condition. There is nothing so difficult or dangerous which we would
 " not readily undertake to deliver our nation from the heavy load of debt
 " that crushes it."

Umbrenus said no more at that time, but conducted them to a house that stood near the Forum, and belonged to *D. Brutus* (then absent,) the husband of *Sempronia*, who was deeply engaged in the plot. To give the more weight to what he should say, he sent for *Gabinus*; and, as soon as he was come, laid open to the Deputies the whole plan of the Conspiracy, naming all who were engaged in it, and likewise many innocent persons of every degree, in order to create in the minds of the *Gauls* a better opinion of the enterprize. When, allured by the fair prospect, they had

promised their concurrence, and to furnish a good body of horse (which was the aid principally wanted,) he dismissed them.

But no sooner did the Deputies begin coolly to reflect on what had been proposed to them, than they fell into great perplexity and irresolution. On one side were the pressure of a load of debt, and an inclination to war, and the *hope* of great advantages from victory: On the other, superior strength, safe measures, no risk; and, instead of uncertain hopes, certain reward if they discover the Conspiracy. After some fluctuation of mind, the Fortune of *Rome* (says *Sallust*) gained the ascendant. They discovered all they had learned of the plot to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, the Patron^p of their nation, who immediately gave intelligence of it to the Consul.

Cicero thereupon directed the Deputies to feign a warm zeal for carrying on the enterprize, and to promise every thing required of them, till they had got a full insight into the extent of the plot, with distinct proofs against the particular actors in it: Accordingly when, by the means of *Gabinus*, they had procured a meeting with the rest of the Conspirators, they insisted upon an oath from *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Cassius*, under their hands and seals, to shew to their Constituents; who, without such credentials, would never be induced to enter into an engagement so hazardous. Not suspecting any fraud, all complied with this proposal as reasonable, except *Cassius*, who promised he would be in their country in a very short time: and in fact he left the City before the Deputies. *Vul-* *Midd. p.*
turcius was appointed by *Lentulus* to go along with them, and introduce ^{199.} them to *Catiline* in their road, in order to confirm the agreement, and exchange assurances also with him; to whom *Lentulus* sent at the same time a particular letter, *under his own hand and seal, though without his name.* *Cicero* being punctually informed of these facts, concerted privately with the Deputies the time and manner of their leaving *Rome* in the night, and *that on the Milvian bridge, about a mile from the City, they should be arrested, with their papers and letters about them, by two of the Prætors, L. Flaccus and C. Pontinius, whom he had instructed for that purpose, and ordered to lie in ambush near the place, with a strong guard of Friends and soldiers:* *Cic. in*
All this was successfully executed, and the whole company brought prisoners to *Cicero's* house by break of day. *Cat. iii. 2.*

The rumour of this accident presently drew a resort of *Cicero's* friends about him, who advised him to open the letters before he produced them in the Senate, lest, if nothing of moment were found in them, it might be thought rash and imprudent to raise an unnecessary terror and alarm through the City. But he was too well informed of the contents to fear any censure of that kind; and declared, *That, in case of public danger, he thought it his duty to* *Ibid. iii. 3.*
lay the matter entire before the public Council. He sent therefore immediately for *Lentulus*, *Gabinus*, *Statilius*, *Cethegus*, and one *Caparius* of

^p Every nation subjected or allied to the Roman State had its Patron in the Senate.

V. R. 690. *Terracina*, who had been appointed to go into *Apulia*, and there make the slaves rise. The four first came presently to his house, suspecting nothing:
Bel. Chr. 62.
389. Conf. *Ceparius*, having got some notice of the discovery, had slipped out of town, but was brought back before night. The Consul being informed also of a quantity of arms provided by *Cethegus* for the use of the Conspiracy, he ordered *C. Sulpicius*, another of the *Prætors*, to go and search his house, where he found a great number of swords and daggers, with other arms, all newly cleaned, and ready for present service.

Ibid. it.
Plut. in
Cic.

Thus prepared, escorted by a numerous body of Citizens, and carrying with him the Deputies and the Conspirators, he set out to meet the Senate in the temple of Concord, whither he had summoned them. *Lentulus* was at this time *Prætor*; the Consul himself therefore conducted him thither, holding him by the hand all the way; the rest were brought under a guard.

Mcld. p.
200—203.

After he had given the Assembly an account of the whole affair, *Vulturcius* was called in to be examined separately; to whom *Cicero*, by order of the House, offered a pardon and reward, if he would faithfully discover all that he knew: Upon which, after some hesitation, he confessed, that he had a letter, and likewise verbal instructions, from *Lentulus* to *Catiline*, to press him to accept the assistance of the slaves, and to lead his army with all expedition towards Rome, to the intent that, when it should be set on fire in different places, and the general massacre begun, he might be at hand to intercept those who escaped, and join with his friends in the City.

Sallust.

Cic. in
Cat. iii. 4.

Ibid. v. 6.

The Deputies were examined next, who declared, that they had received letters to their nation from *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and *Statilius*; that these three, and *L. Cassius* also, required them to send a body of horse as soon as possible into Italy, declaring that they had no occasion for any foot: That *Lentulus* had assured them from the *Sibylline* books, and the answers of Soothsayers, that he was the third *Cornelius*, who was destined to be master of Rome, as *Cinna* and *Sylla* had been before him; and that this was the fatal time marked out for the destruction of the City and Empire: That there was some dispute between *Cethegus* and the rest about the time of firing the City; for while the rest were fixing it on the feast of Saturn, or the middle of December, *Cethegus* thought that day too remote and dilatory.—The letters were then produced and opened; first that from *Cethegus*; and upon shewing him the seal, he allowed it to be his; it was written with his own hand, and addressed to the Senate and People of the *Allobroges*, signifying that he would make good what he had promised to their Deputies, and entreating them also to perform what the Deputies had undertaken for them. He had been interrogated just before about the arms that were found in his house, to which he answered, That they were provided only for his curiosity, for he had always been particularly fond of neat arms: But, after his letter was read, he was so dejected and confounded, that he had nothing at all to say for himself.—*Statilius* was then brought in, and acknowledged his hand

and seal; and when his letter was read, to the same purpose with *Cethegus's*, he confessed it to be his own.-----Then *Lentulus's* letter was produced, and his seal^a likewise owned by him: The letter was of the same import with the other two; but, having leave to speak for himself, he at first denied the whole charge, and began to question the Ambassadors and *Vulturcius*, what business they ever had with him, and on what occasion they came to his house, to which they gave clear and distinct answers, signifying by whom and how often they had been introduced to him; and then asked him in their turn, whether he had never mentioned any thing to them of the Sibylline oracles; upon which being confounded, or infatuated rather by the sense of his guilt, he gave a remarkable proof, as *Cicero* says, of the great force of conscience; for not only his usual parts and eloquence, but his impudence too, in which he outdid all men, quite failed him; so that he confessed the crime, to the surprize of the whole Assembly. Then *Vulturcius* desired, that the letter to *Catiline*, which *Lentulus* had sent by him, might be opened; where *Lentulus* again, though greatly disordered, acknowledged his hand and seal: It was written without any name, but to this effect: "You will know who I am from him whom I have sent to you. Take care to shew yourself a man; and recollect in what a situation you are, and consider what is now necessary for you. Be sure to make use of the assistance of all, even of the lowest."---*Gabinus* was then introduced, and behaved impudently for a while; but at last denied nothing of what the Deputies charged him with.

After the criminals and witnesses were withdrawn, the Senate came unanimously to the following resolutions: That *Lentulus* (after having abdicated the *Prætorship*, and divested himself of his robes) and *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Gabinus*, with their other accomplices also when taken, *Cæparius*, *Furius*, *Chilo*, *Umbrenus*, should be committed to safe custody; and that a public thanksgiving should be appointed in *Cicero's* name, for his having preserved the City from a conflagration, the Citizens from a massacre, and Italy from a war. That *Flaccus* and *Pontinius*, the *Prætors*, should be thanked for their vigorous and punctual execution of *Cicero's* orders, and that *Antonius*, the other Consul, should be praised for having removed from his councils all those who were concerned in the Conspiracy.

In Cat. iii.
10.

^a *Cicero*, perceiving the seal to be the head of *Lentulus's* grandfather, could not help expostulating with him, that the image of such an ancestor, [one of the worthy accomplices of *Opimius* in that massacre where *Caius Gracchus*, together with 3000 Roman Citizens, were destroyed] so remarkable for a singular love of his country, had not reclaimed him from his traitorous designs.

^b According to *Sallust*, *Lentulus* was com-

mitted to the custody of his kinsman, *P. Lentulus Spinther* (at that time *Curule Ædile*.) *Cethegus* was delivered to *Q. Cornificius*, *Statilius* to *Cæsar*, *Gabinus* to *Crassus*, *Cæparius* to *Cn. Terentius*, a Senator. Of the commitments of the prisoners respectively to *Cæsar*, *Crassus*, *Cornificius*, and *Terentius*, *Dr. Middleton* takes no notice. Perhaps he did not find these particulars in any of *Cicero's* writings.

And

Y. R. 690.
Bef. Chr.
62.
389 Conf.

V. R. 690.

E. R. 11.

And now the common people, who just before, from a natural love of change and novelty (or perhaps from their hatred of the Senate,) had wished for some intestine commotion, were no sooner made acquainted with the true design of the Conspiracy, than they began to curse *Catiline* and his devices, and to extol *Cicero* to the skies. For, while they remained ignorant of what was intended, they entertained a hope of some possible advantage from it to themselves; but when they understood that the City was to be set on fire, they were sure that this would be meer mischief, from which they could reap no benefit; but suffer the loss of their houses and goods, and all the means of their daily subsistence.

Madd. p.

204.

In Cat. iii.

6.

Vid. supr.

p. 351.

Cicero therefore was well heard when, after dismissing the Senate, he went directly into the *Rojira*, and gave the People an account of the whole proceeding in the manner as above related: observing to them, “ That the thanksgiving decreed in his name was the first that had ever been decreed to any man in the gown: that all other thanksgivings had been appointed for some particular services to the Republic, this alone for saving it.——*Romans*, by the seizure of the accomplices of *Catiline*, all his hopes are blasted at once. When I was driving him out of the City, I foresaw that, if he was once removed, there would be nothing to apprehend from the drowiness of *Lentulus*, the fat of *Cassius*, or the rashness of *Cethegus*. *Catiline* was the life of the Conspiracy: he never took any thing to be done, because he had ordered it; but always followed, solicited, and saw it done himself. If I had not driven him from his secret plots into open rebellion, I could never have delivered the Republic from its dangers, or never at least with so much ease and quiet. *Catiline* would not have named the fatal day for your destruction so long beforehand, nor ever suffered his hand and seal to be brought against him as the manifest proof of his guilt; all which has been so managed in *his absence*, that no theft in any private house was ever more clearly detected than this whole conspiracy.”

The

In Cat. iii.

8, 9.

“ He added, that all this was the pure effect of a Divine influence, as was evident, not only for its being above the reach of human counsel, but from the Gods having so remarkably interposed in it as to shew themselves almost visible. For, not to mention the nightly streams of light from the western sky, the blazing of the heavens, flashes of lightening, earthquakes, &c. he could not omit what happened two years before, when the turrets of the Capitol were struck down with lightening; how the Southsayers, called together from all *Etruria*, declared, that fire, slaughter, the over-

throw of the laws, civil war, and the ruin of the City, was portended, unless some means were found out of appeasing the Gods: for which purpose they ordered a new and larger statue of *Jupiter* to be made, and to be placed in a position contrary to that of the former image, with its face turned towards the East, intimating that, if it looked towards the rising sun, the Forum, and the Senate-house, then all plots against the State would be detected so evidently, that all the world should see them. — That, upon this answer, the Consuls of that year gave immediate orders for making and placing the statue;

The next day (Dec. 4.) the Senate ordered public rewards to the Depu- Y. R. 690.
ties and *Vulturcius* for their faithful discoveries.

The same day was brought before the Senate one *L. Tarquinius*, Sallust.
said to have been taken upon the road as he was going to join *Catiline*.
He offered to lay the whole of the plot before the House, provided he
might have the security of the public faith for his pardon: The Consul
assented, and bid him declare what he knew. His account was much
the same with that of *Vulturcius*, as to the projected firing of the City,
the intended massacre, and the march of the rebel-army to *Rome*. He
added, that, when he was apprehended, he was going, by direction from
Crassus, to warn *Catiline* not to be discouraged by the seizure of his ac-
complices, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the rest; but to make the greater
haste for that reason, in order to rescue them, and revive the spirits of his
other friends.

At the name of *Crassus* the whole Assembly seemed startled: For some
looked upon the thing as incredible; others, though they believed it true,
yet judged, that a man of his high quality, immense wealth, and mighty
sway in the State, should, at this juncture, be rather soothed and courted
than provoked; and very many there were, who, with respect to their
private affairs, stood obliged to *Crassus*, or in awe of him [probably
deep in his debt] so that they all cried out, *A false witness! a false witness!*
and would have the sense of the House (which was then very full) imme-
diately taken upon what he had said; *Cicero* having put the question, they
voted that *Tarquinius's* evidence was false; and that he should be committed
to prison, and there confined, till he disclosed at whose instigation he had
ferged so monstrous a lie. Some there were at that time who thought this
information a contrivance of *P. Autronius*, to the end that *Crassus*, be-
ing involved in the same danger with the Conspirators, might protect
them by his power. Others said, that *Tarquinius* was put upon it by
Cicero, to prevent *Crassus* from embroiling the State, by undertaking the
protection of bad Citizens, as was his custom. *I myself* (adds *Sallust*)

Ibid. 8, 9. “ statue; but, from the slow progress of the
“ work, neither they nor their successors, nor
“ himself, could get it finished till that very
“ day, on which, by the special influence of
“ Jupiter, while the conspirators and witnesses
“ were carried through the Forum to the Temple
“ of Concord, in that very moment the Statue
“ was fixed in its place; and being turned to
“ look upon them and the Senate, both they and
“ the Senate saw the whole Conspiracy detected.
“ And can any man, says he, be such an enemy
“ to Truth, so rash, so mad, as to deny, that all
“ things which we see, and, above all, that this
“ City is governed by the power and providence
“ of the Gods?” He proceeds to observe,

“ That the Conspirators must needs be under
“ a divine and judicial infatuation, and could
“ never have trusted affairs and letters of such
“ moment to men barbarous and unknown to
“ them, if the Gods had not confounded their
“ senses: And that the Ambassadors of a na-
“ tion so disaffected, and so able and willing
“ to make war upon them, should slight the
“ hopes of dominion, and the advantageous
“ offer of men of Patrician rank, must needs
“ be a Divine interposition; especially when
“ they might have gained their ends, not by
“ fighting, but, by holding their tongues.”
“ *Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii. Sal-*
lust.

heard.

Y. R. 690. heard Crassus affirm, That Cicero was the contriver of this affront upon
 Bef. Chr. him.

62.
 189 Conf.

Vid. supr.

P. 302.

Vid. supr.

P. 306.

Salust.

Yet, at this very time, Q. Catulus and C. Piso could not, by the most pressing solicitations, nor by any offers whatever, prevail with Cicero to have Caesar falsely accused by the *Allobroges*, or by any body else. Those two Senators bore an inveterate enmity to Caesar; Piso on account of Caesar's having impeached him (as above related) of oppressive Government; and Catulus, because Caesar had stood in competition with him for the High-priesthood, and, though but a young man, had carried it from him, who was advanced in years, and had filled the highest offices. Both these implacable enemies thought they had now a favourable opportunity of bringing Caesar under suspicion; his great liberality to private persons, and his largesses to the people, having plunged him very deep in debt. Not being able to persuade the Consul to so black a villainy, they themselves went about from Citizen to Citizen, whispering calumnies, and charging Caesar with facts which they pretended to have learnt from *Vulturcius* and the *Allobrogian* Deputies; insomuch that some of the Roman Knights, who were posted about the Temple of Concord, as a guard to the Senate, threatened Caesar with their drawn swords as he came out of the Assembly.

And now the City was alarmed with the rumour of fresh plots, formed by the slaves and dependants of Lentulus and Cethegus for the rescue of their masters; which obliged Cicero to reinforce his guards; and, for the prevention of all such attempts, to put an end to the whole affair, by bringing the question of their punishment, without farther delay, before the Senate, which he summoned for that purpose the next morning (Dec. 5.)

The debate was of great delicacy and importance; to decide upon the lives of Citizens of the first rank. A full Senate had indeed declared * them

Midd. p.
 303.

* The same night his wife Terentia, with the Vestal virgins and the principal matrons of Rome, was performing at home, according to an annual custom, the mystic rights of the Goddess Bona or the Good, to which no male creature was ever admitted, and, till that function was over, he was excluded also from his own house, and forced to retire to a neighbour's, where, with a select council of friends, he began to deliberate about punishing the traitors; when his wife came in all haste to inform him of a prodigy which had just happened amongst them; for the sacrifice being over, and the fire of the altar seemingly extinct, a bright flame issued suddenly from the ashes, to the astonishment of the company; upon which the Vestal virgins sent her away, to require him to pursue what he had then in his thoughts for the good of

his country, since the Goddess by this sign had given great light to his safety and glory.

It is not improbable, that this pretended prodigy was projected between Cicero and Terentia, whose sister likewise was one of the Vestal virgins; and, having the direction of the whole ceremony, might help to effect, without suspicion, what had been privately concerted amongst them. For it was of great use to Cicero, to possess the minds of the People, as strongly as he could, with an apprehension of their danger, for the sake of disposing them the more easily to approve of the resolution, that he had already taken in his own mind, of putting the Conspirators to death. M. Marabin observes, that Cicero says nothing of all this. The reason might be, that the private consultation, and resolutions there made, were illegal.

guilty

guilty of treason against the State: But capital punishments were rare and ever odious in *Rome*, whose laws were of all others the least sanguinary; banishment, with confiscation of goods, being the ordinary punishments for the greatest crimes. The Senate indeed, as it has been said above, in cases of sudden and dangerous tumults, claimed the prerogative of punishing the leaders with death by the authority of their own decrees; but this was looked upon as a stretch of power, and an infringement of the rights of the People, which nothing could excuse but the necessity of times and the extremity of danger. For there was an old law of *Porcius Læca*, a Tribune, *which granted to all criminals, capitally condemned, an appeal to the People*; and a later one of *C. Gracchus* *to prohibit the taking away the life of any Citizen without a formal hearing before the People*: So that some Senators, who had concurred in all the previous debates, withdrew themselves from this, to shew their dislike of what they expected to be the issue of it, and *to have no hand in putting Roman Citizens to death by a vote of the Senate*. The Consul having moved the question, *what was to be done with the Conspirators*, *Silanus*, one of the Consuls elect, (being the first called upon to speak) advised*, that *those who were then in custody, and also the rest, when taken, should all suffer the last or severest punishment, i. e. be put to death*. To this all who spoke after him readily assented, till it came to *Julius Cæsar*, then *Prætor elect*, who treated that opinion not as cruel, but as new and illegal, and contrary to the constitution of the Republic.

“ All men, Conscript Fathers, when they are deliberating upon matters of moment and of difficult determination, ought to be quite free from love and hatred, pity and anger; because these passions never fail to cast such a cloud over the mind, as hinders the discernment of what is true and what is eligible. Let us be careful that our own dignity weigh more with us than the guilt of *Lentulus* and his associates; let us consult our reputation more than our resentment. Could a punishment be thought of equal to their crimes, I too should be for going out of the way on this provocation; but, as that cannot be, let us go on in the path which the laws have chalked out for us.

“ Many of those who spoke before me have displayed a great deal of oratory in bewailing the unfortunate condition of their country; they have enumerated all the horrors of war, and the sufferings to which the

Pro Sylla,
14, 15.

* While the prisoners were before the Senate, *Cicero* desired some of the Senators, who could write short-hand, to take notes of every thing that was said; and when the whole examination was finished, and reduced into an act, he set all the clerks at work to transcribe copies of it, which he dispersed presently through *Italy* and all the provinces, to prevent any invidious misrepresentation of what was so clearly attested and confessed by the criminals themselves.

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And according to *Plutarch* (in *Cat.*) these writers in short-hand had been taught their art by *Cicero*, and took down the speeches of the members on the present occasion. And to this the Historian ascribes the preservation of the speech which *Cato* made in answer to *Cæsar*; which speech, he says, is the only one of *Cato's* that was preserved: of which, however, he gives us but a sketch.

2 A

“ vanquished

Y. R. 590. " vanquished will be exposed;—virgins ravished; children torn from
 Bef. Chr. " their mothers bosoms; matrons insulted by a victorious soldiery; tem-
 62. " ples and houses plundered; whole towns in flames; all places filled with
 399 Conf. " dead bodies, blood, and lamentation. -- But, in the name of the im-
 " mortal Gods, what does all this profusion of eloquence aim at? Is
 " it to excite in your minds a detestation of the Conspirators? Yes,
 " without question. Those whom a design so monstrously wicked cannot
 " move, will be moved by a florid oration. Where is the man who
 " under-rates the injuries done to himself, and is not rather apt to exag-
 " gerate them beyond all reason? But some may do this with more safety
 " than others: Men in low life, if they are led too far by anger, their
 " excesses are hid in the obscurity of their state. But those who are in
 " high stations have less liberty of acting; for what is called anger in a
 " private man, is censured as tyranny and oppression in a governor. It is
 " my real opinion (as I just now said) that no punishment, no tortures,
 " are adequate to the crimes of these men: But the temper of mankind is
 " such that they remember best what happened last, and, in cases of the
 " most notorious wickedness, are apt to forget what the guilty *did*, and
 " to talk only of what they *suffered*, especially if the punishment inflicted
 " on them was, in any degree, more than commonly severe. I am entirely
 " persuaded that *D. Silanus*, in the advice he gave, meant nothing but
 " the public good. I am too well acquainted with his virtue and mode-
 " ration, to imagine that he spoke from a desire to make his court to any
 " body, or from enmity to the prisoners. Yet his advice seems to me,
 " I will not say cruel, (for what can be cruel against such offenders?) but,
 " illegal, novel to our constitution. Certainly, *Silanus*, it must have
 " been *fear for the public*, which moved you, our *Consul elect*, and who
 " are to be guardian of our laws, to propose a punishment unknown to
 " them. How needless that fear is, I need not say, since, by the wisdom
 " and care of our most excellent Consul, so considerable a force is pro-
 " vided for our security. As to the punishment proposed, one may with
 " truth affirm, that, to the wretched, death is rather a benefit than an
 " evil: It is a release from all the pains incident to humanity. Beyond
 " death there is no place either for anguish or delight.

" But let me ask, why did you not add to the sentence of death, *that*
 " *they should be first beaten with rods*? Was it because the *Porcian* law
 " forbids it? There are other laws that equally forbid punishing a con-
 " demned Citizen with death, and that permit him to go into banishment.
 " Did you spare the prisoners from being beaten with rods, because it is
 " a severer punishment than death? (What can be too severe for persons
 " convicted of such crimes?) If you look on scourging as a punishment
 " less severe than death, why this tenderness for the laws in a matter of less
 " concern, while you scruple not to violate them in a greater? But you
 " may say perhaps—who will censure us for any punishment we shall

“ decree against traitors to the Commonwealth? I answer, — Time, a Y. R. 695.
 “ very little time, and Fortune that rules the world at pleasure, may produce Bef Chr.
 “ such censurers. The criminals deserve the worst that can befall them; 61.
 “ but do you, Conscrip Fathers, consider well what you resolve upon in 339 Conf.
 “ this case: Bad precedents have, generally speaking, been innocent in
 “ their origin. An example set by worthy Magistrates of assuming arbi-
 “ trary power, on urgent occasions, and for good purposes, has been
 “ often pleaded by bad and ignorant men as a precedent to justify their
 “ assuming the same power, when their purpose was to abuse it. The
 “ *Spartans*, when they had got the better of the *Athenians*, appointed
 “ thirty persons for the government of the conquered State. These new
 “ governors began with condemning to death several of the most pro-
 “ fligate and most detested Citizens without any previous trial in form.
 “ The multitude rejoiced at it, and applauded the dispatch of justice.
 “ But in time these Governors came to treat the good and bad alike:
 “ they put to death whomever of the Citizens they pleased; and the rest
 “ lived in terror of the same fate. The people, then finding themselves
 “ enslaved, suffered grievously for their foolish joy.

“ In our own times, when *Sylla* had vanquished *Marius*, and ordered
 “ *Damasippus* and some others, who, like him, had enriched themselves
 “ out of the spoils of the public, to be put to death, who was there that
 “ did not applaud his justice? But these executions were only a prelude to
 “ more bloody scenes. For, when any of *Sylla*’s partizans took a fancy
 “ to the town-house or the country-house of a *Roman* Citizen, or even
 “ to his garment, or to a piece of his household furniture, he had nothing
 “ to do but to get the owner’s name put into the list of the proscribed.
 “ Thus many, who had rejoiced at the fall of *Damasippus*, were them-
 “ selves dragged to execution; and the carnage continued till *Sylla* had
 “ enriched all his followers. I apprehend not indeed any thing like
 “ this from *Marcus Tullius*, or in these times. But in a mighty State,
 “ as ours is, there is a great variety of men and manners. In other times,
 “ and under another Consul, who may likewise have an army as his
 “ devotion, some false story may pass current for a truth, and then your
 “ present decree will be a precedent for him to draw the sword; and,
 “ when it is drawn, who shall oblige him to use it moderately, or to sheathe
 “ it again?

“ Our ancestors, Conscrip Fathers, though wanting neither prudence
 “ nor bravery, were not so haughty as to disdain to look into the customs
 “ and institutions of the nations around them, and to imitate them in the
 “ things wherein each nation excelled. Thus they borrowed weapons of
 “ war from the *Samnites*, and the ensigns of our Magistrates from *Etruria*:
 “ whatever they thought useful, whether found among their allies or
 “ among their enemies, they introduced into our State. In those times,
 “ by a custom which they had borrowed from *Greece*, they subjected offend-

Y. R. 690.
Bef. Chr.
61.
539 Cons.

ing Citizens to be beaten with rods, and such as were capitally convicted, they sentenced to death. Afterwards, when, our State being vastly augmented, the prodigious number of its Citizens had given birth to factions, and innocent men began to be circumvented, and such like wickedness to be practised; then the *Porcian* law was provided; and likewise other laws, by which, instead of death, exile was to be the punishment of Citizens capitally condemned. This institution of our fore-fathers has great weight with me; I think we should be cautious how we break in upon it. Certainly they, who, from so small beginnings, could raise this mighty Empire, must, in virtue and wisdom, have excelled us, who have a difficulty to preserve what they so worthily acquired.

“Are we then to release these criminals, and send them away to reinforce the army of *Catiline*? By no means. My opinion is, *that their estates be confiscated, and their persons closely confined in the strongest of the municipal towns (each of the criminals in a distinct town) and that no person hereafter move the Senate or People in their favour*: And let it be declared as the opinion of this House, that whoever shall do so, will act contrary to the welfare of the Republic, and of all its members.”

Sallust.
Pist. in
Cat.
in Cic.
in Cæf.
Suet. vii.
Plut. in
Cic.

Cæsar's discourse made a great impression on the Assembly; even *Silanus* excused and mitigated the severity of his vote; and *Cicero*'s friends came readily into *Cæsar*'s opinion, as likely to create the least trouble to *Cicero* himself, for whose peace and safety they now saw reason to be solicitous.

Sallust.

But *Cato*, one of the new Tribunes, rose up, and in a good deal of warmth began with observing, that those who had spoken before him had all mistaken the question: That he was surprized to see any debate about the punishment of men who had commenced an actual war against their country: That the question was how to secure themselves against the Conspirators, rather than how to punish them: That other crimes might be punished after commission; but unless this was prevented before its effect, it would be in vain to seek a remedy after: That the debate was not about the public revenues, or the oppression of the allies, but about their own lives and liberties; not about the discipline or manners of the City, on which he had often delivered his mind in that place; nor about the greatness or prosperity of their Empire; but whether they or their enemies should possess that Empire:—

“In the name of the immortal Gods, I call upon you, who have always had your magnificent houses and your villas, your statues and your pictures, more at heart than the interest of the Republic*; I call upon you to rouse yourselves for once, and stand up in defence of your coun-

* These were *Cicero*'s worthies, those Consuls who had enriched themselves by oppressing the provinces of which they had the

government after the expiration of their magistracies.

“try,

“ try, if you would preserve those things you are so fond of, and enjoy,
 “ without interruption, that voluptuous indolence in which you pass your
 “ days. Often have I spoke, Conscript Fathers, and much have I com-
 “ plained in this Assembly of the rapacious covetousness and prodigal
 “ luxury which prevail among us; and those complaints have created me
 “ many enemies. But I, who never was disposed to excuse in myself even
 “ an inclination to evil, cannot readily pardon the evil deeds of others.
 “ You have long since lost the true names of things: To give away other
 “ people’s money, is called generosity; to attempt what is criminal, forti-
 “ tude. If you must be generous, let it be from the spoils of the Allies;
 “ if merciful, to the plunderers of the Treasury; but be not prodigal
 “ of the blood of Citizens; nor, by sparing a few bad, destroy all the
 “ good. Shall any one in the present case talk to me of mildness and
 “ clemency? There is no room for mercy. *Cæsar* indeed has spoken well
 “ and gravely concerning life and death, judging, I presume, that all we
 “ are told of punishments allotted to the wicked in the infernal regions
 “ is mere fiction; and he would therefore have the estates of the crimi-
 “ nals confiscated, and their persons closely confined in the municipal
 “ towns; from an apprehension, I suppose, that, if they should be kept
 “ at *Rome*, they might be forcibly rescued by their fellow conspirators,
 “ or by a mob, hired for that purpose: As if villains were no where but
 “ in *Rome*, and not in every part of *Italy*; or as if the attempts of the
 “ desperate would not be more likely to succeed where there is less strength
 “ to resist them: His proposal has not the least shew of reason, if he be
 “ truly afraid of them: But if, while every body else is in fear, he alone
 “ fears nothing, there is the more reason for us, Conscript Fathers, to be
 “ afraid for ourselves. We are not now deliberating on the fate only of
 “ *Lentulus* and the other prisoners, but of *Catiline’s* whole army,
 “ which will be animated or discouraged in proportion to the vigour or
 “ remissness of your decrees.—The flagitious lives of the criminals
 “ confute every argument of mercy: *Catiline* is hovering over us with
 “ an army, while his accomplices are within the walls and in the very
 “ heart of the City; so that whatever you determine cannot be kept secret,
 “ which makes it the more necessary to determine quickly. My opinion
 “ therefore is, *That, since the criminals have been convicted, both by testimony*
 “ *and their own confession, of a detestable treason against the Republic, they*
 “ *should suffer the punishment of death according to the custom of our an-*
 “ *cestors’.*”

The

Plut. in
Cat.

1 *Plutarch* reports, that, while *Cato* was
 speaking, a sealed letter was delivered to
Cæsar in the Senate-house: that *Cato*, su-
 specting it might contain some secret advice
 from the Conspirators, insisted upon its being
 read to the Assembly. Whereupon *Cæsar*,

who sat near him, delivered the paper into
 his hands. *Cato* presently perceived it to be
 a love-letter from his own sister, *Servilia*, with
 whom *Cæsar* had long had an intrigue:
 the angry Stoic threw back the paper to
 him; *There, Sir!* and then resumed the thread
 of

Y. R. 693.
 Bef. C. 52.
 379. Conf.

The leading men of the Senate, the Oligarchs, having, in concert with *Cicero*, come, to the Assembly, determined² to put the prisoners to death, had therefore voted accordingly; but some being convinced by *Cæsar's* discourse, others alarmed by it, they retracted their votes, and *Scipio* himself, if he did not retract, explained his vote away, pretending, that, by *the last punishment* he did not mean *death*, but the severest punishment that could be *legally* inflicted on a *Roman Citizen*: nevertheless they all turned now to their first opinion, being encouraged to it by *Cato's* authority, not only as a Senator highly and universally revered for his virtue, but as being at this time a **TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE**: They extolled him to the skies for his resolution, and reproached one another with cowardice. *Cato* was the only Hero. A decree, therefore, was drawn conformable to *Cato's* opinion, and in his very words; and the greater part of the Senate, to do him honour, waited upon him home.

Vell. Pat.
 l. ii. c. 35.

Plut. in
 Cic.

The Consul, thus authorized, resolved to put the decree in execution without delay. Accompanied by a great number of the principal men of the City, who served him for a guard, he went and took *Lentulus* from the custody of his kinsman *Lentulus Spintber*, and conveyed him through the Forum to the common prison. The multitude, greatly astonished, followed in silence; the younger sort, especially, were much terrified with this shocking ceremony; a thing quite new to them, and which they considered as a dreadful mystery of aristocratical government. *Lentulus* was delivered by the Consul to the executioners, who presently strangled him: *Cetbegus*, *Statilius*, and *Gabinus*, were conducted to their execution by the Prætors, and put to death in the same manner, together with *Caparius*, the only one of their accomplices who was taken after the examination.

As *Cicero*, in his return from these executions, perceived in the Forum a great many of *Catiline's* accomplices, who had got together in clusters,

of his discourse: In which discourse he addressed himself to *Cæsar* in particular, "reproaching him with an attribution of popularity and lenity, while he was subverting the *Commonwealth*; and with endeavouring to intemperate the Senate, while he himself ought to tremble with fear, lest he should be treated as an accomplice of the Conspirators, for having so openly and so audaciously endeavoured to rescue them out of the hands of Justice; confessing that he had no compassion for his country, when he saw it upon the very brink of destruction; and yet being so tender hearted, as almost to shed tears over villains, who ought never to have seen the light of heaven, and whose death was necessary for securing the City from a massacre and a conflagration."

If *Cato* did really scold in this manner, he must, unquestionably, have been prompted to it by his flaming wrath, which the billet-doux above-mentioned had suddenly kindled. The speech which *Sallust* ascribes to him, though not so intemperate, is far from being a reasonable answer to *Cæsar's* discourse.

² *Cicero* declares this of himself in a letter to *Atticus* [Lib. XII. Ep. 21.] where he complains of *Brutus* for not having done him justice, in a relation which *Brutus* had written of what passed at this time in the Senate. Me autem hic laudat, quod retulerim, non quod patefecerim, quod cohortatus sim, QUOD DENIQUE ANTE, QUAM CONSULEREM, IPSE JUDICAVERIM.

and

and were waiting for the night, in hopes of being then able to rescue the prisoners, he cried out to them with a loud voice, *They did live* [vixerunt;] a mode of speech among the Romans, to avoid the disagreeable and ominous sound of the word *dead*. Y. R. 690.
Bef. Chr.
62.
389. Conf.

The affair thus over, the whole body of the Senate, together with the Knights, conducted the Consul home in a kind of triumph, the streets being illuminated, and the women and children at the windows, and on the tops of houses, to see him pass along through infinite acclamations of the multitude, proclaiming him the *Preserver of his Country*, and *Second Founder of Rome*.

This was the *fifth* of *December*, those celebrated *Nones*, of which Cicero used to boast ever after as the most glorious day of his life. Midd.
222.

By the seizure and punishment of *Catiline's* associates, the Senate thought the danger wholly averted; and they, accordingly, proceeded to vote thanksgivings and festivals, looking upon *Catiline's* army as a crew of fugitives or banditti, whom their forces were sure to destroy, whenever they could meet with them. 223.

Cicero's administration being now at an end, nothing remained but to resign the Consulship, according to custom, in an Assembly of the People, and to take the usual oath, *of his having discharged it with fidelity*. This was generally accompanied with a speech from the expiring Consul; and after such a year, and from such a Speaker, the City was in no small expectation of what *Cicero* would say to them: But *Metellus Nepos*, one of the new Tribunes (who had entered on their office the tenth of *December*,) resolved to disappoint both the Orator and the Audience: For when *Cicero* had mounted the *Rostra*, and was ready to perform this last act of his office, the Tribune would not suffer him to speak, or to do any thing more than barely to take the oath; declaring, *That he who had put Catilines to death unheard, ought not to be permitted to speak for himself*: Upon which, *Cicero*, who was never at a loss, instead of pronouncing the ordinary form of the oath, exalting the tone of his voice, swore out aloud, so as all the people might hear him, *that he had saved the Republic and the City from ruin*; which the multitude below confirmed with an universal shout, and with one voice cried out, *that what he had sworn was true*; and thus the intended affront was turned, by his presence of mind, to his greater honour. Ep. Fam.
v. 2.
In. Pison.
3.
Ep. Fam.
v. 2.

Catiline

^a *Plutarch* names two Tribunes, *Metellus* and *Bestia*, as making this opposition; and intimates that they were instigated to it by *Cæsar*, then *Prætor elect*.

^b “ Before we close the account of the memorable events of this year, we must not omit (says *Cicero's* English historian) the mention of one which distinguished it

“ afterwards as a particular æra in the annals
“ of *Rome*, the birth of *Octavius* surnamed
“ *Augustus*, which happened on the twenty-
“ third of *September*. *Velleius* calls it an ac-
“ cession of glory to *Cicero's* Consulship: But
“ it excites speculations rather of a different
“ sort; on the inscrutable methods of Provi-
“ dence, and the short-sighted policy of man;
“ that

Y. R. 691.
 Bef. Chr.
 61.
 390 Conf.
 Mdd.
 123.
 Sall. 56.

Catiline was in a condition to make a stouter resistance than the Senate had imagined: He had filled up his troops to the number of *two legions*, or about *twelve thousand fighting men*, of which a *fourth part only* was *completely armed*, the rest furnished with what chance offered, *darts, lances, clubs*. Trusting to the proper strength of the Conspiracy, he refused at first to enlist *slaves*, who flocked to him in great numbers. He knew that he should quickly have soldiers enough, if his friends performed their part at home: So that when the Consul *Antonius* approached towards him with his army, he shifted his quarters, and made frequent motions and marches through the mountains, *sometimes towards Gaul, sometimes towards the City*, in order to avoid an engagement, till he could hear some news from *Rome*: But when the fatal account came, *of the death of Lentulus and the rest*, the face of his affairs began presently to change, and his army to dwindle apace, by the desertion of those, whom the hopes of victory and plunder had drawn to his camp. His first attempt, therefore, was by long marches and private roads through *the Apennine*, to make his escape into *Gaul*; but *Q. Metellus Celer*, who had been sent thither before by *Cicero*, imagining that he would take that resolution, had secured all the passes, and posted himself so advantageously with an army of *three legions*, that it was impossible for him to force his way on that side; whilst, on the other, the Consul *Antonius*, with a much greater force, blocked him up behind, and enclosed him within the mountains. It is said that *Antonius* had no

“that in the moment when Rome was preserved
 “from destruction, and its Liberty thought to be
 “established more firmly than ever, an infant should
 “be thrown into the world, who, within the
 “course of twenty years, effected what *Catiline*
 “had attempted, and destroyed both *Cicero* and
 “and REPUBLIC. If Rome could have been
 “saved by human counsel, it would have been
 “saved by the skill of *Cicero*: but its destiny
 “was now approaching. For governments,
 “like natural bodies, have, with the prin-
 “ciples of their preservation, the seeds of ruin
 “also essentially mixed in their constitution,
 “which, after a certain period, begin to operate
 “and exert themselves to the dissolution of the
 “vital frame. These seeds had long been
 “fermenting in the bowels of the Republic;
 “when *Octavius* came, peculiarly formed by
 “nature, and instructed by art, to quicken
 “their operation, and exalt them to their
 “maturity.”

What is here said of the resemblance of governments to natural bodies is unquestionably true: but for the rest of this religiously grave speculation, what solidity is there in it? *Cicero* had preserved the City from being set on

fire, and, perhaps, the greater part of the Senators from being massacred; but the illegal method he had taken, without necessity, to do those services, far from establishing Liberty more firmly than ever, or having a tendency to restore Liberty (of which there was hardly a shadow remaining) hastened the introduction of despotic monarchy. And the speculation of the reverend Historian on the inscrutable methods of Providence, would certainly have appeared not less ingenious, if it had been to this effect: That, during the Consulship of *Cicero* who, when PRÆTOR, had, for the sake of his own advancement, given the first stab to the Roman ARISTOCRACY, by persuading the People to pass the MANILIAN LAW: and who, from a zeal to support that ARISTOCRACY, when it was his private interest to have it supported, gave the second stab to it, when CONSUL, by an evil Example of dispensing with the Laws unnecessarily, an infant should be thrown into the world, who, in the course of a few years, gave the finishing blow to the Aristocratic Domination, and delivered up *Cicero*, its most eloquent and most eloquacious Advocate, to the sword of his particular and implacable enemy.

inclination to fight with *Catiline*, but would willingly have given him an opportunity to escape, had not his Quæstor *Sextius* (who was *Cicero*'s creature) and his Lieutenant *Petreius*, urged him on, against his will, to force *Catiline* to the necessity of a battle: Who, seeing all things desperate, and nothing left but either to die or conquer, resolved to try his fortune against *Antonius*, though much the stronger, rather than against *Metellus*, in hopes (says *Dio*) that out of regard to their former friendship and connections, the Consul might possibly contrive some way at last of throwing the victory into his hands. But *Antonius* happening to be seized at that very time with a fit of the Gout, or pretending so to be, the command fell of course to his Lieutenant *Petreius*. This officer had served with great reputation for above thirty years together in the army, either as a Tribune, a Præfekt, a Lieutenant, or a Prætor; so that he was acquainted with most of the soldiers, and with the gallant actions they had performed; by the mention of which he spirited them up to maintain their character: and at the same time he represented to them that they were going to fight for their Altars, their Children, their Country, against a gang of robbers, who were not half armed.

On the other hand, *Catiline*, having first, in a speech to his followers, urged them by every motive he could think of to exert their utmost courage, sent away all the horses in his army, and among the rest his own, chusing to fight on foot, that, by letting his men see the danger to him and to them was equal, they might be the more animated to a gallant behaviour. All his Centurions, his *Evocati* [experienced veterans who had served out their legal time] and the stoutest and best armed of his other soldiers he placed in the front, where he himself stood by *Marius*'s Silver Eagle, before-mentioned. To *Manlius* he gave the command of the right; to a native of *Fesula* the left. A desperate battle ensued. The legions of the Republic fought with unconquerable bravery, those of *Catiline* with desperate and immoveable obstinacy; resolved to vanquish or die, not a man recoiled; there was not one who would either give or accept of quarter. *Catiline*, at the head of a select company, moved about in the van, relieving those who were hard pressed, bringing up fresh men to supply the place of the wounded, and providing for all exigencies: he himself often fighting in person, and performing the part of a stout soldier as well as of a good commander. *Petreius* finding a resistance beyond his expectation, brought up the Prætorian Cohort against the enemies center, which was thereby broken; and though they rallied here and there, faced about upon him, and made some short resistance, in the end he put them all to the sword; and then turned upon the flanks of the wings. *Manlius* and the *Fesulan*, the two commanders, were among the first that fell. *Catiline*, seeing his forces reduced to a very small number, and calling to mind (as *Sallust* supposes) his noble family, and the figure he had formerly made in the world, rushed into the thickest of the enemy,

Y. R. 691.
Bef. Chr.
61.
390 Conf.

and was there slain, fighting to the last. Some few soldiers of the center (which had been broke by the Prætorian cohort) lay scattered about, yet not one of them wounded in the back. Except these, almost every one lay dead upon the very spot where he had stood at first. But *Catiline* himself was found at a great distance from his own men, among the dead bodies of his enemies. Not yet quite breathless, he retained, in the agonies of death, that fierceness of countenance which had been always natural to him. Out of the whole number of the rebels not so much as one man, above the rank of a slave, was taken, either fighting or running away. It proved a bloody and a mournful victory to the army of the Republic, the bravest men of the legions being all either killed or grievously wounded.

Mfid.
p. 226.

Thus ended this famed Conspiracy in the beginning of the Consulship of *Silanus* and *Murena*. "Whilst the sense of all *Cicero's* services (says his *English* Historian) was fresh, he was repaid for them to the full of his wishes, and in the very way that he desired, by the warm and grateful applauses of all orders of the City. For, besides the honours already mentioned, *L. Gellius*, who had been Consul and Censor, said in a speech to the Senate, that the Republic owed him a *Civic-Crown* for saving them from ruin. And *Catulus*, in a full House, declared him the *Father of his Country*, as *Cato* likewise did from the *Rostra*, with the loud acclamations of the whole People: Whence *Pliny*, in honour of his memory, cries out, *Hail thou, who wast first saluted the parent of thy Country*. This title, the most glorious that a mortal can wear, was, from this precedent, usurped afterwards by those who of all mortals deserved it the least, the *Emperors*; proud to extort from slaves and flatterers what *Cicero* obtained from the FREE vote of the Senate and People of *Rome*.

In Pison.
3.
Plut in
Cic. &
Appian.
p. 431.
Plin. Hist.
Nat. l. vii.
30.

" ————— *Roma parentem,*
" *Roma Patrem Patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.*
Juv. viii.

" THEE, *Cicero*, *Rome*, while FREE, nor yet entbrall'd
" To Tyrant's will, thy Country's Parent call'd.

In Pison.
11.

" All the towns of *Italy* followed the example of the metropolis in decreeing extraordinary honours to him; and *Capua* in particular chose him their Patron, and erected a gilt statue to him,
" *Sallust*, who allows him the character of an excellent Consul, says not a word of any of these honours, nor gives him any greater share of praise than what could not be dissembled by an Historian. There are two obvious reasons for this reservedness: First, The *personal enmity*, which, according to tradition, subsisted between them. Secondly, The time of publishing his History, in the reign of *Augustus*, while the name of *Cicero* was still obnoxious to envy."

To this it may be answered, that *Sallust* might think the compliments made to the Consul by particular Senators of his own faction not worthy of an Historian's notice : That he has related the affair throughout, not like an enemy to *Cicero*, but in a manner so honourable for him, as to make some think, that the misunderstanding between them was not subsisting when *Sallust* wrote the History of *Catiline's* Conspiracy.

But what shall we say of his omitting to mention *Cicero's Fourth Oration* against *Catiline*, and of his giving (as *M. Morabin* observes) all the honour of the day to *Cato*, to whom alone he ascribes the Senate's being brought to decree the death of the Conspirators ? *Cicero's English Historian* has built much upon that *fourth Oration*, and has filled seven pages of his History with the substance of it : Yet it is observable, that this notable speech is no where taken notice of by *Plutarch* in his life of *Cicero*, or of *Cæsar*, or of *Cato* ; nay, *Plutarch* reports, that what *Cicero* said, after *Cæsar* had spoke, was in support of *Cæsar's* opinion. Nor is the said *fourth Oration* mentioned by *Appian*, or *Dio*, or *Suetonius*, or *Vell. Paterculus* ; and one may reasonably conjecture, from a letter of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, L. xii. Ep. 21. that, seven years after *Cicero's* Consulship, neither *Brutus* nor *Atticus* knew any thing of that *fourth Oration* ; which was probably composed on occasion of *Brutus's* having given more honour to *Cato*, in relating the debate about *Catiline*, than *Cicero* thought was consistent with his own glory : Indeed it seems to have many internal probable proofs of its being, not an extemporary speech, but a laboured composition, made at leisure, many years after the debate ; a disgustful panegyric upon his own foresight, wisdom, disinterestedness, magnanimity, prodigious courage and contempt of death ; though *Plutarch*, writing of this very transaction, tells us, that the Orator was in no reputation for courage.

His *English Historian*, concerning the debate in the Senate, writes thus :

“ These two contrary opinions (that of *Silanus* and that of *Cæsar*) being proposed, the next question was, which of them should take place, *Cæsar's* had made a great impression on the Assembly, and staggered even *Silanus*, who began to excuse and mitigate the severity of his vote ; and *Cicero's* friends were going forwardly into it as likely to create the least trouble to *Cicero* himself, for whose peace and safety they began to be solicitous : When *Cicero*, observing the inclinations of the House, and rising up to put the question, made his *fourth Speech*, which now remains on the subject of this transaction ; in which he delivered his sentiments with all the skill both of the Orator and the Statesman ; and while he seemed to shew a perfect neutrality, and to give

* Caton, dans Salluste, a tout l'honneur de cette journée ; en sorte qu'on ne fait auquel croire, ou de l'Historien qui rapporte le fait à l'avantage de celui-là, ou de notre Orateur

qui s'en attribuant toute la gloire, devient son propre panégyriste. *Morab. Hist. de Cic.* p. 143.

Y. R. 691. " equal commendation to both the opinions, was artfully labouring all
 Bef. Chr. 61. " the while to turn the scale in favour of *Silanus's*, which he considered
 390 Conf. " as a necessary example of severity in the present circumstances of the
 " Public."

That this master-piece of oratory and political skill was never spoken, one may reasonably conclude from the following considerations :

Midd. 1. He tells the House that there are *two* opinions before them, whereas
P. 273- in reality there was but *one* ; for *Silanus*, and all those who had assented to
 • Suet. in what he at first advised (among whom was the Consul's * brother *Quintus*)
Cæf. 14. had gone over to *Cæsar's* opinion.

2. He represents *Cæsar* as voting for *every other way of punishment except death*, which not being true, but directly contrary to what *Cæsar* had advised, it is not likely the Orator, while *Cæsar* was present, would impute it to him. For instance, *Cæsar* did not advise to have the criminals *beaten with rods*, but speaks of that punishment as no less illegal, without a hearing and judgment of the whole People, than *death* itself.

3. He represents *Cæsar* as having voted for *perpetual* imprisonment, which his words, in the speech given us by *Sallust*, do not import : Neither could a vote of the SENATE deprive the PEOPLE of their right of judging the Prisoners, and determining their Fate.

Plut. in Add to this, that *Cæsar* (according to *Plutarch's* repeated testimony)
Cæf. moved for the close confinement of the prisoners only *till Catiline should be*
Id. in Cic. *defeated and crushed, and more ample information of the Conspiracy could be*
& in Cat. *taken at leisure.* And *Appian* says expressly, that the imprisonment proposed by *Cæsar* was only *till the war should be ended, and the criminals could be brought to trial.*

4. *Cicero's* answer to *Cæsar*, concerning *Caius Gracchus's* law, which forbade the punishing CITIZENS, *uncondemned by the PEOPLE, with death*, is quite ludicrous. ENEMIES, says the Orator, *are no CITIZENS ; therefore the prisoners, having been declared ENEMIES by the SENATE, have no title to the benefit of that law.* Would he have talked thus, *Cæsar* present ?

5. He affirms, that *Caius Gracchus* had suffered death by ORDER of the PEOPLE : A notorious falsity, and contradictory to what he had said in his first speech against *Catiline*. But, had it been true, would the Orator thence infer that the PEOPLE were dissatisfied with the Law in question ? Or would he infer from the PEOPLE's having sentenced *Caius Gracchus* to death, that the SENATE might legally inflict on a Citizen the same punishment ? Can we suppose such discourse from *Cicero* in full Senate ?

6. He refutes, beforehand, *Cato's* ARGUMENT for putting the prisoners to death without trial, by saying, *That the People were not wanting in their zeal and duty on this occasion ; that the whole body of the People were assembled for the defence of the Senate ; that the whole Roman People were of one and the same mind.* If so, there could be no ground to apprehend a rescue, nor therefore any necessity of sentencing the prisoners to immediate death.

If

If any admirer of *Cicero's* virtues should pretend, that *more regard ought to be had to what Cicero himself says concerning the affair of Cataline, than to what Sallust has written, or any, or all of the writers abovementioned*; this, to my apprehension, may be safely denied; nay, with great appearance of reason it may be said, that no one of those writers can possibly deserve less credit than *Cicero*, when his Glory or the Interest of his Party is in question.

Plutarch informs us, that "*Cicero*, in an Oration which he made upon his Consulship, expressly wrote, that *Crassus* came to his house one night, and put into his hands a letter, containing an account of *Catiline's* proceedings; and assured him, at the same time, that the conspiracy, there spoken of, was real and certain." Yet, the same *Cicero*, in another of his Orations, which did not appear till after *Crassus* and *Cæsar* were dead, accused them both of being in that Conspiracy. What shall we think of such a Writer? What credit can he deserve as an Historian? his *English* Panegyrist makes no mention, in the proper place, of this nightly visit of *Crassus* to the Consul; but, after he has finished the story, tells us, that "*Crassus*, who had always been *Cicero's* enemy, by an officiousness of bringing letters of intelligence to him, during the alarm of the plot, seemed to betray a consciousness of some guilt." I shall make no comment on this instance of the Historian's immoveable prejudice against the supposed enemies of his Hero.

Perhaps the Reader will not be displeased, if some Remarks, which have been made on *Cicero's* conduct in the affair of *Catiline*, should close this subject.

Dedication of Gordon's Translation of Cicero's Orat. against Cat. to Mr. Doddington, 1744.

THE SOLEMN, sententious Mr. *Thomas Gordon* has pronounced, that *Cicero*, "in his Consulship, saved the Public with such HIGH CAPACITY as was hardly ever equalled, surely never exceeded, by that of any statesman; and with such HIGH COURAGE as was never surpassed by that of any Hero." He proceeds: "I think no Roman but himself could have defeated the Conspiracy of *Catiline*. — I question whether *Pompey* could, in *Cicero's* place, have done what *Cicero* did: I even question whether he would have ventured upon doing it. — *Pompey* was a wary and distrustful man; a quality commonly joined to limited parts: He was likewise a selfish man, making all his PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS subservient to PERSONAL ENDS; often pursuing those ends at the expence, and even at the peril, of the Public."

[N. B. *Cicero* was a great admirer of *Pompey*: Is it certain that he did not make *Pompey*

his pattern of conduct in PUBLIC AFFAIRS? Consider the part he acted in relation to the *Manilian Law*; his unjust and cruel opposition to the sons of the proscribed; his intended defence of *Catiline*, &c.]

THE FACETIOUS *Colley Cibber*, Esq; Poet Laureat, not submitting to the sentence of this grave and wise Judge, has, in a work dedicated to their common Patron, made no scruple to deliver a contrary opinion.

In the entrance of his work, which was occasioned by Dr. *Middleton's History of the Life of Cicero*, he observes, that, "As the greatest part of *Cicero's* actions, in this History, are taken from his own account of them, we may reasonably suppose, they are set in full as good, if not a better light, than sometimes they will naturally bear."

After making himself merry with *Cicero's* shining breast-plate, considering it as meer grimace, an expedient unworthy of the spirit of a Consul, he thus continues:

"We

Vid. sup. p. 341.

1747.

Vid. sup. p. 340.

“ We are now entering upon the notorious
 “ conspiracy of *Catiline*, the defeat of which
 “ *Cicero* has it at heart to erect into the mo-
 “ nument of his Glory: But, in giving it our
 “ equal admiration, let us follow his own ad-
 “ vice *, by first enquiring *what share either*
 “ CHANCE, RASHNESS, or PRUDENCE, had
 “ in this memorable transaction. —
 “ When by his vigilance and management
 “ with *Fulvia* (a mistress to one of the conspi-
 “ rator) he was master of *Catiline*’s whole
 “ scheme, and of his resolutions taken for the
 “ execution of it, *Cicero* brings at the same
 “ time his discovery of the plot, and his ac-
 “ cusation of *Catiline* before the Senate, with-
 “ out thinking it necessary to shew any fur-
 “ ther evidence than the splendor of his elo-
 “ quence to support it; which notwithstanding
 “ so far prevailed, that the Senate gave an in-
 “ tire credit to the charge, and looked upon
 “ *Catiline* with the abhorrence due to a cri-
 “ minal condemned. But *Catiline*, less dis-
 “ mayed by the Orator, and observing no wit-
 “ nesses produced to confront him, so boldly
 “ stood upon his innocence, that, in defiance
 “ of his accuser, *he represented the whole as a*
 “ *fabric of his enemy, offering to give security for*
 “ *his liberator, and to deliver himself to the*
 “ *custody of any whom the Senate would name,*
 “ *even to Cicero himself.* But *Cicero* plainly
 “ told him, *That he should never think him- self*
 “ *safe in the same house, when he was in dan-*
 “ *ger by living in the same City with him.*
 “ Such a pretty-turned conclusion might
 “ sound well in the original round cadence of a
 “ Ciceronian period; but, when our ear has
 “ been pleased, what has it said to our under-
 “ standing? Why, that, because it was not safe
 “ to live in the same City with a Traitor,
 “ it must therefore be dangerous to secure
 “ him! If *Cicero* had a better reason for let-
 “ ting him escape, might not this as well
 “ have been concealed?”

Guthrie’s
 Ora. of
 Cic. transl.
 p. 23. note
 (n)
 The ingenious Translator of many of *Ci-
 cero*’s orations, in a note on that part of the
 first oration against *Catiline*, which speaks of
 his offer to surrender himself a Prisoner, and
 the rejection of that offer, thus expresses his
 surprise: “ Why, in the name of Heaven,
 “ did not *Cicero* accept of *Catiline*’s offer?
 “ Why was so fair, so frank a proposal re-
 “ jected by the Government? The reason he
 “ gives here is an affront upon the common-
 “ sense of mankind. Was there not a place
 “ in *Rome* close or secure enough to confine

“ this dangerous, detestable rebel, in whose
 “ single person all the hopes of the Conspi-
 “ rators centered?” — What a plausible ar-
 “ gument might such an Advocate as *Cicero*
 “ have formed, in extenuation at least of the
 “ crime of *Catiline*’s conspiracy against the SE-
 “ NATE, from the SENATE’S conspiracy against
 “ him, plainly discovered by their refusing him
 “ a fair trial, even when he offered his person as
 “ security for his standing it!

Cicero’s English Historian makes the fol-
 lowing Apology for this part of his con-
 duct:

“ It will seem strange to some, that *Cicero*, Midd.
 “ when he had certain information of *Cati-* p. 189.
 “ *line*’s treason, instead of seizing him in the
 “ City, not only suffered but urged his escape,
 “ and forced him as it were to begin the war.
 “ But there was good reason for what he did,
 “ as he frequently intimates in his speeches:
 “ He had many enemies among the nobility,
 “ and *Catiline* many secret friends; and tho’
 “ he was perfectly informed of the whole pro-
 “ gress and extent of the plot, yet, the proofs
 “ being not ready to be laid before the Pub-
 “ lic, *Catiline*’s dissimulation still prevailed,
 “ and persuaded great numbers of his inno-
 “ cence; so that if he had imprisoned and pu-
 “ nished him at this time, as he deserved, the
 “ whole faction were ready to raise a general
 “ clamour against him, by representing his
 “ administration as a Tyranny, and the plot as a
 “ forgery contrived to support it: Whereas, by
 “ driving *Catiline* into rebellion, he made all
 “ men see the reality of their danger, while,
 “ from an exact account of his troops, he
 “ knew them to be so unequal to those of the
 “ Republic, that there was no doubt of his
 “ being destroyed, if he could be pushed to the
 “ necessity of declaring himself before his other
 “ projects were ripe for execution. He knew
 “ also, that, if *Catiline* was once driven out of
 “ the City, and separated from his accom-
 “ plices, who were lazy, drunken, thoughtless
 “ crew, they would ruin themselves by their
 “ own rashness, and be easily drawn into any
 “ trap which he should lay for them: The event
 “ shewed that he judged right; and by what
 “ happened afterwards, both to *Catiline* and
 “ to himself, it appeared, that, as far as hu-
 “ man caution could reach, he acted with the ut-
 “ most prudence, in regard as well to his own as
 “ to the public safety.” Surely, if we are to
 judge by the EVENT, this shewed just the con-
 trary of what is here said; it shewed that *Ci-
 cero*

cero acted with the utmost imprudence, in regard to the safety of the Public; so many brave Romans, as fell in the consequent battle, being sacrificed wholly to his unreasonable and cowardly fears for his own person.

But let us attend to the Laureat's observations :

Cibb. 52.

" This confident offer of *Catiline*, with his
" impudence of coming afterwards to the
" Capitol, while under such an accusation,
" so provoked the Consul, that he broke out
" into a most severe invective against him, and
" with all the fire and force of an incensed
" Eloquence, laid open the whole course of his
" treasons, and the notoriety of his villainies.

Middl.

177.

" This we must have allowed him to have
" done in all the strongest colours that could
" paint the crime, or the criminal, as an ob-
" ject of danger, terror, and detestation. But
" still, without some evidence of the facts al-
" leged, in what was this flaming elo-
" quence to avail against *Catiline*? Could it
" have any greater force than an indictment
" well opened against him, which passes for
" no more than a mere fine speech till the
" allegations of it are proved? Or, if it was
" necessary to make *Catiline* odious before
" he was condemned, would he have been
" less odious from evidence than from a bare
" invective accusation? Or, if his evidence
" was not judicially prepared, why was *Ci-
" cero* so forward with his accusation?"

It may likewise be asked, With what ap-
pearance of reason could the Senate take so
dangerous and illegal a step as to arm the
Consuls with *despotic Power*, if they had not
evidence of this plot sufficient to convict *Ca-
tiline*? and, if they had, what occasion could
there be to grant such a commission to the
Magistrates, against a man, whose liberty, and
even life, was absolutely in their power?

Cibb. 53.

The Laureat observes that *Cicero*, though,
in virtue of the Senate's decree, he might
have taken away the life of *Catiline*, by an
executioner, thought the best way of dispatch-
ing him was to talk him into his own destruc-
tion. " He exhorts, urges, and commands him
" to depart, and, if he would be advised by him,
" to go into a voluntary exile, and free them
" from their fears, &c. — Or, if he would
" not go into exile, to go, at least, where he
" was expected, into *Manlius's* camp, and be-
" gin in war.

Middl.

179.

And then—what was to become of him?

" Why there, says he, he might riot and exult Cibb. 54,
" at his full ease, without the mortification 55.

" of seeing one honest man about him —
" There he might practise all that discipline to
" which he had been trained, of lying upon the
" ground, not only in the pursuit of his amours,
" but of bold and hardy enterprises; there he
" might exert all that boasted patience of hun-
" ger, cold, and want — by which, how-
" ever, he would shortly find himself — un-
" done.

" Anon we shall see whether *Cicero* or for-
" tune had the greater share in his ruin;
" but, as the case yet stands, does not that
" martial patience of those hardships *Cicero*
" seems to upbraid him with, shew *Catiline*
" more a formidable than a contemptible
" enemy? and was that a reason for rather
" defying him to the field than condemning
" him to the scaffold? — *Cicero* himself is
" not so sure of this expedient, but that he
" confesses it needs an apology; for, after
" his imagining what would be and owning
" what had been said against it without doors
" he says —

" To this most sacred voice of my Country I Middl.
" shall make this short answer, that if I had 180.

" thought it the most adviseable to put *Catiline*
" to death, I would not have allowed that
" Gladiator the use of one moment's life. (Hi-
" therto he only supposes it not adviseable, yet
" proceeds to give instances where death in
" the like case had been adviseable.) If in
" former days, says he, our most illustrious Ci-
" tizens, instead of sullying, have done honour
" to their memories by the destruction of *Satur-
" ninus*, the *Gracchi*, *Flaccus*, and many
" others, there is no ground to fear, that, by
" killing this Parricide, any envy should lie upon
" me with posterity. (Such memorable prece-
" dents therefore might have justified his seve-
" rity, though he had no equal examples to
" excuse his lenity.) Yet, if the greatest envy
" was sure to befall me, it was always my per-
" suasion, that envy, acquired by virtue, was
" really glory, not envy.

" If these were his real sentiments, how Cibb. 56.
" came his natural passion for glory so coolly to
" abandon him, as not to seize this laudable
" occasion of advancing it, by following the
" practice of the afore-cited illustrious Citi-
" zens, in making the immediate death of
" *Catiline* an emulous proof of his [own]
" justice and virtue?

" But

Modd.
181.

“ But, as if he had been asked this question,
 “ he further accounts for his conduct by de-
 “ claring, That, even in the Senate,
 “ *There are some, who either do not see the*
 “ *dangers that hang over us, or dissemble what*
 “ *they see, who, by the softness of their votes,*
 “ *cherish Catiline's hopes, and add strength to*
 “ *the conspiracy by not believing it.*— *Whose*
 “ *authority influences many, not only of the*
 “ *wicked, but the weak: Who, if I had pu-*
 “ *nished this man as he deserved, would not*
 “ *have failed to cry out upon me for acting the*
 “ *Tyrant.*— *Now I am persuaded, that,*
 “ *when he is once gone into Manlius's camp,*
 “ *whither he actually designs to go, none can be*
 “ *so silly as not to see there is a plot, none so*
 “ *wicked as not to acknowledge it; whereas,*
 “ *by taking him off alone, though this pestilence*
 “ *should be somewhat checked, it could not be*
 “ *suppressed.*

Cibb. 58.

“ And, therefore, to make it a moot point
 “ whether *Catiline* should not suppress the Re-
 “ public, he sends him to an army that ex-
 “ pected him, and to which army, if he had
 “ had no hopes of success, he would never
 “ have gone. Or if *Cicero* knew *Catiline*, to
 “ be rash, yet rashness does not always end in
 “ ruin. However, *Cicero*, not liking the
 “ face of a traitor so near him, judged, that
 “ this snare of his escape would be a surer way
 “ to secure him; for, when once his open re-
 “ bellion became an evidence of the conspi-
 “ racy, it must be believed with a vengeance.
 “ The evidence indeed must be allowed to be
 “ pretty strong; but that *Cicero's* so far as-
 “ sisting the rebellion was the wisest way of
 “ coming at a proof of the conspiracy, seems
 “ to be a depth in politics not easily to be
 “ fathomed. To leave open the gates of a
 “ town, to see if the army of an enemy
 “ would have the impudence to enter it,
 “ would be a strange way of destroying an
 “ enemy. *Catiline* in *Rome* might have been
 “ no more than a lion in the toil; but if *Ci-*
 “ *cero* turned him loose, only, like a bag-fox,
 “ to catch him again—shall we call it the
 “ glory or the sport of a statesman? —
 “ But not to lose the respect due to *Cicero*,
 “ let us, before we observe upon the conse-
 “ quences of his letting *Catiline* escape, see
 “ how they both in the Senate take leave of
 “ one another.

“ *Cicero*, having so eloquently exposed
 “ and blackened him, turns to *Catiline*

“ with an air of security, and thus confounds
 “ him :

“ *With these omens, Catiline, of all prospe-*
 “ *rity to the Public, but of destruction to thyself,*
 “ *and all those who have joined themselves*
 “ *with thee in all kinds of parricide, go thy*
 “ *way into this impious and abominable war.*

“ That is — now I have shewn the
 “ world how rank and filthy a traitor you
 “ are, I scorn to foul my fingers with you;
 “ therefore get out, go, troop to the open
 “ field, and there — punish yourself.

“ *Catiline, astonished at the thunder of this*
 “ *speech, with down-cast looks and suppliant*
 “ *voice, begged of the Fathers not to believe too*
 “ *hastily what was said against him by an*
 “ *enemy, &c. but, as he was going on to give*
 “ *foul-language, the Senate interrupted him,*
 “ *calling him traitor and parricide!*

“ So far, at least, *Cicero* had the Senate's
 “ voice to support him against whatever
 “ fears or apprehensions the fierceness of
 “ *Catiline* or his adherents might have raised
 “ in him; but *Catiline* was so stung with
 “ the Senate's disclaiming him, that, to their
 “ teeth, he defied them all in this remarkable
 “ manner :

“ *That since he was circumvented, and driven*
 “ *headlong by his enemies, he would quench the*
 “ *flame which was raised about him by the com-*
 “ *mon ruin; and so rushed out of the As-*
 “ *sembly.*

“ So uncommon an event in History can-
 “ not, sure, but raise the astonishment of an at-
 “ tentive Reader! What a confused idea does
 “ this leave us of the *Roman* Government!
 “ that such an audacious spirit, after so out-
 “ rageous a menace to a full Senate, should,
 “ without let or molestation, be turned loose
 “ to put his wickedness in practice! Sure such
 “ enormous licences could not be deemed a
 “ right among their boasted sweets of Liberty?
 “ Was their Public Safety of an inferior consi-
 “ deration to the life or confinement of a free-
 “ born Conspirator? Or (if this supposition is
 “ too strong) could it still be a breach of Privi-
 “ lege, if some honest Patriot had taken *Ca-*
 “ *tiline* by the throat, and brought him back
 “ to their resentment and justice? If *Catiline*,
 “ after such a declaration, found his way open
 “ to *Manlius's* camp, how shall we reconcile
 “ this tameness of the Senate to common-
 “ sense or policy? Shall we take from them
 “ all capacity or cognizance of government?

“ call

“ call them no longer Fathers of their Coun-
 “ try, but rather sons of *anarchy*, without re-
 “ gard of duty, dignity of rank, or spirit? Or
 “ can all this artful Lenity of *Cicero* be recon-
 “ ciled with (or refined into) the profound
 “ policy of a Consul, to whose hands (by an
 “ express cautionary decree of the Senate
 “ against this very man) the Public Safety
 “ was committed?

“ Indeed the dignity of a National Justice
 “ seems to be but very ill maintained, when
 “ she rather chuses to call her criminals out to
 “ the Combat than to her Tribunal. It would
 “ be very odd to see a Lord Chief Justice turn
 “ Champion, and, instead of passing sentence
 “ upon a Traitor, offer him the satisfaction
 “ of a Gentleman.

62. “ What might have been the consequence
 “ of the measures taken by *Cicero*, let us judge
 “ from the opinion of *Sallust*.

“ Now suppose (says he) *Catiline* had con-
 “ quered in the first engagement, or had even re-
 “ tired with loss, surely very tragical calamities
 “ must have overwhelmed the Commonwealth;
 “ nor would the conquerors have been suffered to
 “ enjoy their victory long, since, when they were
 “ weakened and exhausted, whoever had supe-
 “ rior power would have seized the government,
 “ and oppressed the Public Liberty.

“ If this has any weight, could their have
 “ been more danger in seizing *Catiline* than in
 “ letting him go? But, to set aside these ima-
 “ ginary consequences, let us attend to what
 “ really followed upon *Catiline*'s being so elo-
 “ quently driven from *Rome*.

“ *Cicero*, the next day, to unite the various
 “ sentiments of the People into an approba-
 “ tion of his conduct in the Senate, calls them
 “ together in the *Forum*, where he recounts
 “ the whole transaction, with chiefly the same
 “ arguments, that had induced him to the
 “ measures he had taken: But as this point
 “ has been already observed upon, let it pass
 “ without further notice, than that here, in
 “ the secure joy of his heart, (p. 185.) *Cicero*
 “ seems almost ludicrously to triumph over
 “ the rest of the Conspirators yet remaining
 “ in *Rome*. After describing their profligate
 “ lives and conversations, he declares it in-
 “ sufferably impudent for such men to pretend to
 “ plot, &c.—What could it avail in his
 “ justification of letting *Catiline* go, to tell the
 “ People, in the most eloquent language, that
 “ all his accomplices were a company of fops
 “ and blockheads? He first tells the SENATE,
 VOL. III.

“ that those who had deserted *Catiline*'s army,
 “ and staid behind, were more to be dreaded than
 “ the army itself; and then tells the PEOPLE,
 “ that those very accomplices were a lazy,
 “ drunken, thoughtless crew, who he knew
 “ would ruin themselves. Which of these in- 63.

“ consistent assertions (says the Laureate) are
 “ we to suppose could be true? and from what
 “ part of the *Roman History* does it appear,
 “ that to delay the death of *Catiline* “ was the
 “ most glorious way of crushing the Conspira-
 “ cy?” “ If *Catiline*, as *Cicero* owns, was the 66.
 “ life and soul of the Conspiracy, why would
 “ *Cicero* (with such public danger) prolong the
 “ life of it? How many hours could the Con-
 “ spiracy have lived when the head was off?
 “ Whatever danger arose from the singularity
 “ of *Cicero*'s expedient, he was answerable
 “ for; and how dear the suspended punish-
 “ ment of this fierce offender was afterwards
 “ bought, *Sallust* seems to tell us with a sigh, 64.
 “ in his account of the honest lives it cost to
 “ defeat him, viz.

“ The victory, indeed, fell to the Common-
 “ wealth, but was accompanied with bloodshed
 “ enough to check their joy, since the bravest
 “ among them were either killed in the fight, or
 “ left it grievously wounded. Nay, as there
 “ were many that visited the field, whether for
 “ curiosity or spoil, and turned over the carcases
 “ of the rebels, some discovered a friend, some a
 “ kinsman, others a guest; some too there found
 “ their particular enemies; so that through the
 “ whole army was seen a various display of con-
 “ trary passions, gladness and sorrow, mourning
 “ and rejoicing. [Gordon's Translation.] Such
 “ was the consequence of *Cicero*'s lenity.

“ But, notwithstanding this expence of ci-
 “ vil blood, the Conspiracy at last was sup-
 “ pressed, and *Cicero* had the glory of it. And
 “ if the expence had been less, might not the
 “ glory have been greater? But if, at such a
 “ time, nothing was thought too much for
 “ their Preserver, it is not to be wondered at;
 “ a people so transported for their deliverance
 “ seldom repine at the price of it; joy is too
 “ generous a passion to look into the dry ac-
 “ counts of dangers past, and payments in
 “ praise cost little to make; but posterity, who
 “ have not the same passions to blind them,
 “ may think it more amusement than trouble
 “ to see the balance set right, before they pay
 “ in to *Cicero* the applause he demands for it.
 “ Let us enquire then how much of that praise
 “ was — demonstrably due to *Fortune*.”

Vid. supra. The Laureate observes, "that it was the
 p. 358. "work of fortune, not of Cicero, that the Al-
 l. 1. c. 1. "lobrogian Deputies kept not their faith with
 l. 1. c. 1. "the Roman Conspirators." Indeed Cicero
 himself, as we have seen, disclaims all merit in
 this particular: *That the Ambassadors of a na-
 tion so disaffected, and so able and willing to
 make war upon us, should fight the hopes of do-
 minion—must needs be the effect of a divine
 interposition. And if it afterwards cost so much
 blood to vanquish Catiline, unassisted by the
 Allobroges, what calamities might not have
 ensued, had his army been strengthened by
 such able and willing auxiliaries? The extra-
 ordinary joy of Cicero, and of the whole Peo-
 ple of Rome, on occasion of the Deputies dis-
 closing the secret engagements they had en-
 tered into, and turning evidence against the
 Conspirators, shewed plainly that a great dan-
 ger was thought to have been escaped by that
 discovery. "And what brought the Public
 "into such danger (says the Laureate) but the
 "refined policy of Cicero?"*

See M. l. d. Add to all this, that Cicero's colleague An-
 p. 118. tonius, who is said to have been embarked in the
 p. 224. same cause with Catiline, and to have had no
 inclination to fight with him, and in whom
 Catiline, to the last, had hopes, that, out of re-
 gard to their former engagements, he would con-
 trive some way of throwing the victory into his
 hands, was invested with the same despotic
 authority, in virtue of which Cicero took upon
 him to dispense with the laws. What de-
 pendance could Cicero reasonably have upon
 a man so wicked and infamous as Antonius?
 What security that he would act conformably
 to the purpose of his commission, and not be-
 tray his constituents to his old friend and com-
 panion? And, in that case, how fatal might
 have been the consequence!

To what hidden cause then are we to impute
 the surprizing conduct of Cicero in suffering,
 nay, in forcing Catiline to leave Rome, and go
 to Manlius's camp? The Consul gives the
 Senate a hint, that a *secret reason* had with-
 held him from taking away the life of that
 Traitor; and presently after seems to blab the
 secret, "That it was his apprehension of the
 "clamours which such severity might have
 "raised. *If men are so perverse as to complain
 "of Catiline's being driven away, what would
 "they have said, if he had been put to death?*
 "—Why, a great deal more, perhaps,
 "(answers the Laureate,) but, when the dis-
 "affected had said their worst, honest men

"would, at least, have had this to say, *That,
 "had he been put to death in the City, he could
 "never have faced them in the Field, or have
 "killed so many of his Fellow-citizens at the
 "head of an army."*

The Laureate, in his observations upon this
 transaction, supposes all along that the Con-
 sul, at the time when he drove Catiline out
 of the City, could legally have taken away his
 life, and ought to have done it; and this is
 supposed to be true, because Cicero says it. But
 Cæsar and the popular party in the Senate
 were not of this opinion: And it is very evi-
 dent from Cicero's apprehension of clamours,
 that he did not think he could justify the put-
 ting Catiline to death, without a previous trial
 and condemnation by the People.

But how shall we account for his not *seizing*
 the Traitor, and keeping him in *close custody*
 till he could be brought to justice in due form?
 For my own part, I verily believe, that the
 heroic Consul spoke from his heart, when he
 said, *he should always think himself in danger
 while in the same City with Catiline*; and that
 this cowardly fear was the true reason of his
 rejecting the Conspirator's offer of becoming his
 prisoner. Nor can I any way account, but by
 the like fear, for his hasty execution of Lentu-
 lus and the other accomplices of Catiline's
 treason: For, as he had such indisputable
 proofs of their guilt, even their own confession,
 and there was such an universal dread and de-
 testation of them in the City, what doubt
 could remain of the People's given sentence
 against them after a fair and open trial? But
 Cicero, knowing that *to kill him* was one of
 their principle objects, could not think him-
 self safe a single hour while they were alive.

So much for the HIGH CAPACITY and
 HIGH COURAGE with which Cicero is said
 to have saved the Public.

His real merit in this affair was, doubtless,
 very considerable. The Conspirators had
 projected the setting fire to the City in several
 places at the same time, in order to facilitate
 the massacre of those whom they had destined
 to destruction; probably the greater part of
 the Senate; many of the other rich Citizens,
 whose wealth they coveted; their creditors
 especially; and all their personal enemies.
 Cicero, remarkably fortunate, in receiving in-
 telligence of these things, first from a harlot,
 and then from the Allobrogian Deputies, made
 a skilful use of the information, and by his
 assiduity and provident care, effectually de-
 feated

feated the mischievous plot, so far as it regarded the *fire* and the *massacre*. Otherwise, it is likely, there would have been a scene of blood and desolation resembling that in the time of *Sylla's* victory; whose cut-throats and their creatures, the *honesti*, would now, in their turn, have had their throats cut: 'till indeed would not have been much to the detriment of the State; but then, with those banditti, many innocent persons would have been murdered, and a great number of industrious artificers and shopkeepers totally ruined by the conflagration: The City therefore, in general, became greatly obliged to the Consul for his timely *seizing* and *securing* the persons of the Conspirators, which totally averted the impending evil: And if, after doing his Fellow-citizens this effectual service, he had been content with the consciousness of having done it, and the further reward of their grateful applauses; and not listened to his cowardly fears, so as to be seduced by them to act the tyrant, violating the laws, in a most tender point, without any necessity; he would unquestionably have deserved — almost the fortieth part of the praise he claimed (c) for his performances. As to the compliments made to him by *Catulus* in the SENATE, and by *Cato* the year following, from the *Rostra* (in a spirit of opposition to *Cæsar* and *Pompey*) and the loud acclamations of the multitude thereupon, "Whence *Pliny*, in honour to his memory, cries out, N. vii. 30. "Hail thou, who wast first saluted PARENT OF THY COUNTRY," it seems quite ridi-

Vid. Midd.
p. 227.
Plin. Hist.
N. vii. 30.

culous to bring those compliments of two leaders of a faction, and these bizzes of a mob, as proofs that *Cicero* "obtained the most glorious title which a mortal can wear — FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY — from the FREE VOICE OF THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF *Rome*." Was *Rome* FREE (d) at his time? Or could *Cicero* derive any honour from the applauses (e) given to his administration by those Citizens, who, soon after, on account of that very administration, banished him his country? They were as FREE then as when they assented to *Cato's* compliment to him. What an Idea does his *English historian* give us of the FREEDOM of *Rome*, when he makes us see, that, in the Consulship of his Patriot Hero, the very deliberations of the SENATE, concerning *Lentulus* and the other prisoners, were NOT FREE; that *Cæsar*, for having declared against dispensing with the laws, "had some difficulty Midd. "to escape with life from the rage of the 225. "Knights (f) who guarded the avenues of the Sueton. J. "Senate; where he durst not venture to appear Cæf. 14. "any more till he entered upon his Prætorship "with the new year!" It is not without Vid. Frag. Sallust. reason, therefore, that the Author of the *De-clamation* against *Cicero* reproves the folly of his *Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ*; as if by the sole power of his eloquence, and without any weapon but his tongue, he had done those exploits of which he boasted. *Quasi vero togatus, et non armatus, ea quæ gloriari, confeceris.*

(c) *Plutarch* tells us, that on account, not of any bad action, but, of the excessive and never-ceasing praises which *Cicero*, after his exploit, bestowed on himself, he became odious and intolerable: That in the Senate, the Assemblies of the People, and the Courts of Justice, every body was dunned and deafened with the names *Catiline* and *Lentulus*, which the Orator was for ever sounding in their ears: And that his writings of every kind were so stuffed with panegyrics upon himself, as to destroy the pleasure of reading them, notwithstanding all the charms of his wit, and the music of his language.

(d) "In the absence of *Pompey*, who was sent to war first against the pirates, and then against *Mithridates*, the strength of the Commons [notwithstanding the restoration of the Tribunitian privileges in the Consulship of *Pompey* and *Crassus*] gradually diminished (says *Sallust*) and the power of a few men increased proportionably. "These engrossed the magistracies, the provinces, every thing; and, while they themselves lived secure, in tranquillity, grandeur, and affluence, terrified the rest with prosecutions and impeachments, in order to render the commons more manageable and submissive."

(e) *Plutarch* reports (as has been already mentioned,) that the multitude proclaimed *Cicero* Second Founder of *Rome*; and the same *Plutarch* tells us, that the multitude (almost forty years before) proclaimed *Caius Marius* Third Founder of *Rome*. And *Cicero* himself, more than twenty years after all *Marius's* bloody cruelties, and his death, and when the faction of the Nobles was in power, says to the People — "Shall we condemn *Caius Marius*, whom we may truly call FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY and PARENT OF YOUR LIBERTY, and OF THIS REPUBLIC? CAIUM MARIUM, quem verè PATREM PATRIÆ, PARENTEM, inquam, VESTRÆ LIBERTATIS, atque HUIUSCÆ REIPUBLICÆ possumus dicere — condemnabimus?" Vid. supr. 367. Vid. supr. 86. Pro Rabir. 10.

(f) *Cicero*, in his first speech against *Catiline*, tells him in the Senate-house, that the Knights were hardly restrained from doing him violence. Vid. supra, 345.

C H A P. X.

The spirited conduct of CÆSAR in his Prætorship, [year of Rome 691.] Several persons of distinction are brought to trial in form, on the accusation of having been associates in CATILINE'S Conspiracy. P. SYLLA is defended by CICERO. METELLUS NEPOS, the Tribune, continues to inveigh against the illegal proceedings of CICERO in his Consulship. The SENATE, by a vote, forbids molesting the Consul on that account. METELLUS hereupon proposes a law to call home POMPEY, with his army, to reform and settle the State. This motion opposed by CATO, occasions civil broils and contests, which the SENATE appeases for the present by Acts of power. P. CLODIUS prophane the Mysteries of the Good Goddess. The consequences of this enormity, in the Consulship of PUPPIUS PISO and VALERIUS MESSALA, [year of Rome 692.] POMPEY returns into Italy, and disbands his army. His equivocal conduct after his arrival at Rome. His triumph.

Y. R. 691.

Vid. supr.
p. 365 and
379.Sueton. J.
Cæf. 15.
Dio, l.
xxviii. p.
49.Sueton. J.
Cæf. 17.

CÆSAR, who, through the malicious, clandestine practices of *Catulus*, and others of that cabal, had been driven to shut himself up in his own house to avoid being assassinated, ventured to come abroad so soon as the new year began; he then entering upon the Prætorship, to which he had been elected some months before. He made it the first act of his office to call *Catulus* to an account for embezzling the public money in rebuilding the Capitol; and proposed also a law to efface his name from the fabric, and grant the commission for finishing what remained to Pompey.

This affair was moved to the People while the chief members of the Senate were attending the new Consuls, and assisting at the ceremony of their taking possession of the Capitol. *Catulus*, upon notice of what was doing in the Forum, ran instantly thither to defend himself, and would have ascended the *Rostra*; but *Cæsar* ordered him to stay below as a criminal. A great number of the Senators, alarmed for their friend *Catulus*, came from the Capitol, and, gathering about him, so warmly bestirred themselves in the cause, that *Cæsar* was obliged to drop it. And it would seem, that, in revenge of this attack upon *Catulus*, his faction immediately instigated *Q. Curius*, who had been *Cicero*'s informer in the affair of *Catiline*, to name *Cæsar*, in full Senate, as an accomplice in that Conspiracy; and likewise spirited up *Q. Vettius*, a Roman Knight, to impeach him before *Novius Niger*, the Quæstor. *Curius* affirmed, that what he deposed against *Cæsar* was told to him by *Catiline* himself; and *Vettius* promised to produce a letter to *Catiline* in *Cæsar*'s own hand. *Cæsar*, full of indignation, called upon *Cicero* to testify, that he had
given

given him early information of some of Catiline's designs; and, Cicero not refusing his Testimony, Curius was thereby frustrated of the reward which had been promised to the first discoverer of the plot, and which he claimed under that title. As for Vettius, Cæsar cited him to answer for his behaviour, and, upon his failing to find security for his appearance, committed him to prison, after he had been roughly treated and almost killed by the Populace who surrounded the *Rostra*. Cæsar imprisoned likewise the Quæstor Novius, for suffering a superior Magistrate to be arraigned before him. Nor did the Senate make any opposition to these proceedings of the Prætor.

Y. R. 691.
Bef. Chr.
61.
390 Conf.

Several persons, however, of considerable rank had been found guilty, upon the testimony of Vettius, and banished; some of them not appearing to their citation, others after a trial, viz. M. Porcius Læca, C. Cornelius, L. Vargunteius, Servius Sylla, and P. Autronius, &c. The last of these, who lost the Consulship four years before, upon a conviction of bribery, had been Cicero's school-fellow, and Collegue in the Quæstorship, and solicited him with many tears to undertake his defence: but Cicero not only refused to defend him, but, from the knowledge of his guilt, appeared as a witness against him.

Midd. p.
245.

P. Sylla also, Autronius's partner and fellow-sufferer in the cause of bribery, was now tried for conspiring twice with Catiline, once when the plot proved abortive, soon after his former trial; and a second time in Cicero's Consulship: He was defended in the first by Hortensius, in the last by Cicero. The prosecutor was Torquatus, the son of his former accuser (as has been formerly mentioned) a young nobleman of great parts and spirit; who, ambitious of the triumph of ruining an enemy, and fearing that Cicero would snatch it from him, turned his raillery against Cicero instead of Sylla, and, to take off the influence of his authority, treated his character with great petulance, and employed every topic which would raise an odium and envy upon him: He called him a King, who assumed a power to save or destroy, just as he thought fit; said, that he was the third foreign King that had reigned in Rome after Numa and Tarquinius; and that Sylla would have run away, and never stood a trial, if he had not undertaken his cause.

Vid. sup.
P. 323.

Cicero, therefore, in his reply, was put to the trouble of defending himself as well as his Client.——As to the merits of the cause, though there was no positive proof, yet there were many strong presumptions against Sylla, with which his adversary hoped to oppress him: But Cicero endeavoured to confute them by appealing “to the tenor and “character of his life; protesting in the strongest terms, that he, who “had been the searcher and detector of the plot, and had taken such “pains to get intelligence of the whole extent of it, had never met with “the least hint or suspicion of Sylla's name in it, and that he had no other motive for defending him but a pure regard for justice; and as

Midd. p.
248.

Vid. sup.
P. 324.
note (x)

“ he

Y. R. 691. " he had refused to defend others, nay, had given evidence against them
 B. f. Chr. " from the knowledge of their guilt, so he had undertaken Sylla's defence,
 190. Conf. " through a persuasion of his innocence." *Torquatus*, for want of direct
 proof, *threatened to examine Sylla's slaves by torture*. This was sometimes
 practised upon the demand of the Prosecutor; but *Cicero* observes upon it,
 " that the effect of those torments was governed always by the constitution
 " of the patient, and the firmness of his mind and body; by the will and
 " pleasure of the Torturer, and the hopes and fears of the Tortured; and
 " that in moments of so much anguish there could be no room for truth:
 " He bids them put *Sylla's life* to the rack, and examine that with rigour,
 " whether there was any hidden lust, any latent treason, any cruelty, any
 " audaciousness in it: That there could be no mistake in the cause, if the
 " voice of his perpetual life, which ought to be of the greatest weight,
 " was but attended to." *Sylla* was acquitted*.

As *Cicero* had a great share in convicting those who were capitally condemned, it was not possible but he must incur much odium on account of those trials; and the more, as the testimony of *Vettius* was made use of, who very soon appeared to be a man unworthy of credit: For, having presented to the Senate a list, containing the names of the Conspirators, he afterwards asked to have it returned to him, that he might add some names to it: and when, from an apprehension that he had a fraudulent intention in making this demand, it was not complied with, but he was ordered to declare, *viva voce*, the names of those whom he remembered, this threw him into the utmost confusion and perplexity.

* The *English* Historian adds—" But *Cicero*
 " had no great joy from his victory, or com-
 " fort in preserving such a Citizen, who lived
 " afterwards in great confidence with *Cæsar*,
 " and commanded his right wing in the battle
 " of *Pharsalia*; and served him afterwards in
 " his power, as he had before served his kins-
 " man *Sylla*, in managing his confiscations and
 " the sale of the forfeited estates."

Midd. p.
249.

About the time of this trial *Cicero* bought a house of *M. Crassus* on the *Palatine* hill, adjoining to that in which he had always lived with his father, and which he is now supposed to have given up to his brother *Quintus*. The house cost him near thirty thousand pounds, and seems to have been one of the noblest in *Rome*. *A Gellius* [l. xii. c. 12.] tells us, That, having resolved to buy the house, and wanting money to pay for it, he borrowed it privately of his client *Sylla*, when he was under prosecution; but the story taking wind, and being charged upon him, he denied both the borrowing and design of purchasing, yet soon after bought the

house; and when he was reproached with the denial of it, replied only laughing, that they must be fools to imagine, that, when he had resolved to buy, he would raise competitors of the purchase by proclaiming it.—The truth is, and what he does not dissemble (adds his *English* historian,) that he borrowed part of the money to pay for it at six per cent; and says merrily upon it, that he was now so plunged in debt, as to be ready for a plot, but that the conspirators would not trust him. It raised indeed some censure upon his vanity for purchasing so expensive a house with borrowed money: But *Messala*, the Consul, happening soon after to buy *Autronius's* house at a greater price, and with borrowed money too, it gave him some pleasure, that he could justify himself by the example of so worthy a Magistrate: By *Messala's* purchase, says he, I am thought to have made a good bargain; and Men begin to be convinced, that we may use the wealth of our friends in buying what contributes to our dignity. *Ep. Fam. v. 6. & ad Att. i. 13.*

Considering how many of the Conspirators were condemned upon the evidence of this man, and how many were put to death without any previous trial, and upon a vote only of the Senate, it is the less to be wondered at, that the Tribune *Metellus Nepos* (countenanced perhaps by *Cæsar*) continued declaiming against the late Consul, and at length resolved to accuse him before the People of illegal proceedings, and bloody acts of power.

Cicero had no inclination to enter into contest with the Tribune, but took some pains to make up the matter with him by the interposition of the women; particularly of *Claudia*, the wife of *Nepos's* brother, *Metellus Celer*, and their sister *Mucia*, the wife of *Pompey*. He employed also several common friends to persuade him to be quiet. *Nepos* answered, *That he was too far engaged, and had put it out of his power.* *Cicero* therefore was necessitated to have recourse to other measures for his defence: And, as his cause was the cause of the SENATE, he easily prevailed upon them to pass a decree, *that no prosecution should be brought against him for what he had executed by virtue of the power which they had given him, and that whoever should attempt to trouble him on that account should be looked upon as an enemy to his Country.* Hereupon *Metellus*, who found it not possible for him to make head against the SENATE, without the assistance of *Pompey*, published a law to call that General home with his army, to defend Rome against *Catiline*, [whose defeat and death were not till after this time] and against the exorbitant power and tyranny of *Cicero*. The Tribune is said to have been supported by *Cæsar* in this enterprize. The Senate, in their opposition to it, had the help of some of the Tribunes, particularly of *Cato*^b: For, as soon as *Metellus* began to read the law to the People, *Cato* snatched it away from him: and when he proceeded still to pronounce it by heart, *Minucius*, another Tribune, stopped his mouth with his hand. This threw the Assembly into confusion, and raised great commotions in the City; till the Senate, finding their faction the stronger, came to an unprecedented, and most impudent, aristocratic resolution, of suspending not only *Cæsar*, but the Tribune *Metellus*, from the execution of their offices.

^b *Plutarch* reports, that *Cato* had once determined not to stand for the office of Tribune at the last elections, and was going to pass some time in *Lucania* with certain philosophers, his friends and companions, when he met on the road *Metellus Nepos*, who from the army of *Pompey* was hastening to Rome to sue for the Tribuneship: That *Cato*, apprehending some mischief to the Public from the furious temper of this man, who was one of *Pompey's* creatures, returned to Rome, and the very next morning put himself among those

who stood for the Tribuneship, that he might be able more effectually to oppose the enterprizes of *Metellus*. The same Historian informs us likewise, that *Cato*, in order to cool the zeal of the populace for *Cæsar*, whose PRÆTORSHIP would increase his influence, persuaded the Senate to decree (at a great expence to the Public) before *Cæsar* entered on that office, a monthly distribution of corn to the poorer sort; and that this stratagem had its effects. *Plut. in Cæs. & in Cat.*

Cæsar,

Y. R. 691.
Bef. Chr.
62.
390 Cons.

Ep. Fam.
v. 2.

Dio,
xxxvii.
49.

Plut. in
Cat. & in
Cic.

Y. R. 691.

Suet. in J.
Cæsar. 16.

Cæsar nevertheless resolved at first to continue his administration of justice; but, upon notice that a strong force was preparing to controul him, he thought it more adviseable to act a modest and submissive part. He dismissed his Lictors, laid aside his *Toga prætexta*, and shut himself up in his own house: And when the populace gathered about it, and shewed themselves ready to support him by force in the dignity of his office, he rejected their offers. The Senate, not expecting so much moderation from him, immediately reversed the decree of his suspension.

Metellus, who left *Rome* to go to his brother-in-law *Pompey* (with whose resentment he had threatened the Senators) had not gone far on his journey, before he turned back, and was permitted to re-enter upon his office.

On the first of *June* this year was celebrated the triumph of *Q. Metellus Creticus*, which had been long retarded by the intrigues of *Pompey's* creatures.

M. Pupius Piso, *Pompey's* Lieutenant, declared himself a candidate for the Consulship at the approaching election, and *Pompey* wrote to the Senate from *Asia*, to desire that they would defer the Assemblies for the election till he could come and support in person the interest of his Lieutenant. Many of the Fathers were inclined enough to grant his request, but *Cato* warmly opposed it as a dangerous compliance and a bad precedent. The Assemblies therefore were held at the usual time. *Pompey's* recommendation, however, had its effect; for *Pupius* was unanimously elected. The People gave him, for a Colleague, *L. Valerius Messala*.

Mild. p.
251.

But the most remarkable event, which happened in the end of this year, was the pollution of the mysteries of the *BONA DEA*, or the Good Goddess,

Ibid. p.
257.

Cicero published an invective oration against *Metellus*, which is mentioned in his epistles under the title of *Metellina*; it was spoken in the Senate in answer to a speech which *Metellus* had made to the People, and is often cited by *Quintilian* and others as extant in their time. *Metellus Celer*, who commanded in *Cisalpine Gaul*, wrote a peevish and complaining letter to his friend *Cicero* upon the Senate's treating his brother, the Tribune, so severely; to which *Cicero* answered with great freedom, but in a stile of kindness and friendship. After complaining of the affront which the Tribune had put upon him on the last day of the year, he concludes thus: "I did not therefore attack your brother, but defend myself only against him; nor has my friendship to you ever been variable, as you write, but firm and constant, so as to remain still the same when it was even deserted and slighted by you. And at this very time,

"when you almost threaten me in your letter, I give you this answer, That I not only forgive, but highly applaud, your grief; for I know, from what I feel within myself, how great the force is of fraternal love; but I beg of you also to judge with the same equity of my cause; and if, without any ground, I have been cruelly and barbarously attacked by your friends, to allow that I ought not only not to yield to them, but, on such an occasion, to expect the help even of you and your army also against them. I was always desirous to have you for my friend, and have taken pains to convince you how sincerely I am your's: I am still of the same mind, and shall continue in it as long as you please; and, for the love of you, will sooner cease to hate your brother, than, out of resentment to him, give any shock to the friendship which subsists between us. Adieu." *Ep. Fam. v. 2.*

by

by *P. Clodius* ; which, by an unhappy train of consequences, involved *his particular* ^a friend *Cicero* in an unexpected calamity. *Clodius*, now *Quæstor*, was descended from *the noblest family in Rome*, in the vigour of his age, of a graceful person, lively wit, and flowing eloquence ; but, “ with
 “ all the advantages of nature, he had a mind incredibly vicious ; was
 “ fierce, insolent, audacious, but, above all, most profligately wicked, and
 “ an open contemner of gods and men, valuing nothing that either Nature
 “ or the Laws allowed ; nothing but in proportion as it was desperate, and
 “ above the reach of other men, disdaining even honours in the common
 “ forms of the Republic ; nor relishing pleasures but what were impious,
 “ adulterous, incestuous.” He had an intrigue with *Cæsar’s* wife *Pompeia*, who, according to annual custom, was now celebrating in her house ^c *those awful and mystical sacrifices of the Goddesses*, to which *no male creature* was ever admitted, and where every thing masculine was so scrupulously excluded, *that pictures of that sort were covered during the ceremony*. This was a proper scene for *Clodius’s* genius to work upon ; an opportunity of daring beyond what man had ever dared before him : the thought of mixing the impurity of his lusts with the sanctity of these venerable rights, flattered his imagination so strongly, that he resolved to gain access to his mistress in the very midst of her holy ministry. With this view he addressed himself in *a woman’s habit*, and by the benefit of his smooth face, and the introduction of one of the maids, who was in the secret, hoped to pass without discovery ; but, by some mistake between him and his guide, he lost his way when he came within the house, and fell in unluckily among the other female servants, who, detecting him by his

Y.R. 691.
De Arusp.
Resp. 20.
Pro Mil.
16.
Vell. Pat.
ii. 45.

De Arusp.
Respont.
17.
Juven. vi.
359.

Cic. ad
Att. i. 12.
& Plut. in
Cic.

^a *Plutarch* tells us, that *Clodius* had been singularly serviceable to his friend *Cicero*, keeping close to his side, as one of the guards of his person, during all his difficulties in the suppression of *Cariline’s* Conspiracy. This, perhaps, will account for *Clodius’s* implacable resentment of *Cicero’s* appearing afterwards a witness against him at his trial : But how shall we account for *Cicero’s* contracting a particular friendship with such a man as he describes *Clodius* to be ?

^c Les femmes seules pouvoient assister à ce sacrifice, qu’on appelloit aussi les mysteres, à cause du rapport qu’il avoit avec les mysteres de *Cerès*.—Ce sacrifice [se faisoit] chez *César*, non pas en qualité de Grand Pontife, comme l’ont cru plusieurs habiles gens, mais en qualité de Préteur. On ne trouve nulle part que ces mysteres dussent se célébrer chez le Souverain Pontife. *Cicéron* au contraire dit qu’ils se faisoient chez un de ceux qui étoient *cum imperio* [de Arusp. Resp.] ce qui ne s’e-

tend qu’aux Consuls et aux Préteurs. *Dion* [lib. xxxviii.] dit positivement qu’ils se faisoient chez un Consul ou chez un Préteur. L’année du consulat de *Cicéron*, dans le tems de la conjuration de *Catiline*, c’est à dire, au mois de Decembre, ce sacrifice se fit chez *Cicéron* ; et il y apparence [Plut. in Cic.] qu’il se celebra cette année à peu près dans le même tems ; car cette lettre [Lett. xii. lib. i.] est du premier de Janvier, et *Cicéron* parle de cette affaire comme nouvelle. *Mongault*, Tom. I. p. 96. N. 10. This ingenious writer, in the same note, adds—On conçoit bien pourquoi il [*Clodius*] étoit entré déguisé chez *César*. Il étoit d’intelligence avec la maîtresse de la maison, et il vouloit venger *Pompée*, et tous les autres maris en grande nombre qui avoient le même sujet, de se plaindre de *César*. Cette honnête dame qui sacrifioit un homme de ce mérite, et si aimé de toutes les autres femmes, à un jeune étourdi, étoit de la même maison que *Pompée*.

Y. R. 692.
Bef. Chr.
61.
390 Cons.

voice, alarmed the whole company by their shrieks, to the great amazement of the matrons, who presently threw a veil over the sacred mysteries; and, having caused the doors to be shut, began to search every where with flambeaux. *Clodius* was at length found in the chamber of the slave who had introduced him; and all the women gathering about him, he was driven out of the house.

The story was presently spread abroad, and raised a general scandal and horror through the whole city: In the vulgar¹, for the profanation of a religion held the most sacred of any in Rome; in the better sort, for its offence to good manners, and the discipline of the Republic. *Cæsar* put away his wife upon it.

Y. R. 692.
Ad Att. i.
13.

M. Pupius Piso and *L. M. Valerius Messala*, the new Consuls, had entered upon their office, when the affair was brought before the Senate. The Fathers referred it to the college of priests, who declared it to be an abominable impiety, upon which the Consuls were ordered to propose to the People a law for trying *Clodius* by a special commission of Judges, to be named by the Prætor. But *Q. Fufius Calenus*, one of the Tribunes, would not permit the law to be offered to the suffrage of the Citizens. This raised a great ferment in the City. The Senate adhered to their

Ibid. 14.

resolution, though the Consul *Piso*² used all the endeavours to divert them from it, and *Clodius*, in an abject manner, threw himself at the feet of every Senator. After a second debate, in a full House, there were fifteen only who voted on *Clodius's* side, and four hundred directly against him; so that a fresh decree passed, to order the Consuls to recommend the law to the People with all their authority, and that no other business should be done till it was carried. But this being likely to produce great disorders,

Ibid. 16.

Hortensius proposed an expedient, which was accepted by both parties, that the Tribune *Fufius* should publish a law for the trial of *Clodius* by the Prætor, with a bench of Judges DRAWN BY LOT, instead of Judges CHOSEN BY THE PRÆTOR, as the law proposed by the Consuls directed.

Cic. de
Arusp.
Resp. iii
18. Cic.
pro Dom.
42.

¹ It had been the common belief of the Populace, that if a man should ever pry into these mysteries he would be instantly struck blind: But it was not possible, as Cicero says, to know the truth of it before, since no man but *Clodius* had ever tried the experiment: Though it was now found, as he tells him, that the blindness of the eyes was converted to that of the mind.

² Cicero, in a letter to *Atticus*, gives the character of the two Consuls. "*Piso* is a man of a weak and wicked mind; a churlish, captious sinner, without any turn of wit; and making men laugh by his looks rather than jests; favouring neither the popular nor aristocratical party; a man from whom no good is to be expected, because he wishes

"none; nor hurt to be feared, because he dares do none." Cic. Ep. ad Att. i. 13. "He would have been more vicious by having one vice the less, laziness." Ibid. 14. [Cicero, in resentment of this Consul's espousing the interests of *Clodius*, hindered the Senate from decreeing to him the province of Syria, which had been designed and in a manner promised to him. Ad. Att. i. 16.]

The other Consul, *Messala*, is an excellent magistrate (says our Orator) active and firm, a lover, an admirer, and an imitator of me. *Messala* Consul est egregius, fortis, constans, diligens, nostri laudator, amator, imitator. Ibid.

Hortensius feared lest *Clodius* should escape in the squabble without any trial; and was persuaded, that no Judges could absolve him, *that a sword of lead*, as he expressed himself, *would be sufficient to destroy him*: But the Tribune knew, that in such a trial there would be room for intrigue, and for corrupting the Judges, which *Cicero* likewise foresaw from the first; and wished therefore to leave him rather to the effect of that odium, in which his character then lay, than bring him to a trial, where he had any chance to escape.

Clodius's whole defence was to prove himself absent at the time of the fact; for which purpose he produced men to swear, *that he was then at Interamna, about sixty miles from the City*. But *Cicero* being called upon to give his testimony, deposed, *that Clodius had been with him at his house that very morning at Rome*. As soon as *Cicero* appeared in the court, the *Clodian* mob began to insult him with great rudeness; but the Judges rose up, and received him with such respect, that they presently secured him from all future affronts.

Cæsar, who was the most particularly interested in the affair, being summoned also to give evidence, declared, *that he knew nothing at all of the matter*; though his mother *Aurelia* and sister *Julia*, who were examined before him, had given a punctual relation of the whole fact: and being interrogated how he came then to part with his wife? he replied, *All who belong to me ought to be free from suspicion as well as guilt*. *Plutarch* says, that *Cicero* himself unwillingly appeared as a witness in this cause, that he was urged to it by the importunity of his wife, a fierce, imperious dame, jealous of *Clodius's* sister, whom she suspected of some design to get *Cicero* from her, which by this step she hoped to make desperate. The story does not seem improbable; for, before the trial, *Cicero* owns himself to be growing every day more cool and indifferent about it; and, in his raileries with *Clodius* after it, touches upon the forward advances which his sister had made towards him; and, at the very time of giving his testimony, did it with no spirit; and said no more, as he tells us, than what was so well known, that he could not avoid saying it.

The Judges seemed to act at first with great gravity; granted every thing that was asked by the prosecutors, and demanded a guard to protect them from the mob; which the Senate readily ordered, with great commendation of their prudence: But, when it came to the issue, twenty-five only condemned, while thirty-one absolved him. *Crassus* is said to have been *Clodius's* chief manager in tampering with the Judges, employing every instrument of corruption as it suited the different tempers of the men; and where money would not do, offering even certain ladies and young men of quality to their pleasure. *Cicero* says, that a more scandalous company of sharpers never sat down at a gaming-table; infamous Senators, beggarly Knights, with a few honest men among them whom *Clodius* could not exclude, who, in a crew so unlike to themselves, sat with sad and mournful faces, as if

Y. R. 692. *afraid of being infected with the contagion of their infamy; and that Catulus, meeting one of them, asked him what they meant by desiring a guard? were they afraid of being robbed of the money which Clodius had given them?*

Cic. 2d
Att. l. 16.

This transaction, however, gave a very serious concern to *Cicero*. As he looked upon himself to be particularly affronted by a sentence given in flat contradiction to his testimony, so he made it his business on all occasions to display the iniquity of it, and to sting the several actors in it with all the keenness of his raillery ^a.

Ibid.

Midd.
p. 261.

Pompey the Great returned to *Rome* about the beginning of this year, in the height of his fame and fortunes, from the *Mitbridatic war*. The City had been much alarmed about him, by various reports from abroad, and several tumults at home, where a general apprehension prevailed of his coming at the head of an army to take the government into his hands ¹.——

But he was too phlegmatic to be easily induced to so desperate a resolution; or seems rather indeed to have had no thoughts at all of that sort, but to have been content with the rank which he then possessed, of the first Citizen of *Rome*, without a rival ². He had lived in a perpetual course of success and glory, without any slur either from the Senate or People to inspire him with sentiments of revenge, or to give him a pretence for violent measures; and he was persuaded, that the growing disorders of the City would soon force all parties to create him Dictator, for the settlement of the State; and thought it of more honour to his character to obtain that power by the consent of his Citizens, than to extort it from them by violence. But, whatever apprehensions were conceived of him before his coming, they all vanished at his arrival in *Italy*; for he no sooner set foot there, than he disbanded his troops, giving them orders only to attend him in his triumph.

Plut. in
Pomp.

By his late victories he had greatly extended the barrier of the empire into the continent of *Asia*, having added to it three powerful kingdoms, *Pontus*, *Syria*, *Bitbynia*, which he reduced to the condition of Roman provinces, leaving all the other kings and nations of the East tributary to the

De provin.
conf. 12.

Midd. 263.

^a About this time *Cicero* is supposed to have made that elegant oration, still extant, in the defence of his old Preceptor the poet *Archias*: He expected for his pains an immortality of fame from the praise of *Archias's* muse; but, by a contrary fate of things, instead of deriving any addition of glory from *Archias's* compositions, it is wholly owing to his own, that the name of *Archias* has not long ago been buried in oblivion. He had sung in Greek verse the triumphs of *Marius* over the *Cimbri*, and of *Lucullus* over *Mitbridates*, and was now attempting the Consulship of *Cicero*. *Pro Archia*, 9, 11. See Midd. p. 260.

¹ *Plutarch* tells us, that *Crassus*, probably, not from any real fear, but in order to gain

credit to the calumny, stole out of *Rome* with his children and his most valuable effects.

² This high rank was not sufficient to preserve to him the affection of his wife *Mucia*, (sister of the *Metelli*;) He had a Rival there, and more than one; *Cæsar* among the rest, if we may believe *Suetonius*, c. 50. *Pompey*, fully informed of her scandalous conduct, sent her a bill of divorce before his landing in *Italy*. She afterwards married *Pompey's* Quæstor *Scaurus*, son of the famous *Scaurus*, Prince of the Senate. *Mucia* was *Pompey's* third wife. *Antistia* was the first, *Æmilia* the second, and *Julia*, *Cæsar's* daughter, will be p. 203. the fourth. Vid. supra,

Republic, as far as the Tigris.—On the merit of these great services he did many acts abroad of a very extraordinary nature ; gave what laws he pleased to the whole East, distributed the conquered countries at discretion, to the kings and princes who had served him in the wars, and built twenty-nine new cities or colonies. [His donatives to his officers and soldiers have been already mentioned.]

Y. R. 692.

Vid. supra, p. 209,

270.

Ibid.

His first business, therefore, after his return, and what he had much at heart, was to get *these acts ratified by public authority*. The popular faction promised him every thing, and employed all their skill to divert him from an union with *Cicero* and the SENATE, and had made a considerable impression on him : but he found the state of things very different from their representations, saw *Cicero* in high credit ¹, and the authority of the Senate much respected, which obliged him to use great management, and made him so cautious of offending any side, that he pleased none. *Cicero* says of his *first speech* * [to the People] that it was neither agreeable to the Poor, nor relished by the Rich ; disappointed the Seditious [that is, the Popular men] yet gave no satisfaction to the Honest [i. e. to the Infamous Aristocratic Cabal.]

* Prima Concio.

As

Midd.
p. 242.

¹ *Cicero*, upon the expiration of his Consulship, had taken care to send a particular account of his whole administration to *Pompey*, in hopes to prevent any disadvantageous impressions there from reports of his enemies, and to draw from him some public declaration in praise of what he had been doing. But *Pompey*, being informed of the ill humour which was rising against *Cicero* in *Rome*, had answered him with great coldness, and, instead of paying him any compliment, had taken no notice at all of what had passed in the affair of *Catiline* : Upon which *Cicero* expostulated with him in the following letter with some resentment, yet so as not to irritate a man of the first authority in the Republic, and to whom all parties were forwardly paying their court.

† i. e. General.

" M. T. *Cicero* to Cn. *Pompey* the Great,
" Emperor †.

" Your letter to the Senate afforded inexpressible satisfaction, not only to myself, but to the Public in general ; as the hopes it brought us of a peace are agreeable to those expectations, which, in full confidence of your superior abilities, I had always encouraged the world to entertain. I must acquaint you, however, that it entirely sunk the spirits of that party, who, from being formerly your declared enemies, have

" lately become your pretended friends ; as it utterly disappointed their most sanguine hopes.

" Notwithstanding the letter which you wrote to me by the same express discovered but very slight marks of your affection, yet I received it with pleasure. The truth is, I am always abundantly satisfied with the consciousness of having exerted my best offices towards my friends : And, if they do not think proper to make me an equal return, I am well contented that the superiority should remain on my side. But, if my utmost zeal for your interests has not been sufficient to unite you to mine, I doubt not our co-operating together upon the same patriot principles, will be a means of cementing us more strongly hereafter. In the mean time, it would neither be agreeable to the openness of my temper, nor to the freedom of that mutual friendship we profess, to conceal what I thought wanting in your letters. I will acknowledge then, that the public services I performed during my late Consulship, gave me reason to expect, from your attachment both to myself and to the Commonwealth, that you would have sent me your congratulations : and I am persuaded you would not have omitted them, but from a tenderness to certain persons. Let me assure you, however, that

" what

Y. R. 692.

Madd.

p. 264.

As he happened to come home in the very heat of *Clodius's* affair, so he was presently urged by both parties to declare himself on that head. *Fufius* the Tribune, at the instigation of the Consul *Piso*, asked him, before the PEOPLE assembled in the *Flaminian Circus*, what he thought of empowering the *Prætor* to chuse Judges, who should be the *Prætor's* assessors in the trial of *Clodius*? To which he answered very aristocratically, as *Cicero* calls it, That he had ever taken the authority of the SENATE to be of the greatest weight in all cases. And when the Consul *Messala* asked him in the SENATE, what his opinion was of the profanation of religion, and the law proposed about it? he, without entering into particulars, applauded, in general, all the determinations of the SENATE, and the measures they had taken; and, upon sitting down, told *Cicero*, who sat next him, that he had now said enough, he thought, to signify his sentiments of those matters; which last words were supposed to include the proceedings against *Catiline* and his associates.

Ad Att. i.
14

Crassus, observing that this declaration had pleased the Senate, rose up, and launched out, in a very high strain, into the praises of *Cicero's* consulship, declaring himself indebted to it for his being at that time a Senator and a Citizen; nay, for his very liberty and his life; and that as often as he saw his wife, his family, and his country, so often he saw his obligations to *Cicero*. This is what *Cicero*, in a letter, relates to his friend *Atticus*; and he adds, "I perceived *Pompey* at a loss to guess what was *Crassus's* motive for so speaking; whether to take the benefit of an opportunity, which he himself had neglected, of making his court to the Senate; or because the illustrious

"what I have performed for the preservation
"of my Country, has received the concurrent
"applauses of the whole world. You will
"find, when you return thither, I conducted
"that important scene with so much spirit
"and policy, that you, like another *Scipio*,
"though far superior indeed to that *Hero* in
"glory, will not refuse to admit me, like a
"second *Lælius*, and not much behind him, I
"trust, in wisdom, as the friend and associate
"of your private and public transactions."
Ep. Fam. Lib. V. Ep. vii. Melmoth's Translation, Book I. Let. i.

"Quæsit ex eo, placeretne ei Judices à
Prætoris legi, quo consilio idem Prætor uteretur. *Ad Att. i. 14.*

"*Cicero's* letter (before-mentioned) to *Pompey*, had produced in the latter an appearance of amity towards him; but *Cicero* suspected it not to be sincere, as is evident from his thirteenth epistle to *Atticus*, in which he says of *Pompey*, "That indeed he made great

"professions of esteem and consideration for
"him, and affected openly to support and
"praise him; but it was easy enough to see
"he envied him, though he endeavoured to
"conceal it."——The character that *Cicero* gives him in the same letter is very different from that of *Scipio*, to whom he had compared him a little before: His words are, speaking of his conduct, "*Nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil in τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil forte, nihil liberum.*" And again, in the twentieth of the same book, "*Is vir nihil habet amplum, nihil excelsum, nihil non summissum, et popolare.*" Would one believe that the *Hero* of the fine Oration *pro lege Manilia* and the *Pompey* thus described were the same man? "Had he nothing great? nothing elevated? nothing but what was mean and vulgar? Was there neither dignity, nor spirit, nor freedom, nor candour, nor honesty, nor good-nature in his whole behaviour?" *Observations on the Life of Cicero, p. 19.*

"merit

“ merit of my acts (so highly pleasing to the Senate) extorted praise even from
 “ a man who was under no personal obligation to me ; but whom, on the con-
 “ trary, out of regard to him (his rival) I had always treated with a par-
 “ ticular slight. From that day I became strongly attached to Crassus :
 “ Nor did I fail to express openly my satisfaction with what Pompey had
 “ said in my favour, though he had spoken obscurely, and with so much
 “ reserve.”

Pompey, after this, affected, on all public occasions, to pay so great a
 court to Cicero, that the popular faction gave him the name of Cneius
 Cicero.

There was one point which Pompey had much at heart to carry this sum-
 mer, the election of L. Afranius, one of his creatures, to the Consulship.
 To engage Cato not to oppose him in this undertaking, he sent to him to
 ask his two nieces (some call them his daughters) in marriage, the elder for
 himself, the younger for his son. Cato's wife and sister were overjoyed at
 the proposal, as highly honourable and advantageous to the family : But
 Cato, who was aware of Pompey's views, gave to the person, charged with
 the negotiation, the following answer, without hesitating a moment : Tell
 Pompey, that Cato is not to be snared by women ; that he values his friendship
 highly ; and that so long as his designs shall be just and reasonable, he may depend
 upon Cato as a more steady friend than can be made by any alliances whatever.
 But I will not give him hostages to secure my inaction when my Country shall
 have need of my assistance.

Pompey nevertheless pursued his enterprize, in which he fought (says
 Cicero) not with the weapon of authority, nor with that of interest, but with
 what Philip of Macedon took every fortress, into which he could drive a
 loaded ass. Plutarch tells us, that Pompey himself distributed the money
 openly in his own gardens : but Cicero mentions it as a current report,
 that the Consul Piso had undertaken to divide it at his house : which gave
 birth to two new laws, drawn up by Cato, and his brother-in-law Domi-
 tius Ahenobarbus, and supposed to be levelled at the Consul ; the one of
 which gave liberty to search the houses even of the Magistrates, on infor-
 mations of bribery ; the other declared all those enemies to the State, at
 whose house the dividers of money were found. Pompey, however, obtruded
 Afranius upon the City, by which he greatly disgusted the Aristocratic
 Faction °.

He had been making preparation all this summer for his triumph, which
 he deferred to his birth-day, the thirtieth of September ; having
 resided in the mean while, as usual, in the suburbs : So that the Senate
 and People, in compliment to him, held their assemblies generally, during
 that time, without the walls. His triumph lasted two days, and was the

° Plutarch says, that Cato's wife and sister, when they saw how Pompey dishonoured him-
 self, by practising the arts of bribery in so

shameful a manner, were convinced that Cato
 had judged wisely in rejecting his alliance.

Y.R. 692. most splendid which had ever been seen at Rome: He built a temple to
 B.C. Chr. Minerva out of the spoils, with an inscription giving a summary of his vic-
 62. tories: That he had finished a war of thirty years: had vanquished,
 391 Conf. slain, and taken two millions, one hundred, and eighty-three thousand
 men; sunk or taken eight hundred and forty-six ships; reduced to the
 power of the empire a thousand, five hundred, and thirty-eight towns
 and fortresses; and subdued all the countries between the Lake *Mæotis*
 and the *Red Sea* ^p.

P. CN. POMPEIUS. CN. F. MAGNVS. IMP.
 BELLO. XXX. ANNORVM. CONFECTO.
 FVVIS. FVGATIS. OCCISIS. IN. DEDITIONEM. ACCEPTIS.
 HOMINVM. CENTIES. VICIES. SEMEL. CENTENIS. LXXXIII. M.
 DEPRESSIS. AVT. CAPT. NAVIBVS. DCCCXLVI.
 OPPIDIS. CASTELLIS. MDXXXVIII.
 IN. FIDEM. RECEPTIS.
 TERRIS. A. MAEOTI. LACV. AD RVBRVM. MARE. SVBACTIS.
 VOTUM MERITO MINERVAE. Plin. Hist. Nat. vii, 26.

Crevier At the head of the Triumphal Procession,
 Tom. XII. which lasted two days, was carried a Banner,
 l. xxxviii. with an inscription, importing that *Pompey*,
after he had delivered all the maritime Coasts
from the Pirates, and restored to the Roman
People the empire of the sea, triumphed over
Asia, Pontus, Armenia, Paphlagonia, Cap-
padocia, Syria, the Scythians, the Jews, the
Albanians, Iberia, the island of Crete, the Ba-
starnæ, and over the Kings Mithridates and
Tigranes. When, after his Triumph, he ha-
 rangued the People, and, according to custom,
 gave them an account of his exploits, he said,
 Oros. l. vi. "That he had fought with two and twenty
 c. 6. Kings, and had so far extended the frontiers
 Plin. l. vii. "of the empire, that Asia Minor, which, before
 c. 26. & "his conquests, was the remotest of the provinces
 xxxvii. 2. "belonging to the Roman People, was now in
 Plut. in "the center of them." [This was not then
 Pomp. true (says Dr. Prideaux) or at any time after.
 For *Proper Asia* was never in the middle of
 the Roman empire. Beyond the *Tigris* it was
 never extended eastward, but at this time
 it reached westward as far as the Atlantic
 ocean; and from thence to *Proper Asia* was
 more than double the distance of *Tigris* from
 that province.]

The riches displayed in this third Triumph
 of *Pompey* were prodigious. A chest or
 draught-table, made of two precious stones,
 four feet long and three feet wide. A moon
 of gold, of above thirty pounds weight:
 Three table-beds, of gold also; one of which,

it was said, had belonged to *Darius Hystaspis*.
 Vessels of gold, adorned and enriched with
 precious stones, enough to furnish nine busets:
 three statues of gold; one of *Minerva*, an-
 other of *Mars*, and the third of *Apollo*: the
 golden vine of *Aristobulus*, which has been
 spoken of before: three and thirty crowns of
 pearl: a little chapel, consecrated to the Muses,
 all of pearl, with a sun-dial a-top: the effigies
 of *Pompey* himself, made also of pearls; be-
 sides a chest filled with jewels and rings of
 great value, which had belonged to *Mithri-*
dates, and which *Pompey* consecrated in the
 Capitol with the golden vine, and much other
 riches. Add to these the throne and scepter
 of the same *Mithridates*, and a bust of that
 Prince in gold, of the height of eight cubits:
 a silver statue of *Pharnaces*, grandfather of
Mithridates: and waggons full of gold and
 silver. Among the natural curiosities displayed
 in this Triumph, the ebony-tree was now seen
 at Rome for the first time, Vid. supra,
 p. 258.

The gratifications given by the triumphant
 Victor to the officers and soldiers were also
 expressed in an inscription on a table carried
 in the shew, which inscription declared like-
 wise, that whereas the whole revenue of the
 Republic, before his conquests, had not ex-
 ceeded fifty millions of drachmas a-year, her
 revenues from the countries alone, which he
 had conquered, amounted to eighty-five mil-
 lions. Plin. xii. 4.

This

C H A P. XI.

CATULUS dies. *The union of the Senate with the Knights, which was formed in 690, is broke in this year, 692.*

The next year (METELLUS CELER and AFRANIUS being Consuls) POMPEY endeavours to get a confirmation, by the Senate, of all his acts in Asia, and to obtain an Agrarian law in favour of his soldiers. The City is alarmed with the rumour of a Gallic war. Clodius forms a scheme to revenge himself on Cicero, for having appeared a witness against him at his trial for impiety. CICERO's conduct on occasion of this danger. JULIUS CÆSAR from Farther-Spain, (of which province he had been appointed to take the government after the expiration of his Prætorship) returns with glory to Rome. In the end of the year 693 the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE is formed.

BEFORE the end of this year the Aristocratic Cabal lost one of its most considerable members by the death of *Catulus*, who, in his

This display of riches was accompanied with a shew of a different kind; waggons filled with arms of all sorts, beaks of ships, a multitude of prisoners of war, not loaded with chains (as had been the custom in former times) but every one at liberty, and dressed after the mode of their respective countries. Immediately before the triumphal car marched the Kings, Princes, and great Lords, to the number of 324, who had been subdued by force of arms, or delivered as hostages; in particular, the younger *Tigranes*, with his wife and daughter; and Queen *Zoxima*, the wife of the elder *Tigranes*: seven children of *Mithridates*, viz. five Princes, *Artaphernes*, *Cyrus*, *Oxathres*, *Xerxes*, and *Darius*; and two Princesses, *Orsabaris* and *Eupatra*: *Oltaces*, who had reigned in *Colchis*: *Aristobulus*, King of the *Jews*, with his son *Antigonus*, and two daughters: Some tyrants and the captains of the *Cilician* pirates: Princesses of *Scythia*: three *Albanian* generals, two *Iberian*: the hostages of those nations and of the King of *Comana*: and last of all *Menander*, commander in chief of *Mithridates*'s cavalry.

Several pictures followed, which represented the vanquished Kings, or the battles gained either by *Pompey* or his Lieutenants: A detail of the adventures of *Mithridates*, especi-

ally the nocturnal battle, wherein he was intirely defeated; his flight; the siege that he maintained in *Panticapæum*; his death, and that of his two daughters who chose to die with him. There were likewise the portraits of several other of his children, of both sexes, who died before him. This long string of pictures was closed by the Gods of the Barbarians, led in triumph, together with their worshippers.

And now appeared *Pompey* himself, mounted on a car, glittering with precious stones, and clothed in a military robe, said to be that of *Alexander*, which *Mithridates* had found among the treasures brought into the island of *Cos* by *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Ægypt*, grandmother of *Ptolemy Alexander II.* The principal officers of the army followed the car, some on foot, some on horseback.

It had been formerly the custom, when the Triumphal Procession was over, to put the captives to death, or condemn them to perpetual imprisonment: but the Roman manners were now somewhat softened. *Pompey*'s captives were sent back to their own countries: only *Aristobulus* and the younger *Tigranes* were detained, that *Hyrcanus* and the elder *Tygranes* might enjoy peace in their dominions.

Y. R. 692.
Bef. Chr.
60.
391. Conf.

public conduct, seems never to have had any thing in view but the perpetuating of the usurped power of the SENATE, an infamous Assembly, usually influenced and governed by him, in conjunction with some few others of the *Cornelian* brood, Patriots formed under the discipline of *Sylla*, and invariable enemies of the Free Constitution of *Rome*. Nor was this the greatest adversity they sustained in this same year: they lost the support of the *Equestrian Order*. It was one of *Cicero's* chief glories to have formed a close union between that Order and the SENATE, an union which never could be effected till the *Knights* were become as corrupt and as infamous as the *Senators*. The two gangs of robbers were then, by the persuasions of the eloquent Consul, brought into an agreement to support one another: But as such unions are frequently broke by disputes about the plunder, so it happened in the present instance. But let us hear *Cicero* himself relate the sad tale in a letter to *Atticus*.

Midd.
271.
Ad. Att.
i. 17.

“ We live here in an infirm, wretched, tottering Republic: for you
“ have heard, I guess, that our Knights are now almost disjoined again
“ from the Senate. The first thing which they took amiss was *the decree*
“ *for calling the Judges to account who had taken money in Clodius's affair*:
“ I happened to be absent when it passed; but hearing afterwards that
“ the whole order resented it, though without complaining openly, I chid
“ the Senate, as I thought, with great effect, and in a cause *not very*
“ *modest*, spoke forcibly and copiously. They have now another curious
“ petition scarce fit to be endured; which yet I not only bore with, but
“ defended. The company who hired the *Asiatic* revenues of the *Censors*,
“ complained to the SENATE, that, through too great an eagerness, they
“ had given more for them than they were worth, and begged to be re-
“ leased from the bargain. I was their chief advocate, or rather indeed
“ the second; for *Crassus* was the man who put them upon making
“ this request. The thing is odious and shameful, and a public confession
“ of their rashness: But *there was great reason to apprehend, that, if they*
“ *should obtain nothing, they would be wholly alienated from the Senate*;
“ so that this point also was principally managed by me. For, on the
“ first and second of *December*, I spoke a great deal on the dignity of
“ the two orders, and the advantage of the concord between them, and
“ was heard very favourably in a full House. Nothing however is yet
“ done; but the SENATE seems well disposed: For *Metellus*, the Con-
“ sul elect, was the only one who spoke against us; though that Hero
“ of ours, *Cato*, was going also to speak, if the shortness of the day
“ had not prevented him. *Thus, in pursuit of my old measures, I am sup-*
“ *porting, as well as I can, that concord which my Consulship had cemented*:
“ But since no great stress can now be laid upon it, I have provided my-
“ self another way, and a sure one, I hope, of maintaining my authority,
“ which

“ which I cannot well explain by letter, yet will give you a short hint of
 “ it. I am in a strict friendship with *Pompey* — I know already what
 “ you say — and will be upon my guard, as far as caution can serve
 “ me; and give a farther account, some other time, of my present con-
 “ duct in politics. You are to know, in the mean while, that *Lucceius*
 “ designs to sue directly for the Consulship; for he will have, it is said,
 “ but two competitors; *Cæsar*, by means of *Arrius*, proposes to join with
 “ him; and *Bibulus*, by *Piso*’s mediation, thinks of joining with *Cæsar*.
 “ Do you laugh at this? Take my word for it, it is no laughing matter.
 “ — *December the 5th*.”

Y. R. 692.
 Bef. Chr.
 69.
 391 Conf.

With regard to the first of the two affairs above-mentioned, it should be remembered, that the *Knights*, though they sat in judgment with the *Senators*, were not subject to the penalties denounced by the laws against Judges who suffer themselves to be corrupted: Indeed the Tribune *Drusus*, in 662, passed a law which subjected them to those penalties: but he was murdered soon after, and all his laws were annulled. *Cato*, on occasion of the scandalous judgment in the case of *Clodius*, bestirred himself with so much zeal, as to procure a new law of the same import with that of *Drusus*.

Vid. sup.
 P. 106.
 108.

As to the petition of the *Knights*, concerning the *Asiatic* revenues, *Cato*, when he came to speak to it, opposed it resolutely, and (having justice and reason on his side) prevailed to have it rejected: Which *Cicero* often condemns, as contrary to all good policy; and complains sometimes in his letters, that *Cato*, though he was the only man that had any regard to the Republic, yet frequently did mischief, by pursuing his maxims absurdly, and without any regard to the times^a.

Midd. p.
 273.
 Ad. Att. i.
 18. it. ii. 1.

^a This year, 692, produced nothing of importance in affairs abroad; *Scaurus*, whom *Pompey* had left in Syria, made an incursion into *Arabia Petraea*; but, for 300 talents of silver, sold a peace to *Aretas*, King of that country.

Quintus Cicero, brother of the Orator, and brother-in-law of *Atticus* (whose sister he had married) had been Prætor the preceding year, and now governed the Province of *Asia*, which, at the expiration of his Prætorship had been assigned to him, and there he remained three years. The Orator, in some of his letters to *Quintus*, recommends to him the example of *C. Octavius* (*Augustus Cæsar*’s father, whose second wife was *Atia*, the daughter of *Julia*, sister of *Julius Cæsar*.) *Octavius* was Prætor this year at *Rome*; and *Ci-*

cero ascribes to him all the qualities of an excellent Magistrate.

^b “ It was the fault of *Cato* (says a very ingenious writer, speaking of this transaction) not to see that *Public affairs* are incapable of perfection, and that it is impossible to govern a State, without submitting lesser interests to greater.” [How far this doctrine is supportable in the two present instances, the Reader will judge.] “ Hence it was that, with admirable intentions for the service of his Country, he sometimes did a great deal of mischief, for want of distinguishing between what was good in speculation, and what in practice.” [A distinction somewhat like that for which the Jesuits, in their casuistry, have contended, and which has been so severely censured by *M. Paschal*.]

V. R. 593.
Chr.
392 Conf.

Ad Att.
ii. 19.

Dio, l.
xxxvii. 52.

Midd.
275.
Dio, *ibid.*

Ad Att. i.
19.

Ibid.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer and *L. Afranius* were now entered upon the Consulship. By the influence of the latter (assisted by some of the Tribunes) *Pompey*, whose creature he was, imagined he should readily obtain the ratification of his *aëts*, together with an *Agrarian Law*, which he was pushing forward at the same time, for the distribution of lands to his soldiers. But he was vigorously opposed in both by the other Consul *Metellus*, his enemy professed, and the more heated by a private resentment of the affront offered to his sister *Mucia*, whom *Pompey* had lately put away. *Lucullus*, who was personally interested in the first article, all his orders and regulations having been reversed by *Pompey*, declared that the Senate ought not to confirm his *aëts* in the gross, as if they received them from a Master, but to consider them separately, and ratify those only which were found to be reasonable. *Crassus*, *Cato*, and *Metellus Creticus*, joined *Lucullus* in the opposition, and the generality of the Senate being of the same side, *Pompey* could not carry his point there. He wholly employed himself now, therefore, to get his *Agrarian Law* passed; and, to make it the more palatable, other Citizens, besides the soldiers, were (by a clause inserted therein) to share in the distribution.

Nevertheless the Consul *Metellus*, and his associates, opposed this enterprize with no less warmth than they had the other. The Tribune *Flavius*, the promoter of the law, impatient of the opposition he met with, and animated by *Pompey's* power, had the hardness to commit *Metellus* to prison; and when all the Senate followed, and resolved to go to prison too, he clapped his chair at the prison-door to keep them out: But this violence gave such a general scandal to the City, that *Pompey* found it adviseable to draw off the Tribune, and release the Consul. In order to allay these heats, *Cicero* (of whose conduct, with regard to the confirmation of *Pompey's aëts*, no mention is made in history; nor in the letters to *Atticus*) offered an amendment to the *Agrarian Law*, which satisfied both parties, by securing the possessions of all private proprietors, and hindering the public lands from being given away. His proposal was, That out of the new revenues, which *Pompey* had acquired to the Empire, five years rents should be set apart to purchase lands for the intended distribution. But the progress of the affair was suspended by the sudden alarm of a Gallic war, which was always terrible to Rome, and being now actually commenced by several revolted nations, called for the immediate care and attention of the Government.

The Senate decreed the two Gauls severally to the two Consuls, and required them to make levies without any regard to privilege, or exemption from service: And that three Senators should be chosen by lot, one of them of Consular rank, to be sent with a public character to the other Gallic Cities, to dissuade them from joining in the war. In the allotment of these Ambassadors, the first lot happened to fall upon *Cicero*; but the whole assembly remonstrated against it, declaring his presence to be necessary at Rome, and that

that he ought not to be employed on such an errand. The same thing happened to Pompey, on whom the next lot fell, who was retained also with Cicero, as two pledges of the Public Safety. The three at last chosen were, Q. Metellus Creticus, L. Flaccus, and Lentulus. The Transalpine Gaul, which was the seat of the war, fell to the lot of the Consul Metellus, who could not contain his joy upon the prospect of glory which it offered him. Metellus, says Cicero, is an admirable Consul: I blame him only in one thing, for not seeming pleased with the news of peace from Gaul. He longs, I suppose, to triumph. I wish that he was as moderate in this, as he is excellent in all other respects. [For he is an admirer and imitator of ME]

Y. R. 693.
Bef. Chr.
59
392 Conf.

Ad Att. i.
20.

Vid. supr.
P. 386.
note (g).

Pompey, finding the Aristocratical Faction united as one man against him (which rendered all his efforts hitherto ineffectual) and resolving nevertheless to carry his point, gave himself up more entirely than ever to the faction of the People, and connected himself even with *Clodius*, because a favourite of the multitude.

Clodius, who had been contriving how to revenge himself on *Cicero*, began now to give an opening to the scheme which he had formed for that purpose. His project was to get himself chosen *Tribune*, and in that office to drive him out of the City. But as all *Patricians* were incapable of the *Tribuneship* by its original institution, so his first step was to make himself a *Plebeian* by the pretence of an adoption into a *Plebeian* house, which could not yet be done without the suffrage of the People. This case was wholly new, and contrary to all the forms, wanting every condition, and serving none of the ends, which were required in regular adoptions; so that, on the first proposal, it seemed too extravagant to be treated seriously. The solicitor of it was one *Herennius*, an obscure hardy *Tribune*, who first moved it to the Senate, and afterwards to the People; but met with no encouragement from either: For the Consul *Metellus*, the brother-in-law to *Clodius*, though he gave into it at first, warmly opposed it afterwards, and declared, *That he would strangle him sooner with his own hands, than suffer him to bring such a disgrace upon his family.* *Herennius*, however, persisted to press it, but without any visible success; and so the matter hung through the remainder of the year.

Midd.

280.

Ad Att. ii.

1.

Ibid.

Pro Cæ-
lio, xxiv.

Cicero affected to treat it with contempt, sometimes rallying *Clodius* with much pleasantry, sometimes admonishing him with no less gravity: He said to him one day in the SENATE, *Your attempt ought to give us no manner of pain: It will be no more in your power, when a Plebeian, to overturn the State, than it was in the power of the Patricians of the same stamp in the time of my Consulship.* But, whatever face the Orator put outwardly upon this affair, it gave him a real uneasiness within, and made him unite himself more closely with *Pompey*, for the benefit of his protection against a storm, which he saw ready to break upon him. Imagining, at the same time, that this step would be censured by many, as a desertion of his old principles,

Ad Att. ii.
1.

Midd.
281.

Y. R. 693. principles, he takes frequent occasion to explain the motives of it to his
 Ref. Chr. friend *Atticus*, declaring, "That the absolution of *Clodius*, the alienation
 392 Conf. " of the Knights, the indolence and luxury of the CONSULAR SENATORS,
 " *who minded nothing but their fish-ponds, their carps, and mullets*, and yet
 " were all envious of him, made it necessary for him to seek some firmer
 " support and alliance. — That in this new friendship he should attend
 Ad. Ant. i. " still to what the *Sicilian* wag *Epicarmus* whispered, *Be watchful, and*
 19. " *distrust; for those are the nerves of the mind.*" On another occasion he
 Tard. 20. observes, "That his union with *Pompey*, though useful to himself, was
 " more useful to the Republic, by gaining a man of his power and au-
 " thority, who was wavering and irresolute, from the hopes and intrigues
 " of the factious: That if this could not have been done without drawing
 " upon himself a charge of levity, he would not have purchased that, or
 " or any other advantage at such a price; but he had managed the matter
 " so, as not to be thought the worse Citizen for joining with *Pompey*, but
 " *Pompey* himself the better by declaring for him. — That, since *Catu-*
 " *lus's* death, he stood single and unsupported by the other Consulars in
 " the cause of the Aristocracy; for, as the Poet *Rhinton* says, *some of them*
 " *were good for nothing, others cared for nothing.* But how much these
 " fishmongers of ours envy me, says he, I will write you word another
 " time, or reserve it to our meeting. Yet nothing shall ever draw me
 " away from the Senate; because to adhere to it is right, and most agree-
 " able to my interest, and because I am pleased with the marks of re-
 Ad. Ant. ii. " spect which they give me." In a third letter he says, "You chide me
 " gently for my union with *Pompey*: I would not have you to think,
 " that I sought it for my own sake; but things were come to such a
 " crisis, that, if any difference had happened between us, it must have
 " caused great disturbance in the Republic, which I have guarded against
 " in such a manner, that, without departing from my old maxims, I have
 " rendered him the better, and made him remit somewhat of his popu-
 " larity: For you must know, that he now speaks of my acts, which
 " many have been incensing him against, much more gloriously than he
 " does of his own; and declares, That he had only *served* the State suc-
 " cessfully, but that I had *saved* it. What good this will do me, I know
 " not; but it will certainly do much to the Republic. What if I could
 " make *Cæsar* also a better Citizen, whose winds are now very prospere-
 " rous; should I do any great harm by it? Nay, if there were none who
 " really envied me, but all were encouraging me as they ought, it would
 " yet be more commendable to heal the vitiated part of the State, than
 " to cut them off: But now, when that body of Knights, who were
 " planted by me in my Consulship, with you at their head, as our guard
 " in the *Capitol*, have deserted the Senate, and our CONSULARS *place their*
 " *chief happiness in training the fish in their ponds to feed from their hands,*
 " *and mind nothing else*; do not you think, that I am doing good service,
 " by

“ by managing so, that those who can do mischief, will not? For, as
 “ to our friend *Cato*, you cannot love him more than I do; yet, with
 “ the best intentions and the greatest integrity, he often hurts the Repub-
 “ lic; for he delivers his opinion as if it were in the polity of *Plato*,
 “ not in the dregs of *Romulus*. What could be more just than to call
 “ those to an account who had received money for judging? *Cato* pro-
 “ posed, the Senate agreed to it: The Knights presently declared war
 “ against the Senate, not against me; for I was not of that opinion.
 “ What more impudent than to demand a release from their contract?
 “ yet it was better to suffer that loss, than to alienate the whole order:
 “ But *Cato* opposed it, and prevailed; so that now, when the Consul
 “ was thrown into prison, as well as in all the tumults which have lately
 “ happened, no one of them would stir a foot; though under me, and the
 “ Consuls that succeeded me, they had defended the Republic so strenu-
 “ ously,” &c.

Y. R. 693.
 Bef. Chr.
 59
 392 Conf.
 Ad Att.
 ii. 1.

In the midst of these transactions, *Julius Caesar* returned from the government of farther *Spain*^c, with great fame both for his military and political acts. That province had been allotted him from the expiration of his office of *Prætor*, which he held in 691. He had conquered the barbarous nations by his arms, and civilized them by his laws; and having subdued the whole country as far as the ocean, and been saluted Emperor by the soldiers, came away in all haste to Rome, to sue at the same time for the double honour of a *Triumph* and the *Consulship*. But his demand of the first was incompatible with his pretensions to the second; the one obliging him to continue without the City, the other making his presence necessary within. Many of the Senators, however, were well inclined to dispense with the Laws in his favour. *Cato* opposed this with his usual steadiness; and, lest his reasons should not prevail, he kept talking till the House broke up. The time for the elections was at hand: *Cæsar*, therefore, made no hesitation in preferring the solid to the specious; he ceased his pursuit of the triumph to stand for the *Consulship*, joining interests with *L. Luceius*, formerly mentioned^d, on condition that this candidate, who was rich, should furnish the money to bribe the centuries. The SENATE, that *Cæsar* might not have a colleague subservient to his will, espoused the other candidate *Bibulus* with all their authority, and made a common purse to enable him to bribe as high as his competitors: Which bribery even *Cato* (if we may believe *Suetonius*^e) approved, as thinking it

Pro Balbo
 19 Suet.
 J. Cæf.
 18 vid. it.
 Dio, l.
 xxxvii.
 p. 54.

Suet. in J.
 Cæf. 18,
 19.

^c *Plutarch* tells us, that in *Cæsar*'s journey to *Spain* at this time, when some of his friends took notice of the miserable condition of the inhabitants of some little town on the *Alps*, and one asked another in pleasantry, whether there could be any disputes in that place about ranks and offices, or any jealousies among their Chiefs,

Cæsar, with an air of seriousness, declared, that he would rather be the first man there than the second in Rome.

^d Vide supra, p. 326.

^e *Plerique pecunias contulerunt, ne Cato quidem abnuente eam largitionem è Rep. heri.*

Y. R. 691. *for the public good.* By this means they got *Bibulus* elected, a man firm to
 Bcf. Chr. their interest, and determined to obstruct every attempt of *Cæsar* which
 59 they should dislike.
 192 Conf.

Crassus, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, were at this time the men who bore the greatest sway in the State, the first by reason of his prodigious wealth, *Pompey* for his power with the soldiery, and *Cæsar* for his admirable eloquence and a peculiar nobleness of spirit. These three entered into a solemn agreement to let nothing pass in the Commonwealth without their joint approbation, which *triple league* is commonly called the *The First Triumvirate*.

Vell. Pat.
 A. 44.

Pompey's chief motive to this alliance was to get his acts confirmed by the influence of *Cæsar* in his Consulship.

Plut. in
 Cæ. App.
 de B. Civ.
 ii. p. 432.
 Suet. ib.
 18.

The aim of *Crassus* was to maintain, by the assistance of *Pompey's* authority and *Cæsar's* vigour, that rank in the State which, without their aid, he could not hope to preserve. He had purchased the friendship of *Cæsar* at the time when the latter, just on the point of setting out to take possession of his government of *Spain*, was grievously importuned by his clamorous creditors, who sought to obstruct his departure: *Crassus* became bound for him as far as 200,000 l. sterling, (*for so much did he want to be worth nothing*, as he merrily said of himself :) And it is highly probable, that what induced *Crassus* to act so friendly a part at *that time*, was to be enabled to make head against his rival *Pompey* by the auxiliary strength of *Cæsar*: But *now* it was become his interest to join with *Pompey*, as well as with *Cæsar*, in one common scheme.

Vell. Pat.
 A. 44.

As for *Cæsar*, he, without question, in giving way to *Pompey's* glory had the advancement of his own in view: But, whatever private views each of the confederates may have had, if we consider in what hands ' the administration

' Dr. Middleton begins the fourth section of his first volume of the Life of Cicero with these words:

" Cicero, being now reduced to the condition of a private Senator, was to take his place on that VENERABLE BENCH OF CONSULARS, who were justly reckoned the first Citizens of the Republic. They delivered their opinions the first always in the Senate, and commonly determined the opinions of the rest: For, as they had passed through all the public offices, and been conversant in every branch of the administration, so their experience gave them great authority in all debates; and having little or nothing further to expect for themselves, they were esteemed not only the most knowing, but, ge-

nerally speaking, the most disinterested of all the other Senators, and to have no other view in their deliberations but the peace and prosperity of the Republic.

" This was a station exactly suited to Cicero's temper and wishes; he desired no foreign governments, or command of armies: his province was the Senate and the Forum; to guard, as it were, the vitals of the empire, and to direct all its counsels to their proper end, the general good; and in this advanced post of a CONSULAR SENATOR, as in a watch tower of the State, to observe each threatening cloud and rising storm, and give the alarm to his fellow Citizens from what quarter it was coming, and by what means its effects might be prevented."

To

administration of the Empire had been of late years, it will not, perhaps, seem wonderful that those three men, having a favourable opportunity to do it, should take into their own hands the management of the public affairs. The *Triumvirs* cannot be said to have made attempts on the *Roman* constitution, or indeed on any legal authority or government. Anarchy prevailed. We have seen Senators the most celebrated by the Historians for their patriotism, employing themselves in the infamous practices of corrupting Judges and suborning false witnesses: We have seen a daring ruffian threatening a full Senate with destruction, and yet suffered by the Senate peaceably to go and put himself at the head of an army that was to effect that destruction; yet we have seen the same Senate, presently after, assume a *lawless* power of putting Citizens of the first rank to death, without previous trial and condemnation: we have seen them presume to suspend a *Tribune of the People* from the exercise of his office, and openly, by a common purse, practise that bribery they had so often condemned, as ruinous to the State. *Cato*, that stout champion of the Laws, we have seen him a riotous magistrate, violating the privileges of the *Tribuneship* in the person of one of his colleagues, and, from personal hatred to *Cæsar*, approved of bribery and corruption in the election of magistrates, after he himself had prosecuted *Muræna* for a violation of the Laws in that particular: And, lastly, *Cicero*, the consummate Patriot, pleading in defiance of his own reason and conscience, against punishing, or even calling to account, *Judges*, notoriously guilty of selling the most iniquitous decrees.

The league of the *TRIUMVIRS* seemed to want a man of *Cicero's* character to make it complete: For, whenever they should be engaged in foreign governments, or the command of armies abroad, his authority would be of singular use at home, to manage the affairs of the City, and solicit what they had to transact with the Senate or People. *Cæsar*, therefore, just before he entered upon the Consulship, sent him word (by their common friend *Cornelius Balbus*) that he would be governed in

To this description of a CONSULAR SENATOR, if we compare it with what *Cicero* himself says of a VENERABLE BENCH, may, I think, be applied, not improperly, a passage in Monsieur Bayle, where, on occasion of some groundless reflections, delivered in a pompous oratorical style, by the Abbé de St. Real, on the conduct of King Lewis XI. of France, he exhorts his readers to beware of reflections so adorned. “ Je souhaite que cette remarque serve d'avertissement au Lecteur, qu'il n'y a point de pensées dont il faille plus de desier que de celles qu'on debite d'une maniere éblouissante, & d'un ton majestueux. Les réflexions de l'Abbé de St. Real que je viens d'examiner sont les plus propres du monde

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“ à éblouir; mais otez leur ornemens, regardez-les un peu de près en elles-mêmes, vous n'y trouverez rien de solide.” *Dict. de Bayle, artic. LOUIS XI. rem. V.*

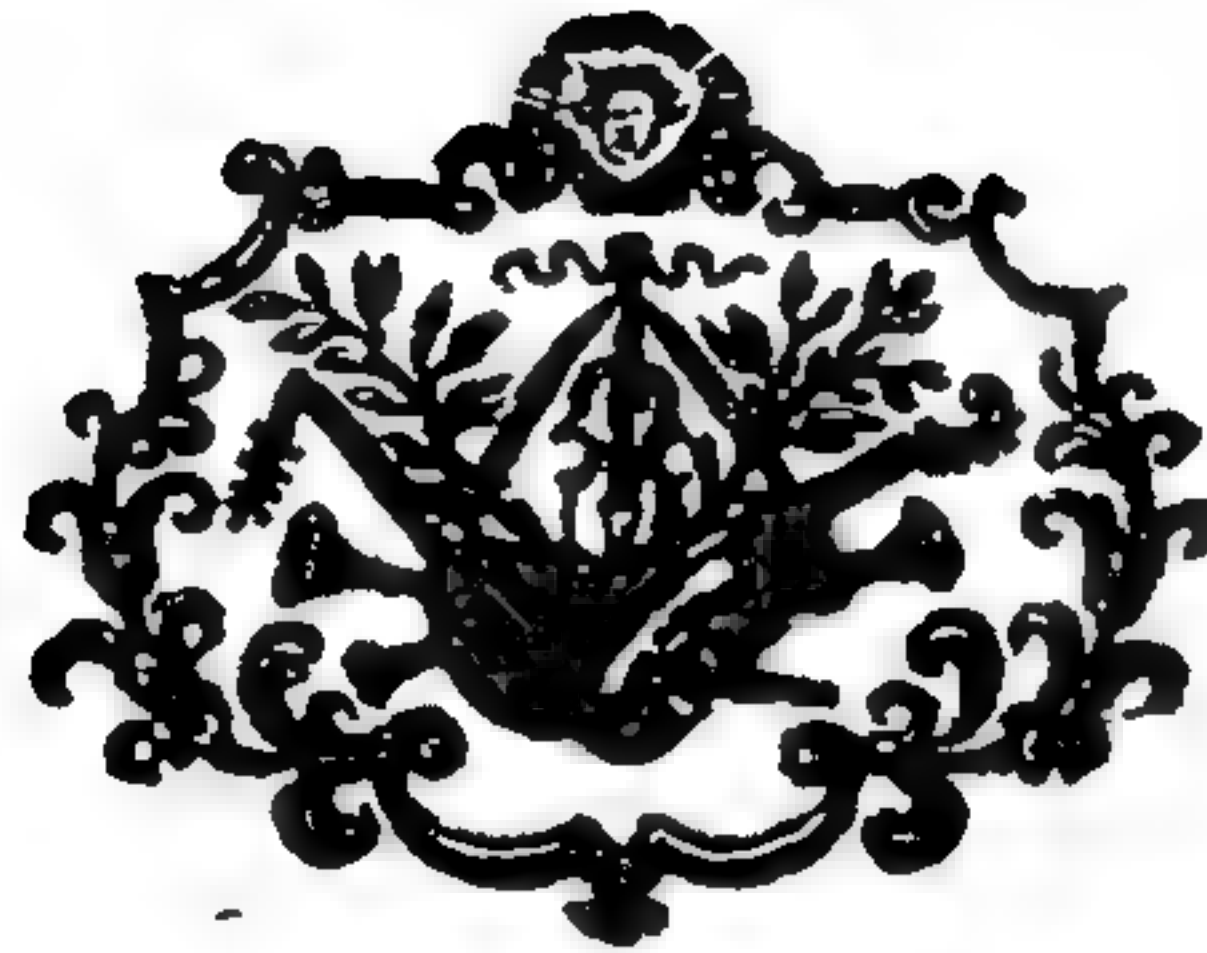
Who would expect that the Doctor's VENERABLE BENCH of CONSULAR SENATORS were, according to *Cicero* himself, only a company of *fishmongers*, of whom some were good for nothing, and others minded nothing but their *fish-ponds*, their *carps*, and *mulletts*, and placed their chief happiness in training the fish in their ponds to feed from their hands? See Midd. p. 281, 282, 283: And see what *Cato* says of their regard for the Republic, supra, p. 364.

3 F

every

Y. R. 693. every step by him and *Pompey*, and would likewise use his utmost endeavours (for the Triple League was not yet divulged) to effect a perfect agreement between *Pompey* and *Crassus*.
 Bef. Chr. 59.
 392 Conf.

An union, formed by *Cæsar*, between *Crassus* and *Pompey*, gave *Cicero* no pleasing prospect with regard to the Public; and he was much at a loss to know how to act in this crisis, as he signifies to *Atticus* in the letter, where he mentions *Cæsar's* message to him by *Balbus*.



THE Roman History.

N I N T H B O O K.

From the end of the Year 693, when that *Triple League* between CRASSUS, POMPEY, and CÆSAR, which is called the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE, was formed, to the beginning of the Civil War in the year 704.

C H A P. I.

The acts of the Triumvirate during CÆSAR's Consulship, year of Rome
694.

WHEN C. *Julius Cæsar* and L. *Calpurnius Bibulus* entered upon the Consulship, four affairs of very great importance, and much contested, were depending: Y. R. 694.
Bef. Chr.
58.
393 Conf.

1. *Pompey's Agrarian Law.*
2. The ratification of *Pompey's* acts in the East.
3. The petition of the Knights, farmers of the Asiatic revenues to be released from the contract they had made with the Censors (for, though their petition had been once rejected by the Senate, they renewed their solicitations :) and,
4. *Clodius's* project of making himself a *Plebeian*, that he might be capable of the Tribuneship.

Y. R. 694.
Bef. Chr.
58.
393 Conf.

Dio, l.
xxxviii. p.
58, 59, 60,

As the political principles of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus* were wholly opposite to each other, so were their views and proceedings. But the main trial of strength between them was about the *Agrarian law*. *Cæsar* had prepared it, and now resolved to propose it in his own name. He presented it first to the Senate, asking their consent to lay it before the People. He represented to them, that a distribution of lands among the poor Citizens was not only useful, but even necessary for disburdening the City of an indigent multitude, ever prone to sedition, to repeople and cultivate several parts of *Italy* which were deserted, and to recompence the soldiers who had bravely and faithfully served the Commonwealth.

That the Law, as he had prepared it, could bring no new charge either on the State or on private persons: That, in the distribution of the public lands, he had excepted the territory of *Capua*, so valuable by its fertility. That as to those lands which were to be bought of private persons, he had ordered, that it should be only of such persons as were willing to sell; and that the price of the lands should be according to their valuation in the Censor's books. That the Republic was enabled to bear this expence, as well by the prodigious sums that *Pompey* had brought into the Public Treasury, as by the tribute that he had imposed upon his new conquests.

Cæsar observed further, that, for the distribution of the lands, twenty commissioners were to be elected, a number too large to leave room for the apprehension of their agreeing in any thing that might be dangerous to the Public Liberty. That, content with the honour of having proposed the affair, he had excepted himself out of the number of those who might be chosen for the employment: and he concluded with an intimation that there were twenty honourable places, which might be agreeable to some of the Senators.

When he had thus represented the matter to the Senate in general, he addressed himself to each of the Senators in particular, desiring him to declare whether he had any thing to object to the Law proposed, and offered to retrench those articles that could justly displease, and even to abandon his project entirely, if it could be shewn to be unreasonable.

To these questions (if we may believe *Dio*) the Senate could not answer a word, nor point out any thing exceptionable in the Law; and he adds, that nothing piqued them so much as to find, that a proposal, which they extremely disliked, was not liable to censure. Even *Cato* was unable to find fault; yet he warmly and obstinately opposed the Law, assigning no other reason for so doing, but that, in his opinion, things ought to remain as they were. It is probable that *Cato* (whom we have formerly seen lose all regard to decency in his treatment of *Cæsar*) provoked him, on this occasion, with some outrageous abuse, such as might justify him, as being then one of the supreme Magistrates, in committing the offender to prison. *Cato*, being ordered into custody, left the Senate-House without a word of complaint, but continued talking against the

Law

Plut. in.
Cat. &
Cæf.

Law as he went along^a. *Cæsar*, either because he condemned his own anger as intemperate, or because he perceived the Senators much displeased, presently released the prisoner, and dismissed the Assembly; but declared to them at the same time, that, since they would neither approve his Law, nor say what they had to object to it, he would refer it the People. He did as he had threatened: He consulted the Senate no more in this affair, nor in any other that occurred.

Y. R. 694.
Bef. Chr.
58.
393 Conf.
Dio.

When *Cæsar* brought his Law before the People, he had added to it a clause for distributing (what he had before excepted) the lands of *Campania* to 20,000 poor Citizens who had three children or more. He had seven of the Tribunes on his side in this contest. *Bibulus* mustered all his forces, and came down to the Forum, full of courage and resolution, guarded by three of the Tribunes and the greater part of the Senate; and as often as *Cæsar* attempted to recommend the Law, he as often interrupted him, and declared, that it should never pass in his year. *Cæsar* asked him (when they were both in the Rostra) whether he found any thing exceptionable in the Law? To which *Bibulus* made this answer only, That *he would oppose all innovations*. Hereupon *Cæsar* exhorted the People to employ *their* intreaties with his Collegue to desist from his opposition to a Law so beneficial to them. *Bibulus*, addressing himself to the multitude, — *Not a tittle of it shall pass while I am Consul, though you should all desire it*; and away he went, as soon as he had uttered those words. Then *Cæsar* produced *Pompey* and *Crassus* into the Rostra to signify their opinion of the Law. *Pompey*, running over the whole, commended every article of it, declaring, that it was highly reasonable the poor Citizens should partake of the opulence of the State. The People were delighted. *Cæsar*, raising his voice, said to *Pompey*, *Since you approve of the Law, I desire to know whether you will support it, in case those who are against it employ violence to hinder its being received?* *Pompey* answered, *If they come to oppose it with the sword, I will come with sword and buckler to support it*: A declaration received with loud applause by the multitude. *Crassus* too applauded what *Pompey* had said, and pressed the acceptance of the Law.

Plut. in
Cæf. &
Pomp.

Bibulus, now despairing of success by any other method of opposition, had recourse to the stratagem^b of *proclaiming every day a holiday for the remaining part of the year*, thereby to hinder all transacting of business with the People. *Cæsar* laughed at his collegue's edict, and named a particular day for the People to give their suffrages upon the Law. While *Cæsar*, on the day appointed, was speaking to the People *Bibulus* arrived,

^a *Dio* adds, that several of the Senators followed *Cato*, and, among the rest, *M. Petreius*, who, being asked by *Cæsar*, why he went out before the House broke up, answered — *Because I had rather be with Cato in prison than with you in the Senate.*

^b *Sylla*, in his first Consulship, made use of the same stratagem in a dispute with the Tribune *Sulpicius*; but the Tribune forced him to revoke his ordinance.

Vid. supr.
p. 125.

Y. R. 694. interrupted him, and once more repeated his declaration, that *the Law*
 Bel. Car. *should never pass while he was Consul.* From words the two parties soon
 28. came to blows: *Bibulus* was roughly treated, his three Tribunes wounded,
 193. C. 1. and his whole faction driven out of the Forum by the Tribune *Vatinius*,
 at the head of the Triumvir's faction: so that the Law passed upon the
 spot, without any further contradiction.

Bibulus made his complaint the next day, in the Senate, of the vio-
 lence offered to his person; but finding that nobody cared to enter into
 the affair, or to move any thing about it, he retired to his house in despair,
 and there shut himself up during all the remaining part of his Consulship,
 that is to say, for eight months entire, exercising no one function of his
 office, except that, whenever *Caesar* undertook any thing new, he repub-
 lished his ordinance, by which he had converted every day of the year into
 a holiday.

By a special clause in the new Law, the Senate and all the Magistrates
 were obliged, under grievous penalties, to take an oath to the observance
 of it^c; which oath *Cato* himself, though he had publicly declared that he
 would never do it, was induced at last to take. It is said that *Cicero*
 brought him to compliance, by representing to him, that *perhaps it was not*
justifiable for a private person to declare a dislike to what had been regulated
by the whole nation: He added, *After labouring for the good of your Country,*
how can you abandon it at this time, and, instead of continuing to fight in its
defence, give it up a prey to its enemies, consulting only your own repose? For
if Cato has no need of Rome, Rome has need of Cato. All your friends con-
jure you not to be inflexible, and myself the first of all, to whom you cannot
refuse your assistance in the present conjuncture, when Clodius aspires to the
Tribuneship for my destruction.

Cicero, nevertheless, speaks with great indignation, in a letter to *Atti-*
cus, of the proceedings of the Triumvirs, and wonders at *Pompey's* policy
 in supporting *Caesar* in an act so odious as that of alienating the best re-
 venues of the Republic: and says, that he must not think to make them
 amends, by his rents on *Mount Libanus*, for the loss of those which he had
 taken from them in *Campania*.

During these transactions, *Clodius* was pushing on the affair of his
 adoption, and soliciting the People to confirm the Law which he had
 provided for that purpose. The Triumvirate pretended to be against it,
 or at least to stand neuter; but were watching *Cicero's* motions, in order
 to take their measures from his conduct, which they did not find so obse-
 quious as they expected. In this interval it happened, that *C. Antonius*,
Cicero's colleague, who had governed *Macedonia* from the time of his
 Consulship, was now impeached, and brought to a trial, for the male-

Ad Attic. xi. 18. & pro Planc. 2.
^c The obligation of swearing was extended, by the Law, to the candidates for next year's magistracies. *M. Juvencius Laterensis* chose

rather to renounce his pretensions to the Tribuneship, than take the oath: But he was the only one who acted that part.

administration of his province, and, being found guilty¹, was condemned to

Y. R. 694.
Bel. Chu.
58.
393 Conf.

^d M. Cælius (the same Cælius for whom Cicero afterwards pleaded) was the chief of three accusers who impeached Antonius. M. Crevier is of opinion, that Antonius was not prosecuted for male-administration in his province, but as an accomplice of Catiline: And for this he cites Cic. pro Cæl. Accusavit [Cælius] C. Antonium, collegam meum: Cui misero præclari in Rempublicam beneficii memoria nihil profuit, nocuit opinio maleficii cogitati: Which passage, nevertheless, in conjunction with another, in Cic. pro Flacco, (to which the learned Writer likewise refers) seems strongly to oppugn that opinion. Flaccus, when Prætor in 690, had been instrumental in suppressing Catiline's Conspiracy; and so had Antonius, then Consul, who, for some crime, was afterwards condemned in the beginning of 694. In the same year Flaccus was prosecuted for male-administration in his province of Asia. His Advocate, Cicero, reminds the Judges of his Client's services against Catiline, and insinuates, that there were persons who had malicious purposes against all those who had served their Country on that occasion. "Antonius is already oppressed. Be it so: He had a peculiar infamy upon him; Yet even he, if I may be allowed to say it, would not have been condemned by you: upon whose condemnation a sepulchre was dressed up for Catiline---Now the death of Lentulus is to be revenged on Flaccus. Oppressus est C. Antonius. Esto: Habuit quamdam ille infamiam suam: Neque tamen ille ipse, pro meo jure dico, vobis iudiciis damnatus esset: cujus damnatione sepulchrum L. Catilinæ celebratum est. --- Nunc a Flacco Lentuli pænæ per vos expectantur." What was the peculiar infamy upon Antonius, that infamy which lessened his merit, and distinguished it from that of Flaccus? Doubtless, it was his being reputed, or rather known, to be a friend to Catiline in his heart, while he was acting against him.

Nocuit opinio maleficii cogitati. "Nevertheless, you, (says Cicero to the Judges) when he was accused of male-administration in Macedonia, would have absolved him, on account of the signal service which, in fact, he did to the Republic when he was Consul." This seems to be the sense of the Orator. He supposes both Antonius and Flaccus to have been prosecuted for male-administration in their provinces, not because there was sufficient ground for such accusation, but on account of what they had done against Catiline.

That Antonius, notwithstanding all the power of Cicero's eloquence exerted in his defence, was readily condemned, seems owing to that infamy which Cicero mentions: Though unquestionably guilty of rapine and extortion in his province, he would, probably, have escaped condemnation, had not his filling himself to act contrary to his inclinations and engagements, made him universally despised and detested by both the friends and the enemies of the Conspirators. With regard to this advocacy of Cicero for Antonius, there are some particulars which may be thought to deserve attention. Cicero writes to him (then Governor of Macedonia in 691) in these terms: --- "Were I to claim even your highest services, the demand could by no means be thought unreasonable, after having contributed every thing on my part for the advancement of your ease, your interest, and your honour." [This hints at his having resigned the lucrative government of Macedonia to him.] "But I may safely appeal to your own conscience, whether you have ever made me the least return: So far from it indeed, that I have heard, (for I dare not say I have been informed*, as it is an expression, it seems which you frequently, though, I am sure, injuriously, object to me,) I have heard then that you have intimated something as if--- "But I leave it to Atticus to tell you the rest; as the report has given him no less concern.

Ep. Fam.
I. Ep. iv.
Melin.
Transl.

* This alludes to the expression [se comperisse] which Cicero had often occasion to employ in the affair of Catiline's Conspiracy. As his principal intelligence arose from some of the Conspirators themselves, who communicated to him, from time to time, the designs of their associates, he was obliged to conceal the Authors of these discoveries:---But though the event proved that his informations were true, yet, in general, this method of accusation was extremely odious, and of dangerous example. Cicero's enemies, therefore, did not fail to take advantage of this popular objection, and were perpetually repeating the phrase, I am informed, whenever they were disposed to reproach his conduct in this transaction. See Meng. Rem. 19. on the nineteenth Letter of the first Book to Atticus. Plut. in vit. Cic. Sallust. Declam. in Cic. 2.

Melin. Vol.
I. p. 18.

" than

V. R. 694. to perpetual banishment. *Cicero* was his advocate; and, in the course
 Bel. Chr. of

58.
 793. Conf.

“ than it gave myself. In the mean time I
 “ will only say, that the Senate, and the whole
 “ Roman People, have been witnesses of that
 “ uncommon zeal with which I have entered
 “ into your interest. — Believe me, your
 “ present affairs require a much larger pro-
 “ portion of my zeal and pains; the utmost
 “ exertion of which shall not be wanting, pro-
 “ vided I may have reason to think, that they
 “ are not entirely thrown away. — *Atticus* will
 “ inform you in what particular instances you
 “ may, probably, have occasion for my good
 “ offices.” —

This letter was written towards the end of
 691: *Atticus* was the bearer. On the first of
 January, 692, *Cicero* writes to *Atticus* in terms
 to the following effect: “ There is no coming
 “ to any conclusion with *Fenris* [a nickname
 “ for *Antonius*]—Never did I see any thing
 “ more impudent, more sly, more dilatory
 “ than he is. — So much the better, per-
 “ haps, for me: For *Pompey*’s harbingers tell
 “ me, that he will loudly declare for the re-
 “ call of *Antonius* from his government, and
 “ that the Prætor will, at the same time,
 “ move it to the People. Now the case is
 “ of such a nature, that I cannot defend him,
 “ without incurring the censure not only of
 “ the most worthy, but even of the vulgar.
 “ For something has fallen out, which I must
 “ desire you to examine to the bottom. I have
 “ a freedman, a worthless fellow, I mean *Hil-
 “ larus*, who was your accomptant, and whose
 “ patron you are. This *Hilarus*, as *Valerius*
 “ the Linguist, and also *Cabilus*, have signi-
 “ fied to me, is now with *Antonius*, who
 “ gives out, that part of the money, which he
 “ exerts from the people of his province, is
 “ for my use, and that I have sent one of my
 “ freedmen to him to be the Keeper of our
 “ Common Purse. This touched me very
 “ sensibly; not that I gave entire credit to the
 “ report: yet some word must have dropt
 “ from *Antonius* to occasion such a story. En-
 “ deavour by every method to learn the whole
 “ truth; and do not fail to drive that rogue
 “ [*Hilarus*,] if it be possible, out of the
 “ Country. *Valerius* tells me, that he had
 “ the story from *Cr. Plancius*.” [He was,
 at this time, a Tribune of the soldiers in *Ma-
 cedonia*; was afterwards *Quæstor* in the time

of *Cicero*’s exile, and very serviceable to him.
 He is the same *Plancius* for whom *Cicero*
 afterwards spoke the *Oration pro Plancio*.]

“ The very judicious French Translator of Melm.
 “ the Epistles to *Atticus* seems to imagine Vol. I. p.
 “ there was some foundation for this report; 18. note (2)
 “ as he thinks it probable, that *Antonius* had
 “ agreed to pay *Cicero* a certain sum, in con-
 “ sideration of his having relinquished to him
 “ the government of *Macedonia*: But this is
 “ a conjecture altogether unsupported by any
 “ evidence. Thus much, however, is cer-
 “ tain; in the first place, that *Cicero* had some
 “ demands on *Antonius*, of a nature which
 “ he did not chuse should be known; as,
 “ whenever he hints at them to *Atticus*, it is
 “ always in a very dark and ænigmatical man-
 “ ner: And in the next place, that he sacri-
 “ ficed his own judgment, and the good opi-
 “ nion of the world, in order to support *An-
 “ tonius* in his present government. From
 “ which facts the Reader is left to draw the
 “ conclusion that he shall judge reasonable.”
Vid. ad Att. lib. xii. 13, 14.

In the fifth Letter of the first book of Ep.
 Fam. *Cicero* writes thus to *Publius Sestius*,
 Quæstor, [under *Antonius* in *Macedonia*:]

“ Notwithstanding all the world
 “ is sensible, that *Antonius* has by no means
 “ acted towards me with the gratitude he
 “ ought, yet it did not prevent me from
 “ being his advocate lately in the SENATE:
 “ when, by the influence of my authority,
 “ and the force of what I said, I greatly
 “ disposed the House in his favour.” —

“ The question in this debate probably Melm.
 “ turned on the recall of *Antonius*: a ques-
 “ tion, which seems either to have been car-
 “ ried in his favour, or to have been drop-
 “ ped during a considerable time. For it ap-
 “ pears, by a letter to *Atticus*, written two
 “ years after the date of the present, that *An-
 “ tonius* was still in his government: And Ad. Att.
 “ *Dion Cassius* assures us, that he was not xi. 2.
 “ brought upon his trial till the Consulate of
 “ *Caesar*; that is, not till 694. He was
 “ then arraigned for his ill conduct in *Mace-
 “ donia*, and as being concerned likewise in *Ca-
 “ tiline*’s Conspiracy. This last article of the
 “ impeachment could not be proved; but the
 “ truth of it, nevertheless, was generally be-
 lieved:

of his pleading, happened to fall into a complaint of the times, and the oppression of the Republic, in a stile that was interpreted to reflect severely upon the present rulers. The story was carried directly to *Cæsar*, who disdaining to contest with *Cicero* in the way of invectives and smart repartees, yet resolving to humble him, brought on, without delay, the law to confirm *Clodius's* adoption, instantly calling an Assembly of the *Curiae* for that purpose. The ministry of one of the Augurs was necessary. *Pompey* performed this office, and the affair was carried through all the forms to a conclusion with surprizing dispatch. *Cicero* pleaded for *Antonius* at noon, and at three o'clock *Clodius* was a *Plebeian*.

Bibulus, advertised of what was going forward, and being an Augur, sent notice to *Pompey*, that he was observing the heavens, and taking the auspices, during which function no business could legally be transacted with the People. But *Pompey*, instead of paying any regard to his message, gave a sanction to the proceeding, by presiding in it, so that it was carried without any opposition.

Cæsar, having made his court to the multitude by the *Agrarian Law*, took the opportunity, which the present conjuncture afforded, to conciliate

“ lieved : however, he was convicted of the
“ former, and condemned to perpetual banishment. *Cicero* appeared as his Advocate on this occasion, &c.

Vid. supra, p. 407. [I have offered some reasons against the supposition of *Antonius's* being arraigned as a Conspirator with *Catiline*.]

Crevier. Strabo, l. x. 455. *Strabo* assures us, that *Antonius* chose the isle of *Cephalenia* for the place of his exile, of which he acquired the entire Lordship, and in which he built a new city, but had not time to put the last hand to the work before he was recalled home. If this fact be true, *Antonius* must have enriched himself prodigiously by plundering his province ; for he was over head and ears in debt during his Consulship.

Midd. p. 292. “ These Laws of adoption were drawn up in the stile of a petition to the People, after the following form :

Vid. A. Gell. lib. v. 19. May it please you, Citizens, to ordain, that *P. Clodius* be, to all intents and purposes of Law, as truly the son of *Fonteius*, as if he were begotten of his body in lawful marriage ; and that *Fonteius* have the power of life and death over him, as much as a father has over a proper son : This, Citizens, I pray you to confirm in the manner in which it is desired.

There were three conditions absolutely necessary to make an act of this kind regular :

First, That the adopter should be older than the adopted, and incapable of procreating children, after having endeavoured it without success when he was capable : Secondly, That no injury or diminution should be done to the dignity or the religious rites of either family : Thirdly, That there should be no fraud or collusion in it ; nor any thing sought by it, but the genuine effects of a real adoption. All these particulars were to be previously examined by the College of Priests ; and if, after a due enquiry, they approved the petition, it was proposed to the suffrage of the Citizens living in Rome, who voted according to their original division into thirty *Curiae*, or wards, which seem to have been analogous to our parishes ; where no business, however, could be transacted when an Augur or Consul was observing the heavens. Now, in this adoption of *Clodius*, there was not one of these conditions observed : The College of Priests was not so much as consulted ; the adopter, *Fonteius*, had a wife and children, was a man obscure and unknown, not full twenty years old, when *Clodius* was thirty-five, and a Senator of the noblest birth in Rome : Nor was there any thing meant by it, but purely to procure the Tribuneship : For the affair was no sooner over, than *Clodius* was emancipated, or set free again, by his new Father, from all his obligations.

Y.R. 694. the *Knights* to him, by doing that which *Cicero* had blamed the Senate for not doing; that is to say, by easing them of the disadvantageous contract which they had long, in vain, complained of, and remitting a third part of what they had stipulated to pay.

Vid. sup.
2. 35+

Suet. J.
Cæf. 20.

And lastly, *Cæsar* procured a special Law from the People for the ratification of all *Pompey's* acts in Asia; and, in the struggle about it, so terrified and humbled *Lucullus*, who was the chief opposer, that he brought him to ask pardon as his feet.

Ad Att.
ii. 19.

Cic. ad
Att. ix. 2.

It does not appear, that any other lands but those of *Campania*, were distributed by virtue of the new *Agrarian Law*. Twenty Commissioners¹ were chosen to make distribution; and *Pompey* did not disdain to be of the number. One of them (named *Cosconius*²) dying before the end of the year, his place was offered to *Cicero*, but he refused it: And he tells us, that *Cæsar* often reproached him afterwards with this refusal, as a proof of his enmity, and that he would receive no favour from him.

Ad Att.
ii. 6.

During a great part of the time when these things were in agitation, *Cicero* contrived to be out of the way. He spent the months of *April* and *May* in the country, mostly at his villa near *Antium*, where he had placed his chief collection of books, amusing himself with his studies and his children, or, as he says jocosely, in counting the waves. For he was under no small difficulty to determine how he should act in relation to the public affairs. If he opposed the *Triumvirate*, he could not expect to continue well with *Pompey*, (with whom he wished, at the same time, to engage in a separate alliance, imagining that this would be sufficient to screen him from the malice of his enemies :) If he made himself subservient to the *Triumvirate*, he could not expect to continue well with the SENATE: In the first he saw his ruin; in the second, the loss of his credit. He chose, therefore, a middle way; which was, so to temper his behaviour, that, without submitting to explicit approbation of what was doing by the *Triumvirs*, he might avoid irritating their power to his own destruction. This was the scheme of politics, which (as he often laments) the weakness of the honest [the fish-pond men] the perverseness of the envious [nobody knows who] and the hatred of the wicked [the popular party] obliged him to pursue.

Ad Att.
19.

Ad Att.
ii. 7.
Midd.
296.

While *Cicero* was in the country, he was desired by *Atticus* to send him the copies of two Orations which he had lately made. His answer was,

¹ The twenty Commissioners established a colony at *Capua*, and thus drew that City out of the subjection in which the *Romans* had kept it for above 150 years. It had all that time borne the punishment of its revolt against *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*, and had continued without Senate, without Magistrates, and without an Assembly of the People. It was only the retreat of those who cultivated

the territory, and every year an officer was sent from *Rome* to administer justice there. Raised by *Cæsar* to the rank of a Colony, it was delivered from this kind of servitude. The *Roman Colonies* were like little Commonwealths, which governed themselves in imitation of *Rome*, the metropolis. *Crev.*

² *Cosconius* had been *Prætor* in *Cicero's* Consulship, and afterwards *Proconsul* in *Spain*.

that

that he had torn one of them, and could not give a copy; and did not care to let the other go abroad, for the praises which it bestowed on Pompey; being disposed rather to recant than publish them, since the adoption of Clodius.— Ad Att. He seems indeed to have been too impetuous at present to compose any thing but invectives, of which kind he was now drawing up certain anecdotes, as he calls them, or a *Secret History of the Times*, to be shewn to none but Atticus, in the stile of Theopompus, the most satirical of all writers. All his politics, he says, were reduced to this one point, of bating bad Citizens [the leaders of the popular party] and pleasing himself with writing against them. And since he was driven from the helm, he had nothing to wish, but to see the wreck from the shore; or, as Sophocles says:

Under the shelter of a good warm roof,
With mind serenely calm, and prone to sleep,
Hear the loud storm and beating rain without.

Clodius, having got through the obstacle of his adoption, began, without loss of time, to sue for the *Tribuneship*; whilst a report was industriously spread, which amused the City for a while, of a breach between him and the *Triumvirs*. The new Plebeian declared every where loudly, that his chief view, in desiring the office of Tribune, was to rescind all Cæsar's acts; and Cæsar, on his part, as openly disclaimed any share in his adoption, and denied him to be a Plebeian^b. This story (whether true or false) was eagerly carried to Cicero by his dear disciple, the younger Curioⁱ (who had assured him before, that he hated, to a prodigious degree, the proud Kings, and that all the young Nobles were as much incensed against them as he himself, and would not bear them much longer) and that Memmius and Metellius Nepos had declared against them: Which being confirmed also by Atticus's letters, gave no small comfort to Cicero; all whose hopes of a change, to the advantage of his cause depended upon their quarrelling among themselves. The pretended ground of this rupture, as it is hinted in Cicero's letters, was Clodio's slighting an offer, which the *Triumvirate* made to him, of an Embassy to King Tigranes. Cicero, mentioning this affair to Atticus, says, "I am much delighted with what you write about Clodius: try all means to search into the bottom of it; and send or bring me word whatever you learn or suspect, and especially what he intends to do about the embassy. Before I read your letter, I was

Ad Att.
ii. 12.

^b Negent illi Publium Plebeium factum esse. Hoc vero regnum est & ferri nullo pacto potest. Emittit ad me Publius [Clodius] qui obsignat: jurabo Cnaum nostrum Collegam Balbi, Antii mihi narrasse, se in Auspicio fuisse.—

Balbus was probably named one of the Commissioners with Pompey for planting a Colony at Capua, and accompanied Pompey

at the time when, in his way thither, Cicero saw him at Antium. Balbus had been Prætor. He had married Cæsar's sister, by whom he had a daughter, who married Octavius, father of the Emperor Augustus. *Mong. Tom. I. P. 394.*

ⁱ He was son of Scribonius Curio, Consul in 677.

Y. R. 694. " wishing that he would accept it ; not for the sake of declining a battle
 Bet. Chr. " with him, for I am in wonderful spirits for fighting ; but I imagined,
 58. " that he would lose by it all the popularity which he has gained, by go-
 593 Conf. " ing over to the Plebeians.—If he slights the embassy, and if this, as
 " you say, disgusts the authors and promoters of the Law, we shall have
 " rare sport. But, to say the truth, *Publius* has been treated somewhat
 " rudely by them ; since he, who was lately the only man with *Cæsar*, can-
 " not now find a place among the TWENTY ; and, after promising one
 " embassy, they put him off with another ; reserving, I suppose, the lu-
 " crative ones to be bestowed upon *Drusus*, or *Vatinus*, while they bestow
 " the barren one upon him, whose Tribuneship was proposed to be of such
 " use to them. Warm him, I beg of you, on this head, as much as you
 " can ; all our hopes of safety are placed on their falling out among them-
 " selves, of which, as I understand from *Curio*, some symptoms begin al-
 " ready to appear."——But all this noise of a quarrel between them
 was found at last to be without cause ; or if there was any real disgust
 among them, it proceeded not far.

Ad Ant.
 ii. 8.
 Mich.
 299.

Cicero returned to *Rome* in *June* (after an interview with *Atticus*, who
 went abroad at the same time to his estate in *Epirus*.) He resolved to
 decline all public business, as much as he decently could, and to give the
 greatest part of his time to the bar, and to the defence of causes¹ ; an
 employment

Mich.
 p. 300, &
 seq. " Among the other causes which he pleaded
 this summer, he twice defended *A. Terentius*,
 and once *L. Flaccus*, men of Prætorian digni-
 ty, who were both acquitted. The speeches
 for *Terentius* are lost ; but that for *Flaccus* re-
 mains, yet somewhat imperfect.

Vid. supr.
 p. 357. This *L. Valerius Flaccus* had been *Prætor*
 in *Cicero's* Consulship, and received the thanks
 of the Senate for his zeal and vigour in seizing
Catiline's accomplices ; but was now accused by
P. Lælius of rapine and oppression in his pro-
 vince of *Asia*, which was allotted to him from
 his Prætorship. The defence consists chiefly
 in displaying the dignity of the criminal, and
 invalidating the credit of the *Asiatic* witnesses.
 Pro Flacc.
 4. 5. *Cicero* observes, " That the judges, who had
 " known and seen the integrity of *Flaccus's*
 " life through a series of great employments,
 " were themselves the best witnesses of it,
 " and could not want to learn it of others,
 " especially from *Grecians* : That, for his
 " part, he had always been particularly ad-
 " dicted to that nation and their studies, and
 " knew many modest and worthy men among
 " them : That he allowed them to have learn-
 " ing, the discipline of many arts, an elegance
 " of writing, a fluency of speaking, and an

" acuteness of wit : But as to the sanctity of
 " an oath, they had no notion of it, knew
 " nothing of the force and efficacy of it :
 " That all their concern in giving evidence
 " was, not how to prove, but how to express
 " what they said." [Might not the same,
 with truth, be said of *Cicero's* pleadings for the
 most part?] — " Whereas of the *Roman* wit-
 " nesses, who were produced against *Flaccus*,
 " though several of them came angry, fierce,
 " and willing to ruin him, yet one could not
 " help observing with what caution and reli-
 " gion they delivered what they had to say ;
 " and though they had the greatest desire to
 " hurt, yet could not do it for their scruples :
 " — That a *Roman*, in giving his testi-
 " mony, was always jealous of himself, lest
 " he should go too far ; weighed all his
 " words, and was afraid to let any thing drop
 " from him too hastily and passionately ; or
 " to say a syllable more or less than was ne-
 " cessary."——One part of the charge against
Flaccus was, for prohibiting the *Jews* to carry
 out of his province the gold which they used to
 collect annually, through the empire, for the
 Temple of *Jerusalem* ; all which he seized, and
 remitted it to the treasury at *Rome*. The charge
 itself

employment always popular, which made many friends, and few enemies : Y. R. 694.
 So that *he was still very much frequented at home, and honourably attended abroad, and maintained his dignity*, he says, *not meanly, considering the general oppression ; nor yet greatly, considering the part he had before acted.* Ad Att. ii. 18.

The Triumvirate, if we will believe *Cicero*, (whom, I think, we cannot have any good reason to believe) came soon to be *dreaded and detested* by all ranks of men. “ These affecters of popularity (says the Orator) “ have taught even modest men to his. *Bibulus*, on the other hand, “ is extolled to the skies ; though I know not why, unless he is “ thought to save the State, like *Fabius*, by doing nothing.” This Consul, from his retreat, was continually teasing the Triumvirs by his edicts, in which he inveighed and protested against all their acts. “ *Bi-* Ibid. 20.

itself seems to imply, that the *Jews* made no mean figure in the empire ; and *Cicero*’s answer, though it betrays a great contempt of their religion, through his ignorance of it, yet shews, that their number and credit were very considerable at *Rome*. The trial was held near the *Aurelian* steps, a place of great resort for the populace, and particularly for the *Jews*, who used it, probably, as a kind of exchange, or general rendezvous of their countrymen : *Cicero*, therefore, proceeds to say : “ It was for this reason, *Lælius*, and for “ the sake of this crime, that you have chosen “ this place, and all this crowd, for the trial : “ You know what a numerous band the *Jews* “ are ; what concord among themselves ; “ what a bustle they make in our Assemblies. “ — I will speak softly, that the Judges on- “ ly may hear me ; for there are people ready “ to incite them against me and every honest “ man ; and I would not willingly lend any “ help to that design. — Since our gold, “ then, is annually carried out of *Italy*, and “ all the provinces, in the name of the *Jews*, “ to *Jerusalem*, *Flaccus*, by a public edict, “ prohibited the exportation of it from *Asia* : “ And where is there a man, Judges, who “ does not truly applaud this act ? The Se- “ nate, on several different occasions, but “ more severely in my Consulship, condemned “ the exportation of gold. To withstand this “ barbarous superstition was a piece therefore “ of laudable discipline ; and, out of regard “ to the Republic, to condemn the multitude “ of *Jews*, who are so tumultuous in all our “ Assemblies, an act of the greatest gravity : “ But *Pompey*, it seems, when he took *Jeru-* “ *salem*, meddled with nothing in that Tem- “ ple : In which, as on many other occasions, “ he acted prudently, that, in so suspicious

“ and ill-tongued a people, he would not give “ any handle for calumny ; for I can never “ believe, that it was the religion of *Jews* “ and enemies, which hindered this excellent “ General, but his own modesty.” Then, after shewing, “ that *Flaccus* had not em- “ bezzled or seized the gold to his own use, “ but transmitted it to the public treasury, “ he observes, that it was not therefore for “ the sake of the crime, but to raise an envy, “ that this fact was mentioned ; and that the “ Accusers speech was turned from the Judges, “ and addressed to the circle around them : “ Every city (says he) *Lælius*, has its reli- “ gion ; we have ours : While *Jerusalem*, “ flourished, and *Judæa* was at peace with us, “ their religious rites were held inconsistent “ with the splendor of this Empire, the gra- Pro Flac, “ vity of the *Roman* name, and the institu- 28. “ tions of our ancestors : But much more “ ought they to be held so now ; since they “ have let us see, by taking arms, what opi- “ nion they have of us ; and, by their being “ conquered, how dear they are to the gods.” He proceeds, in the last place, to shew, what he had intimated in the beginning, “ that the “ real aim of this trial was to sacrifice those, “ who had signalized themselves against *Ca-* “ *tiline*, to the malice and revenge of the se- “ ditious.” — He concluded by applying himself, as usual, to move the pity and clemency of the Bench towards the person of the Criminal, by all the topics proper to excite compassion ; “ the merit of his former ser- “ vices, the lustre of his family, the tears of “ his children, the discouragement of *the ho-* “ *nest*, and the hurt which the Republic would “ suffer, in being deprived, at such a time, “ of such a Citizen.”

“ *Bulus*

Y. R. 694. " *huic* (says *Cicero*) is exalted to Heaven by men's love and admiration. People do nothing but transcribe and read his protests and harangues. He has attained to the summit of glory by a new way. Nothing is now so popular, so agreeable to the People, as invectives against our popular men. *Wherever his edicts are fixed up in the streets, it is scarce possible to pass for the crowds which are reading them.*" And this common curiosity the Orator would have pass for a demonstration, that the edicts were highly approved by THE PEOPLE in general¹.

How

Ind. Ep.
19.
Midd.
p. 308.

" The inclinations of the PEOPLE (says *Cicero*) were shewn chiefly in the theatres and public shows. — In the *Apollinarian* plays, *Diphilus*, the *Tragician*, having spoken, in an insolent manner, some passages of his part, which were thought to hit the character of *Pompey*, was forced to repeat them a thousand times :

" *Then by our miseries art Great ———*
The time will come when thou wilt wretchedly
lament that Greatness ———
If neither Law nor Custom can restrain
Thee.

" At each of which sentences, the whole theatre made a mighty roaring and clapping. When *Cæsar* came in, he was received with but a dead applause : But when the younger *Curio*, who followed him, appeared, he was clapped as *Pompey* used to be in the height of his glory. It is said, that *Cæsar*, offended at this, sent an account of it to *Pompey*, then at *Capua*."

[Nobody, who remembers what happened, in a late reign, at our theatre, when the tragedy of *Caio* was first acted, and these words were significantly sounded forth——

When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway.
The loss of honour is a private station,

will infer any thing, concerning the sense and disposition of a NATION, from such roarings and clappings as *Cicero* speaks of.]

Ep. 21.

Cicero, in another letter to *Atticus*, writes to this effect : " After *lying* long in secret, and then *grasping*, ALL have, at last, begun to *speak out*, and *complain* *à dty*. Our friend, not accustomed to be reproached, but to be praised and extolled, is fallen into a dejection of mind, which shews itself in

his countenance : He knows not which way to turn himself. He is sensible that he has proceeded too far, and that to recoil will expose him to the charge of inconstancy. The *Good* [i.e. the *Fish-pond-men*, and their creatures and adherents] are his enemies, and even the *Wicked* are not his friends. I could not refrain from tears, when I saw him, on the twenty-fifth of *July*, haranguing against the edicts of *Bibulus*. He, who never used to appear in the *Rostra* but to speak magnificently of his own merit, and to be applauded, what a mean, abject figure did he make there, displeasing not only the audience, but himself! A spectacle agreeable to none but *Crassus*. For my own part, as *Apellus* or *Protopogenes* would have been grieved to see one of their capital pieces besmeared with dirt, so it was a real grief to me to see the man, whom I had painted with all the colours of my art, become of a sudden so deformed : For, though nobody can think, since the affair of *Clodius*, that I have any reason to be his friend, yet my love for him was so great, that no injury could efface it."

In another letter——" I have nothing to say to you concerning the Republic, but that all the world hates our present Governors; and yet there is no hope of a change. *Pompey*, as you may easily believe, is not content with himself, and repents most heartily of what he has done. I cannot foresee what will be the issue of these things ; but certainly they seem to threaten some sudden calamity."

Again, " Our friend *Pompey* is thoroughly disgusted with his present situation, and wishes to be restored to that from which he fell : He imparts to me his concern, and plainly asks me, WHAT REMEDY ?---I can see none."——Yet *Cicero*, in his *Second Philippic*, (when *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were both dead)

How just this inference is, we may gather from the following particular : The SENATE (seemingly) to put an affront upon *Cæsar*, as well as to leave him *powerless* at the expiration of his Consulship, had assigned to the Consuls of this year, instead of the government of rich provinces abroad, *the care of the woods and the roads at home*. At the motion of the Tribune *Vatinius*, the PEOPLE^m granted to *Cæsar* the government of *Cisalpine Gaul* and *Illyricum*, with three legions, *for the term of five years*. This convinced the SENATE of their own *impotence* ; so that when, on the death of *Metellus Celer* (suspected to be poisoned by his wife *Clodia*) the government of *Transalpine Gaul* became vacant, and *Cæsar* declared a desire to have that province added to the other, they themselves decreed it to him readily, together with a fourth legion, to prevent his recurring a second time to THE PEOPLE.

Y. R. 694.
Bef. Chr.
58.
393 Conf.

Sueton. 19.
Ibid. 22.

Cic. pro
Cælio.

And now *Cæsar*, having considered that he should be long absent from *Rome*, that envy was stronger than friendship, and that, if he prospered in the war, *Pompey* might grow jealous of him, and depart from the political scheme concerted between them, concluded wisely, that no means would be so effectual to hold him fast as an alliance of affinity, formed by giving to him in marriage his daughter *Julia*, a beautiful and most accomplished young ladyⁿ. Nor did *Cæsar* fail of success in this measure ; for *Pompey* became so enamoured of his amiable young wife, as to reduce all his politics (if we may believe *Plutarch*) to contrivances how he might amuse and entertain her in the most agreeable manner.

Dio,
l. xxxviii.
p. 63.
Appian de
B. C.
p. 435.

dead) had the confidence to assert, “ that he “ used all arguments, and his utmost endeavours, in the Consulship of the worthy *Bibulus*, to bring *Pompey* to a breach with “ *Cæsar*.” [This does not well accord with the letter last cited. Dr. *Middleton*, however, places the two passages lovingly together, as if they were contiguous parts of one and the same discourse, or at least very near neighbours.] “ But *Cæsar* was more successful, and “ drew *Pompey* quite away from him.”

Midd.
p. 310.

— Illud te scire volo, Sampliceramus, nostrum amicum, vehementer sui status poenitere, restituique in eum locum cupere, ex quo decidit, doloremque suum impertire nobis, et medicinam interdum aperte querere ; quam ego possum invenire nullam. Ad Att. L. ii. Ep. 23.

Ego M. Bibulo, præstantissimo Cive, Consule, nihil prætermisi, quantum facere nitique potui, quin Pompeium a Cæsaris conjunctione avocarem. In quo Cæsar felicius fuit : ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate disjunxit. *Philip.* ii. 10.

^m “ This (says Dr. *Middleton*) was a cruel

“ blow to the power of the Senate, and a direct infringement of the old constitution, as “ it transferred to THE PEOPLE a right which “ they had never exercised or pretended to be- “ fore.” And, in support of this assertion, the Doctor cites Cic. in Vatin. 15. Eriperit Senatui Provinciæ decernendi potestatem ; Imperatoris deligendi iudicium ; ærarii dispensationem ; quæ nunquam sibi populus Romanus appetivit, qui nunquam hæc a summi consilii gubernatione auferre conatus est. How can this be reconciled with the fact of the *Gabinian Law*, or with that of THE PEOPLE’s transferring to *Pompey*, by the *Manilian Law*, (passed through the persuasion of *Cicero*) the government of the provinces which had been assigned to *Lucullus* ? Vid. supra, p. 221, 222, & 329 ; and Vol. II. of this Hist. Book VI. Chap. vii. notes ° and ².

² She had been promised to *Servilius Cæpio*, and therefore, to comfort him under his disappointment, *Pompey*’s daughter was now given him for a wife, who had been designed for *Faustus Sylla*.

Midd.
p. 313.

Y. R. 694.
Bef. Chr.
58.
593 Conf.

It was, probably, about the same time ^a, as well as with the same view of leaving behind him in the City powerful friends, who, during his absence, would, on all occasions, support him in his enterprizes, that *Cæsar* himself married *Calpurnia*, the daughter of *Calpurnius Piso*, whom the *Triumvirs* had fixed upon to be one of the next year's *Consuls*. His Colleague was to be *Gabinus*, a creature of *Pompey's*.

The Aristocratic worthies, extremely alarmed at these marriages, and much dissatisfied with the new laws and regulations, used great freedom of speech on all those subjects in their private meetings and table-conversation; and the younger *Curio* had even the boldness to declaim openly, and make loud invectives against the *Triumvirate* and their proceedings ^b. Those free discourses (which doubtless transpired) and the temerity of the brisk young man ^c, together with the applauses and caresses he met with from the faction, seem to have brought *Vettius* once more upon the stage — that *Vettius* who had been *Cicero's* spy, informer, and witness, in the affair of *Catiline's* conspiracy [*Vettius ille, ille noster index.*] This wretch, who had formerly accused *Cæsar* of being an accomplice with *Catiline*, now took it into his head to swear a plot upon the opposite faction, and particularly upon the younger *Curio*, whom he accused of being at the head of an association of certain young Nobles, who had combined to assassinate either *Pompey* or *Cæsar*, or both. Whether such a design had been really formed, or whether *Vettius* had been

Ad Att.
ii. 24.
Vid. supr.
p. 380.

^a It would be very difficult to ascertain the order of the transactions and events of this year, the ancient writers not agreeing in that point, even when they agree in the facts (which frequently they do not.) *Appian* and *Dis* have placed the two marriages after the People's grant of the province of *Gaul* to *Cæsar*, and have imputed both to the motive above-mentioned. But *Suetonius* speaks of those marriages as prior to that grant, ascribing, in a great measure, the grant itself to the credit and influence of *Cæsar's* father-in-law and son-in-law. — *Socero* igitur generoque suffragantibus, ex omni provinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit, &c. 22.

Plutarch marries *Pompey* to *Julia* presently after her father's election to the Consulship, and before his entering on that magistracy.

From the 17th and 18th epistles (lib. ii.) of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, it would seem, that the marriage of *Pompey* with *Julia*, the passing of the *Campanian* and other laws proposed by *Cæsar*, and his obtaining the province of *Gaul*, were much about the same time, *Pro-sus ut scribis, ita sentio. Turbatur Sampsi-*

ceramus [Pompeius.] Nihil est, quod non timendum sit. ομολογούμενος τυρανίδα συσκευάζει. Aperte *Tirannidem* affectat.] Quid enim ista repentina affinitatis conjunctio, quid ager *Campanus*, quid effusio pecunie significat? [meaning, by the last, the five year's tribute from the East, to be employed in purchasing lands for the poor.]

A Cæsare valde liberaliter invector in legationem illam sibi ut sum Legatus. Ep. xviii.

^b Univerſa res eo est deducta, spes ut nulla sit, aliquando non modo privatos, verum etiam magistratus liberos fore. Hac tamen in opprefſione sermo in circulis duntaxat, et conviviiſt est liberior, quam fuit. Vincere incipit timorem dolor; sed ita, ut omnia ſint pleniffima desperationis. Ad Att. Ep. xviii. Lib. 2.

Unus loquitur, et palam adverſatur adoleſcens Curio. Huic planſus maximi, conſalutatio forenſis per honorifica, ſigna præterea benevolentia per multa à bonis impertiuntur. — Ibid.

^c This young man's father, *Scribonius Curio*, had been Consul in 677, and was a particular friend of *Cicero's*. The son was the Orator's disciple.

Ep. xvi.

suborned to act the part he did, is not to be cleared up by any thing we read in the ancient writers, who mention the disturbance he made by his information. What appears unquestionable is, that he was cast into prison upon his own confession of having, contrary to law, carried about him a dagger; that, in a very short time, he was there secretly dispatched, and his carcase thrown out into the street; and that no enquiry was made after the authors of his sudden death.

Suetonius, to the discredit and disgrace of himself as an historian, tells us, without any hesitation, “that *Cæsar*” [the distinguishing feature of whose character was nobleness of soul] “to strike a terror into all those of the opposite faction, engaged *Vettius*, by the force of bribes, to depose, that he had been solicited by certain persons to kill *Pompey*.” And he adds, “that *Vettius* having been produced in the *Rostra* by *Cæsar* to declare, according to their private agreement, the names of the delinquents; and having named two or three, without gaining credit, *Cæsar*, despairing of success in so rash an enterprize, took off the informer, it is thought, by poison [intercepisse veneno indicem creditur.]”

If the Historian had reported, that, when there was a great croud in the Forum, *Cæsar* went thither in disguise to pick a pocket, it would have been as credible as the *subornation* and *poisoning* imputed to him. But, in order to reject this monstrous tale, we need not have recourse to *Cæsar*’s unvarying character of magnanimity and generosity. A very learned and ingenious modern, by no means partial to him, makes no scruple to contradict *Suetonius* so far as to say, “that there is not the least likelihood of *Cæsar*’s having set *Vettius* to work: for, had *Cæsar* been author of the project, it would have been better conducted.” And he observes, that *Vettius*’s naming, in his first deposition, *Brutus*, the son of *Cæsar*’s mistress *Servilia*, as concerned in the intended assassination, is a clear proof, that *Cæsar* did not suggest to the informer the matter of that deposition.

Plutarch

c. 54.

Suetonius tells another senseless story of *Cæsar*, “That he stole, during his Consulship, three thousand pounds weight of gold out of the Capitol, putting the like weight of gilt copper in its place:” As if *Cæsar* would have wanted the resolution to seize the treasure openly, upon any urgent occasion.

Yet *Cicero*’s English Historian, having spoken of the great disaffection of THE PEOPLE to the *Triumvirs* [which, I believe, appears no where but in *Cicero*’s letters] goes on thus: “But, to give a turn to the disposition of the People, or to draw their attention, at least,

“another way, *Cæsar* contrived to amuse the City with the discovery of a new conspiracy to assassinate *Pompey*.” And then relates the story, as it is told in a letter from *Cicero* to *Atticus*; after which, he adds, “But it happened in this, as it commonly does in all plots of the same kind, that the too great eagerness of the managers destroyed its effect: For, by the extravagance to which it was pushed, it confused itself; and was entertained with so general a contempt by all orders, that *Cæsar* was glad to get rid of it by strangling or poisoning *Vettius* privately in prison, and giving it out that it was done by the Conspirators.”

Y. R. 694.
Bef. Chr.
58.
393 Conf.

Plutarch makes no mention of this affair, except in his Life of *Lucullus*, where he tells us, "That the friends of *Lucullus* and *Cato*, having expressed a very sharp resentment of the insults which those two great men had suffered from the opposite faction, who had forcibly driven them out of the Forum, the partizans of *Pompey* produced a certain *Bruttian* [*Vettius*] whom they said he had apprehended lying in wait to kill *Pompey*: That *Vettius*, when examined before the Senate, did not accuse *Lucullus*, but other persons, of having instigated him to the murder: But, when interrogated in an Assembly of the People, he named *Lucullus* as the man who had hired him. No body gave credit to what he said, it being sensible that he had been suborned: and people were confirmed in this persuasion, when, after a few days, the carcase of the accuser was seen lying at the prison-door. It was indeed reported that he had killed himself; but the mark upon his neck of a halter, and the marks upon his body of blows, seem clearly to testify, that those who had suborned him had likewise dispatched him, that he might not reveal their crime."

De B. C.
L. ii. p.
434

Appian, after mentioning *Cato's* violent opposition to that part of *Cæsar's Campanian Law*, which obliged the Senators to swear to the observance of it, adds, "that *Vettius*, a man of the lower sort, ran suddenly into the midst of the croud, brandishing a drawn dagger, and declaring aloud, that he had been suborned by *Bibulus*, *Cicero*, and *Cato*, to kill both *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and that the dagger was given him by *Posthumus*, one of *Bibulus's* Lictors. *Cæsar*, though the story had not much the air of truth, made advantage of it to exasperate the multitude, and he put off the further inquiry into the informer's allegations till the next day; but *Vettius* was that very night killed in the prison. Various conjectures there were concerning the authors of his

"*Conspirators.*" For this last fact, *Cic. in Vatini.* and *Plut. in Lucull.* are quoted: Yet the Orator, in his speech against *Vatinius*, charges him, not *Cæsar*, with the murder: And *Plutarch*, in speaking of *Vettius's* information, and of his death, never once names *Cæsar*.

M. Crevier, not less prejudiced than *Dr. Middleton*, against *Cæsar*, writes to this effect: "Young *Cæsar*, as I have said, had rendered himself odious to *Cæsar*, by declaring against the *Triumvirate*. *Cæsar* resolved to bring him and several others into trouble, by contriving to have a weighty charge brought against them, which would make a great noise. For this purpose he made use of that *Vettius*, by whom he himself had formerly been impeached, as an

"accomplice of *Catiline*.—Then comes the story as related by *Cicero*.—After which he says—"The imposture was too ill concerted to bear the light of a judicial enquiry. *Cæsar* apprehended the consequences of so senseless a calumny. One morning *Vettius* was found strangled in the prison. Such were the wages with which *Cæsar* paid the services of this villain. He would have thrown the suspicion of his death upon others; but no body was deceived; and *HISTORY*," [not *Cicero*, nor even *Suetonius*, nor any other ancient writer] "charges him with this murder, horrible in all its circumstances. *Cicero* (adds *M. Crevier* in a note) makes *Vatinius* author of the murder; but that was only a politic caution to avoid offending *Cæsar*."

"death.

“ death. *Cæsar* charged it upon those whose guilty consciences made
 “ them afraid of a discovery ; and he obtained the People’s consent to
 “ his having a guard, that might defend him from such treacherous at-
 “ tempts.”

Y. R. 694.
 Bcf. Chr.
 58.
 393 Conf.

Cicero’s account of the matter is in a letter to *Atticus*.

“ In my letter by *Numestius* I pressed you to come hither with so much
 “ earnestness, that nothing could exceed it. Make more haste, if it be
 “ possible, than I there¹ urged you to use. Do not, however, be alarmed
 “ at this (for I know you, and know, that love is always solicitous and
 “ anxious :) the thing, I hope, will not be so bad in the event as in the
 “ report. *Vettius*, that *Vettius* who was my spy and informer, had pro-
 “ mised *Cæsar* (as I have discovered) that he would contrive to make *Cu-
 “ rio, the son*, fall under the suspicion of some criminal enterprize. Ha-
 “ ving, therefore, insinuated himself into an intimacy with the young man,
 “ and having had, as appears, many meetings with him, he went so far as
 “ to tell him in confidence, that he was determined to fall with his slaves
 “ upon *Pompey*, and kill him. *Curio* carried this to his father, who dis-
 “ covered it to *Pompey*.

Lib. II.
 Epist.
 xxiv.

“ The matter was laid before the Senate, and *Vettius* brought in.
 “ At first he denied that he ever had any conversation with *Curio* ; but did
 “ not long persist in that. He requested to be admitted an evidence, which
 “ was readily granted. He then informed the House, that there was a
 “ plot formed by many of the young Nobility, of whom *Curio* was the
 “ leader : that *Paullus* was engaged in it from the first, with *Brutus*
 “ also, and *Lentulus* the son of the *Flamen*, with the privity of his
 “ father : that the Secretary of *Bibulus* had brought him a dagger
 “ from *Bibulus* himself. The Senate laughed at this : that *Vettius*
 “ could not have been master of a dagger, unless the Consul had given him
 “ one. Another circumstance helped to discredit the information with
 “ the House, which was, that, on the thirteenth of *May*, *Bibulus* had
 “ put *Pompey* on his guard against treachery, for which he had *Pom-
 “ pey’s* thanks. *Curio* was called in to answer to *Vettius’s* allegations,
 “ and soon confounded him upon one article, which was, that the young
 “ Nobles had agreed to attack *Pompey* in the Forum, on the day when
 “ *Gabinus* gave his shew of gladiators, and that *Paullus* was to be the
 “ leader in the attack ; whereas, it appeared that, at that very time, *Paul-
 “ lus* was in Macedonia. The Senate decreed, that *Vettius*, having
 “ confessed his wearing a dagger, should be laid in irons, and that who-
 “ ever should set him free, should be deemed an enemy to his country.
 “ It was generally supposed, that the scheme was laid so, that *Vettius*
 “ should be taken in the Forum with a dagger, and the slaves likewise with
 “ arms ; and that then he should request to be admitted an evidence :

¹ Si dormis, expergiscere ; si stas, ingredere ; si ingrederis, curre ; si curris, advola. *Ad
 Att. ii. 23.*

Y. R. 694. " but the scheme was disconcerted by the information which *Pompey* re-
 Bef. Chr. " ceived from *Curio*. The decree of the Senate was read in an Assembly
 58. " of the People.
 193. Conf.

Vid. *supr.*
 p. 380.

" The next day, however, *Cæsar*, who, when *Prætor*, had hindered *Q. Catulus* from ascending the *Rostra*, produced *Vettius* there, brought him into that place where *Bibulus*, the other *Consul*, durst not then appear. Here the fellow gave himself a loose to say what he pleased upon public matters. And now, first of all, he omitted *Brutus* in his deposition, whom, in the Senate, he had charged most vehemently; which shewed, that he had been well schooled and instructed the night before. In the next place he named, as accomplices, men, against whom he had not thrown out the most distant hint when examined in the Senate, particularly *Lucullus*, (who, he said, used often to send to him that *Caius Fannius*, who had been active in the impeachment against *Clodius*) *Lucius Domitius*, from whose house, he said, the conspirators were to sally forth. He did not expressly name me, but said, that a fine spoken *Consular*, who lived in the neighbourhood of one of the *Consuls*, had told him, that there was, at present, great occasion for an *Abala Servilius*, or a *Brutus*. After the Assembly had been dismissed, he was called back by *Vatinius*, and then added, that he had heard from *Curio*, that my son-in-law *Piso*, and *Marcus Laterensis* were in the conspiracy.

" *Vettius* is now accused before *Crassus Dives* upon the Law *de Vi*. Should he be condemned, he will, without question, pretend to make new discoveries, and pray to be admitted an evidence; and, if this be granted, we shall have abundance of trials. Though I am not used to slight the smallest matter, I have no apprehension from all this.

" People express much affection for me; but so very full is every thing of wretchedness, that I am absolutely tired of my life." &c. &c.

L. XXXVIII.
 p. 63.

Dio Cassius gives us quite another story: He writes, " that *Cicero* and *Lucullus*, extremely displeased with the proceedings of the *Triumvirs*, formed a design, but without success, to take off both *Cæsar* and *Pompey* by the hand of *Vettius*": That *Vettius*, being discovered and apprehended before he could perpetrate the murder, named those who had employed him; and that, if he had not named *Bibulus* among the conspirators, it would have gone hard with the other two: But having accused *Bibulus* out of revenge for his having imparted the matter to *Pompey*, he fell under a suspicion of having given false evi-

" *Dio* (says *M. Muretus*) is so ridiculous as to speak of this affair as a real conspiracy against *Cæsar*, as well as against *Pompey*, though *Cicero* in this LETTER (the 23th of the 2^d Book) and in his INVECTIVE against *Vatinius*, speaks only of *Pompey*. The Reader, perhaps, will smile at the rea-

son here given for calling *Dio* ridiculous: For, surely, nothing which *Cicero* says on the subject, either in the *Letter* or in the *Invective*, can be decisive against *Dio* with regard to the point in question, if, as *Dio* reports, there was really an Assassination-plot, and *Cicero* himself was in it.

" dence

“ dence against *Lucullus* and *Cicero*, and of having been suborned to ca-
 “ luminate them. Various rumours concerning these things went about
 “ and nothing certain was known. *Vettius*, when he was produced
 “ before the People, having named only those whom I have mentioned,
 “ was thrown into prison, and there, in a very short time, privately put
 “ to death.”

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It is highly improbable, that *Cicero* (though, by inclination and principle, a murderer of all enemies to the usurped authority of the Senate) was in any plot to assassinate *Pompey*; not only because on *Pompey* was his chief dependance for protection against *Clodius*, who of late had terribly threatened him; but because (if in any thing he may be credited) he ever loved *Pompey* personally, even when he hated his politics. Nevertheless, that a design to kill both *Pompey* and *Cæsar* had really been formed by the younger *Curio*, in concert with many of the young Nobles (the *Sanguinaria Juventus*, of whom *Cicero* says (in Ep. vii. of Lib. II.) that, by the report of *Curio* to him, *they had conceived a mortal enmity to Pompey*; and would not bear the government of the proud Kings*, meaning the Triumvirs, is a fact not without some foundation even in *Cicero's* letters, who frequently speaks of an extreme discontent, and even raging

* Una spes est salutis, istorum inter istos dissensio, cujus ego quædam initia sensi ex *Curione*—*Megabocchus* [*Pompeius*] & hæc SANGUINARIA JUVENTUS inimicissima est. L. II. Ep. vii.

† Scito *Curionem* adolescentem venisse ad me salutatum. Valde ejus termo de *Publio* [*Clodio*] cum tuis litteris congruebat. Ipse vero mirandum in modum Reges odisse superbes. Peræque narrabat INCENSAM ESSE JUVENTUTEM, NEQUE FERRE HÆC POSSE. Bene habemus; nos, si in his spes est, opiner, aliud agamus. Ego me do Historiæ. Ep. vii.

N. B. *Cicero* was at this time at *Antium*; and writes that he shall be at *Formiæ* the twenty-first of April; that he shall leave *Formiæ* the first of May, and be at *Antium* the third. That from thence he shall go to *Tusculum*, thence to *Arpinum*, and be at *Rome* the first of June.

‡ Video jam quo invidia transeat, et ubi sit habitatura. Nihil me existimaris, neque usu, neque à *Theophrasto* didicisse, ni brevi tempore desiderari nostra illa tempora videris. Etenim si fuit invidiosa senatus potentia; cum ea non ad Populum, sed ad tres homines immoderatos redacta sit, quidnam censes fore? Proinde isti licet faciant, quos volent. Consules, Tribunos Pleb. denique etiam Va-

tinii strumam sacerdotii διδάσκει [his tincta purpura] vestiant; Videbis brevi tempore MAGNOS non modo eos, qui nihil titubarunt, sed etiam illum ipsum, qui peccavit, Catonem. Ep. ix.

N. B. He had just before, in this letter, laid the blame, in a great measure, upon *Cato*, that the revolution in the Government was so suddenly made; because *Cato* had, by his obstinacy in the affair of the Knight's petition, alienated them from the Senate.

— In me incurrit Roma veniens *Curio Meus* — suum, *Mammi*, *Metelli Nepotis* expromptit odium [in *Cæsarem*] — Complexus juvenem dimisi—Ep. x. [Ed. Vulg. xii.] written when on his journey from *Antium* to *Formiæ*.

— Qui fremitus hominum! Quam irati animi! Quanto in odio noster amicus magnus! Ep. xiii. dated 19th of April. From *Formiæ*.

Prorsus, ut scribis, ita sentio. Turbatur *Sampsuramus* [*Pompeius*]. Nihil est quod non timendum sit. Aperit Tyrannidem affectat. Quid enim illa repentina affinitatis conjunctio, quid ager Campanus, quid effusio pecuniæ significat? quæ si essent extrema, tamen esset nimium mali, sed ea natura rei est, ut hæc extrema esse non possint. Quid enim eos hæc ipsa

Y. R. 694—raging anger in the minds of men of all rank, that must speedily break forth in some violent manner, and produce a change in the state of things.

Ep. ix. Let them [the *Triumvirs*] says he, make what *Consul* and *Tribunes* they please, *you will very soon see Great and in power, not only those* [friends of the *Aristocracy*] *who have made no false step, but even Cato, who deserves reprehension.*

Ep. xxiv. The account, given by *Cicero* (in his letter to *Atticus*) of *Vettius's* affair, is by no means satisfactory: and there is the less reason to wonder at this, because he was not present when *Vettius* was examined by the Senate, nor when, the next day, he made his deposition in an Assembly of the PEOPLE: For, at this critical juncture, *Cicero* attended none of the

ipsa per se delectare possunt? Nunquam huc venissent, nisi ad alias res pestiferas aditus sibi compararent. Dii immortales! verum, ut scribis, hæc in Arpinati a. d. vi. circiter Id. Maias non deslebimus, ne et operam et oleum Philologiæ nostræ perierit; sed conferemus tranquillo animo. Ep. xvii.

* Vid. sup. n. (x) *N. B.* The foregoing letters were all written while *Cicero* was in the country. After his return to *Rome*, which (if he followed his own intention, Ep. viii.) was the first of *June*, he gives an account to *Atticus* of the state in which he found the public affairs.

Ep. xviii. Tenemur undique &c. Scito nihil unquam fuisse tam infame, &c.

Ep. xix. —Hoc opinor. Certi sumus perisse omnia. —Iis [edictis *Bibuli*] ardet dolore, et ira noster *Pampeius*, &c.

Ep. xx. De Republica breviter ad te scribam. Jam enim charta ipsa ne nos prodat, pertimesco. Itaque posthac, si erunt mihi plura ad te scribenda, *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἄλλως* obscurabo. Nunc quidem novo quodam morbo civitas moritur; ut cum omnes ea quæ sunt acta improbent, querantur, doleant, varietas in re nulla sit, aperteque loquantur, et jam clare gemant; tamen medicina nulla afferatur. Neque enim resisti sine internecione posse arbitramur: nec videmus, qui suis cedendi, præter exitum, futurus sit. *Bibulus*, hominum admiratione, et benevolentia in cælo est: Edicta ejus et conciones describunt et legunt. Novo quodam genere in summam gloriam venit. Populare nunc nihil tam est, quam odium popularium. Hæc quo sunt eruptura, timeo. —Comitia *Bibulus* cum *Archilochio* edicto in ante diem xv. Kal. Novemb. distulit.

De Repub. quid ego tibi subtiliter? Tota Ep. xxi. perit: atque hoc est miserius quam reliquisti, quod *tum videbatur ejusmodi dominatio civitatem oppressisse quæ jucunda esset multitudini, bonis autem ita molesta*, ut tamen sine perniciæ: Nunc repente tanto in odio est omnibus, ut quorsum eruptura sit horreamus: Nam iracundiam atque intemperantiam illorum sumus experti, qui *Catoni* irati omnia perdidit. Sed ita lenibus uti videbantur venenis, ut posse viceremur sine dolore interire. Nunc vero sibilis *Vulgi*, sermonibus *Honestorum*, fremitu *Italiæ*, vereor ne exarserint. Equidem sperabam, ut sæpe etiam loqui tecum solebam, sic orbem *Reipub.* esse converniam, ut vix sonitum audire, vix impressam orbitam videre possemus: et fuisset ita, si homines transitum tempestatis expectare potuissent: sed cum diu occulte suspirassent, postea jam gemere, ad extremum vero loqui omnes et clamare coeperunt.

N. B. It is in this letter that *Cicero* mourns over *Pampey*, fallen (as he pretends) from the summit of glory into contempt, and speaks of the wretched figure he made the 25th of *July*, when haranguing against *Bibulus's* edicts. Vid. sup. p. 414.

—De Repub. nihil habeo ad te Ep. xxii. scribere, nisi summum odium omnium hominum in eos qui tenent omnia, mutationis tamen spes nulla. Sed quod facile sentias, tædet ipsum *Pampeium*, vehementerque poenitet. Non provideo satis quem exitum futurum putem. Sed certe videntur hæc aliquo eruptura.

Public Councils, but confined himself wholly to *pleading Causes* *. He seems to have wrote to *Atticus* the very day of *Vettius's* appearing in the *Rostra*, and before the business was quite hushed by the death of that Informant, of whose death, though it is said to have happened the night following, he makes no mention; but writes, that he is to be tried before the Prætor, *Crossus Dives*, for a breach of the law *de Vi*, in carrying about him a dagger. So that, when *Cicero* wrote that letter, he had probably received but a very imperfect relation of what had passed; nothing better, perhaps, than the *Lies of each of the two days*. And this will appear the more probable, if we consider how very unlikely it is, even supposing *Vettius* himself to have invented all the matter of his information, that he ever charged *Paullus* with a design to assassinate *Pompey* in the *Roman Forum*, at a time when *Paullus* was in *Macedonia*, and no body could be ignorant of his residence there, he being Proquæstor of that province. Y. R. 694.
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Vide Pighi.

And likewise how unlikely it is, that *Vettius* should impute to *Paulus* the design of killing *Pompey* by the hands of the gladiators of *Gabinus* who was *Pompey's* creature.

There are, in *Cicero's* story, other particulars which make it a very lame one:

Bibulus, on the 13th of *May*, gave *Pompey* warning to be upon his guard against insidious attempts. How came *Bibulus* to think that any such attempts were designed? Shall we say, that the elder *Curio* had imparted to him the intelligence which the younger *Curio* had received from *Vettius*? But then, why was no public notice taken of this murderous design for several months after the discovery? *Cicero* says not a word of the matter before that letter which speaks of the affair as then recent, and which seems to have been written in the beginning of *October*, or thereabout: For *Cicero* in Ep. xxiii. after pressing *Atticus* most earnestly to come with all haste to *Rome*—"If you are sleeping, awake; if you are standing still, come away; if you are coming, run; if you are running, fly;" he adds, "It is of great importance to me, that if you cannot be here at the Consular elections, you be here as soon as *Cledius* shall be declared Tribune." The *Comitia* for the elections, Ep. xx. which used to be held in the end of *July*, or beginning of *August*, had, by an edict from *Bibulus*, been put off to the 18th of *October*. Epist.
xxiv.

It is manifest, therefore, that the notice, which *Pompey* received from *Bibulus*, of treacherous designs against his life, must have been prior, by many months, to the notice he received from the elder *Curio* of *Vettius's* purpose to assassinate him, nor could relate to the same conspiracy; nor, consequently, be any proof of *Vettius's* imposture, in the

* *Republicam nulla ex parte attingimus. In causis atque in illa opera nostra forensi, summa iudicia versamus. Ep. xxii. Icos*

publicis consiliis nullis intersamus, totosque nos ad forensam operam, laboremque contulimus. Ep. xxiii.

Y. R. 694. take he told to the Senate, when examined there. Notwithstanding the
 B. Chr. friendly hint, which *Bibulus* sent to *Pompey* the 13th of *May*, it is very pos-
 58. sible that the same *Bibulus*, before the month of *October*, might encourage
 393 Conf. a design to destroy him.

L. II. Ep. By some of *Cicero's* Epistles, written in the month of *April*, from the
 vii. viii. x. country, to *Atticus* at *Rome*, it appears that the younger *Curio*, and
 [Ed. Vulg. other hot-headed, bloody-minded young Nobles [*Sanguinaria Juventus*]
 xii.] had talked in a strain, as if *determined not to bear the Sovereignty of the*
Triumvirate. *Bibulus*, apprehensive, perhaps, of their engaging in
 some rash and fatal enterprize, and not yet in despair of recovering
Pompey to the interest of the Senate, might in order to oblige, or per-
 haps to frighten him, send him an intimation of dangers to which he was
 exposed.

But, between the 13th of *May*, when *Pompey* received that intimation,
 and the month of *October*, there might be a great change in the disposition
 of *Bibulus*, as there seems to have been in the face of things. In a letter,
 which *Cicero*, about the end of *May*, just before his return to *Rome*, sent
 to *Atticus*, he writes as if under a terrible alarm. "It is as you say,
 " *Pompey's* head is turned. He aspires to the Tyranny. *What else can*
 " *be the meaning of his sudden, unexpected marriage with Cæsar's daughter*,"
 " &c.?" And in his next Letter, (written after his return to *Rome*, when
Atticus was gone into *Epirus*) "We are all taken captive and bound,
 " nor do we refuse to be slaves; we look upon death and banishment as
 " greater evils than slavery, though indeed they are far less. *Young Cu-*
 " *rio is the only man who speaks and opposes openly.*"

xix. In the next "the Republic is lost beyond recovery.—The edicts of
 " *Bibulus* make *Pompey* flame with anger."

xx. In the next, "Every body speaks out, and there is no variety of sentiment.
 " —*Bibulus*, by a stinging edict, has put off the elections to the 18th of
 " *October.*"

xxii. In the next — "The Republic is ruined, totally ruined, and, in one
 " respect, is in a worse condition than when you left us. For THEN the
 " *Domination of our Rulers was pleasing to the multitude, nor was it destruc-*
 " *tive to the better sort, though they did not relish it.* But NOW, on a sudden,
 " *it is become so generally odious, that I dread the consequence.* We have

Ep. xvi. * By one of *Cicero's* letters, it appears that
Pompey disclaimed having any share in that
 insult which, in the end of *April*, *Bibulus* suf-
 fered from *Fatinius's* mob; and which was
 his pretext for shutting himself up in his house
 for the rest of the year. Vide supra. p. 406.

† It has been already observed, that we
 have no guide for fixing, with any precision,
 the dates and order of the transactions of this
 year. But by this Letter it would seem, that

the marriage of *Pompey* with *Julia*, which
 gave a dreadful alarm to the Aristocratic
 Faction, was in the end of *May*. For this
 Letter is the latest of *Cicero's* Letters from
 the country, who came to town in the be-
 ginning of *June*.

‡ —Tum videbatur ejusmodi Dominatio
 civitatem oppressisse, quæ jucunda esset mul-
 titudini, bonis autem ita molesta, ut tamen
 sine perniciæ, &c.

" experienced

“ experienced the intemperate wrath of those, who, irritated by the op-
 “ position they met with from *Cato*^d, have overturned all things. At first
 “ they made use of such gentle and pleasant poisons, that it seemed as if
 “ we should be able to die without pain : But now, I fear, lest the hisses
 “ of the populace, the free discourses of the better sort, and the murmur-
 “ ing of all *Italy*, should provoke them even to rage.”

Y. R. 69+.
 Bef. Chr.
 58.
 793 Cont.

Whatever was the principal evil here complained of, it is evident from this letter, that, at the time when it was written, *Bibulus* and his faction thought themselves in a more desperate condition than they had been in the month of *May* preceding; and therefore the friendly hint given by *Bibulus* to *Pompey*, on the 13th of that month, can be no proof, that *Bibulus* had the same friendly disposition towards him, when *Vettius* charged some of the Leaders of the Faction with an Assassination Plot.

As to the secret which the younger *Curio* pretended to have learnt from *Vettius*, the proof of the fact resting wholly on the VERACITY of *Curio*, one of the persons accused, there is room sufficient to doubt the truth of it. *Vettius*, even after he had obtained from the Senate a promise of pardon, does not confess a word of his having imparted that secret to *Curio* : Instead of pretending that he himself, a contemptible wretch, had laid a plot to kill *Pompey*, (which would indeed have been an incredible story) he charges the Consul *Bibulus*, young *Curio*, and many of the discontented Nobles, with having formed such a plot, in the execution of which he was to be employed. He alledged, according to *Cicero's* report) *that the Consul sent him a dagger* : But who can imagine that, by this allegation, he meant to intimate, that he could not have been furnished with a dagger any other way ? No surely, his meaning could only be, that the Consul gave him that token of his approving the design.

It would be difficult, perhaps, to collect any thing, which might be called probable, from this blind story. May we not, however, with some appearance of reason, conjecture, *that Vettius*, who was, by trade, an Informer and a Witness, ready to be employed by any body who would hire him, and who had got money from *Cicero*, in the time of his despotism, for being a convenient evidence, imagined he had now a fair opportunity to get money from the present reigning powers, by swearing a plot upon their principal enemies. The sharp edicts of *Bibulus*, the loud declamations of *Curio*, the known hatred which *Lucullus* and *Brutus* bore to *Pompey*, (the first for having robbed him of his glory, the second for having murdered * his father) were natural reasons for

* Vid. Supr.
 p. 178,

^d M. Mongault thinks that the opposition, here spoken of, was to the law which gave to *Cæsar* the government of the two *Gauls* for five years; and that it was *Cato's* behaviour on this occasion, which provoked *Cæsar* to send HIM to prison. The ancient writers differ

in this particular. If *Cæsar* was irregular in his manner of his pursuing his point, it is not to be doubted but *Cato* was as irregular in his method of opposition : He was no Magistrate at this time.

Ibid.
 p. 494.

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Vettius to constitute them chief Leaders in the enterprize. Indeed, if he meant to make his court to *Cæsar*, it was a blunder to name *Brutus* among the conspirators. This mistake he is said to have rectified in his deposition from the *Rostra*; where, the next day after his examination by the Senate, *Cæsar* produced him; not to do him honour, as is evident enough from the issue of the affair, but to expose to the People the baseness of the faction who had employed so infamous an impostor to accuse him of treason, and, upon the testimony of such a witness, would have taken away his life, and did actually take away the lives of many Citizens. It does not appear by whose direction, or by whose hands, he was murdered; each faction accused the other of the deed; and neither of them made any enquiry about it.

Midd.
314-

Ad Ant.
ii. 20.

Cicero, in the close of that Letter in which he relates the affair of *Vettius*, writes as if it caused him no great anxiety; but he had been for some time, and was still, under terrible apprehensions from *Clodius*, who threatened him with all the terrors of his *Tribunate*; to which office he was elected without any opposition: and, in proportion as the danger approached, *Cicero's* apprehensions were every day more and more alarmed. The absence of his friend *Atticus* was an additional mortification to him: For *Atticus*, having a great familiarity with all the *Clodian* family, might have been of service, either in dissuading *Clodius* from any attempt, or, at least, in getting out of him what he really intended. *Cicero* pressed him therefore, in every letter, to come back again to *Rome*. "If you love me (says he) as much as I am persuaded you do, hold yourself ready to run hither as soon as I call: Though I am doing, and will do, every thing in my power to save you that trouble.—My wishes and my affairs require you: I shall want neither counsel, nor courage, nor forces, if I see you here at the time. I have reason to be satisfied with *Varro*: *Pompey* talks divinely.——How much do I wish that you had staid at *Rome*! as you surely would have done, if you had imagined how things would happen: We should easily have managed *Clodius*, or learnt at least, for certain, what he meant to do. At present he flies about; raves; knows not what he would be at; threatens many; and will take his measures at last, perhaps, from chance," &c.

Ibid. 19.

Ibid. 18,
& 19.

Cæsar, knowing the fright that *Cicero* was in, and having no desire to hurt him, but only to render him more tractable, and better disposed to bridle his tongue, than he had hitherto been, proposed expedients to him for his security: He had [as has been already mentioned] offered to put him into the commission for distributing the lands of *Campania*, with which twenty of the principal Senators were charged: But, as it was an invitation only into the place of one deceased, and not an original designation. *Cicero* did not think it for his dignity to accept it.—*Cæsar* had likewise offered, in the most obliging manner, to make him one of his Lieutenants in *Gaul*, and pressed it earnestly upon him; which was both a sure and honourable way

way of avoiding the danger; and what he might have made use of, so far only, as it served his purpose, without embarrassing himself with the duty of it*. Cicero, sensible of all this, was at first inclined to accept of the employment, and would have gone with Cæsar, if Clodius, perceiving himself in danger of missing his revenge, had not artfully changed his conduct, and, by speaking honourably of Cicero on all occasions, put on the appearance of having laid aside his resentment, and being disposed to a reconciliation. Cicero, weak enough to be deceived by this behaviour, and very unwilling (if it could be avoided) to owe the obligation of his safety to Cæsar, refused, after some hesitation, the Lieutenantancy: which refusal so exasperated Cæsar, that he immediately abandoned him to the fury of Clodius; and of this Cæsar used afterwards to lay the whole blame on Cicero himself, for slighting so obstinately the friendly offers which he made to him. Pompey, all this while was giving Cicero the strongest assurances, confirmed the oaths and vows, that there was no danger; and that he would sooner be killed himself, than suffer him to be hurt; that both Clodius and his brother Appius had solemnly promised to act nothing against him; and, if they did not keep their word, that he would let all the world see, how much he preferred Cicero's friendship to all his other engagements. In Cicero's account of this to Atticus, Varro, says he, gives me full satisfaction; Pompey loves me, and treats me with great kindness. Do you believe him? you will say, Yes, I do. He convinces me, that he is in earnest. — Yet since all men of business, in their Historical reflections, and even Poets too in their verses, admonish us always to be upon our guard, not to believe too easily; I comply with them in one thing; to use all proper caution, as far as I am able; but for the other, find it impossible not to believe him.

* Cicero (as appears by Ep. xviii.) was likewise offered a Free Legation, in order to go and accomplish some vow: but he thought that this would not sufficiently screen him from the attacks of Clodius; and it would hinder him from having the pleasure of seeing his brother, who was then on his way to Rome.

† Though Cicero was so shy of accepting the offices of Commissioner and Lieutenant, it seems that he would have been very willing to accept of a place, that became vacant, by the death of Metellus Celer, in the college of Augurs, if it had been offered him. “Tell me (says he in a letter to Atticus) every tittle of news that is stirring, and, since Nepos is leaving Rome, who is to have his brother's Augurate: It is the only thing by which they could gain me. Observe my weakness! But what have I to do with such things, to which I long to bid adieu, and turn

“myself entirely to Philosophy? I am now in earnest to do it; and wish that I had been so from the beginning.”

His English Historian will have it, that his inclination to the Augurate, at this time, was nothing else but a sudden start of an unweighed thought; no sooner thrown out than retracted; and dropt only to Atticus, to whom he used to open all his thoughts with the same freedom, with which they offered themselves to his own mind: “For it is certain (adds the Historian) that he might have had this very Augurate, if he had thought it worth asking for;” that is to say, it is certain, that in a letter to Cato, written nine years after, to convince Cato that he had no vain glory, he writes thus: “I forbore offering myself as a candidate for the office of Augur; tho' you are sensible, I dare say, that I might have succeeded without much difficulty.”

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Plut. in
Cic.

Ad Att.
ix. 2.
Vell. Pat.
ii. 45.
Ad Quint.
Fr. i. 2.
Ad Att.
ii. 20.
Ibid. 32.

Ibid. 20.

Ad Att.
viii. 14.

Ep. Fam.
xv. 14.

Ad Att.
i. 15.

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Ad Art.
ii. 20.
Ad Quint.
Fr. i. 2.

But, whatever really passed between *Clodius* and *Pompey*, *Cicero* perceiving, that *Clodius* talked in a different strain to every body else, and denounced nothing but war and ruin to him, began to be very suspicious of *Pompey*; and prepared to defend himself by his genuine forces, the Senate and the Knights, with the *bonest* (as he calls them) of all ranks, who (he pretends) were ready to fly to his assistance from all parts of *Italy*. This was the situation of affairs, when *Clodius* entered upon the *Tribunate*, where his first act was to put the same affront upon *Bibulus*, which had been offered before to *Cicero*, on laying down that office, *by not suffering him to speak to the People, but only to take the accustomed oath*.

C H A P. II.

CLODIUS, a Tribune of the People, in the Consulship of *PISO* and *GABINIUS*, year of Rome 695, passes several new laws. He distresses *CICERO*; who, being deserted by those from whom he expected support, is constrained to go into banishment. To get rid of *CATO*, the Tribune engages the People to commission him to dethrone *PTOLEMY*, King of Cyprus, and seize his treasures; which commission he executes with great punctuality. The next year (696) *LENTULUS SPINTHER* and *METELLUS NEPOS* being Consuls, *CICERO* is recalled home, and restored to his dignity and estates: on which occasion *CLODIUS* raises mischievous riots in the City.

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Ad Quint.
Fr. i. 2.

Post Red.
in Sen. 7.
In Pl. 5.
6.

Pro Sext.
10.

Pro Dom.
9.

Post Red.
in Sen. 4.

THE Consuls of the new year were *L. Calpurnius Piso* and *A. Gabinius*; the one the father-in-law of *Cæsar*, the other the creature of *Pompey*. Before their entrance into office, *Cicero* had conceived great hopes of both on account of the influence they were under; but especially of *Piso*, to whom (by the marriage of his daughter *Tullia* to *C. Piso*) he was allied, and who had lately given him marks of confidence, having employed him, at the time of the election, to preside over the votes of the leading century; and when he entered into his office, on the first of *January*, asked his opinion the third in the Senate, or the next after *Pompey* and *Crassus*: But he presently found himself deceived: For *Clodius* had already secured them to measures, by a private contract, to procure for them, by a grant of the People, two of the best governments of the empire: for *Piso*, Macedonia, with Greece and Thessaly; for *Gabinius*, Cilicia: And when this last was not thought good enough, and *Gabinius* seemed to be displeased with his bargain, it was exchanged soon after for Syria, with a power of making war upon the Parthians. For this price they agreed to serve him in all his designs, and particularly for the oppression of *Cicero*: who, on that account, often calls them not Consuls, but brokers of provinces, and sellers of their country².

To

Midd. 321.
Vol. Max. by P. Clodius, of plundering and oppressing
viii. 1.

the Allies: When, by throwing himself at the feet of his Judges in the most abject manner, and

To gain the People, *Clodius*, early in the year (*Jan. 3.*) promulgated several new laws, contrived chiefly for their advantage. First, *That corn should be distributed gratis to the Citizens.* Secondly, *That no Magistrate should take the Auspices, or observe the heavens, when the People were actually assembled on public business.* Thirdly, *That the old companies or fraternities of the City, which the Senate had abolished about nine years before, should be revived, and new ones instituted.*

Y. R. 695.
Vid. Orat.
in *Pison* 4.
& notas
Ascon.
Dio,
l. xxxviii.
p. 67.

And, to please the Citizens of higher rank, *Clodius* published a fourth law — *that the Censors should not expel from the Senate, or inflict a mark of infamy upon any man, who was not first openly and in form accused, and convicted of some crime by their joint sentence.*

These laws, though generally agreeable, were highly unreasonable in *Cicero's* opinion; who took them all to be levelled at himself, and contrived to pave the way to his ruin; so that he provided his friend, *L. Ninius*, one of the Tribunes, to put his Negative upon them, especially on the Law of Fraternities; which, under colour of incorporating those societies, gave *Clodius* an opportunity of gathering an army, and enlisting into his service all the scum and dregs of the City. *Dion Cassius* says, that *Clodius*, in an amicable conference with *Cicero*, and by a promise not to make any attempt against him, persuaded him to withdraw his Tribune, and give no interruption to the new laws proposed: but we find from *Cicero's* account, that, because the laws were popular, and did not personally affect him, his friends advised him to be quiet; with which advice he complied, though contrary to his own judgment: and we find

Midd.
p. 324.

In *Pis.* 4.
Dio,
l. xxxviii.
p. 67.

and in the midst of a violent rain, he is said to have moved the compassion of the bench, who thought it punishment enough for a man of his birth, to be reduced to the necessity of prostrating himself so miserably, and rising so deformed and besmeared with dirt. — *Cicero* says, that *Piso*, in his outward carriage, affected the mien and garb of a Philosopher; and that his aspect greatly contributed to give him the credit of that character: *He was severe in his looks; squalid in his dress; slow in his speech; morose in his manners; the very picture of antiquity, and a pattern of the ancient Republic, ambitious to be thought a Patriot, and a reviver of the old discipline.* But this garb of rigid virtue was only the covering of a dirty, sottish, stupid Epicurean; wallowing in all the low and filthy pleasures of life; till a false opinion of wisdom, the splendor of his great family, and the smoky images of ancestors, whom he resembled in nothing but his complexion, recommended him to the Consulship; which exposed the genuine temper and talents of the man.

Pro Sext.
3 & 9.

In *Pis.* 1.

His colleague *Gabinus* was no hypocrite, but a professed rake from the beginning; gay, foppish, luxurious; always curled and perfumed; and living in a perpetual debauch of gaming, wine, and women: void of every principle of virtue, honour, and probity; and so desperate in his fortunes, through the extravagance of his pleasures, that he had no other resource, or hopes of subsistence, but from the plunder of the Republic. In his Tribune, when the law by him proposed, which gave the command of the war against the pirates, was depending, he, to pay his court to *Pompey*, exposed to the mob the plan of *Lucullus's* house, to shew what an expensive fabric one of the greatest subjects of Rome was building, as he would intimate, out of the spoils of the treasury: yet this vain man, oppressed with debts, and scarce able to shew his head, found means, from the perquisites of his Consulship, to build a much more magnificent palace than *Lucullus* himself had done.

Pro Sext.

Pro Dom.
409.

likewise

Y.R. 695. likewise, that he blamed himself afterwards for his indolence, and reproached *Atticus* particularly for having counselled him to let the *Law of Fraternities* pass; by which it was quickly evident, that *Clodius* had gained great advantage. The vengeful Tribune, become extremely popular on account of his new laws, eagerly seized the opportunity which this afforded him of driving his hated enemy into banishment: And, for this purpose, he provided a special law, which imported, *that whoever had taken the life of a Citizen uncondemned, and without a trial, should be prohibited from fire and water.* The putting *Catiline's* accomplices to death, though not done by *Cicero's* single authority, but by a general vote of the Senate, and after a solemn bearing and debate, was judged to be illegal, and contrary to the liberties of the People; and *Cicero*, though not named in the law, was the criminal manifestly marked out by it. Terrified, amazed, half out of his wits, he instantly changed his habit, and, as if he had been actually impeached, appeared about the streets in a sordid or mourning gown, to excite the compassion of the People: whilst *Clodius* contrived to meet and insult him at every turn; reproaching him for his meanness of spirit, and unmanly dejection; some of the populace even pelting him with dirt and stones. But he soon gathered friends enough about him to secure him from such insults, the whole body of the Knights, and the young Nobility, to the number of twenty thousand, with young *Crassus* at their head; who all changed their habit, and perpetually attended him, to implore the protection and assistance of the People.

The City was now in great agitation, and every part of it engaged on one side or the other. The Senate met in the Temple of CONCORD; while *Cicero's* friends assembled in the Capitol; whence all the Knights and young Nobles went in their habit of mourning to throw themselves at the feet of the Consuls, and beg their interposition in *Cicero's* favour. *Piso* kept his house that day on purpose to avoid them; but *Gabinus* received them with intolerable rudeness, though their petition was seconded by the intreaties and tears of the whole Senate: He treated *Cicero's* character and Consulship with the utmost derision, and repulsed the whole company with threats and insults for their fruitless pains to support a sinking cause. This raised great indignation in the Assembly: when the Tribune *Ninnius*, instead of being discouraged by the violence of the Consul, made a motion, that the Senate also should change their habit with the rest of the City; which was agreed to instantly by an unanimous vote. *Gabinus*, enraged at this, flew out of the Senate into the Forum; where he declared to the People from the Rostra, that men were mistaken to imagine, that the Senate had any power in the Republic; that the Knights should pay dear for that day's work, when, in *Cicero's* Consulship, they kept guard in the Capitol, with drawn swords: And that the hour was now come, when those, who lived at that time in fear, should revenge themselves on their enemies: And to confirm the truth of what he said, he banished *L. Lamia*, a Roman Knight, two hundred

Y.R. 695.
At Ann.
15.

Vell. Pat.
1. 48.

Plut. Cic.

Midd.
P. 325.

Post Red.
ad Quint.
3.

Pro Sext.
11, 12, 13.
It. Post
Red. in
Sen. 5.

hundred miles from the City, for his distinguished zeal and activity in Cicero's cause; an act of power, which no Consul before him had ever presumed to exert on any Citizen, which was followed presently by an edict from both the Consuls, forbidding the Senate to put their late vote into execution, and enjoined them to resume their former dress*^h.

Y. R. 695.

*Ep. Fam.

xi. 16.

Pro Sext.

14.

Midd.

p. 327.

Ad Att.

iii. 15.

Cicero's resolution of *changing his gown* was too hasty and inconsiderate, and helped to precipitate his ruin. He was not named in the Law, nor personally affected by it: The terms of it were general, and seemingly just, reaching only to those, *who had taken the life of a Citizen illegally*. Whether this was his case, or not, was not yet the point in issue, but to be the subject of another trial: So that, by making himself a criminal, before the time, he shortened the trouble of his enemies, discouraged his friends, and made his case more desperate than he needed to have done: Whereas, if he had taken the part of *commending or slighting the Law, as being wholly unconcerned in it*, and when he came to be actually attacked by a second law, and brought to trial upon it, had stood resolutely upon his defence, he might have baffled the malice of his persecutors. He was sensible of his error when it was too late, and often reproached *Atticus, that, being a stander-by, and less beaten in the game than himself, he would suffer him to make such blunders*.

As the other Consul, *Piso*, had not yet explicitly declared himself, so *Cicero*, accompanied by his *son-in-law*, who was the Consul's near kinsman, took occasion to make him a visit, in hopes to move him to espouse his cause, and support the authority of the Senate. They went to him about eleven in the morning, and found him, as *Cicero* afterwards told the Senate, *coming from a little dirty hovel, fresh from the last night's debauch, with his slippers on, his head muffled, and his breath so strong of wine, that they could hardly bear the scent of it. He excused his dress, and smell of wine, on account of his ill health, for which he was obliged, he said, to take some vinous medicines; but kept them standing all the while in that filthy place, till they had finished their business. As soon as Cicero entered into the affair, he frankly told them, that Gabinius was so miserably poor, as not to be able to shew his head; and must be entirely ruined, if he could not procure some rich province; that he had hopes of one from Clodius, but despaired of any thing from the Senate; that, for his own part, it was his business to humour him on this occasion, as Cicero had humoured his Colleague in his Consulship; and that there was no reason to implore the help of the Consuls, since it was every man's duty to look to himself.* Which was all they could get from him.

In Pil. 6

^h And "where is there, says *Cicero*, in all history, a more illustrious testimony of any man, than that all the *honest* by private inclination, and the Senate by a public decree, should change their habit for the sake

"of one single Citizen?" But this was manifestly not the case: For the *Honest* and the Senate were as guilty as he, and had equal need of the People's indulgence.

Pro Sext.

12.

Y.R. 695. *Clodius*, all this while, was not idle, but pushed on his Law with great vigour, and calling the People into the *Flaminian Circus*, summoned thither also the young Nobles and the Knights, who were so busy in *Cicero's* cause, to give an account of their conduct to that Assembly: But, as soon as they appeared, he ordered his slaves and mercenaries to fall upon them with drawn swords, and volleys of stones, in so rude a manner, that *Hortensius* was almost killed, and *Vibienus*, another Senator, so desperately hurt, that he died soon after of his wounds. Here he produced the two Consuls, to deliver their sentiments to the People on the merit of *Cicero's* Consulship; when *Gabinus* declared with great gravity, that he utterly condemned the putting Citizens to death without a trial: *Piso* only said, That he had always been on the merciful side, and had a great aversion to cruelty. The reason of holding this Assembly in the *Flaminian Circus* without the gates of Rome, was to give *Cæsar* an opportunity of assisting at it, who, being now invested with a military command, could not appear within the walls. *Cæsar*, therefore, being called upon, after the Consuls, to deliver his mind upon the same question, declared, That the proceedings against *Lentulus* and the rest were irregular and illegal, but that he could not approve the design of punishing any body for them: That all the world knew his sense of the matter, and that he had given his vote against taking away their lives; yet he did not think it right to propound a law at this time about things that were so long past¹.

In this same Assembly, *Clodius* obtained a repeal of the *Ælian* and *Favian* laws², which had been in force about a hundred years, and made it unlawful to act any thing with the People on the days called *Fasti*³, or while the *Augurs* or Consuls were observing the heavens, and taking the auspices. These laws were the main support of the Aristocratical interest, as they proved of excellent use for checking any attempt of the Popular Magistrates, that gave the Senate an alarm: *Cicero* therefore frequently laments the loss of them, and calls them the most sacred laws of the State, the fences and bulwarks of the Public Tranquillity. [But it is no wonder that *Clodius*, in the character of a Popular Tribune, should attempt the repeal of such laws, seeing the worthy Consul *Bibulus* had, the very last year, in order to hinder the passing of certain laws beneficial to the People, most impudently proclaimed all the days of eight months together *Holy Days*.]

¹ This answer, says *Dr. Middleton*; was artful, and agreeable to the part which *Cæsar* was then acting; for, while it confirmed the foundation of *Clodius's* law, it carried a shew of moderation towards *Cicero*; or, as an ingenious writer expresses it, *left appearances only to the one, but did real service to the other*.

² The authors of these laws are not certainly known. *Manutius* says, they were two Tribunes of the People, about a hundred years

before *Clodius's* Tribuneship. *Hottomannus* gives them different dates and different authors, ascribing the first to *Q. Ælius Pætus*, Consul in 586; the second to *P. Fufius* or *Furius*, Consul in 617.

³ The *Dies Fasti* were the days on which the Courts of Law were open, and the *Prætors* sat to hear causes; which days were marked for that purpose in the Calendars.

Pompey,

Pompey, who had hitherto been giving Cicero the strongest assurances of his friendship, and been frequent and open in his visits to him, began now, as the plot ripened towards a crisis, to grow cool and reserved; while the *Clodian faction*, fearing lest he might be induced at last to protect him, were employing all their arts to infuse jealousies and suspicions into him of a design against him from Cicero. They posted some of their confidants at Cicero's house, to watch Pompey's coming thither, and to admonish him by whispers, and billets put into his hands, to be cautious of venturing himself there, and to take better care of his life; which was inculcated to him so strongly at home by perpetual letters and messages from pretended friends, that he thought fit to withdraw himself from the City, to his house on the Alban hill. It cannot be easily imagined, that he entertained real apprehensions of Cicero: But, if he had any fear, it must, as Cicero says, have been of the common enemies of them both, lest they might possibly attempt somewhat in Cicero's name; and, by the opportunity of charging it upon Cicero, hope to get rid of them both at the same time: but the most probable conjecture is, that, being obliged, by his engagement with Cæsar, to desert Cicero, and suffer him to be driven out of the City, he was willing to humour these insinuations, as giving the most plausible pretext of excusing his perfidy ———."

Before things came to extremity, Cicero thought it adviseable to press Pompey in such a manner, as to know for certain what he had to expect from him. Some of his chief friends undertook the task; *Lucullus, Torquatus, Lentulus, &c.* who, with a numerous attendance of Citizens, went to find him at his *Alban Villa*, and to intercede with him, not to desert the fortunes of his old friend. He received them civilly, though coldly; referring them wholly to the Consuls, and declaring, that he, being only a private man, could not pretend to take the field against an armed Tribune, without a public authority; but if the Consuls, by a decree of the Senate, would enter into the affair, he would presently arm himself in their defence. With this answer they addressed themselves again to the Consuls; but with no better success than before; *Gabinus* treated them rudely; but *Piso* calmly told them, that he was not so stout a Consul as *Torquatus* and *Cicero* had been; that there was no need of arms, or fighting; that *Cicero* might save the Republic a second time, if he pleased, by withdrawing himself; for, if he staid, it would cost an infinite quantity of Civil blood; and, in short, that neither he, nor his Colleague, nor his son-in-law, *Cæsar*, would relinquish the party of the Tribune.

After this repulse, Cicero resolved to make his last effort on Pompey, by throwing himself in person at his feet. *Plutarch* tells us, that Pompey slipped out of a back door, and would not see him: But it is certain, from Cicero's account, that he was admitted to an audience; and, when he began to press, and even supplicate him, in a manner the most affecting, that Pompey flatly refused to help him; alledging, in excuse for himself, the necessity,

Y. R. 695.

Midd. p.

331---334

Pro Dom.

11.

Pio Sext

18.

In Pison.

31.

Ibid.

Ad. Att

x. 4.

Y. R. 695. which he was under, of acting nothing against the will of Cæsar. This experiment convinced Cicero, that he had a much greater power to contend with, than what had yet appeared in sight: He called, therefore, a council of his friends, with intent to take his final resolution, agreeably to their advice. The question was, *Whether it was best to stay, and defend himself by force; or to save the effusion of blood, by retreating, till the storm should blow over*: Lucullus ^{57.} advised the first, but Cato, and, above all, Hortensius, warmly urged the last; which, concurring with Atticus's Advice, as well as the fears and entreaty of all his own family, made him resolve to quit the field to his enemies, and submit to a voluntary exile.

Plut. in
Cat.

De Leg.
ii. 17.

A little before his retreat, he took a small statue of Minerva, which had long been revered in his family, as a kind of Tutelar Deity, and, carrying it to the Capitol, placed it in the Temple of Jupiter, under the title of Minerva, the Guardian of the City, that, in the plunder of his goods, which was likely to ensue, this sacred Guardian might not be profaned by impious hands. Nos, qui illam custodem urbis, omnibus ereptis nostris rebus & perditis, violari ab impiis passi non sumus.

He departed from Rome in the night, escorted by a numerous guard of friends, who, after a day's journey or two, left him, with the greatest expressions of tenderness, to pursue his way towards Sicily, which he proposed as the place of his residence, and where, for his eminent services to the island, he assured himself of a kind reception and safe retreat.

Midd. p.
338.

As soon as it was known that he was gone, Clodius published a second law, conceived in the following terms:

Pro Dom.
18, 19, 20.
Post Red.
in Sen. ii.
10.

Whereas M. T. Cicero has put Roman Citizens to death, unheard and uncondemned; and for that end forged the authority and decree of the Senate: May it please you to ordain, that he be interdicted from fire and water: That no body presume to harbour or receive him on pain of death: And that whoever shall move, speak, vote, or take any step towards recalling him, he shall be treated as a public enemy.

Midd. p.
339.

It is pretended, that this law was essentially null and invalid^a: For
Cicero

^a Plutarch writes Lucullus without any Prænomén; and since the great Lucullus died mad very soon after the time we are speaking of, and was, therefore, probably, too weak now to be capable of Public affairs, we may well suppose, that the Historian means Marcus Lucullus, the brother of Lucius. Crevier.

Ibid.

^a It is said likewise, that the terms of the law were so absurd, that they annulled themselves; for it enacted, not that Cicero may or should be, but that he be interdicted, which was impossible; since no power on earth, says Cicero, can make a thing to be done before it be done. Non talis ut interdicatur, sed ut in-

terdictum sit—Sente noster, bona venia quoniam jam dialecticus es—quod factum non est, ut sit factum, ferri ad populum aut verbis ullis sanciri, aut suffragiis confirmari potest? Pro Dom. 18. Quid si iis verbis scripta est ista proscriptio, ut se ipsa dissolvat? Ib. 9.

N. B. The distinction, here intimated, between *interdicatur* and *interdictum sit*, deserves the attention of all Grammarians. They are commonly used indifferently, as terms wholly equivalent, yet, according to Cicero's criticism, the one, we see, makes the sense absurd, where the other is just and proper.

I

Further,

Cicero says, it was not properly a law, but a privilege; or an Act to inflict penalties on a particular Citizen by name, without any previous trial; which was expressly prohibited by the most sacred and fundamental constitutions of the Republic. *Vetant leges sacratae, vetant XII tabulae leges privatis hominibus irrogari. Id est enim privilegium.* Y. R. 695. Pro Dom. 17.

[This objection to the proceedings against *Cicero* seems fully to justify them; the thing there spoken of, as prohibited by the laws of the Twelve Tables and the fundamental constitutions of the State, being the very thing of which he had been notoriously guilty. And it ought to be observed, that the Authority of THE SENATE, upon which he acted, could not make his act Legal; but, by a law of the Twelve Tables, whatever THE PEOPLE decreed last was LAW; and the votes of the People were their Decree; so that *Cicero* was legally banished.] Liv. b. vii. c. 17.

With this Law against *Cicero* there was another published at the same time, which granted to the two Consuls the provinces above specified, with a provision of whatever troops or money they thought fit. Both the laws passed without opposition, and *Clodius* lost no time in putting the first of them in execution, but fell immediately to plundering, burning, and demolishing *Cicero's* houses, both in the City and in the Country. The best part of his goods was divided between the two Consuls; the Marble Columns of his Palatin House were carried publicly to *Piso's* father-in-law; and the rich furniture of his *Tusculan Villa* to his neighbour *Gabinus*; who removed even the trees of his plantations into his own grounds: And, to make the loss of his house in Rome irretrievable, *Clodius* consecrated the Area on which it stood to the perpetual service of Religion, and built a Temple upon it to the Goddess LIBERTY. Midd. p. 340. Pro Sext. 10 & 24. In Pis. 16. Post Red. in Sen. 7. Pro Dom. 24. Ibid. 40.

“ The desolation of *Cicero's* fortunes at home, and the miseries which he suffered abroad, in being deprived of every thing that was dear to him, soon made him repent of the resolution of his flight; which he ascribes to the envy and treachery of his Counsellors, who, taking the advantage of his fears, and the perplexity which he was under, pushed him to an act both ruinous and inglorious. This he chiefly charges on *Hortensius*; and though he forbears to name him to *Atticus*, on account of the strict friendship between them, yet he accuses him very freely to his brother *Quintus*, of coming every day insiduously to his house, and, with the greatest expressions of zeal and affection, perpetually insinuating to his hopes and fears, that, by giving way to the present rage, he could not fail of being recalled with glory in three days time. *Hortensius* was particularly intimate, at this time, with *Pompey*, and Midd. p. 343--346. Ad Quint. Frat. 1. 3. Ibid. 4.

Further, that the penal clause being grounded on a suggestion notoriously false, that *Cicero* had forged the decrees of the Senate; it could not possibly stand for want of a foundation. *Pro Dom. 19.*

And, lastly, though it provided that no body should harbour him, yet it had not ordered him to be expelled, or enjoined him to quit the City. *Ib. 20.*

Y. R. 695. " might possibly be employed to urge *Cicero* to this step, in order to save
 B. Chr. " *Pompey* the disgrace of being forced to act against him with a very high
 57. " hand. But, let that be as it will, it was *Pompey's* conduct which shocked
 394. Conf. " *Cicero* the most: Not for its being contrary to *his Oaths*°, which the
 " ambitious can easily dispense with; but to *his interest*, which they never
 " neglected, but through weakness. The consideration of what was use-
 " ful to *Pompey*, made him depend on his assistance. —

" In this ruffled and querulous state of mind, stung with the recollection
 " of his own mistakes, and the perfidy of his friends, he often laments,
 " *that he had not tried the fate of arms, and resolved either to conquer bravely,*
 " *or die honourably*: Which he dwells so much upon in his letters, as to
 " seem persuaded, that it would have been his wisest course. But this is
 " a problem, not easy to be solved: It is certain, that his enemies were
 " using all arts to urge him to the resolution of retreating; as if they ap-
 " prehend the consequences of his stay; and the real aim of the *Tri-*
 " *umvirate* was, not to destroy, but to humble him: Yet it is no less
 " certain, that all resistance must have been vain, if they had found it ne-
 " cessary to exert their strength against him; and that they had already pro-
 " ceeded too far, to suffer him to remain in the City in defiance of them:
 " And, if their power had actually been employed to drive him away, his
 " return must have been the more desperate, and they the more interested
 " to keep him out; so that it seems to have been his most prudent part,
 " and the most agreeable to his character, to yield, as he did, to the ne-
 " cessity of the times.

Post Red. " But we have a full [certainly not a true] account of the motives of
 in Sen. 13. " his retreat in the SPEECHES, which he made after his return, both to the
 14- " SENATE and the PEOPLE. *When I saw the Senate*, says he, *deprived*
 " *of its leaders, myself partly pushed, and partly betrayed by the Magistrates;*
 " *the slaves enrolled by name, under the colour of fraternities, the remains*
 " *of Catiline's forces brought again into the field, under their old chiefs;*
 " *the Knights terrified with proscriptions; the corporate towns with military*
 " *execution, and with death and destruction; I could still have defended myself*
 " *by arms, and was advised to do so by many brave friends; nor did I want*
 " *that same COURAGE, which you had all seen me exert on other occasions:*
 " *But when I saw, at the same time, that, if I conquered my present enemy,*
 " *there were many more behind, whom I had still to conquer; that, if I hap-*
 " *pened to be conquered, many honest men would fall both with me and after*
 " *me; that there were people enough ready to revenge the Tribune's blood, while*
 " *the punishment of mine would be left to the forms of a trial and to poste-*
 " *rity; I resolved not to employ force in defending my private safety after I had*

° " I knew him (says *Cicero* in a letter
 " to *Atticus* after *Pompey's* death) to be an
 " honest, grave, and worthy man." " This
 " (adds *Dr. Middleton*) was the sort and

" true character of the man from one who
 " perfectly knew him." Midd. life of Cic.
 Vol. II. p. 132. What inconsistencies are
 these! Vid. *supra*, p. 427.

“ defended that of the Republic without it; and was willing that honest men
 “ should rather lament the ruin of my fortunes, than make their own desperate
 “ by adhering to me: And if, after all, I had fallen alone, that would have
 “ been dishonourable to myself; if amidst the slaughter of the Citizens, fatal to
 “ the Republic.”

Y. R. 695.
 Bef. Chr.
 57.
 394 Conf.

His letters, written during his exile, to *Terentia* and *Atticus*, discover, that all he says here, of HIS COURAGE being restrained by his PATRIOTISM, is false. The truth is, he had neither COURAGE nor PATRIOTISM: He would have accepted the Lieutenantcy offered him by *Cæsar*, and have become an humble servant of the Triumvirate, if *Clodius* had not out-witted him. And when, by refusing that Lieutenantcy, he had lost the protection of *Cæsar*, he would have commenced a Civil War to preserve his Station and his fortune, if he had not felt the want of Courage in himself, and had not found, that, even in the opinion of his friends, he over-rated his own importance.

Vid. *supra*.
 P. 427.

“ *Cicero*, (says a very candid and ingenious writer) is perpetually
 “ reproaching himself in these letters to *Terentia*, and those which he
 “ wrote at the same time to *Atticus*, for not having taken up Arms,
 “ and resolutely withstood the Violence of *Clodius*. He afterwards,
 “ however, in several of his SPEECHES, made a merit of what he here
 “ condemns, and particularly in that for *Sextius* he appeals to Heaven
 “ in the most solemn manner, that he submitted to a voluntary exile, in
 “ order to spare the blood of his fellow Citizens, and preserve the pub-
 “ lic tranquillity. *Te, te, patria, testor, et vos, penates patriique Dii,*
 “ *me vestrarum sedum templorumque causa, me propter salutem meorum civium,*
 “ *quæ mihi semper fuit mea carior vita, dimicationem cademque fugisse.* But
 “ *Cicero*’s veracity, in this solemn asseveration, seems liable to be justly
 “ questioned. It is certain, that he once entertained a design of taking
 “ up Arms in his own defence: and the single motive that appears to
 “ have determined him in the change of this resolution was, his finding
 “ himself most perfidiously deserted by *Pompey*. *Si ——— quisquam fuisset*
 “ (says he in a letter to *Atticus*) *qui me Pompeii minus liberali responso*
 “ *perterritum a turpissimo consilio revocaret; — aut occubuissem honeste;*
 “ *aut viatores hodie viveremus.* *Dion Cassius* asserts, that *Cicero*, notwith-
 “ standing the unexpected desertion of *Pompey*, was preparing to put
 “ himself in a posture of defence; but that *Cato* and *Hortensius* would
 “ not suffer him to execute his purpose. Perhaps this Author may be
 “ mistaken as to his having made any actual preparations of this kind;
 “ but that he had it in his intentions, seems clear beyond all reasonable
 “ contradiction. The French Historian of our Author’s banishment has
 “ relied therefore too much upon *Cicero*’s pompous professions after his
 “ return, when he maintains that nothing could be farther from his
 “ thought than a serious opposition. The contrary appears most evi-
 “ dently to have been the case; and that the patriot-motive, which he so

Melm. vol.
 I. p. 35.
 note 1, on
 Let. viii.

Pro *Sext.*
 20.

Ad *Att.*
 cxi. 15.

Lib.
 xxxviii.

Hist. de
 l’Exil. de
 Cic. p. 148.

“ often

Y. R. 695. " often assigns in his subsequent Orations, for leaving his Country, was
 Bef. Chr. " merely an after-thought, and the plausible colouring of artful eloquence.
 57.
 194 Conf. " Why else, it may be asked, is there not the least hint of any such generous
 " principle of his conduct, in all the letters he wrote during this period ?
 " Why else is he perpetually reproaching his friends for having suffered
 " him to take that measure ? And why, in a word, does he call it, as in
 " the passage above cited, *turpissimum consilium*, the effect of a most igno-
 " minious resolution ? But, were it to be admitted that a regard to his
 " Country determined him to withdraw from it, still, however, he could
 " not, with any degree of truth, boast of his Patriotism on that occasion :
 " For the most partial of his advocates must acknowledge, that he no
 " sooner executed this resolution, than he heartily repented of it. The
 " truth is, how unwilling soever he might be to hazard the Peace of his
 " Country in maintaining his Post, he was ready to renounce all tender-
 " ness of that kind in recovering it ; and he expressly desires *Atticus* to
 " raise the Mob in his favour, if there were any hopes of making a success-
 " ful push for his restoration: *Oro te ut, si quæ spes erit posse studiis bonorum,*
 Ad Att. " *auctoritate multitudine comparata, rem confici, des operam ut uno impetu*
 iii 23. " *perfringatur.*"

Dyrrachium, Nov. 26.

Midd. p. *Clodius*, having satiated his revenge upon *Cicero*, proposed another
 347. law [from a like spirit of revenge] against *Ptolemy*, King of *Cyprus* ; to
 deprive him of his kingdom, and reduce it to a *Roman* province, and
 confiscate his whole estate. This Prince was brother to the King of
 * Pro *Ægypt*, and reigning by the same * right, in full peace and amity with
 Dom. 8. *Rome* ; accused of no practices, nor suspected of any designs, against the
 Vid. supr. Republic ; whose only crime was to be rich and covetous ; so that the law
 p. 305. was an unparalleled act of injustice, and what *Cicero*, in a public speech,
 note (1) did not scruple to call a mere robbery : But *Clodius* had an old grudge to
 Pro Sext. 26, 27, 28, the King, for refusing to ransom him when he was taken by the pirates ;
 29. and sending him only the contemptible sum of two talents : and what,
 Dio, lib. says † *Cicero*, must other Kings think of their security, to see their crowns
 xxxviii. and fortunes at the disposal of a Tribune and six hundred mercenaries ?
 p. 78. † Pro Sext. The law passed, however, without any opposition ; and, to sanctify it, as
 27. App. lib. it were, and give it the better face and colour of Justice, *Cato* was charged
 ii. p. 441. with the execution of it : Which gave *Clodius* a double pleasure, by im-
 Plut. in posing so shameful * a task upon the gravest man in *Rome*. It was a part
 Cat. likewise of the same law, as well as *Cato's* commission, to restore certain
 exiles of *Byzantium*, whom their City had driven out for crimes against
 the public peace. The engaging *Cato* in such dirty work was a master-

* " It is truly reckoned (say Dr. *Prideaux*)
 " one of the unjustest acts that the *Romans*
 " to this time ever did. For *Ptolemy* had
 " been admitted as a Friend and Ally of the

" *Roman* People, and had never offended
 " them, or done them any hurt or displea-
 " sure, whereby to deserve this usage from
 " their hands." Vol. II. p. 448.

piece,

piece, and served many purposes of great use to *Clodius*: First, to get rid of a troublesome adversary for the remainder of his magistracy: Secondly, to fix a blot on *Cato* himself, and shew, that the most rigid pretenders to Virtue might be caught by a proper bait: Thirdly, to stop his mouth for the future, as he openly bragged, from clamouring against extraordinary commissions: Fourthly, to oblige him, above all, to acknowledge the Validity of his Acts, by submitting to bear a part in them. The Tribune had the satisfaction to see *Cato* taken in his trap.

Cato, coming to *Rhodes*, in his way to *Cyprus*, sent to *Ptolemy* to persuade him quietly to recede, promising him, on that condition, the high-priesthood of *VENUS* at *Paphos*, on the revenues of which he might be supported in a state of plenty and honour; but of this he would not accept. To resist the *Roman* power he was not able, and to be less than King after he had so long reigned, he could not bear, and therefore, resolving to make his Life and Reign end together, he put all his riches on shipboard, and, launching out into the sea, purposed, by boring his ship through, to make both his Riches and himself sink into the deep, and there perish together. But, when it came to the execution, he could not bear that his beloved treasure should be thus lost; he continued still in the resolution to destroy himself, but he could not bring his heart to destroy that, which, to him, was far dearer than his dear self; he carried it therefore all back to land, laid it up again in its former repository, and then put an end to his life by poison; having this comfort only in death, that he left his Treasure undiminished, and undivided.

Cato executed his commission with fidelity; and returned the year following, in a kind of triumph to *Rome*, with all the King's effects reduced into money, amounting to about a million and a half sterling, which he delivered with great pomp into the public treasury.

This proceeding was severely condemned by *Cicero*; though he touches it in his public speeches with some tenderness for the sake of *Cato*, whom he labours to clear from any share in the iniquity: "The commission," says he, was contrived not to adorn, but to banish *Cato*; not offered, but imposed upon him——Why did he then obey it? Just as he was sworn to obey other laws, which he knew to be unjust, that he might not expose himself to the fury of his enemies, and, without doing any good, deprive the Republic of such a Citizen.—If he had not submitted to such a law, he could not have hindered it; the stain of which would still have stuck upon the Republic, and he himself suffered for rejecting it; since it would have been a precedent for invalidating all the other acts of that year: He considered, therefore, that, since the scandal of it could not be avoided, he was the person the best qualified to draw good out of evil, and to serve his Country well, though in a bad cause." But, howsoever this may colour, it cannot justify *Cato's* conduct; who valued himself highly upon his *Cyprian* transactions,

Y. R. 695.
Bef. Chr.
57.
394. Conf.

Prid. vol.
II. p. 449.
Plut. in
Cat.
Val. Max.
Dio.
Strabo.
Appian.
Vell. Pat.

Midd. p.
348.
Plut. in
Cat.

Midd. p.
349.
Pro Sext.
28, 29.

actions, and, for the sake of that commission, was drawn in, as *Clodius* expected, to support the authority from which it flowed, and to maintain the legality of *Clodius's* *Tribunate* in some warm debates even with *Cicero* himself.

Plut. in.
Cat.
Dio. lib.
xxix. p.
102.

Ad. Att.
iii. 4.

Plut. in
Cic.
Pro Planc.
40.
Ibid. 41.

Ep. Fam.
xiv. 4.

Midd. p.
353.

Ad Att.
iii. 7.

Pro Planc.
41.
Post Red.
in Sen. 14.

It would seem that *Cicero* left *Rome* in the beginning of *April*; for on the eighth of that month he writes to *Atticus*, *From the sea-coast of Lucania**, being then on his way to *Vibo*, a town of *Bruttium*, the most southern part of *Italy*. At *Vibo* he spent several days with a friend named *Sica*; and here he received a copy of the law made against him, which fixed the limits of his exile to the distance of four hundred miles from *Italy*. His thoughts at first had been wholly bent on *Sicily*†; but no part of that island being within the distance specified by law, he was obliged to turn towards *Brundisium*, that he might thence pass into *Greece*. All the towns on his road received him with public marks of respect. When he came to *Brundisium*, where he arrived on the 17th of *April*, he would not enter within the walls of the City, but chose to lodge in the villa of his friend, *M. Lemius Flaccus*, not far from it. *Flaccus* was not deterred by the penalty of the law from performing towards him all the rights of friendship and hospitality; so that *Cicero* continued here thirteen days, after which he embarked for *Dyrrachium*.

During his stay with *Flaccus*, he was in no small perplexity about the choice of a convenient place for his residence abroad. *Atticus* offered him his house in *Epirus*, which was a castle of some strength, and likely to afford him a secure retreat. But, since *Atticus* could not attend him thither in person, he dropt all thoughts of that, and was inclined to go to *Athens*; till he was informed, that it would be dangerous for him to travel into that part of *Greece*, where all those who had been banished for *Catiline's* Conspiracy, and especially *Autronius*, then resided.

At *Dyrrachium* he met with a confirmation of what he had heard before in *Italy*, that *Acbaia* and the neighbouring parts of *Greece* swarmed with those outlaws, who had been driven from *Rome* on *Catiline's* account. This determined him to go into *Macedonia*, where his friend, *C. Plancius*, was then *Quæstor*; who, upon the first notice of his landing, came directly, unattended by his *Lictors*, and without any of the pomp of Magistracy, to meet him; and from *Dyrrachium* conducted him to his head-quarters at *Theffalonica*. *L. Appuleius*, the *Prætor* or chief Governor of the province, was *Cicero's* friend; yet he durst not venture to grant him his protection, or shew him any public civility, but contented himself with only conniving at what his *Quæstor* *Plancius* did.

* Dat. vi. Id. Apr. in oris Luc. Ad Att. Lib. iii. Ep. 2.

† We are told, that, when *Cicero* arrived within sight of *Sicily*, the *Prætor*, *C. Vir-*

gilius, an old friend, who had been highly obliged to him, sent him word that he must not set foot in it. Plut. in Cic. Pro Planc. 40.

While

WHILE *Cicero* staid at *Dyrrachium*, he received two expresses from his brother *Quintus*, to inform him of his intended route, in returning homeward from *Asia*, and to settle the place of their meeting: “But *Cicero* had not resolution enough to see him; finding himself unable to bear the tenderness of such a meeting, and much more the misery of parting; and he was apprehensive besides, that, if they once met, they should not be able to part at all, whilst *Quintus*’s presence at *Rome* was necessary to their common interests: So that, to avoid one affliction, he was forced, he says, to endure another most cruel one, that of shunning the embraces of a Brother.

“*L. Tubero*, however, his kinsman, and one of the brother’s Lieutenants, paid him a visit on his return towards *Italy*, and acquainted him with what he had learnt in passing through *Greece*, that the banished Conspirators, who resided there, were actually forming a plot to seize and murder him; for which reason he advised him to go into *Asia*, where the zeal and affection of the province would afford him the safest retreat, both on his own and his brother’s account. *Cicero* was disposed to follow this advice, and leave *Macedonia*: For the *Prætor*, *Apuleius*, though a friend, gave him no encouragement to stay; and the *Consul Piso*, his enemy, was coming to the command of it the next winter: But all his friends at *Rome* dissuaded his removal to any place more distant from them; and *Plancius* treated him so affectionately, and contrived to make all things so easy to him, that he dropt the thoughts of changing his quarters. The only inconvenience that *Cicero* found in his present situation, was the number of soldiers and concourse of people, who frequented the place on account of business with the *Quæstor*. For he was so shocked and dejected by his misfortune, that, though the cities of *Greece* were offering their services and compliments, and striving to do him all imaginable honours, yet he refused to see all company, and was so shy of the public, that he could hardly endure the light.

“For it cannot be denied, that, in this calamity of his exile, he did not behave himself with that firmness, which might reasonably be expected from one who had borne so glorious a part in the Republic; conscious of his integrity, and suffering in the cause of his country: For his

‘*Cicero* seems most unworthily to impute the kindness, which *Plancius* shewed him, to an interested view: Me adhuc *Plancius* liberalitate sua retinet. — Spes homine est injecta, non eadem, quæ mihi, posse nos una decedere: quam rem sibi magno honori sperat fore. *Ad. Att.* iii. 22.

‘Whether it was possible for *Cicero* to be conscious of integrity, and of suffering in the

cause of his Country, or in any cause but his own, the whole tenor of his conduct will best enable the Reader to determine. Let the Reader, if he pleases, compare Mr. *Melmoth*’s Remark, inserted above in the Text, p. 437, with the following passages, extracted from some of *Cicero*’s writings by his able Panegyrist:

3 I.

“I have

Y. R. 695.
Bef. Chr.
57.
394 Conf.
Midd. p.
356, 357.
Ad Att.
iii. 9.
Ad Quint.
Fr. i. 3.

Pro Planc.
41.

Ep. Fam.
xiv. 1, 2.

Ad Att.
iii. 7.

Y.R. 695. " his letters are generally filled with such lamentable expressions of grief
 " and despair, that his best friends, and even his wife, was forced to
 Ep. Fam. " admonish him sometimes, to rouse his courage, and remember his for-
 xiv. 4. " mer character. *Atticus* was constantly putting him in mind of it";
 " and sent him word of a report, that was brought to *Rome* by one of
 " *Crassus's* freedmen, that his afflictions had disordered his senses: To
 Ad Att. " which he answered, that his mind was still sound, and he wished only
 iii. 13. " that it had been always so, when he placed his confidence on those who
 Ibid. 15. " perfidiously abused it to his ruin.

Midd. 360. " *I have twice saved the Republic; once*
 Pro Sext. " *with glory, a second time with misery*: For
 22. " I will never deny myself to be a man; or
 " brag of bearing the loss of a brother, chil-
 " dren, wife, country, without sorrow.—For
 " what thanks had been due to me for quit-
 Pro Dom. " ting what I did not value?—I own my
 36, 37. " grief to have been extremely great, nor do I
 " pretend to that wisdom, which those expected
 " from me, who gave out, that I was too
 " much broken by my affliction: For such an
 " hardness of mind, as of body, which does
 " not feel pain, is a stupidity, rather than a vir-
 " tue. — I am not one of those to whom all
 " things are indifferent; but love myself and
 " my friends, as our common humanity re-
 " quires: And, *He, who, for the Public Good,*
 Midd. 361. " *parts with what he holds the Dearest, gives*
 " *the biggest proof of Love to his Country.*

" There was another consideration (says
 " his *English* Historian) which added no small
 " sting to his affliction; to reflect, as he often
 Ad. Att. " does, not only on what he had lost, but
 iii. 8. " how he had lost it, *by his own fault*; in
 Vid. 9, 14, " suffering himself to be imposed upon, and
 15, 19, &c. " deluded by false and envious friends. —
 " Though my grief is incredible, yet I am not
 " disturbed so much by the misery of what I feel,
 " as the recollection of my fault. — Wherefore,
 " when you hear how much I am afflicted, ima-
 " gine that I am suffering the punishment of my
 " folly, not of the event; for having trusted
 " too much to one whom I did not take to be a
 " Rascal.—*Atticus* would never allow his
 " suspicions to be just, not even against *Horten-*
 " *sius*, where they seemed to lie the heaviest.
 " This is the substance of what *Cicero* him-
 " self says, to excuse the excess of his grief: and
 " the only excuse indeed which can be made
 " for him; that he did not pretend to be
 " a *Stoic*, nor aspire to the character of a

" *Hero*:" [Yet he often boasts of his prodigious courage.] Midd. 359

" These remonstrances did not please
 him; he thought them unkind and un-
 seasonable, as he intimated in several of
 his letters, where he expresses himself very
 movingly on this subject. " *As to your* Ad. Att.
 " *chiding me*, says he, *so often and so severe-* iii. 10.
 " *ly, for being too much dejected; what misery*
 " *is there, I pray you, so grievous, which I*
 " *do not feel in my present calamity? Did ever*
 " *any man fall from such a height of dignity,*
 " *in so good a cause, with the advantage of*
 " *such talents, experience, interest; such support*
 " *of all honest men? Is it possible for me to for-*
 " *get what I was? or not to feel what I am?*
 " *From what honour, what glory, I am driven?*
 " *From what children? what fortunes? what*
 " *a brother? whom, though I love, and have*
 " *ever loved, better than myself, yet (that you*
 " *may perceive what a new sort of affliction I*
 " *suffer) I refuse to see; that I might neither*
 " *augment my own grief by the sight of his, nor*
 " *offer myself to him thus ruined, whom he had*
 " *left so flourishing: I omit many other things*
 " *intolerable to me; for I am hindered by my*
 " *tears: Tell me then, whether I am still to be*
 " *reproached for grieving; or for suffering my-*
 " *self rather to be deprived of what I ought ne-*
 " *ver to have parted with but with my life;*
 " *which I might easily have prevented, if some*
 " *perfidious friends had not urged me to my ruin*
 " *within my own walls, &c.*" In another let-
 ter, " *Continue*, says he, *to assist me, as you*
 " *do, with your endeavours, your advice, and* Ibid. 11.
 " *your interest; but spare yourself the pains of*
 " *comforting, and much more of chiding me:*
 " *For, when you do this, I cannot help charging*
 " *it to your want of love and concern for me:*
 " *whom I imagined to be so afflicted with my*
 " *misfortune, as to be inconsolable even yourself.*"

" WHEN

“ WHEN he had been gone a little more than two months, his friend Y. R. 695.
 “ *Ninnius*, the Tribune, made a motion in the Senate to recall him, and
 “ repeal the law of *Clodius*; to which the whole House readily agreed, Midd. p. 362--367.
 “ with eight of the Tribunes, till one of the other two, *Ælius Ligus*,
 “ interposed his negative: They proceeded, however, to a resolution,
 “ that no other business should be transacted, till the Consuls had actual-
 “ ly prepared a new law for that purpose.—*Clodius* was now losing ground
 “ apace; being grown so insolent on his late success, that even his friends
 “ could not bear him any longer: For, having banished *Cicero*, and Pro Dom. 25.
 “ sent *Cato* out of his way, he began to fancy himself a match for
 “ *Pompey*; by whose help, or connivance at least, he had acquired all
 “ his power: And, in open defiance of him, seized by stratagem, into
 “ his own hands, the son of King *Tigranes*, whom *Pompey* had brought
 “ with him from the East, and kept a prisoner at *Rome* in the custody of
 “ *Flavius* the Prætor. Instead of delivering the Prince up, when *Pompey*
 “ demanded him, he put him on board a ship, having undertaken, for a
 “ large sum of money, to give him his liberty, and transport him into
 “ *Asia*. This, however, did not pass without a sharp engagement between
 “ the Tribune and *Flavius*: For a storm arising at the instant the Prince
 “ put off to sea, he was forced to take shelter in the harbour of *Antium*.
 “ *Flavius* had notice of this, and marched out of *Rome* with a body of Aston. in Milon. 14.
 “ men well armed, to recover *Tigranes* by force. The battle was fought
 “ in the *Appian way*; many were killed on both sides, and *Clodius* proved
 “ victorious. Among the slain was *Papirius*, a Roman Knight of *Pompey*’s
 “ intimate acquaintance; and *Flavius* himself had some difficulty to es-
 “ cape with life.

“ This affront roused *Pompey* to think of recalling *Cicero*; as well to
 “ correct the arrogance of *Clodius*, as to retrieve his own credit, and in-
 “ gratiate himself with the Senate: He dropt some hints of his inclina-
 “ tions to *Cicero*’s friends, and particularly to *Atticus*, who presently im-
 “ parted to him the agreeable news: Upon which *Cicero*, though he had
 “ no opinion of *Pompey*’s sincerity, was encouraged to write to him, and Ad Quint. Fr. i. 3. Ad Att. iii. 8.
 “ sent a copy of his letter to *Atticus*, telling him, at the same time, that
 “ if *Pompey* could digest the affront which he had received in the case of
 “ *Tigranes*, he should despair of his being moved by any thing. *Varro*,
 “ likewise, who had a particular intimacy with *Pompey*, desired *Atticus* to
 “ let *Cicero* know, that *Pompey* would certainly enter into his cause, as soon
 “ as he had heard from *Cæsar*, which he expected to do every day.—This
 “ shews what an extraordinary deference *Pompey* paid to *Cæsar*, that he
 “ would not take a step in this affair at *Rome*, without sending first to *Gaul*,
 “ to consult him about it.

“ The City was alarmed, at the same time, by the rumour of a second Pro Sext. 32. In Pison. 12.
 “ plot against *Pompey*’s life, said to be contrived by *Clodius*; one of
 “ whose slaves was seized at the door of the Senate, with a dagger, which

Y. R. 695. " *his master had given him, as he confessed, to stab Pompey: Which,*
 Bef. Chr. " *being accompanied with many daring attacks upon Pompey's person*
 57. " *by Clodius's mob, made him resolve to retire from the Senate and the*
 194. Conf. " *Forum, till Clodius was out of his Tribunate, and shut himself up in his*
 " *own house, whither he was pursued, and actually besieged, by one of Clo-*
 " *dus's freedmen, Damio. An outrage so audacious could not be over-*
 " *looked by the Magistrates, who came out with all their forces, to seize*
 " *or drive away Damio; upon which a general engagement ensued,*
 " *where Gabinius, as Cicero says, was forced to break his league with Clodius,*
 " *and fight for Pompey; at first faintly and unwillingly, but at last hearti-*
 " *ly; while Piso, more religious, stood firm to his contract, and fought on*
 " *Clodius's side, till his fasces were broken, and he himself wounded, and*
 " *forced to run away.*

" Whether any design was really formed *against Pompey's life*, or the
 " story was contrived to serve his present views, it seems probable at least,
 " that his fears were feigned, and the danger too contemptible to give
 " him any just apprehension; but the shutting himself up at home made
 " an impression upon the vulgar, and furnished a better pretence for turn-
 " ing so quick upon *Clodius*, and quelling that insolence which he himself
 " had raised: For this was the constant tenor of his politics, to give a free
 " course to the public disorders, for the sake of displaying his own impor-
 " tance to more advantage; that, when the storm was at the height, he
 " might appear, at last, in the scene, like a Deity of the Theatre, and
 " reduce all again to order; expecting still, that the People, tired and
 " harassed by these perpetual tumults, would be forced to create him Dic-
 " tator, for settling the quiet of the City.

" The Consuls elect were *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Metellus Nepos*:
 " The first was *Cicero's* warm friend, the second *his* old enemy; the same
 " who put that affront upon him on laying down his Consulship: His
 " promotion therefore was a great discouragement to *Cicero*, who took
 " it for granted, that he would employ all his power to obstruct his re-
 " turn: ——— But *Metellus*, perceiving which way *Pompey's* inclination,
 " and *Cesar's* also, was turning, found reason to change his mind, or
 " at least to dissemble it; and promised, not only to give his consent,
 " but his assistance to *Cicero's* restoration. His Colleague *Lentulus*, in
 " the mean while, was no sooner elected, than he revived the late motion
 " of *Ninnius*, and proposed a vote to recall *Cicero*; and when *Clodius* in-
 " terrupted him, and recited that part of his law which made it criminal
 " to move any thing about it, *Lentulus* declared it to be no law, but a
 " mere proscription, and act of violence. This alarmed *Clodius*, and
 " obliged him to exert all his arts to support the validity of the law; he
 " threatened ruin and destruction to all who should dare to oppose it;
 " and, to imprint the greater terror, fixed upon the doors of the Senate-house
 " that clause which prohibited all men to speak or act in any manner for
 " *Cicero's*

• Post Red.
 in Sen. 4.

Ad Att.
 iii. 15.

“ Cicero’s return, on pain of being treated as enemies. This gave a farther
 “ disquiet to Cicero, lest it should dishearten his active friends, and furnish
 “ an excuse to the indolent for doing nothing : He insinuates, therefore,
 “ to Atticus, what might be said to obviate it ; *that all such clauses were*
 “ *only bugbears, without any real force ; or otherwise, no law could ever be*
 “ *abrogated ; and, whatever effect this was intended to have, that it must*
 “ *needs fall of course with the law itself.*

Y. R. 695.
 Bef. Chr.
 57.
 394 Conf.
 Ad Att.
 iii. 23.

“ In this anxious state of mind, jealous of every thing that could hurt,
 “ and catching at every thing that could help him, another little incident
 “ happened, which gave him a fresh cause of uneasiness : For some of his
 “ enemies had published an *investive Oration*, drawn up by him for the
 “ entertainment only of his intimate friends, against some eminent Sena-
 “ tor, not named, but generally supposed to be *Curio, the Father*, who
 “ was now disposed and engaged to serve him : He was surprized and
 “ concerned, *that the Oration was made public ;* and his instructions upon
 “ it to Atticus are somewhat curious ; and shew how much he was struck
 “ with the apprehension of losing so powerful a friend. *You have stunned*
 “ *me, says he, with the news of the Orations being published : Heal the*
 “ *wound, as you promise, if you possibly can : I wrote it long ago in anger,*
 “ *after he had first written against me ; but I had suppressed it so carefully,*
 “ *that I never dreamt of its getting abroad, nor can imagine how it slipped out :*
 “ *But since, as fortune would have it, I never had a word with him in person,*
 “ *and it is written more negligently than my Orations usually are, I cannot but*
 “ *think that you may disown it, and prove it not to be mine. Pray take care of*
 “ *this, if you see any hopes for me ; if not, there is the less reason to trouble*
 “ *myself about it.*

Ad Att.
 iii. 12.

“ His principal agents and solicitors at Rome were his brother Quintus,
 “ his wife Terentia, his son-in-law Piso, Atticus, and Sextius, one of the
 “ Tribunes elect.

“ Sextius

Midd. 368. “ The brother and the wife, being both
 “ of them naturally peevish, seem to have
 “ given him some additional disquiet, by
 “ their mutual complaints against each other ;
 “ which obliged him to admonish them gently
 “ in his letters, that, since their friends were
 “ so few, they ought to live more amicably
 “ among themselves.

“ Terentia, however, bore a very consider-
 “ able part of the whole affair : and, instead
 “ of being daunted by the depression of
 “ the family, and the ruin of their fortunes,
 “ seems to have been animated rather the
 “ more to withstand the violences of their

“ enemies, and procure her husband’s reslo-
 “ ration.

“ She had a particular estate of her own,
 “ not obnoxious to Clodius’s law, which she
 “ was now offering to sale, for a supply of
 “ their present necessities.” But we find that
 “ Cicero, in several of his letters, pressed her
 “ not to do it.

“ His son-in-law, Piso, was extremely af- Post Red.
 “ fectionate and dutiful, in performing all in Sen. 15.
 “ good offices, both to his banished father Ep. Fam.
 “ and the family ; and resigned the Quæst- xiv. 1.
 “ orship of Pontus and Bithynia, on purpose
 “ to serve them more effectually by his pre-
 “ sence at Rome.

“ Atticus

Y. R. 695.

Midd. 373.

Pro Sext.

32.

Corn Nep.

Vit. Att.

4.

Ad. Att.

iii. 25.

Ibid. 20.

Midd. 371.

"Sextius took the trouble of a journey into Gaul, to solicit *Cæsar's* consent to his Restoration; which though he obtained, as well by his own intercession

"Atticus had furnished Cicero for the exigencies of his flight, with above two thousand pounds; and, upon succeeding to the great estate of his uncle Cæcilius*, whose name he now assumed, made him a fresh offer of his purse: Yet his conduct did not wholly satisfy Cicero; who thought him too cold and remiss in his services; and fancied, that it flowed from some secret resentment, for having never received from him, in his flourishing condition, any beneficial proofs of his friendship. In order, therefore, to rouse his zeal, he took occasion to promise him, in one of his letters, that, whatever reason he had to complain on that score, it should all be made up to him, if he lived to return: If fortune says he, ever restore me to my Country, it shall be my special care, that you, above all my friends, have cause to rejoice at it: And tho' hitherto, I confess, you have reaped little benefit from my kindness, I will manage so far for the future, that whenever I am restored, you shall find yourself as dear to me as my brother and my children. If I have been wanting therefore in any duty to you, or rather, since I have been wanting, pray pardon me; for I have been much more wanting to myself. But Atticus begged of him to lay aside all such fancies, and assured him, that there was not the least ground for them; and that he had never been disgusted by any thing, which he had either done, or neglected to do for him; intreating him to be perfectly easy on that head, and to depend always upon his best services, without giving himself the trouble even of reminding him."

Cicero's letters to Terentia, (so excellently well translated into English by Mr. Melmoth) mention the cordial zeal of Piso for his father-

in-law, and acquaint us more perfectly than any historian can do, with the state of Cicero's mind in the time of his banishment.

Mr. Melmoth, in a note on the first of them, Melm. writes thus: "The following letters to Ter- Vol. 1. p. entia were written in Cicero's exile, and 25. will prove, either that he was a philosopher only in speculation, or that philosophy itself pretends to more than it has power to perform. Perhaps they will prove both: For as, on the one hand, they discover the most unmanly dejection of spirit; so it is certain, on the other, that much weaker minds have been able, with the assistance of better principles, to support, with fortitude, far severer trials."

BOOK I. LETTER VI.*

To Terentia, to my dearest Tullia, and to my Son.

*Ep. Fam.

l. xiv. Ep.

4. Ed. Græv.

"If you do not hear from me so frequently as you might, it is because I can neither write to you, nor read your letters, without falling into a greater passion of tears than I am able to support: For, though I am at all times, indeed, completely miserable, yet I feel my misfortunes with a particular sensibility upon those tender occasions. Oh! that I had been more indifferent to life! Our days would then have been, if not wholly unacquainted with sorrow, yet by no means thus wretched. However, if any hopes are still reserved to us of recovering some part, at least, of what we have lost, I shall not think that I have made altogether so imprudent a choice. But, if our

* "This Cæcilius, Atticus's uncle, was a famous churl and usurer, (sometimes mentioned in Cicero's letters), who adopted Atticus by his will, and left him three fourths of his estate, which amounted to 80,000 l. sterling. He had raised this great fortune by the favour chiefly of Lucullus, whom he flattered to the last with a promise of making him his heir, yet left the bulk of his estate to Atticus, who had been very observant of his humour; for which fraud, added to his notorious avarice and extortion, the mob seized his dead body, and dragged it infamously about the streets. Val. Max. vii. 8. Cicero, congratulating Atticus upon his adoption, addresses his letter to Q. Cæcilius, Q. F. Pompeianus Atticus. For, in assuming the name of the adopter, it was usual to add also their own family name, though changed in its termination, as from Pompeius to Pompeianus, to preserve the memory of their real extraction: To which some added also the surname, as Cicero does in the present case." Ad. Att. iii. 20.

"present

“ intercession as by *Pompey's* letters, yet it seems to have been with cer- Y. R. 695.
 “ tain limitations, not agreeable to *Cicero*: For, on *Sextius's* return Bef. Chr.
 “ to 57.
 “ 394 Conf.

“ present fate is unalterably fixed——Ah!
 “ my dearest *Terentia*, if we are utterly and
 “ for ever abandoned by those gods whom
 “ you have so religiously adored, and by those
 “ men whom I have so faithfully served, let
 “ me see you as soon as possible, that I may
 “ have the satisfaction of breathing out my
 “ last departing sigh in your arms.

“ I have spent about a fortnight at this
 “ place, with my friend *Marcus Flaccus*. This
 “ worthy man did not scruple to exercise the
 “ rights of friendship and hospitality towards
 “ me, notwithstanding the severe penalties of
 “ that iniquitous law against those who should
 “ give me reception. May I one day have it
 “ in my power to make him a return to those
 “ generous services, which I shall ever most
 “ gratefully remember.

“ I am just going to embark, and purpose to
 “ pass through *Macedonia* in my way to *Cyxi-*
 “ *cum*. And now, my *Terentia*, thus wretched
 “ and ruined as I am, can I intreat you un-
 “ der all that weight of pain and sorrow with
 “ which, I too well know, you are oppressed,
 “ can I intreat you to be the partner and
 “ companion of my exile? But must I then
 “ live without you? I know not how to recon-
 “ cile myself to that hard condition; unless
 “ your presence at *Rome* may be a means of
 “ forwarding my return: if any hopes of
 “ that kind should indeed subsist. But should
 “ there, as I sadly suspect, be absolutely none;
 “ come to me, I conjure you, if it be possi-
 “ ble: For never can I think myself com-
 “ pletely ruined, whilst I enjoy my *Terentia's*
 “ company. But how will my dearest daugh-
 “ ter dispose of herself? A question which
 “ you yourselves must consider: For, as to my
 “ own part, I am utterly at a loss what to
 “ advise. At all events, however, that dear
 “ unhappy girl must not take any measures
 “ that may hinder her conjugal repose, or
 “ affect her in the good opinion of the world.
 “ As for my son——let me not at least be de-
 “ prived of the consolation of folding him
 “ for ever in my arms. But I must lay down
 “ my pen a few moments: My tears flow too
 “ fast to suffer me to proceed.

“ I am under the utmost solicitude, as I
 “ know not whether you have been able to pre-
 “ serve any part of your estate, or (what I sad-

“ ly fear) are cruelly robbed of your whole for-
 “ tune.—I hope *Piso* will always continue,
 “ what you represent him to be, entirely ours:
 “ —As to the manumission of the slaves, I
 “ think you have no occasion to be uneasy.
 “ For, with regard to your own, you may on-
 “ ly promise them their liberty as they should
 “ deserve it: But, excepting *Orpheus*, there
 “ is none of them that have any great claim to
 “ this favour. As to mine, I told them, if my
 “ estate should be forfeited, I would give them
 “ their freedom, provided I could obtain the
 “ confirmation of that grant: But if I prefer-
 “ ved my estate, that they should all of them,
 “ excepting only a few, whom I particularly
 “ named, remain in their present condition.
 “ But this is a matter of little consequence.

“ With regard to the advice you give me of
 “ keeping up my spirits, in the belief that I
 “ shall again be restored to my country; I only
 “ wish that I may have reason to encourage so
 “ desirable an expectation. In the mean time
 “ I am greatly miserable, in the uncertainty
 “ when I shall hear from you, or what hand
 “ you will find to convey your letters. I would
 “ have waited for them at this place; but the
 “ master of the ship, on which I am going to
 “ embark, could not be prevailed upon to lose
 “ the present opportunity of sailing.

“ For the rest, let me conjure you in my
 “ turn, to bear up under our afflictions with
 “ as much resolution as possible. Remember
 “ that my days have all been honourable;
 “ and that I now suffer, not for my crimes,
 “ but my virtues. No, my *Terentia*, nothing
 “ can justly be imputed to me, but that I sur-
 “ vived the loss of my dignities. However,
 “ if it was more agreeable to our children that
 “ I should thus live, let that reflection teach
 “ us to submit to our misfortunes with cheer-
 “ fulness; insupportable as upon all other
 “ considerations they would undoubtedly be.
 “ But, alas! whilst I am endeavouring to
 “ keep up your spirits, I am utterly unable
 “ to preserve my own!

“ I have sent back the faithful *Philetærus*:
 “ As the weakness of his eyes made him in-
 “ capable of rendering me any service. No-
 “ thing can equal the good offices I receive
 “ from *Sallustius*. *Pescennius* likewise has given
 “ me strong marks of this affection. And I hope
 “ he

Y. R. 695. " to *Rome*, when he drew up *the copy of a law*, which he intended to pro-
 Bef. Chr. " pose upon his entrance into office, conformable, as we may imagine,
 57- " to
 394 Conf.

" he will not fail in his respect also to you.
 " *Sica* promised to attend me in my exile :
 " But he changed his mind, and has left me
 " at this place.

" I intreat you to take all possible care of
 " your health : And be assured, your misfor-
 " tunes more sensibly affect me than my own.
 " Adieu, my *Terentia*, thou most faithful and
 " best of wives ! Adieu. And thou, my
 " dearest daughter, together with that other
 " consolation of my life, my dear son, I bid
 " you both most tenderly farewell.

* Brindisi. *Brundisium**, April 30.

† Ep. Fam. BOOK I. LETTER VII. †
 I. xiv.

Ep. 2. To *Terentia*, to my dearest *Tullia*, and to my
 Ed. Græv. Son.

" IMAGINE NOT, my *Terentia*, that I write
 " longer letters to others than to yourself :
 " Be assured, at least, if ever I do, it is mere-
 " ly because those I receive from them re-
 " quire a more particular answer. The truth
 " of it is, I am always at a loss what to
 " write : And as there is nothing in the pre-
 " sent dejection of my mind that I perform
 " with greater reluctance in general, so I ne-
 " ver attempt it with regard to you and my
 " dearest daughter, that it does not cost me a
 " flood of tears : For how can I think of you
 " without being pierced with grief in the re-
 " flection, that I have made those completely
 " miserable whom I ought, and wished, to
 " have rendered perfectly happy ? and I should
 " have rendered them so, if I had acted with
 " less timidity.

" *Piso's* behaviour towards us, in this sea-
 " son of our afflictions, has greatly endeared
 " him to my heart : And I have, as well as I
 " was able in the present discomposure of my
 " mind, both acknowledged his good offi-
 " ces, and exhorted him to continue them.

" I perceive you depend much upon the
 " new Tribunes : And, if *Pompey* perseveres
 " in his present disposition, I am inclined to
 " think your hopes will not be disappointed ;
 " though, I must confess, I have some fears
 " with respect to *Crassus*. In the meanwhile
 " I have the satisfaction to find, what indeed
 " I had reason to expect, that you act with
 " great spirit and tenderness in all my con-
 " cerns. But I lament it should be my cruel
 " fate to expose you to so many calamities,
 " whilst you are thus generously endeavouring
 " to ease the weight of mine. Be assured it
 " was with the utmost grief I read the account
 " which *Publius* sent me of the opprobrious
 " manner in which you were dragged from
 " the temple of *Vesta* * to the office of *Va-*
 " *lerius*. Sad reverse indeed ! That thou,
 " the dearest object of my fondest desires,
 " that my *Terentia*, to whom such numbers
 " were wont to look up for relief, should be
 " herself a spectacle of the most affecting
 " distress ! and that I, who have saved so
 " many others from ruin, should have ruined
 " both myself and my family by my own in-
 " discretion !

" As to what you mention with regard to the
 " area belonging to my house, I shall never
 " look upon myself as restored to my country,
 " till that spot of ground is again in my pos-
 " session. But this is a point that does not de-
 " pend upon ourselves. Let me rather express
 " my concern for what does ; and lament that,
 " distressed as your circumstances already are,
 " you should engage yourself in a share of those
 " expences which are incurred upon my ac-
 " count. Be assured, if ever I should return to
 " *Rome*, I shall easily recover my estate : But,
 " should fortune continue to persecute me,
 " will you, thou dear unhappy woman, will
 " you, fondly throw away, in gaining friends
 " to a desperate cause, the last scanty remains
 " of your broken fortunes ? I conjure you
 " then, my dearest *Terentia*, not to involve

* " *Terentia* had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Vesta*, but was forcibly dragged out from thence by the direc-
 " tions of *Cicero*, in order to be examined at a public office concerning her husband's effects." Mr. *Ross*.

" yourself

“ to the conditions stipulated with *Cæsar*, *Cicero* greatly disliked it, as
 “ being too general, and without the mention even of his name, not
 “ providing

Y.R. 695.
 Bef. Chr.
 57.
 394 Conf.

“ yourself in any charges of that kind : let
 “ them be borne by those who are able, if
 “ they are willing, to support the weight. In
 “ a word, if you have any affection for me,
 “ let not your anxiety upon my account in-
 “ jure your health, which, alas ! is already
 “ but too much impaired. Believe me, you
 “ are the perpetual subject of my waking and
 “ sleeping thoughts : and, as I know the af-
 “ fidity you exert in my behalf, I have a
 “ thousand fears lest your strength should not
 “ be equal to so continued a fatigue. I am
 “ sensible, at the same time, that my affairs
 “ depend entirely upon your assistance ; and
 “ therefore, that they may be attended with
 “ the success you hope, and so zealously en-
 “ deavour to obtain, let me earnestly entreat
 “ you to take care of your health.

“ I know not whom to write to, unless to
 “ those who first write to me, or whom you
 “ particularly mention in your letters. —
 “ As you and *Tullia* are of opinion that I
 “ should not retreat farther from *Italy*, I have
 “ laid aside that design. Let me hear from
 “ you both as often as possible, particularly
 “ if there should be any fairer prospect of my
 “ return. Farewell, ye dearest objects of my
 “ most tender affection. Farewell.”
Theſſalonica, Oct. 5.

• BOOK I. LETTER VIII.

To *Terentia*, to my dearest *Tullia*, and to
 my Son.

“ I learn by the letters of several of my
 “ friends, as well as from general report,
 “ that you discover the greatest fortitude of
 “ mind, and that you solicit my affairs with
 “ unwearied application. Oh, my *Terentia*,
 “ how truly wretched am I, to be the occa-
 “ sion of such severe misfortunes to so faith-
 “ ful, so generous, and so excellent a woman !
 “ And my dearest *Tullia* too ! — That she,
 “ who was once so happy in her father,
 “ should now derive from him such bitter for-
 “ rows ! But how shall I express the anguish
 VOL. III.

“ I feel for my little boy ! who became ac-
 “ quainted with grief as soon as he was ca-
 “ pable of any reflection. Had these afflictions
 “ happened, as you tenderly represent them,
 “ by an unavoidable fate, they would have
 “ sat less heavy on my heart. But they are
 “ altogether owing to my own folly, in ima-
 “ gining I was loved where I was secretly
 “ envied, and in not joining with those who
 “ were sincerely desirous of my friendship.
 “ Had I been governed, indeed, by my own
 “ sentiments, without relying so much on
 “ those of my weak or wicked advisers, we
 “ might still, my *Terentia*, have been happy.
 “ However, since my friends encourage me
 “ to hope, I will endeavour to restrain my
 “ grief, lest the effects it may have on my
 “ health should disappoint your tender efforts
 “ for my restoration. I am sensible, at the
 “ same time, of the many difficulties that
 “ must be conquered e'er that point can be
 “ effected ; and that it would have been much
 “ easier to have maintained my post than it is
 “ to recover it. Nevertheless, if all the *Tri-*
 “ bunes are in my interest ; if *Lentulus* is
 “ really as zealous in my cause as he appears :
 “ and if *Pompey* and *Cæsar* likewise concur
 “ with him in the same views, I ought not,
 “ most certainly, to despair.

“ With regard to our slaves, I am willing
 “ to act as our friends, you tell me, advise.
 “ As to your concern in respect to the plague
 “ which broke out here, it is entirely ceased :
 “ And I had the good fortune to escape all
 “ infection. However, it was my desire to
 “ have changed my present situation for some
 “ more retired place in *Epirus*, where I
 “ might be secure from *Piso* and his soldiers.
 “ But the obliging *Plancius* was unwilling to
 “ part with me ; and still indeed detains me
 “ here with the hope that we may return to-
 “ gether to *Rome*. If ever I should live to
 “ see that happy day ; if ever I should be
 “ restored to my *Terentia*, to my children,
 “ and to myself, I shall think all the tender
 “ solitudes we have suffered, during this sad
 “ separation, abundantly repaid.

3 M

“ Nothing

• Epist.
 Fam. lib.
 xiv. Ep. i.
 Ed. Græv.

Y. R. 695. " providing sufficiently either for his dignity or the restitution of his estate ;
B. f. Chr. " so that he desires *Atticus* to take care to get it amended.

57.
394 Conf.

" In

" Nothing can exceed the affection and
" humanity of *Piso's* behaviour towards eve-
" ry one of us : And I wish he may receive
" from it as much satisfaction as I am persua-
" ded he will honour. — I was far from in-
" tending to blame you with respect to my
" brother : but it is much my desire, especi-
" ally as there are so few of you, that you
" should live together in the most perfect har-
" mony. — I have made my acknowledg-
" ment where you desire, and acquainted
" the persons you mention, that you had in-
" formed me of their services.

" As to the estate you propose to sell ;
" alas ! my dear *Terentia*, think well of the
" consequence : Think what would become
" of our unhappy boy, should fortune still
" continue to persecute us. But my eyes
" stream too fast to add more : nor would I
" draw the same tender flood from yours. I
" will only say, that, if my friends should not
" desert me, I shall be in no distress for mo-
" ney : And if they should, the money you
" can raise by the sale of this estate will little
" avail. I conjure you then by all our mis-
" fortunes, let us not absolutely ruin our poor
" boy, who is well nigh totally undone alrea-
" dy. If we can but raise him above indi-
" gence, a moderate share of good fortune
" and merit will be sufficient to open his way
" to whatever else we can wish him to obtain.
" Take care of your health, and let me know
" by an express how your negotiations pro-
" ceed, and how affairs in general stand.
" — My fate must now be soon determi-
" ned. I tenderly salute my son and daugh-
" ter, and bid you all farewell."

* *Drazzo. Dyrrachium* *, Nov. 26.

P. S. " I came hither not only as it is a
" free city, and much in my interest, but as
" it is situated likewise near to *Italy*. But,
" if I should find any inconvenience from
" its being a town of such great resort, I
" shall remove elsewhere, and give you due
" notice."

BOOK I. LETTER IX †.

To *Terentia*.

" I received three letters from you by the
" hands of *Aristocritus*, and have wept over
" them, till they are almost defaced with my
" tears. Ah ! my *Terentia*, I am worn out
" with grief : Nor do my own personal mis-
" fortunes more severely torture my mind,
" than those with which you and my children
" are oppressed. Unhappy indeed as you
" are, I am infinitely more so ; as our com-
" mon afflictions are attended with this ag-
" gravating circumstance to myself, that they
" are justly to be imputed to my imprudence
" alone. I ought, most undoubtedly, either to
" have avoided the danger by accepting the
" commission which was offered me ; or to have
" repelled force by force, or bravely to have
" perished in the attempt : Whereas nothing
" could have been more unworthy of my cha-
" racter, or more pregnant with misery, than
" the scheme, which I have pursued. I am
" overwhelmed therefore, not only with sor-
" row, but with shame : Yes, my *Terentia*,
" I blush to reflect that I did not exert that
" spirit I ought for the sake of so excellent a
" wife and such amiable children. The dis-
" tress in which you are all equally involved,
" and your own ill state of health in particu-
" lar, are ever in my thoughts : As I have
" the mortification at the same time to ob-
" serve, that there appear but slender hopes
" of my being recalled. My enemies in truth,
" are many ; while those who are jealous of me
" are almost innumerable : And though they
" found great difficulty in driving me from my
" country, it will be extremely easy for them to
" prevent my return. However, as long as
" you have any hopes that my restoration
" may be effected, I will not cease to co-
" operate with your endeavours for that pur-
" pose, lest my weakness should seem upon
" all occasions to frustrate every measure in
" my favour. In the mean while my person
" (for which you are so tenderly concerned)
" is secure from all danger : As in truth I
" am so completely wretched, that even my
" enemies

† Epist.
Fam. lib.
xiv. Ep.
iii. Ed.
Græv.

“ In the mean while, *on the 28th of October*, eight of the Tribunes
 “ jointly offered to the People a law in his favour. But *Cicero* was
 “ much more displeased with this, than with the law drawn up by *Sex-*
 “ *tius* : It consisted of three articles ; the first of which *restored him only*
 “ *to his former rank, but not to his estate* : The second was only matter of
 “ form, *to indemnify the proposers of it* : The third enacted, *That, if there*
 “ *was any thing in it which was prohibited to be promulgated by any former*
 “ *law, particularly by that of Clodius, or which involved the author of*
 “ *such promulgation in any fine or penalty, in such case it should have no*
 “ *effect*. *Cicero* was surprized *that his friends could be induced to propose*
 “ *such an act, which seemed to be against him, and to confirm that clause*
 “ *of the Clodian law which made it penal to move any thing for him* :
 “ Whereas no clauses of that kind had ever been regarded, or thought

Y. R. 695.
 Bef. Chr.
 57.
 394. Conf.
 Ad Att.
 iii. 20.

“ enemies themselves must wish, in mere ma-
 “ lice, to preserve my life. Nevertheless, I
 “ shall not fail to observe the caution you
 “ kindly give me.

“ I have sent my acknowledgments by
 “ *Dexippus* to the persons you desired me ; and
 “ mentioned at the same time, that you had
 “ informed me of their good offices. I am
 “ perfectly sensible of those which *Piso* exerts
 “ towards us with so uncommon a zeal : As
 “ indeed it is a circumstance which all the
 “ world speaks of to his honour. Heaven
 “ grant that I may live to enjoy, with you
 “ and our children, the common happiness of
 “ so valuable a relation !

“ The only hope I have now left arises
 “ from the new Tribunes ; and that too de-
 “ pends upon the steps they shall take in the
 “ commencement of their office : For, if they
 “ should postpone my affair, I shall give up
 “ all expectations of its ever being effected.
 “ Accordingly I have dispatched *Aristocritus*,
 “ that you may send me immediate notice of
 “ the first measure they shall pursue, together
 “ with the general plan upon which they
 “ propose to conduct themselves : I have
 “ likewise ordered *Dexippus* to return to me
 “ with all expedition, and have written to my
 “ brother to request he would give me fre-
 “ quent information in what manner affairs
 “ proceed. It is with a view of receiving the
 “ earliest intelligence from *Rome*, that I con-
 “ tinue at *Dyrrachium* : A place where I can
 “ remain in perfect security, as I have upon
 “ all occasions distinguished this city by my
 “ particular patronage. However, as soon
 “ as I shall receive intimation that my enemies

“ are approaching, it is my resolution to re-
 “ tire into *Epirus*.

“ In answer to your tender proposal of ac-
 “ companying me in my exile, I rather chuse
 “ you should continue in *Rome* : As I am
 “ sensible it is upon you that the principal
 “ burden of my affairs must rest. If your
 “ generous negotiation should succeed, my
 “ return will prevent the necessity of that
 “ journey : If otherwise --- but I need not add
 “ the rest. The next letter I shall receive
 “ from you, or at most the subsequent one,
 “ will determine me in what manner to act.
 “ In the mean time I desire you would give
 “ me a full and faithful information how
 “ things go on : Though indeed I have now
 “ more reason to expect the final result of
 “ this affair, than an account of its progress.
 “ Take care of your health, I conjure you ;
 “ assuring yourself that you are, as you ever
 “ have been, the object of my fondest wishes.
 “ Farewell, my dear *Terentia* ! I see you so
 “ strongly before me whilst I am writing, that
 “ I am utterly spent with the tears I have
 “ shed. Once more, farewell.”

Dyrrachium, Nov. 30.

[*N. B.* About eleven years after *Cicero's*
 return home, and when he was sixty-one years
 of age, he repudiated this *most excellent, this*
dearly beloved wife, the object of his fondest
wishes, on the pretence of her being peevish
 and expensive, and married a pretty young
 girl, with a good fortune, to whom he had
 been left guardian.] See Midd. Vol. II.
 p. 148.

- Y. R. 695. " to have any special force, but fell of course when the laws themselves
 Ad Att. " were repealed : He observes, *that it was an ugly precedent for the succeed-*
 iii. 23. " *ing Tribunes, if they should happen to have any scruples ; and that Clodius*
 " *had already taken the advantage of it, when, in a speech to the People, on*
 " *the third of November, he declared that this act of the Tribunes was a pro-*
 " *per lesson to their successors, to let them see how far their power extended.*
 " *He desires Atticus therefore to find out who was the contriver of it, and*
 " *how Ninnius and the rest came to be so much overseen as not to be aware of*
 " *the consequences of it.*
- Midd. " The most probable solution of it is, that these Tribunes hoped to
 P. 374. " carry their point with less difficulty, by paying this deference to Clo-
 Pro Dom. " dius's law, the validity of which was acknowledged by Cato, and several
 16. " others of the principal Citizens ; and they were induced to make this
 " push for it, before they quitted their office, from a persuasion, that, if
 " Cicero was once restored on any terms, or with what restrictions so-
 " ever, the rest would follow of course ; and that the recovery of his
 " dignity would necessarily draw after it every thing else that was wanted ;
 " Cicero seems to have been sensible of it himself on second thoughts, as
 Ad Att. " he intimates in the conclusion of his letter : *I should be sorry, says he, to*
 iii. 23. " *have the new Tribunes insert such a clause in their law ; yet let them insert*
 " *what they please, if it will but pass, and call me home, I shall be content*
 " *with it.*
- Ibid. 22. " In this suspense of his affairs at Rome, the troops which Piso had
 " prepared for his government of Macedonia, began to arrive in great
 " numbers at Thessalonica. This greatly alarmed him, and made him
 " resolve to quit the place without delay : And, as it was not adviseable
 " to move farther from Italy, he ventured to come still nearer, and
 " turned back again to Dyrrachium : For though this was within the
 Ep. Fam. " distance forbidden to him by law, yet he had no reason to apprehend
 xiv. 1. " any danger in a town particularly devoted to him, and which had al-
 " ways been under his special patronage and protection. He came thither
 Ibid. 3. " on the twenty-fifth of November, and gave notice of his removal to his
 " friends at Rome, by letters of the same date, begun at Thessalonica and
 " finished at Dyrrachium : Which shews the great haste which he thought
 " necessary in making this sudden change of his quarters. Here he re-
 " ceived another piece of news, which displeased him ; *that, with the*
 " *consent and assistance of his managers at Rome (and particularly of*
 Ad Att. " *Atticus) the provinces of the Consuls elect had been furnished with money*
 iii. 24. " *and troops by a decree of the Senate ; provisions which had never before*
 " *been made until the entrance of the Consuls into office.*" This
 " disturbed him extremely, fearing lest the Tribunes elect, who had all
 " professed good-will to him, should be offended, because they had not
 " been consulted in the affair, though they had undertaken his cause, and
 " had desired the power of furnishing out the Consuls, merely to have an
 oppor-

opportunity of securing them to his interest; whereas now, if the new Consuls had a mind to be perverse, they might be so without any risk; but, let them be never so well disposed, they could do nothing without the consent of the Tribunes.—Another inconvenience followed from this measure, that the Senate, having broken through that resolution which they had taken in his cause, *That they would enter into nothing till his affair was settled*, were now at liberty to proceed to any other business as they pleased. Cicero, nevertheless, in his letter to Atticus on this head, adds, “It is not however to be wondered at, that my friends, who were applied to, should consent to it; for it was hard for any one to declare openly against a motion so beneficial to the two Consuls; it was hard, I say, to refuse any thing to *Lentulus*, who has always been my true friend; or to *Metellus*, who has given up his resentments with such humanity; yet I am apprehensive that we have alienated the Tribunes, and cannot hold the Consuls: Write me word, I desire you, what turn this has taken, and how the whole affair stands; and write with your usual frankness; for I love to know the truth, though it should happen to be disagreeable. The tenth of *December*.”

But Atticus, instead of answering this letter, or rather indeed before he received it, having occasion to visit his estate in *Epirus*, took his way thither through *Dyrrachium*, on purpose to see Cicero, and explain to him in person the motives of their conduct. Their interview was but short; and after they parted, Cicero, upon some new intelligence, which gave him fresh uneasiness, sent another letter after him into *Epirus*, to call him back again: “After you left me (says he) I received letters from Rome, from which I perceive that I must end my days in calamity; and to speak the truth (which you will take in good part) if there had been any hopes of my return, you, who love me so well, would never have left the City at such a conjuncture: But I say no more, lest I be thought either ungrateful, or desirous to involve my friends too in my ruin. One thing I beg; that you would not fail, as you have given your word, to come to me, wherever I shall happen to be, before the first of *January*.”

While he was thus perplexing himself with perpetual fears and suspicions, his cause was proceeding very prosperously at Rome, and seemed to be in such a train, that it could not be obstructed much longer: For the new Magistrates, who were coming on with the new year, were all, except the Prætor Appius, supposed to be his friends; while his enemy Clodius was soon to resign his office, on which the greatest part of his power depended: Clodius was sensible himself of the daily decay of his credit, through the superior influence of Pompey, who had drawn Cæsar away from him, and forced even Gabinius to desert him: so that, out of rage and despair, and the desire of revenging himself on these new and more powerful enemies, he would willingly have dropt the pursuit of Cicero;

or

Y. R. 695.
Bet. Chr.
57.
394 Cons.

Midd.

377.

378, 379.

Ad Att.
iii. 25.

Y.R. 695. or consented even to recall him, if he could have persuaded *Cicero's* friends and the Senate to join their forces with him against the Triumvirate. For this end *he produced Bibulus and the other Augurs in an Assembly of the People, and demanded of them, whether it was not unlawful to transact any public business, when any of them were taking the Auspices?* To which they all answered in the affirmative. Then *he asked Bibulus, whether he was not actually observing the heavens as often as any of Cæsar's laws were proposed to the People?* To which he answered in the affirmative: But, being produced a second time by the Prætor *Appius*, he added, *that he took the Auspices also, in the same manner, at the time when Clodius's act of adoption was confirmed by the People:* But *Clodius*, while he gratified his present revenge, little regarded how much it turned against himself; but insisted, *that all Cæsar's acts ought to be annulled by the Senate, as being contrary to the Auspices; and on that condition declared publicly, that he himself would bring back Cicero, the guardian of the City, on his own shoulders.*

Pro Dom. 47, 48. In the same fit of revenge he fell upon the Consul *Gabinus*; and in an Assembly of the People, which he called for that purpose, *with his head veiled, and a little altar and fire before him, consecrated his whole estate.* This had been sometimes done against traitorous Citizens; and, when legally performed, had the effect of a confiscation, by making the place and effects ever after sacred and public: But in the present case it was considered only as an act of madness; and the Tribune *Ninnius*, in ridicule of it, consecrated *Clodius's* estate in the same form and manner that, whatever efficacy was ascribed to the one, the other might justly challenge the same.

Midd. p. 381-388. All the ten new Tribunes had solemnly promised to serve *Cicero*; yet *Clodius* found means to corrupt two of them, *S. Attilius Serranus*, and *Numerius Quinctius Gracchus*, by whose help he was enabled still to make head against *Cicero's* party, and retard his restoration some time longer: But *Piso* and *Gabinus*, perceiving the scene to be opening apace in his favour, and his return to be unavoidable, thought it time to get out of his way, and retire to their several governments: So that they both left *Rome*, with the expiration of their year; and *Piso* set out for *Macedonia*, *Gabinus* for *Syria*.

Y.R. 696. On the first of *January*, the new Consul *Lentulus*, after the ceremony of his inauguration, and his first duty paid, as usual, to religion, entered directly into *Cicero's* affairs, and moved the Senate for his restoration, while his colleague *Metellus* declared, with much seeming candour, *that, though Cicero and he had been enemies, on account of their different sentiments in politics, yet he would give up his resentment to the authority of the Fathers, and the interest of the Republic.* Upon which, *L. Cotta*, a person of Consular and Censorian rank, being asked his opinion first, said, *That nothing had been done against Cicero agreeably to right, or law,*

Ibid. 34-

“ or

“ or the custom of their ancestors : That *no Citizen could be driven out* Y. R. 696.
Bet. Clu.
56.
 “ *of the City without a trial**, and that the People could not condemn,
 “ nor even try a man capitally, but in an Assembly of their Centuries : 395 Conf.
 “ That the whole was the effect of violence, turbulent times, and an
 “ oppressed Republic : That, in so strange a revolution and confusion of
 “ things, *Cicero* had only stepped aside, to provide for his future tranquillity,
 “ by declining the impending storm ; and, since he had freed the
 “ Republic from no less danger by his absence than he had done before
 “ by his presence, that he ought not only to be restored, but to be adorned
 “ with new honours : That what his mad enemy had published against
 “ him was drawn so absurdly, both in words and sentiments, that, if it
 “ had been enacted in proper form, it could never obtain the force of a
 “ law : That, since *Cicero* therefore was expelled by no law, he could
 “ not want a law to restore him, but ought to be recalled by a vote of the
 “ Senate.” ——— *Pompey*, who spoke next, having highly applauded
 what *Cotta* had said, added, “ That, for the sake of *Cicero*’s future quiet,
 “ and to prevent all farther trouble from the same quarter, it was his
 “ opinion, that the People should have a share in conferring that grace,
 “ and their consent be joined to the authority of the Senate.” After
 many others had spoken likewise with great warmth in the defence and
 praise of *Cicero*, they all came unanimously into *Pompey*’s opinion, and
 were proceeding to make a decree upon it, when *Serranus*, the Tribune,
 rose up and put a stop to it ; not flatly interposing his negative, for he
 had not the assurance to do that, against such a spirit and unanimity of the
 Senate, but desiring only a night’s time to consider of it. This unexpected
 interruption incensed the whole Assembly ; some reproached, others
 entreated him ; and his father-in-law *Oppius* threw himself at his feet, to
 move him to desist : But all they could get from him, was a promise
 to give way to a decree the next morning ; upon which they broke up.
 But the Tribune, says *Cicero*, employed the night, not, as people fancied he
 would, in giving back the money which he had taken, but in making a Post Red.
ad Quir. 5-
 better bargain, and doubling his price ; for the next morning, being grown
 more hardy, he absolutely prohibited the Senate from proceeding to any act.
 This conduct of *Serranus* surprized *Cicero*’s friends, being not only per-
 fidious, and contrary to his engagements, but highly ungrateful to *Ci-*
cero ; who, in his Consulship, had been his special encourager and bene- Ibid.
 factor.

The Senate, however, though hindered at present from passing their
 decree, were too well united, and *too strongly supported*, to be baffled much
 longer by the artifices of *Clodius* ; and having resolved to propound a
 law to the People for *Cicero*’s restoration, they appointed the twenty- Pro Sext.
35, 36, 37,
38.
 second of the month for the promulgation of it. When the day came,
Fabricius, one of *Cicero*’s Tribunes, marched out with a strong guard,

* This seems to be a strange plea for *Cicero*, who had put Citizens to death without trial.
 before

Y. R. 695. before it was light, to get possession of the *Rostra*: But *Clodius* was too
 B. Chr. 56. early for him; and having seized all the posts and avenues of the Forum,
 395 Conf. was prepared to give him a warm reception: He had purchased some gladiators for the shows of his *Ædileship*, to which he was now pretending, and borrowed another band of his brother *Appius*; and with these well armed, at the head of his slaves and dependents, he attacked *Fabritius*, killed several of his followers, wounded many more, and drove him quite out of the place; and happening to fall in at the same time with *Cispius*, another Tribune, who was coming to the aid of his colleague, he repulsed him also with a great slaughter. The gladiators, heated with this taste of blood, opened their way on all sides with their swords in quest of *Quintus Cicero*, whom they met with at last, and would certainly have murdered, if, by the advantage of the confusion and darkness, he had not hid himself under the bodies of his slaves and freedmen, who were killed around him, where he lay concealed till the fray was over. The Tribune *Sextius* was treated still more roughly: For, being particularly pursued and marked out for destruction, he was so desperately wounded as to be left for dead upon the spot; and escaped death, only by feigning it: But while he lay in that condition, supposed to be killed, *Clodius* reflecting that the murder of a Tribune, whose person was sacred, would raise such a storm as might occasion his ruin, took a sudden resolution to kill one of his own Tribunes, in order to charge it upon his adversaries, and to balance the account by making both sides equally obnoxious. The victim doomed to this sacrifice was *Numerius Quinctius*, an obscure fellow, raised to this dignity by the caprice of the multitude, who, to make himself the more popular, had assumed the surname of *Gracchus*: But the crafty clown, says *Cicero*, having got some hint of the design, and finding that his blood was to wipe off the odium of *Sextius's* murder, disguised himself presently in the habit of a muletier, the same in which he came to Rome, and with a basket upon his head, while some were calling out for *Numerius*, others for *Quinctius*, passed undiscovered by the confusion of the two names: But he continued in this danger till *Sextius* was known to be alive. According to the account of this day's tragedy, the Tiber and all the common sewers were filled with dead bodies, and the blood wiped up with sponges in the Forum, where such heaps of slain had never before been seen but in the civil dissensions of *Cinna* and *Octavius*.

Pro Mil. Clodius, flushed with this victory, set fire with his own hands to the Temple of the Nymphs, where the books of the Censors and the public registers of the City were kept, which were all consumed with the fabric itself. He then attacked the houses of *Milo* the Tribune, and *Cæcilius* the Prætor, with fire and sword; but was repulsed in both attempts with loss: *Milo* took several of *Appius's* gladiators prisoners, who, being brought before the Senate, made a confession of what they knew, and were sent to jail; but were presently released by *Serranus*. Upon these outrages, *Milo* impeached *Clodius* in form, for the violation of the public peace: But the

Consul

Consul *Metellus*, who had not yet abandoned him, with the *Prætor* *Appius*, and the *Tribune* *Serranus*, resolved to prevent any process upon it; and by their edicts prohibited either the criminal himself to appear, or any one to cite him. Their pretence was, that the *Quæstors* were not yet chosen, whose office it was to make the allotment of the Judges, while they themselves kept back the election, and were pushing *Clodius* at the same time into the *Ædileship*; which would screen him of course for one year from any prosecution. *Milo*, therefore, finding it impracticable to bring him to justice in the legal method, resolved to oppose force to force, and for this end purchased a band of gladiators, with which he had daily skirmishes with him in the streets. It was much to his honour (says *Cicero* ridiculously enough) that he bought gladiators for the defence of the Republic, whose preservation depended upon MINE. ^Y.

This obstruction given to *Cicero's* return made the Senate only the more resolute to affect it: They passed a second vote, therefore, that no other business should be done till it was carried; and to prevent all further tumults, and insults upon the Magistrates, ordered the Consuls to summon all the people of Italy, who wished well to the State, to come to the assistance and defence of *Cicero*. This drew a vast concourse to Rome from all parts of Italy, where there was not a corporate town of any note, which did not testify its respect to *Cicero* by some public act or monument. *Pompey* was at *Capua*, acting as chief Magistrate of his new colony, where he presided in person at their making a decree to *Cicero's* honour, and took the trouble likewise of visiting all the other colonies and chief towns in those parts, to appoint them a day of general rendezvous at Rome, to assist at the promulgation of the law.

Lentulus, at the same time, was entertaining the City with shews and stage-plays, in order to keep the People in good humour, whom he had called from their private affairs in the country to attend the public business. The shews were exhibited in *Pompey's Theatre*, while the Senate, for the convenience of being near them, was held in the adjoining temple of Honour and Virtue, built by *Marius* out of the *Cimbric spoils*, and called, for that reason *Marius's monument*: Here, according to *Cicero's dream* a decree now passed in proper form for his restoration; when, under the joint influence of those deities, Honour, says he, was done to Virtue; and the monument of

^Y *Honori summo Miloni nostro nuper fuit, quod gladiatoribus emptis Reipub. causa, quæ salute nostra continebatur, omnes P. Clodii conatus furoresque compressit. De Off. ii. 17.*

² *Cicero*, at the time of his flight, being lodged in the villa of a friend, had a morning-dream, which, when he awaked, (about eight o'clock) he told to those about him: "That, as he seemed to be wandering disconsolate in

" a lonely place, *C. Marius*, with his fasces wreathed with laurel, accosted him, and demanded why he was so melancholy; and when he answered, that he was driven out of his country by violence, *Marius* took him by the hand, and, bidding him be of good courage, ordered the next Lic-tor to conduct him into his monument, telling him that there he should find safety." *De Divin. i. 28.*

Y. R. 696. Marius, *the preserver of the empire, gave safety to his country-man, the de-*
 Bef. Chr. *fender of it.*

56.
 395 Conf. *Clodius* had still the courage and address to hinder this decree of the Senate from passing into a law: He took all occasions of haranguing the multitude against it, and used to demand of them aloud, whether they would have *Cicero* restored or not, upon which his *mercenaries*, says Pro Sext. 59. *Cicero*, answering with low feeble voices [*semivivis vocibus*] in the negative, he instantly declared the proposal to be rejected by *Roman People*. But the Senate, ashamed to see themselves thus baffled, resolved Midd. p. 391. to take such measures in the support of their decrees, that it should not be possible to defeat them. *Lentulus* therefore summoned them into the Post Red. in Sen. 10. Capitol on the twenty-fifth of May; where *Pompey* began the debate, and renewed the motion for recalling *Cicero*; and in a grave and elaborate speech, which he had prepared in writing, and delivered from Pro Sext. 61. his notes, gave him the honour of *having saved his Country*. All the leading men of the Senate spoke after him to the same effect; but the Consul *Metellus*, notwithstanding his promises, had been acting hitherto a double part; and was all along the chief encourager and supporter of *Clodius*: When *Servilius*, therefore, a Consular, who had been honoured with a Triumph and the Censorship, rose up, he addressed himself to his kinsman *Metellus*, and, having laid before him the glorious acts of his ancestors, together with the excellent conduct and unhappy fate of his brother *Celer*, *Cicero's* friend, supposed to have been poisoned by his wife, (the sister of *Clodius*) pressed him so earnestly, and in such moving terms, to Ibid. 62. concur with the Senate in their present measures, *that he could not hold out any longer, but, with tears in his eyes, gave himself up to Servilius, and professed all future services to Cicero*; in which he proved very sincere, and from this moment assisted his colleague in promoting *Cicero's* restoration: Post Red. in Sen. 10. So that in a very full house of 417 Senators, when all the Magistrates were present, the decree passed without one dissenting voice but *Clodius's*. It is probable that the two Tribunes, who had hitherto been *Cicero's* enemies, were induced, by *Metellus's* change of conduct, to cease their opposition, and acquiesce.

Midd. p. 393. The Consul *Lentulus* assembled the Senate again the next day, to concert some effectual method for preventing all farther opposition, and getting the decree enacted into a law: But, before they met, he called the People to the *Rostra*, where all the principal Senators in their turns repeated the substance of what they had said before in the Senate, in order Post. Red. at Quir. 7. to prepare them for the business of the day: *Pompey* particularly exerted himself in the praise of *Cicero*; declaring, *That the Republic owed its preservation to him, and that their common safety was connected with his; exhorting them to defend and support the decree of the Senate, the quiet of the City, and the fortunes of a man who had deserved so well of them: That this was the general voice of THE SENATE; of THE KNIGHTS; of all Italy; and,*

and, lastly, that it was his own earnest and special request to them, which he not only desired, but implored them to grant. Y. R. 696.
Bef. Chr.
56.

When the Senate afterwards met, they proceeded to several new and vigorous votes, to facilitate the success of their enterprise. 395. Conf.

First, That no Magistrate should presume to take the auspices, so as to disturb the Assembly of the People, when Cicero's cause was to come before them: And that if any one attempted it, he should be treated as a public enemy. Pro Sext.
60, 61.

Secondly, That, if, through any violence or obstruction, the law was not suffered to pass, Cicero should then be at liberty to return without any farther authority.

Thirdly, That public thanks should be given to all the people of Italy who came to Rome for Cicero's defence, and that they should be desired to come again on the day when the suffrages of the People were to be taken.

Fourthly, That thanks should be given likewise to all the states and cities which had received and entertained Cicero; and that the care of his person should be recommended to all foreign nations in alliance with them; and that the Roman generals, and all who had commanded abroad, should be ordered to protect his life and safety.

The law, now prepared for Cicero's restoration, was to be offered to the suffrages of the Centuries; where a decree of the Senate was previously necessary to make the act valid: In the present case there seem to have been four or five several decrees provided at different times, which had all been frustrated by the intrigues of Clodius and his friends; but these last votes proved effectual; Clodius being left single in the opposition after Metellus dropt him; for even his brother Appius chose to be quiet: Nevertheless it was above two months from the last decree before Cicero's friends could bring the affair to a general vote, which they effected at last on the fourth of August. The Assembly was held in the field of Mars, for the more convenient reception of a great multitude, and Cicero, after sixteen months exile, was recalled by the unanimous suffrage of all the Centuries. Midd. p.
395.

“ This, says Cicero's English Historian*, was one of the last genuine acts of FREE Rome; one of the last efforts of PUBLIC LIBERTY, exerting itself to do honour to its patron and defender: for the union of the Triumvirate had already given it a dangerous wound: and the dissension, which not long after ensued, entirely destroyed it.” By which words it would seem, that, in the Historian's opinion, the Triumviral League did not destroy Public Liberty; or, at least, that Rome, even under the domination of the Triumvirs, was sometimes free; seeing it was free when the People recalled Cicero from banishment; though it had been enslaved the year before, when, under the domination of the same Triumvirate, the People banished him: For in the midst of all his joy, on his return home, he could not help grieving, he says, within himself to reflect that a City, so grateful to the defender of its liberty, had been so miserably enslaved and oppressed. * Midd.
p. 397.

V. R. 696.

* Midd. p.
39+Post. Red.
in Sen. 3.

“ One cannot help pausing a while, says the same historian * a little before, to reflect on the GREAT IDEA which these facts imprint of the character and dignity of Cicero; to see so vast an empire in such a ferment on his account, as to postpone all their concerns and interests, for many months successively, to the Safety of a single Senator, who had no other means of exciting the zeal, or engaging the affections of his Citizens, but the genuine force of his personal virtues, and the merit of his eminent services: As if the Republic itself could not stand without him, but must fall into ruin, if he, the main pillar of it, was removed; whilst the greatest monarchs on earth, who had any affairs with the People of Rome were looking on, to expect the event, unable to procure any answer or regard to what they were soliciting, till this affair was decided. Ptolemy, the King of Egypt, was particularly affected by it, who, being driven out of his kingdom, came to Rome about this time, to beg help and protection against his rebellious subjects; but, though he was lodged in Pompey’s house, it was not possible for him to get an audience, till Cicero’s cause was at an end.”

* Vid. sup.
p. 401.

Now, with regard to this *unavoidable pause*, and the GREAT IDEA on which the historian reflects, I shall once more refer the reader to the passage above transcribed from Mr. Boyle*. Most certainly this shining piece of oratory *n’a rien de solide*. The fact was plainly this: The same *Triumvirs*, who, to punish Cicero’s incontinence of speech, gave him up to the fury of the enemy, and suffered him to be banished, did now call him home again to punish the insolence of Clodius, who affected an independency on those who had hitherto been his support.

If there be any thing in the transaction which should excite wonder, it is, that a man of such rare talents and transcendent merit as our eloquent Consul, who is supposed to have been most unjustly banished for well-doing, could not, by the solicitation of all his friends, obtain a *restoration*, even after his cause was favoured by the *Triumvirs*, the two *Consuls*, the whole *Senate*, and eight of the *Tribunes*, until, through the influence of all these, such multitudes of voters flocked to Rome from the remote parts of Italy, as were sufficient to outvote those who resided in the City and in its neighbourhood: So that, according to what is said by the historian himself in another part of his work, *it was impossible to know, whether the act in Cicero’s favour had passed regularly by the genuine suffrage of the People*. Vid. Midd. Vol. I. p. 21. and vid. supra, p. 119.

Ad Art.
iii. 26.

Ibid. iv. 1.

Cicero had resolved to come home, in virtue of the Senate’s decree, whether the law had passed or not; but perceiving, from the accounts of all his friends, that it could not be defeated any longer, he embarked for Italy on the fourth of August, the very day on which it was enacted, and landed the next day at Brundisium, where he found his daughter Tullia already arrived to receive him. He took up his quarters again with his old host Lenius Flaccus, and here in four days he received from

from *Rome* the welcome news, that the law was actually ratified by the People, with an incredible zeal and unanimity of all the Centuries. This obliged him to pursue his journey without delay. The fame of his landing, and progress towards the City, drew infinite multitudes from all parts to see him as he passed, and congratulate him on his return: So that the whole road was but one continued street from *Brundisium* to *Rome*, lined on both sides with crowds of men, women, and children; nor was there a præfecture, town, or colony, through *Italy*, which did not decree him statues, or public honours, and send a deputation of their principal members to pay him their compliments: That it was rather less than the truth, as *Plutarch* says, what *Cicero* himself tells us, that all *Italy* brought him back upon its shoulders. [Nor can this appear in any degree wonderful, if we consider, that, when Consul, he had, in *Pompey's* opinion, preserved not only the *Roman* empire, but, *the whole globe of the earth* *.]

The modern historian, so often cited above, tells us, that "*Cicero's* re-
turn was truly, what he himself calls it, the beginning of a NEW LIFE to
him; which was to be governed by *new maxims*, and a *new kind of policy*,
yet so as not to forfeit his OLD CHARACTER. He had been made to feel in
what hands the weight of power lay, and what little dependance was to
be placed on the help and support of his aristocratical friends: *Pompey*
had served him on this important occasion very sincerely, and with the
concurrence also of *Cæsar*, so as to make it a point of gratitude, as well
as prudence, to be more observant of them than he had hitherto been:
The Senate, on the other hand, with the Magistrates, and the honest of
all ranks, were zealous in his cause; and the Consul *Lentulus*, above
all, seemed to make it the sole end and glory of his administration. The
uncommon consent of opposite parties in promoting his restoration drew
upon him a variety of obligations, which must needs often clash and interfere
with each other, and which it was his part still to manage so, as to make
them consistent with his honour, his private and his public duty: These
were to be the springs and motives of his NEW LIFE, the hinges on which
his future conduct was to turn; and to do justice severally to them all,
and assign to each its proper weight and measure of influence, required his
utmost skill and address."

Another ingenious writer describes, in colours somewhat less favourable, the NEW LIFE which *Cicero* entered upon at this time.

"It was the case of this great man, as of many others, that his glory
would have been brighter, if his life had been shorter. Had he died
immediately after his Consulship, no stain had remained upon his
memory. But it cannot be concealed, that his success elated him too
much, and that he expected, on quitting his office, to be the soul of the

* — *Pompeium* adduxi in eam voluntatem, ut in Senatu, non semel sed sæpe, multis-que verbis hujus mihi salutem imperii, atque orbis terrarum adjudicaret. *Ad Att. lib. i. Ep. 19.*

Y. R. 595. "public deliberations, and to govern by the State his counsels. His banish-
 Br. Chr. "ment dejected him entirely; and his return did not reinstate him in that
 55.
 195 Conf. "aristocratical constancy, by which he had acquired so much honour. He
 "was reduced to submit to the yoke, make his court for a while to *Pompey*,
 "and then become the slave of *Cæsar*."

Of the court which he paid to *Pompey*, we have a specimen in his speech to the People *on the sixth of September*, two days after his return home.

On the *fifth* he had, in the Senate, professed his obligations to that august Assembly in general, and to each Magistrate by name. The number
 Mid. 402. of his private friends *was too great to make it possible for him to enumerate or*
 Pro Planc. *thank them all, so that he confined himself to the Magistrates, with exception on-*
 30.
 Pea. Red. *ly to Pompey*, whom, for the eminence of his character, though at pre-
 in Sen. 12. sent only a private man, he took care to distinguish by a personal address
 and compliment. But as *Lentulus* was the first in office, and had served
 him with the greatest affection, so he gives him *the first share of his praise*;
 and, in the overflowing of his gratitude, styles him *the parent and the god*
 Ibid. 4. *of his life and fortunes*.

The next day he paid his thanks to the People in a speech from the *Ros-
 tra*, where he celebrated the particular merits and services of his principal
 friends, especially of *Pompey*, whom he declares to be the *greatest man for*
virtue, wisdom, glory, who was then living, or had lived, or ever would live;
and that it was but barely possible, scarce lawful, for one man to owe to another
so much, as on this occasion, he owed to him^b.

This affair being happily over, the Senate had leisure again to attend to
 Mid. p. public business; and there was now a case before them of a very urgent
 405. nature, which required a present remedy; an unusual scarcity of corn and
 provisions in the City, which had been greatly increased by the late con-
 course of people from all parts of *Italy* on *Cicero's* account, and was now
 felt very severely by the poorer sort, who began to grow clamorous.
 Pro Dom. *Clodius*, to create fresh trouble to *Cicero*, charged the calamity to his
 5, 6. score, and employed a number of young fellows to run all night about
 the streets, and make a lamentable outcry for bread, calling up *Cicero*
 to relieve them from the famine to which he had reduced them. *Metellus*
 having summoned the Senate to the Temple of *Concord*, *Clodius's* mob
 crowded thither; but happening to meet with *Metellus* in the way,
 they presently attacked him with volleys of stones, and the Consul was
 wounded. For the greater security, he immediately adjourned the Senate
 into the *Capitol*. The leaders of this rabble were *M. Lollius* and *M.*
Sergius; the first had, in *Clodius's* Tribune, undertaken the task of
 killing *Pompey*; *Sergius* had been Captain of the guard to *Catiline*.

^b *Cæ. Pompeius*, vir omnium qui sunt,
 fuerunt, erunt, princeps virtute, sapientia ac
 gloria.—Huic ego homini, Quirites tan-

tum debeo, quantum hominem homini debere
 vix fas est. *Post Red. ad Quir. 7.*

But

But *Clodius*, encouraged by this hopeful beginning, put himself at their head in person, and pursued the Senate into the *Capitol*, in order to disturb their debates, and hinder their providing any relief for the present evil. — But the People themselves, seeing through his design, were so provoked at it, *that they turned universally against him, and drove him out of the field with all his mercenaries*; when, perceiving that *Cicero* was not present in the Senate, they called out upon him by name, with one voice, and would not be quieted till he came in person to undertake their cause, and propose some expedient for their relief. He had kept his house all that day, and resolved to do so, till he saw the issue of the tumult; but when he understood that the mob was repulsed and dispersed, and that his presence was universally required, by the Consuls, the Senate, and the whole People, he came to the Senate-house in the midst of their debates, and, being presently asked ^c his opinion, proposed, that *Pompey* should be engaged to undertake the province of restoring plenty to the City; and that, to enable him to do it effectually, he should be invested with an absolute power over all the public stores and corn-rents of the empire. The motion was readily accepted, and a vote immediately passed, that a law for that purpose should be offered to the People. Except *Messala* and *Afranius*, all the Consular Senators were absent: They pretended to be afraid of the mob; but the real cause was their unwillingness to concur in granting this commission to *Pompey*. The Consuls carried the decree with them into the *Rostra*, and read it to the People; who, on the mention of *Cicero*'s name in which it was drawn, gave an universal shout of applause; upon which, at the desire of all the Magistrates, *Cicero* made a speech to them, setting forth the reasons and necessity of the decree, and giving them the hope of a speedy relief, from the vigilance and authority of *Pompey*. The absence, however, of the Consular Senators, who were the principal members of the House, occasioned some censure: It was said, that the Senate's vote had not been free *; that it had been extorted by fear; and the very next day a motion was made to revoke the decree: But, though all the Consular Senators were then present, the motion was unanimously rejected; and the Consuls were ordered to draw up a law, by which the whole administration of the corn and provisions of the Republic was granted to *Pompey* for five years, with a power of choosing fifteen Lieutenants to assist him in it.

This furnished *Clodius* with fresh matter for declaiming against *Cicero*, whom he charged with ingratitude towards the Senate, which had always been firm to him, and which he now deserted, in order to pay his court to a man who had betrayed him: Adding, that he was so silly as not to know his own strength and credit in the City, and how able he was to maintain his authority without the help of *Pompey*. *Cicero* defended himself by saying,

* Veni expectatus multis jam sententiis dictis, rogatus sum sententiam; dixi Reipub. saluberrimam, mibi necessariam.

Y. R. 696. " That they must not expect, now that he was restored, to deceive him by
 Bef. Chr. " the same arts whereby they had ruined him before, raising jealousies
 55. " between him and *Pompey*; that he had smarted for it too severely already,
 195 Conf. " to be caught again in the same snare; that in decreeing this commission
 " to *Pompey*, he had discharged both his private obligation to a friend, and
 Pro Dom. " his public duty to the State; *that those who grudged all extraordinary*
 8. " *power to Pompey, must grudge the victories, the triumphs, the accession of*
 " *dominion and revenue, which their former grants of this sort had procured*
 " *to the empire; that the success of those shewed what fruit they were to ex-*
 " *pect from this.*"

Ad Att. " How extensive an authority soever this law conferred on *Pompey*, he, or
 iv. 1. his creatures, were not satisfied with it; for *Messius*, one of the Tribunes,
 proposed another, to give him the additional power of raising what money,
 fleets, and armies he thought fit; with a greater command through all the
 provinces than their proper governors had in each. " *Our Consular Law,*
 " *says Cicero, now seems modest; that of Messius insufferable: Pompey declares*
 " *for the first; all his dependants are for the second. The Consuls exclaim*
 " *with indignation against it: I hold my peace; and the rather as the Ponti-*
 " *fices have decreed nothing yet concerning my house.*"

Crevier. " *Cicero* does not tell us which of the two laws passed: But *Dio*, in com-
 Tom. xii. paring the command which was given to *Pompey* on this occasion, with that
 which he had in the war against the pirates, gives us reason to believe that
 it was the law of *Messius*.

" *Pompey* named *Cicero* for his first Lieutenant, declaring that he should con-
 sider him as a second self, and act nothing without his advice. *Cicero* ac-
 M. Ad. 410. cepted the employment, on condition that he might be at liberty to use or
 Ad Att. resign it at pleasure, as he found it convenient to his affairs: And he soon
 iv. 2. after quitted it to his brother, and chose to continue in the City, where
 he had the pleasure to see the end of his law effectually answered; for the
 credit of *Pompey's* name immediately reduced the price of provisions in the
 market; and his vigour and diligence in prosecuting the affair established
 at length a general plenty.

Pitt. in
 Pomp.

" *Cicero* was restored to his former dignity, but not to his former for-
 tunes, nor was any satisfaction yet made to him for the ruin of his houses
 and estates: A full restitution indeed had been decreed, but was reserved
 to his return; which came now before the Senate to be considered and
 settled by public authority, where it met still with great obstruction. The
 chief difficulty was about his *Palatin House*, which he valued above
 all the rest, and which *Clodius* for that reason had contrived to alienate,
 as he hoped, irretrievably, by demolishing the fabric, and dedicating a
 Temple upon the area to the goddess LIBERTY; where, to make his work

* Certainly this is not the language of a true Republican.

* — Nos tacemus; et eo magis, quod de

domo nostra nihil adhuc Pontifices responderunt. Ad. Att. iv. 1.

the more complete, he pulled down also the adjoining *portico* of Catulus^f, that he might build it up anew, of the same order with the Temple; and by blending the public with private property, and *consecrating the whole to religion*, might make it impossible to separate or restore any part to Cicero; since a consecration, legally performed, made the thing consecrated unap-
plicable ever after to any private use.

The affair was to be determined by the college of Priests, who were the judges in all cases relating to religion: For the Senate could only make a provisional decree, *that, if the Priests discharged the ground from the service of religion, then the Consuls should take an estimate of the damage, and make a contract for rebuilding the whole at the public charge, so as to restore it to Cicero in the condition in which he left it.* The Priests therefore of all orders were called together on the last of September, to hear this cause, which Cicero pleaded in person before them: They were men of the first dignity and families in the Republic; and there never was, as Cicero tells us, so full an appearance of them in any cause since the foundation of the City: He reckons up nineteen by name, a great part of whom were of Consular rank.—The question on which the cause singly turned, *was about the efficacy of the pretended consecration of the house, and the dedication of the Temple:* To shew the nullity therefore of this act, he endeavours to overthrow the foundation of it, “and prove Clodius’s Tribune to be originally null and void from the *invalidity of his adoption*, none of the conditions of a regular and legal adoption having been observed in his case—that, if the *adoption* was regular and illegal, the Tribune must needs be so too, which was entirely built upon it: But granting the Tribune to be valid, because some eminent men would have it so, yet the act made afterwards for his banishment could not possibly be considered as a law, but as a *privilege* only made against a particular person; which the sacred laws and the laws of the Twelve Tables had utterly prohibited.—When he comes to speak of the dedication of the Temple, he observes that the Goddess LIBERTY, to which it was dedicated, was the known statue of a celebrated strumpet, which Appian brought from Greece for the ornament of the Ædileship: And, upon dropping the thoughts of that Magistracy, gave it his brother Clodius to be advanced into a Deity: That the ceremony was performed without any licence, or judgment obtained from the college of Priests, by the single ministry of a raw young man, the brother-in-law of Clodius, who had been made Priest but a few days before; a meer novice in his business, and forced into the service: But if all had been transacted regularly, and in due form, that it could not possibly have any force, as being contrary to the standing laws of the Republic:

^f This portico was built on the spot where Fulvius Flaccus formerly lived, whose house was publicly demolished for the supposed treason of its master. Vid. Vol. II. Y. of R. 632.

- Y.R. 696. " For there was an old Tribunician law, made by *Q. Papirius*, which
 Bef. Chr. " prohibited the consecration of houses, lands, or altars, without the ex-
 56. " press command of the People ; which was not obtained, nor even pre-
 195 Conf. " tended, in the present case : That great regard had always been paid to
 " this law in several instances of the gravest kind," which he cited, and
 Midd. then proceeded — " that, after all this, it was to no purpose to mention,
 P. 416. " that the dedication was not performed with any of the solemn words
 " and rites which such a function required ; but by the ignorant young
 " man before-mentioned, without the help of his colleagues, his books, or
 " any to prompt him : Especially when *Clodius*, who directed him, that
 " impure enemy of all religion, who often acted the woman among
 " men, as well as the man among women, huddled over the whole cere-
 " mony in a blundering precipitate manner, faltering and confounded in
 " mind, voice and speech ; often recalling himself, doubting, fearing, he-
 " sitating, and performing every thing quite contrary to what the sacred
 " books prescribed : Nor is it strange," says he, " that, in an act so mad
 " and villainous, his audaciousness could not get the better of his fears :
 Ibid. 417. " For what pirate, though never so barbarous, after he had been plun-
 " dering temples, when, pricked by a dream or scruple of religion, he
 " came to consecrate some altar on a desert shore, was not terrified in his
 " mind, on being forced to appease that Deity by his prayers whom he
 " had provoked by his sacrilege ? In what horrors then, think you, must
 " this man needs be, the plunderer of all temples, houses, and the whole
 " City, when, for the expiation of so many impieties, he was wickedly
 " consecrating one single altar ? " Then [for to swear falsely was, by ha-
 *Vid. supr. bitude, become easy to the Orator *] he makes a solemn invocation and
 P. 437. appeal to all the Gods, who peculiarly favoured and protected that City,
 to bear witness to the integrity of his zeal and love to the Republic, and
*that, in all his labours and struggles, he had constantly preferred the public be-
 nefit to his own ; and concludes with committing the justice of his cause to the
 judgment of the venerable bench.* —
- Ad Att. The sentence of the Priests turned wholly on what *Cicero* had alleged
 iv. 2. about the force of the *Papirian law*, viz. *that if he, who performed the office
 of consecration, had not been specially authorised and personally appointed
 to it by the People, then the area in question might, without any scruple of
 religion, be restored to Cicero.* This, though it seemed somewhat evasive,
 was sufficient for *Cicero's* purpose ; and his friends congratulated him
 upon it, as upon a clear victory ; while *Clodius* interpreted it still in favour
 of himself ; and, being produced into the *Rostra* by his brother *Appius*,
 Midd. acquainted the People, *that the Priests had given judgment for him ; but
 418, 419. that Cicero was preparing to recover possession by force, and exhorted them
 therefore to follow him and Appius in the defence of their liberties.* But
 his speech made no impression on the audience ; some wondered at his
 impudence, others laughed at his folly, and *Cicero* resolved not to trouble
 himself

himself or the People about it, till the Consuls, by a decree of the Senate, had ^{V. R. 696.} contracted for rebuilding the portico of Catulus.

The Senate met the next day, in a full House, to put an end to this ^{Ad. 20.} ^{iv. 2.} affair; when *Marcellinus*, one of the *Consuls elect*, being called upon to speak first, addressed himself to the Priests, and desired them to give an account of the grounds and meaning of their sentence: Upon which, *Marcus Lucullus*², in the name of the rest, declared, that the Priests indeed were the judges of religion, but the Senate of the law; that they therefore had determined only what related to the point of religion, and left it to the Senate to determine whether any obstacle remained in point of law: All the other Priests spoke largely after him in favour of *Cicero's* cause: When *Clodius* rose afterwards to speak, he endeavoured to waste the time so as to hinder their coming to any resolution that day; but, after he had been speaking for three hours successively, the Assembly grew so impatient, and made such a noise and hissing, that he was forced to give over: Yet, when they were going to pass a decree in the words of *Marcellinus*, *Serranus* put his negative upon it: This raised an universal indignation; and a fresh debate began, at the motion of the two Consuls, on the merit of the *Tribune's* intercession; when, after many warm speeches, they came to the following vote; "That it was the resolution of the Senate, that *Cicero's* house should be restored to him, and *Catulus's* portico rebuilt, as it had been before; and that this vote should be defended by all the Magistrates; and if any violence or obstruction was offered to it, that the Senate would look upon it as offered by him who had interposed his negative." This staggered *Serranus*, and the late farce was played over again; his father threw himself at his feet, to beg him to desist; he desired a night's time; which at first was refused, but, on *Cicero's* request, granted; and the next day he revoked his negative, and without farther opposition, suffered the Senate to pass a decree, that *Cicero's* damage should be made good to him, and his houses rebuilt at the public charge.

The Consuls began presently to put the decree in execution; and ^{Ibid.} having contracted for the rebuilding *Catulus's* portico, set men to work upon clearing the ground, and demolishing what had been built by *Clodius*: But as to *Cicero's* buildings, it was agreed to take an estimate of his damage, and pay the amount of it to himself, to be laid out according to his own fancy: In which his *Palatin house* was valued at sixteen thousand pounds; his *Tusculan* at four thousand; his *Formian* only at two thousand. This was a very deficient valuation; for the *Palatin house* had cost him not long before near twice that sum: But *Cicero* resolved to appear satisfied with the award, because he perceived, or

¹ The famous *Lucius Lucullus* died this year. He had fallen mad some short time before; but it is not known whether it was

a natural disease, or the effect of some liquor given him by one of his freedmen. *Plus. in Luc.*

Y. R. 696.
Bef. Chr.
56.
395 Conf.

Plut. in
Cic.
Dio, 100.

imagined, that those who had clipt his wings had no mind to let them grow again^a.

But, though *Cicero* acquiesced in the low valuation of his houses, he could not rest till he had destroyed all the public monuments of his late disgrace. It was insufferable, that the law of his exile should remain, with the other acts of *Clodius's* Tribunate, hanging up in the Capitol, engraved, as usual, on tables of brass: Watching therefore the opportunity of *Clodius's* absence, he went to the Capitol with a strong body of friends, and, taking the tables down, conveyed them to his own house. This occasioned a sharp contest in the Senate between him and *Clodius* about the validity of those acts; and drew *Cato* also into the debate; who, without defending the man, defended the legality of his Tribunate, and of his acts in that Magistracy: For otherwise his own *Cyprian* commission must be deemed null, and all he did in virtue of it as done without authority. This created a coldness between the two Patriots. *Dio* speaks of a prior attempt by *Cicero* to take away the registers, which was defeated by *Clodius*, assisted by his brother *Caius*, then *Prætor*: And that historian speaks of both attempts as made in the Consulship of *Marcellinus* and *Philippus*, (Y. of R. 697.) when *P. Clodius* was *Ædile*. But *Dio's* authority is not decisive for the order of events; and it is more likely that *Cicero*, intoxicated with his prosperity, should venture to do this illegal riotous act before the two brothers entered on their Magistracies, than when they were in office. Be that as it will, it is no wonder that *Clodius's* fury, when thus provoked, carried him to those acts of vengeful violence which are going to be related.

Midd.
422, 423.
424.
Ad Att.
iv. 3.

Catulus's portico and *Cicero's* house were rising again apace, and carried up almost to the roof; when *Clodius*, without any warning, led thither, on the second of November, a band of armed men, who demolished the portico, drove the workmen out of *Cicero's* ground, and, with the stones and rubbish of the place, began to batter *Quintus's* house, with whom *Cicero* then lived, and at last set fire to it; so that the two brothers, with their families, to save themselves, were forced to fly in the utmost haste. *Milo* had already accused *Clodius* for his former violences, and resolved, if possible, to bring him to justice: *Clodius*, on the other hand, was suing for the *Ædileship*, to secure himself, for one year more at least, from any prosecution: He was sure of being condemned, if ever he was brought to a trial; so that whatever mischief he did in the mean time was all clear gain, and could not make his cause the worse: He now therefore gave a free course to his natural fury; was perpetually scouring the streets with his incendiaries, and threatened fire and sword to the City itself, if an Assembly was

^a Idem, mi *Pomponi*, iidem, inquam, illi, qui mihi pennas inciderunt, nolunt easdem renasci—*Ad Att.* iv. 2.

It appears, by *Ep.* ii. *Lib.* ii. ad *Q. Fr.*

that those of whom *Cicero* here complains were *Pompey* and *Leutulus*, the persons who had been most instrumental in his restoration.

not called for the election of *Ædiles*. In this humour, about a week after his last outrage, on the eleventh of *November*, happening to meet with *Cicero* in the sacred street, he presently assaulted him with stones, clubs, and drawn swords: *Cicero* was not prepared for the encounter, and took refuge in the vestibule of the next house; where his attendants, rallying in his defence, beat off the assailants, and could easily have killed their leader, but that *Cicero* was willing, he says, to cure by diet, rather than surgery¹. The day following *Clodius* attacked *Milo's* house with sword in hand and lighted flambeaux, with intent to storm and burn it: But *Milo* was never unprovided for him; and *Q. Flaccus*, rallying with a strong band of stout fellows, killed several of his men, and would have killed *Clodius* too, if he had not hid himself in the inner part of *P. Sylla's* house, which he made use of on this occasion as his fortrefs.

The Senate met, on the fourteenth, to take these disorders into consideration; *Clodius* did not think fit to appear there; but *Sylla* came, to clear himself probably of the suspicion of encouraging him in the violences, on account of the freedom which he had taken with his house. Many severe speeches were made, and vigorous councils proposed. *Marcellinus's* opinion was, that *Clodius* should be impeached anew for these last outrages; and that no election of *Ædiles* should be suffered till he was brought to a trial: *Milo* declared, that as long as he continued in office, the Consul *Metellus* should make no election; for he would take the auspices every

Y. R. 696.
Bef. Chr.
56.
395 Conf.

Cibber,
Char. and
Cond. of
Cic. p.
153.

¹ On this passage of Dr. *Middleton's* work the Poet-Laureat (before cited) makes the following remark, "If we had not the evidence of *Cicero's* own words for this fact, would it be credible? But *Cicero's* behaviour and sentiments upon the occasion are almost as extraordinary: for though his attendants rallied where he was forced to take refuge and beat off the assailants, and could easily have killed their leader, yet he was willing, says he, to cure by diet rather than by surgery; i. e. he rather chose to cut him down with a long speech than a broad sword. — To be quite grave upon the matter, the fact will plainly stand thus: That *Clodius* was as desperate a ruffian as ever broke the peace upon the highway, and *Cicero* was afraid of him.

"This being the wretched state of affairs in Rome, how shall we unravel so perplexing a part of our history? How came this gigantic Republic, these formidable Romans, that so strongly governed the world, so weakly to govern themselves? That, without regard to law, justice, humanity, or the public peace, every licentious leader of

"a faction might commit whatever convenient outrage his conscience had a mind to, without shame, punishment, or scarce public notice? Or if any notice at all happened to be taken of it, that very notice was more astonishing than the criminal complained of; for when at last (p. 423.) the Senate were reduced to bear the public enormities of *Clodius* no longer, they manfully met upon it, and many severe speeches were made, and vigorous councils proposed; and what was the end of them? Why, they vigorously resolved to adjourn, without coming to any resolution at all in the matter. — NOW DID NOT THIS GOVERNMENT WANT A CÆSAR? Yet these were the rough reformers, who have frequently been applauded for sacrificing the first Cæsar to their precious self-abused liberty; a worse tyranny than his condemned ambition ever wished to impose upon them, Yet were they not less rationally happy for forty following years, under their second absolute master *Augustus* — than they knew how to make themselves, when independent guardians of their native liberty."

day,

Y. R. 696.
Bef. Chr.
55.
395 Cons.

day, on which an Assembly could be held; but *Metellus* contrived to waste the day in speaking, so that they were forced to break up without making any decree. *Milo* was as good as his word, and, having gathered a superior force, took care to obstruct the election; though the Consul *Metellus* employed all his power and art to elude his vigilance, and procure an Assembly by stratagem; calling it to one place and holding it in another, sometimes in the field of *Mars*, sometimes in the Forum; but *Milo* was ever beforehand with him; and, keeping a constant guard in the field from midnight to noon, was always at hand to inhibit his proceedings, by *obnouncing*, as it was called, or declaring, that he was *taking the auspices on that day*; so that the three brothers were baffled and disappointed^k; though they were perpetually haranguing and labouring to inflame the People against those who interrupted their Assemblies and right of electing; where *Metellus's* speeches were turbulent, *Appius's* rash, *Clodius's* furious. *Cicero*, who gives this account to *Atticus*, was of opinion “that there would be no election; and that *Clodius* would be brought to trial, if he was not first killed by *Milo*, which was likely to be his fate; : *Milo*,” says he, “makes no scruple to own it; being not deterred by my misfortune, and having no envious or perfidious Counsellors about him, nor any lazy Nobles to discourage him. It is commonly given out by the other side, that what he does is all done by my advice; but they little know how much conduct, as well as courage, there is in this Hero.”

An affair which very much employed the public attention about this time, was the re-establishment of *Ptolemy Auletes*^l on the Egyptian throne.

Prideaux,
Part II.
p. 422.

Before *Pompey* left *Asia*, there had happened great disturbances and revolutions in *Egypt*. The *Alexandrians*, weary of *Alexander* their King, rose in mutiny against him, drove him out of the kingdom, and called to the crown *Ptolemy Auletes*, who was a bastard son of *Ptolemy Latbyrus*; for *Latbyrus* left no male issue by his wife, but several by his concubines. *Alexander*, on his expulsion, fled to *Pompey*, offered him great gifts, and promised him greater, on condition he would undertake his restoration:

Midd.
p. 425.

^k From these facts it appears, that what is said above, of *Clodius's* repealing the *Ælian* and *Fufian laws*, and prohibiting the Magistrates from obstructing the Assemblies of the People, is to be understood only in a partial sense; and that his new law extended no farther than to hinder the Magistrates from dissolving an Assembly after it was actually convened, and had entered upon business: For it was still unlawful, we see, to convene an Assembly while the Magistrate was in the act of observing the heavens.

Prid.

^l This *Auletes* had used himself to play on

a flute or pipe, called *Aulos*, and was so vain of his skill therein, that he would expose himself to contend for victory in the public shews: Hence he had the name of *Auletes*, i. e. *the piper*. And he would often imitate the effeminacies of the Bacchanals, and, in a female dress, dance to the same measures as they; and from hence he was called *Diomysius Neos*, or the *New Bacchus*. He is reckoned to have as much exceeded all of his race that reigned before him, in the effeminacy of his manners, as his grandfather *Phyſcon* did in the wickedness of them.

But

But *Pompey* refused to meddle in the matter, it being without the limits of his commission. *Auletes* got possession of the throne; but his title being precarious, he found means, by the interest of *Cæsar* and *Pompey* in the beginning of the Triumvirate, to be declared an Ally of the Roman Republic; for which piece of service they were to receive no less than 1,162,500 pounds.

While *Cato* was at *Rhodes*, in his way to *Cyprus*, *Auletes* came thither to him. For when the *Alexandrians* heard of the intention of the Romans to seize *Cyprus*, they pressed *Auletes* to demand the restoration of that island to *Egypt*, as being an ancient appendage of the kingdom; or, in case of denial, to declare war against them. *Auletes* refused to do either; and this refusal, joined with what they had suffered from him by his exactions, in order to raise the money with which he had purchased the favour of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*; angered them so far, that they drove him out of the kingdom, and he was then going to *Rome*, there to solicit the assistance of the Senate for his restoration. On his coming to *Cato*, and entering into discourse with him about his affairs, *Cato* blamed him for quitting that state of honour and happiness which he was possessed of in his kingdom, and thus exposing himself to the disgrace, trouble, and contempt, which, as an exile, he must expect to meet with. And as to the help he expected from *Rome*, he laid before him what great gifts and presents, for the obtaining of it, would be extorted from him by the great men of that city, whose greedy expectations, he freely told him, were such, that, although *Egypt* were to be sold, the purchase-money would not be sufficient fully to satisfy them. And therefore he advised him to return again into *Egypt*, and there make up all differences with his people; offering himself to go with him to help him herein. *Ptolemy* at first approved of the advice, and resolved to be guided by it; but, being afterwards dissuaded from it by those about him, he went forward to *Rome*, where he soon found, by full experience, all to be true that *Cato* had told him.

Frid. p. 450 & 451. Dio, lib. xxxix. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. ^m The *Alexandrians*, after *Auletes*'s departure, not knowing what was become of him, placed *Berenice*, his daughter, on the throne, for his two sons were yet very young, which made them prefer her. They sent an embassy into *Syria*, to *Antiochus Asiaticus*, who by his mother *Selene*, was the next male heir of the family, to invite him to come into *Egypt*, and there marry *Berenice*, and reign with her; but the Ambassadors on their arrival in *Syria*, found him just dead.

Understanding that *Selencus Cibicætes*, his brother, was still living, they sent an embassy to him with the same proposal, which he readily accepted of. *Gabinus* (who was now come into his province) at first hindered his

going; however, either with or without the consent of the Proconsul, he afterwards went; but, being a very sordid and base spirited man (of which he had given a special instance in robbing the sepulchre of *Alexander* of the golden case in which his body was deposited) *Berenice* soon grew weary of him, and caused him to be strangled, and she afterwards married *Archelaus*, high-priest of the Moon, the great goddess of the *Coronians* in *Pontus*: he was the son of that *Archelaus* who had the chief command of *Mithridates*'s forces in Greece, during his first war with the Romans; but after that, falling into disgrace with his master, fled to them.

When

Y. R. 696.
Bef. Chr.
56.
395 Ccml.

Midd.
P. 427.

When the *Alexandrians* learnt that *Ptolemy* was at *Rome*, they sent thither a numerous embassy, composed of a hundred of their principal Citizens, to plead their cause before the Senate; but the King, having notice of this deputation, procured some of them to be assassinated on the road, others as soon as they arrived at *Rome*; and others he silenced by proper applications to their fears and their avarice. The Senate ordered, that *Dio*, the chief of the embassy, an Academic philosopher, should be called and heard. But this *Dio* was soon after assassinated; and *Ptolemy's* money, aided by the power of *Pompey*, who lodged the King in his own house, and openly protected him, stifled this odious affair almost intirely. Some persons indeed were brought to a trial, as having been concerned in the assassination of *Dio*; and this was one of the chief articles of accusation against *Cælius*, whom *Cicero* defended the year following. These murders, and the notion of the King's having bribed all the Magistrates, had raised so general an aversion to him among the People, that he found it advisable to quit the City, and leave the management of his interest to his agents. The Consul *Lentulus*, who had obtained the provinces of *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*, whither he was preparing to set forward, was very desirous of the commission of replacing him on his throne; for which he had already procured a vote of the Senate: The opportunity of a command, almost in sight of *Egypt*, made him generally thought to have the best pretensions to that charge; and he was assured of *Cicero's* warm assistance in soliciting the confirmation of it.

In this situation of affairs, the new Tribunes entered into their office: *Caius Cato*, of the same family with his name-sake *Marcus*, was one of the number; a bold, turbulent man, of no temper or prudence^a; yet a tolerable speaker, and generally on the side of the Senate.

He opened his Magistracy by declaring loudly against King *Ptolemy*, and all who favoured him; especially *Lentulus*, whom he supposed to be under some private engagement with him, and for that reason was determined to baffle all their schemes.

The Senate (as has been just mentioned) had granted to *Lentulus* the commission for restoring the King; yet it would seem that *Pompey* was intriguing to get it for himself. An accident which happened at this time, threw an obstacle in the way of their ambition. The statue of *Jupiter* on Mount *Alba* having been struck by thunder, the books of the Sibyls were consulted; and there it was read, *If the King of Egypt comes to desire your help, deny him not your friendship; but aid him not with your forces; if you do, you shall have trouble and danger.* This Oracle, so pat to the purpose, left no room to doubt of its being forged; but *Cato*,

Midd.
P. 430.

Ad. Quint.
Fr. 2, 3.

^a Before he had borne any public office, he attempted to impeach *Gabinus* of bribery and corruption; but not being able to get an audience of the *Prætors*, he had the hardiness to mount the *Rostra*, which was never allowed to a private

Citizen, and, in a speech to the People, declared *Pompey Dictator*: But his presumption had like to have cost him dear; for it raised such an indignation in the audience, that he had much difficulty to escape with his life.

who

who was fiercely zealous against restoring the King by any means, and had the greater part of the Senate on his side, called up the guardians of the books into the *Rostra*, to testify the passage to be genuine. To the People it was publicly read and explained; and then laid before the Senate, who greedily received it; and after a grave debate on this scruple of religion, came to a resolution, *that it seemed dangerous to the Republic to restore the King by a multitude*. It cannot be imagined, that they laid any real stress on this admonition of the Sibyl; but it was a fair pretext for defeating a project generally disliked: They were unwilling to gratify any man's ambition of visiting the rich country of *Egypt* at the head of an army; and were persuaded, that, without an army, no man would be solicitous about going thither.

Y. R. 696.
Bef. Chr.
56.
395 Col. i.

Ad Quint.
Fr. ii.

Ep. Fam.
ii. 4.

Midd. 248.
Ad Quint.
Fr. ii. 1.

Lupus, likewise, one of *C. Cato's* Collegues, summoned the Senate, and raised an expectation of some uncommon proposal from him: It was indeed of an extraordinary nature; *to revise and annul that famed act of Cæsar's Consulship, for the division of the Campanian lands*: He spoke long upon it, and was heard with much attention; gave great praises to *Cicero*, with severe reflections on *Cæsar*, and expostulations with *Pompey*, who was now abroad in the execution of his late commission; in the conclusion he told them, *that he would not demand the opinions of the particular Senators, because he had no mind to expose them to the resentment and animosity of any; but from the ill humour, which he remembered, when that act first passed, and the favour with which he was now heard, he could easily collect the sense of the House*. Upon which *Marcellinus* said, *that he must not conclude from their silence, either what they liked or disliked*: That, for his own part, and he might answer too, he believed, for the rest, he chose to say nothing on the subject at present, because he thought that the cause of the Campanian lands ought not to be brought into debate in *Pompey's* absence.

This affair being dropt, *Racilius*, another Tribune, rose up and renewed the debate about *Milo's* impeachment of *Clodius*, and called upon *Marcellinus*, the Consul elect, to give his opinion upon it; who, after inveighing against all the violences of *Clodius*, proposed, *that, in the first place, an allotment of Judges should be made for the trial; and after that, the election of Ædiles; and if any one attempted to hinder the trial, that he should be deemed a public enemy*. The other Consul elect, *Philippus*, was of the same mind; but the Tribunes, *C. Cato* and *Cassius*, spoke against it, and were for proceeding to an election before any step towards a trial. When *Cicero* was called upon to speak, he ran through the whole series of *Clodius's* extravagancies, as if he had been accusing him already at the bar, to the great satisfaction of the Assembly; *Antistius*, the Tribune, seconded him, and declared, *that no business should be done before the trial*; and when the House was going universally into that opinion, *Clodius* began to speak, with intent to waste the rest of the day; while his slaves and followers without, who had seized the steps and avenues of the Senate, raised so great a noise of a sudden,

Ibid.

Y. R. 596. *in abusing some of Milo's friends, that the Senate broke up in no small hurry, and with fresh indignation at this new insult.*

Bef. Chr.
56.
395 Conf.

There was no more business done through the remaining part of *December*, which was taken up with holidays. *Lentulus* and *Metellus*, whose Consulship expired with the year, set forward for their several governments; the one for *Cilicia*, the other for *Spain*: *Lentulus* committed the whole direction of his affairs to *Cicero*; and *Metellus*, unwilling to leave him his enemy, made up all matters with him before his departure, and wrote an affectionate letter to him afterwards from *Spain*.

Ep. Fam.
v. 3.

C H A P. III.

Debates and contests in the Senate about restoring King PTOLEMY.

CLODIUS is chosen *Ædile*. He impeaches *MILO*. *POMPEY* pleads *MILO's* cause. *CLODIUS* turns the fury of his anger against *POMPEY*. Civil feuds and conflicts ensue.

CICERO defends *SEXTIUS*, inveighs against *VATINIUS*, and moves to have *CÆSAR's* Act relating to the Campanian lands reconsidered; but soon desists from this pursuit. The Senate refuses to decree a Thanksgiving for a victory obtained by *GABINIUS* in *Judæa*. Prodigies are reported to have happened: Various interpretations of them. *PISO* is recalled from his government of *Macedonia*. *CÆSAR* is continued in his command in *Gaul*. He comes to *Luca*: *POMPEY* and *CRASSUS* meet him there. The Tribune *CATO* binds the proceeding to an election of new Consuls. The government falls into an Interregnum.

Y. R. 697.
Bef. Chr.

55
396 Conf.

IN the beginning of the new year, when the Consular fasces were transferred to *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *L. Marcius Philippus*, the question concerning the persons, by whom, and the manner, in which, King *Ptolemy* should be replaced on the throne of *Ægypt*, came under deliberation. *Cicero's* letters to his friend *Publius Lentulus Spinther* (who had the best claim to the commission, and was Proconsul of *Cilicia*) being almost wholly narrative of what passed at *Rome* in relation to that affair, will probably be more satisfactory to the Reader, than any abridgment of the matter therein contained could be; especially as we have so good a translation of those letters into our language.

To *Publius Lentulus* Proconsul.

Ep. Fam.

l. i. Ep. 1.

Ed. Græv.

B. i. let. 12.

Melmoth.

“ I find it much easier to satisfy the world than myself, in those sacred offices of friendship I exert in your behalf. Numberless indeed are the obligations you have conferred upon me: And as you persevered with

“unwearied zeal till you had affected my recall from exile, I esteem it
 “the greatest mortification of my life, that I cannot act in your affairs
 “with the same success. The truth is, *Ammonius*, who resides here
 “as Ambassador from *Ptolemy*, defeats all my schemes, by the most
 “shameless and avowed bribery: And he is supplied with money for
 “this purpose, from the same quarter as when you were in *Rome*. The
 “party in the King’s interest (though their number, it must be owned,
 “is inconsiderable) are all desirous that *Pompey* may be employed to
 “re-instate him in his dominions. The Senate, on the other hand, fall
 “in with the pretended Oracle; not indeed as giving any credit to its
 “predictions, but as being in general ill-inclined to this Prince, and
 “detesting his most corrupt practices. In the mean while, I omit no
 “opportunity of admonishing *Pompey* with great freedom, and conjuring
 “him not to act such a part in this affair as would cast the deepest stain
 “upon his character. I must do him the justice at the same time to
 “acknowledge, that so far as his own conduct is concerned, there does
 “not appear the least foundation for any remonstrances of this sort. On
 “the contrary, he is perpetually expressing the highest zeal for your
 “interest: As he lately supported it in the Senate, with the utmost force
 “of eloquence, and the strongest professions of friendship. *Marcelli-*
 “*nus**, I need not tell you, is a good deal displeased at your soliciting
 “this commission: In all other respects, I dare venture to say, he will
 “very strenuously promote your interest. We must be contented to take
 “him in his own way: For I perceive it is impossible to dissuade him
 “from proposing, that the injunction of the Oracle shall be complied
 “with: And, in fact, he had already made several motions to that
 “purpose.

“I write this early on the thirteenth, and I will now give you an
 “account of what has hitherto passed in the Senate. Both *Hortensius*
 “and *Lucullus* agreed in moving, that the prohibition of the Oracle
 “should be obeyed: And indeed it does not seem possible to bring this
 “matter to bear upon any other terms. But we proposed, at the same time,
 “that, in pursuance of the decree, which was made on your own motion,
 “you be appointed to re-establish *Ptolemy* in his kingdom; the situation
 “of your province lying so conveniently for that purpose. In a word,
 “we consented that army should be given up, in deference to the Oracle;
 “but insisted nevertheless, that you should be employed in effecting
 “this restoration. *Crassus*, on the other side, was for having this com-
 “mission executed by three persons, to be chosen from among the Gene-
 “rals: And, consequently, he did not mean to exclude *Pompey*. *Marcus*
 “*Bibulus* joined with him as to the number; but thought, that the per-
 “sons to be nominated should not bear any military command. All the
 “rest of the Consulars were in the same sentiments, except *Servilius*

* One of the present Consuls.

Y. R. 697.
 Bef. Chr.
 55.
 296 Cons.

Y. R. 697. " *Afrenius* and *Volcatius*. The first absolutely opposed our engaging
 " in *Ptolemy's* restoration upon any terms whatsoever: But the two
 " last were of opinion, that, agreeable to the motion of *Lupus*, this
 " commission should be given to *Pompey*. This circumstance has in-
 " creased the suspicion concerning the real inclination of the latter: As
 " his most particular friends were observed to concur with *Volcatius*,
 " they are labouring this point with great assiduity: And, I fear, it will
 " be carried against us. *Libo* and *Hypsæus* are openly soliciting for
 " *Pompey*: And, indeed, the conduct of all his friends at this juncture
 " make it generally believed, that he is desirous of the office. Yet the
 " misfortune is, those who are unwilling it should fall into his hands, are
 " not the more inclined to place it in yours: As they are much displeased
 " at your having contributed to the late advancement of his power.
 " For myself, I find I have the less influence in your cause, as it is sup-
 " posed I am solely governed by a principle of gratitude: At the same
 " time, the notion which prevails, that this affair affords an opportunity
 " of obliging *Pompey*, renders my applications likewise not altogether so
 " effectual as they might otherwise prove. It is thus I am labouring in this
 " perplexed business: Which the King himself, long before you left
 " *Rome*, as well as the friends and dependants of *Pompey*, had artfully
 " embarrassed. To this I must add the avowed opposition I meet with
 " from the *Consulars*; who represent our assisting *Ptolemy* with an army, as
 " a measure that would highly reflect upon the dignity of the Senate: be
 " assured, however, I shall employ every means in my power of testifying
 " both to the world in general, and to your friends in particular, the sin-
 " cerity of that affection I bear you. And were there any honour in those
 " who ought to have shewn themselves influenced by its highest and most
 " refined principles, I should not have so many difficulties to encounter.
 " Farewell."

To the same.

Lib. i. Ep.
 2. Ed.
 GRÆV.
 B. i. Let.
 14. Mem.

" The Senate met on the thirteenth of January, but came to no reso-
 " lution; the greatest part of that day having been spent in some warm
 " contests which arose between *Marcellinus* the Consul, and *Caninius*,
 " one of the Tribunes of the People. I had myself also a very consider-
 " able share in the debates: And I represented the zeal you have always
 " shewn towards the Senate, in terms that influenced them, I am per-
 " suaded, much to your advantage. The next day, therefore, we thought
 " it sufficient briefly to deliver our opinions: as I perceived, not only by
 " the favourable manner in which I was heard the day before, but also
 " by enquiring into the sentiments of each particular member, that the

* *Lentulus*, during his Consulate, had pro-
 posed and carried that law, which, that *Pom-*
pey might provide corn in a time of scarcity,

invested him with the whole power of the
Roman empire.

" majority

“ majority was clearly on our side. The business of the day opened with
 “ reporting to the house the several opinions of *Bibulus*, *Hortensius*, and
 “ *Volcatius*. The respective questions, therefore, were,

Y. R. 697.
 Bef. Chr.
 55.
 396 Conf.

“ In the first place, whether three commissioners should be nominated for
 “ restoring the King, agreeable to the sentiments of *Bibulus*?

“ In the next, whether, according to those of *Hortensius*, the office
 “ should be conferred upon you, but without employing any forces?

“ Or, lastly, whether, in conformity to the advice of *Volcatius*, this
 “ honour should be assigned to *Pompey*?

“ The points being thus stated, it was moved, that the opinion of
 “ *Bibulus* might be referred to the deliberation of the house in two sepa-
 “ rate questions. Accordingly, as it was now in vain to oppose his mo-
 “ tion so far as it related to paying obedience to the declaration of the
 “ Oracle, the Senate in general came into his sentiments: But as to his
 “ proposal of deputing three commissioners, it was rejected by a very confi-
 “ derable majority. The opinion next in order was that of *Hortensius*.

“ But, when we were going to divide upon it, *Lupus*, a Tribune of the
 “ People, insisted that in virtue of his office he had the privilege of calling
 “ to a division of the House, prior to the Consuls; and therefore demand-
 “ ed that the voices should be first taken upon the motion he had made
 “ in favour of *Pompey*. This claim was generally and strongly opposed: P. 476.

“ As indeed it was both unprecedented and unreasonable. The Consuls
 “ themselves, however, did not greatly contest that point: Nor did they
 “ absolutely give it up. Their view was to protract the debates: And
 “ they succeeded accordingly. They perceived indeed, that, notwith-
 “ standing the majority affected to appear on the side of *Volcatius*,
 “ yet, upon a division, they would certainly vote with *Hortensius*.
 “ Nevertheless, several of the members were called upon to deliver their
 “ opinions; though, in truth, much against the inclinations of the Con-
 “ suls, who were desirous that the sentiments of *Bibulus* should prevail.
 “ The debates continuing till night, the Senate broke up without coming
 “ to any resolution. I happened to pass the same evening with *Pompey*:
 “ And as I had that day supported your cause in the Senate with more
 “ than ordinary success, I thought it afforded me the most favourable op-
 “ portunity of speaking to him in your behalf. And what I said, seem-
 “ ed to make so strong an impression, that I am persuaded I have brought
 “ him wholly over to your interest. To say the truth, whenever I hear
 “ him mention this affair himself, I entirely acquit him of being secretly
 “ desirous of this commission. On the other hand, when I observe the
 “ conduct of his friends of every rank, I am well convinced, (and indeed
 “ it is now evident likewise to the whole world) that they have been gain-
 “ ed by the corrupt measures which a certain party, with the consent of
 “ *Ptolemy* and his advisers, have employed.——I write this before sun-
 “ rise on the 16th of January: And the Senate is to meet again on

“ this

Y. R. 697. " this very day. I hope to preserve my authority in that Assembly, as
 Bef. Chr. " far at least as is possible amidst such general treachery and corruption
 395 Conf. 55. " which has discovered itself upon this occasion. As to what concerns
 " the bringing this matter before the People; I think we have taken such
 " precautions as will render it impracticable, unless by actual violence,
 " and in direct and open contempt both of our civil and religious institu-
 " tions. For this purpose a very severe ORDER of the SENATE^c (which I
 " imagine was immediately transmitted to you) was entered yesterday in
 " our journals, notwithstanding the Tribunes, *Cato* and *Caninius*, inter-
 " posed their negatives.
 " You may depend upon my sending you a faithful account of every
 " other occurrence which may arise in this affair: And be assured I shall
 " exert the utmost of my vigilance and my credit, to conduct it in the most
 " advantageous manner for your interest. Farewell."

To the same.

L. N. i. Ep.
 4. Ed.
 GREV.
 B. i. L. c.
 15. Melm.

" When the Senate met on the sixteenth of this month, your affair stood
 " in a very advantageous posture. We had succeeded the day before
 " against the motion of *Bibulus* for appointing three commissioners, and
 " had now only to contend with *Volcatius*; when our adversaries pre-
 " vented the question from being put, by artfully protracting the debates:
 " For, they saw we had in a very full House, and amidst great contrariety
 " of opinions, carried our point, to the considerable mortification of those,
 " who were for taking the King's affairs out of your direction, and trans-
 " ferring them to another hand. *Curio* opposed us upon this occasion
 " with great warmth; while *Bibulus* spoke with more temper, and indeed
 " seemed almost inclined to favour our cause. But *Cato* and *Caninius* ab-
 " solutely refused to suffer any decree to pass, till a general Assembly of
 " the People should be convened.
 " By the *Pupian* law, as you well know, there cannot be another
 " meeting of the Senate till the first of February: Nor indeed throughout
 " that whole month, unless all the foreign Ambassadors should have re-
 " ceived, or be refused, audience. In the mean while, a motion prevails
 " among the People, that your adversaries have insisted upon this pretend-
 " ed Oracle, not so much with an intent of obstructing your particular
 " views, as in order to disappoint the hopes of those who may be desi-
 " rous of this expedition to *Alexandria*, merely from the ambition of
 " commanding an army. The whole world is sensible indeed of the regard

" When an *al* passed the Senate in a
 " full House, held according to the pre-
 " scribed forms, and without any opposition
 " from the Tribunes, (who had the privi-
 " lege of putting a negative upon all pro-
 " ceedings in the Senate) it was called a *Se-*

" *natus consultum*, a decree of the Senate.
 " But if any of these essentials were wanting,
 " or a Tribune interposed, it was then only
 " styled a *Senatus auctoritas*, an order of the
 " Senate, and considered as of less authority."
 Melm. from *Manutius*.

" which

“ which the Senate has shewn to your character: And it is notoriously
 “ owing to the artifices of your enemies, that the House did not divide up-
 “ on the question proposed in your favour. But should the same persons,
 “ under a pretended zeal for the public (though, in fact, upon the most
 “ infamous motives) attempt to bring this affair before a general Assem-
 “ bly of the People, we have concerted our measures so well ^d, that they
 “ cannot possibly effect their design without having recourse to violence;
 “ or at least without setting the ordinances of our country, both civil and
 “ religious, at avowed defiance——But—if methods of violence should
 “ be employed, I cannot pretend, in this general contempt of all legal au-
 “ thority, to answer for the event: In every other respect I will venture
 “ to assure you, that both the Senate and the People will pay the highest
 “ attention to your dignity and character. Farewell.”

To the same.

“ —— You are sensible, as I perceive by your last letter, that you
 “ have been treated with the same insincerity by those who ought to
 “ have concurred in supporting your dignities, as I formerly experienced
 “ from some of my pretended friends, in the affair of my banishment.
 “ Thus, whilst I was exerting the utmost efforts of my vigilance, my
 “ policy, and my interest, in order to serve you in the article relating to
 “ *Ptolemy*, I was unexpectedly alarmed in a point of much more important
 “ concern, by the infamous law which *Cato* has lately proposed to your
 “ prejudice.” [*Caius Cato*, to cut off all hopes at once from *Lentulus*
 of obtaining this commission, had proposed a law to the People for re-
 calling him from his government.] “ Where affairs are thus embroiled,
 “ every thing is, undoubtedly, to be feared: Yet my principal apprehen-
 “ sion, I confess, arises from the treachery of your false friends. But how-
 “ ever that may be, I am earnestly endeavouring to counteract the male-
 “ volent designs of *Cato*.”

“ As to the *Alexandrian* commission, both yourself and your friends
 “ will, I trust, have abundant reason to be satisfied with my conduct. But
 “ at the same time I must say, I greatly fear it will either be taken out of
 “ your hands, or entirely dropped: And I know not which of these al-
 “ ternatives I should least chuse.”

To the same.

“ You are informed, I imagine, by many hands, of what passes here.
 “ I leave it therefore to your other friends to supply you with an account

^d i. e. They had engaged some Tribune to say *Veto*, or some Magistrate to observe the *Heavens*.

^e This and the foregoing letter are blended

together in the common editions: But they are here separated upon the authority of *Manutius* and *Gronovius*. Melm.

“ of

Lib. i. Ep.
5. Ed.
Græv.
Book i.
Let. 17.
Melm.

Ad Q. Fr.
i. 3.

Lib. i. Ep.
5. Ed.
Græv.
Book i.
Let. 18.
Melm.

Y. R. 697. " of our transactions, and content myself with only sending you my con-
 B. Chr. " jecture. To this end I must previously acquaint you, that, *on the sixth*
 955 Conf. " *of February*, Pompey made a speech in a general Assembly of the Peo-
 " ple in favour of *Milo*, during which he was insulted with much clamour
 " and abuse. *Cato* afterwards inveighed in the Senate against *Pompey*
 " with great acrimony, and was heard with the most profound silence and
 " attention: Both which circumstances seem to have affected him very
 " sensibly. *Now from hence I surmise, that he has laid aside all thoughts*
 " *of being employed in the Alexandrian expedition. That affair remains as*
 " *yet entirely open to us: For the Senate has hitherto determined nothing to*
 " *your prejudice but what they are obliged, in deference to the Oracle, to re-*
 " *fuse to every other candidate for this office. It is my present hope therefore,*
 " *as well as endeavour, that the King may throw himself into your hands,*
 " *when he shall find that he cannot, as he expected, be restored by Pompey;*
 " *and that, unless he is replaced upon the throne by your assistance, his affair*
 " *will be entirely dropped. And this step he will undoubtedly take, if Pom-*
 " *pey should give the least intimation of its being agreeable to him. But*
 " *I need not tell you the difficulty of discovering the sentiments of a man of*
 " *his reserve. However, I shall omit no method in my power to effect*
 " *this scheme; as I shall easily, I trust, be able to prevent the injurious*
 " *designs of Cato.*

" I do not find that any of the Consulars are in your interest, except
 " *Hortensius* and *Lucullus*: All the rest of that rank, either openly, or in
 " a more concealed manner, oppose your views. Nevertheless, my friend,
 " be not discouraged: On the contrary, let it be still your hope, not-
 " withstanding the attempts of the worthless *Cato*, that you will again shine
 " out in all your former lustre. Farewell."

To the same.

L. I. Ep.
 vi. Ed.
 Græv.
 Book I.
 Let. xix.
 Melm.

" You will receive a full account from *Pollio* of all that has been trans-
 " acted in your affair, as he was not only present, but a principal manager.
 " *Believe me, I am much concerned at the unfavourable aspect of this business.*
 " However, it affords me a very sensible consolation, that there is strong
 " reason to hope the prudence of your friends will be able to elude the
 " force of those iniquitous schemes which have been projected to your pre-
 " judice. Even time itself will probably contribute to this end; as it of-
 " ten wears out the malevolence of those who either professedly or in a dis-
 " guised manner mean one ill." —

Mald. p.
 433-

The Senate grew at length so weary of this affair, that they resolved to
 leave the King to shift for himself, without interposing at all in his restora-
 tion; and so the matter hung; whilst other affairs more interesting were
 daily rising at home, and engaging the attention of the City.

THE election of *Ædiles*, which had been industriously postponed through all the last summer, could not easily be kept off any longer: The City was impatient for its Magistrates, and especially for the plays and shews with which they used to entertain them; and several also of the new Tribunes being zealous for an election, it was held at last *on the twentieth of January*, when *Clodius* was chosen *Ædile* without opposition¹.

This Magistracy, which freed him from all apprehension of Judges, and a trial, gave him a great advantage over his antagonist *Milo*, who was become a private man. He now accused *Milo* of the same crime of which *Milo* had accused him, *of public violence and breach of the laws, in maintaining a band of gladiators to the terror of the City*. *Milo* made his appearance to this accusation *on the second of February*, when *Pompey*, *Crassus*, and *Cicero* appeared with him; and *M. Marcellus*, though *Clodius*'s colleague in the *Ædileship*, spoke for *Milo* at *Cicero*'s desire; and the whole passed quietly and favourably for him on that day. The second hearing was appointed *on the ninth*, when *Pompey* undertook to plead his cause; but no sooner stood up to speak, than *Clodius*'s mob, by a continual clamour of reproaches and invectives, endeavoured to hinder him from going on, or at least from being heard: Yet *Pompey*, with a presence of mind which, in spite of their attempts, commanded silence, spoke for near three hours. When *Clodius* rose up to answer him, *Milo*'s mob, in their turn, so disturbed and confounded him, that he was not able to speak a

Midd. p.
434.

¹ It may justly seem strange (says Dr. Middleton) how a man so profligate and criminal as *Clodius*, whose life was a perpetual insult upon all laws divine and human, should be suffered not only to live without punishment, but to obtain all the honours of a free City in their proper course; and it would be natural to suspect that we had been deceived in our accounts of him by taking them from his enemies, did we not find them too firmly supported by facts to be called in question: But a little attention to the particular character of the man, as well as of the times in which he lived, will enable us to solve the difficulty.

In Verr. v.
70.
Pro Sext.
9.

First, the splendor of his family — *Cicero* calls the nobles of this class *Prætors and Consuls elect from their cradles by a kind of hereditary right, whose very names were sufficient to advance them to all the dignities of the state*. [And therefore how worthless, how pestilent soever *Clodius* was, he did not fail to be defended and supported by the *Honest*, the *Optimates*, when his attempts were not against the interest of their faction.]

Secondly, his personal qualities were pecu-

liarily adapted to endear him to all the meaner sort; his bold and ready wit, his talent at haranguing, his profuse expence, and his pursuing popular measures contrary to the maxims of his ancestors, who had [almost] all been stern asserters of the aristocratical power.

Thirdly, the contrast of opposite factions, who had each their ends in supporting him. — The Senate particularly, whose chief apprehensions were from the Triumvirate, thought that the rashness of *Clodius* might be of some use to perplex their measures, and stir up the People against them on proper occasions; or it humoured their spleen at least to see him insulting *Pompey* to his face. Videtis igitur hominem per seipsum jam pridem afflictum ac jacentem perniciosis Optimatum discordiis excitari. — Ne a Republica Reipub. pestis amoveretur, resisterunt; etiam ne causam diceret; etiam ne privatus esset: Etiamne in sinu atque in deliciis quidam optimi viri viperam illam venenatam ac pestiferam habere potuerunt? Quo tandem decepti munere? Volo, inquiunt, esse qui in concione detrahat de *Pompeio*. — *De Harusp. Resp.* 24.

Y. R. 697.
Bef. Chr.
396⁵⁵ Cons.

word; while a number of epigrams and lampoons upon him and his sister were thrown about, and publicly rehearsed among the multitude below, so as to make him quite furious: Till recollecting himself a little, and finding it impossible to proceed in his speech, he demanded aloud of his mob, *who it was that attempted to starve them by famine?* To which they presently cried out, *Pompey*: He then asked, *who it was that desired to be sent into Ægypt?* *Pompey*, they cried out again. But when he asked, *who it was that they themselves had a mind to send?* they answered, *Crassus*: For the old jealousy was now breaking out again between him and *Pompey*; and though he appeared that day on *Milo's* side, yet he was not, as *Cicero* says, a real well-wisher to him.

These warm proceedings among the chiefs brought on a fray below, among their partizans; the *Clodians* began the attack, but were repulsed by the *Pompeians*; and *Clodius* himself driven out of the *Rostra*: *Cicero*, when he saw the affair proceed to blows, thought it high time to retreat towards home; but no great harm was done; for *Pompey*, having cleared the Forum of his enemies, presently drew off his forces, to prevent any farther mischief or scandal on his side,

Ad Quint.
Fr. ii. 3.

The Senate was presently summoned, to provide some remedy for these disorders, where *Pompey*, who had drawn upon himself a fresh odium from his behaviour in the *Egyptian* affair, was severely handled by *Bibulus*, *Curio*, *Favonius*, and others: *Cicero* chose to be absent, since he must either have offended *Pompey*, by saying nothing for him, or the honest party, by defending him. The same debate was carried on for several days, in which *Pompey* was treated very roughly by the Tribune *Cato*, who inveighed against him with great fierceness, and laid open his perfidy to *Cicero*, to whom he paid the highest compliments, and was heard with much attention by all *Pompey's* enemies.

Pompey answered him with an unusual vehemence; and reflecting openly on *Crassus*, as the author of these affronts, declared, he would guard his life with more care than *Scipio Africanus* did, when *Carbo* murdered him^{*}.

—These warm expressions seemed to open a prospect of some great agitation likely to ensue: *Pompey* consulted *Cicero* on the proper means of his security; and acquainted him with his apprehensions of a design against his life; that *Cato* was privately supported, and *Clodius* furnished with money by *Crassus*; and both of them encouraged by *Curio*, *Bibulus*, and the rest, who envied him; that it was necessary for him to look to himself, since the meaner people were wholly alienated, the nobility and Senate generally disaffected, and the youth corrupted.

Cicero readily consented to join forces with him, and to summon their clients and friends from all parts of Italy. For, though he had no mind to fight his battles in the Senate, he was desirous to defend his person

* N. B. That *Scipio* was murdered by *Carbo*, there is no shadow of proof. See Vol. II. Book VI. Chap. IX.

from all violence, especially against *Crassus*, whom he never loved: Y. R. 697. They resolved likewise to oppose with united strength all the attempts of *Clodius* and *Cato* against *Lentulus* and *Milo*. *Clodius*, on the other hand, was not less busy in mustering his friends against the next hearing of *Milo's* cause. But as his strength was much inferior to that of his adversary, so he had no expectation of getting him condemned, nor any other view but to teize and harass him: For, after two hearings, the affair was put off by several adjournments to the beginning of May; from which time we find no farther mention of it. Dio, p. 99.

The Consul *Marcellinus*, who drew his colleague *Philippus* along with him, was a resolute opposer of the *Triumvirate*, as well as of all the violences of the other Magistrates: For which reason he resolved to suffer no Assemblies of the People, except such as were necessary for the elections into the public offices: His view was to prevent *Cato's* law for recalling *Lentulus*, and the monstrous things (so *Cicero* calls them) which some were attempting at this time in favour of *Cæsar*. *Cicero* gives him the character of one of the best Consuls that he had ever known, and blames him only in one thing; for treating *Pompey* on all occasions so rudely; which made *Cicero* often absent himself from the Senate, to avoid taking part either on the one side or the other. For the support therefore of his DIGNITY and interest in the City, he resumed his old task of PLEADING CAUSES^a; which was always popular and respectable, and in which he was sure to find full employment. His first cause was the defence of *L. Bestia* on the tenth of February, who, after the disgrace of a repulse from the Prætorship in the last election, was accused of bribery and corruption in his suit for it; and, notwithstanding the authority and eloquence of his advocate, was convicted and banished. He was a man extremely corrupt, turbulent, and seditious, had always been an enemy to *Cicero*, and supposed to be deeply engaged in *Catiline's* plot; and is one instance of what *Cicero* says, that he was often forced, against his will, to defend certain persons who had not deserved it of him, by the intercession of those who had. Ad Q. Fr. ii. 6. Ibid. ii. 3. Ep. Fam. vii. 1.

Cicero was about this time engaged in the defence of *P. Sextius*, the late Tribune, accused of public violence, or breach of peace in his Tribunate: He had been a true friend to *Cicero* in his distress, and borne a great part in his restoration; but fancying himself afterwards neglected, or not sufficiently requited by him, and since his return been very cold to him, and even churlish. But *Cicero*, instead of resenting this, having heard that *Sextius* was indisposed, went in person to his house, and cured him of all his jealousies, by freely offering his assistance and patronage in pleading his cause; which he managed so well, that *Sextius* was acquitted, and in a manner the most honourable, by the unanimous suffrages of all the Judges; and with an universal applause of *Cicero's* humanity and gratitude. Ad Q. Fr. ii. 3. Ibid. 4.

^a It is very remarkable that *Cicero*, to preserve his DIGNITY, made himself Advocate-General for all STATE-FELONS.

Y. R. 697. *Pompey* attended this trial as a friend to *Sextius*; while *Cæsar's* creature, *Vatinius*, appeared not only as an adversary, but as a witness against him: Which gave *Cicero* an opportunity of exposing the whole course of his profligate life¹, (as *Sextius* particularly desired) with all the keenness of his raillery, to the great diversion of the audience². *Vatinius* made some attempt in his turn to rally *Cicero*, and contemptuously reproached him with the baseness of changing sides, and becoming *Cæsar's* friend, on account of the fortunate state of his affairs.

[For *Cæsar*, being in the career of his victories¹ in *Gaul*, had lately sent a request to the State, "that money might be decreed to him for the payment of his army; with a power of chusing ten Lieutenants, for the better managing of the war, and the conquered provinces." It seemed strange, that, after all his conquests, he should not be able to maintain his army without money from home, at a time when the treasury was greatly exhausted: and the renewal of a commission, obtained at first by the People's favour, against the inclination of the Senate, was of hard digestion. But *Cæsar's* interest prevailed, and *Cicero* himself was the promoter of it, and procured a decree to his satisfaction, yet not without disgusting the pretended patriots, those counterfeit Republicans, scrupulously zealous against all extraordinary grants: But *Cicero* "alleged the extraordinary services of *Cæsar*, and that the course of his victories ought not to be checked by the want of necessary supplies, while he was so gloriously extending the bounds of the empire, and conquering nations whose names had never been heard before at *Rome*: And though it were possible for him to maintain his troops without their help, by the spoils of the enemy, yet those spoils ought to be reserved for the splendor of his Triumph, which it was not just to defraud by their unseasonable parsimony."]

What *Cicero* says, he replied to *Vatinius*, will be seen in a long letter he wrote two years after this time to *Lentulus Spintber*, which will be inserted in its proper year, with some observations upon it.

Midd. 445. In the beginning of *April*, the Senate granted the sum of three hundred thousand pounds to *Pompey*, to be laid out in purchasing Corn for the use of the City, where there was still a great scarcity, and as great at the same time of money; so that the moving a point so tender could not fail of raising some ill humour in the Assembly: when *Cicero*, whose old spirit seems to have revived in him from his late success in *Sextius's* cause, surprized them by proposing, "that, in the present inability of the treasury to purchase the *Campanian* lands, which by *Cæsar's* act were to be divided to the People, the act itself should be reconsidered, and a day appointed for that deliberation:" The motion was received with an uni-

¹ We shall find that *Cicero* afterwards, notwithstanding the profligacy of *Vatinius's* whole life, appeared as a witness to his General Good behaviour.

² This speech against *Vatinius* is still remain-

ing, under the title of *The Interrogation*; because it consists chiefly of a string of questions.

¹ *Cæsar's* progress in conquest will be related hereafter, in an uninterrupted summary of his exploits.

versal joy, and a kind of tumultuary acclamation: The enemies of *the Y.R. 697.*
Triumvirate were extremely pleased with it, in hopes that it would make
 a breach between Cicero and Pompey.

Pompey, whose nature was singularly reserved, expressed no uneasiness Midd. p. 446.
 upon it, nor took any notice of it to Cicero, though they met and supped
 together familiarly, as they used to do: But he set forward soon after
 towards *Afric*, in order to provide corn; and, intending to call at *Sardi-*
nia, proposed to embark at *Piso* or *Leghorn*, that he might have an inter-
 view with *Cæsar*, who was now at *Luca*, the utmost limit of his *Gallic*
government. He found *Cæsar* exceedingly out of humour with Cicero;
 for *Crassus* had already been with him at *Ravenna*, and greatly incensed
 him by his account of Cicero's late motion; which he complained of so
 heavily, that Pompey promised to use all his authority to induce Cicero to
 drop the pursuit of it; and for that purpose sent away an express to *Rome*,
 to entreat him not to proceed any further in it till his return; and when
 he came afterwards to *Sardinia*, where his Lieutenant *Quintus*, the bro-
 ther of Cicero, then resided, he entered immediately into an expostulation
 with him about it.—But of the effect of this remonstrance we shall have
 a full account in the long letter to *Lentulus*, just now referred to for ano-
 ther particular.

Milo's trial being put off (as before mentioned) to the fifth of May, Mid. 453.
Cicero took the benefit of a short vacation to make an excursion into the
 country, and visit his estates and villas in different parts of *Italy*.——
 During this tour, his old enemy *Gabinus*, the Proconsul of *Syria*, ha-
 ving gained some advantages in *Judea* against *Aristobulus* (who had been Ad Quint. Fr. ii. 8.
 dethroned by Pompey, and carried prisoner to *Rome*, but had thence made
 his escape). sent public letters to the Senate, to give an account of his vic-
 tory, and to beg the decree of a Thanksgiving for it. His friends took the
 opportunity of moving the affair in Cicero's absence, from whose autho-
 rity they apprehended some obstruction; but the Senate, in a full House,
 slighted *Gabinus's* letters, and rejected his suit: An affront which had
 never been offered before to any Proconsul. Cicero was infinitely de-
 lighted with it, calls the resolution *divine*, and was doubly pleased for its
 being the free and genuine judgment of the Senate, without any struggle or
 influence on his part.——

Many prodigies were reported to have happened about this time in the Midd. p. 454, 455.
 neighbourhood of *Rome*: Horrible noises underground, with clashing of arms;
 and on the *Alban* hill, a little shrine of *Juno*, which stood on a table, facing
 the east, turned suddenly of itself towards the west. These terrors alarmed
 the City, and the Senate consulted the *haruspices*, who were the public
 Diviners or Prophets of the State, skilled in all the *Tuscan* discipline of
 interpreting portentous events, who gave the following answer in writing,
 "That supplications must be made to *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, *Neptune*, and the
 "other Gods: that the solemn shews and plays had been negligently exhi-
 "bited and polluted; sacred and religious places made profane; Ambassa-
 dors

N. R. 697. "dors killed contrary to law; faith and oaths disregarded; ancient and
 Ref. Chr. "hidden sacrifices carelessly performed and profaned.—That the Gods
 395 Conf. "gave this warning, lest, by the discord and dissension of the better sort,
 "dangers and destruction should fall upon the Senate and the chiefs of the
 "City; by which means the provinces would fall under the power of a
 "single person, their armies be beaten, great loss ensue, and honours be
 "heaped upon the unworthy and disgraced."—

One may observe from this answer, that the *Diviners* were under the direction of those, who endeavoured to apply the influence of religion to the cure of their civil disorders: Each party interpreted it according to their own views: *Clodius* took a handle from it of venting his spleen afresh against *Cicero*; and, calling the People together for that purpose, attempted to persuade them, "that this divine admonition was designed particularly against him, and that the article of the civil and religious places referred to the case of his house, which, after a solemn consecration to religion, was rendered again profane; charged all the displeasure of the gods to *Cicero's* account, who affected nothing less than a tyranny, and the oppression of their liberties."

Cicero made a reply to *Clodius* the next day in the Senate, where, after a short and general invective upon his profligate life, "he leaves him,"
 DeHarusp. be says, a devoted victim to *Milo*, who seemed to be given to them by
 Respons. "heaven for the extinction of such a plague, as *Scipio* was for the de-
 vi. 10—18. "struction of *Carthage*: He declares the prodigy to be one of the most
 "extraordinary which had ever been reported to the Senate; but laughs
 "at the absurdity of applying any part of it to him; since his house, as
 "he proves at large, was more solemnly cleared from any service or rela-
 "tion to religion than any other house in *Rome* by the judgment of the
 "Priests, the Senate, and all the orders of the City. Then running through
 "the several articles of the ANSWER, he shews them all to tally so exactly
 "with the notorious acts and impieties of *Clodius's* life, that they could
 "not possibly be applied to any thing else:—particularly, as to the
 Midd. p. "violation of faith and oaths, that it related evidently to those Judges
 447. "who had absolved *Clodius*, as being one of the most memorable and fla-
 "grant perjuries which *Rome* had ever known; that the answer itself
 "suggested this interpretation, when it subjoined that ancient and occult
 "sacrifices were polluted, which could refer to nothing so properly as to
 "the rites of the *Bona Dea*, which were the most ancient and the most occult
 "of any in the City, celebrated with incredible secrecy to that goddess,
 "whose name it was not lawful for men to know, and with ceremonies
 "which no man ever pried into but *Clodius*."

Midd. p. About the middle of summer, and before the time of chusing new
 459. Consuls, which was commonly in *August*, the Senate began to deliberate
 De Prov. on the provinces which were to be assigned to them at the expiration of
 Conf. 8, 9, their office. The Consular provinces, about which the debate singly turned,
 &c. were

were *the two Gauls*, which *Cæsar* now held; *Macedonia*, which *Piso*, and *Syria*, which *Gabinus* possessed. All who spoke before *Cicero*, excepting *Servilius*, were for taking one of both the Gauls from *Cæsar*; which was what the Senate generally desired: But when it came to *Cicero's* turn, he gladly laid hold on the occasion to revenge himself on *Piso* and *Gabinus*; and exerted all his authority to get them recalled, with some marks of disgrace, and their governments assigned to the succeeding Consuls; but as for *Cæsar*, his opinion was, “ that his command should be continued to him till he had finished the war, which he was carrying on with such success, and settled the conquered countries.” This gave no small offence; and *the Consul Philippus* could not forbear interrupting and reminding him, “ that he had more reason to be angry with *Cæsar* than with *Gabinus* himself; since *Cæsar* was the author and raiser of all that storm which had oppressed him.” But *Cicero* replied, “ that, in this vote, he was not pursuing his private resentment, but the public good, which had reconciled him to *Cæsar*; and that he could not be an enemy to one who was deserving so well of his Country: That a year or two more would complete his conquests, and reduce all *Gaul* to a state of peaceful subjection: That the cause was widely different between *Cæsar* and the other two: That *Cæsar's* administration was beneficial, prosperous, glorious to the Republic; theirs scandalous, ignominious, hurtful to their subjects, and contemptible to their enemies.” —In short, he managed the debate so, that the Senate readily consented to leave *Cæsar* in the possession of his government, and to recall *Piso* from *Macedonia*; but *Gabinus* was not now recalled from *Syria*.

All People's eyes and inclinations began now to turn towards *Cæsar*, who, by the eclat of his victories^a, seemed to rival the fame of *Pompey* himself; and by his address and generosity gained ground upon him daily in authority and influence in public affairs. After three prosperous campaigns, he spent the winter of 697 at *Luca*, whither a vast concourse of all ranks resorted to him from *Rome*. So great was the number of Magistrates and other persons in command, who came to wait on him, that the Lictors at his gate are reckoned to have amounted to 120.

At this interview of the Triumvirs, it was privately agreed among them, that *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who were now again made friends by *Cæsar*, should jointly sue for the Consulship, in order to defeat the hopes and designs of *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, one of the competitors, a professed enemy of the Triumvirate; who, thinking himself sure of being elected, could not forbear boasting, “ that he would effect, when Consul, what he had not been able to do when Prætor, rescind the acts of *Cæsar*, and recall him from his government:” For *Cæsar* had no sooner surrendered the Consular fasces to his successors in that Magistracy (the Consuls of

^a *Cæsar*, in two campaigns (those of the years 695 and 696) had carried the Roman arms triumphantly through the very heart of *Gaul*, from the lake of *Geneva* to the German ocean; and in the present year (697) had subdued the *Veneti*.

Y. R. 697. 695) than he was affronted and attacked by this same *Domitius* and *C. Memmius*, two of the then newly-chosen *Prætors*, (than whom *Rome* perhaps never produced two more consummate knaves,) who called in question the validity of his acts, and made several rash efforts to get them annulled by public authority.

Sueton. in
Cæsar. 24.

Dio, p.
103.

Ad Quint.
Fr. ii. 6.

Pompey and *Crassus*, the better to conceal their design upon the Consulship, let pass the time, when, according to custom, they should have put themselves among the candidates. And, because they thought it would be difficult to carry their point in an Assembly where the Consul *Marcellinus* presided, they laid a scheme to hinder all elections of Magistrates during his year: Their project happened to be favoured by the Tribune *C. Cato*, the same who had formerly been so active in opposing the desires of *Pompey* with relation to the affair of King *Ptolemy*, and in endeavouring to get *Lentulus Spintber* recalled from *Cilicia*. *Cato*, to revenge himself on *Marcellinus* for not suffering him to hold any Assemblies of the People^o, for promulgating certain laws of his own fashion (disliked probably by the Aristocratic worthies,) would not suffer the Consuls to hold any for the choice of the Magistrates; and in this resolution he was supported by two of his colleagues, as well as by the *Triumvirate*^o, till the year^o expired. The government fell into an interregnum.

CHAP.

* Of the impudent wickedness of these men we shall find a notable proof in one of *Cicero's* letters, when we come to the year 699. Yet, unworthy and detestable as *Domitius* was, *Cicero* thinks it a most sad thing, that this illustrious noble, a Consul designed ever since he was born, should not be able at this time to obtain the Consulship. *Quid enim hoc miserius, quam eum qui tot annos quos habet, designatus Consul fuerit, Consulcm fieri non posse?* *Ad Att. iv. 8. Dio, p. 103.*

* It is likely, that the means employed by *Marcellinus* was to proclaim all the days on which Assemblies of the People could lawfully be held, *Holidays*. *Crevier.*

Plut. in
Pomp.

* *Plutarch* tells us, that the secret treaty among the *Triumvirs* having transpired, the partisans of the Aristocracy were filled with indignation, and that the Consul *Marcellinus*, to unmask *Pompey*, interrogated him in an Assembly of the People whether he had any intention to stand for the Consulship? *Pompey* answered, that perhaps he would, and perhaps he would not: But *Crassus*, when the same question was put to him by the Consul, answered with more temper, that he would do

what should appear to him to be most for the benefit of the Republic.

Valerius Maximus writes, that when *Marcellinus* was one day haranguing on the danger the City was in from the power of *Pompey*, and found himself encouraged by a general acclamation of the People, he said to them, *Cry out, Citizens, cry out while you may; for it will not be long in your power to do so with safety.* Val. Max vi. 2.

He reports likewise, that *Cn. Piso*, a young Nobleman, who had impeached *Manilius Crassus*, a man of *Prætorian* rank, and notoriously guilty, being provoked by *Pompey's* protection of him, turned his attack against *Pompey* himself, and charged him with many crimes against the State: Being asked therefore by *Pompey*, why he did not chuse to impeach him rather than the criminal, he briskly replied, that if he would give bail to stand a trial, without raising a civil war, he would soon bring him before his Judges. Ibid. 4.

* It was in this year, 697, that *Cicero* pleaded for *Cornelius Balbus* and *M. Cælius*.

Balbus

Midd.460. *Balbus* was a native of *Gades* in *Spain*, of a splendid family in that City, who, for his fidelity and services to the *Roman* Generals in that province, and especially in the *Sertorian* war, had the freedom of *Rome* conferred upon him by *Pompey*, in virtue of a law, which authorized him to grant it to as many as he thought proper. But *Pompey's* act was now called in question, as originally null and invalid, on a pretence, that the city of *Gades* was not within the terms of that alliance and relation to *Rome* which rendered the citizens capable of that privilege. *Pompey* and *Crassus* were his advocates; and, at their desire, *Cicero* also, who had the third place or post of honour assigned him, to give the finishing hand to the cause. The prosecution was projected, not so much out of enmity to *Balbus* as to his patrons, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, by whose favour he had acquired great wealth; being at this time General of the artillery to *Cæsar*, and the principal manager or steward of all his affairs. The judges gave sentence for him, and confirmed his right to the City; from which foundation he was raised afterwards by *Augustus* to the *Consulate* itself: His nephew also, young *Balbus*, who was made free with him at the same time, obtained the honour of a triumph for his victories over the *Garamantes*; and, as *Pliny* tells us, they were the only instances of foreigners and adopted citizens, who had ever advanced themselves to either of these honours in *Rome*.

Pro Balb.
1, 2, &c.

Hist. N.
vii. 43.
Ibid. v. 5.

Midd.461. *Cælius* was a young gentleman of *Equestrian* rank, of great parts and accomplishments, trained under the discipline of *Cicero* himself, to whose care he was committed by his father upon his first introduction into the *Forum*. Before he was of age to hold any Magistracy, he had distinguished himself by two public impeachments; the one of *C. Antonius*, *Cicero's* colleague in the *Consulship*, for the male-administration of his province of *Macedonia*; the other of *L. Atratinus*, for bribery and corruption. *Atratinus's* son was now revenging his father's quarrel, and accused *Cælius* of public violence, for being concerned in the assassination of *Dio*, the chief of the *Alexandrian* embassy; and of an attempt to poison *Clodia*, the sister of *Clodius*: He was a true libertine, and had been this lady's gallant; whose resentment, for her favours slighted by him, was the real source of all his trouble. — He was acquitted of both charges.

Vid. supr.
p. 407.

Vid. supr.
p. 472.

VOL. III.

Cicero seems to have composed a little poem Y. R. 697. about this time, in compliment to *Cæsar*; — — — and excuses his not sending it to *Atticus*, Midd.462. “because *Cæsar* pressed to have it, and he Ad. Att. “had reserved no copy: Though, to con- iv. 5. “felt the truth, he says, he found it very Ad Quint. “difficult to digest the meanness of recanting ii. 15. “his old principles. But adieu, says he, to “all right, true, honest counsels: It is in- “credible what perfidy there is in those who “want to be leaders; and who really would “be so, if there was any faith in them. “[He speaks of THE HONEST.] I felt “what they were to my cost, when I was “drawn in, deserted, and betrayed by them: “I resolved still to act on with them in all “things; but found them the same as before; till, by your advice, I came at last “to a better mind. You will tell me, “that you advised me indeed to act, but “not to write; it is true; but I was willing to put myself under a necessity of adhering to my new alliance [with the *Triumvirs*] and preclude the possibility of returning to those who, instead of pitying me, as they ought, never cease envying me. — But since those, who have no “power, will not love me, my business “is to acquire the love of those who have. “You will say, I wish that you had done “it long ago; I know you wished it; “and I was a mere ass for not minding “you.”

In this year also, *Cicero* wrote that celebrated letter to *Luceius*, in which he presses him to attempt the history of his transactions. *Luceius* had just finished the history of the *Italic* and *Marian* civil wars; with intent to carry it down through his own times, and, in the general relation, to include, as he had promised, a particular account of *Cicero's* acts: But *Cicero*, who was pleased with his style and manner of writing, labours in this letter to engage him to postpone the design of his continued history, and enter directly on that separate period, “from the beginning of his *Consulship* to his restoration, “comprehending *Catiline's* conspiracy and “his own exile:” And he desires this historian friend, “to allow so much to friendship and affection, as not to confine himself to the strict laws of history and the “rules of truth, but to exceed those bounds “in his praises.” Ep. Fam. lib. v. 12.

Midd.463.

3 R

A little

C H A P. IV.

POMPEY and CRASSUS are elected Consuls for the year 698. The state of King PTOLEMY's affairs at this time. CATO repulsed from the Prætorship. Provinces assigned to the Consuls, by the law of TREBONIUS, for five years. They attempt reformatiōns at home. POMPEY's theatre. PISO returns to Rome ignominiously from his government of Macedonia. CRASSUS, in spite of bad omens, embarks for Syria, (the province fallen to him by lot) even before the year of his Consulship is expired. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS and APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER are elected Consuls for the year 699.

Y. R. 698.
Bef. Chr.
54-
397 Conf.

Plut. in
Cat.

OF all those who had intended to present themselves candidates for the Consulship of the year 698, *L. Domitius* alone persisted in the purpose of entering the lists against *Pompey* and *Crassus*; and his constancy perhaps was owing to *Cato's* management, whose sister *Porcia* he had married: *Cato* pressed him to perseverance, by saying, that not his own elevation, but the LIBERTY^a of the Romans, was the interest in question.

Plutarch reports, that when *Domitius*, accompanied by *Cato*, went before day to the *Campus Martius* to solicit votes, he fell into an ambush prepared by his rivals: The slave who carried the flambeau before him was killed, and *Cato* wounded in the arm: The latter nevertheless exhorted *Domitius* to fight it out to his last breath; but the intimidated candidate thought it more prudent to go home. So that *Pompey* and *Crassus*, without further opposition, were elected Consuls^b.

Pompey, when, in concert with his two associates, he had entertained new schemes of ambition, laid aside all thoughts of obtaining for himself the commission to restore King *Ptolemy*; and, in appearance at least, became willing to serve *Lentulus* in that affair. This change of his disposition gave occasion to the two following letters from *Cicero* to that Proconsul. The first was probably written (if not in the end of 697) in the beginning of 698, during the Interregnum, and before the election of *Pompey* and *Crassus* to the Consulship; the second after that election.

Midd. 450.
Ad Quint.
ii. 4.
Ep. Fam.
i. 7.

A little before *Cicero's* return from exile, his son-in-law *Piso Frugi* died. *Tullia*, having lived a widow about two months, was married this year to *Furius Crassipes*; who, though little is said of him, seems to have been a Nobleman of principal rank and figure. The wedding-feast was held at *Cicero's* house on the sixth of April.

^a What a worthy champion this *Domitius* was of the laws and liberties of Rome, we shall see presently: But the villain was *Cato's* brother-in-law, and *Cæsar's* enemy: And there we find his merit.

^b This was the second time of their being Consuls: In their first Consulship they were colleagues, as now.

To *Publius Lentulus*, Proconsul.

“ I have received your letter, wherein you assure me, that the frequent
 * accounts I send of your affairs, together with the convincing proofs I
 “ have given you of my friendship, are circumstances extremely agreeable
 “ to you.—If you do not hear from me as frequently as you wish, it is
 “ solely because I dare not trust my letters to every conveyance. ———

“ It is not easy to give a satisfactory answer to your enquiry concerning
 “ the sincerity of your professed friends, and the disposition of others in
 “ general towards you. This only I will venture to say, that a certain
 “ party, and particularly those who have the strongest obligations, as
 “ well as the greatest abilities, to distinguish themselves in your service,
 “ look upon you with envy : That (agreeable to what I have myself ex-
 “ perience upon a different occasion) those whom, in justice to your
 “ Country, you have necessarily offended, are your avowed opposers ; as
 “ others, whose interest and honours you have generously supported, are
 “ much less inclined to remember your favours than to oppose your
 “ glory. These are circumstances indeed which I long suspected, and have
 “ often intimated to you ; but of which I am now most thoroughly con-
 “ vinced. I observed upon the same occasion, (and I believe I told you so
 “ in a former letter) both *Hortensius* and *Lucullus*, to be extremely in your
 “ interest : As among those who were in the Magistracy, *Lucius Rutilius* *
 “ appeared very sincerely and affectionately to espouse your cause. But,
 “ excepting the two former, I cannot name any of the Consuls who dis-
 “ covered the least degree of friendship towards you when your affair was
 “ before the Senate. As for my own endeavours, they might perhaps
 “ be generally considered as flowing rather from those singular favours
 “ I have received at your hands, than from the uninfluenced dictates
 “ of my real sentiments. With regard to *Pompey*, he seldom attended
 “ the house at that season : But I must do him the justice to say, he often
 “ takes an opportunity, without my previously leading him into the sub-
 “ ject, of discoursing with me concerning your affair ; as well as very wil-
 “ lingly enters into the conversation, whenever I start it myself. Your last
 “ letter, I perceived, was extremely agreeable to him : And I could not
 “ but observe, with equal admiration and pleasure, the polite and most
 “ judicious manner in which you addressed him. Before he received this
 “ Letter he seemed a little inclined to suspect, that the notion, which some
 “ had entertained, of his inclination to be your competitor, had alienated
 “ you from him. But you have now wholly fixed that excellent man in
 “ your interest ; who in truth had all the antecedent reasons for being so,
 “ that an uninterrupted series of the highest services could possibly give

* Tribune
in 697.
Pigh.

* Dr. Middleton dates this letter in 697, Mr. Melmoth in 698. If this was written in 697, it would seem to have been in December, after the Tribuneship of *Rutilius* was expired.

Y.R. 693. " him¹. I must confess he always appeared to me, even when the con-
 " duct of *Caninius* had raised the strongest suspicions of the contrary^c,
 " to favour your interest: But I can now assure you, that I found him,
 " after he had perused your letter, intirely disposed to promote whatever
 " may contribute either to your interest or your honour. You may con-
 " sider then what I am going to offer as his immediate sentiments and ad-
 " vice: As indeed it is the result of frequent consultations which we have
 " held together.

" We are of opinion, that it may be proper for you to consider, whe-
 " ther any advantages may be derived from your being in possession of
 " *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*. For if there should appear a sufficient probability
 " of being able to make yourself master of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, we
 " think it equally for your honour, and that of the Republic, to march
 " thither with your army, supported by your fleet^d; having first left the
 " King at *Ptolemais*, or some other convenient place in that neighbourhood.
 " By these means, when you shall have quieted the disturbances in *Alexan-*
 " *dria*, and secured it by a proper number of forces, *Ptolemy* may safely
 " take possession of his kingdom. Thus he will be restored by you, as the
 " Senate had once decreed: And restored too without an army, agreeably to
 " the sentiments of those who insist upon observing the injunctions of the Oracle.
 " We are the rather confirmed in recommending this measure, as there is
 " no decree of the Senate subsisting, which particularly prohibits you from
 " replacing *Ptolemy* on his throne. As to the order, which absolutely
 " forbids all assistance whatever to be given to him, you know it was not

Vid. supr.
 p. 463.

^d *Lentulus*, during his Consulate, had pro-
 posed and carried that law in favour of *Pompey*, by which he was commissioned to provide
 corn in a time of scarcity, a commission which
 in effect invested him with the whole power of
 the Roman empire.

Melm.
 p. 95.

" It was an usual artifice with *Pompey*
 " to employ his friends in soliciting those ho-
 " nours in his behalf, to which he affected to
 " appear himself perfectly indifferent, or even
 " averse. This was his policy in the present
 " instance: And at the same time that he pre-
 " tended to serve *Lentulus* in this affair, his
 " creature *Caninius*, a Tribune of the People,
 " was practising every stratagem to procure
 " the commission for *Pompey* — But when
 " *Pompey* found that this was impracticable,
 " he pretended a friendship for *Lentulus*, and
 " joined with *Cicero* in giving the advice
 " which makes a great part of this letter."

Melm.
 p. 96.

^e It is very remarkable, that "*Cicero* makes
 " the very measures, which he here so strong-
 " ly recommends to *Lentulus*, an article of his
 " charge against *Antony*. For when the Senate,

" after various debates, had resolved entirely
 " to drop the affair of the King's restoration,
 " *Ptolemy* applied himself to *Gabinus*, Pro-
 " consul of *Syria*, who, upon the promise of
 " ten thousand talents, and at the recommen-
 " dation of *Pompey*, boldly undertook and
 " effected his restoration, without being au-
 " thorised by any legal commission for that
 " purpose: And it was by the persuasion of
 " *Antony*, who commanded the Roman cavalry,
 " that *Gabinus* engaged in that enterprise.
 " This affords a topic of great indignation
 " in one of the *Philippics*; and *Cicero* there
 " speaks of this transaction as a most impu-
 " dent violation of all authority, both sacred
 " and civil: *Inde iter* (say, he) *Alexandriam*
 " *contra Senatus auctoritatem, contra Repub-*
 " *licam & religiones*. Philip. ii. 19. But
 " what opinion must every unprejudiced rea-
 " der conceive of our author, when he finds
 " him condemning and approving the same
 " transactions, and advising his friends to
 " pursue a step which he afterwards publicly
 " and justly reproached in his adversary?"

" only

“ only protest against, when it was voted, but is generally looked upon
 “ rather as the warm dictates of an exasperated faction, than as having
 “ the full authority of a *decree* of the Senate. However, we deem it ne-
 “ cessary to add, that we are sensible the world will judge of the propriety
 “ of this scheme entirely by the event. Should it succeed as we wish,
 “ your policy and resolution will universally be applauded: On the
 “ other hand, should it miscarry, it will undoubtedly be condemned as
 “ an action of ill-considered and unwarrantable ambition. How far this
 “ enterprize may be practicable, you, who are situated almost within
 “ view of *Egypt*, are the most competent judge. If therefore you are
 “ well satisfied of being able to render yourself master of that kingdom,
 “ we are clearly of opinion you should not delay your march one moment:
 “ But if you are doubtful of the success, it is our advice that you by no
 “ means make the attempt. This I will venture to assure you, that,
 “ should you execute this project in the manner we wish, there will be a
 “ very considerable party to give it applause, even during your absence;
 “ as all *Rome* will unite in the same approbation, the moment you shall re-
 “ turn against us. Nevertheless I am persuaded, if this scheme should not
 “ take the desired effect, it may be attended with very disagreeable conse-
 “ quences to yourself; not only upon account of that *order* of the Senate,
 “ which I just now mentioned, but likewise in regard to the Oracle. When
 “ therefore I recommend such measures as you shall have full assurance
 “ will terminate in your glory, I must at the same time strongly dissuade
 “ you from engaging in them, if you should have the least reason to
 “ apprehend an opposition. For (I repeated it again) the world will be
 “ determined in their opinion of this whole transaction, not as it is reason-
 “ able, but as it shall be successful. If the method here proposed should
 “ appear too dangerous to be hazarded in your own person, we think it
 “ may at least be adviseable to assist the King with a number of your forces,
 “ provided he shall give sufficient security to your friends in the province,
 “ for repaying them the money they have advanced in support of his cause.
 “ And the circumstances and situation of your government render it ex-
 “ tremely easy either to promote or obstruct his restoration, as you shall
 “ see proper. After all, you are the best judge what method will be most
 “ expedient to pursue: I thought it my part, however, to inform you of
 “ these our concurrent sentiments.” [N. B. Lentulus, wisely judging the
 “ affair too hazardous for one of his dignity and fortunes, left it to a man of a
 “ more desperate character, Gabinius.]

“ You congratulate me on the present situation of my affairs in general,
 “ and particularly on the friendship of *Milo*, together with the vain
 “ and ineffectual schemes of the worthless *Clodius*. It is no wonder
 “ you should rejoice in these the generous effects of your own amicable
 “ offices. But, to say truth, such an incredible perverseness (not to give
 “ it a more severe appellation) prevails amongst a certain party, that they
 “ rather

Y. R. 698.
 Bef. Chr.
 54.
 397 Conf.

Y. R. 698.
Bef. Chr.

54-
397 Conf.

“ rather chuse to alienate me by their jealousies from the common cause,
“ than to retain me in that interest by their favour and encouragement¹.
“ I will own to you, their malice has almost driven me from those prin-
“ ciples which I have so long and so invariably pursued. At least, if they
“ have not provoked me so far, as to make me forget the dignity of my
“ character, they have taught me that it is high time I should act with a
“ view likewise to my own safety. I might, consistently with the highest
“ views of patriotism, reconcile both these distinct ends, were there any
“ honour or fortitude in those of Consular rank [the venerable bench of
“ Consulars.] But such a meanness of spirit in general prevails among
“ them, that, instead of applauding the resolutions with which my actions
“ have been ever uniformly directed in the cause of the Commonwealth,
“ they look with envy upon those dignities to which my public services
“ have advanced me. I the rather mention this, as it is to you that I am
“ principally indebted, not only for the happiness of being restored to my
“ Country, but almost for my very first successful steps in the paths of pa-
“ triotism and of glory.—

“ As to your enquiry concerning the situation of public affairs, there
“ are great divisions amongst us: But the zeal and prudence of the respec-
“ tive parties are by no means equal. Those who enjoy the largest
“ share of wealth and power have gained a superiority of credit likewise
“ by the folly and instability of their antagonists; they have obtained
“ from the Senate, with very little opposition, what they had no hopes
“ of receiving even from the People, without raising great distur-
“ ances. Accordingly the House has voted *Cæsar* a sum of money for
“ the payment of his army, together with a power of nominating ten
“ Lieutenants: As they have also, without the least difficulty, *dispensed*
“ with the *Sempronian law*² for appointing him a successor¹. [—*Et sibi*

Melm.

¹ *Cicero* at this time was falling into the measures of *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, and *Crassus*; measures which he thought to be contrary to the true interest of his country: He endeavours here therefore to palliate, as well as he can, this unworthy conduct: But as he enters more fully into the motives of it in *Ep. Fam. lib. i. 9.* the reader is referred to that epistle, which will be presently inserted.

² What *Cicero* here means by saying the Senate had *dispensed with the Sempronian law for appointing a successor to Cæsar*, I confess I understand not. The government of *Cisalpine Gaul* and *Illyricum* had been granted to *Cæsar*, at the motion of the Tribune *Pulchellus*, by a law of the People, for the term of *five*

¹ *Vid. sup.*

p. 415.

Plut. in
Cæf.

years¹. It would seem therefore, that the Senate could have no right, in virtue of the *Sempronian law*, or any other law, to appoint

him a successor before the expiration of that term.

¹ — “ *Cicero* was the chief adviser and promoter of these very measures, which he here condones. If this were a fact which stood upon the credit of historians, the passage before us would strongly incline one to suspect that they had misrepresented the truth. But we have a testimony to produce, which, though of undoubted authority, is the last one should have expected in the case: For it is the testimony of *Cicero* himself. In a speech which he pronounced at the bar, either a little before or soon after the date of this letter, he mentions each of these particular grants, which he enumerates to *Lentulus*, and then adds: *Hæc sunt sententiarum principis et auctor sui.* Orat. pro Balb. 27.

“ *pendium*

pendium Cæsari decretum est, et decem legati; et ne lege Sempronia succederetur, facile perfectum est. Y. R. 693. Bef. Chr.

" I do but slightly touch upon these particulars, as I cannot reflect on
 " our affairs with any satisfaction. However I mention them as suggest-
 " ing an useful caution to both of us, *to preserve a proper poise between our*
 " *interest and our honour, and not to advance one by an undue depression of the*
 " *other.* A maxim this, which I have learned, not so much from my fa-
 " vourite philosophy, as from sad experience; and which I would recom-
 " mend to you, ere you are taught it by the same unpleasing method of
 " conviction."——

To the same.

" *Marcus Platorius* will fully inform you of the promises we have re-
 " ceived from *Pompey*, together with every thing that has hitherto been
 " attempted or affected in your favour. He was not only present indeed,
 " but a principal agent throughout the whole proceedings; as he acted
 " in every article of your concerns agreeably to what might be expected
 " from a judicious, vigilant, and an affectionate friend. To him like-
 " wise I must refer you for an account of public affairs; as I know not
 " well what to say of them myself. Thus much, however, I can assure
 " you, that they are in the hands (and in the hands they are likely to re-
 " main) of your professed friends¹. As for myself, both gratitude and
 " prudence, together with your particular advice, have determined me,
 " as they ought, to join in *his*² interest, whom you were formerly desirous
 " of associating with you in mine. You are sensible, nevertheless, *how*
 " *difficult it is to renounce our old and habitual notions of politics; espe-*
 " *cially under a full persuasion of their rectitude.* However, I conform
 " myself to *his* system, since I cannot with any decency oppose him:
 " And, whatever some may perhaps imagine, I am by no means acting
 " in this a counterfeit part. The truth of it is, *Pompey has gained such*
 " *an absolute possession of my esteem, that I begin to look upon every thing as*
 " *just and reasonable which falls in with his interest or inclination.* I
 " should think too it would be no imprudent resolution, even in his ad-
 " versaries themselves, to desist from an opposition to which they are evi-
 " dently unequal. In the mean time, I have the satisfaction to find the
 " world in general agreed, that my character requires I should support, or
 " at least not obstruct, the measures of *Pompey*: Whilst some are even of
 " opinion, I may reasonably retire from all public business to my favou-
 " rite pursuits of a literary kind. And, indeed, were I not prevented by
 " my friendship to *Pompey*, I should most certainly adopt this latter
 " scheme, as of all others the most suitable to my inclinations. For I can
 " now no longer maintain that dignity in the Senate, and that freedom

Lib. i. Ep.
 8. Ed.
 Græv.
 B. ii. Let.
 4. Melm.

¹ *Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.*

² *Pompey.*

" in

Y. R. 698. " in the Commonwealth, which was the single motive of my ambition,
 Bef. Cmr. " and the sole end I proposed to myself in all my labours: A misfortune,
 54-
 397 Conf. " however, which is not peculiar to myself, but extends to every *Roman*
 " in general. In a word, I am under the sad necessity, either of tamely
 " submitting to the sentiments of those few who lead the Republic, or of
 " imprudently joining in a weak and fruitless opposition". I the rather
 " mention this, that you may deliberate, before your return amongst us,
 " what part it may be advisable for you to act in the present conjuncture.
 " To speak freely, the measures both of those of Senatorian and Equestrian
 " rank, and indeed the whole system of the Commonwealth in general, are
 " totally changed. All therefore that I have now to wish, is the prefer-
 " vation of the public tranquillity; which those who are in the administra-
 " tion seem to give us a prospect of enjoying, if a *certain party* could be
 " prevailed upon to submit with less impatience to their power. As to
 " any hopes of supporting in the Senate that true Consular character of a
 " firm and inflexible patriot, it is in vain now to expect it: Every means
 " for that purpose is totally lost, by the mistaken conduct of those who
 " disobliged *Pompey*", and dissolved that strong union which subsisted be-
 " tween the Senate and the Equestrian order.
 " But to return to what more immediately relates to your own private
 " affairs:—*Pompey* is extremely your friend: And, by all that I can
 " observe, you may obtain any thing you shall desire during his Consul-
 " ship°. At least I shall solicit him very strenuously for that purpose: As
 " you may rely on my most active offices in every instance where you are
 " concerned. I am well persuaded my assiduity on this occasion will not
 " be disagreeable to him: On the contrary, he will receive it with plea-
 " sure, were it for no other reason than as affording him a proof of my
 " grateful disposition. In the mean time I intreat you to believe, that
 " whatever bears the least connection with your interest, is of more im-
 " portance to me than my own. From these sentiments it is that I des-
 " pair, not only of being able to return, but, even sufficiently to acknow-
 " ledge, the infinite obligations I owe you. Though at the same time I
 " am conscious of having exerted, on all occasions, the most unwearied en-
 " deavours in your service.

Vid. supr.
 p. 397, &
 394-

Melm. p.
 213.

" A determined patriot could not have been reduced to the alternatives which *Cicero* here mentions, as there was a third expedient, which every man of strict political integrity, who dared to act up to his principles, would undoubtedly have embraced. *An honest Physician* (says Sir William Temple) is excused for leaving his patient when he finds the disease grown desperate, and can, by his attendance, expect only to receive his own fees, without any hopes or appearance of deserving them. Our Author, in one of his

orations, mentions it to the immortal honour of the celebrated *Metellus*, that *de civitate decedere quam de sententia maluit*: And he who is actuated by the same sublime patriotism, will never find himself under the poor necessity of justifying wrong measures by the impossibility of enforcing right ones.

" *Cato*, *Metellus*, *Celer*, *Lucullus*, and others, had opposed *Pompey's* desire of having his acts in *Asia* confirmed by the Senate.

" *Pompey* and *Crassus* were at this time Consuls.

Vid. supr.
 p. 93.

“ It is rumoured here, that you have obtained a compleat victory * : Y. R. 698.
 “ And we impatiently expect an express with the confirmation of this Bef. Chr.
 “ agreeable news. I have already talked with Pompey upon this subject : 54.
 “ And, as soon as your courier arrives, I shall employ my utmost dili- 397 Conf.
 “ gence in convening the Senate. In fine, were I to perform much more
 “ for your interest than lies within the narrow compass of my present
 “ power, I should still think I had fallen far short of what you have a right
 “ to expect. Farewell.

DURING the continuance of the tumults occasioned by the election of new Consuls, Cicero retired into the country to one of his villas on the delightful shore of *Baiæ*, the chief place of resort and pleasure for the great and rich. Pompey came thither in the month of *April*, and no sooner arrived, than he sent his compliments to Cicero ; and he spent his whole Ad Att. time with him : They had much discourse on public affairs, in which Pompey vi. 10. expressed great uneasiness, and owned himself dissatisfied with his own part in them : But Cicero, in his account of the conversation, intimates some Ibid. 9. suspicion of his sincerity. — In the same letter he mentions a current report Midd. at *Puteoli*, that King *Ptolemy* was restored, and desires to know what account 469. they had of it at Rome. The report was very true : For *Gabinus*, tempted by *Ptolemy*'s gold, and the plunder of *Ægypt*, and encouraged Dio, lib. also, as some write, by Pompey himself, undertook to replace him on the xxxix. p. throne with his Syrian army[†] ; which he executed with a high hand and the 116. &c. destruction of all the King's enemies, in open defiance of the authority of the Senate,

* Ep. Fam. i. 9.

† By a posterior * letter from Cicero to *Len- tulus* it appears, that this Proconsul was saluted *Imperator* by his soldiers : It was probably for the victory here mentioned : But against what power the battle was fought is no where said.

† Vid. sup. p. 269 & 395. note (a).

† *Scaurus*, whom Pompey left in Syria †, did nothing there to gain him much honour. Neither did *Philippus* nor *Marcellinus*, who had the province of Syria successively after *Scaurus*, distinguish themselves by any considerable exploits. The incursions and depredations of the *Arabs*, whom those commanders could not totally suppress, served for a pretext to *Clodius* to make Syria a Consular province, and he recompensed *Gabinus* with it, who, during his Consulship, had so well served him in his attack upon Cicero.

Supra,

p. 261,

267, 269.

Judæa, dependent on the government of Syria, was agitated by great commotions when *Gabinus* arrived there. It has been mentioned that Pompey decided the quarrel between the two brothers, *Hyrcaus* and *Aristobulus*, in Vol. III.

favour of the former, to whom he gave the office of High-Priest, and the authority of command, but without the diadem ; and that he carried away *Aristobulus*, with his two sons, *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, and two daughters, prisoners. *Alexander* made his escape on the road, returned into *Judæa*, and after concealing himself some time, got together a sufficient number of his father's party to dispossess *Hyrcaus*. He thought likewise of fortifying himself against the power of the Romans, by building the walls of *Jerusalem*, which Pompey had thrown down.

Gabinus quickly reduced *Alexander* to sue for favour ; nor did he refuse him his life and liberty. But though he brought back *Hyrcaus* to *Jerusalem*, and put him again in possession of the High-Priesthood, he gave a new form to the government of the nation, Jos. Antiq. making it Aristocratical. He divided all the l. iv. 10. country into five provinces, and in each of & de Bell. these created a Sovereign Council. Jud. i. 6.

Y. R. 698. *Senate and the direction of the Sibyl.* This made a great noise at Rome ;
 Bef. Chr. and irritated the People to such a degree, that they resolved to make him
 397 Conf. feel their displeasure for it very severely at his return.

— *Cicero* staid in the country till the beginning of *May*, much out of
 Midd. humour, and disgusted both with the Republic and himself. *Atticus's*
 467. constant advice to him was, *to consult his safety and interest, by uniting him-*
 self with the men of power ; and they, on their part, were as constantly
 inviting him to it, by all possible assurances of their affection : But in his
 Ad Ant. answers to *Atticus* he observes, “ that their two cases were very different ;
 iv. 6. “ that *Atticus*, having no peculiar character, suffered no peculiar in-

V. d. supr. It was on his pacification of *Judea*, that
 p. 485. *Gabinus* made application to the Senate to be
 honoured with a public thanksgiving, called
supplicationes, and met with a refusal.

He was preparing to carry the war into
 the country of the *Arabs*, when the hopes of
 a richer booty than he could find among
 them, made him turn towards *Parthia*.

Dio, lib. *Phraates*, King of *Parthia*, had been mur-
 xxxix. dered by his own sons, *Orodes* and *Mitridates*,
 App. in who afterwards contended with one another
 Parth. & for the crown. *Mitridates*, finding himself
 Syr. the weaker, had recourse to *Gabinus*. He came
 Plut. in to the Roman camp, accompanied by *Orsanes*,
 Craff. & the most illustrious of the *Parthian* nobles ;
 in Anton. and by presents and promises he engaged the
 Proconsul to undertake his cause : But when
Gabinus had passed the *Euphrates* with his ar-
 my, the prospect of a yet richer prey, and
 more easy to be acquired, brought him quick-
 ly back again. For *Ptolemy Auletes* came to
 him with recommendatory letters from *Pom-*
pey, and with a promise from himself of ten
 thousand talents, on condition that he would
 replace him on the throne of *Egypt*. The
 greater part of the Roman officers did not ap-
 prove of the enterprize, as being prohibited
 by a decree of the Senate, and the Oracle of
 the Sibyl. But *Marc Antony* [the future
 Triumvir] who commanded the cavalry, be-
 ing gained by *Ptolemy*, and not being religi-
 ously scrupulous, counselled and determined
Gabinus to the undertaking.

V. d. supr. After the death of *Seleucus Cybiosactes*,
 p. 471. whom his Queen *Berenice* put to death, as has
 note (m) been before mentioned, *Archelaus* (the son
 of that *Archelaus* who had commanded *Mi-*
tridates's army, but pretending to be that
 King's son) offered himself to the *Alexan-*

drians to be their King, and was accepted of
 by them. The only difficulty was how to
 get away from the Roman army, which he
 had joined, with the intention of accompany-
 ing *Gabinus* into *Parthia* ; for *Gabinus*, ha-
 ving been informed of what was in agitation,
 kept a watch upon him. However, he
 made his escape ; and, if we may believe
Dio, by connivance of the Roman comman-
 der, who was willing that *Egypt*, by posses-
 sing an able General, might be in a condi-
 tion to make the greater resistance, and there-
 by furnish him with a pretence to raise the
 price of his services. *Archelaus* came to
Alexandria, married Queen *Berenice*, was re-
 cognized King, and made preparations to
 defend his crown.

On *Gabinus's* arrival on the borders of
Egypt, he detached *Antony* with the horse
 to seize the passes, and open the way for the
 army to follow. *Antony* was greatly assisted
 by *Antipater the Idumean*, who not only fur-
 nished him with money, arms, and provisions,
 but made the conquest of *Pelusium* *, the key
 of *Egypt* on that side, easy to him, by gaining
 the Jews, who were settled in the neighbour-
 hood of it †. The Proconsul arrived at this
 place, entered *Egypt* with all his forces,
 fought several battles, and at length, by the
 death of *Archelaus*, who was killed in the last
 action, remained master of *Alexandria*, and
 the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, which he sur-
 rendered to *Ptolemy*. *Antony* caused funeral
 honours to be performed for *Archelaus* : But
 the King put his own daughter, Queen *Bere-*
nice, to death ; as also the richest of the *Alex-*
andrians, that with their spoils he might be
 the better able to satisfy the engagements he
 had entered into with *Gabinus*.

* *Darietta*.

† They had here a Temple, built by *Osiris*, after the model of that at *Jerusalem*.

“ dignity ;

“ dignity ; nothing but what was common to all the Citizens ; whereas
 “ his own condition was such, that if he spoke what he ought to do, he
 “ should be looked upon as a madman ; if what was useful only to him-
 “ self, as a slave ; if nothing at all, as quite oppressed and subdued :
 “ That his uneasiness was the greater, because he could not shew it with-
 “ out being thought ungrateful. — Shall I withdraw myself then, *says he*,
 “ from business, and retire to the port of ease ? That will not be allowed
 “ me. Shall I follow these leaders to the wars, and, after having refused
 “ a command, submit to be commanded ? I will do so ; for I see that
 “ it is your advice, and wish that I had always followed it. Or shall I
 “ resume my post, and enter again into affairs ? I cannot persuade myself
 “ to that, but begin to think *Philoxenus* in the right, who chose to be
 “ carried back to prison, rather than commend the tyrant’s verses. This
 “ is what I am now meditating, to declare my dislike at least of what they
 “ are doing.”

Y. R. 698.
 B. f. Chr.
 54.
 397 Conf.

Diod. Sic.
 l. xv.
 p. 331.

The City continued, for a great part of this summer, without its infe-
 rior annual Magistrates : For the elections, which had been postponed
 from the last year, were still kept off by the Consuls till they could settle
 them to their minds, which they effected at last, excepting in the case of
 two Tribunes. But the most remarkable repulse was of *M. Cato* from the
 Prætorship : For the Consuls, apprehending the trouble which in that
 office he might give them, resolved to disappoint him, if possible : And,
 in order to secure his competitors from impeachments for bribery, enga-
 ged the Senate to decree, that the new Prætors should enter upon their of-
 fice without an interval of sixty days between *the nomination* and *the taking*
possession ; an interval usually allowed for examining whether bribery had
 been practised in the election, and for prosecuting the guilty. The pretence
 of this decree was, that, so much of the year being spent, the whole
 would pass without any Prætors at all, if a liberty of impeaching was
 allowed. “ *From this moment*, says *Cicero*, *they have given the exclu-*
 “ *sion to Cato*, and, being masters of all, resolve that all the world shall
 “ know it.”

Midd.
 p. 476.

Plut. in
 Cat.

Ad Quint.
 ii. 9.

The first century, without a bribe, gave their votes for *Cato*. *Pompey*
 hereupon pretended that he *saw something inauspicious in the Heavens*, and
 broke up the Assembly. The two Consuls afterwards bestirred themselves
 so successfully, as to get *Cato* excluded, and *Vatinius* chosen, who had been
 repulsed the year before with disgrace from the Ædileship.

Plut. in
 Cat. & in
 Pomp.

Val. Max.
 vii. 5.

In the Assemblies for the election of Ædiles, the conflict between the con-
 tending parties proved to be a bloody one. It is said, that *Pompey’s* robe
 was stained with the blood of some that were slain near him ; and that send-
 ing it home, when they had brought him another, his wife was so frighten-
 ed at the sight of it, that she miscarried.

Plut. in
 Pomp.

When all the Magistrates were chosen, the Tribune *Trebonius* pro-
 posed to the People a law for the assignment of provinces to the Consuls

Dio,
 l. xxxix.
 p. 109.
 for

Y. R. 693. for the term of five years, with the power of raising what forces they thought fit. *Pompey* took upon himself to propose a law in favour of *Cæsar*, that, after the expiration of the *five years* which had been already granted him, he should hold the government of the *Gauls* for five years more. This law was opposed by the generality of the Senate, and above all by *Cato*, *Favonius* (his great admirer and imitator) and two of the Tribunes, *C. Ateius Capito*, and *P. Aquilius Gallus*: But the superior force of the Consuls and the other Tribunes prevailed.

The Consuls applied themselves, in the beginning of their administration, to the work of reformation. With a view to remedy the most scandalous practice of corruption in judiciary affairs, they made several new laws, and with more rigorous penalties than those already denounced; and they ordained, that the Judges should be taken from the richest of the Citizens; imagining, doubtless, that poverty had induced some Judges to suffer themselves to be gained by presents: But could a strict regard to justice be with more reason expected from those who were become rich by all sorts of crimes? The Consuls prepared likewise certain sumptuary * laws. What animated their zeal in this particular, was perhaps the excessive luxury in which their principal adversaries lived, the chiefs of the Aristocratic faction. *Hortensius* did not conceal his taste, but took upon him boldly to defend the excess in question, by calling it magnificence and nobleness becoming the grandeur of the Commonwealth. Notwithstanding this spirit of reformation, which animated the Consuls, *Pompey* transgressed the ancient discipline by the construction, at his own expence, of a *permanent* theatre: For, till that time, there had never been any theatre built in *Rome* to continue longer than while the shews lasted that were to be then exhibited.

It

Midd. 473. *Pompey's* theatre is much celebrated by the
Plin. Hist. ancients for its grandeur and magnificence:
vii. 3. The plan was taken from the theatre of *Mytilene*, but greatly enlarged, so as to receive commodiously forty thousand people. It was surrounded by a portico, to shelter the company in bad weather, and had a curia or senate-house annexed to it; with a basilica also, or grand hall, proper for the sitting of Judges, or any other public business: which were all finished at *Pompey's* cost, and adorned with a great number of images of men and women, famed for something very remarkable or prodigious in their lives and characters. *Atticus* undertook the care of placing all these statues; for which *Pompey* charged *Cicero* with his thanks to him. What made this fabric the more surprizing and splendid, was a beautiful temple, erected at one end of it to *Venus*, the Conqueress; and so contrived, that the seats of the theatre might serve as stairs to the temple. This was designed, it is said, to avoid

the reproach of making so vast an expence for Dio, the mere use of luxury; the temple being so placed, p. 107.
that those who came to the shews might seem to Plut. in
come to worship the Goddess. At the solemnity Pomp-
of this dedication, *Pompey* entertained the People with the most magnificent shews, which had ever been exhibited in *Rome*: In the theatre, were stage-plays, prizes of music, wrestlings, and all kinds of bodily exercise: In the circus, the horse-races, and huntings of wild beasts for five days successively, in which five hundred lions were killed; on the last day, twenty elephants; whose lamentable howlings when mortally wounded, raised such a commiseration in the multitude, from a vulgar notion of their great sense and love to man, that it destroyed the whole diversion of the shews, and drew curses upon *Pompey* himself for being the author of so much cruelty. So true De Off. it is, what *Cicero* observes of this kind of pro- ii. 16.
digality, that there is no real dignity or lasting honour in it; that it satiates while it pleases,
and

Ad Art.
iv. 9.
A. Gell.
x. 1.
Vid Tert.
de Spectac.
Plin.
l. viii. 7.

It has been mentioned, that a decree of the Senate had passed for recalling *Piso* from his government of *Macedonia*. He returned to *Rome* about this time, after an inglorious administration of a province, whence no Consular Senator had ever returned but to triumph. For though, on account of some trifling advantage in the field, he had procured himself to be saluted Emperor by his army, yet the occasion was so contemptible, that he durst not send any letters upon it to the Senate : but, after oppressing the subjects, plundering the allies, and losing the best part of his troops against the neighbouring barbarians, who invaded and laid waste the country, he ran away in disguise from a mutiny of the soldiers, whom he disbanded at last without their pay. When he arrived at *Rome*, he stripped his fasces of their laurels, and entered the City obscurely and ignominiously, without any other attendance than his own retinue. On his first appearance in public, trusting to the authority of his son-in-law *Cæsar*, he had the hardiness to attack *Cicero*, and complain to the Senate of his injurious treatment of him : But when he began to reproach him with the disgrace of his exile, he was interrupted by a loud and general clamour of the Assembly.

Y.R. 698.
Supra,
p. 487.
Midd. 470.
In *Pison*.
16, &c.

The Consuls having drawn lots for the provinces assigned them by the law of *Trebonius*, *Syria* fell to *Crassus*, agreeably to his wishes ; *Spain* to *Pompey*, who was no less pleased with his fortune, having no mind to a command that would carry him far out of the way. His scheme was constantly to conduct the affairs of the City ; and this scheme he pursued so faithfully, that for the six years, during which he was Proconsul of *Spain*, he never set foot in his province, but governed it by his Lieutenants ; a thing without example in the Commonwealth : But the superintendence of provisions, with which he was charged, furnished him with a specious pretence to continue at *Rome*.

Dio. Plut.
in *Crass.* &
in *Pomp.*

As for *Crassus*, whose heart was now fixed on the imagined boundless wealth of *Partbia*, he was in such haste to set forward on his Eastern expedition, that he left *Rome* above two months before the expiration of his Consulship : But his eagerness to involve the Republic in a desperate war, for which the *Partbians* had given no pretext, was generally detested.

Midd.
p. 478.

and is forgotten as soon as it is over. It gives us, however, a genuine idea of the wealth and grandeur of those principal subjects of *Rome*, who, from their private revenues, could raise such noble buildings, and provide such shows, from the several quarters of the world, which no Monarch on earth is now able to exhibit.

Among other things with which he upbraided *Cicero*, he told him, that it was not any envy for what he had done, but the vanity of what he had said, which had driven him into exile ; and that a single verse of his,

Cedant arma Togæ, concedat laurea linguæ. was the cause of all his calamity ; by provoking *Pompey* to make him feel how much the power of the General was superior to that of the Orator : He put him in mind also, that it was mean and ungenerous to exert his spleen only against such whom he contemned, without daring to meddle with those who had more power, and where his resentment was more due. *Cicero* made a reply to him upon the spot, in an invective speech, the severest perhaps that ever was spoken by any man, on the person, the parts, the whole life and conduct of *Piso*.

The

Y. R. 698 *The Tribune Ateius declared it impious, and prohibited by all the auspices :*
 Plut. in
 Crass. And when he found *Crassus* determined to march, he waited for him at the gates of the City, and having there ready a kind of chafing-dish, with fire in it, he threw thereon perfumes, and poured libations : and invoking certain Gods with frightful names, devoted him, as he prayed by, to destruction¹.

Midd 479. *Crassus* was desirous, before he left *Rome*, to be reconciled to *Cicero* : They had never been real friends, but generally opposite in party ; and *Cicero*'s early engagements with *Pompey* kept him of course at a distance from *Crassus* : Their coldness was still increased on account of *Catiline*'s plot, of which when *Crassus* was, by some, strongly suspected, he charged *Cicero* with being the author of that suspicion : They carried it however on both sides with much decency, out of regard to *Crassus*'s son, *Publius*, a professed admirer and disciple of *Cicero* ; till an accidental debate in the Senate blew up their secret grudges into an open quarrel. The debate was upon *Gabinus*, whose conduct in relation to King *Ptolemy*, *Crassus* undertook to defend, and, in that defence, made many severe reflections upon *Cicero* ; who replied with no less acrimony, and gave a free vent to that old resentment of *Crassus*'s many injuries, which had been gathering, he says, several years, but lain dormant so long, that he took it to be extinguished, till, from this accident, it burst out into a flame. The quarrel gave great joy to the chiefs of the Senate, who highly applauded *Cicero*, in hopes to embroil him with the *Triumvirate* : But *Pompey* laboured hard to make it up ; and *Cæsar* also, by letter, expressed his uneasiness upon it, and begged it of *Cicero*, as a favour, to be reconciled with *Crassus* : So that he could not hold out against an intercession so powerful, and so well enforced by his affection to young *Crassus* : Their reconciliation was confirmed by mutual professions of a

Ep. Fam.
 l. 9.

Midd 479. ¹ *Ateius* was afterwards turned out of the Senate by *Appian*, when he was Censor, for falsifying the auspices on this occasion ; but the miserable fate of *Crassus* supported the credit of them ; and confirmed the vulgar opinion of the inevitable force of those ancient rites, in drawing down the divine vengeance on all who presumed to contemn them. *Appian* was one of the *Augurs*, and the only one of the college who maintained the truth of their auguries, and the reality of divination ; for which he was laughed at by the rest ; who charged him also with an absurdity in the reason which he subscribed for his censure upon *Ateius*, viz. that he had falsified the auspices, and brought a great calamity on the Roman People : For if the auspices, they said, were false, they could not possibly have any effect, or be the cause of that calamity. But, tho' they were undoubtedly forged,

De Divin.
 l. 16.

it is certain, however, that they had a real influence on the overthrow of *Crassus* : For the terror of them had deeply possessed the minds of the soldiers, and made them turn every thing which they saw, or heard, to an omen of their ruin ; so that, when the enemy appeared in fight, they were struck with such a panic, that they had not courage or spirit enough left to make a tolerable resistance.

No people were ever more superstitious than the ancient Romans. When *Crassus* embarked his troops at *Brundisium*, there happened to be a man at the port who cried *Figs of Cannas* to sell, in Latin *Cannas*, a word which, by the manner of pronouncing, might be mistaken for *Cave ne eas*, "Beware of going." This was thought to be a warning from the Gods to *Crassus* not to pursue his enterprise. *Cic. de Divin. xi. 40.*

sincere

sincere friendship for the future ; and *Crassus*, to give a public testimony of it to the City, invited himself just before his departure, to sup with *Cicero*, who entertained him in the gardens of his son-in-law *Crassipes*, which were upon the banks of the *Tiber*, and seem to have been famous for their beauty and situation.

Y. R. 698.

Ad Quint.

iii. 7.

Ad Att.

iv. 12.

The Consuls, *Pompey* and *Crassus*, having reaped all the fruit which they had proposed from the Consulship, the securing to themselves the provinces which they wanted, were not much concerned about the choice of their successors ; so that, after postponing the election to the end of the year^a, they gave way at last to their enemy, *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, being content to have joined with him their friend, *Appius Claudius Pulcher*.

Midd. 484.

C H A P. V.

CICERO defends, in the Senate, the interests of *CRASSUS* absent, and enters into a correspondence and intimacy of friendship with *CÆSAR*. Unprecedented knavery of the Consuls and Consular candidates. The Tribunitian candidates do honour to *CATO*'s virtue. *CICERO* defends several persons accused ; and, among the rest, *VATINIUS* : In justification of this, and of the whole change of his political conduct, he writes a long letter to *LENTULUS SPINTHER*.

CRASSUS had been gone but a very little time, when he was attacked in the Senate by his enemies : Their design was, probably, to revoke his commission^a, or at least abridge it of the power of making war upon the *Parthians* : But *Cicero* exerted himself so strenuously in his defence, that he baffled their attempts, after a warm contest with the Consuls themselves, and several of the Consular Senators. He gave *Crassus* an account of the debate by the following letter.

Y. R. 699.

Bef. Chr.

53.
398 Conf.

Midd. 483. ^a *Cicero*, being a great part of the summer of this year in the country, put the last hand to his piece on the *Complut Orator*. This admirable work remains entire, a standing monument of *Cicero*'s parts and abilities ; which, while it exhibits to us the idea of a Perfect Orator, and marks out the way by which *Cicero* formed himself to that character, explains the reason likewise why nobody has since equalled him, or ever will, till there be found again united, what will hardly be

found single in any man, the same industry, and the same parts.

He returned to *Rome* about the middle of *November*, to assist at *Milo*'s wedding, who married *Fausta*, the daughter of *Sylla* the Dictator, a rich and noble lady, with whom, as some writers say, he found *Sallust* the historian in bed not long after, and had him soundly lashed, before he dismissed him.

^a *Manutius* is of this opinion.

Ad Att. iv. 13, & v. 8.

Y. R. 695.

Fp. Fam.
l. v. Ep. 8.
Ed. Græc.
B. vi. Let.
- Mem.

To Marcus Licinius Crassus.

" I am persuaded that all your friends have informed you of the zeal
" with which I lately both defended and promoted your dignities ; as in-
" deed it was too warm and too conspicuous to have been passed over in
" silence. The opposition I met with from the Consuls, as well as from
" several others of Consular rank, was the strongest I ever encountered :
" And you must now look upon me as your declared advocate upon all oc-
" casions where your glory is concerned. Thus have I abundantly compen-
" sated for the intermission of *those good offices, which the friendship between*
" *us had long given you a right to claim ; but which, by a variety of acci-*
" *dents, have lately been somewhat interrupted. There never was a time, believe*
" *me, when I wanted an inclination to cultivate your esteem, or promote your*
" *interest.* Though, it must be owned, a certain set or men ^b, who are
" the bane of all amicable intercourse, and who envied us the mutual ho-
" nour that resulted from ours, have, upon some occasions, been so unhap-
" pily successful, as to create a coolness between us ^c. It has happened,
" however, (what I rather wished than expected) that I have found an
" opportunity, when even your affairs were in the most prosperous train,
" of giving a public testimony, by my services to you, that I always most
" sincerely preserved the remembrance of *our former amity.* The truth is,
" I have approved myself your friend, not only to full conviction of your
" family in particular, but of all *Rome* in general : In consequence of
" which, that most valuable of women, your excellent wife, together with
" those illustrious models of virtue and filial piety, your two amiable
" sons, have perpetual recourse to my assistance and advice : As the whole
" world is sensible, that no one is more zealously disposed to serve you than
" myself.

" Your family correspondents have informed you, I imagine, of what
" has hitherto passed in your affair, as well as of what is at present in
" agitation. As for myself, *I intreat you to do me the justice to believe,*
" *that it was not any sudden start of inclination, which disposed me to embrace*
" *this opportunity of vindicating your honour : On the contrary, it was my*

^b He means, I presume, those whom he
often styles THE HONEST.

Mem.

^c " How effectually soever *Cicero* might
" have served *Crassus* upon the occasion to
" which this letter relates, it is most certain
" his good offices did not proceed from a prin-
" ciple of friendship. It is extremely pro-
" bable indeed, that his supporting the cause
" of *Crassus* in the Senate is one of those in-
" stances of our author's subjection, of which
" he complains" in some of his letters : " And

" that it was entirely in compliance with the
" inclinations of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, with
" whom *Crassus* was now united."—" It is
" certain that *Crassus*, from the time of *Cati-*
" *line's* conspiracy, conceived a strong and
" lasting aversion to our author ; as, on the
" other hand, that *Cicero*, after the death of
" *Crassus*, published an oration, in which he
" expressly charged him with being engaged
" in that conspiracy."

“ ambition, from the first moment I entered the Forum, to be ranked in the
 “ number of your friends. And I have the satisfaction to reflect, that I have
 “ never, from that time to this hour, failed in the highest sentiments of esteem
 “ for you^a: As I doubt not you have always retained the same affectionate
 “ regard for me. If the effects of this mutual disposition have been inter-
 “ rupted by any little suspicions (for suspicions only I am very sure they
 “ were,) be the remembrance of them for ever blotted out of our hearts.
 “ I am persuaded indeed from those virtues which form *your* character,
 “ and from those which I am desirous should distinguish *mine*, that our
 “ friendly union in the present conjuncture cannot but be attended with
 “ equal honour to us both. What instances you may be willing to give
 “ me of your esteem, must be left to your own determination: But they
 “ will be such, I flatter myself, as may tend most to advance my dignities.
 “ For my own part, I faithfully promise the utmost exertion of my best
 “ services in every article wherein I can contribute to increase yours.
 “ Many, I know, will be my rivals in these amicable offices: But it is a
 “ contention in which all the world, I question not, and particularly your
 “ two sons, will acknowledge my superiority. Be assured, I love them
 “ both in a very uncommon degree: Though I will own *Publius* is my
 “ favourite: From his infancy he discovered a singular regard to me; as
 “ he particularly distinguishes me at this time with all the marks even of
 “ filial respect and affection.

“ Let me desire you to consider this letter, not as a strain of unmeaning
 “ compliment, but as a sacred and solemn covenant of friendship, which I shall
 “ most sincerely and religiously observe. I shall now persevere in being the
 “ advocate of your honours, not only from a motive of affection, but
 “ from a principal of constancy: And without any application on your
 “ part, you may depend on my embracing every opportunity, wherein
 “ I shall think my services may prove agreeable to your interest, or your
 “ inclination. Can you once doubt then, that any request to me for this
 “ purpose, either by yourself or your family, will meet with a most
 “ punctual observance? I hope therefore you will not scruple to employ me
 “ in all your concerns, of what nature or importance soever, as one who is
 “ most faithfully your friend: And that you will direct your family to apply
 “ to me in all their affairs of every kind, whether relating to you or to
 “ themselves, to their friends or their dependants. And be assured, I
 “ shall spare no pains to render your absence as little uneasy to them as
 “ possible. Farewell.”

^a What credit is it possible to give to the professions, asseverations, or even oaths, of this Saint of Dr. Middleton's canonization? In a letter to *Atticus*, written soon after this to *Crassus*, *Cicero* thus expresses himself concerning the latter: “ Our friend *Crassus*, they say, did not set out from Rome in his Gene-
 VOL. III,

“ ral's robe, with so much dignity as *Paulus Æmilius* heretofore, though, like him, a second
 “ time Consul. O the worthless man!” *Crassum* quidem nostrum minore dignitate aiunt profectum paludatum, quam olim æqualem *L. Paulum* iterum Consulem. O hominem nequam! *Ad Att.* iv. 13.

Y. R. 699. *Cicero*, whose brother *Quintus* was one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants in *Gaul*, began now likewise to enter into a particular intimacy and correspondence with *Cæsar*. *Quintus*, to pay his court the better to his General, had earnestly pressed his brother to an union with Him, instead of adhering so obstinately to *Pompey*, who, as he tells him, *was neither so sincere nor so generous a friend as Cæsar*. To *Cæsar* therefore *Cicero*, not disliking the advice, wrote a letter in the familiar stile; which *Cæsar* answered with all imaginable kindness, and the offer of every thing in which his power could serve him.——*Cicero*, in his account of this letter to his brother, says, “It is kind in you, and like a brother, to press me to this friendship; though I am running that way apace myself, and shall do what often happens to travellers, who, rising later than they intended, yet, by quickening their speed, come sooner to their journey’s end, than if they had set out earlier; so I, who have overslept myself in my observance of this man, though you were frequently rousing me, will correct my past laziness, by mending my pace for the future.”——With regard to *Cæsar's* professions of service, he adds, “Believe me, you who know me, I have from him already, what I most value, the assurance of his affection, which I prefer to all the great things he offers me. In another letter he says [doubtless with equal sincerity,] I lay no great stress on his promises, want no farther honours, nor desire any new glory, and wish nothing more than the continuance of his esteem; yet live in such a course of ambition and fatigue, as if I were expecting what I really do not desire.”

But, though he made no use of *Cæsar's* generosity for himself, yet he used it freely for his friends: *Cæsar* nevertheless was chiding him all the while for his reservedness in asking.

Cicero had sent *Cæsar* a Greek poem, in three books, on the history of his Consulship, and *Cæsar's* judgment upon it was, *that the beginning of it was as good as any thing which he had ever seen in that language; but the following lines to a certain place were not equal in accuracy and spirit*. *Cicero* desires therefore to know of his brother, *what Cæsar really thought of the whole, whether the matter or the stile displeased him; and begs that he would tell him the truth freely; since, whether Cæsar liked it or not, he should not, he says, be a jot the less pleased with himself*. He began however another poem, at his brother’s earnest request, to be addressed to *Cæsar*; but, after some progress, was so dissatisfied with it, that he tore it: Yet, *Quintus* still urging, and signifying, *that he had acquainted*

* Particularly for *Trebatius* the lawyer, *Orfius* and *Carinus*. For the last of these he procured a regiment. *Cicero*, concerning *Cæsar's* kindness to his brother *Quintus*, writes thus to *Atticus*: Perſpice — cum *Cæſare* ſua-
viſſimam conjunctionem (hæc enim me una ex naufragio tabula delectat) qui quidem *Quin-*

tam meum, tuumque, Dii boni! quemadmodum tractat honore, dignitate, gratia! non ſecus ac ſi ego eſſem imperator. Hibernam legionem eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me ſcribit. Hunc tu non ames? Quem igitur iſtorum? *Ad Att.* iv. 18.

Cæſar

Cæsar with the design, he was obliged to resume it, and actually finished an *Epic poem in honour of Cæsar!* which he promises to send, as soon as he could get a proper conveyance, that it might not be lost, as Quintus's tragedy of ERIGONE was in coming from Gaul; the only thing, says he, which had not found a safe passage, since Cæsar governed that province.

Y. R. 679.

Ad Quint. l. 9.

In a letter, which Cicero wrote this summer to his brother, he tells him, that there were some hopes of an election of Magistrates, but those uncertain; some suspicion of a Dictator, yet that not more certain; a great calm in the Forum; the calm of a City, that seemed to be quieted, rather by age and decay, than concord: That his own conduct, as well in public as in private, was just what Quintus had advised, softer than the lip of his ear; and his votes in the Senate such as pleased others rather than himself——That bribery was never 'carried so high as at this time by the Consular candidates, Memmius, Cn. Domitius, Scaurus, Messala; that they were all alike; no eminence in any; for money levelled the dignity of them all: That above eighty thousand pounds was promised to the first tribe; and money grown so scarce by this profusion of it, that interest was risen from four to eight per cent.

Midd. p. 499--504. Ad Quint. ii. 15.

Add Att. iv. 15, & 18.

Memmius, and Cn. Domitius, who joined their interests, made a strange sort of contract with the Consuls, L. Domitius and Appius Claudius, which was drawn up in writing, and attested in proper form by many of their friends on both sides; by which the Consuls obliged themselves to serve them with all their power in the ensuing election; and they on their parts undertook, when elected, to procure for the Consuls what provinces they desired; and gave a bond of above three thousand pounds to provide three Augurs, who should testify, that they were present at making a law for granting them those provinces, when no such law had ever been made; and two Consular Senators, who should affirm, that they were present likewise at passing a decree of the Senate for furnishing the same provinces with arms and money, when the Senate had never been consulted about it.

* Ambitus rediv immanis. Nunquam fuit par.

Midd. p. 501.

Montesquieu, chap. x. sur les causes de la grandeur, &c.

" This detestable bargain of forging laws and decrees at pleasure, in which so many of the first rank were concerned, either as principals or witnesses, is alledged by an ingenious French writer, as a flagrant instance of that libertinism which hastened the destruction of Rome. This great Republic, of all others the most free and flourishing, owed the loss of its liberty to nothing else but a general defection of its Citizens from the probity and the discipline of their ancestors. Cicero often foretells their approaching ruin from this very cause."

I confess, I see not the propriety of these

expressions, hastened the destruction of Rome, the approaching ruin of the Roman Citizens. Was not Rome already totally ruined? But by the ruin of the State Cicero seldom means any thing else but the loss of his own influence in the government. To an impartial eye, was Rome in a worse condition, were the Roman Citizens more ruined, when Julius Cæsar became their Lord and Master, than they were at this time? Cicero himself, as we shall see presently, intimates that a Dictator was really wanted; [but then he must be a Dictator, who would so regulate matters, that Cicero might resume his former dignity.]

Y. R. 699.

Dio, l.
xxxix. p.
113.
Ad Ant.
iv. 18.

Memmius, finding some reason to dislike his bargain resolved to break it, and, by *Pompey's* advice, gave an account of it to the Senate. *Pompey* was pleased with the opportunity of mortifying the Consul *Domitius*, and willing likewise to take some revenge on *Appius*, who, though his near relation, did not enter so fully as he expected into his measures. *Appius* never changed countenance, nor lost any credit by the discovery; but his Colleague *Domitius*, who affected the character of a patriot¹, was extremely discomposed; and *Memmius*, now grown desperate, resolved to promote the general disorder, and the creation of a Dictator.

Ad Quint.
iii. 1.

Quintus sent his brother word from *Gaul*, that it was reported there, that he was present at this contract: But *Cicero* assures him that it was false; and that the bargain was of such a nature, as *Memmius* had opened it to the Senate, that no honest man could have been present at it. The Senate was highly incensed; and, to check the insolence of the parties concerned, passed a decree, that their conduct should be enquired into by what they called a private or silent judgment; where the sentence was not to be declared till after the election, yet so as to make void the election of those who should be found guilty: This they resolved to execute with rigour, and made an allotment of Judges for that purpose: But some of the Tribunes were prevailed with to interpose their negative, on pretence of binding all inquisitions not specially authorized by the People.

Ad Ant.
iv. 16.Ad Quint.
iii. 2.
Ad Ant.
iv. 16.

The candidates however were all publicly impeached by different prosecutors, and the City was now in a great ferment about them; since, as *Cicero* says, either the men or the laws must necessarily perish; yet they will all, says he, be acquitted; for trials are now managed so corruptly, that no man will ever be condemned for the future, unless for murder. But *Q. Scævola*, one of the Tribunes, took a more effectual way to mortify them, by resolving to hinder any election of Consuls during his Magistracy, in which he persevered, and by his authority dissolved all the assemblies convened for that purpose. The Tribunician candidates however were remarkably modest this year: For they made an agreement among themselves, which they all confirmed by an oath, that, in prosecuting their several interests, they would submit their conduct to the judgment of *Cato*, and deposit four thousand pounds apiece in his hands, to be forfeited by those whom he should condemn of an irregular practice. If the election proves free, says *Cicero*, as it is thought it will, *Cato* alone can do more than all the Laws and all the Judges.

Ibid. 15.
& 16.
Ad Quint.
ii. 15.Ad Ant.
iv. 15. &
16.

A great part of this year was taken up in public trials: *Suffenas* and *C. Cato*, who had been Tribunes two years before, were tried in the beginning of July, for violence and breach of peace in their Magistracy, and both acquitted: But *Proculus*, one of their colleagues, was condemned for killing a Citizen in his own house: Whence we are to collect, says

Vid. supr.
p. 487, &
490.

¹ *Cæsar* had the honour to have this worthy patriot (*Cato's* friend and brother-in-law)

for his avowed enemy, as we have formerly seen.

Cicero,

Cicero, that our Areopagites value neither bribery, nor elections, nor inter-regnums, nor attempts against the State, nor the whole Republic a rush: We must not murder a man indeed in his own house, though that perhaps might be done moderately, since twenty-two acquitted Procilius, when twenty-eight condemned him.

Y. R. 699.
Bef. Chr.
53.
398 Conf.

Cicero had no concern in these trials; yet he was continually employed in others through the rest of this summer. He defended Messius, one of Caesar's Lieutenants, who came from Gaul on purpose to take his trial: Then Drusus, accused of prevaricating, or betraying a cause which he had undertaken to defend; of which he was acquitted by a majority only of four voices. After that, Vatinius, the last year's Prætor, and Æmilius Scaurus, one of the Consular candidates, accused of plundering the province of Sardinia; and about the same time likewise his old friend Cn. Plancius, who had entertained him so generously in his exile, and, being now chosen Ædile, was accused by a disappointed competitor, M. Laterensis, of bribery and corruption. All these were acquitted; but the orations for them are lost, except that for Plancius.

Ad Att.
iv. 15.
Ad Quint.
ii. 16.
Ibid. iii. 1.

The reasons which induced Cicero to defend Vatinius, who had been one of his fiercest enemies, and against whom he had made that bitter ^{} invective before mentioned, we shall find in the following letter ^{*} from the Orator to his friend Lentulus; a most curious piece, where he gives us his own picture at full length as a patriot and politician. We have already had him admirably well drawn by himself as a casuist in points of religious scruple.*

* Vid. sup.
P. 484.

Vid. supra,
P. 492.

To Lentulus.

“ — Though I had much rather you should gain experience by my misfortunes than your own, yet it affords me some consolation under your present disappointment¹, that you have not paid so severe a fine as I did for being taught the little dependence there is upon the professions of the world. A reflection this, which may very properly serve as an introduction to the account you require of the motive of my late transactions. You are informed then, it seems, that I am reconciled with *Cæsar*, and *Appius*: A step, you assure me, you do not disapprove. But you are at a loss to guess what reasons could induce me to appear at the trial of *Vatinius*, not only as an advocate, but as a witness in his favour². To set this matter in the clearest light, it will be necessary to trace

Ep. Fam.
Lib. I Ep.
ix. Ed.
Græv.
Book II.
Lett. xvii.
Melm.

^{*} N. B. This is the letter above referred to, in p. 494.

¹ In not obtaining a commission to replace *Ptolemy* on his throne.

Melmoth.

² A very learned and polite author, [Dr. *Middleton*,] whose just esteem for *Cicero's* writings has betrayed him perhaps into some partiality towards his actions, acknowledges

that “ the defence of *Vatinius* gave a plausible handle for some censures upon *Cicero*.” The truth of it is, the censure was more than plausible: For nothing certainly could discover more meanness of spirit than thus, in compliance with those in power, not only to defend *Vatinius* as an advocate, but to bear public testimony likewise to his general good conduct.

“ back

Y. R. 699. " back the motives of my conduct to their original source. Let me ob-
 Bet. Chr. " serve then, my *Lentulus*, that, when I was recalled from exile by your
 53.
 398 Conf. " generous offices, I considered myself as restored, not only to my friends
 " and to my family, but to the Commonwealth in general. And as you
 " had a right to the best returns of my affection and gratitude for the
 " distinguished part you acted in that affair, so I thought there was some-
 " thing more than ordinary due from me to my Country, which had so
 " singularly co-operated with you upon this occasion. I often took an
 " opportunity, during your Consulate, of publicly declaring these my
 " sentiments in the Senate: As I always, you well know, expressed my-
 " self to the same purpose in our private conversation. Nevertheless I had
 " many reasons at that time to be highly disgusted. I could not, in truth,
 " but observe the disguised malice of some, and the coolness of others,
 " when you were endeavouring to procure a decree for restoring the in-
 " scription of that honourable monument of my public services, which
 " had been erected by the Senate. But it was not only in this instance,
 " that those who had many obligations to concur in your good offices
 " towards me, acted a part I had little reason to expect. They looked
 " indeed with much ungenerous indifference on the cruel outrage which
 " was offered to my brother and myself under our own roof; and the
 " estimate they made, in pursuance of the Senate's order, of the damages
 " I had sustained by these acts of violence, was far unequal to my
 " real loss. This last article of their injustice, though least indeed
 " in my concern, I could not but very sensibly feel amidst the general
 " wreck of my fortunes. But, though these mortifying marks of their
 " disposition towards me were much too notorious to escape my observa-
 " tion, they could not efface the more agreeable impressions of their
 " former friendship. For this reason, notwithstanding those high obli-
 " gations I had to *Pompey*, of which you yourself were witness, and have
 " often mentioned; notwithstanding also the affection and esteem which
 " I always entertained for him, yet I still firmly adhered to my political
 " principles; nor suffered these considerations of private amity to influence
 " me in favour of his public measures. Accordingly, when *Vatinius*
 " (who at the trial of *P. Sextius* was examined as a witness against him)
 " intimated that *Cæsar's* successes had reconciled me to his party, I told
 " him, in the presence of *Pompey*, that I preferred the fate of *Bibulus*,
 " unhappy as he might esteem it, to all the splendid triumphs of the most
 " victorious general¹. I asserted likewise upon another occasion (and
 " asserted too in the hearing of *Pompey*) that the same persons who con-
 " fined *Bibulus* to his house had driven me from mine. Indeed the
 " whole series of those interrogatories, which I put to *Vatinius* at this

¹ N. B. This letter was written two years after the trial of *Sextius*; and perhaps *Cicero* never said what he here pretends to have said, " That he preferred the glory of *Bibi-*

lus to the glory of *Pompey* and that of *Cæsar*, &c." I cannot think he had the boldness to speak so.

" trial,

“ trial, was entirely designed as an invective against his Tribunate: And
 “ I particularly exposed, with much freedom and indignation, his con-
 “ tempt of the auspices, his corrupt distribution of foreign kingdoms,
 “ together with the rest of his violent and illegal proceedings. But it was
 “ not only upon this occasion that I spoke thus unreservedly: I frequently
 “ avowed my sentiments with the same resolute spirit in the Senate.
 “ Thus, when *Marcellinus* and *Philippus* were Consuls, I carried a mo-
 “ tion, that the affair of the *Campanian* lands should be referred to the
 “ re-consideration of a full House on the fifteenth of *May* following. Vid. supra,
 “ Now tell me, my friend, could I possibly have made a bolder or more P. 484.
 “ formidable attack upon this party? Could I possibly have given a more
 “ convincing evidence that I had not departed from my old principles, not-
 “ withstanding all I had formerly suffered for their sake? The truth of it
 “ is, this motion greatly exasperated not only those whom it was reasonable
 “ to expect it would offend, but others upon whom I did not imagine it
 “ would have had any such effect. *Pompey*, soon after this decree had
 “ passed, set forward upon his expedition into *Sardinia* and *Africa*, without
 “ giving me the least intimation of his being disgusted. In his way thither
 “ he had a conference with *Cæsar* at *Luca*, who made great complaints of
 “ this motion. He had before, it seems, been informed of it by *Crassus*
 “ at *Ravenna*, who took that opportunity of incensing him against me.
 “ And it appeared afterwards, that *Pompey* was much dissatisfied upon
 “ the same account. This I learnt from several hands, but particularly
 “ from my brother, who met him in *Sardinia* a few days after he had left
 “ *Luca*. *Pompey* told him he was extremely glad of that accidental inter-
 “ view, as he wanted much to talk with him. He began with saying,
 “ that, as *my brother stood engaged* for my conduct, he should expect him
 “ to exert all his endeavours to influence me accordingly. *Pompey* then
 “ proceeded very warmly to remonstrate against my late motion in the
 “ Senate, reminding my brother of his services to us both, and particu-
 “ larly of what had passed between them concerning *Cæsar*’s edicts,
 “ and of those assurances, he said, my brother had given him of the
 “ measures I would pursue with respect to that article. He added, that
 “ my brother himself was a witness, that the steps he had formerly taken
 “ for procuring my recall were with the full consent and approbation of
 “ *Cæsar*. Upon the whole therefore, he intreated him, if it were either
 “ not in my power or my inclination to support the interest and dignity
 “ of the latter, that he would at least prevail with me not to oppose them.
 “ The account which my brother gave me of this conversation, together
 “ with a message I had before received from *Pompey* by *Vibullius*, to

Melm.

“ This alludes to those engagements
 “ which *Quintus Cicero* entered into in behalf
 “ of his brother, in order to induce *Pompey* to
 “ favour his recall from banishment. And it

“ appears by what follows, that he promised,
 “ on the part of *Cicero*, an unlimited resigna-
 “ tion to the measures of that ambitious
 “ chief.”

Y. R. 699. " request that I would not proceed any farther in the affair of the *Campa-*
 Eef. Car. " *nian* lands till his return, threw me into a very serious train of reflec-
 398⁵³ Conf. " tions. I could not but think, after having performed and suffered so
 " much for my Country, that I might now at least be permitted to con-
 " sider what was due to gratitude and to the honour of my brother: And,
 " as I had ever conducted myself with integrity towards the Republic, I
 " might be allowed, I hoped, to act the same honest part in my more
 " private connexion".

" During the time I was engaged in these votes, and other proceedings
 " with which *Pompey* appeared thus dissatisfied, I was informed of what
 " passed in the conversation of a set of men, whom you will now guess
 " without my naming them. This party, though they approved of my
 " public measures, as being agreeable to what had ever been their pro-
 " fessed sentiments, were yet so ungenerous as to express great satisfaction
 " in believing, that my conduct would by no means please *Pompey*, at
 " the same time that it would highly exasperate *Cæsar*. Well might
 " I resent, indeed, so injurious a treatment; but much more when I saw
 " them, even before my face, maliciously encouraging and caressing my
 " avowed enemy:—Mine I do call him? rather let me say, an enemy to
 " the laws and tranquillity of his Country, and to every character of worth
 " and virtue amongst us.

" Their malevolence, however, had not the effect intended, and it could
 " not warm me into those transports of indignation, of which my heart
 " is now, indeed, no longer susceptible. On the contrary, it only induced
 " me to examine my situation in all its various circumstances and relations,
 " with the greatest coolness and impartiality: The process and result of
 " which I will lay before you in as few words as I am able.

" *There have been times*, as experience no less than history has taught me,
 " *when the power of the Commonwealth was in worthless and wicked hands.*
 " *In such a conjuncture, no hope of interest* (which I have at all times most
 " heartily condemned) *nor fear of danger* (which upon some occasions,

Melm.

" Had *Cæsar* and *Pompey* indeed been
 " never so much his real friends, no considera-
 " tions of amity ought to have prevailed with
 " him to have acquiesced in a scheme which
 " was contrary to the sentiments of all the real
 " patriots of the Republic, and contrary like-
 " wise to his own: A scheme which he him-
 " self tells *Atticus* was formed for the destruc-
 " tion of the Commonwealth. *Ad Att. ii.*
 " 17. Had he attended to the indisputable
 " maxim which he himself lays down in one
 " of his Philosophical Treatises, it would have
 " decided at once the conduct which became
 " him to observe upon an occasion where pri-
 " vate friendship interfered with more exten-
 " sive obligations: *Hæc prima lex in amicitia*

" *fanciatur* (says he) *ut neque rogemus res tur-*
 " *pet, nec faciamus rogati.* But the truth of it
 " is, private friendship was not concerned in
 " the case: For he well knew that neither
 " *Pompey* nor *Cæsar* had any attachments to
 " him of that kind. It was fear alone that
 " determined his resolution: And having
 " once already suffered in [what he called] the
 " cause of liberty, he did not find himself
 " disposed to be twice a martyr. The auk-
 " ward manner, however, in which he at-
 " tempts to justify himself throughout this
 " letter, very evidently shews, *how impossible*
 " *it is to bid farewell to integrity with a good*
 " *grace.*"

“ however, has influenced the greatest minds) *should prevail with me to*
 “ *co-operate in their measures: No, not though I were attached to them by*
 “ *the strongest ties of friendship and gratitude. But, when a man of Pom-*
 “ *pey's distinguished character presides over the Republic, a man who has*
 “ *acquired that eminence of power and honour by the most heroic actions,*
 “ *and the most signal services, I could not imagine it would be imputed to me*
 “ *as a levity of disposition, if in some few instances I declined a little from my*
 “ *general maxims, and complied with his inclinations*”. But my justification,
 “ I thought, would still rise in its strength, when it should be remembered
 “ that I favoured his credit and dignity even from the earliest part of my
 “ life; as I particularly promoted them in my Prætorship * and Consul- * Vid. sup.
 “ late †: When it should be remembered, that he not only assisted me p. 222.
 “ with his voice and his influence in the Senate during my adversity, but † 271.
 “ joined his counsels and his efforts with yours, for the same generous pur-
 “ pose: In a word, when it should be remembered, that he has no other
 “ enemy in the whole Commonwealth except [Clodius] the man who is
 “ my professed adversary. In consequence of these sentiments it was ab-
 “ solutely necessary for me, you see, to unite with Cæsar, as one who was
 “ joined in the same views and the same interest. His friendship likewise,
 “ which you are sensible my brother and I have long shared together with
 “ his humane and generous disposition, which I have abundantly experienced
 “ both by his late letters and his good offices towards me, contributed greatly
 “ to confirm me in these resolutions. To which I must add, that the
 “ Commonwealth in general seemed to be most strongly averse from giving any
 “ opposition to these extraordinary men; more especially after Cæsar had per-
 “ formed such glorious exploits for the honour of his Country. But what had
 “ still a farther and very powerful weight in my deliberations, was Pom-
 “ pey's having engaged his word for me to Cæsar, as my brother had given the
 “ same assurances to Pompey.

“ Plato, I remember, lays it down as a maxim in his divine writings,
 “ that “ the people generally model their manners and their sentiments
 “ by those of the great: ” A maxim which at this juncture, I thought,
 “ merited my particular attention. I was convinced indeed of its truth,
 “ when I reflected on the vigorous resolutions which were taken in the
 “ Senate on the memorable nones of December: And it seemed no wonder
 “ so noble a spirit should appear in that Assembly, after the animating

Melm.

“ —Cicero's compliance can by no means
 “ be considered in the favourable light where-
 “ in he represents it; but was in reality a
 “ confession most injurious to his honour.—
 “ It is certain likewise, that it was not from
 “ any advantageous opinion of Pompey's poli-
 “ tical character and designs that he was in-
 “ duced to fall in with his measures. On the
 “ contrary, Cicero most undoubtedly had no
 “ esteem for him: And as to his political

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“ views, he saw and acknowledged, long be-
 “ fore the date of this letter, that they were
 “ turned on the destruction of the Republic.
 “ Ομολογούμενος (says he in one epistle to Atti-
 “ cus) τυραννίδα συσκευάζειν; as in another,
 “ written upon the breaking out of the civil
 “ war, he calls him *hominem avoδελικωτάτον*, a
 “ man utterly unacquainted with the arts of
 “ government.” *Ad Att. ii. 17, viii. 26.*

3 U

“ example

Y.R. 699.
 Bef. Chr.
 53.
 398 Cons.

“ example I had given them upon my first entering on the Consular office.
 “ I recollected also, that, during the whole time which intervened between
 “ the expiration of my Consulship and that of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, when I
 “ still retained a very considerable authority in the Senate, all the better
 “ part of the Republic were united in their sentiments. On the other hand,
 “ about the time you took possession of your government in *Spain*, the
 “ Commonwealth could not so properly be said to be under the admini-
 “ stration of Consuls as of infamous *barterers of provinces* ¹, and the mean
 “ vassals and ministers of sedition. It was then that discord and faction
 “ spread through all ranks amongst us : And I was marked out as the
 “ victim of party and rage. In this critical season, however, not only every
 “ man of worth, but the greater part of the Senators, and indeed *all Italy*
 “ *in general, rose up with remarkable unanimity in my cause* ². What the
 “ event proved I forbear to mention ; as, in truth, it is to be imputed to
 “ a complication of errors and artifices. But this I will say, it was not
 “ forces, so much as leaders to conduct them, that were wanting to me
 “ in this crisis. I must add, that whatever censure may justly fall on
 “ those who refused me their assistance, most certainly *they who first pro-*
 “ *mised it, and then deserted me, are not less to be blamed* ³. In a word, if
 “ some of my friends may well be reproached for the timid though sincere
 “ counsels they gave me, how much more severe must their condemnation
 “ prove, who artfully alarmed me with their pretended fears ? Let it be
 “ noted at the same time to my honour, that, zealous as my fellow Citi-
 “ zens shewed themselves to rise up in the defence of a man who had for-
 “ merly stood forth in theirs, yet I would not suffer them to be exposed
 “ (unsupported as they were by those who ought to have been their pro-
 “ tectors) to the barbarous insults of lawless banditti. On the contrary, I
 “ rather chose the world should judge, by the power of my friends in recal-
 “ ling me from my exile, what their honest humanity could have effected,
 “ had I permitted them to have drawn their swords to prevent it.

“ You were sensible of this general zeal in my favour, when you under-
 “ took my cause. And you not only encouraged but confirmed it by
 “ your influence and authority. I shall always most willingly acknow-
 “ ledge, that you were assisted upon this occasion by some of the most

¹ *Piso* and *Gabinus*. Vid. *supra*, p. 428.

² It is strange, that being thus defended, he should nevertheless be banished.

Meim.

“ In this number was *Pompey* himself, who, though he had given *Cicero* the most solemn assurances that he would at the hazard of his life protect him against *Clodius*, yet, when afterwards our author solicited the execution of this promise, he absolutely

Vid. *supr.*
 P. 431.

“ refused to concern himself in the affair. *Ad Att.* ii. 20. x. 4. It seems altogether unac-

“ countable, that *Cicero* should be so injudi-
 “ cious as to touch upon a circumstance that
 “ destroys the whole force of his apology ; so
 “ far, I mean, as he intended to justify his
 “ conduct by his friendship to *Pompey*. For it
 “ exceeds all power of credulity to imagine,
 “ that he could really be influenced by a
 “ motive of that kind with respect to a man
 “ whose insincerity he had so lately and so
 “ severely experienced.”

“ considerable

“ considerable persons in *Rome* ; who, it must be owned, exerted them-
 “ selves with much greater vigour in procuring my return, than in prevent-
 “ ing my banishment : And had they persisted in the same resolute dispo-
 “ sition, they might have recovered their own authority at the same time
 “ that they obtained my restoration. The spirits, in truth, of the Ari-
 “ stocratical part of the Republic were at this time greatly raised and ani-
 “ mated by the inflexible patriotism of your conduct during your Consul-
 “ ship, together with *Pompey’s* concurrence in the same measures.
 “ *Cæsar* likewise, when he saw the Senate distinguishing his glorious
 “ actions by the most singular and unprecedented honours, joined in ad-
 “ ding weight to the authority of that Assembly. Had these happy cir-
 “ cumstances therefore been rightly improved, it would have been im-
 “ possible for any ill-designing Citizen to have violated the laws and liber-
 “ ties of the Commonwealth. But let me intreat you to reflect a moment
 “ on the subsequent conduct of my political associates. In the first place,
 “ they screened from punishment that infamous intruder on the matron-
 “ mysteries, who shewed no more reverence for the awful ceremonies of
 “ the Goddess, in whose honour these secret solemnities are celebrated,
 “ than for the chastity of his three sisters. And thus, by preventing a
 “ worthy Tribune * of the People from obtaining that justice upon *Clodius* *
 “ which he endeavoured to procure, they deprived future times of a most
 “ salutary example of chastised sedition. Did not they suffer likewise that
 “ monument, that glorious monument, which was erected, not indeed
 “ with the spoils I had gained in foreign wars, but by the generosity of
 “ the Senate for my civil services ; did they not most shamefully suffer it
 “ to be inscribed with the name of the cruel and avowed enemy of his
 “ Country ? Obligated most certainly I am to them for having restored me
 “ to the Commonwealth : But I could wish they had conducted themselves,
 “ not only like physicians whose views terminate merely in the health of
 “ their patients, but like the *Aliptæ* * also, who endeavour to establish the
 “ spirits and vigour of those under their care. Whereas they have acted
 “ with regard to me, as *Apelles* did in relation to his celebrated picture of
 “ *Venus* ; they have finished one part of their work with great skill and ac-
 “ curacy, but left all the rest a mere rude and imperfect sketch.
 “ In one article, however, I had the satisfaction to disappoint my
 “ enemies. They imagined my banishment would have wrought the
 “ same effect on me, which they falsely supposed a calamity of a like kind.

Y.R. 699.
 B.C. Chr.
 53.
 398 Conf.

Vid. supr.
 484 & 487.

* MULO.

* “ After the suppression of *Catiline’s* con-
 “ spiracy, the Senate decreed that a temple
 “ should be erected to LIBERTY, as a public
 “ monument of their late happy deliverance.
 “ This temple was raised at the foot of Mount
 “ *Palatine*, near *Cicero’s* house. And as the
 “ inscription fixed thereon undoubtedly men-
 “ tioned *Cicero* with honour, *Clodius* erased

“ those words, and placed his own name in
 “ their stead.” *Melm.* from *Mammius*.
 “ The *Aliptæ* were persons who prepared
 “ the athletic combatants by unctions, and
 “ other proper methods, for rendering them
 “ vigorous and active in their gymnastic ex-
 “ ercises.” *Melm.*

Y. R. 699. " produced formerly in *Quintus Metellus*. This excellent person, whom
 " I look upon to have been a man of the *greatest fortitude and magnani-*
 " *mity* * of any in his time, they represented as broken and dispirited after
 " his return from exile. But if broken he really were, it could not be the
 " effect of his adversity, as it is certain he submitted to his sentence with-
 " out the least reluctance, and lived under it, not only with indifference,
 " but with cheerfulness. The truth is, no man ever equalled him in the
 " strength and heroism of his mind : No, *not even the celebrated Marcus*
 " *Scaurus* * himself. Nevertheless, such as they had heard, or at least
 " chose to imagine *Metellus* to have been, they figured me to themselves :
 " Or, if possible indeed, even yet more abject. The reverse, however,
 " proved to be the case : and that general concern, which the whole Re-
 " public expressed at my absence, inspired me with more vigorous spirits
 " than I had ever before enjoyed. The truth is, the sentence of banish-
 " ment against *Metellus* was repealed by a law proposed only by a single
 " Tribune of the People : Whereas I was recalled from mine upon the
 " motion of the Consul himself, and by a law in which every Magistrate
 " of *Rome* concurred. Let me add likewise, that *each order and degree in*
 " *the Commonwealth, headed by the Senate and supported by all Italy, zea-*
 " *lously united in one common effort for recovering me to my Country* ". Yet,
 " high as these unexampled honours were, they have never elated my
 " heart with pride, or tempted me to assume an air which could give just
 " offence even to the most malevolent of my enemies. The whole of
 " my ambition is, not to be wanting either in advice or assistance to my
 " friends ; or even to those whom I have no great reason to rank in that
 " number : It is this, perhaps, which has given the real ground of com-
 " plaint to those who view only the lustre of my actions, but cannot be
 " sensible of the pains and solicitude they cost me. But whatever the
 " true cause may be, the pretended one is, *my having promoted the honours*
 " *of Cæsar* : A circumstance which they interpret, it seems, as a renun-
 " ciation of my old maxims. The genuine motives however of my con-
 " duct in this instance are, not only what I just before mentioned, but
 " particularly what I hinted in the beginning of my letter, and will now
 " more fully explain.

" You will not find then, my friend, the Aristocratical part of the
 " Republic disposed to pursue the same system as when you left them :
 " That system, I mean, which I endeavoured to establish when I was
 " Consul, and which, though afterwards occasionally interrupted, and
 " at length entirely overthrown, was again fully restored during your
 " administration. It is now, however, totally abandoned by those who
 " ought most strenuously to have supported it. I do not assert this upon

* As infamous a Hypocrite and Traitor as
 ever lived. Vid. *supra*, p. 20 and 23.

* If this was the case ; Whom had his

friends to struggle with, in order to obtain
 his restoration.

" the

“ the credit only of appearances, in which it is exceedingly easy to dis- Y. R. 699.
 “ semble : I speak it upon the unquestionable evidence of facts, and the Bef. Chr.
 “ public proceedings of those who were stiled patriots in my Consulate. 398 Conf.
 “ The general scheme of politics, therefore, being thus changed, it is time
 “ most certainly for every man of prudence (in which number I have the
 “ ambition to be justly accounted) to vary likewise his particular plan.
 “ Accordingly, that chief and favourite guide of my principles, whom
 “ I have already quoted, the divine *Plato* himself, advises, *not to press any*
 “ *political point farther than is consonant to the general sense of the com-*
 “ *munity* : For methods of violence, he maintains, are no more to be used
 “ towards one’s Country than one’s parent. Upon this maxim, he tells us,
 “ he declined engaging in public affairs : And as he found the People of
 “ *Athens* confirmed by long habit in their mistaken notions of government,
 “ he did not think it lawful to attempt by force what he despaired of ef-
 “ fecting by persuasion. My situation, however, is in this respect dif-
 “ ferent from *Plato*’s : For, on the one hand, as I have already embarked
 “ in public affairs, it is too late to deliberate whether I should now enter
 “ upon them or not ; so, on the other, the *Roman* people are by no
 “ means so incapable of judging of their true interests as he represents
 “ the *Athenians*. *It is my happiness indeed to be able, by the same measures,*
 “ *to consult at once both my own and my Country’s welfare* *. To these
 “ considerations I must add *those uncommon acts of generosity, which Cæsar*
 “ *has exerted both towards my brother and myself* : So much indeed beyond all
 “ example, that even whatever had been his success, I should have thought it
 “ incumbent on me at least to have defended him. But now, distinguished
 “ as he is by such a wonderful series of prosperity, and crowned with so
 “ many glorious victories, I cannot but esteem it a duty which I owe to the
 “ Republic, abstracted from all personal obligations to himself, to promote his
 “ honours as far as lies in my power. And believe me, it is at once my
 “ confession and my glory, that next to you, together with the other generous
 “ authors of my restoration, there is not a man in the world from whom I have
 “ received such amicable offices.

“ And now, having laid before you the principal motives of my conduct
 “ in general, I shall be the better able to satisfy you concerning my beha-
 “ viour with respect to *Crassus* and *Vatinus* in particular : For, as to
 “ *Appius* and *Cæsar*, I have the pleasure to find that you acquit me of all
 “ reproach.

* It is not very easy to see how *Cicero* can be
 justified, according to his own principles, in
 being accessory to the cementing an union
 between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*. “ For he assures
 “ *Atticus*, in a letter which was written at
 “ the breaking out of the civil war, that he
 “ foresaw the storm that had been gathering
 “ to destroy the Republic fourteen years be-

fore it fell ; and calls the union of these
 “ ambitious chiefs, *sceleratæ confœtionis fides*,
 “ a wicked confederacy. To which he adds,
 “ that they had upon all occasions preferred
 “ the interest of their families, and the ad-
 “ vancement of their power, to the honour
 “ and welfare of their country.” *Plut. in vit.*
Pomp. Ad Att. x. 4.

“ My

Y. R. 699.

Ber. Chr.

53.
108 Conf.

“ My reconciliation then with *Vatinius* was effected by the mediation of
 “ *Pompey*, soon after the former was elected Prætor. I must confess, when
 “ he petitioned to be admitted a candidate for that office, I very warmly
 “ opposed him in the Senate : But it was much less from my resentment
 “ to the man himself, than in order to support the honour and interest of
 “ *Cato*. Soon after this he was impeached : And it was in compliance
 “ with the earnest solicitation of *Cæsar* that I undertook his defence. But
 “ you must not enquire why I appeared at this trial, or indeed at any
 “ other of the same kind, as a witness in favour of the accused, lest I
 “ should hereafter have an opportunity of retorting the question upon you.
 “ Though, to say truth, I may fairly ask it even now : For do you not
 “ remember, my friend, in whose behalf it was that you formerly trans-
 “ mitted certain honourable testimonials even from the utmost limits of
 “ the *Roman* empire ? You need not scruple, however, to acknowledge
 “ the fact : For I have acted, and shall continue to act, the same part to-
 “ wards those very persons. But to return to *Vatinius* : Besides the reasons
 “ I have already assigned, I was provoked to engage in his defence by an
 “ opposition of the same sort which the parasite recommends to the amo-
 “ rous soldier in the play. The obsequious *Gnatbo*, you know, advises
 “ his friend the captain, whenever his mistress endeavours to pique his
 “ jealousy by mentioning his rival *Phædria*, to play off *Pamphila* upon her
 “ in return. Thus, as I told the Judges at this trial, since certain ho-
 “ nourable persons, who were formerly much in my interest, had thought
 “ fit, by many little mortifying instances in the Senate, to careſs my avow-
 “ ed enemy before my face, I thought it but equitable to have a *Clodius*
 “ on my part, in opposition to the *Clodius* on theirs. Accordingly I have,
 “ upon many occasions, acted suitably to this declaration : And all the
 “ world acknowledges I have reason.

“ Having thus explained my conduct with regard to *Vatinius*, I will
 “ now lay before you those motives which determined me in respect to
 “ *Crassus*. I was willing, for the sake of the common cause, to bury in
 “ oblivion the many and great injuries I had formerly received from him.
 “ Agreeably to this disposition, as we were then upon good terms, I should
 “ have borne his unexpected defence of *Gabinus* (whom he had very lately
 “ with so much warmth opposed) if he had avoided all personal reflections
 “ on myself. But when, with the most unprovoked violence, he broke in
 “ upon me whilst I was in the midst of my speech, I must confess it raised
 “ my indignation : And perhaps I took fire so much the sooner, as possibly
 “ there remained in my heart some latent sparks of my former resentment.
 “ However, my behaviour in the Senate upon this occasion was much and
 “ generally applauded. Among the rest, I was complimented likewise
 “ by the same men whom I have often hinted at in this letter ; and who
 “ acknowledged I had rendered a very essential service to their cause,
 “ by the spirit which I had thus exerted. In short, they affected to speak

“ of

“ of me in public, as being now indeed restored to the Commonwealth
 “ in the best and most glorious sense. Nevertheless, they had the malice
 “ in their private conversations (as I was informed by persons of un-
 “ doubted honour) to express singular satisfaction in the new variance
 “ that had thus happened between *Crassus* and myself: As they pleased
 “ themselves with imagining it would for ever throw me at a distance from
 “ those who were joined with him in the same interest. *Pompey* in the
 “ mean time employed incredible pains to close this breach: And *Cæsar*
 “ also mentioned it in his letters as an accident that gave him much con-
 “ cern. Upon these considerations, therefore, I thought it expedient to
 “ act agreeably both to the dictates of my natural temper, and to that
 “ experience which I had gained by my former misfortunes. In pursu-
 “ ance of these sentiments, I consented to a reconciliation: And, in order
 “ to render it more conspicuous to the world, *Crassus* set out for his
 “ government almost from under my roof: For having invited him-
 “ self to spend the preceding night with me, we supped together in the
 “ gardens of my son-in-law *Crassipes*. It was for these reasons that I
 “ thought my honour obliged me to defend his cause in the Senate: And
 “ I confess I mentioned him with that high applause of which, it seems, you
 “ have been informed.

Y. R. 699.
 Ref. Chr.
 53.
 398 Conf.

“ Thus I have given you a full detail of the several views and motives by
 “ which I am governed in the present conjuncture, as well as of the particular
 “ disposition in which I stand with respect to the slender part I can pretend
 “ to claim in the Administration of public affairs. And, believe me, I should
 “ have judged and acted in the same manner, had I been totally free from every
 “ sort of amicable bias. For, on the one hand, I should have esteemed
 “ it the most absurd folly to have attempted to oppose so superior a force;
 “ and, on the other, supposing it possible, I should yet have deemed it imprudent
 “ to weaken the authority of persons so eminently and so justly distinguished
 “ in the Commonwealth. Besides, it appears to me to be the dictates of
 “ sound

Melm.

“ It will appear very evident perhaps from
 “ the foregoing observations, that what *Cicero*
 “ here asserts could not possibly be his real
 “ sentiments. That it was not practicable to
 “ bring down *Cæsar* and *Pompey* from that
 “ height of power to which they were now ar-
 “ rived, will not, probably, be disputed: Tho’
 “ at the same time it is very difficult to set li-
 “ mits to what prudence and perseverance may
 “ effect. This at least seems undeniable, that,
 “ if their power were absolutely immoveable,
 “ *Cicero*’s conduct was in the number of those
 “ causes which contributed to render it so.
 “ However one cannot but be astonished to

“ find our author seriously maintaining, that,
 “ granting it had not been impossible, it would
 “ yet have been impolitic, to have checked
 “ these towering chiefs in their ambitious
 “ flight. For it is plain, from a passage al-
 “ ready cited out of his letters to *Atticus*, that
 “ he long foresaw their immoderate growth
 “ of power would at last over-run the liberties
 “ of the Commonwealth*. It had already in-
 “ deed destroyed his own, and this too by the
 “ confession of himself. For in a letter which
 “ he writes to his brother, taking notice of
 “ the strong application that *Pompey* had made
 “ to him to defend *Gabinus*, he declares he

Ad Att.

x. 4.

* i. e. would extinguish the detestable Aristocratical tyranny under which *Rome* had unhappily fallen.

“ never

Y. R. 699. " found policy to act in accommodation to particular conjunctures, and not
 Bef. Cnr. " obstinately persevere in one invariable scheme, when public circumstan-
 35⁵³ Cnr. " ces, together with *the sentiments of the best and wisest members, of the*
 " *community, are evidently changed.*

" In conformity to this notion, the judicious reasoners on the great art
 " of government have universally condemned an inflexible perseverance
 " in one uniform tenor of measures. The skill of the pilot is shewn in
 " weathering the storm at least, though he should not gain his port: But
 " if shifting his sail, and changing his direction, will infallibly carry him
 " into the intended harbour, would it not be an instance of most unrea-
 " sonable tenaciousness, to continue in the more hazardous course wherein
 " he began his voyage? *Thus* (and it is a maxim I have often had occa-
 " sion to inculcate) *the point we ought all of us to keep in view, in our ad-*
 " *ministration of the Commonwealth, is the final enjoyment of an honourable*
 " *repose; but the method of securing to ourselves this dignity of retreat, is by*
 " *having been inflexible in our intentions for the public welfare, and not by a*
 " *positive perseverance in certain favourite modes of obtaining it* *. To repeat,
 " therefore, what I just now declared, *Had I been absolutely uninfluenced by*
 " *every motive of friendship, I should still have pursued the same public mea-*
 " *sures in which I am now engaged.* But when gratitude and resentment both
 " conspire in recommending this scheme of action to me, I cannot hesitate
 " a moment in adopting it; especially since it appears most conducive to
 " the interest of the Republic in general, as well as to my own in parti-
 " cular. *To speak freely, I act upon this principle so much the more frequently,*
 " *and with the less reserve, not only as my brother is Lieutenant under Cæsar,*
 " *but as the latter receives the slightest action, or even word of mine in his*
 " *favour, with an air that evidently shews, that he considers them as obliga-*
 " *tions of the most sensible kind. And, in fact, I derive the same benefit from*
 " *that popularity and power which you know he possesses, as if they were so*
 " *many advantages of my own.* The sum of the whole in short is this:
 " *I imagined I had no other method of counteracting those perfidious designs*
 " *with which A CERTAIN PARTY were secretly contriving to undermine me,*

" never will comply with that unworthy re-
 " quest so long as he retained the least spark
 " of liberty. But comply however he actually
 " did: Equally, in truth, to his own dis-
 " grace and the confutation of the doctrine he
 " here advances." *Ad Q. Fr. iii. 1.*

Melm.

" The reasoning which *Cicero* here employs
 " is certainly just, considered abstractedly:
 " But by no means applicable to the present
 " case. The QUESTION between the Aristocra-
 " tical party and those who were favourers of
 " *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, was not what road should
 " be taken to the same end; but whether
 " *Rome should be FREE or ENSLAVED.*"

I must here take the liberty to differ from
 the ingenious and judicious Gentleman, to
 whom I am so much indebted for these trans-
 lations and remarks. The QUESTION, at this
 time, does not seem to have been, *whether*
Rome should be FREE or ENSLAVED; but
whether Rome should be under the domination of
the TRIUMVIRATE, or of the FISH-POND-
MEN, the VENERABLE BENCH of CONSU-
LARS, such monsters as the CONSULS and
CONSULAR CANDIDATES of this year 699;
 or, if you please, *whether ANARCHY should*
prevail in the empire, or a GOVERNMENT BY
 THREE MEN.

Vid. supra,
 p. 507.

" *than*

*“ than by thus uniting the friendship and protection of the men in power with those internal aids which have never yet been wanting to my support *.”*

Y. R. 699.
Bef. Clu.

53.
398 Conf.

C H A P. VI.

The trial of GABINIUS for treasonable conduct in King PTOLEMY's affair. He is brought to trial a second time for plundering his province of Syria. CICERO defends him at this second trial; and defends likewise RABIRIUS, accused of being an accomplice in GABINIUS's treason. JULIA, the daughter of CÆSAR, and wife of POMPEY, dies. PONTINIUS fights his way to the Capitol in triumph. CICERO accepts, and presently after resigns, a Lieutenantcy under POMPEY. The election of new Consuls is obstructed by the Tribunes. A design is started to create POMPEY DICTATOR, but is quickly dropt. An Inter-regnum during the first six months of the year 700. M. MESSALA and CN. DOMITIUS are chosen Consuls.

CICERO's *English* Historian observes, that the long and elaborate answer of the Patriot to his friend *Lentulus's* enquiry, concerning the change in his political conduct, was written before *Cicero's* defence of *Gabinus*: Otherwise he would have had a still harder task to make an apology for himself.

The recall of *Gabinus* from his government of *Syria* had been decreed the last year; but he did not return to *Rome* till about the end of *September* in the present year. He boasted every where on his journey that he was going to demand a triumph; and, to carry on that farce, continued a while without the gates, till, perceiving how odious he was to all within, he stole privately into the City by night to avoid the disgrace of being insulted by the populace. There were three different impeachments provided against him: The first, for treasonable practices against the State; the second, for plundering his province; the third, for bribery and corruption: And so many persons offered themselves to be prosecutors, that there was a contest among them before the *Prætor*, how to adjust their several claims.

Midd. p.
506--510.
Ad Quint.
Frat. iii. 1.
Ibid 2.

Melm.

* “ There is no character in all antiquity
“ that lies so open to discovery as that of *Cicero*, and yet there is none at the same time
“ which seems to be less generally understood.
“ Had there been no other of his writings
“ extant, however, but this single letter, the
“ Patriot-character, one should have imagined,
“ would have been the last that the world
“ would ever have ascribed to our author. It
“ is observable, (and it is an observation for
“ which I am obliged to a gentleman, who,
“ amidst far more important occupations, did
“ not refuse to be the censurer of these papers)
“ that “ *The principles by which Cicero at-*
“ *tempts to justify himself in this epistle, are such*
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“ as will equally defend the most abandoned pro-
“ stitution and desertion in political conduct.
“ Personal gratitude and resentment; an eye to
“ private and particular interest, mixed with a
“ pretended regard to public good; an attention
“ to a brother's advancement and farther fa-
“ vour; a sensibility in being caressed by a great
“ man in power; a calculation of the advan-
“ tages derived from the popularity and credit of
“ that great man to one's own personal self; are
“ very weak foundations indeed, to support the
“ superstructure of a true patriot's character.
“ Yet these are the principles which *Cicero* here
“ expressly avows and defends!”

3 X

The

Y. R. 699.
Bet. Chr.
398 Conf.

The first indictment fell to *L. Lentulus*, who accused him the day after he entered the City, *that, in defiance of religion and the decree of the Senate, he had restored the King of Egypt with an army, leaving his own province naked, and open to the incursion of enemies, who had made great devastations in it.*—*Gabinus* durst not shew his head for the first ten days, till he was obliged to come to the Senate, in order to give them an account, according to custom, *of the state of his province and the troops which he had left in it.* As soon as he had told his story, he was going to retire; but the Consuls detained him, to answer to a complaint brought against him *by the publicans, or farmers of the revenues*, who were attending at the door to make it good. This drew on a debate, in which *Gabinus* was so urged and teized on all sides, but especially by *Cicero*, *that, trembling with passion, and unable to contain himself, he called Cicero a banished man:* Upon which, says *Cicero*, in a letter to his brother, *nothing ever happened more honourable to me: The whole Senate to a man left their seats, and with a general clamour ran up to his very face; while the publicans also were equally fierce and clamorous against him, and the whole company behaved themselves just as you yourself would have done.*

Ad Q. Fr.
iii. 2.

Cicero had been deliberating for some time, *whether he should not accuse Gabinus himself;* but, out of regard to *Pompey*, was content to appear only *as a witness* against him, and, when the trial was over, gives the following account of it *to his brother.*

Ibid. 4.

“*Gabinus* is acquitted: Nothing was ever so stupid as his accuser *L. Lentulus*; nothing so fordid as the bench: Yet, if *Pompey* had not taken incredible pains, and the rumour of a Dictatorship had not infused some apprehensions, he could not have held up his head even against *Lentulus*: Since, with such an accuser and such judges, of the seventy-two, who sat upon him, thirty-two condemned him. The sentence is so infamous, that he seems likely to fall in the other trials; especially that for *plundering*. But there is no Republic, no Senate, no justice, no dignity in any of us: What can I say more of the Judges? There were but two of them of Prætorian rank; *Domitius Calvinus*, who acquitted him so forwardly, that all the world might see it; and *C. Cato*, who, as soon as the votes were declared, ran officiously from the bench, to carry the first news to *Pompey*. Some say, and particularly *Sallust*, that I ought to have accused him: But should I risk my credit with such Judges? What a figure should I have made, if he had escaped from me? But there were other things which influenced me: *Pompey* would have considered it as a struggle, not about *Gabinus's* safety, but his own dignity: It must have made a breach between us: We should have been matched like a pair of gladiators; as *Pacidianus* with *Æternus* the *Samnite*; he would probably have bit off one of my ears, or have been reconciled at least with *Clodius*.—For, after all the pains which I had taken to serve him, when I owed no-
“ thing

“ thing to him, he every thing to me, yet he would not bear my differing
 “ from him in public affairs, to say no worse of it; and when he was less
 “ powerful than he is at present, shewed what power he had against me
 “ in my flourishing condition, why should I now, when I have lost even
 “ all desire of power, when the Republic certainly has none, when he
 “ alone has all, chuse him of all men to contend with? For that must
 “ have been the case: I cannot think that you would have advised me to
 “ it. *Sallust* says, that I ought to have done either the one or the other,
 “ and in compliment to *Pompey* have defended him; who begged it of me
 “ indeed very earnestly.—A special friend this *Sallust*! to wish me to
 “ involve myself in a dangerous enmity, or perpetual infamy. I am de-
 “ lighted with my middle way; and when I had given my testimony faith-
 “ fully and religiously, was pleased to hear *Gabinus* say, that, if it should
 “ be permitted to him to continue in the City, he would make it his busi-
 “ ness to give me satisfaction; nor did he so much as interrogate me.”—

He gives the same account of this trial to his other friends; *how* *Lentulus* Ad Att. iv. 16.
acted his part so ill, that people were persuaded that he prevaricated—
and that *Gabinus's* *escape was owing to the indefatigable industry of* *Pompey*
and the corruption of the bench.

About the time of this trial there happened a terrible inundation of the
Tiber, which did much damage at *Rome*; many houses and shops were
 carried away by it, and the fine gardens of *Cicero's* son-in-law, *Crassipes*, Ad Q. Fr. iii. 7.
 demolished. It was all charged to the absolution of *Gabinus*, after his daring
 violation of religion, and contempt of the *Sibyl's* books: *Cicero* applies to
 it the following passage of *Homer*:

*As when in autumn JOVE his fury pours,
 And earth is loaden with incessant showers;
 When guilty mortals break th' eternal laws,
 And Judges brib'd betray the righteous cause;
 From their deep beds he bids the rivers rise,
 And opens all the flood-gates of the skies.*

MR. POPE, *Il.* xvi. 466.

But *Gabinus's* danger was not yet over: He was to be tried a second
 time, for the plundering his province, where *C. Memmius*, one of the Tri-
 bunes, was his accuser, and *M. Cato* his judge, with whom he was not
 likely to find any favour: *Pompey* pressed *Cicero* to defend him, and would
 not admit of any excuse; and *Gabinus's* humble behaviour in the late trial
 was intended to make way for *Pompey's* solicitation. *Cicero* stood firm Ibid 1.
 for a long time: *Pompey*, says he, *labours hard with me, but has yet made*
no impression; nor, if I retain a grain of liberty, ever will;

*Ob! ere that dire disgrace shall blast my fame,
 O'erwhelm me, earth.—*

Il. iv. 218.

But

Y. R. 699. But *Pompey's* incessant importunity, backed by *Cæsar's* earnest request, made it vain to struggle any longer; and forced him against his judgement, his resolution, and his dignity, to defend *Gabinus*; at a time when his defence at last proved of no service to him; for he was found guilty by *Cato*, and condemned of course to a perpetual banishment.

The trial of *C. Rabirius Posthumus*, a person of *Equestrian* rank, was an appendix to that of *Gabinus*. It was one of the articles against *Gabinus*, that he had received about two millions for restoring King *Ptolemy*; yet all his estate that was to be found was not sufficient to answer the damages in which he was condemned; nor could he give any security for the rest: In this case, the method was, to demand the deficiency from those, through whose hands the management of his money affairs had passed, and who were supposed to have been sharers in the spoil: This was charged upon *Rabirius*, and "that he had advised *Gabinus* to under-
" take the restoration of the King, and accompanied him in it, and was
" employed to solicit the payment of the money, and lived at *Alexandria*
" for that purpose, in the King's service, as the public Receiver of the
" taxes, and wearing the *Pallium* or habit of the Country."

Cicero urged in defence of *Rabirius*, "that he had borne no part in
" that transaction; but that his whole crime, or rather folly, was, that
" he had lent the King great sums of money for his support at *Rome*;
" and ventured to trust a prince, who, as all the world then thought,
" was going to be restored by the authority of the *Roman* people: That
" the necessity of going to *Egypt* for the recovery of that debt, was the
" source of all his misery; where he was forced to take whatever the King
" would give or impose: That it was his misfortune to be obliged to
" commit himself to the power of an arbitrary monarch: That nothing
" could be more mad, than for a *Roman* Knight, and Citizen of a Re-
" public of all others the most free, to go to any place where he must
" needs be a slave to the will of another; and that all who ever did so,
" as *Plato* and the wisest had sometimes done too hastily, always suffered
" for it: This was the case of *Rabirius*; necessity carried him to *Alexan-*
" *dria*; his whole fortunes were at stake, which he was so far from im-
" proving by his traffic with that King, that he was ill treated by him,
" imprisoned, threatened with death, and glad to run away at last with
" the loss of all: And at that very time, it was wholly owing to *Cæsar's*
" generosity, and regard to the merit and misfortunes of an old friend,
" that he was enabled to support his former rank and *Equestrian* dig-
" nity." ... —

Gabinus's trial had so near a relation to this, and was therein so often referred to, that the prosecutor could not easily neglect the fair opportunity of raising *Cicero* for the part which he had acted in it: *Memmius* observed, that the deputies of *Alexandria* had the same reason for appearing in behalf of *Gabinus*, which *Cicero* had for defending him, the command of a ma-

ster.—“No, *Memmius*,” replied *Cicero*, “my reason for defending him, was
 “a reconciliation with him; for I am not ashamed to own, that my quarrels
 “are mortal, my friendships immortal: And if you imagine that I undertook
 “that cause for fear of *Pompey*, you neither know *Pompey* nor me; for *Pom-*
 “*pey* would neither desire it of me against my will, nor would I, after I had
 “preserved the liberty of my Citizens, ever give up my own.”

Whatever *Cicero* might say for himself in the flourishing stile of an ora-
 tor, it is certain, that he knew and felt his *defence* of *Gabinus* to be, what
 it really was, an indignity and dishonour to him, which he was forced to
 submit to by the iniquity of the times, and his engagements with *Pompey*
 and *Cæsar*, as he often laments to his friends in a very passionate strain:
 “I am afflicted,” says he, “my dearest brother, I am afflicted, that there is
 “no Republic, no justice in trials; that this season of my life, which ought
 “to flourish in the authority of the Senatorian character, is either wasted in
 “the drudgery of the bar, or relieved only by domestic studies; that what
 “I have ever been fond of from a boy,

“*In every virtuous act and glorious strife*
 “*To shine the first and best—*”

“is wholly lost and gone; that my enemies are partly not opposed, partly even
 “defended by me; and neither what I love nor what I hate left free to me.”

About this time, and while *Cæsar* was engaged in his second expedition
 into *Britain*, his daughter *Julia*, *Pompey*’s wife, died* in child-bed at *Rome*,
 having been first delivered of a son, which died also soon after her. Her
 loss was not more lamented by the husband and father, who both of
 them tenderly loved her, than by all their common friends, and the well-
 wishers to the public peace, who considered it as a source of fresh distur-
 bance to the State, from the ambitious views and clashing interests of the
 two chiefs, whom the life of one so dear, and the relation of son and father,
 seemed hitherto to have united by the ties both of duty and affection.—
 The jealousies and separate interests of the *Triumvirs* had obliged them
 to manage their power with some decency, and to extend it but rarely be-
 yond the then customary forms; but whenever that league, which had
 made them already too great for private subjects, should happen to be
 dissolved, it was thought that the next contest must of course be for domi-
 nion, and the single mastery of the empire.

On the second of November, C. Pontinius triumphed over the *Allobroges*:
 He had been *Prætor* when *Cicero* was *Consul*, and, at the end of his ma-
 gistracy, obtained the government of that part of *Gaul*, which some time
 after, provoked by oppression, broke out into rebellion, but was reduced
 by the vigour of this General. For this service he demanded a *Triumph*,
 but met with great opposition, which he surmounted with incredible

* *Cæsar* is said to have borne the news of her death with an uncommon firmness. *Senec.*
Consol. ad Helv. p. 116.

Y. R. 699.
Bef. Chr.
53.
398 Conf.

patience: For he persevered in his suit *for five years successively*; residing all that while, according to custom, in the suburbs of the City, till he gained his point at last by a kind of violence. Cicero was his friend, and continued in Rome on purpose to assist him; and the Consul Appius served him *with all his power*; but Cato protested that Pontinius should never triumph while he lived; though this, says Cicero, like many of his other threats, will end in nothing. The Prætor Galba, who had been Pontinius's Lieutenant, having procured by stratagem an act of the People in his favour, he entered the City in his triumphal chariot, where he was so rudely received and opposed in his passage through the streets, that he was forced to make his way with his sword, and the slaughter of many of his adversaries.

Ad Art.
iv. 18.

In the end of the year Cicero consented to be one of Pompey's Lieutenants in Spain, which he began to think convenient to the present state of his affairs, and resolved to set forward for that province about the middle of January: But this seeming to give some umbrage to Cæsar, who in his

Ad Quint.
ii. 15.

letters desired him to continue at Rome, he soon changed his mind, and resigned his Lieutenantcy: To which he seems to allude in a letter to his brother, where he says, that he had no second thoughts in what concerned Cæsar; that he would make good his engagements to him; and being entered into his friendship with judgment, was now attached to him by affection.

Ibid. iii. 1.

The prodigious unprecedented knaveries of the Consuls and Consular candidates, and what followed thereupon, so retarded the elections, that the year expired before the State was provided with new Consuls; and the Tribunes, whose authority, while there were no Consuls to controul them, was in a manner absolute, did for that reason, perhaps, keep off all Assemblies for the election of those Magistrates: But it seems more probable that Pompey was at the bottom of this opposition, having entertained the fond desire of being appointed Dictator. He chose however to keep himself out of sight; and retired into the country, to avoid the suspicion of affecting a sovereignty which Sylla had made so odious. "The ru-

Midd. 522.

Ad Quint.
iii. 8.

"mour of a Dictatorship, says Cicero, is disagreeable to the Honest; but the other things which they talk of are more so to me. The whole affair is dreaded, but flags: Pompey flatly disclaims it, though he never denied it to me before. The Tribune Hirrus will probably

What these other things were does not appear. Dio says, That some of the Tribunes proposed, that, instead of Consuls, military Tribunes with Consular power should be once again placed at the head of the Republic. But if by other things he meant nothing worse than this proposal, I cannot guess why Dr. Middleton says, that Cicero judged rightly in thinking, that there were other things, which, in the present situation of the Senate and the

honest, were of more dangerous consequence than a Dictatorship. Indeed the Doctor is of opinion, that there was no great reason to be afraid of a Dictatorship at this time. "For the Republic (says he) was in so great a disorder, that nothing less than the Dictatorial power could reduce it to a tolerable state." [I pray the Reader to remember this concession.]

524-

" be

“ be the promoter: Good Gods! How silly and fond of himself without
 “ a rival! At *Pompey*’s request I have deterred *Crassus Junianus*, who
 “ pays great regard to me, for meddling with it. It is hard to know
 “ whether *Pompey* really desires it or not; but he will not convince
 “ us that he is averse to it, if *Hirrus* stir in the affair.” In another
 letter———“ Nothing is yet done as to the Dictatorship; *Pompey* is
 “ still absent; *Appius* in a great bustle; *Hirrus* preparing to propose it;
 “ but several are named, as ready to interpose their negative: The People
 “ do not trouble their heads about it; the chiefs are against it; I keep
 “ myself quiet.”

The Tribune *Hirrus**, mentioned in these letters, did actually drop
 some hints leading to a Dictatorship; for which *Cato* treated him so
 roughly, that he was almost reduced to throw up his office. *Q. Pompeius*
Rufus, another of the Tribunes, the grandson of *Sylla*, and the most
 warm espouser of a Dictator, was, by a decree of the Senate, committed
 to prison^c. This checked all proceeding in that project: And *Pompey*
 himself, finding the greater part of the leading men utterly averse to his
 Dictatorship, he yielded at last, after an Inter-regnum of six months, that
Cn. Domitius Calvinus and *M. Messala*, two of the four candidates (who,
Cicero tells us, were all alike) should be declared Consuls. *Domitius* was
 one of the contractors for forging decrees, and was without doubt sup-
 ported in this election by the interest of his kinsman, *L. Domitius*, the
 Consul, another of the Contractors: As for *Messala*, *Cicero* had particu-
 larly recommended him to *Cæsar*; as appears by what he writes to his
 brother *Quintus*: “ As to your reckoning *Messala* and *Calvinus* sure
 “ Consuls, you agree with what we think here; for I will be answerable to
 “ *Cæsar* for *Messala*.”

Y. R. 699.
 Bef. Chr.
 53.
 398 Conf.

Ad Quint.
 iii. 9.

* called
Lucius
 by *Plut.* in
Pomp.
Dio, lib.
 xl. p. 141.

Vid. supr.
 P. 507.

Ad Quint.
 iii. 8.

C H A P. VII.

CRASSUS makes war upon the Parthians: The enterprize unjust, the event
 unfortunate. *CICERO*, at Rome, is elected into the college of *AUGURS*.

THE first news from abroad, after the inauguration of the Consuls,
 was of the ill success of *Crassus*’s hostile expedition into the *Par-*
thian^a territories; a war commenced without any order or explicit per-
 mission

Y. R. 700.
 Bef. Chr.
 52.
 399 Conf.

^c This is a fact, says *M. Crevier*, I can
 scarce believe, as it is not to be paralleled in
 all the history of the Roman Republic. The
 persons of the Tribunes were sacred.—Besides
 it is clear from the testimony of *Afconius Pe-*
dianus, that this *Pompeius Rufus* was Tribune
 the year following the present. Now it was
 no longer the custom for the same Magistrates

to be continued in office several years; and
 if there had been an exception in favour of
Rufus, *Afconius* would probably have taken
 notice of it.

^a We are told that the *Parthians* were ori-
 ginally a people of *Scythia*, from whence being
 banished, they for that very reason called them-
 selves *Parthians*, which word in the *Scythian*
 language

Justin.
 lib. xli. c.
 1.

Y. R. 790. mission from the Senate, and to which the insatiable avarice of the *Roman* General was the sole motive. The Republic had, first by *Sylla*, and afterwards by *Pompey*, made leagues of peace and amity with the *Parthians*, and had never complained of any infraction of them; so that this people, having no reason to apprehend an invasion, had made no preparations against it. *Crassus* therefore, beginning his march^b soon after his arrival in the East, passed the *Euphrates*, over a bridge of boats, without opposition, over-ran a great part of *Mesopotamia*, and possessed himself of several towns; which being most of them *Græcian* colonies, averse to the *Parthian* government, readily submitted to him.

Plut. in
Crass.
Appian in
Parth.
Dio, lib. xl.
Prid. vol.
III. p.
460--464.

It is said, that for vanquishing a small body of horse, commanded by a *Parthian* officer, and for reducing by force an inconsiderable fortress, called *Zenodotia*, *Crassus* had the weakness to suffer himself to be saluted *IMPERATOR* by his soldiers, who at the same time despised him for his vanity.

But his greatest folly (says *Plutarch*) next to the enterprise itself, was, that, instead of pursuing his advantage, and pushing on to *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, he repassed the *Euphrates*, leaving behind him only 7000 foot and 1000 horse to garrison the places he had taken, and retired into *Syria*, for his winter-quarters; thereby giving leisure to the *Parthians* to prepare an army against the next year's campaign. Nor did *Crassus*, during the winter, take the prudent care to see his troops well exercised, and well provided for the war, but acted the part of a Publican rather than a General, examining into the revenues of the province, screwing them up to the utmost height, and using all other methods of exaction whereby to enrich himself. Being told of immense treasures deposited in the temple of *Jeru-*

language signifies *exiles*. The country to which they retired for a settlement, was a small tract, lying to the South of *Hyrkania*, and to the east of *Media*, and consisted chiefly of barren mountains and sandy plains. During the empires of the *Affyrians*, *Medes*, and *Persians*, and the first *Macedonian* Kings of *Syria*, scarce any mention is made of the *Parthians*. It was about the year of *Rome* 502, 250 years before the beginning of the Christian æra, and while *Antiochus*, surnamed *The God*, was King of *Syria*, that wearied out with the oppressive tyranny of the *Macedonian* governors, the *Parthians* revolted, under the leading of *Arfaces*. Who *Arfaces* was, is not agreed, but it is certain that he was always considered as the founder of the *Parthian* empire, and that his memory was in such veneration among them that all his successors took his name. *Arfaces* extended the *Parthian* dominion beyond the limits of *Parthia*; and in length of time it became so far enlarged, by the conquests of

Just. lib.
xli. c. 4. &
5.

the following Kings, as to include almost all the Country between the *Oxus* and the *Euphrates*. Its royal cities were *Ctesiphon* upon the *Tygris*, and *Ecbatana* in *Media*. The *Parthian* soldiery were almost all horsemen. Some, clad in compleat armour, made use of long spears in fight. The rest had scarce any other offensive weapons than the bow and arrow: But they were so dextrous in the management of these, as to be no less formidable when they turned their backs upon their enemies than when they faced them.

^b *Plutarch* relates, that *Crassus*, crossing *Galatia* in the way to his province, and finding King *Dejotarus*, who was advanced in years, employed in building a new city, said to him pleasantly, *Why, King, you begin your day's work at the twelfth hour*. The King instantly replied, *And you, General, methinks you are not too early in your expedition against the Parthians*. *Crassus* was past sixty, and looked much older than he was.

Salem,

Strabo,
xvi. 743.

salem, thither he impatiently hasted, with a part of his army, to seize so delicious and so easy a prey. *Eleazer*, one of the priests, was then treasurer of the Temple. Among other things, which he had under his charge, was a bar of gold of the weight of three hundred *Hebrew minæ*. This, for the better securing of it, he had put into a beam, which he had caused to be made hollow for that purpose; and placing this beam over the entrance, which was from the *Holy Place* into the *Holy of Holies*, caused the veil, which parted these two places, to be fastened to it, and to hang down from it. Perceiving *Crassus's* design of plundering the Temple, he endeavoured to compound the matter with him, and therefore telling him of such a bar of gold in his custody, promised to discover and deliver it to him, upon condition that he would be satisfied with it, and spare all the rest: *Crassus* accepted of the proposal, and solemnly promised, with an oath, that, on having this bar of gold delivered to him, he would be contented with it, and meddle with nothing else. Relying on this promise, *Eleazer* put him in possession of the gold. *Crassus* had no sooner received it, but, forgetting his oath, he not only seized the two thousand talents which *Pompey* had left untouched, but ransacked the temple all over, and robbed it of every thing he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thousand talents more; so that the whole of what he took from thence amounted to ten thousand talents, which is above two millions of our money^c. [*Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. & de Bell. Jud. lib. i.*]

As soon as the season of the year permitted, *Crassus*, strengthened by a thousand *Gallic* horse, which his son *Publius* brought him from *Cæsar's* army, drew all his forces together, in order to prosecute the war against the *Parthians*, who had now got ready a very great army for their defence. But, before they entered upon action, Ambassadors were sent from *Orodes*, the *Parthian* King, to the *Roman* General, to ask, For what reason he made war upon him? *Crassus* answered with haughtiness, that he would declare his reason when he should come to *Seleucia*. The King, on the return of his Ambassadors, finding war to be unavoidable, divided his army into two parts, marched in person with one of them towards the borders of *Armenia*, and sent the other under the command of *Surenas*^d, the most illustrious of all his nobles, and a most accom-

^c The plundering of the Temple at *Jerusalem* [which I do not find any where mentioned by the *Greek* historians] was not the only sacrilege committed by *Crassus*. He acted the like part all over the province, wherever any riches were to be got, particularly at *Hierapolis*. For there being in that city an ancient temple of the *Syrian* Goddess, called *Atergetis*, where much treasure was laid up, as having been the collection of many years, he seized it all, and was so greedy of securing the whole of that,

lest any should be detained or embezzled, he spent a great deal of his time to see it all told out and weighed before him. On his last coming out of this temple, his son going before him stumbled at the threshold, and he immediately after it upon him. This was afterwards interpreted as an ill omen, that foreboded what soon happened.

^d This is said to be the name, not of a person, but of a dignity, and equivalent to that of Grand Vizir.

Y.R. 700.
 Bel. Chr.
 52.
 399 Conf.

* or Artabazdes.

plished general, into *Mesopotamia*; who, immediately after his arrival there, retook some of those places of which *Crassus* had possessed himself the year before. The garrisons, that escaped to the *Roman* camp, filled it with a terrible report of the number, power, and strength of the enemy; which cast a damp upon the whole army, and sunk the courage, not only of the common soldiers, but of the general officers. *Cassius* (the same who was afterwards concerned in the murder of *Cæsar*) was at this time *Crassus's* Quæstor, and endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding any further in his enterprise, till he had well considered it again. At the same time came to him *Artabazes**, King of *Armenia*, who had lately succeeded his father *Tigranes* in that kingdom. He brought with him six thousand horse, which were only his lifeguard. Besides these, he told *Crassus*, he had ten thousand Cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot ready for his service: But advised him by no means to march his army through the plains of *Mesopotamia*, but to take his way through *Armenia* into the *Parthian* dominions. His reasons for it were, that *Armenia* being a rough mountainous country, the *Parthian* horse, of which their army almost wholly consisted, would there be useless; and he could take care that the *Roman* army should be there plentifully provided with all necessaries: both which advantages he would fail of, if he led his army through *Mesopotamia*, where he would often meet with sandy deserts, and be distressed for want both of water and other provisions. This was the best advice that could be given him; yet *Crassus* answered, that, having left many brave *Romans* to garrison the towns which he had taken last year in *Mesopotamia*, he was under a necessity of going that way, that they might not be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy: But he accepted of the auxiliaries which the King offered him, and desired they might be speedily brought to him. The prospect of so considerable a reinforcement was, perhaps, what chiefly encouraged *Crassus*, contrary to the advice of the wisest about him, to proceed on his expedition. and without further delay, to pass the *Euphrates**, and again enter *Mesopotamia* with his army. But *Artabazes*, on his return, finding *Orodes* with a great army near his borders, was forced to stay at home to defend his own country, and therefore could not give *Crassus* the assistance he had promised him.

After *Crassus* had thus re-entered *Mesopotamia*, *Cassius* advised him to put in at some of his garrisoned towns, and there rest and refresh his army till he should have got certain intelligence of the number and strength of the enemy, and in what place and posture they were; or, if he thought not fit to make that delay, he should at least take his march to *Seleucia*, along the banks of the *Euphrates*. For, by keeping close to that river, he would avoid being surrounded by the *Parthians*, and might be constantly supplied with provisions, and all other necessaries, from his barks

* He passed the river at a town in the province of *Camagena*, called *Zengma*, which word signifies a bridge.

that

that were upon it : But, while *Crassus* was considering on this advice, there came to him a crafty *Arabian*, who diverted him entirely from following it. He was the head of an *Arabian* tribe (such as the *Greeks* called *Phylarchs*, and the present *Arabs*, *Sbeks*) and having formerly served under *Pompey*, was well known to many in the *Roman* army, and looked on as their friend ; for which reason he had been made choice of, and sent by *Surenas* to act this part. He is, by different authors, called by different names¹ ; but whatever his name was, he effectually dissuaded *Crassus* from following the good advice given him by *Cassius*. He told the *Roman* General, that the *Partbians* durst not stand before him ; that he had nothing to do, for the gaining an absolute victory over them, but to march on ; and he offered himself for a guide to conduct him the shortest way to the enemy. *Crassus*, deceived by the fair words, and fooled by the flattery of this man, accepted of his offer ; and so was led by him into the open plains of *Mesopotamia* : And although *Cassius* and others suspected the guide of treachery, and therefore pressed *Crassus* to follow him no longer, but to retreat to the mountains, where he might best be able to baffle the power of the *Partbian* horse ; and though messengers came to his camp from *Artabazes*, on purpose to persuade him to the same thing, yet he still continued in his delusion, till at length the traitor, having brought him into a sandy desert, where the *Partbians* might have all the advantage in a battle, rode off to *Surenas*, and acquainted him with what he had done : adding, that now was the time to attack the *Romans*, who were come to deliver themselves into his hands. Nor was it very long before *Crassus* perceived his error. While he was making forced marches, fearing nothing but that the enemy should escape him, his scouts came back full speed to inform him, that the *Partbians* were advancing in prodigious numbers, in good order, and with much confidence.

This report threw the whole army into a consternation², and especially the General, who now began, though with a good deal of irresolution, to put his troops in order of battle. At first, following the advice of *Cassius*, he drew up his infantry in one line, extended to a great length, that the *Partbian* horse might not be able easily to surround it ; and he placed all his cavalry in the wings : Then, altering his mind, he formed the foot into a square body, having twelve cohorts in each of its four sides ; and he flanked each cohort with a squadron ; to the end that every part of his battalion, being supported by cavalry, might charge with the more

¹ By *Dio Cassius* he is called *Angarus*, or *Abgarus* ; by *Plutarch*, *Ariannes* ; by *Florus*, *Maxerus* ; and by *Appian*, *Acbarus*.

² According to *Plutarch* (whom *Appian* copies all along) the *Roman* soldiers had been already terrified with about a dozen bad omens ; of which the most worthy to be remembered

(or, if you please, most worthy to be forgot) was, that, when, in order to begin their march, they were going to pull up the foremost standard, the eagle upon it turned its head about, and looked back, as if it had no mind to go forward.

Y. R. 700. safety and confidence. To his son he gave one of the wings, to *Cassius* the
 Bel. Chr. other, and placed himself in the center.

^{52.}
 399 Conf. In their march towards the enemy, they came to a rivulet, the sight of which, though its waters were not very abundant, greatly comforted and rejoiced the soldiers, after their long march over so parched and sandy a soil. Most of the officers were for passing the night in that place, and for endeavouring, before they proceeded farther, to get more exact information of the number and posture of the enemy : But *Publius Crassus*, full of ardour and confidence, persuaded his father to advance : So that he only made a short halt, to give those who needed refreshment, time for a scanty meal, as they stood in their ranks : After which he pursued his march, pushing on with great haste and precipitation.

When the two armies were near enough to engage, the *Parthian* pikemen soon perceived, that the *Roman* battalion, which they had hoped to break by the force of their ponderous and well-steeled lances, was too deep, compact, and firm, to be by them easily penetrated and dissolved. They retreated therefore, and, by their dispersion and feigned confusion, seemed as if they meant to quit the field : But the *Romans*, presently after, to their great astonishment, found themselves entirely surrounded by the *Parthian* cavalry. *Crassus* ordered out against them his dartmen, and other light-armed infantry. These, meeting with a flight of arrows, quickly recoiled, fell back on the legions, disordered them in some degree, and terrified them still more : For the *Romans* now became sensible that they had no defensive armour that was proof against the force of those murderous arrows, which the enemy incessantly showered upon them. Nor had they any means to revenge themselves ; because, as soon as they advanced with that intent, the enemy fled, and even in flying continued to gall them with the same weapons.

The *Romans* for some time entertained hopes, that the *Parthians* would at length exhaust their stock of arrows, and then be obliged either to run away or come to a close fight ; hopes ill-grounded : for the bowmen were supplied with arrows as fast as they wanted them, from a great number of camels loaded with them, and placed in the rear of the army for that purpose : Which, when *Crassus* understood, he ordered his son to attempt, at all hazards, a close engagement with those troops of the enemy which had approached the nearest to him. *Publius*, therefore, with the thousand *Gallie* horse he had brought from *Cæsar*, three hundred other horse, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of legionary foot, advanced to the attack. The *Parthians* instantly gave ground, and even fled before him ; and the sanguine young warrior, imagining himself victorious, pursued them with his whole detachment, horse and foot. Soon he perceived that the enemy's flight had been only feigned. The runaways stopt on a sudden, and, rallying, boldly returned upon him. The pikemen, in good order, faced the *Romans* ; while the bowmen, without observing any order, galloped

galloped round them, and raised such a mighty dust, as deprived them at once both of sight and respiration : Exposed to the *Parthian* arrows, and unable to make any defence against enemies whom they saw not, they now perished in great numbers, and by very painful deaths ; and those who remained alive were in no condition to fight. When their commander urged them to advance against the pikemen of the enemy, some shewed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, other their feet pinned to the ground, so that they could neither defend themselves nor fly.

In this extremity, young *Crassus*, who manifested throughout the engagement an heroic bravery, had recourse to his *Gallic* cavalry as his last resource ; and so well managed, as with these to force the *Parthian* pikemen to a close fight. But the match was very unequal. The *Gallic* javelins or half-pikes, had little effect on troopers covered almost from head to foot with iron : Whereas the long, stout lances of the *Parthians* proved fatal to the *Gauls*, whose defensive armour, if indeed they had any, was very slight. They are said to have performed wonders in the action ; but being distressed by the excessive heat and drought, to which they were not accustomed, and having lost most of their horses (transfixed by the *Parthian* lances) they at length resolved to rejoin, if possible, the main body of the army. Carrying with them young *Crassus*, grievously wounded in many places, they made to a small sandy hill, not far from them. Here tying their horses one to another, and placing them in the midst, they formed themselves into a circle, and made a rampart of their shields, hoping to find it an effectual defence against the arrows of the Barbarians. But herein they fatally mistook : For on even ground the foremost rank in some measure defended those that were behind it, whereas on an ascent, the hinder ranks standing necessarily higher than those before, all were equally exposed to the enemies arrows : So that they quickly found their case desperate, and that they must perish without glory, and almost without resistance. The young General, disdaining to desert his troops, and attempt a precipitate flight, to which some advised him, and being deprived by a wound of the use of his own hand, commanded his armour-bearer to run him through^b. Most of the nobles who had accompanied him killed

Y. R. 700.
Bef. Chr.
52.
399 Conf.

Melm.
527.

^b “ *Publius Crassus* was a youth of an amiable character ; educated with the strictest care, and perfectly instructed in all the liberal studies ; he had a ready wit and easy language ; was grave without arrogance, modest without negligence, adorned with all the accomplishments proper to form a principal Citizen and Leader of the Republic : By the force of his own judgment he had devoted himself very early to the observance and imitation of *Cicero*, whom he perpetually attended, and revered with a kind of filial

“ *Piety*. *Cicero* conceived a mutual affection for him, and observing his eager thirst of glory, was constantly instilling into him the true notion of it, and exhorting him to pursue that sure path to it, which his ancestors had left beaten and traced out to him, through the gradual ascent of civil honours. But, by serving under *Cæsar* in the *Gallic* wars, he had learnt, as he fancied, a shorter way to fame and power than what *Cicero* had been inculcating ; and having signalized himself in a campaign or two as a soldier,

Y. R. 700. killed themselves. The rest were all slain by the enemy, except about
 B. f. Chr. five hundred, who fell alive into their hands. The *Partbians* cut off the
 52.
 599 Conf. head of young *Crassus*, and, taking it with them, marched to attack the
 Proconsul.

Publius, from the beginning of his distress, had dispatched messengers to his father, to give him notice of the difficulties and dangers he had run himself into, by his inconsiderate pursuit of the *Partbians*. The first messengers were intercepted and killed: Others reached the army. *Crassus* remained awhile unresolved what to do. He feared the loss of all, if he marched to the succour of his son; yet his affection for his son urged him irresistibly to it. He moved forward; the enemy presently appeared, and, by their terrible shouts and exulting noises, proclaimed their recent victory. Before them, as they approached, was carried, upon the end of the lance, the head of *Publius Crassus*, whilst scoffingly they asked aloud—*Of what family was that young man? who were his parents?*—a scene which sunk the spirits of the *Roman* soldiers more than all the calamities they had before suffered. *Crassus* is reported to have acted the hero upon this occasion. Riding through the ranks, as the army marched on, he said aloud: “This misfortune, fellow-soldiers, concerns me only: The glory and felicity of our country remains yet entire, so long as you are in a condition to defend it. And, if you compassionate me for having lost so brave a son, let your concern be shewn, by punishing the cruelty of our enemies.” The soldiers gave a shout; but with a voice so faint and languid, as spoke more of dejection than courage.

The fight presently began. The *Partbian* bowmen, wheeling about the *Romans*, galled them in flank with showers of arrows, while the *pikemen*, assailing them in front, made them recoil and crowd closer together, which hastened their destruction. Night coming on, the *Partbians* retired, it being contrary to their custom to pass the night near an enemy, because they never fortified their camps, and because their horses and arrows could be but of little use in the dark. Their retreat, however, did not kindle in the *Romans* the least spark of hope. Giving all for lost, they had no attention to bury their dead, or console the dying, or succour the wounded: Every one bewailed his own fate: For, should they remain where they then were till day-light, or should they set forward in the dark, to traverse an almost boundless plain; in neither supposition did they see any chance of escaping. They were much perplexed likewise on account of their wounded men.

“soldier, was in too much haste to be a General; when *Cæsar* sent him at the head of a thousand horse to the assistance of his father in the *Partbian* war.”—But, “while he aspired, as *Cicero* says, to the fame of another *Cyrus* or *Alexander*, he fell short of

“that glory which many of his predecessors had reaped from a succession of honours conferred by their country as the reward of their services.” *Ep. Fam.* iii. 8. & *ib.* xiii. 16. *Vid. Brut.* p. 407. *It. Plut. in Crass.*

If they took these with them, it would retard their flight; if they forsook them, the cries of the wretched, so abandoned, would publish the departure of the army. Though the soldiers knew their General to be the faulty cause of all their calamities, yet they wished to see him, and to hear him. But *Crassus* had not the confidence to appear. He had cast himself on the ground, and there he lay, as a man quite stunned and senseless¹. *Octavius* and *Cassius*, (the one his Lieutenant, and the other his Quæstor) having found him in this posture of dejection, endeavoured to rouse him to a more manly deportment; but without success. They took upon themselves therefore to hold a council of war; and it was resolved to retire immediately. The troops decamped in silence. Doleful and affecting were the lamentations of the miserable men, whom necessity constrained their fellows to abandon. The care of such of the wounded, who, having some strength left, dragged themselves along with the army; the apprehension of being pursued and overtaken; and the drawing up frequently in battalia upon false alarms, made the march of the army very slow. A certain officer, named *Egnatius*, at the head of three hundred horse, leaving the main body, and pushing forward with all diligence, arrived under the walls of *Carræ*^{*} about midnight. Calling out to the guard, he bad them tell *Coponius*, the Governor, that *there had been a great battle between the Romans and the Parthians*. He said no more, nor discovered himself, but immediately pursued his route to *Zeugma*: And by this he saved indeed his three hundred horse; yet was much blamed for deserting his General. The message, however, which he sent to *Coponius*, proved of service to the army: For the Governor, conjecturing from the words and manner of *Egnatius*, that affairs went ill, sallied out with his garrison, met *Crassus* and his troops, and conducted them safely into the City.

The *Parthians*, though apprized of *Crassus's* retreat, waited for day, according to their custom. Then entering the *Roman* camp, they massacred the sick and wounded to the amount of about four thousand men. Many of the *Roman* soldiers they likewise overtook and slaughtered in the plain; particularly four cohorts, which had lost their way in the dark. Out of these, only twenty men escaped. It is said, that the invincible

In Crass.

¹ What a striking example of the short-sightedness of man, the instability of human grandeur, and the madness of unbounded ambition! *Plutarch* tells us, that when the province of *Syria* fell by lot to *Crassus*, he thought, that Fortune had never, in any instance, been so favourable to him. Transported with his good luck, he could not, even in the company of strangers, contain his joy; but, to his familiar friends and confidants, he blurted out many extravagant and childish

boastings; a folly, which he had never been guilty of in the former part of his life. *Lucullus* had done nothing against *Tigranes*; *Pompey* nothing against *Mithridates*: But, as for himself, the limits of *Parthia* should not be the limits of his conquests; the *Roman* eagles, under his conduct, were to fly triumphant over *Bactria* and *India*, quite to the great Ocean and the extremities of the East.

^{*} The *Haran* or *Charran* of the Holy Scriptures, where *Abraham* sojourned.

courage,

Y. R. 700
B. C. Chr.
52.
399 Conf.

courage, with which they defended themselves, struck their assailants with such admiration, that they voluntarily opened to them a free passage to *Carrae*.

Surena being told, as he approached that city, of a rumour which prevailed, *that Crassus and the principal men of the Romans had all made their escape*, began to fear the loss of what he esteemed the chief fruit of his victory. To know the truth, he ordered one of his people, who could speak Latin, to go near the walls; and in his name invite *Crassus* and *Cassius* to a conference with him. This messenger was attended by some *Arabians*, who having formerly served in the *Roman* army, knew the persons of both. *Cassius* appeared upon the walls, and was told, that *Surena* consented to make peace with the *Romans*, on the condition of their evacuating *Mesopotamia*. The proposal, as affairs then stood, appeared to the *Roman* Quæstor far from being disadvantageous: He promised therefore to report it to the General. The *Parthian*, having thus learnt what he wanted to know, laughed at the credulity of the *Romans*; and the next day, while he was preparing to attack the place, gave them to understand, that, if they would obtain leave to retire in safety, they must deliver up to him *Crassus* and *Cassius*. No thought remained now but of running away in the dark; and it was necessary to keep this resolution concealed till the moment of execution. *Crassus*, once more fatally deceived, imparted the secret to a traitor, named *Andromachus*, and even took the same traitor for his guide. *Andromachus* sent advice to *Surena* of what was intended; and, in order to complete the destruction of the *Roman* army, contrived to lead them by ways so indirect, such windings and turnings, that they gained but little ground in a long march; and at length he brought them into a place full of ditches and enclosures. Many began now to suspect treachery, and would follow him no farther. *Cassius*, with five hundred horse, returning to *Carrae*, provided himself there with some *Arabian* guides¹, who faithfully conducted him and his followers into *Syria*. *Octavius* too, the General's Lieutenant, convinced of *Andromachus's* perfidy, made a timely retreat, leading off five thousand men to a hilly ground, where they could not be much annoyed by the enemy's cavalry. Yet, when he learnt that *Crassus* had some how gained an eminence, about a mile off, where he was in great danger from the *Parthians*, whom daylight had brought upon him, he boldly marched thither, followed by his five thousand men; who, encompassing *Crassus*, and making a rampart for him of their shields and bodies, vowed, that no arrow should reach their General, so long as a man of them remained alive to defend him. *Surena*, perceiving the ardor of his own soldiers to abate, and apprehend-

¹ It is related, that these *Arabians* being superstitious about the moon, exhorted *Cassius* earnestly not to advance, till the moon had

passed *Scorpio*. To which *Cassius* answered, that he was much more afraid of *Sagittarius*; alluding to the *Parthian* arrows.

ing, that, if the *Romans* should spin out the battle till night, they might then gain the mountains and be safe, for the future, from his attacks, had again recourse to his wonted craft. He suffered some prisoners to escape, before whom the *Parthians*, discoursing with one another, had designedly said, that *their King was far from intending an implacable war with the Romans, and would be glad to regain their friendship by treating Crassus with generosity.* That this stratagem might more easily take effect, he ceased hostilities, and, attended by his principal officers, advanced in pacific guise toward the hill, having his bow unbent, and holding out his hand, as a friend to *Crassus*, whom he invited to a treaty of accommodation. *The King*, he said, *having, much against his will, made the Romans sensible of his power, and of the bravery of his troops, is now disposed to give them proofs of his clemency and goodness, by suffering them to retire in safety.* *Crassus*, who saw no reason for so sudden a change, was not deceived; his soldiers were: And, notwithstanding all he could say to persuade them to have patience till night, when they might make a retreat to the mountains, they seditiously, and with threats, compelled him to accept of *Surena's* invitation: (A behaviour strangely ill suiting with what has been just related of their zeal and fidelity.) At going from them, he is reported to have said; "*Octavius and Petronius, and you the rest of the commanders here present, you are witnesses of the violence offered me: Nevertheless, for the honour of the Roman name, I desire you will declare to all the world, that Crassus perished by the craft of his enemies, not by the perfidy of his soldiers and fellow-citizens.*"

Octavius and Petronius, and some other officers, not enduring the thought, that their General should go alone, descended the hill with him; but he sent back his *Lictors*. Certain heralds from *Surena*, having accosted him with profound respect, desired him, in the *Greek* language, to send some body before, to see that the *Parthian* General and his retinue were without arms. *Crassus* answered, that, *if he had retained the least concern for his life, he would never have put himself into their hands.* However, to learn what appearance things had, he sent forward two men, who were to bring him word. These were instantly seized, by *Surena's* order; who then, attended by his principal officers, coming up to him, with an air of astonishment, said; *How! what an indecent sight is this! a Roman General on foot, and we on horseback!* "No error committed on either side (answered *Crassus*,) each follows the custom of his country." "*From this moment (said the Parthian) there is a league of amity between the King my master and the Roman People; but it must be put in writing; for you, Romans, are very apt to forget your engagements and covenants. Let us go, therefore, and finish the treaty on the banks of the Euphrates.*" *Crassus* hereupon ordered a horse to be brought him. *There is no need, said Surena, the King makes you a present of one;* and immediately a horse, with rich trappings, was led to him; and he

Y. R. 700.
bef. Chr.
52.
105. Conl.

was forcibly put into the saddle: some of *Surena's* attendants switching the horse, to hasten him forward. The *Romans* now saw plainly, that the purpose of the *Parthian* was to take *Crassus* alive. *Octavius* therefore seized the bridle of the horse, and stopp'd him. *Petronius* and the other officers surrounded their General, putting themselves in a posture to defend him. A tumult and scuffle ensued. *Octavius* killed one of the *Parthian* grooms, and was himself killed by a stroke of a lance run into his back. *Crassus* himself fell dead quickly after; but whether he was dispatched by the hand of an enemy, or of a friend who would preserve him from the disgrace of becoming a prisoner, is uncertain.

Surena, by fair words, notwithstanding the experience which the *Romans* had of his perfidy, decoyed many of those who had remained on the hill to surrender themselves prisoners. The most courageous waited for the night, to attempt a retreat; but of these few escaped, the rest being intercepted by the *Arabs*, who scoured the country with that intent. In the several actions and disasters of this war, the *Romans* are said to have lost twenty thousand men killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. It was one of the greatest blows that *Rome* had ever received from a foreign enemy, and for which she was ever after meditating revenge.

Dio, lib.
xl.
Florus, iii.
11.

Orodes, at the time of *Crassus's* death, was in *Armenia*, having there made peace with *Artabazes*. For this prince, on the return of the messengers, which he last sent to the *Roman* camp, finding, by the account which they brought of the measures which *Crassus* took in the *Parthian* war, that he must necessarily be undone, compounded all matters with *Orodes*; and by giving one of his sisters in marriage to *Pacorus*, the son of the *Parthian*, restored himself to full amity with him. And while they were sitting together at the nuptial feast, in came a messenger, who presented *Orodes* with the head and hand of *Crassus*, which *Surena* had caused to be cut off with that intent*. This much increased the mirth and joy of the feast. And it is said, that melted gold was then poured into the mouth of the lifeless head by way of mockery; as if they would thus satiate that thirst after riches, for which *Crassus* had been so remarkable.

Mid. 526. The chief and immediate concern which the City felt on the news of *Crassus's* death, and the destruction^a of his forces, was for the detriment that

* *Surena* did not long rejoice in his victory: For *Orodes*, envying him the glory of it, and growing jealous of the great augmentation of his power and interest from his late successes, soon after caused him to be put to death. *Plut in Crass.*

^a The *Roman* writers generally imputed this disaster to *Crassus's* contempt of the auspices; as some *Christians* have since charged it to his sacrilegious violation of the temple of Je-

“ *rusalem* — both of them with equal superstition (says Dr. *Middleton*) pretending to unfold the counsels of heaven, and to fathom those depths, which are declared to be unsearchable. Ibid.

D. Prideaux is one of the *Christians* here referred to; his words are these: “ *Crassus* made a great number of false steps in the whole conduct of this war; and although he was often warned, yet, being deaf to all good

Connect.
part. ii. p.
465. 8vo.
Ed. 1713.

that the Republic had suffered, and the dangers to which it was exposed, by the loss of so great an army; yet the principal mischief lay in what they did not at first regard, and seemed rather to rejoice at, *the loss of Crassus himself*. For, after the death of *Julia*, *Crassus's* authority was the only means left of curbing the power of *Pompey* and the ambition of *Cæsar*, being ready always to support the weaker against the encroachments of the stronger, and keep them both within the bounds of a decent respect to the laws: But this check being now taken away, and the power of the empire thrown, as a kind of prize, between two, it gave a new turn to their several pretensions, and created a fresh competition for the larger share.

By the death of young *Crassus*, a place became vacant in the college of *Augurs*, for which *Cicero* declared himself a candidate: Nor was any one so hardy as to appear against him, except *Hirrus the Tribune*, who, trusting to the popularity of his office, and *Pompey's* favour, had the vanity to pretend to it: But a competitor so unequal furnished matter of raillery only to *Cicero*, who was chosen without any difficulty or struggle, with the unanimous approbation of the whole body °.

Y. R. 703.
Bef. Chr.
52.
399 Col. 1.

Midd. 529.

Philip. ii.
2.
Ep. Fam.
83.

CHAP.

“good advice, he obstinately followed his
“own delusions till he perished in them,
“For, being, for his impious sacrilege at Jeru-
“salem, justly destined to destruction, God did
“cast infatuations into all his counsels, for
“the leading him thereto.”

Prideaux,
part ii. p.
474.
Vid. supr.
p. 269.

The same author, speaking afterwards of the deplorable end of *Pompey the Great*, writes thus: “No man had enjoyed greater prosperity till he profaned the temple of God at Jerusalem: After that, his fortunes were in a continual decline, till at length, to expiate for that impiety, he was thus vilely murdered in the confines of that country where he had committed it.”

Tom.
XIII. p.
71.

M. Crevier, another Christian, speaks to the same effect with regard to both these Roman Generals. But it would seem, that *D. Prideaux* delivered these opinions not as peculiar to a believer of the Holy Scriptures, but as proper to every religious philosopher: For, having related how *Cambyfes*, King of *Persia*, in a rage, drew out his dagger, and ran it into the thigh of the sacred bull, the Ægyptian God *Apis*, of which wound the God died, he afterwards relates the death of *Cambyfes* in the following words—“As he mounted his horse, his sword, falling out of the scabbard, gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died a few days after. The Ægyptians remarking, that it was in the same part of

Prideaux,
part i. p.
171. p.
173.

“the body where he had wounded the *Apis*,
“reckoned it as an especial judgment from heaven
“upon him for that fact; and perchance they
“were not much out in it. For it seldom hap-
“pening in an affront given to any particular
“mode of worship, how erroneous soever it may
“be, but that RELIGION is in general wounded
“hereby; there are many instances in history
“wherein God hath very severely punished the
“profanations of RELIGION in the worst of
“times, and under the worst mode of heathen
“idolatry.”

° This college, from the last regulation of *Midd. 529.* it by *Sylla*, consisted of fifteen, who were all De Leg. persons of the first distinction in Rome: It was Agr. ii. 7. a priesthood for life, which no crime or forfeiture could efface: The priests of all kinds were originally chosen by their colleges, till *Domitius*, a Tribune, about fifty years before, transferred the choice of them to the people, whose authority was held to be superior in sacred as well as civil affairs. This act was reversed by *Sylla*, and the ancient right restored to the colleges; but *Labienus*, when Tribune, in *Cicero's* Consulship, repealed the law of *Domitius*, to facilitate *Cæsar's* advancement to high priesthood. It was necessary however, that every candidate should be nominated to the People by two *Augurs*, who gave a solemn testimony upon oath of his dignity and fitness for the office: This was done in *Cicero's* case

C H A P. VIII.

Scandalous proceedings of the candidates for the Consulship. MILO, who is one of them, has a fatal rencounter with CLODIUS on the Appian way, which occasions terrible tumults and mischiefs in the City. To remedy these disorders, POMPEY is elected SOLE CONSUL: He publishes several new laws, MILO is brought to trial, and, though defended by CICERO, is condemned. CICERO's conduct in relation to the sale of MILO's effects. Two of the late candidates for the Consulship are tried for bribery by POMPEY's new laws. His shameful partiality on this occasion. Two of the late Tribunes are sentenced to banishment, for their riotous proceedings in their magistracy. The government of Cilicia falls by lot to CICERO. The usurious extortion practised by M. BRUTUS [the renowned patriot-assassin.] CICERO's military achievements, His excellent conduct in the civil government of his province. APPIUS and PISO are chosen CENSORS, the last who bore that office during the Republican state of Rome.

Y. R. 701.
Mid. 530.
Plut. in
Cat.
THE candidates for the Consulship of the coming year were *T. Annius Milo*, *Q. Metellus Scipio*, and *P. Plaucius Hypsæus*, who pushed on their several interests with such open violence and bribery, as if the Consulship was to be carried only by money or arms. *Clodius* was putting in at the same time for the Prætorship, and employed all his credit and interest to disappoint *Milo*. *Pompey* was wholly averse to *Milo*, who did not pay him that court which he expected, but seemed to affect an independency, and to trust to his own strength, while the other two competitors were wholly at his devotion: *Hypsæus* had been his Quæstor, and always his creature; and as for *Scipio*, *Pompey* designed to become his son-in-law, by marrying his daughter *Cornelia*, a lady of celebrated accomplishments, the widow of young *Crassus*. *Cicero*, on the other hand, served *Milo* to the utmost of his power, and ardently wished his success.——In the heat of this competition, *Curio* was coming home from *Asia*, and expected shortly at *Rome*; whence *Cicero* sent an express to meet him on the road, or at his landing in *Italy*, with a most earnest and pressing letter to engage him to *Milo's* interest.

Ad Quint.
iii. 9.
Ep. Fam.
ii. 6.
Mid. 534. The Senate and the Aristocratical party were generally for *Milo*: But three of the Tribunes were violent against him, *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, *Manatius Plancus Bursa*, and *Sallust* the Historian; the other seven were his fast friends, but above all *M. Cælius*, who, out of regard to *Cicero*, served *Milo* with a particular zeal. But, while all things were proceeding very prosperously in his favour, and nothing seemed wanting
Brut. in ii. case by *Pompey* and *Hortensius*, the two most eminent members of the college; and, after the election, he was installed with all the usual formalities by *Hortensius*.

to crown his success, but to bring on the election, which his adversaries for that reason laboured to keep back, all his hopes and fortunes were blasted at once by an unhappy rencounter with his old enemy *Clodius*.

Their meeting was wholly accidental on the *Appian* road, not far from the City; *Clodius* coming home from the country towards *Rome*, *Milo* going out about three in the afternoon; the first on horseback, with three companions, and thirty servants well armed; the latter in a chariot, with his wife and one friend, but with a much greater retinue, and among them some gladiators. The servants on both sides began presently to insult each other; when *Clodius*, turning briskly to some of *Milo's* men, who were nearest to him, and threatening them with his usual fierceness, received a wound in the shoulder from one of the gladiators; and, after receiving several more in the general fray, which instantly ensued, finding his life in danger, was forced to fly for shelter into a neighbouring tavern. *Milo*, heated by this success, and the thoughts of revenge, and reflecting that he had already done enough to give his enemy great advantage against him, should he be left alive to pursue it, resolved, whatever was the consequence, to have the pleasure of destroying him, and ordered the house to be stormed, and *Clodius* to be dragged out and murdered: The master of the tavern was likewise killed, with eleven of *Clodius's* servants, while the rest saved themselves by flight: So that *Clodius's* body was left in the road where it fell, till *S. Tadius*, a Senator, happening to come by, took it up into his chaise, and brought it with him to *Rome*; where it was exposed in that condition, all covered with blood and wounds, to the view of the populace, who flocked about it in crowds to lament the miserable fate of their leader. The next day the mob, headed by *S. Clodius*, a kinsman of the deceased, and one of his chief incendiaries, carried the body naked, so as all the wounds might be seen, into the Forum, and placed it on the *Rostra*, where the three Tribunes, *Milo's* enemies, were prepared to harangue upon it, in a stile suited to the lamentable occasion; by which they inflamed the multitude to such a height of fury, that, snatching up the body, they ran away with it into the Senate-house, and, tearing up the benches, tables, and every thing combustible, dressed up a funeral pile upon the spot, and, together with the body, burnt the house itself, with a *Basilica* also, or public hall adjoining, called the *Porcian*; and in the same fit of madness proceeded to storm the house of *Milo*, and of *M. Lepidus* the Inter-rex, but were repulsed in both attacks with some loss.

These extravagancies raised great indignation in the City; and gave a turn in favour of *Milo*; who, looking upon himself as undone, was meditating nothing before but a *voluntary exile*: But now taking courage, he appeared in public, and was introduced into the *Rostra* by *Cælius*, where he made his defence to the People; and to mitigate their resentment, distributed through all the tribes *above three pounds a man to every poor Citizen*,

Y. R. 701.

Quintil. l.

vi. c. 5.

Dio, l. xl.

p. 143.

Alcon.

Argum.

in Mil.

Y. R. 701. 51. 400 Conf. *Citizen.* But all his pains and expence were to little purpose; for *the three Tribunes* made it their business to keep up the ill-humour of the populace; and what was more fatal, *Pompey* would not be brought into any measures of accommodating the matter; so that the tumults still encreasing, the Senate passed a decree, *that the Inter-rex, assisted by the Tribunes and Pompey, should take care that the Republic received no detriment; and that Pompey in particular should raise a body of troops for the common security;* which he presently drew together from all parts of *Italy*. In this confusion the rumour of a Dictator was again industriously revived, and gave a fresh alarm to the Senate, who, to avoid the greater evil, came to the resolution of creating *Pompey Consul* without a colleague. *Bibulus* had made the motion; assigning for his reason, that *by this means the Commonwealth would be freed from its present confusion; or, if it must be enslaved, would have the best master it could hope for.* Every body was surprized at this language from *Bibulus*, who had always shewed himself an enemy of *Pompey*: But they were yet more surprized by what *Cato* said on this occasion: He declared, *that, though he could never have prevailed with himself to be the author of such an advice, nevertheless, since it had been moved by another, his opinion was, that it should be followed. That any government was preferable to ANARCHY; and that he thought no man better qualified than Pompey to hold the reins of government in a time of so great disorder.* Hereupon the Senate passed a decree, that *Pompey* should be sole Consul; and accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of *February*, he was, by *Servius Sulpicius*, the *Inter-rex*, declared elected alone to that magistracy. *Pompey*, highly pleased with the honour which *Cato* had done him, returned him abundant thanks for it; requesting at the same time, that he would in private give him his advice and assistance for the worthy discharge of his office. *Cato* answered; *Pompey, you owe me no thanks: What I said in the Senate was with a view to serve the Commonwealth, not to serve you; if you consult me in private, I will freely give you my advice: And, in public, I shall always speak my opinion, though you should not ask it.*

Plut. in
Pomp. &
in Cat.

Dio tells us that the Senate, and *Bibulus* in particular, were apprehensive, at this time, lest *Cæsar* should be chosen one of the Consuls at the next election, and for that reason took this unprecedented step: Which, if true, sufficiently accounts for *Cato's* favour to *Pompey*: For the reader must have already observed, and will hereafter have fresh occasion to observe, that the main spring of some of *Cato's* political movements was neither the love of virtue, nor the love of his Country, but a personal hatred to *Cæsar*.

Midd. 537. Dio, xl. 143. Acon. Argum. in Mil. Midd. 548. *Pompey* applied himself immediately to calm the public disorders, by the promulgation of several new laws*, prepared by him for that purpose. One of them was, to appoint a special commission to enquire into *Clodius's* death, the burning of the Senate-house, and the attack on *M. Lepidus*;

* *Cicero* seems to have written his *Treatise on Laws* soon after the death of *Clodius*.

and

and to appoint an extraordinary Judge of Consular rank to preside in it: Y. R. 701. Bcf. Chr. 51. 400 Cons. A second was against bribery and corruption in elections, with the infliction of new and severer penalties on those who had been guilty. Cato, according to *Plutarch*, objected to this law, as unjust with regard to past offences; and he advised him to provide only for the future. *Appian* reports, that, by *Pompey's* new law, all who, from the time of his first Consulate, (twenty years before) had been in any public office, might be called to account for corruption in obtaining it, or male-administration in the exercise of it. At this space of time comprised the Consulate of *Cæsar*, those of his party imagined there was a design to affront him; and they hinted what they thought to *Pompey*. He answered them, that their suspicion was injurious to *Cæsar*, whose conduct, being out of the reach of censure, secured him from all danger. *Appian* adds, that *Pompey* shortened the retrospect to his second Consulate; but would not entirely drop the new law. [*App. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii. p. 441.*]

By these laws the method of trials was altered, and the length of them Mid. 537. limited: Three days were allowed for the examination of witnesses, and the fourth for the sentence; on which the accuser was to have two hours only to enforce the charge; the criminal three for his defence^b. *Cælius* opposed his negative to these laws, as being rather privileges than laws, and provided particularly against *Milo*; but he was soon obliged to withdraw it, upon *Pompey's* declaring that he would support them by force of arms.

Pompey was the only man in *Rome* who had the power to bring *Milo* to Ibid. 539. a trial. He was not concerned for *Clodius's* death, or for the manner of it, but rather pleased that the Republic was freed from so pestilent a demagogue; yet he resolved to take the benefit of the occasion for getting rid of *Milo* too, from whose ambition and high spirit he had cause to apprehend no less trouble. He would not listen therefore to any overtures from *Milo's* friends; and when *Milo* offered to drop his suit for the Consulship, if that would satisfy him, he answered, That he would not concern himself with any man's suing or desisting, nor give any obstruction to the power and inclination of the Roman People. He attended the trial in person with a strong guard, to preserve peace and prevent any violence from either side.

When the examination was over (in which many clear and positive truths were produced against *Milo*) *Manutius Plancus* called the People together, and exhorted them to appear in a full body the next day, when judgment was to be given, and to declare their sentiments in so public a manner, that the criminal might not be suffered to escape; which *Cicero*

Mid. 537. ^b *Tacitus* seems to consider this regulation as the first step towards the ruin of the Roman eloquence, by imposing reins, as it were, upon its free and ancient course. *Primus*

tertio consulatu Cæ. Pompeius astrinxit, imposuitque veluti frænos eloquentiæ — &c. *Dialog. de Orator.* 38.

Y. R. 701. in his defence of *Milo*, reflects upon as an insult on the liberty of the bench.

Afron. Early in the morning, *on the eleventh of April*, the shops were all shut, and the whole City gathered into the Forum, where the avenues were possessed by *Pompey's* soldiers, and he himself seated in a conspicuous part, to overlook the whole proceeding, and hinder all disturbance.

The accusers were young *Appius*, the nephew of *Clodius*, *M. Antonius*, and *P. Valerius*; who, according to the new law, employed two hours in supporting their indictment.

Cicero was the only advocate on *Milo's* side; but, as soon as he rose up to speak, he was received with so rude a clamour by the *Clodians*, that he was much discomposed and daunted at his first setting out; yet recovered spirit enough to go through his speech of three hours; which was taken down in writing, and published as it was delivered; though the copy of it now extant is supposed to have been retouched and corrected by him afterwards [or rather a new composition] for a present to *Milo* in his exile.

In the council of *Milo's* friends, several were of opinion, that he should defend himself by avowing the death of *Clodius*, and pleading that it was an act of public benefit: But *Cicero* thought that defence too desperate, as it would disgust the grave, by opening so great a door to licence; and offend the powerful, lest the precedent should be extended to themselves. But young *Brutus* [discovering from his early years, an apt and promising genius for the glorious business of assassination] in an oration, which he composed and published in vindication of *Milo*, maintained the killing of *Clodius* to be right and just, and of great service to the Republic.

Mid. 541. It was notorious that they had often threatened death to each other:
Pro Mil. *Clodius* had declared several times, both to the Senate and the People,
9. that *Milo* ought to be killed, and that, if the Consulship could not be taken from him, his life could: And when *Favonius* asked him once, what hopes he could have of playing his pranks while *Milo* was living; he replied, that in three or four days at most he should live no more; which was spoken just three days before the fatal rencounter, and attested by *Favonius*. Since *Milo* then was charged with being the contriver of their meeting, and the aggressor in it, and several testimonies were produced to that purpose, *Cicero* chose to risk the cause on that issue, in hopes to persuade, that *Clodius* actually laid wait for *Milo*, and contrived the time and place; and *Milo's* part was but a necessary act of self-defence. This had somewhat of a plausibility, from the nature of the equipage, and the circumstances in which they met: For though *Milo's* was the more numerous, yet it was much more encumbered and unfit for an engagement than his adversary's; he himself being in a chariot with his wife, and all her women along with her; while *Clodius* with his followers were on horseback, as if prepared and equipt for fighting. He did not preclude himself however

ever by this from the other *plea*^c, which he often takes care to insinuate, Y. R. 701.
that if Milo had really designed and contrived to kill Clodius, he would have
deserved honours instead of punishment, for cutting off so desperate and dangerous
an enemy to the peace and liberty of Rome. Pro Mil. 28, &c.

Of one-and-fifty Judges, who sat upon *Milo*, thirteen only acquitted Midd. 544.
 and thirty-eight condemned him: The votes were usually given by ballots;
 but *Cato*, who absolved him, chose to give his vote openly; and, if he
 had done it earlier, says *Velleius*, would have drawn others after him.

Milo went into exile at *Marseilles* a few days after his condemnation;
 and his whole estate was sold by public auction for the satisfaction of his
 creditors^d.

Philotimus, a freedman of *Cicero's* wife, bought this estate, in partner- Melm.
 ship with some others, at an under value. It was thought strange, that vol. I. p. 298.
Cicero should suffer *Philotimus*, who acted as a sort of steward in his family,
 to engage in the purchase of a banished man's estate, such purchases being
 always looked upon as odious; and this was particularly so, *Cicero* having
 received great obligations from *Milo*. Accordingly the latter complained
 of it in the letters he wrote to his friends at *Rome*. This alarmed *Cicero* for
 his reputation; and he seems to have written to *Cælius*, as he did to several
 others of his correspondents, to accommodate this affair in the way that
 would be most for his honour. He pleaded in his justification an intent
 of serving *Milo*; yet it appears very evidently, from the following letters
 to *Atticus* on this subject, that he shared with *Philotimus* in the advantages
 of the purchase.

“ They write to me from *Rome*, that they have seen letters from *Milo*, Ad Att. v. 8.
 “ who complains of my having suffered *Philotimus* to enter into partner-
 “ ship with those who bought his estate: Yet I did it by the advice of
 “ *Duronius*, *Milo's* particular friend, and whom you know to be an ho-
 “ nest man. Our view was to hinder his falling into the hands of stran-
 “ gers, and oppressive people, who might have demanded a great num-
 “ ber of slaves that he has with him. We were, in the next place, de-
 “ sirous, that the provision which he intended should be made for his
 “ wife might be secured. We likewise thought, that, if there was a
 “ possibility of saving any thing for him, we could manage that matter

^c *Asconius* speaks as if *Cicero* approved nei-
 ther the use of this plea in the present case,
 nor the doctrine itself whereon the plea is
 founded. — Respondit his [accusatoribus]
 unus *M. Cicero*, & cum quibusdam placuisset,
 ita defendi crimen, interfici *Clodium* pro Re-
 publica fuisse (quam formam *Marcus Brutus*
 secutus est in ea oratione quam pro *Milone*
 composuit & edidit, quamvis non egisset)
Ciceroni id non placuit, quod quis bono publico
 damnari, idem etiam occidi indemnatus posset.

Nevertheless *Cicero*, in the case of *Catiline's*
 accomplices, seems to have followed this
 maxim, *That whoever may, for the public*
good, be justly condemned, may, for the same
public good, be justly put to death without trial
and condemnation.

^d *Milo* had wasted three estates in giving Midd. 531.
 plays and shews to the People; and when he
 went into exile was found to owe above half
 a million of our money. *Plin. lib. xvi. 15.*
Ascon. Argum. in Milon.

Y R 701. " better than any body else. Endeavour, I beseech you, to search this
 Bef. Chr. " whole matter to the bottom; for things are often magnified in the rela-
 400 Cens. " tion. But if it be true that *Milo* complains, and writes to his friends on
 " this head, and if *Fausta* be of the same mind, *Philotimus* shall not have
 " any concern in the purchase; for I made him promise, before I left
 " *Rome*, that, without *Milo's* consent, he would not. The profit has not
 " been any thing considerable: But you will judge. Talk with *Duronius*.
 " I have writ to *Camillus* and to *Lamia*, being uncertain whether you were
 " at *Rome*. In a word, you will resolve to act as honesty, reputation, and
 " my interest shall require."

Mong.
Tome III.
p. 22. [We see here, says an ingenious writer, *Cicero's* reasons for his friendly
 officiousness; but I doubt whether they will convince any body, that inter-
 est was not his principal motive; and the rather, as *Milo's* goods were sold
 greatly under value. It appears by two other letters to *Atticus*, and by one
 from *Cælius* to *Cicero*, that *Philotimus* restored to *Milo* the estates he had
 bought, on condition of allowing him a certain profit, in which *Cicero*
 was a sharer.]

Ad Att.
vi. 4. " I have one thing more to mention to you. I shall write mysteriously,
 " but you will guess my meaning. My wife's freedman (you know whom
 " I speak of) has embezzled, as I judge by his lame account, part of the
 " profit made by the purchase of the estate of the *Crotoniate Tyrant-killer* *.
 " If you guess the meaning of this last word, you will understand all the
 " rest. I dare not be more explicit."

Ibid. 5. " Do not forget the affair I wrote to you about in my last letter; where
 " I told you, that I have for some time suspected, from the confused in-
 " consistent talk of my wife's freedman in several companies, that he
 " has not given me a faithful account of the profits arising to me from the
 " purchase of the *Crotoniate's* estate.——While I suffered him to be
 " here, I was constantly upon my guard: For he came to sound me, in
 " the hopes that I would remit somewhat of what he owes me; but, find-
 " ing himself disappointed, he flung away at once——*I will be gone; it*
 " *would be shameful to me for stay any longer, and at last go away with empty*
 " *hands*: And he twitted me with the old proverb, *A gift admits of no ac-*
 " *counting*;" or, as *Mongault* translates the passage, *We should be content*
 " *with what is given*. By this (says the ingenious *French* writer) *Philotimus*
 " intimated to *Cicero*, that he ought to be satisfied with his yielding to him
 " part of the profit he had made by the purchase of *Milo's* estate, since
 " his name had never been mentioned in the purchase. The proverb, of which
 " *Cicero* cites here only the first words, *τα μὴ δίδωμεν*——is in the *Gorgias* of *Plato*,
 " and answers to the *English* proverb, *We should not look a Gift-horse in the*
 " *mouth*. From all this, I think, we may conclude, that *Philotimus* had
 " *Cicero* in his power.

* *Milo*, who carried an ox upon his back at the *Olympic* games, was of *Crotona*. The
Milk, now in question, is called *Tyrant-killer*, because he killed *Clodius*.

—“ As to what concerns the behaviour of *Philotimus*, in relation to
 “ *Milo*’s estate, I have endeavoured that he shall act in such a manner as to
 “ give full satisfaction to *Milo* and his friends, and at the same time clear
 “ your character from all imputation.”

Ep. Fam.
 l. viii.
 Ep. 3.

The next trial before the same tribunal, and for the same crime, was of *M. Sausenius*, one of *Milo*’s confidants, charged with being the ringleader in storming the house, and killing *Clodius*. *Cicero* defended him, and he was acquitted by one vote only: But being accused a second time on the same account, though for a different fact, and again defended by *Cicero*, he was acquitted by a great majority. But *Sex. Clodius*, the Captain of the other side, was condemned and banished, with several others of that faction, for burning the Senate-house, and the other violences committed upon *Clodius*’s death.

Midd. p.
 545--547.

Pompey no sooner published his new law against bribery, than the late Consular candidates, *Scipio* and *Hypsæus*, were severally impeached upon it, and, being both of them notoriously guilty, were in great danger of being condemned: But *Pompey*, calling the Judges together, begged it of them as a favour, that out of the great number of state criminals they would remit *Scipio* to him: Whom, after he had rescued from the prosecution, he declared his colleague in the Consulship for the last five months of the year; having first made him his father-in-law, by marrying his daughter *Cornelia*, a lady of fine accomplishments. The other candidate *Hypsæus*, was left to the mercy of the law, and being likely to fare the worse for *Scipio*’s escape, he watched an opportunity of access to *Pompey*, as he was coming out of his bath; and, throwing himself at his feet, implored his protection: But, though he had been his Quæstor, and ever obsequious to his will, yet *Pompey* is said to have spurned him away with great haughtiness and inhumanity, telling him, that he would only spoil his supper by detaining him.¹

Before

Midd. 550. * *Pompey* was preparing an inscription this summer for the front of the new temple, which he had lately built to *Venus the Conqueress*, containing, as usual, the recital of all his titles: But, in drawing it up, a question happened to be started about the manner of expressing his third Consulship, whether it should be by *Consul*, *Tertium*, or *Tertio*. This was referred to the principal critics of Rome, who could not, it seems, agree about it. *Pompey* therefore left it to *Cicero* to decide the matter: But *Cicero*, being unwilling to give judgment on either side, when there were great authorities on both, and *Varro* among them, advised *Pompey* to order TEXT. only to

A Gell.
 x. 1.

be inscribed, which fully declared the thing, without determining the dispute.

¹ *Cn. autem Pompeius* quam insolenter? Qui balneo egressus ante pedes suos prostratum *Hypsæum* ambitus reum & nobilem virum & sibi amicum, jacentem reliquit, contumeliosa voce proculcatum. Nihil enim eum aliud agere, quam ut convivium suum moraretur, respondit.—Ille vero *P. Scipionem* socerum suum, legibus noxium quas ipse tulerat, in maxima quidem reorum & illustrium ruina muneris loco a iudicibus deposcere—*Val. Max.* ix. 3. *It. Plut. in Pomp.*

This is that *Pompey* of whom *Cicero* says, that he knew him to be a man of integrity,

Y. R. 701. Before the end of the year, two of the late Tribunes, whose office was
Bef. Chr. just expired, *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, and *T. Munatius Plancus Bursa*, were
51. tried, condemned, and banished, for the violences of their Tribunate, and
400 Conf. burning the Senate-house. *Cælius* accused the first, *Cicero* the second, the
only cause, excepting that of *Verres*, in which he ever acted the part of
an accuser. It seems *Bursa* had been formerly defended by him, and had
proved ungrateful. *Pompey*, before Judges of his own appointing, plead-
ed the cause of *Bursa*: Yet he was condemned by an unanimous vote of the
whole bench.

Midd. 550. Among the other acts of *Pompey*, in this his third Consulship, there
Dio, p. was a new law against bribery, contrived to strengthen the old ones
142. that were already subsisting against it, by disqualifying all future Consuls
and Prætors from holding any province till five years after the expiration
of their Magistracies: For this was thought likely to give some check to
the eagerness of suing and bribing for those great offices, when the chief
fruit and benefit of them was removed to such a distance. But, before the
law passed, *Pompey* took care to provide an exception for himself, and to
Ad Ant. get the government of Spain continued to him for five years longer, with an
vii. 1. appointment of money to pay his troops: And, lest this should give offence
Suet. J. to *Cæsar*, if something of an extraordinary kind was not provided for him
Cæf. 26. too, he proposed a law to dispense with *Cæsar's* presence in suing for the
Consulship, of which *Cæsar* at that time seemed very desirous. *Cælius*
was the promoter of this law, engaged to it by *Cicero*, at the joint request
of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*; and it was carried with the concurrence of all
the Tribunes, though not without difficulty and obstruction from the Se-
nate.

Midd. 551. By *Pompey's* law, just now mentioned, it was provided, that, for a sup-
ply of governors for the interval of five years, in which the Consuls and
Ad Ant. Prætors were disqualified, the Senators of Consular and Prætorian rank, who
v. 15. had never held any foreign command, should divide the vacant provinces among
themselves by lot: In consequence of which, *Cicero*, who was obliged to
take his chance with the rest, obtained the government ² of *Cilicia*, now
in

Ad. Ant. an honest, sincere, and grave man — *hominem*
xi. 6. *integrum, & castum, & gravem, cognovi.*
Vol. II. P. And Dr. *Middleton* is of opinion, that this
132. was his true character. Nevertheless the
Reader, I imagine, will not judge that this
grave *Pompey* was a proper Person to be in-
vested with that DICTATORIAL POWER,
Vid. supr. which the Doctor thinks was necessary, in the
p. 556. present disorders of the Republic, to reduce
it to a tolerable state.

Midd. These preferments were, of all others,
vol. II. p. the most ardently desired by the Great, for
1 and 2. the advantages which they afforded both of
acquiring power and amassing wealth: For

their command, though accountable to the
Roman People, was absolute and uncontroll-
able in the province; where they kept up the
state and pride of sovereign princes, and had
all the neighbouring Kings paying a court to
them, and attending their orders. If their
genius was turned to arms, and fond of mar-
tial glory, they could never want a pretext
for war, since it was easy to drive the subjects
into rebellion, or the adjoining nations to acts
of hostility by their oppressions and injuries,
till, from the destruction of a number of in-
nocent people, they had acquired the title of
Emperor, and with it the pretension to a tri-
umph,

in the hands of *Appius*, the late Consul. This province included also *Pisidia*, *Pamphilia*, and three dioceses, as they are called, or districts of Asia, together with the island of Cyprus; for the guard of all which a standing army was kept of two legions, or about twelve thousand foot, with two thousand six hundred horse. But, whatever benefit or glory this government seemed to offer, it had no charms for *Cicero*: The thing itself was disagreeable to his temper, nor worthy of his talents, which (in his own opinion) were formed to sit at the helm, and shine in the administration of the whole Republic: So that he considered it only as an honourable exile, or a burden imposed by his Country, to which his duty obliged him to submit. His first care therefore was to provide, that this command might not be prolonged to him beyond the usual term of a year. Before his departure he solicited all his friends not to suffer such a mortification to fall upon him. He left the City about the first of May, attended by his brother, and their two sons: For *Quintus*, in order to accompany him in the post of Lieutenant, had quitted his Lieutenantcy under *Cæsar*.

When *Cicero* arrived at *Tarentum*, he made a visit to *Pompey*, who was taking the benefit of that soft air for the recovery of his health at one of his villas in those parts, and had invited and pressed him to spend some days with him upon his journey: They proposed great satisfaction on both

umph, without which scarce any Proconsul was ever known to return from a remote and frontier province*. Their opportunities of raising money were as immense as their power, and bounded only by their own appetites: The appointments of the treasury, for their equipage, plate, and necessary furniture, amounted, as it appears, from some instances, to near a hundred and fifty thousand pounds: And besides the revenues of kingdoms, and pay of armies, of which they had the arbitrary management, they could exact what contributions they pleased, not only from the cities of their own jurisdiction, but from all the states and princes around them, who were under the protection of Rome. But, while their primary care was to enrich themselves, they

carried out with them always a band of hungry friends and dependents, as their Lieutenants, Tribunes, Praefects, with a crew of freedmen and favourite slaves, who were all likewise to be enriched by the spoils of the province, and the sale of their master's favours. Hence flowed all those accusations and trials for the plunder of the subjects, of which we read so much in the Roman writers: For as few or none of the Proconsuls behaved themselves with that exact justice as to leave no room for complaint, so the factions of the City, and the quarrels of families, subsisting from former impeachments, generally excited some or other to revenge the affront in kind, by undertaking the cause of an injured province, and dressing up an impeachment against their enemy.

* While the ancient discipline of the Republic subsisted, no General could pretend to a triumph who had not enlarged the bounds of the empire by his conquests, and killed at least five thousand enemies in battle, without any considerable loss of his own soldiers. This was expressly enacted by an old law: In support of which, a second was afterwards provided, that made it penal for any of their triumphal Commanders to give a false account of the number of slain, either on the enemies side or their own, and obliged them, upon their entrance into the City, to take an oath before the Quæstors, or public Treasurers, that the accounts which they had sent to the Senate of each number was true. [*Val. Max.* ii. 8.] But these laws had long been neglected, and treated as obsolete; and the honour of a triumph usually granted, by intrigue and faction, to every General of any credit who had gained some little advantage against pirates or fugitives, or repelled the incursions of the wild barbarians who bordered upon the distant provinces.

Y. R. 701.
Bef. Chr.
51.
400 Conf.
Midd.
vol. II. p.
3.
Ep. Fam.
ii. 11.
Ad. Att.
v. 10 &
15.
Y. R. 702.
S. Sulpi-
cius and
M. Mar-
cellus,
Consuls.
Midd. p.
7.
Ad Att.
v. 6, 7, 8,
9.

Y. R. 702
Bef. Cui.
52.
407. Conf. sides from this interview, for the opportunity of conferring together with all freedom on the present state of the Republic, which was to be their subject: And *Cicero* expected likewise to get some lessons of the military kind from this renowned Commander. He promised *Atticus* an account of this conference; but, the particulars being too delicate to be communicated by letter, he acquainted him only in general, *that he found Pompey an excellent Citizen, and provided for all events that could possibly be apprehended.*

Vid. supra.
P. 555. After three days stay with *Pompey* he proceeded to *Brundisium*, where he was detained for twelve days by a slight indisposition, and the expectation of his principal officers, particularly of his Lieutenant *Pontinius*, an experienced leader, the same who had triumphed over the *Allobroges*, and on whose skill he chiefly depended in his martial affairs. From *Brundisium* he sailed to *Atinum* on the *fifteenth of June*; whence partly by sea, and partly by land, he arrived, on the *twenty-sixth*, at *Athens*, where he spent ten days, and where *Pontinius* at length joined him.

Midd. p.
12. Upon leaving *Italy* he charged his friend *Calius* with the task^a of sending him the news of *Rome*; and, while he was at *Athens*, he received from him the first letter of intelligence.

Calius to Cicero.

Ep. Fam.
viii. 1.
Melm.
iii. 25. " AGREEABLY to my promise when we parted, I have sent you a full account of every event that has happened since you left *Rome*. For this purpose I employed a person to collect the news of the Town, and am only afraid you will think he has executed his office much too punctually, &c. &c.

" *M. Marcellus* [the Consul] not having yet moved that *Cæsar* may be recalled from his government in *Gaul*, and intending to defer it, as he told me himself, to the *first of June*, it has occasioned the revival of those suspicions to his disadvantage, which so strongly prevailed when you were here. If you saw *Pompey*, as you designed to do, pray send me word in what temper you found him; what conversation he had with you; and what you could discover of his designs: For, though he seldom speaks his real sentiments, he has not wit enough to conceal them.

^a *Calius* (who, by his father, had been introduced to *Cicero's* acquaintance and friendship) performed the task very punctually, in a series of letters, which made a considerable part in the collection of his Familiar Epistles; and as they contain the jealousies and fears which gave birth to the civil war which soon broke out, it may not be disagreeable to the Reader to present him with some extracts of them. He had been Tribune of the People

in 701, the year before this letter was written, and had distinguished himself in that office, by zealously supporting the interests of the Aristocratical Faction. His morals were suitable to the degenerate age in which he lived; luxurious and dissolute; and his temper was remarkably inflammable, and apt to kindle into the most implacable resentment. Vid. *Ad. Att. v. 2.* Melm.

" As

“ As for *Cæsar*, there are many ugly reports about him; but propagated
 “ only in whispers: some say that he has lost all his cavalry; which I
 “ take indeed to be true: others, that the seventh legion has been beaten,
 “ and that he himself is so surrounded and besieged by the *Bellovaci**,
 “ that he cannot receive succours from the main body of his army. There
 “ is nothing yet certain; nor are these uncertain stories publicly talked of;
 “ but among a few, whom I need not name, told openly by way of se-
 “ crets: *Domitius*¹ never mentions them without clapping his hand to his
 “ mouth, &c.”

Y R. 702.
 * A people
 of the Bel-
 gic Gaul.

M. T. Cicero to M. Calius.

“ Could you seriously then imagine, my friend, that I commissioned
 “ you to send me the idle news of the town; matches of gladiators, ad-
 “ journments of causes, robberies, &c. — ? Far other are the accounts
 “ which I expect from your hand, as *I know not any man whose judgment*
 “ *in politics I have more reason to value.* ——— I passed several days with
 “ *Pompey*, conversing with him on nothing else but the Republic: But it
 “ is neither prudent nor possible to give you the particulars in a letter.
 “ Take this only from me, that *Pompey is an excellent Citizen*², prepared
 “ *both with courage and counsel for all events which can be foreseen*: Where-
 “ fore give yourself up to the man; believe me, he will embrace you;
 “ for he now holds the same opinion with us of good and bad Citizens.
 “ I have been ten days at *Athens*, and am just now leaving it, this sixth of
 “ *July*. As I earnestly recommend all my affairs to your care, so no-
 “ thing more particularly, than that the time of my provincial command
 “ be not prolonged. ——— Farewel.”

Ep. Fam.
 ii. 8.
 Melm. iii.
 28. [dated
 July 6.
 702.]

Cicero set sail for *Asia* the sixth of *July*, and landed at *Ephesus* on the
 “ twenty-second, after a slow¹ but safe passage of fifteen days. Having re-
 “ posed himself for three days at *Ephesus*, he marched forwards towards his
 “ province; and on the last of *July* arrived at *Laodicea*, one of the capital

Midd. 14.
 Ad Att. i.
 13 & 15.

¹ This is *Domitius*, the decree-forging Con-
 sul, and the declared enemy of *Cæsar*. Vid.
supra, p. 507.

² “ *Cicero* so often changed his opinion, or
 “ at least his language, in regard to *Pompey*,
 “ that it is difficult to determine what his
 “ true sentiments of him were. It is pro-
 “ bable, however, that he here speaks the
 “ dictates of his real thoughts, not only as he
 “ gives the same account to *Atticus*, but be-
 “ cause *Pompey* received him with particular
 “ civility; a circumstance which seems at all
 “ times to have had a very considerable in-
 “ fluence upon *Cicero*’s judgment concerning

“ the characters and designs of men.” Vid.
Ad. Att. v. 6, 7.

¹ The tediousness of this voyage was agree-
 ably relieved by touching on the way at several
 of the islands of the *Ægean* sea, of which he
 sends a kind of journal to *Atticus*. Many
 deputations from the cities of *Asia*, and a
 great concourse of people, came to meet him
 as far as *Samos*; but a much greater still was
 expecting his landing at *Ephesus*: The *Greeks*
 flocked eagerly from all parts to see a man,
 so celebrated through the empire for the fame
 of his learning and eloquence; so that all his
 boastings, as he merrily says, of many years
 past were now brought to the test.

Midd. p.
 14.

Melm.
 vol. I. p.
 290.

Y. R. 702. cities of his jurisdiction. From this moment the date of his government
 Bef. Chr. commenced; which he bids *Atticus* take notice of, that he might know
 401 50. how to compute the precise extent of his annual term.

Midd. p. 14. It was *Cicero's* resolution, in his provincial command, to practise those
 admirable rules which he had drawn up formerly for his brother; and from
 an employment wholly tedious and disagreeable to him, to derive fresh
 glory upon his character, by leaving the innocence and integrity of his ad-
 ministration as a pattern of governing to all succeeding Proconsuls.

Ad Att. 7. 9, 10, 11. When any governors went abroad to their provinces, the custom had al-
 ways been, that the countries through which they passed should defray
 the charges of their journey: But *Cicero* no sooner set his foot on foreign
 ground, *than he forbade all expences whatsoever, public or private, to be made*
either upon himself or any of his company; which raised a great admiration of
 him in the cities of Greece. In Asia he did the same, not suffering his offi-
 cers to accept, *what was due to them even by law, forage and wood for firing,*
 Ibid. 16, 17. *nor any thing else, but mere house-room, with four beds*; which he remitted
 also, as oft as was practicable, and obliged them to lodge in their tents; and
 by his example and constant exhortations, brought his Lieutenants, Tri-
 bunes, and Præfects, so fully into his measures, that they all concurred with him,
 he says, *wonderfully in a jealous concern for his honour.*

Midd. 16. About the twenty-fourth of August he went to the camp of *Iconium* in
Lycaonia, where he had no sooner reviewed the troops than he received an
 Ep. Fam. account from *Antiochus*, King of *Comagene*, which was confirmed from the
 xv. 1. other princes of those parts, that the *Parthians* had passed the *Euphrates*
 with a mighty force under the conduct of *Pacorus*, the King's son, in order
 to invade the Roman territory. Upon this news he marched towards *Cilicia*,
 to secure his province from the inroads of the enemy, or any commotions
 within: But as all access to it was difficult, except on the side of *Cappado-*
cia, an open country, and not well provided, he took his route through
 that Kingdom, and encamped in that part of it which bordered upon *Cilicia*,
 near to the town of *Cybistra*, at the foot of mount *Taurus*. His army, as it
 is said above, consisted of about twelve thousand foot and two thousand
 six hundred horse, besides the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring states,
 and especially of *Dejotarus*, King of *Galatia*, the most faithful ally of
Rome, and *Cicero's* particular friend; whose whole forces he could depend
 upon at any warning.

Ibid. 2, 3, 4. While he lay in this camp he had an opportunity of executing a special
 commission, with which he was charged by the Senate; to take *Ariobar-*
zanes, King of *Cappadocia*, under his particular protection; and pro-
 vide for the security of his person and government: In honour of whom
 the Senate had decreed, what they had never done before to any foreign
 Prince, *that his safety was of concern to the Senate and People of Rome.*
 His father had been killed by the treachery of his subjects, and a con-
 spiracy

spiracy of the same kind was apprehended against the son: *Cicero* there-
 fore, in a council of his officers, gave the King an account of the decree
 of the Senate, and that, in consequence of it, he was then ready to assist
 him with his troops and authority in any measures that should be concerted
 for the safety and quiet of his Kingdom.—The King, after great pro-
 fessions of his thanks and duty to the Senate for the honour of their decree,
 and to *Cicero* himself for his care in the execution of it, said, *that he knew*
no occasion for giving him any particular trouble at that time, nor had any
suspicion of any design against his life or crown: Upon which *Cicero*,
 after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, advised him
 however *to remember his father's fate, and from the admonitions of the Senate,*
to be particularly vigilant in the care of his person; and so they parted.
 But the next morning the King returned early to the camp, attended by
 his brother and counsellors, and with many tears implored the protection
 of *Cicero*, and the benefit of the Senate's decree, declaring, “ that he had
 “ received undoubted intelligence of a plot, which those, who were privy
 “ to it, durst not venture to discover till *Cicero's* arrival in the Country;
 “ but, trusting to his authority, had now given him information of it;
 “ and that his brother, who was present, and ready to confirm what he
 “ had said, had been solicited to enter into it by the offer of the crown:
 “ He begged, therefore, that some of *Cicero's* troops might be left with
 “ him for his better guard and defence.” *Cicero* told him, “ that, under
 “ the present alarm of the *Parthian* war, he could not possibly lend him
 “ any part of his army; that, since the conspiracy was detected, his own
 “ forces would be sufficient for preventing the effects of it; that he should
 “ learn to act the King, by shewing a proper concern for his own life,
 “ and exert his regal power in punishing the authors of the plot, and par-
 “ doning all the rest; that he need not apprehend any farther danger,
 “ when his people were acquainted with the Senate's decree, and saw a
 “ *Roman* army so near to them, and ready to put it in execution.” And
 having thus encouraged and comforted the King, he marched towards *Ci-*
licia, and gave an account of this accident, and of the motions of the *Par-*
thians, in two public letters to the Consuls and Senate^m.

While

^m He added a private letter also to *Cato*
 who was a particular favourer of *Ariobar-*
zanes, in which he informed him “ that he
 “ had not only secured the King's person from
 “ any attempt, but had taken care, that he
 “ should reign for the future with honour and
 “ dignity, by restoring to his favour and ser-
 “ vice his old Counsellors, whom *Cato* had re-
 “ commended, and who had been disgraced by
 “ the intrigues of his court; and by obliging
 “ a turbulent young priest of *Bellona*, who
 VOL. III.

“ was the head of the malecontents, and the
 “ next in power to the King himself, to quit
 “ the country.”

This King, *Ariobarzanes*, seems to have
 been poor even to a proverb: Midd. 18.

Manicipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex.
 Hor. Ep. i. 6.

For he had been miserably squeezed and
 drained by the *Roman* Generals and Gover-
 nors, to whom he owed vast sums, either actual-

4 B

ly

Y. R. 701.

Ad Ant.
v. 23.

While he lay encamped in *Cappadocia*, expecting what way the *Parthians* would move, he received an account that they had taken a different route, and were advanced to *Antioch* in *Syria*, where they held *C. Cassius* blocked up; and that a detachment of them had actually penetrated into *Cilicia*, but were routed and cut off by those troops which were left to guard the country. Upon this he presently decamped, and, by great journeys over *Mount Taurus*, marched in all haste to possess himself of the passes of *Amanus*, a great and strong mountain, lying between *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of *Syria*, the *Parthians*, being discouraged, retired from *Antioch*, which gave *Cassius* an opportunity of falling upon them in their retreat, and gaining a considerable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders, *Olaces*, was mortally wounded.

In the suspense of the *Parthian* war, which the late disgrace of *Crassus* had made terrible at *Rome*, *Cicero's* friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in some pain for his safety and success, as appears by the following letter from *Calpurnius*.

ly borrowed, or stipulated to be paid for particular services. It was a common practice with the great men of *Rome*, to lend money, at an exorbitant interest, to the Princes and Cities dependent on the empire. The ordinary interest of the provincial loans was one per cent. by the month, with interest upon interest: This was the lowest; but it was frequently four times as much. *Pompey* received monthly, from this very King, above six thousand pounds sterling; which yet was short of his full interest. *Brutus* also had lent him a very large sum, and earnestly desired *Cicero* to procure the payment of it, with the arrears of interest: But *Pompey's* agents were so pres-

sing and the King so needy, that, though *Cicero* solicited *Brutus's* affair very heartily, he had little hopes of getting any thing for him. When *Ariobarzanes* came, therefore, to offer him the same present of money which he had usually made to every other Governor, he generously refused, and desired only, that, instead of giving it to him, he would pay it to *Brutus*: But the poor Prince was so distressed, that he excused himself by the necessity which he was under of satisfying some other more pressing demands; so that *Cicero* gives a sad account of his negotiation in a long letter to *Atticus*, who had warmly recommended *Brutus's* interest to him.

Ad Ant.
vi. 1.
Y. 703.

"—I come now to *Brutus*, whom, by your authority, I embraced with inclination, and begun even to love: But—what am I going to say? I recall myself, lest I offend you.—Do not think that I ever entered into any thing more willingly, or took more pains, than in what he recommended to me. He gave me a memorial of the particulars which you have talked over with me before: I pursued your instructions exactly: In the first place I pressed *Ariobarzanes* to give to *Brutus* that money which he promised to me. As long the King continued with me, all things looked well; but he was afterwards seized by six hundred of *Pompey's* agents; and *Pompey*, for other reasons, can do more with him than all the world besides; but especially when it is imagined that he is to be sent to the *Parthian* war: They now pay *Pompey* thirty-three Attic talents per month out of the taxes; though this falls short of a month's interest: But our friend *Calpurnius* takes it calmly; and is content to abate somewhat of the interest without pressing for the principal. As for others, he neither does nor can pay any man: For he has no treasury, no revenues: He raises taxes by *Appian's* method of capitation: But these are scarce sufficient for *Pompey's* monthly pay: Two or three of the King's friends are very rich; but they hold their own as closely as either you or I.—I do not forbear however to ask, urge, and chide him by letters: King *Demetrius* also told me, that he had sent people to him on purpose to solicit for *Brutus*; but they brought him word back, that he had really no money: Which I take indeed to be the case; that nothing is more drained than his Kingdom; nothing poorer than the King."

Marcus Cælius to Cicero.

Y. R. 702.

“ We have received an express from *Caius Cassius*, and another from
 “ *Deiotarus*, which greatly alarm us. The former writes that the *Par-*
 “ *thian* army had passed the *Euphrates*, and the latter, that they are
 “ actually marching towards your province, by the way of *Comagene*.
 “ As I well know how ill provided you are with troops, the principal
 “ concern I feel from this invasion, with respect to you, is, lest you should
 “ be a loser by it in point of reputation. Had you been better prepared
 “ indeed to receive the enemy, I should have been in great pain for your
 “ life: But, as the very small number of your forces will incline you,
 “ I imagine, rather to think of a retreat than an engagement, I am only
 “ anxious concerning your honour. For how far the world may consider
 “ the necessity of the case, and approve of your thus declining a battle,
 “ is a point, I confess, which gives me much uneasy reflection. In short,
 “ I shall be in continual anxiety, till I hear of your arrival in *Italy*.
 “ In the mean time, this news of the *Parthians* has occasioned a variety
 “ of speculations. Some are of opinion, that *Pompey* ought to be sent
 “ against them: And others, that it is by no means convenient that he
 “ should leave *Rome*. A third party is for assigning this expedition to
 “ *Cæsar* and his army; whilst a fourth names the Consuls as the most
 “ proper persons to be employed. But all agree, however, in being silent
 “ as to any decree of the Senate for placing this command in private hands.
 “ The Consuls, in the apprehension that they shall either be nominated
 “ to a commission which they do not relish, or suffer the disgrace of its
 “ being given from them, forbear to convene the Senate: And by this
 “ means incur the censure of neglecting the public interest. But whether
 “ indolence or pusillanimity be the real motive of their declining the
 “ conduct of this war, it is concealed under the specious appearance how-
 “ ever of modesty.

“ As we have received no courier from you, it was suspected, till the
 “ dispatch from *Deiotarus* arrived, that the whole was an invention
 “ of *Cassius*, who, it was thought, in order to colour his own rapine,
 “ had suffered a parcel of *Arabs* to make an incursion into the province,
 “ and then represented them to the Senate as a formidable body of *Par-*
 “ *thians*. Whatever therefore may be the true state of the affair, let me
 “ persuade you to be extremely circumspect in giving a faithful and ac-
 “ curate account of it to the Senate: That you may neither be reproached
 “ with magnifying matters, in order to gratify the private purposes of
 “ *Cassius*, nor with concealing any thing which may be of importance for
 “ the public to know.

“ It is now *the eighteenth of November*; and as we are advanced thus far
 “ towards the end of the year, I do not see that any thing can be done

Ep. Fam.
viii. 10.
Melm. iv.
138 (dated
18th
Novemb.)

Y. R. 702.
Bel. Chr.
50.
421 Conf.

* One of
the Con-
suls elect.

“ in this affair till the first of *January*. For you know how slow and in-
“ active *Marcellus* is upon all occasions, and are no stranger to the
“ dilatory disposition of *Sulpicius*: You will easily judge therefore what is
“ to be expected from two men of this unperforming cast; and that those
“ who usually act with so much coldness as to make one doubt their in-
“ clinations, even in points they really desire to effect, will not be very
“ warm in forwarding a business to which they are certainly averse.

“ If the *Partbian* war should become a serious matter, the new Magi-
“ strates will be engaged for the first two or three months of their office in
“ adjusting the proper measures to be taken in this conjuncture. On the
“ other hand, if it should appear to be an invasion of no consequence,
“ or such at least, as, with the supply of a few additional troops, may
“ easily be repelled by you and the other Proconsuls already in those pro-
“ vinces, or by your successors: *Curio*, I foresee, will begin to play his
“ double game; that is, he will in the first place attempt to weaken the
“ authority of *Cæsar*; and in the next, endeavour to throw some little
“ advantages on the side of *Pompey*. As for *Paullus**, he declares most
“ vehemently against suffering *Cæsar* to continue in *Gaul*; And our
“ friend *Furnius* is the only Tribune whom I suspect of obstructing his
“ measures for that purpose. You may depend upon these articles as
“ certain: But beyond these I cannot with any assurance pronounce.
“ Time indeed may produce much; as many schemes I know are con-
“ certed: But they all turn upon the points I have already specified.—
“ I forgot to mention, that *Curio* designs to make an attempt to procure
“ a division of the lands in *Campania*. It is pretended that *Cæsar* does
“ not concern himself in this matter: Certain, however, it is, that *Pom-*
“ *pey* is very desirous of having the distribution settled before *Cæsar*’s
“ return, that he may be precluded from applying them to his own
“ purposes.

“ As to what concerns your leaving the province, I dare not promise
“ that you shall be relieved by a successor; but you may rely upon my
“ endeavouring all I can, that your administration shall not be prolonged.
“ Whether you will think proper to remain in your government, if affairs
“ should be so circumstanced as to render it indecent for me to oppose any
“ decree of the Senate for that purpose, depends upon yourself to deter-
“ mine: As it does upon me to remember, how warmly you made it your
“ request, when we parted, that I would prevent any such resolution from
“ being taken. Farewell.”

It is no wonder that *Cicero*’s friends should be in pain for him, when
they thought he would have to do with the *Partbians*: Nevertheless,
when he found himself engaged, and pushed to the necessity of acting the
General, he wanted (by his own account) neither the courage nor conduct
of an experienced leader. In a letter to *Atticus*, dated from his camp:

“ We

“ We are in great spirits, says he ; and, as our counsels are good, have
 “ no distrust of an engagement : We are securely encamped, with plenty
 “ of provisions, and in sight almost of *Cilicia* ; with a small army indeed,
 “ but, as I have reason to believe, intirely well affected to me : which
 “ I shall double by the accession of *Deiotarus*, who is upon the road
 “ to join me. I have the allies more firmly attached to me than any
 “ Governor ever had : They are wonderfully taken with my easiness and
 “ abstinence : We are making new levies of Citizens, and establishing
 “ magazines : If there be occasion for fighting, we shall not decline it ;
 “ if not, shall defend ourselves by the strength of our posts. Wherefore
 “ be of good heart ; for I see, as much as if you were with me, the sym-
 “ pathy of your love for me.”

The danger of the *Parthians* being over, *Cicero*, unwilling to dismiss his army without attempting something, led it against an untamed race of banditti, or freebooters inhabiting the mountains, close to which he now lay. They had never submitted to the *Roman* power, but lived in defiance of it. *Cicero* thought the reduction of them a matter of importance. To take them unprovided, he drew off his forces, on pretence of marching to the distant parts of *Cilicia* ; but, after a day's journey, stopped short, and, having refreshed his army and left his baggage behind, turned back again in the night with the utmost celerity, and reached *Amanus* before day on the thirteenth of *October*. Coming upon the natives by surprise, he easily killed or made them all prisoners. *Erana*, indeed, the capital of the mountain, made a brave resistance ; for it held out almost a whole day. Upon this success, *Cicero* was saluted *EMPEROR*.

It appears, by a letter from the VICTORIOUS EMPEROR, that he thought his victory gave him a just claim to a *Triumph*.

Cicero to *M. Calius*, Curule *Ædile* elect.

“ I wish you would enquire the reason that your letters miscarry ; for
 “ I cannot be induced to think that you have not once written to me since
 “ your election. But to turn to the principal purpose of this Epistle—
 “ Your wish has succeeded, and *I have just had employment enough of the*
 “ *military kind to entitle me to a Triumph*. You were under some appre-
 “ hensions, I perceive, about the *Parthians*, as being diffident of my
 “ forces. I must acquaint you then, that, having received advice, that
 “ the *Parthians* had committed hostilities, I took the advantage of some
 “ defiles, and of the neighbouring mountains, to lead my army, sup-
 “ ported by a tolerable number of auxiliaries, to *Amanus*. The reputation
 “ of my name was of some benefit to me likewise in my march : As you
 “ cannot imagine of what importance it is, in places of this kind, to have
 “ the populace ask, *Is this the Consul that saved Rome ? Is this he that*
 “ was

Y. R. 702.

Ad Att.

v. 15.

Ep. Fam.
Melm. iv.
13. [writ-
ten about
the end of
Novemb-
ber.].

Y. R. 703. " was so benourred by the Senate? Together with other questions of the
 Bef. Chr. " same import, which I need not add. When I approached to *Amanus*,
 451 Conf. 50. " a mountain which separates *Cilicia* from *Syria*, I had the satisfaction to
 " hear that *Cassius* had obliged the enemy to abandon the siege of *Antioch*;
 " and that *Bibulus* had taken upon himself the command of the
 " province. However, I employed my army in harassing the *Amanienses*,
 " our eternal enemies: And, having put many of them to the sword,
 " as well as taken a great number of prisoners, and entirely dispersed
 " the rest, I surprized and burnt some of their fortresses. Having thus
 " obtained a compleat victory, I was saluted with the title of *Imperator*
 " by the whole army at *Iffus*, the very place where *Alexander* defeated
 " *Darius*. From thence I marched into the most infested parts of
 " *Cilicia*, where I am now before *Pindenissum*; a city of great strength,
 " and which I have already been battering above these three weeks". The
 " garrison makes a most obstinate and vigorous defence: So that nothing
 " seems wanting to complete the glory I shall here obtain, but that the
 " name of this place were less obscure".

" If I should make myself master of it, as I trust I shall, I will send
 " an immediate express to the Senate. In the mean time, I have given
 " this general account of my operations, to let you see there is some
 " foundation to hope that your good wishes will be accomplished. But
 " to return to the *Parthians*: This summer's campaign has proved, you
 " find, tolerable successful: I am in great pain, however, for the next.
 " Let me intreat you, therefore, my dear friend, to endeavour that a
 " successor be appointed to my government: But, if that should prove
 " a matter of too much difficulty (as you intimate in one of your letters,
 " and as I am myself inclined to suspect) be careful at least to guard
 " against what may easily be prevented, I mean the prolongation of my
 " residence".

" I ex-

* The siege was begun about the first of *November*: So that this letter was written towards the end of *November*, if he began to batter in a few days after his investing the place.

be steady to the interests of the Senate, and to employ his *Tribunitian* power in his favour, that he may not be continued in his government beyond his year.

Ad Att.
v. 20.

° *Cicero* in a letter to *Atticus*, speaking of this siege, writes thus: " What the plague, you will say, are these *Pindenissians*? I never heard their names before.—How can I help that? Could I turn *Cilicia* into *Ætolia* or *Macedonia*? Take this however for certain, that no man could do more than I have done with such an army, &c."

† *Cicero* wrote, about the same time, a letter of congratulation to *Curio*, on his being elected to the *Tribunate*; and presses him to

Cicero to *Curio*, Tribune of the People.

" The congratulations of a friend are not Ep. Fam.
 " usually considered as too late, if they are ii. 7.
 " paid as early as possible: My great distance Melm. iv.
 " therefore from *Rome*, together with the slow 16.
 " progress with which news travels into this
 " corner of the world, will excuse me for not
 " sooner sending you mine. But now I fin-
 " cerely give them you: And most ardently
 " wish you may obtain immortal honour by
 your

“ I expect from your letters (as I mentioned in one of my former) not
 “ merely on account of what is at present going forward in the Republic,
 “ but a clear prospect of what is likely to happen—Farewell.”

Y. R. 702.
 Bef. Chr.
 50.
 401 Conf.

To satisfy the earnest desire which *Cicero* had formerly expressed (and which he here again expresses) of being informed of what passed at *Rome* in his absence, his correspondent wrote several letters to him concerning the state of public affairs; particularly *one of the first of August*, and, *a short time after, another*, which refers to it, and which *Cicero*, by some words in the beginning of the letter now before us, appears to

“ your administration of the Tribune. To
 “ this end, I must exhort you not to suffer your-
 “ self to be turned aside from your natural bias,
 “ in compliance with the sentiments and ad-
 “ vice of others: On the contrary, let me
 “ intreat you to be directed in your ministry
 “ by the faithful light of your own superior
 “ wisdom. No man indeed is capable of
 “ giving you more prudent counsels than will
 “ arise from the suggestions of your own good
 “ sense: And, believe me, you can never be
 “ misguided, so long as you pursue the honest
 “ dictates of your uninfluenced judgment.
 “ I say not this inconsiderately, but as per-
 “ fectly well knowing the genius and prin-
 “ ciples of him to whom I am addressing
 “ myself. Yes, my friend, I can never be
 “ apprehensive that you will act either weakly
 “ or irresolutely, whilst you support the mea-
 “ sures your heart approves. It was neither
 “ chance nor ignorance that led you to solicit
 “ the Magistracy in so important a crisis. It was
 “ a deliberate and well-considered resolution
 “ that engaged you in this design: And you
 “ were perfectly sensible of the great and ge-
 “ neral confusion in which the Commonwealth
 “ is involved, together with the utter uncer-
 “ tainty in what manner these our unhappy
 “ divisions will finally be terminated. You
 “ frequently reflect, I doubt not, on the vain,
 “ the treacherous, and the pliant dispositions
 “ of the present generation. To repeat then
 “ what I just now mentioned: Let me con-
 “ jure you to persevere stedfastly in your old
 “ principles, to consult the dictates of your
 “ own breast, and faithfully to comply with
 “ its wise and worthy admonitions. Hardly,
 “ perhaps, is any man more qualified than
 “ yourself to direct the conduct of others:
 “ None, I am sure, to steer your own. Good
 “ God! why am I thus prevented from being

“ a witness of your glorious actions, and an
 “ associate of your patriot designs? The lat-
 “ ter, I am persuaded, you are far from want-
 “ ing: However, the strength and warmth of
 “ my affection might possibly render the con-
 “ junction of my counsels with yours not al-
 “ together unprofitable.

“ You will hear from me again very soon, as
 “ I purpose in a few days to send an express
 “ to the Senate, with particulars of the success
 “ of my arms during the last summer’s cam-
 “ paign. In the mean time you will per-
 “ ceive, by the letter which I delivered to
 “ your freedman *Tiraso*, with what zealous
 “ pains I have solicited your election to the
 “ Pontifical Dignity: An election indeed
 “ which will be attended with much difficulty.
 “ I conjure you in return, my dear *Curio*, not
 “ to suffer this my very troublesome provin-
 “ cial administration to be lengthened out be-
 “ yond the usual period: And I intreat it by
 “ all the strong and tender ties of our mutual
 “ friendship. When I first made this request
 “ to you in person, and several times after-
 “ wards repeated it by letter, I had not the
 “ least imagination of your being Tribune. I
 “ then indeed only intreated your good offices
 “ as an illustrious Senator, and one who stood
 “ high in the favour and esteem of every *Ro-*
 “ *man*. But I now apply to *Curio*, not only
 “ as my noble friend, but as a powerful *Tri-*
 “ *bune*. I do not desire however (what indeed
 “ would be more difficult to obtain) that any
 “ thing unusual should be decreed in my fa-
 “ vour: But, on the contrary, that you would
 “ support that decree, and maintain those
 “ laws, by which I was appointed to this go-
 “ vernment. In a word, my single and most
 “ earnest request is, that the terms upon
 “ which I set out for this province may not
 “ be changed. Farewell.”

have

Y. R. 702. have received : But it is not improbable, that a letter from *Calius*, dated
 ——— the second of September, and another written in October, full of intelligence,
 * p. 555. were not yet come to *Cicero's* hands ; and as to that (above * transcribed)
 of the eighteenth of November, he had unquestionably not received it ; and
 this perhaps occasioned his apprehensions, that some of *Calius's* letters
 had miscarried.

I doubt not but the Reader has a portion of the same curiosity which
Cicero had ; nor do I know how it can be better gratified, than by adding
 here, to the letter of the eighteenth of November, the other Four, just above
 mentioned, of dates prior to that ; or so much of them, at least, as is to
 the purpose. There will be occasion hereafter to refer to them as the best
 vouchers of the facts they relate.

M. Calius to Cicero.

Ep. Fam.
 viii. 4.
 Melm. iii.
 32. [dated
 Aug. 1.
 702.]

——— “ *Curio* is a candidate [for the Tribuneship.] This greatly
 “ alarms those who are unacquainted with the real good qualities of
 “ *Curio's* heart. I hope, and indeed believe, he will act agreeably to
 “ his professions, and join with the Senate in supporting the friends of the
 “ Republic : I am sure, at least, he is full of these designs at present ; in
 “ which *Cæsar's* conduct has been the principal occasion of engaging
 “ him. For *Cæsar*, though he spares no pains or expence to gain over
 “ even the lowest of the People to his interest, has thought fit to treat
 “ *Curio* with singular contempt. The latter has behaved himself with
 “ so much temper upon this occasion, that he, who never acted with
 “ artifice in all his life, is suspected to have dissembled his resentment,
 “ in order the more effectually to defeat the schemes of those who oppose
 “ his election ; I mean the *Lelii* and the *Antonii*, together with the rest of
 “ that wonderful party.

“ I have been so much engaged by the difficulties, which have retarded
 “ the several elections, that I could not find leisure to write to you sooner :
 “ And indeed, as I every day expected they would be determined, I waited
 “ their conclusion, that I might give you at once an account of the whole.
 “ But it is now the first of August, and they are not yet over ; the elections
 “ of Prætors having met with some unexpected delays. As to that in which
 “ I am a candidate [the *Curule Ædileship*] I can give no account which
 “ way it is likely to be decided : Only it is generally thought that *Hirrus*
 “ will not be chosen. This is collected from the fate that has attended
 “ *Vincianus*, who was a candidate for the office of *Plebeian Ædile*.
 “ That foolish project of his, for the nomination of a Dictator¹,
 “ (which we formerly, you may remember, exposed to so much ridicule)

¹ *Vincianus* and *Hirrus*, elected Tribunes
 for the year 700, were the chief promoters
 of the project of making *Pompey* Dictator.

Vide *supra*, p. 526 & 542. And *Vid. Ad Q.*
Fr. iii. 8.

“ suddenly turned the election against him; and the People, by the loud-
 “ est acclamations, expressed their joy at his repulse. At the same time
 “ *Hirrus* was universally called upon by the populace to give up his pre-
 “ tensions at the ensuing election. I hope therefore you will very soon hear,
 “ that this affair is determined in the manner you have wished with regard
 “ to me, but have scarce^r dared to wish with regard to him.”

——“ As to the state of the Commonwealth, we begin to give up all
 “ expectation that the face of public affairs will be changed. However,
 “ at a meeting of the Senate, held *on the twenty-second of the last month*,
 “ in the Temple of *Apollo*, upon a debate relating to the payment of the
 “ forces commanded by *Pompey*^s, mention was made of that legion,
 “ which, as appeared by his accounts, had been lent to *Cæsar*: And
 “ he was asked of what number of men it consisted, and for what purposes
 “ it was borrowed. In short, *Pompey* was pushed so strongly upon this
 “ article, that he found himself under a necessity of promising to recall
 “ this legion out of *Gaul*: But he added at the same time, that the cla-
 “ mours of his enemies should not force him to take this step too pre-
 “ cipitately.

“ It was afterwards moved, that the question might be put concerning
 “ the election of a successor to *Cæsar*. Accordingly the Senate came to
 “ a resolution, that *Pompey* (who was just going to the army at *Arimi-*
 “ *num*^t, and is now actually set out for that purpose) should be ordered
 “ to return to *Rome* with all expedition; *That the affair relating to a*
 “ *general election of Governors for all the provinces might be debated in his*
 “ *presence*. This point, I imagine, will be brought before the Senate on
 “ *the thirteenth of this month*, when, if no infamous obstacles should be
 “ thrown in the way by the Tribunes^u, the House will certainly come to
 “ some resolution: For *Pompey*, in the course of the debate, let fall an
 “ intimation, that *he thought every man owed obedience to the authority of*
 “ *that Assembly*. However, I am impatient to hear what *Paullus*, the se-
 “ nior Consul *elect*, will say, when he delivers his opinion upon this que-
 “ stion, &c. — Farewell.”

^r Because *Hirrus* was supported by *Pompey*.
Melm.

Melm.
 vol. I. p.
 309.

“ *Pompey*, though he remained in *Rome*,
 “ was at this time Governor of *Spain*; which
 “ had been continued to him for four years
 “ at the end of his late Consulship. It was
 “ the payment of his troops in that province
 “ which was under the consideration of the
 “ Senate.” *Plut. in Pomp.*

^t “ Now called *Rimini*, situated upon the
 “ *Rubicon*, a river which divides *Italy* from
 “ that part of the *Roman* province called *Cis-*
 “ *alpine Gaul*. The army here mentioned is

“ supposed to be part of those four legions,
 “ which were decreed to *Pompey* for the sup-
 “ port of his government in *Spain*.” *Plut.*
ibid.

^u “ Some of the Tribunes, together with *Melm.*
 “ *Sulpicius*, one of the present Consuls, were
 “ wholly in *Cæsar*’s interest. They thought,
 “ or pretended to think, that it was highly
 “ unjust to divest *Cæsar* of his government be-
 “ fore the time was compleated for which it
 “ had been decreed; of which there remained
 “ about two years unexpired.” *Dio*, xl. p.
 148.

Y. R. 702.
 Bef. Chr.
 50.
 491 Conf.

Y. R. 702.

Marcus Cælius to Cicero.

Ep. Fam.

viii. 5.

Melm. iii.

35. written

22 August.

“ How far you may be alarmed at the invasion which threatens your province and the neighbouring countries, I know not: But for myself, I confess, I am extremely anxious for the consequence. Could we contrive indeed, that the enemies forces should be only in proportion to yours, and *just sufficient to entitle you to the honour of a Triumph*, there could not be a more desirable circumstance. But the misfortune is, if the *Partians* should make any attempt, I well know it will be a powerful one: And I am sensible at the same time, that you are so little in a condition to oppose their march, that you have scarce troops to defend a single defile. But the world in general will not be so reasonable as to make the proper allowances for this circumstance. On the contrary, it is expected from a man in your station, that he should be prepared for every occurrence that may arise: Without once considering whether he be furnished with the necessary supplies for that purpose. I am still the more uneasy on your account, as *I foresee the contest concerning affairs in Gaul will retard the nomination of your successor*: And, though I dare say you have already had this contingency in your view, yet I thought proper to apprize you of its probability, that you might be so much the more early in adjusting your measures accordingly. I need not tell you *the usual artifices will undoubtedly be played off. A day will be appointed for considering of a successor to Cæsar; upon which some Tribune will interpose his negative; and that a second will probably declare, that, unless the Senate shall be at liberty to put the question freely concerning all the provinces in general, he will not suffer it to be debated with regard to any in particular. And thus shall we be trifled with for a considerable time: Possibly indeed two or three years may be spun out by these contemptible arts.*

“ If any thing new had occurred in public affairs, I should, as usual, have sent you the account, together with my sentiments thereupon: But *at present the wheels of our political machine seem to be altogether motionless. Marcellus is still pursuing his former designs concerning the provinces: But he has not yet been able to assemble a competent number of Senators. Had this motion been brought on the preceding year, and had Curio at the same time been Tribune, it would probably have succeeded: But, as affairs are now circumstanced, you are sensible how easy it will be for Cæsar, regardless as he is of the public interest, when it stands in competition with his own, to obstruct all our proceedings.* Farewell.”

Ep. Fam.

viii. 9.

Melm. iii.

34. [dated

Sept. 2.

702.]

Vol. i. 3p.

p. 561.

M. Cælius to Cicero.

——“ I mentioned, in one of my former, that the affair of the provinces would come before the Senate *on the thirteenth of the last month*: Nevertheless,

“ theless, by the intervention of [Caius] Marcellus, the Consul elect, it
 “ was put off to *the first of this instant*. But, when the day arrived, they
 “ could not procure a sufficient number of Senators to be present. It is
 “ now *the second of September*, and nothing has yet been done : And I am
 “ persuaded it will be adjourned to the following year. As far as I can
 “ see therefore, you must be contented to leave the administration of your
 “ province in the hands of some person whom you shall think proper to
 “ appoint for that purpose, as I am well convinced you will not soon be
 “ relieved by a successor. For, as *Gaul* must take the same fate with
 “ the rest of the provinces, any attempt that should be made for settling
 “ the general succession will certainly be obstructed by *Cæsar’s* party.
 “ Of this I have not the least doubt : And therefore I thought it necessary
 “ to give you notice, that you might be prepared to act accordingly.

Y.R. 702.
 Bef. Chr.
 50.
 401 Conf.

“ Your friend *Pompey* openly declares, that *Cæsar* ought not to be admit-
 “ ted as a candidate for the Consulship while he retains his command in
 “ the province *. He voted however against the passing a decree for this
 “ purpose at present. *Scipio* moved, that *the first of March* next might be
 “ appointed for taking into consideration the nominating a successor in the
 “ *Gallic* provinces ; and that this matter should be proposed to the House
 “ separately, and without blending it with any other question. *Balbus*
 “ *Cornelius* was much discomposed at this motion : And I am well assured
 “ he has complained of it to *Scipio* in very strong terms.”

M. Cælius to Cicero.

“ As to public affairs, we had waited several days in ex-
 “ pectation that something would be determined concerning *Gaul* ; fre-
 “ quent motions having been made in the Senate for this purpose, which
 “ were followed by very warm debates. At length, however, it plainly ap-
 “ pearing agreeable to *Pompey’s* sentiments, that *Cæsar’s* command in *Gaul*
 “ should not be continued longer than *the first of March*, the SENATE passed
 “ the following ORDERS and DECREES *.

Ep. Fam.
 viii. 8.
 Melm. iv.
 7. written
 in Octo-
 ber.

“ By AUTHORITY OF THE SENATE, held in the Temple of APOLLO, on
 “ the thirtieth day of September. Signed ; L. Domitius Ahenobarbus ; Q.

Melm.

“ *Pompey*, who contributed more than
 “ any man to the advancement of *Cæsar’s*
 “ power, had lately procured a law, by
 “ which the personal appearance of the latter
 “ was dispensed with, in soliciting the Con-
 “ sular office. But *Pompey* now began to re-
 “ pent : — Not that his own designs were
 “ more favourable to the liberties of *Rome*
 “ than those of *Cæsar* ; but as discovering at
 “ last, that they could not both subsist toge-
 “ ther.”

* When an act passed the Senate in a full Melm.
 House, held according to the prescribed forms, vol. I.
 and without any opposition from the Tri- p. 64.
 bunes (who had the privilege of putting a
 negative upon all proceedings in the Senate)
 it was called a *Senatus consultum*, a decree of
 the Senate. But if any of those essentials were
 wanting, or a Tribune interposed, it was then
 only styled a *Senatus auctoritas*, an ORDER of
 the Senate, and considered as of less authori-
 ty. Maunt.

4 C 2

Cæcilius ;

Y. R. 702. " Cæcilius ; Metellus Pius Scipio ; L. Villius Annalis ; C. Septimius ;
 Ref. Chr. " Caius Lucceius Hirrus ; C. Scribonius Curio ; L. Atteius Capito ; M.
 50. " Oppius. WHEREAS a motion was made by Marcus Marcellus, the Consul,
 409 Conf. " concerning the Consular provinces ; it is ORDERED, that Lucius Paullus
 " and Caius Marcellus, Consuls elect, shall, on the first of March, next fol-
 " lowing their entering upon their office, move the Senate concerning the Consu-
 " lar provinces : At which time no other business shall be proceeded upon, nor
 " any other motion made in conjunction therewith. And for this purpose the
 " Senate shall continue to assemble, notwithstanding the Comitial days, and
 " until a decree shall be passed.

" ORDERED, That, when the Consul shall move the Senate upon the question
 " aforesaid, they shall be empowered to summon such of the three hundred
 " Judges, who are members of the Senate, to attend.

" RESOLVED, That if any matters shall arise upon the question aforesaid,
 " which shall be necessary to be laid before the People, that Servius Sulpicius
 " and Marcus Marcellus, the present Consuls, together with the Prætors
 " and Tribunes of the People, or such of them as shall be agreed upon, shall
 " call an Assembly of the People for that purpose : And if the Magistrates
 " aforesaid shall fail herein, the same shall be proposed to the People by their
 " successors.

" THE THIRTIETH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, in the temple of APOLLO. Sign-
 " ed ; L. Domitius Ahenobarbus ; Q. Cæcilius ; Metellus Pius Scipio ;
 " L. Villius Annalis ; C. Septimius ; C. Scribonius Curio ; M. Oppius.

" The Consul, Marcus Marcellus, having moved the Senate concerning the
 " provinces,

" RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of the Senate, that it will be highly
 " unbecoming any Magistrate, who has a power of controuling their proceed-
 " ings, to occasion any hindrance, whereby the Senate may be prevented from
 " taking the aforesaid motion into consideration as soon as possible : And that
 " whosoever shall obstruct or oppose the same, shall be deemed an enemy to the
 " Republic.

" ORDERED, That if any Magistrate shall put a negative upon the foregoing
 " resolution, the same shall be entered as an ORDER of the Senate, and again
 " referred to the consideration of this House.

" This resolution was protested against by Caius Cælius, Lucius Vinicius,
 " Publius Cornelius, and Caius Vibius Pansa.

Memo.

" The Comitial days were those on
 " which the Comitia or Assemblies of the
 " People were held : And on these days the
 " Law prohibited the Senate to be convened.
 " The Senate, however, in the present in-
 " stance, and upon many other occasions,
 " took upon themselves to act with a dispensing
 " power. See Midd. on the Rom. Sen.
 " p. 121. They had the impudence, as we
 " see, to resolve, That, if the Tribunes made

use of their legal privilege, they should be
 deemed enemies to the Republic. And, what
 is worthy to be observed, the Tribunes, in
 the present case, were using their legal privi-
 lege in support of Justice ; the Senate were
 dispensing with the laws, in order to injure
 and oppress. The Reader will remark, that
 Curio is one of those who sign this resolution
 of the House.

RESOLVED,

“ RESOLVED, *That the Senate will take into consideration the case of such of* ^{Y. R. 702.}
 “ *the soldiers under Cæsar’s command who have served out their legal time* ^{Bef. Chr.} *z, or*
 “ *who, for other reasons, are entitled to a discharge; and make such order* ^{50.}
 “ *thereupon as shall be agreeable to equity.* ^{401 Conf.}

“ RESOLVED, *That, if any Magistrate should put his negative upon the fore-*
 “ *going DECREE, the same shall stand as an ORDER of the Senate, and be again*
 “ *referred to the consideration of this House.*

“ This resolution was protested against by *Caius Cælius* and *Caius Pansa*,
 “ Tribunes of the Peoples.

— “ In the debates which preceded these decrees, *Pompey* let fall an
 “ expression that was much observed, and gave us confident hopes of his
 “ good intentions. *He could not, without great injustice, he said, determine*
 “ *any thing in relation to the provinces under Cæsar’s command, before the*
 “ *first of March: But after that time, he assured the Senate, he should*
 “ *have no sort of scruple. Being asked, what if a negative should then be*
 “ *put upon a decree of the Senate for recalling Cæsar? Pompey answered,*
 “ *he should look upon it as just the same thing, whether Cæsar openly refused*
 “ *to obey the authority of the Senate, or secretly procured some Magistrate to*
 “ *obstruct their decrees. But suppose, said another member, Cæsar should*
 “ *insist upon being a candidate for the Consulship, and at the same time, of*
 “ *retaining his command?*” “ *Suppose, replied Pompey with great temper,*
 “ *my own son shall take a stick and beat me?*” From expressions of this
 “ kind the world has conceived a notion, that a rupture will undoubtedly
 “ ensue between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*. I am of opinion ^a however, that
 “ the latter will submit to one of these two conditions: Either to give up
 “ his present pretensions to the Consulship, and continue in *Gaul*; or to
 “ resign his command of the province, provided he can be assured of his
 “ election. *Curio* is preparing most strongly to oppose his demands. What
 “ he may be able to effect I know not; but sure I am, that a man who
 “ acts upon such patriot principles must gain honour at least, if he gain
 “ nothing else ———.”

FROM *Amanus*, *Cicero* led his army to another part of the Highlands, ^{Midd. 27.}
 the most disaffected to the *Roman* name, possessed by a stout and free peo- ^{Ep. Fam.}
 ple, who had never been subject even to the Kings of that country. Their ^{xv. 4.}
 chief town was called *Pindenissum*, situated on a steep and craggy hill:
 It was the constant refuge of all deserters, and the harbour of foreign

M. Im.

^a As the strength of *Cæsar’s* army in *Gaul* consisted principally in his veterans, this clause was added, as *Gronovius* observes, with a view of drawing off those soldiers from his troops.

Vid. supr.
 p. 551 &
 559.

^a It is remarkable that *Cælius*, the writer of this Letter, whom *Cicero* judged to be an able politician, and to have a longer foresight than any body, was mistaken in almost all his

conjectures; mistaken concerning *Cæsar*, concerning *Curio*, and concerning himself. For *Cæsar* did not submit, &c. and *Curio* took *Cæsar’s* part; and so did *Cælius* himself in the beginning of the civil war. *Cælius* obtained the *Ædileship* this year [702] from his competitor *Hirrus*, formerly *Cicero’s* competitor for the *Augurate*.

I

enemies,

Y. R. 702. enemies, and at that very time was expecting and prepared to receive the
 Bel. Chr. *Partians*. *Cicero* laid siege to it in form; and though he attacked it with
 4. 1. C. 1. all imaginable vigour, and a continual battery of his engines, yet it cost
 him above six weeks to reduce it to the necessity of surrendering at discre-
 tion. The inhabitants were sold for slaves; all the other plunder, except-
 ing the horses, was given to the soldiers.

After this action, another neighbouring nation, called *Tiburani*, terrified
 by the fate of *Pindenissum*, voluntarily submitted, and gave hostages; so that
Cicero sent his army, under the command of his brother, into winter-quar-
 ters, in those parts of the province which were thought the most turbulent.

Ad. A. 1. 29
 Ad. A. 1. 29
 p. 557.

These martial exploits spread *Cicero's* fame into *Syria*, where *Bibulus* was
 just arrived to take upon him the command; but kept himself close within
 the gates of *Antioch* till the country was cleared of all the *Partians*: His
 envy of *Cicero's* success, and title of EMPEROR, made him impatient to
 purchase the same honour by the like service on the Syrian side of the moun-
 tain *Amanus*: But he had the misfortune to be repulsed in his attempt,
 with the intire loss of the first cohort, and several officers of distinction, which
Cicero calls an ugly blow, both for the time and the effect of it.

Ad. A. 1. 29
 vii. 1. and
 Vid. supra,
 p. 557.

Though *Cicero*, for his victory (which he calls a just victory) at *Amanus*,
 had been saluted EMPEROR, and had ever since assumed that appellation,
 yet he sent no public account of it to Rome till after the affair of *Pindenissum*,
 an exploit of more eclat and importance; for which he expected the honour
 of a *Thanksgiving*, and began to entertain hopes even of a *Triumph*. His
 public Letter is lost, but that loss is supplied by a particular narrative of
 the whole action in a private letter to *Cato*. His design, in paying *Cato*
 this compliment, was to engage his vote and concurrence to the decree
 of the *supplication* ¹.

Y. R. 703.
 Melm.
 B. v. Let.
 1. Ep. Fam.
 xv. 4. Ed.
 Gray.

After a detail of his proceedings, and successes from the time of his
 arrival in the province, he thus continues——“ And now, if a motion
 “ should be made in the Senate concerning the honours due to the success
 “ of my arms, I shall esteem it the highest glory to be supported in my
 “ pretensions by your suffrage. I am sensible it is usual for the gravest
 “ characters to request, as well as to be requested for, favours of this nature,
 “ in the strongest terms: But I persuade myself it will be more proper
 “ for me to remind than solicit you in the present instance. You have
 “ frequently indeed, not only distinguished me with your vote, but with
 “ your highest applause, both in the Senate and the Assemblies of the
 “ People. And, believe me, I have ever thought there was so much
 “ weight and authority in all you uttered, that a single word of yours in
 “ my favour was the highest honour I could possibly receive. I remember
 “ upon a certain occasion, when you refused to vote for a public *thanksgiving*,
 “ which was proposed in favour of a very worthy and illustrious Citizen,

¹ *Cicero* wrote at the same time, for the same end, to *C. Claudius Marcellus*, and *P. Æmi-
 lius Paullus*, the two Consuls of the present year 703.

“ you

“ you told the Senate, you should willingly have given your suffrage in
 “ support of the honour in question, had it been designed as a reward for
 “ any *civil* services which that Consul had performed in *Rome*. Agreeably
 “ to this maxim, you formerly concurred in voting that a *public thanks-*
 “ *giving* should be decreed to me, not indeed for having advanced the glory
 “ of our Country by my military achievements (for that would have been
 “ a circumstance nothing uncommon) but for having, in a most singular
 “ and unexampled manner, preserved the liberties of the whole Common-
 “ wealth without drawing a sword. I forbear to mention the general share
 “ you have taken in all the envy, the difficulties, and the dangers, to
 “ which my life has been exposed : And *a far greater you were willing to*
 “ *have taken, if I could have been prevailed upon to have consented*’. I for-
 “ bear to mention likewise that you considered my enemy * as your own :
 “ And that, in order to give me a convincing proof of your great regard,
 “ you scrupled not to shew your approbation even of his death, by defend-
 “ ing *Milo* in the Senate. In return, (and I speak of it, not as a favour
 “ for which you are indebted to me, but as a tribute which I owed to
 “ truth) I have been no silent admirer of your virtues : For who indeed
 “ can suppress his applause of them ? In all my speeches, both in the
 “ Forum and in the Senate, as well as in the several pieces I have pub-
 “ lished, either in our own language or in Greek, I have ever represented
 “ your character as superior, not only to the noblest amongst our con-
 “ temporaries, but to the most celebrated in history.

Y. R. 703.
Bet. Chr.

49.
402 Conf.

Vid. supra.
P. 434, 5.
6, 7.

* Clodius.

“ After all, you will wonder, perhaps, what should induce me to set
 “ so high a value upon these little transient honours of the Senate. I will
 “ acknowledge then the whole truth, and lay open my heart before you
 “ with a freedom becoming that philosophy we cultivate, and that friend-
 “ ship we profess : A friendship delivered down to us from our parents,
 “ and improved by many reciprocal good offices.

“ Let me previously observe, that, *if ever any man was a stranger to the*
 “ *desire of empty applause and vulgar admiration, it is myself* : And this
 “ frame of mind which I possess by temper, has been still strengthened
 “ (if I am not deceived) by reason and philosophy. As an evidence of
 “ this, I appeal to my Consulship ; in which, as in every other part of my
 “ life, though I pursued that conduct, I confess, from whence true honours
 “ might be derived, yet I never thought they were of themselves an ob-
 “ ject worthy of my ambition. On the contrary, I refused the govern-
 “ ment of a very noble province : And, notwithstanding it was highly
 “ probable I might have obtained a Triumph, yet I forbore to prosecute
 “ my pretensions of that kind. I forbore too the offering myself as a
 “ candidate for the office of Augur : Though you are sensible, I dare say,

* This seems to import, that *Cato* would
 have concurred in measures to defend *Cicero*
 by arms, against the sovereign authority of

the People, if *Cicero* had followed that coun-
 sel. But *Plutarch* reports, that *Cato* advised
Cicero to submit. *Plut. in Cat.*

I

“ that

Y. R. 703.
Bel. Chr.
49.
402 Conf.

“ that I might have succeeded without much difficulty. But I will acknowledge, that the injurious treatment I afterwards suffered, though you always speak of it indeed as a circumstance which reflects the highest honour upon my character, and as a misfortune only to the Republic, has rendered me desirous of receiving the most distinguished marks of my Country’s approbation. For this reason I solicited the office of Augur, which I had before declined : And, as little as I once thought the military honours deserved my pursuit, I am now ambitious of that distinction which the Senate usually confers on its successful Generals. I will own, I have some view by this means of healing the wounds of my former unmerited disgrace : And therefore, though I just now declared that I would not *request* your aid on this occasion, I recall my words, and do most earnestly *request* your suffrage and assistance ; upon the supposition, however, that what I have performed in this campaign shall not appear contemptible in your eyes, but, on the contrary, far superior to the actions of many of those Generals who have obtained the most glorious rewards from the Senate.

“ I have observed (and you are sensible I always listen with great attention whenever you deliver your opinions) that as often as any question of this nature has come before the Senate, you were less inquisitive into the military than civil conduct of the Proconsul. It was the political ordinances he had established, and the moral qualities he had displayed, that seemed to have the principal weight in determining your vote. If you should examine my pretensions in this view, you will see, that with a weak and inconsiderable army, I found a strong defence, against the danger of a very formidable invasion, in the lenity and justice of my government. By these aids I effected what I never could by the most powerful legions : I recovered the friendship of our alienated allies, firmly strengthened their allegiance to the Republic, and conciliated their affection at a time when they were waiting the opportunity of some favourable revolution to desert us. But perhaps I have expatiated farther upon this subject than was necessary ; especially to you, *before whom all our allies in general are accustomed to lay their complaints*. To them therefore I refer you for an account of the benefits they have received by my administration. They will all of them as with one voice, I am persuaded, give you the most advantageous testimony in my favour ; but particularly *those illustrious clients of yours, the Cyprians* and

“ *Cappa-*

Vid. supra, p. 554. the note. Midd. p. 21--27. “ The debt above mentioned, that was owing from *Arisbarxanes* to *Brutus*, was not the only affair which the latter had recommended to *Cicero* : He had burdened him with another much more troublesome.

The city of *Salamis* in *Cyprus* owed to two of his friends, as he pretended, *Scaptius* and *Martinus*, above twenty thousand pounds ster-

ling upon bond, at a most extravagant interest ; and he begged of *Cicero* to take their persons and concerns under his special protection. *Appius*, who was *Brutus’s* father-in-law, had granted every thing which was asked to *Scaptius*, a *Præfecture* in *Cyprus*, with some troops of horse, with which he miserably harassed the poor *Salaminians*, in order to force them to comply

“ *Cappadocians* : To whom I may likewise add your great and royal friend,
 “ *Prince Deiotarus*. If thus to act is a merit of the most superior kind,
 “ if,

Y. R. 701
 Bef. Chr.
 49.
 402 Cor.f.

Ad Att.
 vi. 1.

comply with his unreasonable demands : For he shut up their whole Senate in the Council-room, till five of them were starved to death with hunger. Brutus laboured to place him in the same degree of favour with Cicero : But Cicero, being informed at Ephesus of this violence, by a deputation from Salamis, made it the first act of his government to recall the troops from Cyprus, and put an end to Scaptius's Prefecture, having laid it down for a rule, to grant no command to any man, who was concerned in trade, or negotiated money in the province : To give satisfaction however to Brutus, he enjoined the Salaminians to pay off Scaptius's bond, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, that no bond in his province should carry above one per cent. by the month. Scaptius refused to take the money on those terms, insisting on four per cent. as the condition of his bond expressed ; which by computation almost doubled the principal sum ; while the Salaminians, as they protested to Cicero, could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it by his help, and out of his own dues, that he had remitted to them, which amounted to somewhat more than Scaptius's legal demand.

Ad Att.
 v. 21.

This extortion raised Cicero's indignation ; and, notwithstanding the repeated instances of Brutus and Atticus, he was determined to over-rule it ; though Brutus, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confess, what he had all along dissembled, that the debt was really his own, and Scaptius only his agent in it. This surprized Cicero still more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige Brutus, yet he could not consent to so flagrant an injustice, but makes frequent and heavy complains of it in his letters to Atticus. In one of them he says, “ You have

“ now the ground of my conduct ; if Brutus
 “ does not approve it, I see no reason why
 “ we should love him ; but I am sure it will
 “ be approved by his uncle Cato.” In another, “ If Brutus thinks, that I ought to allow him four per cent. when by edict I have decreed but one through all the provinces, and that to the satisfaction of the keenest usurer ; if he complains, that I denied a Prefecture to one concerned in trade, which I denied for that reason to your friend Lanius, and to Sex. Statius, though Torquatus solicited for the one, and Pompey himself for the other, yet without disgusting either of them ; if he takes it ill, that I recalled the troops out of Cyprus, I shall be sorry indeed, that he has any occasion to be angry with me ; but much more, not to find him the man that I took him to be.— I have not forgot, however, what you intimated to me in several of your letters, that if I brought back nothing else from the province but Brutus's friendship, that would be enough : Let it be so, since you will have it so ; yet it must always be with this exception, as far as it can be done, without my committing any wrong.”—In a third,
 “ How, my dear Atticus, you, who applaud
 “ my integrity and good conduct, and are
 “ vexed sometimes, you say, that you are not
 “ with me, how can such a thing, as Ennius
 “ says, come out of your mouth, to desire me
 “ to grant troops to Scaptius, for the sake of
 “ extorting money ? Could you, if you were
 “ with me, suffer me to do it, if I would ?—
 “ If I really had done such a thing, with
 “ what face could I ever read again, or touch
 “ those books of mine, with which you are so
 “ much pleased ? He tells him likewise in
 confidence, that all Brutus's letters to him,
 even when he was asking favours, were un-

Ad Att.
 vi. 2.

Ibid. vi. 1
 & 3.

See Melm. Vol. I. p. 426, note 12 and 13. Vid. supra. p. 568.

* It is very difficult to suppose that Cato was ignorant of his nephew's infamous extortion, and the horrible proceedings of his nephew's agent. For Cato (as Plutarch informs us) having settled a correspondence throughout all the Roman provinces, received constant intelligence of the conduct of the several Governors in their respective commands. And the Cyprians had a particular claim to the patronage of Cato, as he had been employed in executing a commission, by which the island was annexed to the dominions of the Republic. Cicero, in a letter to Cato, calls them (as we see) those illustrious clients of yours—and refers him to them for a testimony of his good conduct in his government, of which Cyprus was a part.

VOL. III.

4 D

mannerly.

Y. R. 703
Bef. Chr.49.
Conf.

“ if, in all ages, the number has been far less considerable of those who
 “ knew how to subdue their desires than to vanquish their enemies, he
 “ that has given an instance of both, cannot certainly but be deemed, in
 “ *Cato's* estimation at least, to have strengthened his claim to the honours
 “ of his country, and to have improved the splendor of his military at-
 “ chievements, by the more unusual lustre of his civil conduct.

“ Let me in the last place, and as in diffidence of my own solicitations,
 “ call in Philosophy for my advocate; than which nothing has afforded
 “ me a more valuable satisfaction. The truth is, she is one of the noblest
 “ blessings that the Gods have bestowed on man. At her shrine we have
 “ both of us, from our earliest years, paid our joint and equal adorations :
 “ And, while she has been thought, by some, the companion only of in-
 “ dolent and secluded speculatists, we (and we alone I had almost said) have
 “ introduced her into the world of business, and familiarized her with the
 “ most active and important scenes. She therefore it is that now solicits
 “ you in my behalf; and when Philosophy is the suppliant, *Cato*, surely,
 “ can never refuse. To say all in one word: Be well assured, if I should
 “ prevail with you to concur in procuring a decree I so much wish to ob-
 “ tain, I shall consider myself as wholly indebted for that honour to your
 “ authority and friendship. Farewell.”

Mid. p.
29.

But *Cato* was not to be moved from his purpose by these compliments, or
 motives of friendship: He was an enemy by principle to all decrees of
 this kind, and thought them bestowed too cheaply, and prostituted to oc-
 casions unworthy of them; so that, when *Cicero's* letters came under deli-
 beration, though he spoke with all imaginable honour and respect of *Cicero*,
 and highly extolled both his *civil and military administration*, yet he voted
*against the supplication*¹, which was decreed however, without any other
 dissenting voice, except that of *Favonius*, who loved always to mimic *Cato*,
 and of *Hirrus*, who had a personal quarrel with *Cicero*: Yet, when the
 vote was over, *Cato himself assisted in drawing up the decree, and had his*
name inserted in it, which was the usual mark of a particular approbation
 of the thing, and friendship to the person in whose favour it passed. But
Cato's answer to *Cicero's* letter will shew the temper of the man, and the
 grounds on which he acted on this occasion.

Ep. Fam.
xv. 6.

*mannerly, charliffe, and arrogant, without re-
 garding either what or to whom he was writ-
 ing; and, if he continued in that humour, you
 may leave him alone, says he, you shall have no
 rival of me; but he will come, I believe, to a
 better mind. But, to shew, after all, what a
 real inclination he had to oblige him, he ne-
 ver left urging King Ariobarzanes till he had
 squeezed from him a hundred talents, in part of
 Brutus's debt, or about twenty thousand pounds;*

the same sum, probably, which had been
 destined to *Cicero* himself.

¹ *Cicero* had undoubtedly no claim to the Melm.
 honour he demanded; and for this reason, Vol. II.
 among others, because the number of the p. 51.
 slain, on the side of the enemy, was not so
 great as the laws in these cases required; as
 is evident from a letter of *Cælius* to *Cicero*
 on the subject. Vid. Ep. Fam. VIII. ii.
 Melm. vi. 6.

M. Cato to M. T. Cicero, Emperor.

Y. R. 703.
Ref. Chr.

“ Not only my regard for the Republic, but my affection for you,
“ makes me very sincerely rejoice in finding, that you exercise the same
“ integrity and vigilance in the conduct of our arms abroad, as distin-
“ guished your administration of our most important affairs at home. I
“ have therefore paid your actions that honour, which, according to my
“ best judgment, was due to them : And, in speaking of them before the
“ Senate, as well as afterwards, when I assisted in drawing up the decree
“ in your favour, I ascribed to your probity and prudent conduct the de-
“ fence of your province, the preservation of the crown and person of
“ *Ariobarzanes*, and the recovery of the allies to their duty and affection
“ to our empire. If you rather chuse, however, that we should ascribe
“ to the Gods those advantages, for which the Republic is not at all in-
“ debted to fortune, but wholly to your moderation and consummate wis-
“ dom, I am glad that the Senate has decreed a *thanksgiving*. But if your
“ willingness to let fortune have the credit of your actions be for this
“ reason, that you imagine a *thanksgiving* necessarily opens your way to
“ a *triumph*, I must observe, that the latter is not always a consequence
“ of the former. Yet granting it were, *is it not far more to the honour of*
“ *a General to have it declared, by a vote of the Senate, that he preserved*
“ *his province by the mildness and equity of his administration, than that he*
“ *owed it either to the strength of his troops, or to the favour of the Gods?*
“ such, at least, were my sentiments when this question came before the
“ House : And, if I have employed more words than usual in explaining
“ them, it was from a desire of convincing you, that, though I proposed
“ to the Senate what I thought would be most for the advantage of your
“ reputation, I rejoice that they have determined what is most agreeable
“ to your wishes. I have only to request the continuance of your friend-
“ ship ; and to intreat you steadily to persevere in those paths of integrity
“ which you have hitherto pursued, both in respect to our allies and to the
“ Republic.” Farewell.”

Caesar

Melm.
Vol. I. p.
31. n. 1.

“ This letter (to speak in Virtuoso lan-
“ guage) is an *unique*, and extremely valuable,
“ as being the only composition that has been
“ transmitted to us from the hands of *Cato*.
“ It confirms what *Plutarch* expressly asserts,
“ that *Cato's* manners were by no means of a
“ rough and unpolished cast, as no refusal
“ could have been drawn up in more decent and
“ civil terms. A judicious eye, however, can-
“ not but discern, through this veil of polite-
“ nefs, the nice touches of a delicate and con-
“ cealed raillery.”—Nevertheless, as *Cicero*

had a farther suit to make to the Senate, in
the demand of a triumph, he chose to dissemble
his resentment, and returned the following ci-
vil answer to *Cato*.

To Marcus Cato.

“ Praise from thy lips 'tis mine with joy to
boast :
“ He best can give it, who deserves it most :
Ep. Fam.
xv. 6.
Melm. v.
10.

4 D 2

“ As

Y. R. 703.

Midd. 31.

Ad Att.

i. i. 2.

Cæsar was not displeased, perhaps, to hear of *Cato's* stiffness, as it might naturally create a coldness between him and *Cicero*: For, in a congratulatory letter to *Cicero* upon the success of his arms, and the *supplication* decreed in his honour, he aggravated the rudeness and ingratitude of *Cato*. *Cicero* himself was highly disgusted at it, especially when *Cato* soon afterwards voted a *supplication* to his son-in law *Bibulus*. *Cato*, says *Cicero*, was shamefully malicious; he gave me what I did not ask, a character of integrity, justice, and clemency, but denied me what I did.—Yet this same man voted a *supplication* of twenty days to *Bibulus*: Pardon me if I cannot bear this usage.

Midd. 38.

Ad Att.

vi. 8.

Vid. supr.

p. 406 &

413

Ad Att.

vii. 2.

Cicero, in writing afterwards to *Atticus* on the same subject, says, “Consider what you would advise me with regard to a Triumph, to which my friends invite me: For my part, if *Bibulus*, who, while there was a *Parthian* in *Syria*, never set a foot out of the gates of *Antioch*, any more than he did upon a certain occasion out of his own house”, “had not solicited a triumph, I should have been quiet; but now it is a shame to sit still.” Again, “As to a Triumph, I had no thoughts of it before *Bibulus's* most impudent letters, by which he obtained

“As *Hætor*, I think, says to the venerable *Priam* in one of *Nævius's* plays. Honourable indeed is that applause which is bestowed by those who have themselves been the constant object of universal approbation. Accordingly, I esteem the encomiums you conferred upon me in the Senate together with your congratulatory letter as a distinction of the highest and most illustrious kind. Nothing could be more agreeable to my wishes, as nothing could be more glorious for my reputation, than your having thus freely given to friendship whatever you could strictly give to truth. Were *Rome* entirely composed of *Catos*, or could it produce many (as it is surprizing it can furnish even one) of that venerable character, my desires would be amply satisfied: And I should prefer your single approbation to all the laurels and all the triumphal cars in the universe. In my own judgment, indeed, and according to the refined estimate of true philosophy, the compliments you paid me in the Senate, and which have been transmitted to me by my friends, are undoubtedly the most significant distinction I can possibly receive. I acquainted you, in my former letter, with the particular motives which induced me to be de-ferous (for I will not call it ambitious) of a triumph: And if the reasons I have assigned will not, in your opinion, justify a warm pur-

“suit of that honour, they must prove, at least, that I ought not to refuse it, if the Senate should make me the offer. And I hope that Assembly, in consideration of my services in this province, will not think me undeserving of a reward so usually conferred. If I should not be disappointed in this hope, my only request is, (what indeed you kindly promise) that, as you have paid me the honour you thought most to my glory, you would rejoice in my obtaining those which are most to my inclination. And this disposition you have already very sincerely shewn, not only by your letter, but by having signed the decree that has passed in my favour. For decrees of this kind, I know, are usually subscribed by those who are most in the interest of the person to whose honour they are voted. I will only add, that I hope to see you very soon: And may I find the Republic in a happier situation than what my fears presage! Farewell.”

* *N. B.* This is that *Bibulus*, of whose lot, when the contempt he met with abroad made him shut himself up in his own house, *Cicero* once said, or pretends to have said, even in the presence of *Pompey*, that he preferred it, unhappy as it might appear, to all the splendid Triumphs of the most victorious General. Vide supra, p. 510.

“ an

“ an honourable supplication. If he had really done all that he has
 “ written, I should rejoice at it, and wish well to his suit; but for him
 “ who never stirred beyond the walls while there was an enemy on this side
 “ the *Euphrates*⁴⁹, to have such an honour decreed; and for me, whose
 “ army inspired all their hopes and spirits into his, not to obtain the same,
 “ will be a disgrace to us; I say to us, joining you to myself: Wherefore
 “ I am determined to push at all, and hope to obtain all.”

Y. R. 703
 Bef. Chr.
 49.
 402 Conf.

The remaining part of *Cicero's* government was employed in the civil
 affairs of the province, where his whole care was to ease the several cities
 and districts of that excessive load of debts, in which the avarice and
 rapaciousness of former Governors had involved them. He laid it down
 for the first rule of his administration, not to suffer *any money to be expended*
either upon himself or his officers: And when one of his Lieutenants, *L.*
Tullius, in passing through the country, *exacted only the forage and firing*
which was due by law, and that but once a-day, and not, as all others had done
before, from every town and village through which they passed, he was much
 out of humour, and could not help complaining of it, *as a stain upon his*
government, since none of his people besides had taken even a single farthing.
 All the wealthier cities of the province used to pay to all their Proconsuls
 large contributions, *for being exempted from furnishing winter-quarters to the*
army: *Cyprus* alone had paid yearly, on this single account, *two hundred*
talents, or about forty thousand pounds: But *Cicero* remitted this whole
 tax to them, which alone made a vast revenue; and applied all the custo-
 mary perquisites of his office to the relief of the distressed province: Yet for
 all his services and generosity which amazed the poor people, he would
 accept no honours but what were merely verbal, prohibiting all expensive
 monuments, *as statues, temples, brazen horses, &c.* which, by the flattery
 of *Asia*, used to be erected of course to all Governors, though never so
 corrupt and oppressive. While he was upon his visitation of the *Asiatic*
districts, there happened to be a kind of famine in the country; yet,
 wherever he came, he not only provided for his family as his own expence,
 but prevailed with the merchants and dealers, who had any quantity
 of corn in their storehouses, *to supply the people with it on easy terms*; *Ad Att.*
 living himself all the while *splendidly and hospitably, and keeping an open table*, *v. 15.*
not only for all the Roman officers, but the gentry of the province. In the

Midd. 33.
 Ad Att.
 v. 21.

Midd. 15. ² After the contemptible account which *Ci-*
cero gives of *Bibulus's* conduct in *Syria*, it
 must appear strange to see him honoured with
 a *supplication*, and aspiring even to a *triumph*:
 But this was not for any thing that he him-
 self had done (for he had suffered ^{*} a defeat)
 but for what, before the arrival of *Bibulus*,
 his Lieutenant *Cassius* had performed against
 the *Parthians*; the success of the Lieutenants

being ascribed always to the auspices of the
 General, who reaped the reward and glory of
 it: And as the *Parthians* were the most dan-
 gerous enemies of the Republic, and the more
 particularly dreaded at this time for their
 late victory over *Crassus*, so any advantage
 gained against them was sure to be well re-
 ceived at *Rome*, and repaid with all the ho-
 nours that could reasonably be demanded.

following

V.R. 703. following letter to *Atticus* he gives him a summary view of his manner of governing.

Ad Att.
vi. 2.

" I see, says he, that you are much pleased with my moderation and
" abstinence; but you would be much more so, if you were with me;
" especially at *Laodicea*, where I did wonders at the sessions, which I have
" just held, for the affairs of the dioceses, *from the thirteenth of February*
" *to the first of May*. Many cities were wholly freed from all their debts;
" many greatly eased; and all, by being allowed to govern themselves
" by their own laws, have recovered new life. There are two ways,
" by which I have put them in a capacity of freeing, or of easing
" themselves at least from their debts; the one is by suffering no expence
" at all to be made on the account of my government. When I say
" none at all, I speak not hyperbolically; there is not so much as a far-
" thing: It is incredible to think, what relief they have found from this
" single article. The other is this; their own *Greek* Magistrates had
" strangely abused and plundered them. I examined every one of them
" who had borne any office for ten years past: They all plainly confessed;
" and, without the ignominy of a public conviction, made restitution
" of the money, which they had pillaged: So that the people, who had
" paid nothing to our farmers for the present lustrum, have now paid the
" arrears of the last, even without murmuring. This has placed me in
" high favour with the publicans: A grateful set of men, you will say;
" I have really found them such.—The rest of my jurisdiction shall be
" managed with the same address, and create the same admiration of my
" clemency and easiness'. There is no difficulty of access to me, as there
" is

Cibb. p.
178.

Surely a corrupt and vicious taste for glory was never more visible in any man than it is in *Cicero*, when he effects to despise* his provincial government of *Cilicia*; where he had done more good and deserved more praise, than in any one scene of his life; having, agreeably to his determined purpose, when he entered upon that employment, so conducted himself as to leave the innocence and integrity of his administration for a pattern of government to all succeeding Proconsuls. But, though he had there (as our late Laureate observes) " thrown into
" actual practice those various virtues, of
" which, as a private man, he had hitherto on-
" ly recommended the precepts; yet so quiet,
" so confined an eminence, such simplicity of
" virtue, alas! had no charms for *Cicero*.

" *The thing itself was quite disagreeable to his* Vid. *supr.*
" *temper*. And truly a temper more delicately p. 549.
" difficult to please we seldom meet with;
" yet was not this distaste more extraordinary
" than the reasons for it. — *The whole affair*
" *is too inconsiderable for a man of my strength*
" *and capacity, who am able to sustain, as I*
" *used to do, the weightier business of the Re-*
" *public*. [*Istum negotium non est dignum viri-*
" *bis nostris, qui majora onera, in Republica,*
" *sustinere et possem et soleam.*"]

This weightier business of the Republic, if we consider the whole political conduct of *Cicero*, we must observe to be mere party-business; nothing more than employing his utmost eloquence to defend the Senate in its usurpations upon the rights of the People,

Ep. Fam.
L. 12.
Mém. iv.
4.

* When just setting out from his province for *Italy*, he writes thus to *Caesar*: " *Rome*, my friend, *Rome* alone, is the object that merits your attention: And may you ever live within the splendor of that illustrious scene! All foreign employments (and it was my sentiment from my first entrance into the world) are below the ambition of those who have talents to distinguish themselves on that more conspicuous theatre. And would to God, as I was ever well convinced of this truth, I had always acted accordingly."

and

“ is to all other provincial Governors; no introduction by my Chamberlain: I am always up before day, and walking in my hall, with my doors open, as I used to do when a candidate at Rome: This is great and gracious here; though not at all troublesome to me, from my old habit and discipline, &c.—”².

But Cicero's method of governing gave no small umbrage, it seems, to his predecessor Appius, who considered it as a reproach upon himself, and sent several querulous letters to Cicero, because he had reversed some of his constitutions: “ And no wonder, says Cicero, that he is displeased with my manner; for what can be more unlike than his administration and mine? Under him the province was drained by expences and exactions; under me, not a penny levied for public or private use: What shall I say of his Praefects, Attendants, Lieutenants? Of their plunders, rapines, injuries? Whereas now, there is not a single family governed with such order, discipline, and modesty, as my province. This some of Appius's friends interpret ridiculously, as if I was taking pains to exalt my own character, in order to depress his; and doing all this, not for the sake of my own credit, but of his disgrace.”

Cicero's letters to Appius make one book of his familiar epistles, the greatest part of which are of the expostulatory kind, on the subject of their mutual jealousies and complaints. In this slippery state of their friendship, an accident happened at Rome, which had like to have put an end to it. His daughter Tullia, after parting from her second husband Crassipes, as it is probably thought, by divorce, he being alive at

and to defend every super-egregious villain who professed himself his admirer, or to be of the Aristocratical faction; because, so long as the Senate governed with sovereign authority, so long Cicero, by the means of that same eloquence, had a considerable share in the government.

For, as to what the Laureate imagines, that Cicero's great object was “ to mend the morals of Rome, an enterprize not within the reach of human policy, benevolence, or wisdom to effect,” it does not appear that Cicero had any such chimerical project. Ill qualified must he have been for a Reformer of manners, who made it his business to screen from punishment the most notorious violators of the laws, even corrupt Judges, that sold decrees. Vid. supra, 394 & 399. He employed his eloquence to defend Antonius, of whose robberies he shared the profit: He defended Vatinius and Gabinius, men whom he himself had branded for knaves; and, as we have seen, was ready to defend Catiline, if Catiline would have requested that

favour. Vid. supra, p. 318. Even in the suppression of Catiline's Conspiracy, which he for ever boasts of as the most glorious of all exploits, his manner of doing it was absolutely illegal and inexcusable, and of so pernicious a tendency, that he seems richly to have deserved the banishment to which he was condemned on that account. Vide supra, p. 368. the note; and 379.

² What pity it is that a man who knew so well what was right, and could occasionally confirm his conduct so strictly to it, should appear, even by his own account of himself, to have had no better motive for so doing than mere vain-glory, and the desire of applause; and should be all the while a detestable hypocrite, a villain in his heart, and so shameless as to make no scruple to own to his intimate friend, that he practised falshood and hypocrisy without scruple, and as a necessary means to the living comfortable in the world. We shall meet with this confession very soon, in one of his letters.

this

Y. R. 703. this time, and under *Cicero's* displeasure, was married, in her father's
 absence, to a third, *P. Cornelius Dolabella*: Several parties had been
 offered to her, and, among these, *Tib. Claudius Nero*, who afterwards
 married *Livia*, whom *Augustus* took away from him: *Nero* made his
 proposals to *Cicero* in *Cilicia*, who referred him to the women, to whom
 he had left the management of that affair; but, before these overtures
 reached them, they had made up the match with *Dolabella*, being
 mightily taken with his complaisant and obsequious address. He was a
 nobleman of *Patrician* descent, and of great parts and politeness; but of
 a violent, daring, ambitious temper, and, by a life of pleasure and ex-
 pence, greatly distressed in his fortunes; which made *Cicero* very uneasy
 when he came afterwards to know it. *Dolabella*, at the time of his mar-
 riage, for which he made way also by the divorce of his first wife, gave a
 proof of his enterprizing genius, by impeaching *Appius Claudius* of prac-
 tices against the state in his government of *Cilicia*, and of bribery and cor-
 ruption in his suit for the *Consulship*. This put a great difficulty upon
Cicero, and made it natural to suspect that he privately favoured the im-
 peachment, where the accuser was his son-in-law: But, in clearing him-
 self of it to *Appius*, though he dissembled in disclaiming any knowledge
 of that match, yet he was very sincere in professing himself an utter
 stranger to the impeachment, and was in truth, for his own sake, greatly
 disturbed at it. But as, from the circumstance of his succeeding to *Appius*
 in his government, he was of all men the most capable of serving or hurt-
 ing him at the trial, so *Pompey*, who took great pains to screen *Appius*,
 was extremely desirous to engage *Cicero* on their side, and had thoughts
 of sending one of his sons to him for that purpose: But *Cicero* saved them
 that trouble, by declaring early and openly for *Appius*, and promising
 every thing from the province that could be of any service to him: So that
Appius, instead of declining a trial, contrived to bring it on as soon as he
 could; and with that view, having dropt his pretensions to a *Triumph*,
 entered the City, and offered himself to his Judges, before his accuser
 was prepared for him: He was acquitted, without any difficulty, of both
 the indictments.

The following letters not only lay before the base hypocritical conduct
 of *Cicero*, with regard to *Appius* and *Dolabella*, but contain several impor-
 tant particulars of what at this time was doing at *Rome* in relation to *Pompey*
 and *Cæsar*, and the approaching breach between them.

Marcus Cælius to Cicero.

Ep. Fam. vii. 6. " You have been informed, I doubt not, that *Dolabella* has exhibited
 Mem. v. 5. " articles of impeachment against *Appius*: And this prosecution seems to be
 " more agreeable to the world in general than I imagined. *Appius* however
 " has acted with great prudence upon the occasion: For, as soon as his ad-
 " versary

“ versary had lodged his information, he withdrew his petition for a
 “ Triumph, and immediately entered the City. By this means he silenced
 “ the reports to his disadvantage; as he appeared more willing to take his
 “ trial than his prosecutor expected. *Appius* relies greatly, in this con-
 “ juncture, upon your assistance: And, I am persuaded, you are not disinclined
 “ to serve him. You have it now in your power to do so, as far as you
 “ shall think proper: Though I must add, you would be more at liberty
 “ to limit your good offices toward him, if you and he had never been
 “ ill together. But, as the case now stands, were you to measure out
 “ your services by the right he has to demand them, it might be suspected
 “ that you were not sincere in your reconciliation: Whereas you can
 “ hazard no censure by obliging him, as you will shew that you are not
 “ to be discouraged from acting a generous part, even where *friendship*
 “ might incline you to the contrary. This reminds me of acquainting
 “ you, that *Dolabella's* wife obtained a divorce just upon the commence-
 “ ment of this prosecution. I remember the commission^a you left with me,
 “ when you set out for the province: As, I dare say, you have not forgotten
 “ what I afterwards wrote to you concerning that affair. I have not time
 “ to enlarge upon it at present: Only let me advise you, how much soever you
 “ may relish the scheme, to wait the event of this trial, before you discover
 “ your sentiments. If, indeed, your inclinations should be known, it will raise
 “ a very invidious clamour against you: And should you give *Dolabella*
 “ the least intimation of them, they will certainly become more public than
 “ will be convenient either for your interest or your honour. He would
 “ undoubtedly be unable to conceal a circumstance so advantageous to his
 “ present views, and which would give so much credit to the prosecution
 “ in which he is engaged: And, I am persuaded, he would scarce refrain
 “ from making it the subject of his conversation, notwithstanding he was
 “ sure the discovery would prove to his prejudice.

“ *Pompey*, I am told, interests himself extremely in behalf of *Appius*;
 “ inasmuch that it is generally imagined he has a design of sending one
 “ of his sons to solicit you in his favour. Mean while we are in the
 “ humour here of acquitting all criminals: Nothing, in truth, so base and so
 “ villainous can be perpetrated, that is not sure of escaping punishment.
 “ You will perceive how wondrously active our Consuls are in their office,
 “ when I tell you that they have not yet been able to procure a single
 “ decree of the Senate, except one for appointing the *Latian* festivals.
 “ Even our friend *Curio* has not hitherto acted with any spirit in his
 “ *Tribunate*: As indeed it is impossible to describe the general indolence that
 “ has seized us. If it were not for my contest with the vintners, and the

^a It seems very evident from this passage, that there was some prospect of a divorce between *Dolabella* and his wife before *Cicero* left Rome; and that *Cicero* had commissioned Cœ-

lius, in case this event should happen, to take some measures for procuring a match between *Dolabella* and his daughter *Tullia*. *Melm.* Vol. I. p. 438.

Y. R. 23. " surveyors of the public acqueducts, all *Rome* would appear in a profound
 B. f. Ch. " lethargy. In short, I know not to what degree the *Parthians* may have
 40. " animated *you*: But as for us, in this part of the world, we are fast asleep.
 — " But how much soever we may want to be awakened, I hope it will not
 " be by the *Parthians*. It is reported, nevertheless, though I know not on
 V. f. 23. " what foundation, that they have gained some slight advantage over the
 1. f. 10. " troops of *Bibulus* near mount *Amanus*.

" Since I wrote the above, I must recall what I said concerning *Curio*:
 " The cold fit is at length expelled by the *warmth* of those censures to
 " which the levity of his conduct has exposed him. For, not being able
 " to carry his point with respect to the *intercalation* [*for which he had ap-*
 " *plied himself to the Pontifical college, in order to lengthen out the period*
 " *of his Tribunician ministry*] he has deserted the interest of the Senate,
 " and harangued the People in favour of *Cæsar*. He threatens likewise
 " to propose a *Viarian* Law, somewhat of the same tendency with the
 " *Agrarian*, which was formerly attempted by *Rullus*: As also another,
 " empowering the *Ædiles* to distribute corn among the People.

" If you should determine (as I think you ought) to employ your good
 " offices in behalf of *Appius*, I beg you would take that opportunity
 " of recommending me to his favour. *Let me prevail with you likewise*
 " *not to declare yourself with respect to Dolabella; as your leaving that*
 " *point at large will be of singular importance, not only to the affair I hint*
 " *at, but also in regard to the opinion the world will entertain of your justice*
 " *and honour*.

" Will it not be a high reflection upon you, if I should not be furnished
 " with some *Grecian* panthers? Farewell."

To Marcus Cælius.

R. p. E. m.
 B. 11.
 N. m. 7.
 12.

" Would you imagine I should ever be at a loss for words? I do not
 " mean of that chosen and elegant kind which are the privilege of you
 " celebrated Orators, but those of ordinary and common use. Yet,
 " believe me, I am utterly incapable of expressing the solicitude I feel
 " concerning the resolutions that may be taken in the Senate in regard
 " to the provinces. I am extremely impatient indeed to return to my
 " friends at *Rome*: Among which number you are principally in my
 " thoughts. I will confess likewise, that *I am quite satiated with my*
 " *government*. For, in the first place, *I have more reason to apprehend*
 " *that some reverse of fortune may deprive me of the glory I have here acquired,*
 " *than to expect I should be able to raise it higher*: And, in the next place,
 " *I cannot but look upon the whole business of this scene as much inferior to*
 " *my strength; which is both able and accustomed to support a far more*
 " *important weight*. I will acknowledge too, that *I am uneasy in the ex-*
 " *pectation of a very terrible war [with the Parthians] which is like to be*
 " *kindled*

" kindled in this part of the world; and which I may probably escape, if I
 " should obtain my dismissal at the stated time. Y. R. 703.
Bef. Ch.

" I do not forget the panthers you desired; and have given my orders 29.
402 Cons.
 " to the persons usually employed in hunting them: But these animals are
 " exceedingly scarce with us. They take it so unkind, you must know,
 " that they should be the only creatures in my province for whom any
 " snares are laid, that they have withdrawn themselves from my govern-
 " ment, and are gone into *Caria*.—Be well assured the honour of your
 " Ædileship is much my care: And *this day* particularly reminds me of it,
 " as it is the festival of the *Megalensian games*," [which were under the
 " conduct of the *Curule Ædiles*, of whom *Coelius* was now one. The festival
 " began on the fourth of April, and continued six days.

" I hope you will send me a minute detail of our public affairs; as I
 " have an entire dependance on the accounts which are transmitted to me
 " by your hand. Farewell."

To *Marcus Caelius Curule Ædile*.

" YOUR very agreeable letters visit me but seldom: Perhaps by some Ep. F. m.
 " accident or other they lose their way. *How full was the last* * *which came* 1. 13.
N. m.
 " to my hands of the most prudent and obliging advice! I had determined in- v 15.
 " deed to act in the manner you recommend: But it gives an additional strength * Vid. sup.
P. 576.
 " to one's resolution, to find them agreeable to the sentiments of so
 " faithful and so judicious a friend. I have often assured you of my extreme
 " affection for *Appius*: And I had reason to believe, after our mutual
 " reconciliation, that he entertained the same favourable disposition to-
 " wards me. For he distinguished me, in his Consulate, with great marks
 " of honour and amity.—I appeal to you, that I was not wanting, on
 " my part, in a suitable return And, indeed, he stood so much the higher
 " in my esteem, as I was sensible of the affection he had conceived for you.
 " Add to this, that I am, as you well know, wholly devoted to *Pompey*,
 " and tenderly attached also to *Brutus*. Can I then want a reason of
 " uniting myself with *Appius*, thus supported, as he is, by the most
 " powerful friends and alliances, and flourishing in every other advantage
 " that can be derived from affluent possessions, in conjunction with great
 " abilities?—Believe me, I have never said or done the least thing,
 " throughout the whole course of my government, with a view of pre-
 " judicing his reputation. And now, that my friend *Dolabella* has
 " so rashly attacked him, I am exerting all my good offices to dissipate
 " the rising storm with which he is threatened. You mentioned some-
 " thing of a lethargic inactivity that had seized the Republic. I rejoiced,
 " no doubt, to hear that you were in a state of such profound tranquillity,
 " as well as that our spirited friend* was so much infected with this gene- * Curio.
 " ral indolence, as not to be in a humour of disturbing it. But the last

Y. R. 703. " paragraph of your letter, which was written, I observed, with your own
 Bef. Chr. " hand, changed the scene, and somewhat indeed discomposed me. Is Cu-
 43. " rio really then become a convert to *Cæsar*? But, extraordinary as this
 402 Cæf. " event may appear to others, believe me, it is agreeable to what I al-
 " ways suspected. Good Gods! how do I long to laugh with you at the
 " ridiculous farce which is acting in your part of the world!

" I have finished my juridical circuit; and not only settled the finances
 " of the several cities upon a more advantageous basis, but secured to the
 " farmers of the revenues the arrears due to their former agreements,
 " without the least complaint from any of the parties concerned. In short,
 " I have given entire satisfaction to all orders and degrees of men in this
 " province. I propose, therefore, to set out for *Cilicia on the seventh of*
 " *May*. From whence, after having just looked upon the troops in their
 " summer cantonment, and settled some affairs relating to the army, I in-
 " tend, agreeably to the decree of the Senate for that purpose, to set for-
 " ward to *Rome*. I am extremely impatient, indeed, to return to my friends;
 " but particularly to you, whom I much wish to see in the administration
 " of your *Ædileship*.—Farewell."

To *Appius Pulcher*.

Ep. Fam.
 lib. 10.
 Melm.
 1. 1.

" WHEN I first received an account of the ill-judged prosecution which
 " had been commenced against you, it gave me great concern; as nothing
 " could possibly have happened that I less expected. But, as soon as I
 " had recovered from my surprise, I was well satisfied that you will easily
 " disappoint the malice of your enemies; as I have the highest confi-
 " dence in your own judicious conduct for that purpose; as well as a very
 " great one in that of your friends. I see many reasons, indeed, to be-
 " lieve, that *the envy of your adversaries will only brighten that character*
 " *they meant to sully*. Though I cannot but regret, that they should have
 " thus snatched from you an honour you so justly merit, and of which
 " you had so well-grounded an assurance; the honour I mean of a *Tri-*
 " *umph*. However, you will shew your judgment, if you should consider this
 " pompous distinction in the light it has ever appeared to my own view;
 " and at the same time enjoy a triumph of the completest kind, in the confu-
 " sion and disappointment of your enemies: As I am well convinced, that the
 " vigorous and prudent exertion of your power and influence will give
 " them full reason to repent of their violent proceedings. As for myself,
 " be well assured (and I call every God to witness the sincerity of what I pro-
 " mise) that I will exert my utmost interest in support, I will not say of your
 " person, which I hope, is in no danger, but of your dignities and honour.
 " To this end, I shall employ my best good offices for you in this province,
 " where you once presided; and employ them with all the warmth of an
 " intercessor, with all the assiduity of a relation, with all the influence
 " of

Vid. Supr.
 P. 575.

“ of a man, who, I trust, is dear to those cities, and with all the authority
 “ of one who is invested with the supreme command. In a word, I hope
 “ you will both ask and expect of me every service in my power: And,
 “ believe me, I shall give you greater proofs of my affection than you
 “ are disposed, perhaps to imagine. Notwithstanding, therefore, the letter
 “ I received from you by the hands of *Quintus Servilius* was extremely
 “ short, yet I could not but think it much too long: For it *was doing an*
 “ *injury to the sentiments of my heart, to suppose you had any occasion to so-*
 “ *licit my assistance.* I am sorry you should have an opportunity of ex-
 “ perienicing, by an incident so little agreeable to you, *the rank you bear*
 “ *in my affection, the esteem which I entertain for Pompey, whom I justly*
 “ *value above all men, and the measure of my unfeigned regard for Brutus:*
 “ Circumstances, I should hope, of which our daily intercourse had ren-
 “ dered you sufficiently sensible. However, since it has so happened, I
 “ *should think I acted a most unworthy, not to say a criminal part, if I were*
 “ *to omit any article wherein my services can avail you.*

“ *Pontinius* remembers the singular instances of friendship he has re-
 “ ceived from you, and of which I myself was a witness^b, with all the
 “ gratitude and affection to which you have so undoubted a right. The
 “ urgency of his affairs had obliged him, though with great reluctance, to
 “ leave me. Nevertheless, having been informed, just as he was going to
 “ embark at *Ephesus*, that his presence in this province might be of ad-
 “ vantage to your cause, he immediately returned back to *Laodicea*. I am
 “ persuaded you will meet with numberless such instances of zeal upon
 “ this occasion: Can I doubt then that this troublesome affair will prove,
 “ in the conclusion, greatly to your credit?

“ If you should be able to bring on an election of CENSORS, and should
 “ exercise that office in the manner you certainly ought, and for which you are
 “ so perfectly well qualified, you can never want that authority in the
 “ Republic which will afford at once a protection both to yourself and
 “ your friends. Let me intreat, therefore, your most strenuous endeavours
 “ to prevent my administration from being prolonged: That, after having
 “ filled up the measure of my affectionate services to you here, I may have
 “ the satisfaction also of presenting them to you at Rome.

“ I read with pleasure, though by no means with surprize, the account
 “ you gave me of that general zeal which all orders and degrees of men
 “ have shewn in your cause: A circumstance of which I had likewise been
 “ informed by my other friends*. It affords me great satisfaction to find,
 “ * Vid. sup.
 “ P. 576.

^b *Pontinius* met with so strong an opposi-
 tion to his claim of a triumph for quelling
 the *Allobroges*, and particularly from *Cato*,
 that it was four years before his petition was
 granted. *Appius* was then Consul, and fa-
 voured him. *Vid. supra*, p. 576.

^c *N. B. Cicero*, while he wrote this, thought
 no man less qualified for the office than
Appius; whose projects of reformation are a
 subject of ridicule to him and his correspon-
 dent *Calpurnius*. *Ep. Fam. viii. 14.*

Y. R. 703. " that a man, with whom I have the honour and pleasure to be so intimately
 Bef Chr. " united, is thus distinguished with that universal approbation he so justly
 49. " deserves. But I rejoice in this upon another consideration likewise;
 400 Conf. " and as it is a proof that there still remains a general disposition in Rome
 " to support the cause of illustrious merit: A disposition, which I have
 " myself also experienced, upon every occasion, as the honourable recom-
 " pence of my pains and vigils in the public service. But I am asto-
 " nished that Dolabella, a young man whom I formerly rescued with
 " the utmost difficulty from the consequences of two capital impeach-
 " ments, should so ungratefully forget the patron to whom he owes all
 " that he enjoys, as to be the author of this ill-considered prosecution
 " of my friend. And what aggravates the folly of his conduct is, that
 " he should thus adventure to attack a man, who is distinguished with the
 " highest honours, and supported by the most powerful friendships; at
 " the same time that he himself (to speak of him in the softest terms) is
 " greatly deficient in both these respects. I had received an account from
 " our friend Caelius, before your letter reached my hand, of the idle and
 " ridiculous report he has propagated, and on which you so largely expatiate.
 " There is so little ground, however, for what he asserts, that he assured I
 " would much sooner break off all former friendship with a man who had thus
 " declared himself your enemy, than he prevailed upon to engage with him in
 " any new connexions".

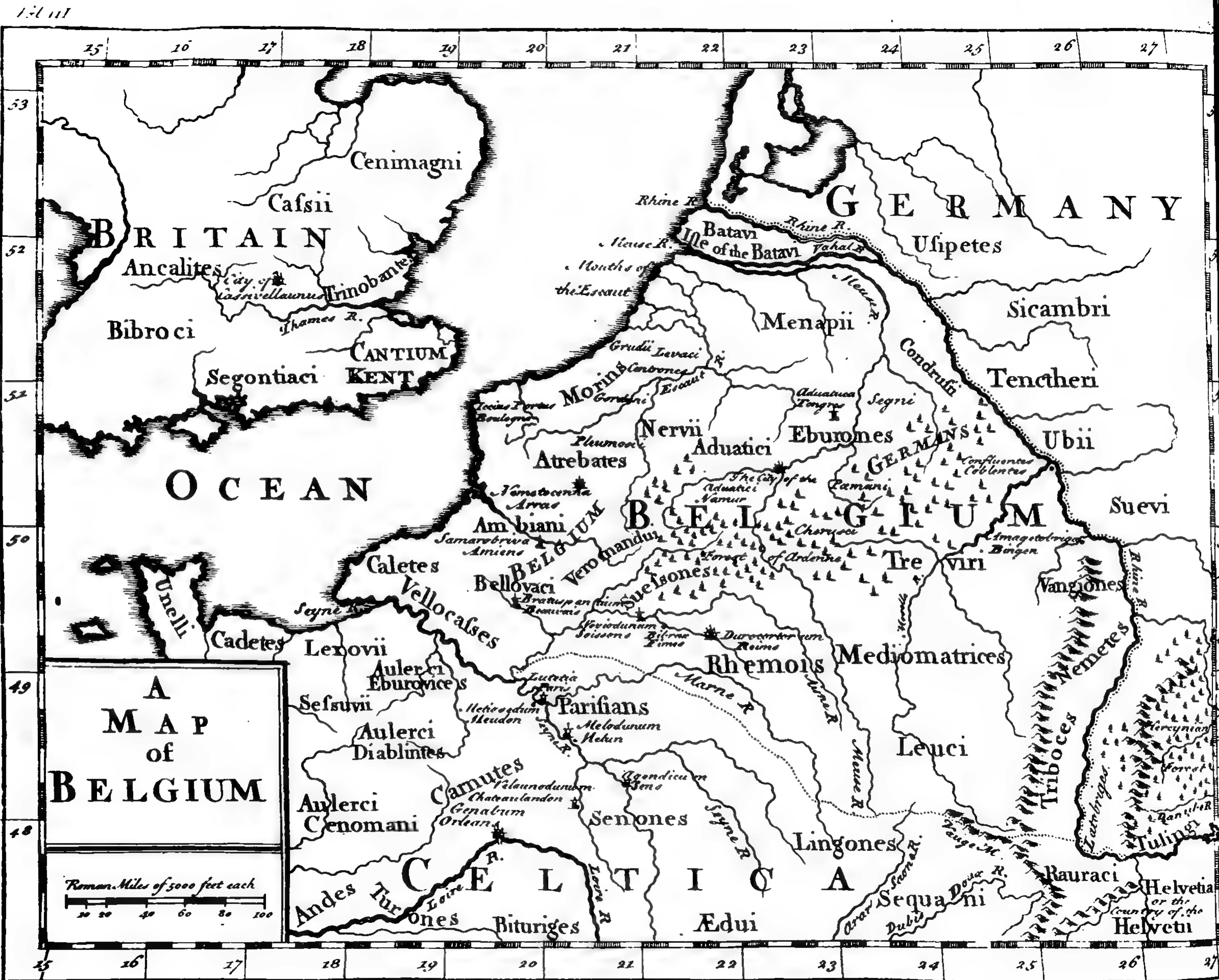
" You

M. Ann. " The illustrious merit of Appius we have
 " seen above. *Ibid. supra*, 575.

" Nothing could be more distant from Ci-
 " cero's heart than what he here pretends. For
 " there is the strongest evidence to believe
 " that it was his fixed intention, at this very
 " time, to enter into an alliance with Dela-
 " bella: And, in fact, Tullia was married to
 " him soon after the date of this letter. Cicero
 " affirms, I must acknowledge, in an epistle
 " to Atticus, that this transaction was entirely
 " without his knowledge: But he seems to
 " have dealt as insincerely upon this occasion
 " with his bosom friend, as he too frequently
 " did with all the world beside. Accordingly
 " he assures Atticus, he so little expected the
 " news of his daughter's match, that he was
 " actually in treaty for the disposal of her to
 " another person. But, if the latter part of
 " this assertion were true, it aggravates his dis-
 " simulation: For the former most evidently
 " was false. For, not to mention the great
 " probability there is that he left a commission
 " with Caelius, when he set out for the province,
 " relating to the marriage in question, it appears
 " that he had received more than one letter

" from him upon this subject, before he wrote
 " the last mentioned to Atticus; and conse-
 " quently that he could not have been so much
 " a stranger to the affair as he chose to repre-
 " sent himself. For Cicero's answer to the
 " letter of Caelius, concerning this treaty with
 " Dolabella, is extant, and it cannot be dated
 " later than the beginning of May in the pre-
 " sent year; because he mentions the seventh
 " of that month as a future day, on which
 " he proposed to return from another part of
 " his province into Cilicia. But the letter
 " to Atticus must have been written in the
 " latter end of the same year, because he takes
 " notice in it of the death of Hortensius.
 " Now he was not informed of that event
 " till he came to Rhodes, in his voyage from
 " Cilicia; as he himself tells us in the intro-
 " duction of his oratorical treatise, inscribed
 " to Brutus. If Cicero then was capable of
 " thus disguising the truth concerning Dola-
 " bella, to the nearest and most valuable of
 " his friends; it is no wonder he should not
 " scruple to act a still more counterfeit part
 " in all that he says of him to Appius.

" And



“ You have not the least reason to doubt of my zeal to serve you ; of
 “ which I have given many conspicuous testimonies in this province, as
 “ well as at *Rome* : Your letter nevertheless intimates some sort of suspi-
 “ cion of the contrary. — — — — —

Y R 703.
 Bel. Chr.
 49.
 402 Conf.

“ If ever you experienced *the probity of my heart*, or observed a disposition
 “ in me worthy of those sublime contemplations to which I have devoted myself
 “ from my earliest youth ; if ever you discovered, by my conduct in the
 “ most important transactions, that I was neither void of spirit nor desti-
 “ tute of abilities, you ought to have believed me incapable of acting
 “ a low and little part towards my friends, much more a base and a
 “ treacherous one — — — — —

“ But abstracted from these numerous and powerful motives, there is
 “ one, which, of itself, might be sufficient to evince the disposition in which
 “ I stand towards you. For, tell me, did ever any man entertain, or

“ And this dissimulation he very freely ac-
 “ knowledges to *Cælius*, who indeed was in
 “ the whole secret of the affair ; as it was by
 “ his intervention that it seems to have been
 “ principally conducted. Accordingly *Cicero*,
 “ taking notice to *Cælius* of the letter now
 “ before us, which he tells him was written
 “ in consequence of the information he had
 “ received from him, expresses himself in the
 “ following remarkable words : “ What would
 “ you have said, had you seen the letter I
 “ wrote to *Appian* after my receiving yours
 “ upon that subject ? *Quid si meam (sc. episto-*
 “ *lam) legas quam ego tui ex tuis literis misi ad*
 “ *Appianum ? sed quid agas ? sic vivitur :*
 “ Which, in plain *English*, amounts to this,
 “ *That, if a man will live in the world, he*
 “ *must submit to the lowest and most contemptible*
 “ *hypocrisy* *. And it must be owned that
 “ *Cicero*, in the present instance, as well as in
 “ most others, acted up to the full extent of
 “ his maxim.” *Ad Att. vi. 6. Ep. Fam.*
viii. 6. De Clar. Orator. i. Ep. Fam. ii.
15.

Vid. infra,
 p. 584.

Ep. Fam.
 ii. 15.
 Melm.
 vi. 15.

The letter to *Cælius*, in which we find this
 convenient maxim, contains the following
 passage.

— “ It is with great pleasure I find that
 “ *Dolabella* enjoys the happiness of your
 “ esteem and friendship. I was at no loss to
 “ guess the circumstance to which you alluded
 “ when you mentioned your hopes, that the

“ *prudence of my daughter Tullia would temper*
 “ *his conduct.*” M. Bayle observes, that *Cæ-* Article
lius's letter to *Cicero*, concerning *Dolabella* Tullie.
 (whom *Cælius* knew to be a rake and a spend-
 thrift) is exactly in the stile of compliment
 that would now be used in the like case.
 “ On excuseroit le passé sur la jeunesse ; et si
 “ l'on n'osoit pas assurer que toutes les im-
 “ perfections de cet âge fussent corrigée, on
 “ dirait que le mariage avec une personne si
 “ accomplie, avec la fille d'un si excellent père,
 “ acheveroit la guérison.” The letter runs
 thus :

Marcus Cælius to Cicero.

“ I congratulate you on your alliance with Ep. Fam.
 “ so worthy a man as *Dolabella* : For such I viii.
 “ sincerely think him. His former conduct, Melm.
 “ it is true, has not been altogether for his vi. 1.
 “ own advantage. But time has now worn
 “ out those little indiscretions of his youth :
 “ At least, if any of them should still remain,
 “ the authority and advantage of your ad-
 “ vice and friendship, together with the
 “ good sense of *Tullia*, will soon, I am con-
 “ fident, reclaim him. He is by no means,
 “ indeed, obstinate : And it is not from any
 “ incapacity of discerning better, whenever
 “ he deviates from the right path. To say all
 “ in one word, I infinitely love him.” —

* How admirably well does this maxim accord with those words in the above Letter—*The probity of my heart,*
a disposition in me worthy of those sublime contemplations to which I have devoted myself from my earliest youth !

“ had

Y. R. 703. " had ever any man reason to entertain, so high an esteem for another,
 Bef. Chr. " as that which you know I am filled with for the illustrious father-in-law
 402 Cor. " of your daughter? If personal obligations indeed can give him a title
 ——— " to these sentiments; do I not owe to *Pompey* the enjoyment of my
 " Country, my family, my dignities, and even my very self? ———
 ——— " Upon the whole, as you are united, not only by alliance, but
 " by affection to my *illustrious friend*; what are the sentiments, do you
 " imagine, that I ought to bear towards you? The truth of it is, were
 " I your professed enemy, as I am most sincerely the reverse, yet, *after the*
 " *letter which I lately received from Pompey*, I should think myself obliged to
 " *sacrifice my resentment to his request, and be wholly governed by the inclinations*
 " *of a man to whom I am thus greatly indebted.*——I expect every day to
 " hear that you are chosen CENSOR, &c.——Farewell."

In a subsequent letter to *Appius* he writes thus ——

Ep. Fam. " WHILST I lay encamped on the banks of the *Pyramus* [a river in
 11. 11. " *Cilicia*] I received two letters from you, and both at the same time.—
 Mem. " One of them was dated on *the fifth of April*; but the other, which
 11. 11. " seemed to have been written later, was without any date. I will answer
 " the former therefore in the first place, wherein you give me an account
 " of your having been acquitted of the impeachment exhibited against you for
 " male-administration in this province. I had before been apprised of many
 Vid. supr. " circumstances of this event by various letters and expresses, as well as by
 P. 555. " general report.——But, notwithstanding your letter was in some
 " measure anticipated, yet it heightened my satisfaction to receive the same
 " good news from your own hand. My information was by this means
 Vid. supr. " not only more full than what I had learnt from common fame, but it
 P. 555. " brought you nearer to my imagination, and rendered you in some sort pre-
 " sent to those sentiments of joy which arose upon this occasion in my heart.
 " Accordingly, I embraced you in my thoughts, and kissed the letter that gave
 " me so much reason to rejoice upon my own account as well as upon yours.
 " I say, upon my own account, because I look upon those honours, which are
 " thus paid by the general voice of my Country to VIRTUE, industry, and
 " genius, as paid to myself; being too much disposed, perhaps, to ima-
 " gine that these are qualities to which my own character is no stranger.
 " But, though I am by no means surprised that this trial should have
 " ended so much to your credit, yet I cannot forbear being astonished at
 " that mean and unworthy spirit which carried your enemies to engage in
 " this prosecution." [Hinting at Dolabella, whose friendship and alliance

Mem. " *Cicero* by no means thought himself so " it must be owned) to make *Pompey* believe
 " much obliged to *Pompey* as he here pre- " that he had forgotten the ill-usage he had
 " tends: And all these extravagant profes- " formerly received from him." Vid. ad
 " sions were a mere artifice (and a thin one Att. ix. 13.

Cicero



Cicero was at this time courting.] —“ Farewell: And if you are (as I sincerely hope) in the possession of the *Censorial* office, reflect often on the virtues of your illustrious ancestor*.”

In a little time after *Appius's* trial he was chosen CENSOR, together with *Piso*, *Cæsar's* father-in-law, the last men who bore that office during the *Aristocracy*, or rather the *Anarchy* of *Rome*. *Clodius's* Law, mentioned above, which had greatly restrained the power of these Magistrates, was repealed the last year by *Scipio* the Consul (*Pompey's* father-in-law,) and their ancient authority restored to them, which was now exercised with great rigour by *Appius*: Who, though really a *Libertine*, and remarkable for indulging himself in all the luxury of life, yet, by an affectation of severity, hoped to retrieve his character, and pass for an admirer of that ancient discipline, for which many of his ancestors had been celebrated. But this vain and unseasonable attempt of reformation served only to alienate people from *Pompey's* cause, with whom *Appius* was strictly allied: Whilst his Colleague *Piso*, who foresaw that effect, chose to sit still, and suffer him to disgrace the Knights and Senators at pleasure, which he did with great freedom, and, among others, turned *Sallust* the Historian out of the Senate, and was hardly restrained from putting the same affront upon *Curio*. This added strength to *Cæsar*; of whom both the SENATE and *Pompey* were at this time become extremely jealous: The SENATE, because of *Cæsar's* amazing victories, which made him idolized more than ever by the PEOPLE: *Pompey*, because *Cæsar*, as in all other accomplishments, so even in military virtue, appeared now to be his superior beyond compare.

* App.
Claud.
Cæcus.
Dio, p.
147.
Vid. supr.
p. 429.
Midd. p.
42.
Ep. Fam.
viii. 14.

Dio, p.
150.

C H A P. IX.

The war of CÆSAR in Gaul, commenced in the year 695, and continued to the year 703

G A U L (without including the *Roman* province) was, at the time of *Cæsar's* going thither, divided into three principal parts, *Aquitain*, *Celtic Gaul* and *Belgic Gaul*.

C. J. Cæs.
de Bell.
Gall. Com.
lib. i.

Aquitain, the smallest of the three, was bounded on the North by the river *Garrone*, on the South by the *Pyrenees*, on the West by the *Ocean*, and on the East by the *Roman* province*.

Aquitania.

The largest of the three, named *Celtic Gaul*, because inhabited by a people who called themselves *Celtæ*, though by the *Romans* they were called* *Galli* [Gauls,] had for its boundaries the *Ocean* on the West, the *Rhine* on the East, the *Garrone* on the South, and the *Seine* and the *Marne* on the North.

* Contain-
ing almost
all Pro-
vence and
Languedoc
Gallia
Celtica.

* *Cæsar* very rarely, if ever, gives the name of *Gauls* to the people of *Aquitania* or of *Gallia Belgica*. Crev.

Gallia Belgica.

The two last named rivers made the Southern boundary of *Belgic Gaul*. On its other sides it was encompassed by the *British channel* and the *Lower Rhine*.

Each of these nations had its distinct language, customs, and laws. Of the three, the *Belgæ* (or *Belgic nation*) were the most warlike, because situated the most remote from the refinements and luxury of the *Roman province*, and because continually engaged in war with their neighbours, the *Germans*, on the other side the *Rhine*.

The people of Switzerland.

For the same reason the *Helvetii* were distinguished above the rest of the *Celtæ* for their bravery, being almost constantly, either as aggressors, or as acting on the defensive, at war with the *Germans*.

In the Consulship of *M. Messala* and *M. Piso* [Y. of R. 692.] *Orgetorix*, the most opulent and most illustrious of the *Helvetian* nobles, formed a singular project of ambition. Having first gained to his purpose the principal men of the state, he exhorted the people to remove all together in a body out of their own country; representing to them, that, as they surpassed all the other *Celtæ* in bravery, they would find it easy to acquire the sovereignty over the whole country of *Celtic Gaul*. To this proposal the *Helvetii* listened the more readily, not only because they thought themselves confined within limits too narrow for their number (their territory being only 140 miles in length, and 80 in breadth) but because, being bounded on one side by the *Rhine*, a broad and deep river; on another by *Mount Jura**, a high ridge of hills that runs between them and the *Sequani*†; and on the side of the *Roman province* by the lake ‡ *Leman* and the river *Rhone*, they could not easily make hostile incursions on their neighbours, which restraint was a great grievance, a ground of much discontent to a numerous people that took delight in war.

* Mount St. Claude.
† Inhabitants of Franche-Comte.
‡ Lake of Geneva.

Moved by these considerations, and by the authority and persuasions of *Orgetorix*, they presently resolved to set about the providing of all necessaries for the projected migration. They imagined two years would be sufficient for these preparations, and they obliged themselves by a law to begin their march on the third. The whole management of this design was committed to *Orgetorix*, who undertook an embassy to two of the neighbouring states, the *Sequani* and *Ædui*, in order to establish peace and amity with them. As his aim was to make himself King of his own nation, he took this opportunity to persuade *Casticus*, whose father had for many years reigned over the *Sequani*, and been stiled *Friend* by the Senate and People of *Rome*, to possess himself of the same regal authority which his father had held. He likewise persuaded *Dumnorix* the *Æduan* (brother of *Divitiacus*, at that time the leading man in the state, and greatly beloved of the people) to aspire to Royalty, and he gave him his daughter in marriage.

The people of Ayr.

These three entered into strict engagements to assist and support one another in their respective schemes; and they entertained the flattering hope,

that, having once brought those to effect, they should afterwards, with their united forces, easily get possession of all *Celtic Gaul*.

It happened, that the ambitious design of *Orgetorix*, to raise himself to empire at home, became known to his countrymen: Upon which discovery his person was seized, and a capital process commenced against him. Had he been found guilty, the law condemned him to be burnt alive: But, on the day appointed for his trial, his relations, servants, clients, and debtors, assembling in a body to the number of ten thousand, rescued him out of the hands of justice. The people, provoked at this contempt of the laws, resolved to support the authority of them; and the Magistrates had collected a considerable force for that purpose, when *Orgetorix* died suddenly: It was given out he perished by his own hand.

The *Helvetii*, notwithstanding the death of the projector, continued to pursue the project of migration with the same diligence as before: When they had furnished themselves with provisions for three months, and completed their other preparations, they burnt all their towns, twelve in number; their boroughs and villages, amounting to four hundred; and what corn they could not carry off; that, having thus banished all thoughts of returning to their own country, they might proceed in their enterprize with the more determined courage. Before their departure, they strengthened themselves by allies and companions (who after their example, and at their persuasion, burnt and destroyed their respective dwellings) the *Rauraci*, *Tulingi*, *Latobrigi*, and a swarm of *Boii* from *Norica*^b.

There were only two ways by which they could march out of their own country: One through the territories of the *Sequani*, between mount *Jura* and the *Rhone*, narrow and difficult, insomuch that in some places a single file of waggons could hardly pass. The impending mountain was besides very high and steep, so that a handful of men would be sufficient to stop them. The other lay through the Roman province, far easier and readier, because the *Rhone*, which flows between the confines of the *Helvetii* and the *Allobroges**, a people lately subjected to the Romans, but seemingly not yet well affected to their government, was in some places fordable: And *Geneva*, a frontier town of the *Allobroges*, had a bridge which be-

* Inhabitants of Savoye and Dauphiné.

^b The first were the people of *Basil*, who then made part of the *Helvetic* body. The second and third were neighbours of the *Helvetii*. This is all we know of them with certainty. The *Boii* were originally inhabitants of the *Bourbonnois*, colonies of whom had settled in Germany and in Italy. *Norica* was *Bavaria*, and part of *Austria*. Crev.

After the total defeat of this multitude, a roll, written in Greek characters, was found

in their camp, and brought to *Cæsar*. It contained a list of all who had set out upon this expedition, not only of those who were able to bear arms, but of the children, women, and old men. By this list it appeared, that the number of the *Helvetii* was 263,000; of the *Tulingi* 36,000; of the *Latobrigi* 14,000; of the *Rauraci* 23,000; of the *Boii* 32,000; in all 368,000.

longed to the *Helvetii*, whose country bordered upon theirs. The *Helvetii* therefore doubted not of obtaining a passage, either by persuasion or by force, through the territories of the *Allobroges*. Their general rendezvous was to be on the banks of the *Rhone*; and the day they fixed for it was the twenty-eighth of *March*, in the Consulship of *Piso* and *Gabinus*.

[Year of Rome 695.]

Cæsar, having notice of these proceedings, and that it was the design of the *Helvetii* to attempt a passage through the *Roman* province, hastened his departure¹ from *Rome*; and, posting by great journeys into *Farther Gaul*,

¹ We see by this account, which is from *Cæsar* himself, that the reason of his sudden and expeditious journey, from his quarters near *Rome* into *Transalpine Gaul*, was the intelligence he received of the motions and purposes of the *Helvetii*; who had fixed upon the twenty-eighth of *March* for their rendezvous on the banks of the *Rhone*, which they were to pass by the bridge at *Geneva*: And that he arrived at *Geneva* time enough to prevent their passage, by breaking down the bridge, receive an embassy from the *Helvetii*, and, by deferring his answer to the thirteenth of *April*, gain time sufficient to assemble forces out of the province, and draw up lines sixteen feet high, and nineteen miles in length, before the said thirteenth of *April*: We cannot, therefore, well suppose, that he left the neighbourhood of *Rome* much later than the middle of *March*.

Nevertheless *M. Crevier*, who all along seems (like *Dr. Middleton*) to be strongly biassed by prepossession and prejudice against *Cæsar*, finds a different reason from what *Cæsar* himself gives, for his going suddenly and in haste to his province; and gives that journey a different date. He writes thus:—" *Cæsar*, having driven from the Commonwealth the two men he most feared [*Cicero* and *Cato*,] had no longer any reason to stay in the neighbourhood of the City, but had reason to remove from it: For the partisans of the Aristocracy, beginning to recover from the consternation they had been thrown into by the Consulship of *Cæsar*, and the violence exercised towards *Cicero*, thought of bestirring themselves to do something against the oppressor of the public liberty. Two of the Prætors, *L. Domitius* and *C. Memmius*, would have the acts of *Cæsar's* Consulship submitted to the examination of the Senate, in order to their being an-

nulled. His Questor was prosecuted, and he himself attacked by the Tribune *Antistius*; but he implored the aid of the other Tribunes, that he might have the benefit of the law which sheltered from all prosecutions those who were absent in the service of the State: And he made haste to get away."

Cæsar is here represented as running away from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, like a criminal who feared to be arrested and brought to punishment;—not a word of the *Helvetii*:—And this running away, which (as was just now observed) could not well be later than about the middle of *March*, was, according to *M. Crevier*, some time in *April*: For *Crevier*, he tells us that *Cicero* went from *Rome* by night in the beginning of *April*, and that *Cæsar* did not leave the neighbourhood of *Rome* till he had driven *Cicero* from thence. tom. xii. p. 181, 182.

Now what authority has *M. Crevier* for contradicting *Cæsar's* account of the reason which induced him to go away on a sudden, and in haste, to his province, and of the time when he went? *Suetonius* is the only author cited, an Historian remarkable for delighting in detraction, and for having no regard to the order of events, nor even to probability, in many things which he relates. But it happens in the present instance, that, though *Suetonius* says something not true, he does not say that for which he is cited. He does not say that *Cæsar* staid in the neighbourhood of *Rome* till he had driven *Cicero* out of it*, that

* *Plutarch* is, till the month of *April*; he does not postpone to that time the motion made in the Senate by the two Prætors; but speaks of it as made in the beginning of *January*: Nor does he represent *Cæsar* as having any apprehension of danger from that motion; but, on the contrary, as consenting to have the Senate take cognizance of the acts of his Consulship

[cogni-

Crevier,
tom. xii.
p. 202.

Gaul, came to *Geneva*. He began with breaking down the bridge over the *Rhone*; and, as there was at that time but one *Roman* legion in *Transalpine Gaul*, he ordered great levies to be made throughout the whole province. The *Helvetii*, being informed of his arrival, deputed several Noblemen of the first rank to wait upon him in the name of the State, and represent, "That they meant not to offer the least injury to the "*Roman* province; that necessity alone had determined them to the design "of passing through it, because they had no other way by which to direct "their march; that they therefore intreated they might have his per- "mission for that purpose." But *Cæsar* did not think proper to grant their request: However, that he might gain time, till the troops he had ordered to be raised could assemble, he told the Ambassadors he would consider of their demand; and that, if they returned by the *thirteenth of April*, they should have his final answer. Mean while, with the legions he then had, and the soldiers that came in to him from all parts of the province, he raised a rampart sixteen feet high, and nineteen miles in length, with a ditch from the lake *Lemanus*, into which the *Rhone* discharges itself, to mount *Jura*, which divides the territories of *Sequani*

[*cognitionem Senatui detulit.*] And, according to *Suetonius*, the prosecution, begun against *Cæsar's* Quæstor, and the attack, made by the Tribune *Antistius* upon *Cæsar* himself, were not before his sudden departure from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, but after it. —

Sueton. J. *Functus Consulatu, C. Memmio, Lucioque Domitio Prætoribus, de superioris anni actis referentibus, cognitionem Senatui detulit; nec illo suscipiente, triduoque per irritas altercationes abjuncto, in provinciam abiit: Et statim quæstor ejus in præjudicium aliquot criminibus accusatus est. Mox et ipse a L. Antistio tribuno plebis postulatus, appellato denique collegio, obtinuit, cum reip. causa abesset, reus non fieri. Ad securitatem ergo posteritatis, in magno negotio habuit obligare semper annuos magistratus, et in competitibus non alios adjuvare, aut ad honorem pati pervenire quam qui sibi pepigissent, propugnatos absentiam suam: Cujus pacti non dubitavit a quibusdam jusjurandum, atque etiam syngrapham exigere. [The last part of this tale appeared, I presume, too ridiculous to Dr. Middleton and M. Crevier, to be adopted by them, notwithstanding their great dislike of Cæsar.]*

Doctor *Middleton* conforms his relation to *Suetonius*, as to the time when the motion was made in the Senate by the two Prætors; but does not conform it either to *Suetonius*, or to *Cæsar*, as to the TIME when *Cæsar*

went to his province: For the Doctor places this journey after *Cicero's* departure into banishment, that is, in the month of *April*; whereas *Suetonius* places it in *January*, and *Cæsar* himself, manifestly, not later than about the middle of *March*.

The Doctor's words are these: "*Cæsar* Mid. 337. "continued at *Rome* till he saw *Cicero* driven "out of it [*i. e.* according to the Doctor, "till about the end of *March* †:] But had no † See "sooner laid down his Consulship [*on the last* Midd. p. "day of *December* preceding] than he began to 350. "be attacked and affronted himself by two Sueton. J. "of the new Prætors, *L. Domitius* and *C. Cæf. 23.* "*Memmius*, who called in question the vali- "dity of his acts, and made several efforts in the "Senate to get them annulled by public autho- "rity. But the Senate had no stomach to "meddle with an affair so delicate; so that "the whole ended in some fruitless debates "and altercations [*which had lasted only three "days*:] And *Cæsar*, to prevent all attempts "of that kind in his absence, took care al- "ways, by force of bribes, to secure the leading "Magistrates in his interests; and so went off "to his province of *Gaul*." — I do not see how these last words, and so went off, &c. can be reconciled with *Cæsar's* continuing at *Rome* till he saw *Cicero* driven out of it. The Doctor seems not consistent with himself.

from

from those of the *Helvetii*. This work finished, he strengthened it with redoubts from space to space, and manned them with troops. When the Ambassadors, on the appointed day, returned for an answer, he told them, that he could not, consistently with the usages of the People of *Rome* on the like occasions, grant any foreign troops a passage through the province: And he let them see, that, should they attempt it by force, he was prepared to oppose them.

The *Helvetii*, driven from this hope, endeavoured, some by the means of boats fastened together, and of floats which they had prepared in great abundance, others by the fords of the *Rhone*, where was the least depth of water, to force a passage over the river; sometimes by day, oftener in the night: But, being constantly repulsed by the strength of the works thrown up, and by flights of darts, they at last abandoned the attempt. One way still remained, which was through the territories of the *Sequani*, but so narrow, that, without the consent of the natives, they could not pass. Not able to prevail by their own persuasions, they sent Ambassadors to *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*, that, through his intercession, they might obtain this favour of the *Sequani*. *Dumnorix*, by his popularity and generosity, had great influence with the *Sequani*, and was also well affected to the *Helvetii*, because he had married an *Helvetian*, the daughter of *Orgetorix*. Besides, he was framing to himself schemes of ambition, and wanted to have as many states as possible bound to him by offices of kindness. He readily therefore undertook the negotiation, and he obtained for the *Helvetii* the liberty of passing through the territories of the *Sequani*, the two nations mutually giving hostages to secure their not molesting or injuring each other during the march.

* Saint-
onge.
† People
of To-
louze.

Cæsar had intelligence of their design; which was to pass through the countries of the *Sequani* and *Ædui* into the territories of the *Santones**, which border upon those of the *Tolosati*†, a state that made part of the *Roman* province. He foresaw many inconveniencies likely to arise to the *Romans*, should they have for their neighbours, in an open and plentiful country, a people ill-affected to them, and of a martial disposition. Leaving, therefore, the care of the new works he had raised to *T. Labienus*, his Lieutenant, he himself hastened by great journeys into *Italy*. There he raised two legions, and drew three more, that were cantoned round *Aquileia*, out of their quarters; and with these five legions took the nearest way over the *Alps* into *Farther Gaul*. The mountaineers opposed his passage, but without effect: He descended into the country of the *Vocontii*‡, traversed the territories of the *Allobroges*, crossed the *Rhone*, entered upon the lands of the *Segusi*§, and all this with such expedition, that he overtook the *Helvetii* at the passage of the *Arar*||.

† Le Di-
ois.
‡ Le Ly-
onnois.
§ The Sa-
one.

They had marched their forces through the narrow pass of mount *Jura*, and the territories of the *Sequani*; and were at this time actually employed in passing the *Arar*. *Cæsar*, informed by his scouts, that three parts

of

of their forces were got over the river, and that the fourth, which was the canton of the *Tigurini*, still remained on this side, left his camp about midnight, with three legions, and came up with the troops of the enemy that had not yet passed. As he found them unprepared for fighting, and encumbered with their baggage, he attacked them immediately, and put a great number of them to the sword: The rest fled, and sheltered themselves in the nearest woods.

The people of Zurich.

The forces of this very canton, about fifty years before, had vanquished and killed the Consul *L. Cassius*, and obliged his army to pass under the yoke. Thus, says *Cæsar*, whether by chance or the direction of the immortal Gods, that part of the *Helvetic* state, which brought so signal a calamity upon the *Roman* People, was the first to feel the weight of their resentment. In this case, *Cæsar* revenged not only the public, but likewise his own domestic injuries; because in the same battle where *Cassius* fell, was slain also his Lieutenant, *L. Piso*, the grandfather of *L. Piso*, *Cæsar*'s father-in-law.

Vid. supra, P. 72.

After this victory, *Cæsar*, throwing a bridge over the river, led his army, without delay, in pursuit of the enemy. The *Helvetii*, dismayed at his sudden approach, as he had spent only one day in crossing the river, which they had not, without the utmost difficulty, accomplished in twenty, sent an embassy to him, at the head of which was *Divico*, who had been General of the *Helvetii* in the war against *Cassius*. He addressed *Cæsar* in words to this effect:

“ If you are disposed to conclude a peace, we are willing to go and settle in what country you shall think fit to assign us. But, if you persist in the resolution of making war, you will do well to call to mind the disgrace which befell the *Romans* heretofore, and the experienced bravery of the *Helvetic* nation.”

Cæsar answered: “ I have the less doubt concerning what will be the issue of a war, as I do bear in mind that disaster to which you refer, and which I well know to have happened to the *Romans* undeservedly. Had they been conscious of any injury by them committed, had they done any thing which could give them cause to fear, they would have kept themselves upon their guard; a conduct which admitted of no difficulty.— But, were I inclined to forget old injuries, can you expect I should forget likewise your late insult in attempting, against my will, to force a passage through the *Roman* province, and your ravaging the territories of the *Ædui*, *Ambarri*, and *Allobroges*? Your boasting so insolently of the victory over *Cassius*, is an additional provocation of my resentment. However, if you will make satisfaction to the *Ædui* and their allies, for the devastations committed in their countries, as also to the *Allobroges*, and will give hostages for the performance of your promises, I am ready to conclude a peace with you.” *Divico*

* Of this injury the sufferers had sent complaints to *Cæsar*.

replied ::

replied: “ *The Helvetii are accustomed to receive hostages, not to give them; and no people are better apprized of this than the Romans.*” He said, and retired.

The next day the *Helvetii* decamped: *Cæsar* did the same; and, to observe their motions, sent forward all his horse, which, to the number of four thousand, he had drawn together from the province, and the countries of the *Ædui* and their allies. The cavalry pressing too close upon the rear of the enemy, the latter seized a moment, when they had the advantage of the ground, turned suddenly upon their pursuers, and put them to the rout, with some slaughter of the most advanced. Elated by this success, as having, with no more than five hundred horse, repulsed so great a multitude, they began to assume a bolder appearance, and frequently to face the *Romans*. *Cæsar* kept back his men from fighting, thinking it sufficient for the present to straiten the enemy’s foragers. In this manner the armies marched for fifteen days together: Between the *Roman* van and the rear of the *Helvetii* the distance did not exceed five or six miles.

In the mean time *Cæsar* daily pressed the *Ædui* for the corn which they had promised in the name of the public: For, by reason of the coldness of the climate, he was so far from finding the corn ripe in the fields, that there was not even sufficient forage for the horses. Neither could he receive those supplies which were coming to him by the *Arar*; because the *Helvetii* had turned off from that river, and he was determined not to quit the pursuit of them. The *Ædui*, to conceal from him the motive of their conduct, sometimes pretended that the corn was bought up, and ready to be sent; sometimes that it was actually on the way: But, when he saw no end of these delays, and that the day approached for delivering corn to the troops, he called together the *Æduan* chiefs, of whom he had a great number in his army, and among the rest *Divitiacus*, and their supreme Magistrate¹ *Liscus*. *Cæsar* reproached them severely for not having taken care to supply him in so pressing a conjuncture, and while the enemy was so near: Adding, that, as he had engaged in that war chiefly at their request, he had the greater reason to complain of their neglect.

Hereupon *Liscus* thought proper to declare what he had hitherto concealed, “ That there were some among them, who, though but private men, had yet more authority with the people than the Magistrates themselves: That those men had, by artful and seditious speeches, alarmed the multitude, and persuaded them to keep back their corn; insinuating, *that, if their own state could not obtain the sovereignty of Gaul, it would be better for them to obey the Helvetii, Gauls like themselves, than the Romans; there not being the least reason to question but the Romans, after having subdued the Helvetii, would deprive the Ædui too, with*

¹ This supreme Magistrate, styled *Vergobret* in the language of the country, was created annually, and had a power of life and death.

“ *all the rest of the Gauls, of their liberty* : That the very same men gave intelligence to the enemy of whatever the *Romans* designed or transacted in their camp ; his authority not being sufficient to restrain them : That he was not ignorant of the danger to which he exposed himself by the discovery he now made, compelled to it by necessity ; his silence being no longer consistent with the safety of the state.”

Cæsar perceived that *Dumnorix*, the brother of *Divitiacus*, was pointed at by this speech : But not thinking it adviseable that these matters should be debated in the presence of so many witnesses, he speedily dismissed the council, retaining only *Liscus* ; whom he then questioned on what he had just said ; and was answered with great courage and freedom. He put the same questions to others ; who all confirmed the truth of what *Liscus* had told him, that *Dumnorix* was a man of an enterprising spirit, fond of revolutions, and in great favour with the people, because of his liberality : That he had for many years farmed the customs, and other public revenues of the *Edui*, at a very low price ; no one daring to bid against him : That by this means he had considerably increased his estate, and was enabled to extend his bounty to all about him : That he constantly kept a great number of horsemen in pay, who attended him wherever he went : That his influence was not confined merely to his own country, but extended likewise to the neighbouring states : That, the better to support his interest, he had married his mother to a man of principal rank and authority among the *Bituriges* *, matched his sister, and the rest of his kindred, into other the most powerful states ; and had himself taken a wife from among the *Helvetii* : That he favoured and wished well to the *Helvetii* on the score of that alliance, and personally hated *Cæsar*, and hated the *Romans*, because by their arrival his power had been diminished, and his brother *Divitiacus* restored to his former credit and authority : That, should the *Romans* be overthrown, he was in great hopes of obtaining the sovereignty by means of the *Helvetii*. On the contrary, should they prevail, he must not only give up these hopes, but even all expectation of retaining the influence he had already acquired.

Cæsar learnt also, that, in the late engagement, *Dumnorix*, who commanded the *Æduan* cavalry, was the first who fled, and by his flight struck a terror into the rest of the troops ; that it was he who had procured for the *Helvetii* a passage through the territories of the *Sequani* ; and had effected an exchange of hostages between the two nations : And that he had done these things not only without permission from his own state, but even without their knowledge : All this, together with his being accused by the chief Magistrate of the *Ædui*, seemed to *Cæsar* a sufficient ground for taking cognizance of the matter himself, or ordering the state to proceed against him. One thing, however, restrained him a while from coming to any resolution, his regard for *Divitiacus*, the delinquent's brother, a man of singular probity, a faithfull ally of the *Roman*

People, and a friend of *Cæsar's*. That he might not wound a man or whom he had so great a value, *Cæsar* sent for him, and, having removed the usual interpreters, spoke to him by *C. Valerius Procillus*, a Prince of the *Roman* province, his intimate friend. He reminded *Divitiacus* of what, in his own presence, had been said of his brother *Dumnorix*, in the council of the *Gauls*, adding the later informations which he had received against him in private; and *Cæsar* earnestly requested of *Divitiacus* to consent, that either he himself or the state might take the matter into consideration. *Divitiacus*, embracing *Cæsar*, begged of him, with many tears, not to come to any severe resolution against his brother. "What you have heard is all true, and I myself have more reason than any man to be dissatisfied with him. At a time when my authority was great, both at home and in the other provinces of *Gaul*, and my brother, because of his youth, but little considered, I employed my interest to bring him into credit: And though *Dumnorix* has made use of the power he acquired by my means to diminish my favour with the people, yet I still find myself swayed by my affection for him, and by my regard for the public esteem: For, should my brother meet with any rigorous treatment from you, while I myself possess so large a share of your favour, all men will believe it done with my consent, and the minds of the *Gauls* be for ever alienated from me."

Cæsar, observing his concern, took him by the hand, bid him say no more, comforted him, and assured him that, for his sake, he would overlook not only the injuries done to himself, but to the Republic. He then sent for *Dumnorix*, and, in his brother's presence, declared the subjects of complaint he had against him, and admonished him to avoid for the future giving any ground for suspicion; adding, that he would pardon what was past for the sake of his brother: *Cæsar* appointed, however, some persons to have an eye over his behaviour, and to observe what company he frequented.

The same day having learnt by his scouts, that the enemy had posted themselves under a hill, eight miles from his camp, he sent out a party to view the ground, and examine the ascent of the hill. These reporting it to be extremely easy, he detached, about midnight, his Lieutenant *Labiens*, (to whom he imparted the design he had formed) with two legions, and with the same men for guides, who the day before had examined the ground to take possession of the summit of the hill. At three o'clock in the morning, having first sent forward his cavalry, he himself followed with the foot. He had directed *Considius*, an officer of reputation, who had served in the army of *Sylla*, and afterwards in that of *Marcus Crassus*, to go with the scouts to reconnoitre.

At day break, when *Labiens* had executed his commission, and *Cæsar* was within a mile and a half of the enemy's camp, they knowing nothing yet either of his or *Labiens's* approach, *Considius* came galloping

ing back, and assured *Cæsar*, that the summit of the hill was possessed by the enemy, and that he had seen the *Gallic* ensigns there.

Cæsar retired to a rising ground, and drew up his men in order of battle. *Labienus*, whose instructions were not to engage the enemy till he saw the rest of the army approaching, that the attack might be made on all sides at the same time, having gained the top of the hill, waited the arrival of the *Roman* main body, without stirring from his post. The day was far spent before *Cæsar* learnt from his scouts that *Corfidius*, blinded by his fear, had made a false report, and that the enemy had decamped. The rest of that day *Cæsar* followed the enemy, and pitched his camp within three miles of them.

The next day, as the time drew near for delivering out corn to the army, and as he was not above eighteen miles from *Bibracte* *, the capital of the *Ædui*, where he hoped to find sufficient supplies for the subsistence of his troops, he quitted the pursuit of the *Helvetii*, and directed his march thither. The enemy informed of this motion by some deserters, and either ascribing it to fear, because *Labienus*, though possessed of the higher ground, had not attacked them the day before; or flattering themselves with the hopes of intercepting *Cæsar*'s provisions, all on a sudden changed their resolution, and, instead of continuing their march, began to pursue and harass the rear guard of the *Romans*. *Cæsar* retired to a hill, and sent his cavalry to sustain the charge, while he drew up his forces in battalia. His four veteran legions he ranged in three lines towards the middle of the ascent; and above them he posted his two legions newly raised in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and all the auxiliaries; in such wise, that the whole hill was covered with his troops: The baggage was committed to the care of those on the upper ground. The *Helvetii* repulsed the *Roman* cavalry, formed themselves into a phalanx, and advanced in close order to attack the *Roman* van.

Cæsar, having sent away first his own horse, and then the horses of all his officers, that, by making the danger equal, no hope might remain but in victory, encouraged his men, and began the charge. The *Romans*, who fought from the higher ground, pouring their darts upon the enemy, easily broke their phalanx, and then fell upon them sword in hand. The battle was bloody, and continued for a long time doubtful; but the enemy being at length obliged to give way, one part withdrew towards a hill, and the rest sheltered themselves behind their carriages, which they had drawn together into one place before they began the battle. During this whole action, though it lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon till evening, no man saw the back of an enemy. The fight was renewed with great obstinacy at the carriages, and continued till the night was far spent. After a long dispute, the *Romans* got possession of the baggage and camp of the enemy. A son and daughter of *Orgetorix* were found among the prisoners. Only one hundred and twenty thousand of the *Helvetii* survived this defeat; who, retreating all that night, and continuing their march without inter-

* The people of
Langres.

mission, arrived on the 4th day in the territories of the *Lingones* *. The *Romans*, detained by the care of looking after their wounded, and of burying their dead, continued upon the spot three days : But *Cæsar* sent messengers and letters to signify to the *Lingones*, that, if they would avoid drawing upon themselves the same calamities which the *Helvetian* fugitives were under, they must not furnish them with corn or other necessaries : And, after three days repose, he set forward to pursue the enemy.

The *Helvetii*, compelled by an extreme want of all things, sent Ambassadors to him to treat about a surrendry. These meeting him on the way, and throwing themselves at his feet, in suppliant terms, and with many tears, begged for peace. *Cæsar* gave them no express answer at that time ; he only ordered that the *Helvetii* should wait for him in the place where they then were ; which they accordingly did. Upon his arrival, he demanded hostages, their arms, and the slaves who had deserted to their camp. Upon their complying with these terms, they were admitted to a surrendry. The *Helvetii*, *Tulingi*, and *Latobrigi*, he ordered to return to their own countries, and rebuild the towns and villages they had burnt : And because, having lost all the corn, they were utterly destitute of subsistence, he gave it in charge to the *Allobroges* to supply them. *Cæsar's* design, in sending the *Helvetii* home, was, that their lands might not be left unoccupied, and the *Germans*, dwelling on the other side the *Rhine*, be thereby tempted to pass over and take possession of them ; by which they would become neighbours to the *Allobroges*, and the *Roman* province in *Gaul*. The *Boii*, at the request of the *Ædui* themselves, who esteemed them highly on account of their courage, were permitted to settle in the *Æduan* territories, where lands were assigned them, and they were, by degrees, admitted to all the rights and privileges of natives.

The war with the *Helvetii* being ended, Ambassadors from all parts of *Gaul*, men of principal consideration in their several states, waited upon *Cæsar* to congratulate his success, which they said, had been highly advantageous to *Gaul* in general, the *Helvetii* having left their own country with a view to make all the other states tributary to them ; and these Ambassadors requested, on the part of their constituents, “ that they “ might have his permission to hold, on a day prefixed, a general assembly “ of all the provinces of *Gaul* ; there being some things, which they “ wanted to propose to him, which concerned the whole nation in common.” Their request was granted ; they fixed a day for the assembly ; and they bound themselves by an oath not to disclose what should be transacted there, but to such persons as should be named for that purpose by general consent.

Upon the rising of the council, the same chiefs of the state, who had come before to *Cæsar*, came again to him, and begged to be admitted

to confer with him in private, concerning matters that regarded their own and the common safety. *Cæsar* complying, they all threw themselves at his feet, and with tears represented to him, that it was of no less importance to them to have their present deliberations kept secret, than to succeed in the petition they were going to make; because, should any discovery happen, they were in danger of being exposed to the extremest cruelties. *Divitiacus*, the *Æduan*, in the name of the rest, spoke thus:

“ Two factions divide all *Gaul*: At the head of one are the *Ædui*;
 “ of the other the *Arverni*. After a contention of many years between
 “ these for the superiority, the *Arverni*, in concert with the *Sequani*, came
 “ at last to a resolution of calling in the *Germans*: Of these fifteen thou-
 “ sand only came over the *Rhine* at first; but, finding *Gaul* an agreeable
 “ and plentiful country, others soon followed, insomuch that, at present,
 “ there are no less than 120,000 of them here. The *Ædui* and their
 “ dependants have frequently tried their strength against them in battle,
 “ but, by successive defeats, have lost all their nobles, senate, and cavalry.
 “ Broken by these calamities, they, who formerly held the chief sway in
 “ *Gaul*, both by their own bravery and the favour and friendship of the
 “ *Roman* People, are now reduced to the necessity of sending some of the
 “ principal men of their state to the *Sequani*, to remain with them as
 “ hostages; and of obliging themselves by an oath, neither to demand
 “ their hostages back, nor to implore the assistance of the *Roman* People,
 “ nor to refuse a perpetual submission to the dominion and authority of the
 “ *Sequani*. I alone, of all the *Ædui*, refused to take the oath, or give my
 “ children for hostages; and on that account I fled my country, and went
 “ to *Rome* to implore the assistance of the Senate, as being the only man
 “ in the state who had not laid himself under the restraints of hostages and
 “ an oath. After all, it has fared worse with the Victorious *Sequani* than
 “ with the vanquished *Ædui*; because *Ariovistus* has seated himself in
 “ their territory, seized a *third part* of their lands, the most fertile in *Gaul*,
 “ and has lately ordered them to yield up another *third* to the *Harudes*,
 “ who, to the number of 24,000, came over the *Rhine* a few months ago,
 “ wanting habitations and a settlement. In a few years all the native *Gauls*
 “ will be driven from their territories, and the *Germans* be transplanted
 “ hither from the other side of the *Rhine*; our climate far excelling that of
 “ their country, and our different ways of living not admitting a compari-
 “ son.—*Ariovistus* is a man of a savage, passionate, and tyrannical disposi-
 “ tion, whose government is no longer to be borne; and unless we find some
 “ resource in you and the People of *Rome*, the *Gauls* must, like the *Helve-*
 “ *tians*, abandon their country, and seek some other settlement remote from
 “ the *Germans*, wherever fortune shall point it out. Were these complaints
 “ and representations to come to the knowledge of *Ariovistus*, I doubt
 “ not but he would exercise the greatest cruelties upon all the hostages in
 “ his hands: But it will be easy for you, by your own authority, the dread
 “ of

“ of the army you command, the fame of your late victory, and the terror
 “ of the *Roman* name, to hinder any more *Germans* from coming over the
 “ *Rhine*, and to defend *Gaul* from the insults of *Ariovistus*.”

When *Divitiacus* had made an end of speaking, all who were present began, with many tears, to implore *Cæsar*'s aid. He observed, that the *Sequani* alone did nothing of all this; but pensive, and with downcast looks, kept their eyes fixed on the ground. Wondering what might be the cause, he questioned them upon it. Still they made him no answer, but continued silent, as before, with the same air of dejection. When he had interrogated them several times, without being able to obtain one word in return, *Divitiacus*, the *Æduan*, resumed the discourse, and observed, “ that the
 “ condition of the *Sequani* was by much more deplorable and wretched
 “ than that of the rest of the *Gauls*; as they alone durst not, even in se-
 “ cret, complain of their wrongs, or apply any where for redress, and no
 “ less dreaded the cruelty of *Ariovistus* when absent, than if actually pre-
 “ sent before their eyes: That the other states had it still in their power
 “ to escape by flight; but the *Sequani*, who had received him into their
 “ territories, and put him in possession of all their towns, were exposed to
 “ suffer every kind of torment.”

Cæsar encouraged the *Gauls*, and promised to have regard to their complaints; he told them he was in great hopes that, out of regard to him, and to the authority of the *Roman* People, *Ariovistus* would put an end to his oppressions. Having returned this answer, he dismissed the assembly.

Many urgent reasons occurred upon this occasion to *Cæsar*, why he should consider seriously of the grievances which the *Gauls* had complained of, and undertake their redress. He saw the *Ædui*, friends and allies of the People of *Rome*, held in subjection and servitude by the *Germans*, and compelled to give hostages to *Ariovistus* and the *Sequani*; which, in the present flourishing state of the *Roman* affairs, seemed highly dishonourable both to himself and the Commonwealth. He saw it likewise of dangerous consequence to suffer the *Germans* to accustom themselves to come over the *Rhine* in great multitudes and settle in *Gaul*: For this fierce and savage people, having once possessed themselves of the whole country, were but too likely, after the example of the *Cimbri* and *Teutoni*, to break into the *Roman* province, and thence advance even into *Italy*.

These considerations induced *Cæsar* to send Ambassadors to *Ariovistus* with the proposal of an interview, and to desire that he would appoint a place for it, in order to their conferring upon certain public affairs of the highest importance to them both. *Ariovistus* answered, “ That, if he had
 “ wanted any thing of *Cæsar*, he would have gone to him in person; and
 “ that *Cæsar*, if he had any business with him, must come to him: That
 “ he could neither venture, without any army, into those provinces of
 “ *Gaul* where *Cæsar* commanded, nor bring an army into the field without
 “ great

“ great trouble and expence. That he wondered extremely what business
“ either *Cæsar* or the People of *Rome* could have in that part of *Gaul*
“ which he had conquered.”

On the report of this answer, *Cæsar* sent another embassy, with commission to speak thus to the King: “ Since you have so little sense of the
“ great obligations you lie under to the *Roman* People and to *Cæsar*, in
“ whose Consulship you were stiled King and friend by the Senate, as to
“ refuse a conference with him, and decline treating of affairs that regard
“ the common interest, he sends you the particulars of what he requires of
“ you: *First, not to bring any more Germans over the Rhine into Gaul. In*
“ *the next place, to restore the hostages you have received from the Ædui,*
“ *and permit the Sequani likewise to restore the hostages given to them.*
“ *Lastly, to forbear all injuries towards the Ædui, and neither make war*
“ *upon them nor upon their allies.* If you comply with these conditions, it
“ will establish a perpetual amity between you and the *Roman* People:
“ But, if you do not comply, *Cæsar* will think himself bound to have re-
“ gard to the just complaints of the *Ædui*, and the other allies of *Rome*
“ in this country; the Senate having decreed, in the Consulship of *M.*
“ *Messala* and *M. Piso* [Y. of R. 692.] *that whoever should have in charge*
“ *the province of Gaul, should, so far as was consistent with the interest of*
“ *the Republic, protect and defend them.*”

To this *Ariovistus* sent the following reply: “ That, by the laws of war,
“ the conqueror had a right to impose what terms he pleased upon the
“ conquered: That the People of *Rome* did not govern the vanquished by
“ the prescriptions of other nations, but according to their own pleasure:
“ That he did not intermeddle with their conquests, nor interrupt them in
“ the free enjoyment of their rights; nor ought they to concern them-
“ selves with what regarded him: That the *Ædui*, having tried the for-
“ tune of war, had been overcome and rendered tributary to him, and that
“ *Cæsar* would be highly unjust if he attempted to deprive him of his re-
“ venues, or to diminish them. That he was resolved not to part with the
“ hostages which the *Ædui* had put into his hands; but would, neverthe-
“ less, engage, not to make war either upon him, or upon their allies,
“ provided they observed the treaty he had made with them, and readily
“ paid the tribute agreed upon: If otherwise, they would find the title of
“ *friends and allies of the People of Rome* of little advantage to them: That
“ as to *Cæsar’s* menace of *not neglecting the complaints of the Ædui*, he
“ would have him to know, that none had ever entered into a war with
“ *Ariovistus* but to their own destruction.”

At the same time that *Cæsar* received this reply, Ambassadors arrived from the *Ædui* and *Treviri*; from the *Ædui*, to complain that the *Harudes*, who had lately come [from *Germany*] into *Gaul*, were plundering their territories, so that even by their submissions and hostages they could not obtain peace of *Ariovistus*; from the *Treviri*, to inform him
that

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that a hundred cantons of the *Suevi*, headed by two brothers, were arrived upon the banks of the *Rhine*, with design to come over that river. *Cæsar*, deeply affected with this intelligence, determined to begin the war without delay: And fearing lest this new band of *Suevi* should strengthen the forces of *Ariccistus*, he advanced expeditiously towards the King, and the third day was informed, that he approached with all his forces to seize *Vesontio**, the capital of the *Sequani*. *Cæsar* judged it by all means necessary to prevent him in this design, as the town was well fortified by nature, and stored with all sorts of ammunition. Marching, therefore, day and night, without intermission, he possessed himself of the place, and put a garrison into it.

While he continued here a few days, to settle the affair of his convoys and supplies, a sudden terror seized his whole army. It was occasioned by the curiosity of his men, and the reports of the *Gauls*, who talked much of the prodigious stature of the *Germans*, their invincible courage, and wonderful skill in arms. The terror first began among certain young officers of the *Roman* army, who had voluntarily and gaily followed *Cæsar* into *Gaul*, and were but little acquainted with military affairs. Some of these, under various pretences, desired leave to return home; and others, though, out of shame, they seemed willing to continue in the camp, were not able to put on a chearful countenance, or to refrain from lamenting, with their companions, the dangers to which they fancied themselves exposed. Wills were made all over the camp, and the consternation began to seize even the veteran soldiers, the Centurions, and the officers of the cavalry: Only, to avoid the reproach of cowardice, they said, “it was not the enemy they feared, but the narrow passes and forests that lay between them and *Ariccistus*, and the difficulty they should find in getting provisions.” Some even intimated to *Cæsar*, that when he gave orders for marching, he would not be obeyed.

Cæsar hereupon called a council of war, and, having summoned thither all the Centurions of the army, spoke to them to the following effect: —“*Ariccistus*, during my Consulship, earnestly sought the alliance of the *Roman* People, why then should any one imagine he will so rashly and hastily depart from his engagements? On the contrary, so soon as he comes to know my demands, and the reasonable conditions I am about to propose to him, he will, I am firmly persuaded, be very far from rejecting either my friendship or that of the *Roman* People. But if, urged on by madness and rage, he should resolve upon war, what, after all, have you to be afraid of? Why should you distrust either your own courage or my conduct? You are to deal with enemies of whom, in the memory of our fathers, trial has been already made. By our victory over the *Teutoni* and *Cimbri*, the army itself acquired no less glory than *Caius Marius*, the General who commanded it.—They are the very same *Germans* with whom the *Helvetii*, though not a match
“ for

“ for our army, have so often fought, and whom they have so often
 “ vanquished. The defeat which the *Gauls* suffered, was rather by the
 “ conduct and craft of the *Germans*, than by their superior bravery. But
 “ though the King, by a stratagem, might baffle a rude and undisciplined
 “ soldiery, he cannot hope to prevail by such means against a *Roman* army.
 “ As to those who shelter their cowardice under the pretence of narrow
 “ passes, and the difficulty of procuring provisions, it argues, I think, no
 “ small presumption to betray such a distrust of their General’s conduct,
 “ or to prescribe to him what he ought to do. These things fall properly
 “ under my care: The *Sequani*, *Luci**, and *Lingones*, are to furnish me
 “ with provisions: The corn is now ripe in the fields: As to the ways,
 “ you yourselves will soon be judges of them.

* People
 of the land,
 about
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“ I am not in the least disturbed by what is whispered about, *that the*
 “ *army will not obey me*; for no General was ever so slighted by his soldiers,
 “ when neither ill success, nor rapacious covetousness, nor other crimes,
 “ had drawn that misfortune upon him: In all these respects I imagine
 “ myself secure, as the whole course of my life bears witness to my inte-
 “ grity; and my good fortune has shewn itself in the war against the
 “ *Helvetii*. I am therefore resolved to execute, without delay, what I had
 “ intended to put off a little longer. I shall give orders for decamping this
 “ very night, three hours before day, that I may know as soon as possible,
 “ whether honour and a sense of duty, or an ignominious cowardice, have
 “ the ascendant in my army: Nay, should all the rest of the troops abandon
 “ me, I will nevertheless march with *the Tenth Legion* alone, of whose fidelity
 “ and courage I had not the least doubt, and who shall serve me for my
 “ *Prætorian guard*.” [Caesar had always favoured and chiefly confided in
 this legion, remarkable for its intrepid bravery.]

This discourse made a wonderful change in the minds of all, and pro-
 duced an uncommon alacrity, and eagerness for the war. *The tenth legion*,
 in particular, returned him thanks, by their Tribunes, for the favourable
 opinion he had expressed of them; and assured him of their readiness to
 follow him. Nor were the other legions less industrious, by their Tribunes
 and principal Centurions, to reconcile themselves to their General, pro-
 testing that they had never entertained either doubt or fear, nor had ever
 imagined that it belonged to them, but to him alone, to direct in matters
 of war. *Cæsar*, having accepted of their submission, and being informed
 by *Divitiacus* (in whom of all the *Gauls* he most confided) that, by ta-
 king a circuit of about forty miles, he might avoid the narrow passes, and
 lead his army through an open country, he set forward three hours after
 midnight, as he had said; and, after a march of seven days, understood
 by his scouts, that he was within four and twenty thousand paces of *Ario-*
vistus’s camp.

The King, informed of *Cæsar’s* arrival, sent Ambassadors to acquaint
 him, that, as they were come nearer to each other, he was willing to have

an interview with him, which he believed might now be without danger. *Cæsar* did not decline the proposal, imagining that the *German*, now offering of his own accord what he had before refused, when requested, might perhaps be disposed to hearken to reason. The fifth day after was appointed for the interview; and, in the interval, frequent deputations passed and repassed from one side to the other, to regulate the circumstances and conditions of it. *Ariovistus*, under pretence that he feared an ambush, demanded that *Cæsar* should bring no infantry with him: Both he and the King were to be attended by their cavalry only. To this *Cæsar* consented; yet, not caring to trust his safety to the *Gauls*, he dismounted all the *Gallic* cavalry, and gave their horses to the men of *the tenth legion*, that, in case of danger, he might have a guard on which he could rely.

In the midst of a large plain, there was a rising ground equally distant from both camps: At this place, by appointment, the conference was to be held. *Cæsar* stationed the legionary soldiers, whom he had converted into troopers, two hundred paces from the mount. *Ariovistus* did the same with the *German* cavalry. The two Commanders advanced to meet one another, each accompanied by ten friends, or principal officers; for so *Ariovistus* had desired it might be. The conference was on horseback. *Cæsar* began by reminding the King of his obligations to the Republic. "You have been stiled *friend* and *ally* by the Senate, and very considerable presents have been sent you: These honours, conferred by the *Romans* on very few, and only for signal services to the State, have been bestowed on you, not on account of any just claim you had to them, but merely by my favour and the bounty of the Senate." He mentioned likewise the ancient alliance which had subsisted between the *Romans* and *Ædui*, in whose favour the Senate had made many honourable decrees. He added: "The *Ædui* always held the first rank and authority in *Gaul*, even before their alliance with *Rome*; and it is the inviolable maxim of the *Roman* People, not only to defend their friends and allies in the possession of their just rights, but likewise to study the increase of their honour, interest, and dignity: Therefore it can never be supposed that they will submit to see their friends stripped of those privileges, which had belonged to them before the commencement of that friendship." And he concluded with repeating the same demands which he had before made by his Ambassadors; *That the King should not make war upon the Ædui or their allies; that he should restore to them their hostages; and that, if he could not oblige the Germans to repass the Rhine, at least he should suffer no more of them to come into Gaul.*

Ariovistus answered: "I crossed the *Rhine*, not of my own motion, but by invitation and intreaty from the *Gauls*. The great hopes and expectations they gave me were my only inducement to quit my country: The settlements I have in *Gaul* were assigned to me by the *Gauls* themselves;

“ themselves ; the hostages were voluntarily sent ; and the tribute I receive
 “ is in consequence of the rights of war : I did not make war upon the
 “ *Gauls*, they made war upon me : Their several states brought their
 “ united forces against me ; but I found means to vanquish and disperse
 “ them : One battle sufficed : If they are again resolved to try the fortune
 “ of war, I am prepared to receive them ; but, if they chuse peace, it
 “ will be unjust in them to refuse a tribute which they have hitherto vo-
 “ luntarily paid. The friendship of the *Roman* People ought not to be a
 “ detriment to me, but an honour and a security ; I courted it in no other
 “ view : But if, on account of my alliance with them, I must submit to
 “ lose my tributes, and my rights over the people I have subdued, I am
 “ no less willing to give up that alliance than I was ambitious to obtain it.
 “ I have indeed brought over a multitude of *Germans* into *Gaul*, yet not
 “ with any design of disturbing the country, as appears by my not coming
 “ but at the request of the natives. My arrival in *Gaul* was prior to that
 “ of the *Romans*, whose armies have never till now passed the boundaries
 “ of their own provinces. What can they mean by coming into a coun-
 “ try that belongs to me ? why do they concern themselves with a part
 “ of *Gaul* that is no less my property than the province itself is theirs ?
 “ As to the pretence of alliance between the *Romans* and *Ædui*, I am not
 “ so much a barbarian, or so wholly a stranger to the affairs of the world,
 “ as not to know, that the *Ædui* neither assisted the *Romans* in their late
 “ war against the *Allobroges*, nor received any assistance from them in their
 “ many conflicts with me and the *Sequani*. I have reason to be jealous of
 “ your pretended regard for the *Ædui*, and have but too much reason to
 “ suspect, that the continuance of the *Roman* army in *Gaul* can be with
 “ no other design than that of oppressing me. If you do not therefore
 “ withdraw your troops out of these parts, I shall no longer look upon
 “ you as a friend, but as an enemy. And I am well assured, that, should
 “ I happen to kill you in battle, I should do a pleasure to many of the
 “ nobles and great men at *Rome*, who have explained themselves to me
 “ by couriers, and whose favour and friendship I might procure by your
 “ death : But if you will retire, and leave me in the undisturbed possession
 “ of *Gaul*, I will not only amply reward you, but will engage, at my own
 “ cost and hazard, to put a happy conclusion to any war you shall think
 “ fit to undertake.”

In answer to this discourse, *Cæsar* offered many reasons why he could
 not depart from his first demands : “ That neither his own honour,
 “ nor that of the *Roman* People, would suffer him to abandon allies, who
 “ had deserved so well of the Republic. That it no way appeared to him,
 “ that *Ariovistus* had a juster claim to *Gaul* than the *Romans* : That
 “ the *Arverni* and *Ruteni* † had been subdued by *Q. Fabius Maximus* ; † La Rou-
 “ who yet, contented with their submission, had neither reduced their ergue,
 “ country into a province, nor subjected it to a tribute : That if antiquity

“ of title was to decide the question, the *Romans* had an undoubted right
 “ to the sovereignty of *Gaul*: Or, if the decree of the Senate was to take
 “ place, *Gaul* must remain free, and subject only to its own laws.

Whilst these things passed at the interview, *Cæsar* was informed that *Ariovistus*'s cavalry were drawing nearer the eminence, and had even cast some darts at his horsemen. Hereupon he immediately broke off the conference, retreated to his own men, and strictly charged them to forbear all acts of hostility. He did not fear the success of an engagement between his chosen legion and the *German* cavalry; but he was desirous to maintain a conduct perfectly clear, and not give the enemy the least ground to assert, that they had been treacherously drawn into an ambush by a pretended conference. When it was known in the camp that *Ariovistus*, at the interview, had haughtily ordered the *Romans* to depart out of *Gaul*; that his cavalry had insulted *Cæsar*'s guard; and that this had put an end to the conference; it spread throughout the whole army an ardent desire of coming to a battle.

Two day after, *Ariovistus* sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, to propose a renewal of the negociation; and that he would either appoint a day for their meeting again, or depute some one to bring the treaty to a conclusion. *Cæsar* saw no reason for granting a second interview, especially when he considered that the *Germans*, as experience had taught him, could not be restrained from falling upon his men. Neither was he inclined to send any of his principal officers; it seemed too great a venture, to expose them to the perfidy of these barbarians. He therefore cast his eyes upon *C. Valerius Procilius**, a young man of eminent virtue and gentle manners, and whose knowledge of the *Gallic* language, which *Ariovistus*, by long residence in the country had learnt to speak readily, fitted him in a particular manner for this embassy: And as the *Germans* could have no motive to insult him, *Cæsar* thought him safe from that danger. With him was joined, in the same commission, *M. Mettius*, a person who had a connexion with *Ariovistus* by the ties of hospitality. Their instructions were, to hear the King's proposals, and bring a report of them to *Cæsar*. But no sooner were they arrived in *Ariovistus*'s camp, than, in presence of the whole army, calling out to know their business, and whether they were come as spies, he commanded them to be put in irons, without suffering them to make any reply.

The same day he came forward with all his forces, and lodged himself under a hill, six miles from the *Roman* camp. The day after, he went two miles beyond it, to cut off their communication with the *Ædui* and *Sequani*, from whom they received all their provisions. *Cæsar*, for five days successively, drew up his men in order of battle before the camp, that, if *Ariovistus* had a mind, he might not be without an opportunity

* He was the son of *C. Valerius Caburus*, who, being made free of the City by *C. Valerius Flaccus*, had, according to custom, taken the name of his Patron.

of coming to an engagement. The *Germans* kept all that time within their lines; only between the cavalry of the two armies there were daily skirmishes. The *German* manner of fighting was this: They had about six thousand horse, who chose a like number out of the foot, each his man, and all remarkable for strength and agility. These continually accompanied them in battle, and served as a rear-guard, to which, when hard pressed, they might retire: If the action became dangerous, these advanced to their relief: If any horseman was wounded, and fell from his horse, these gathered round to defend him: If speed was required, either for a hasty pursuit or sudden retreat, so nimble and active were they by continual exercise, that, laying hold of the manes of the horses, they could keep pace with them in running.

Cæsar, finding that *Ariovistus* declined a battle, turned his thoughts chiefly to provide for the freedom of his convoys. With this view he marked out a place for a camp, six hundred paces beyond that of the enemy; and thither he marched with his whole army, drawn up in three lines. The first and second line had orders to continue under arms, while the third was to employ themselves in fortifying this new camp. *Ariovistus* detached sixteen thousand light-armed foot, and all his horse, to hinder the work, but without effect: The intrenchments were finished, and *Cæsar*, leaving two legions there, with part of the auxiliaries, led back the remaining four to his other camp. The next day, drawing out all his troops from both camps, he again offered the enemy battle, which *Ariovistus* still declined: *Cæsar* retired about noon. *Ariovistus* then detached part of his forces to attack the lesser camp. A sharp conflict ensued, which lasted till sun-set: when *Ariovistus* founded a retreat. *Cæsar* enquiring of the prisoners, why *Ariovistus* declined an engagement, learnt, that it was the custom among the *Germans* for the women to decide by lots and divination, when it would be proper to hazard a battle: And that these had declared, that the army could not be victorious if they fought before the new moon.

Cæsar hereupon resolved to force the enemy, without delay, to a battle: At the head of all his forces, in three lines, he advanced quite up to the head of their camp. The *Germans* now appeared before their intrenchment: They were distributed by nations, and disposed at equal distances one from another, and the whole army encompassed with a line of carriages, to take away all hope of safety by flight. The women, mounted upon these carriages, weeping and tearing their hair, conjured the soldiers, as they moved forwards, not to suffer them to become slaves to the *Romans*. *Cæsar* began the battle in person at the head of his right wing, having observed the enemy to be weakest on that side. Their left wing was soon routed and put to flight, but their right had the advantage, and were like to overpower the *Roman* left wing by numbers. Young *Crassus*, who commanded the cavalry, observing this, made the

third line advance to support them. The battle was renewed, and the enemy every where put to the rout: Nor did they cease their flight till they had reached the banks of the *Rhine*, about fifty miles distant from the place of combat. There only a few escaped: some by swimming, others by boats. Of the latter was *Ariovistus*, who, embarking in a small vessel which he found by the edge of the river, got safe to the other side. All the rest were cut to pieces by the *Roman* cavalry. *Ariovistus* had two wives; one a *Sueve*, whom he had brought with him from *Germany*, the other a *Norican*, King *Vocion's* sister, whom he had married in *Gaul*. Both perished in this flight. Of his two daughters, one was killed, and the other taken prisoner. *Procilius*, whom, bound with a triple chain, his keepers had dragged after them in their flight, fell in with *Cæsar* in person as he was pursuing the *German* cavalry. *Cæsar's* joy for his victory was exceedingly heightened by his good fortune in recovering, out of the hands of the enemy, his intimate and familiar friend, universally esteemed for his probity. *Procilius* told him, that lots had been thrice drawn in his own presence, to decide whether he should be burnt alive upon the spot, or the execution be deferred to another time; and that the lot, three times favourable, had preserved his life. *Mettius* was likewise recovered and brought to *Cæsar*.

This battle being reported beyond the *Rhine*, the *Suevi*, who were advanced as far as the banks of that river, thought it adviseable to return to their own country; but, retreating in disorder and confusion, were attacked by the *Ubii*, a people bordering upon the *Rhine*, who put many of them to the sword.

Cæsar, having thus, in one campaign, given a happy conclusion to two very considerable wars, went into winter-quarters somewhat sooner than the season of the year required. He distributed his army among the *Sequani*, and, leaving *Labienus* to command in his absence, set out for *Cisalpine-Gaul*, to preside in the assembly of the states.

J. C.
Comm.
lib. ii.
= The people of the
Nether-
lands.

In the winter, whilst *Cæsar* was in that country, he was alarmed by frequent reports, confirmed by letters from *Labienus*, that all the *Belgæ** had joined in a league against the *Roman* Republic, and ratified it by an exchange of hostages.

The causes of this confederacy were: First, their fear, lest the *Romans*, having subdued all the rest of *Gaul*, should afterwards turn their arms against *them*: In the next place, the persuasions and importunity of some among the *Celtæ*; many of whom, as they had greatly disliked the neighbourhood of the *Germans* in *Gaul*, so were they no less displeased to see a *Roman* army take up its winter-quarters, and grow habitual, in the country; Others from a levity and inconstancy of temper, fond of every project that tended to a revolution. Lastly, some were influenced by ambitious views; it being usual in *Gaul* for those who were the most powerful in their several states, and had men and money at command, to exercise

over their fellow-subjects a kind of sovereignty, which they foresaw would be greatly checked by the authority and credit of the *Romans* in *Gaul*.

[Year of *Rome* 696 *.]

Cæsar, upon receiving these messages and reports, levied two new legions in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and early in the spring sent *Q. Pedius*, his Lieutenant, to conduct them over the *Alps*; and he himself, as soon as there began to be forage in the fields, went to the army. He commissioned the *Senones*† and other *Gauls*, who bordered on *Belgic Gaul*, to inform themselves of the motions and designs of the confederates, and send him from time to time an exact account. They all agreed in reporting, that the *Belgæ* were levying troops, and drawing their forces to a general rendezvous. Whereupon *Cæsar*, thinking he ought no longer to delay marching against them, decamped, and in fifteen days arrived on the confines of the *Belgæ*.

As his approach was sudden, and much earlier than had been expected, the *Rbemi*‡, who of all the *Belgæ* lay the nearest to *Celtic Gaul*, dispatched the two principal men of their state to represent to *Cæsar*: “That they put themselves and fortunes under the power and protection of the *Romans*, as having neither approved of the designs of the rest of the *Belgæ*, nor had any share in their confederacy against the People of *Rome*: That, on the contrary, they were ready to give hostages, execute his commands, receive him into their towns, and furnish him with corn, and other provisions for his army: That indeed the rest of the *Belgæ* were all in arms, and that the *Germans*, on this side the *Rhine*, had associated with them: Nay, that so universal was the infatuation, that the *Rbemi* had not been able to dissuade from entering into the confederacy the *Suessones*, a people united to them by the nearest ties of blood and friendship, both being subject to the same laws, living under the same form of government, and acknowledging one common Magistrate.”

Cæsar learnt from the *Rbemi*, that the *Belgæ* were for the most part *Germans* originally, who, inticed by the fertility of the country, had crossed the *Rhine*, driven out the ancient inhabitants of that part of *Gaul*, and settled themselves there.—That, as to their numbers, the *Bellovaci*, the most considerable of the several states, were able to muster 100,000 fighting men, and out of that number had promised to select 60,000 for the war: That next to them in dignity were the *Suessones*, over whom, of late years, *Divitiacus*, the most powerful prince of *Gaul*, had been King; but that their present sovereign was *Galba*, whose singular prudence and justice had procured him, by the consent of all the confederates, the supreme command of the war: That these had within their territories twelve fortified towns, and had promised to bring into the field 50,000

* *Gn. Corn. Lentulus Spintber*, and *Q. Metellus Nepos*, Consuls.

men ::

men: That the like number had been stipulated by the *Nervii*^b, esteemed the most fierce and warlike of all the *Belgic* nations; and that the lesser states were to furnish troops proportionably.

Cæsar, exhorting the *Rbemi* to continue firm in their alliance, and promising amply to reward their fidelity, ordered the whole body of their Senate to repair to his camp, and the sons of the principal nobility to be brought him as hostages; all which was accordingly performed by the day appointed. He then addressed himself to *Divitiacus*, the *Æduan*, representing, in the warmest manner, of what consequence it was to the common cause to divide the forces of the enemy, that the *Romans* might not be under the necessity of encountering so great a multitude at once. This division, he told him, might easily be effected, if the *Ædui* would march their forces into the country of the *Bellovaci*, and begin to plunder it and lay it waste. With these instructions he dismissed him.

Being soon after informed by his scouts and by the *Rbemi*, that the united forces of the *Belgæ* were marching towards him in a body, and that they were even advanced within a few miles, he, with all the expedition he could

The Aisne. passed his army over the *Axona*, which divides the *Rbemi* from the rest of the *Belgæ*, and encamped on the farther side of it; putting himself in such a situation as to secure all behind him, cover one side of his camp with a river, and render the communication with the *Rbemi*, and those other states whence he expected to be supplied with provisions, safe and easy.

The *Belgæ*, having been disappointed in an attempt upon *Bibrax*, a town belonging to the *Rbemi*, and likewise in an attempt to pass the *Axona*; and finding that provisions began to be scarce, and that the *Romans* could not be drawn to fight at a disadvantage, called a council of war. It was there judged most expedient to separate, and return every man to his own country, with a resolution, however, to assemble from all parts in defence of that state whose territories should be first invaded by the *Romans*: For they concluded it much safer to carry on the war at home, where they might have provisions, and every thing at command, than venture a battle within the confines of a foreign state. These reasons were at the same time backed by a still more powerful consideration: For the *Bellovaci*, upon advice that their territories would quickly be invaded by *Divitiacus* and the *Ædui*, could not be restrained from marching directly homewards.

^b The *Nervii* possessed the country between the *Scheld* and the *Sambre*. Their chief cities are thought to have been *Cambrai*, *Valenciennes*, and *Tourney*. The *Atrebates* (people of *Artois*) were to furnish 15,000: The *Ambiani* (people of *Amiens*) 10,000: The *Morini* (people of *Termans* and *Boulogne*) 25,000: The *Menapii* (people of *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, and

the sea-coast of *Brabant*) 9000: The *Caletes* (people of *Caux*) 10,000: The *Valocasses* and *Vermandui* (people of *Vexis* and *St. Quentin*) the like number: The *Aduatici* (people of *Namur*) 29,000: And the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cerefi*, and *Panani*, all comprehended under the common name of *Germans*, 40,000.

In pursuance of the resolution above-mentioned, the *Belgæ* broke up their camp about the second watch of the night. All was noise and tumult: Not regarding either order in their march or the command of their officers, each man pressed to be in the foremost rank, that he might get the sooner home; insomuch that their retreat had all the appearance of a precipitate flight. *Cæsar*, who had immediate notice of this from his scouts, apprehending some stratagem, because he knew not yet the reason of their departure, would not stir out of his trenches in the night: But early in the morning, upon more certain intelligence of their retreat, detached his Lieutenants, *Pedius* and *Cotta*, with all the cavalry, after them. *Labiænus* had orders to follow with three legions. The enemy suffered a great slaughter in their flight, the *Romans* little or no loss. The latter, about sun-set, gave over the pursuit, and returned to the camp, in obedience to the orders they had received.

The next day, before the enemy had time to rally, or recover out of their consternation, *Cæsar* led his army into the territories of the *Suessones*, which joined to those of the *Rbemi*, and, after a long march, reached *Noviodunum*. He was in hopes of carrying the town by assault, as being destitute of a sufficient garrison: But, as the ditch was broad, and the wall very high, the defendants, though few in number, withstood all his efforts. Wherefore, having fortified his camp, he began to provide engines, and get every thing in readiness for a siege. Mean time, such of the *Suessones* as had escaped the late slaughter, threw themselves, during the night, into the town. But *Cæsar* advancing his preparations with great expedition, and approaching, under cover of his mantlets, to the very walls, where he cast up a mount, and planted his battering towers, the *Gauls*, astonished at the greatness of the works, as having never seen nor heard of any such before, and at the dispatch wherewith they were carried on, sent deputies to treat about a surrendry; and the *Rbemi* interceded for them.

Cæsar, having received the principal men of the *Suessones* as hostages (amongst whom were two sons of *Galba* the King) and obliged them to deliver up all their arms, admitted them to a surrendry, and led his army against the *Bellovaci*. These, retiring with their effects into *Bratupantium**, their capital city, and, understanding that *Cæsar* was advanced within five miles of it, sent a deputation of their old men, who came forth in venerable procession to meet him, signifying by outstretched hands, and the most submissive terms, that they put themselves under his power and protection, and did not pretend to appear in arms against the People of *Rome*: And when he approached nearer the city, and encamped within view of the walls, the women and children from the ramparts, with extended arms, according to the custom of their country, besought the *Romans* for peace. Hereupon *Divitiacus*, who, after the retreat of the *Belgæ*, had dismissed the *Æbui*, and returned to *Cæsar's* camp, interposed

Noyon.

* Beauvais.

posed in behalf of the *Bellovaci*, pleading : “ That they had always lived
 “ in strict friendship with the *Ædui*, and, by the artful insinuations of
 “ their chiefs, had been seduced to forsake their ancient allies, and take
 “ up arms against the *Romans*, whom they had represented as holding the
 “ *Ædui* under an ignominious tyranny and oppression : That the authors
 “ of that advice seeing its pernicious effects, were retired into *Britain*.”
Cæsar, out of regard to *Divitiacus* and the *Ædui*, promised pardon and
 protection to the *Bellovaci* ; but as these were possessed of very extensive
 territories, and surpassed in power, and number of forces, all the other
Belgic states, he demanded six hundred hostages.

These being accordingly delivered, together with all their arms, *Cæsar*
 left their city and advanced into the country of the *Ambiani* *, who, upon
 his approach, immediately submitted. Adjoining to these were the *Ner-*
 * People of Amiens.
 † People of Cambresis.
vii † ; of whose manners and genius *Cæsar*, enquiring, learnt : “ That they
 “ suffered no resort of merchants into their city, nor the importation of
 “ wine, or of any thing tending to luxury, which, they thought, enfeebled
 “ the mind, and extinguished its martial fire : That they were men of a
 “ warlike spirit, and were continually reproaching the rest of the *Belge*
 “ for ignominiously submitting to the *Roman* yoke ; and had openly decla-
 “ red their resolution of neither sending Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, nor accept-
 “ ing any terms of peace.”

Cæsar, after a march of three days through their territories, understood
 from some prisoners : “ That he was now advanced within ten miles of the
 “ *Sambre*, on the other side of which the enemy had posted themselves,
 “ and there waited the coming of the *Romans* : That they had been joined
 “ by the *Atrebatæ* ‡ and *Vermandui* §, neighbouring nations, whom they
 “ had persuaded to take part in the fortune of the war : That they ex-
 “ pected also to be reinforced by the *Aduaticæ*, who were already on their
 “ march : And that all their women, and such as, on account of age, were
 “ unfit to bear arms, had been conveyed to a place of safety, inaccessible
 “ by reason of the marshes that surrounded it.” The two armies posted
 themselves on two hills, opposite to each other, the *Sambre* running be-
 tween, which was not, in that part, above three feet in depth.
 The battle which ensued was bravely and resolutely fought on both sides,
 and with great variety of fortune : Each army possessed itself of the ene-
 my's camp : The *Roman* cavalry were once broken and put to flight : The
 twelfth and the seventh legions reduced to the utmost distress : Nor was
 there any body of reserve from which they could expect succour. In
 this extremity, *Cæsar*, snatching a buckler from one of the soldiers, and,
 pressing to the front of the battle, called upon the Centurions by name,
 and encouraged the rest. His arrival inspired the legionaries with new
 hope ; and, every one being ambitious of distinguishing himself in the
 presence of his General, they redoubled their efforts, and checked the pro-
 gress of the enemy. In the mean-time, two new-raised legions, that had
 been

‡ People of
 Atrebatæ.
 § People of
 Vermandois, a
 part of
 Picardy.

been placed in the rear of the *Roman* army, and been appointed to follow and guard the baggage, hearing of the battle, advanced with all possible speed : And *Labienus*, who had made himself master of the enemy's camp, observing from the hill on which that stood, how matters went with *Cæsar*, detached the *tenth legion* to his assistance.

The arrival of this detachment produced so great a change in favour of the *Romans*, that many of the soldiers, who, before lay oppressed with wounds, now resuming courage, renewed the fight : Nay, the very servants of the camp, unarmed as they were, observing the consternation of the enemy, rushed among their armed battalions. The cavalry too, striving by extraordinary efforts, to wipe off the ignominy of their late flight, charged the enemy in all places where the void spaces between the legions suffered them to advance. Mean time, the *Nervii*, now very hard pressed, exerted themselves with such determined courage, that, their front ranks being cut off, those who stood behind mounted the bodies of the slain, and thence continued the fight : And when these too, by their fall, had raised a mount of carcases, those who remained, ascending the pile, poured their javelins upon the *Romans* as from a rampart, and even returned the darts thrown at them by their enemies. Fame therefore (says *Cæsar*) did not deceive in proclaiming so loudly the bravery of this people.

In a battle, maintained with such obstinacy, the loss of the vanquished must necessarily be prodigious : The very name and nation of the *Nervii* were in a manner quite extinguished : The old men, who, with the women and children (as above related) had been conveyed into a place surrounded with bogs and morasses, upon the report of this terrible overthrow, resolved, with the consent of all that survived the late destruction, to send a deputation to *Cæsar*, and surrender themselves. These deputies, in reciting the calamities of their country, represented, that of six hundred Senators there remained only three ; and that from sixty thousand fighting men their soldiers were reduced to five hundred. *Cæsar* readily took them under his protection, allowing them free and full possession of their towns and territories, and strictly commanding all the neighbouring nations to abstain from doing them any injury.

The *Aduatici*, of whom mention has been made above, being upon their march with all their forces to join the *Nervii*, and hearing of their total defeat, immediately returned home, and then abandoning all their other towns and castles, conveyed themselves and their riches into a place which nature had strongly fortified : For it was on every side surrounded with high rocks and precipices, having only one avenue of about two

This people were descended from the *Helvetii*, who, in their march towards the *Alps* and *Italy*, left their heavy baggage on this side the *Rhine*, with a detachment of six thousand men to guard it. These, after the final overthrow of their countrymen, being for many years in wars with the neighbouring States, sometimes acting on the offensive, sometimes on the defensive, at length, with the consent of all the bordering nations, obtained peace, and settled themselves in the place.

hundred feet broad, that led to the town by a gentle rising. Here they raised a double wall of prodigious height, whereon, as a farther security, they laid great numbers of huge stones and strong-pointed beams.

On the first arrival of the *Roman* army before the town, the inhabitants made frequent sallies from it, and engaged the besiegers in slight skirmishes. But *Cæsar* having drawn a line of contravallation twelve feet high, fifteen miles in circumference, and every where well fortified with redoubts, they kept themselves within their walls. When the *Romans* had finished their approaches, and cast up a mount, and were preparing a tower of assault behind their works, the besieged from their battlements at first derided them, and in contemptuous language asked the meaning of that prodigious engine raised at such a distance! With what hands or strength, men of the size and make of the *Romans* (whose small stature the *Gauls*, who were for the most part very tall, despised) could hope to bring forward so unwieldy a machine against their walls? But when they saw it removed, and approaching near the town, astonished at the new and strange appearance, they sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to sue for peace. These, being introduced, told him, "That they doubted not but the *Romans* were assisted in their wars by the Gods themselves; it seeming a more than human task to transport, with such facility, an engine of that amazing height, by which they were brought upon a level with their enemies, and enabled to engage them in close fight. That they therefore put themselves and their fortunes into his hands, requesting only, that if his clemency, of which they had heard much, should determine him to spare them, he would not deprive them of their arms: That the neighbouring nations were almost all their enemies, against whom they could not defend themselves if their arms were taken away; and that they would chuse to undergo any fortune from the hands of the *Romans*, rather than expose themselves to be cruelly slaughtered by those, over whom they had been wont to exercise dominion."

To this *Cæsar* answered, "That, to conform himself to his usual conduct on such occasions, and not for any merit of theirs, he was willing to grant them peace, provided they submitted before the battering-ram touched the walls; but that no surrendry would be accepted, unless they delivered up their arms: That he would take the same care of them as he had before done of the *Nervii*, and lay his express commands upon the neighbouring nations to abstain from all injuries towards a people who had put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*." The Ambassadors returning with this answer, their countrymen accepted, in appearance, the conditions offered them; and threw so vast a quantity of arms into the ditch before the town, that the heap almost reached to the top of the wall. Nevertheless, as was afterwards known, they retained about a third part, and concealed them within the town. The gates being thrown open, there was peace for the remaining part of that day.

In

In the evening, *Cæsar* ordered the gates to be shut, and his soldiers to quit the town, that no injury might be offered to the inhabitants during the night. The *Aduatici*, imagining that the *Romans*, after the surrendry of the place, would either set no guard at all, or, at most, keep watch with little care, armed themselves partly with those weapons they had secretly retained, and partly with targets, made of bark or wicker, and covered over hastily with hides, and made a furious sally about midnight with all their forces, on that side where the *Roman* works seemed to be of easiest access. The alarm being immediately given by lighting fires, as *Cæsar* had directed, the soldiers ran from the neighbouring forts to the place of action. A very sharp conflict ensued: For the enemy now driven to despair, and having no hope but in their valour, fought with all possible resolution; though the *Romans* had the advantage of the ground, and poured their javelins upon them both from the towers and the top of the rampart. About four thousand were slain upon the spot; the rest retired into the town. Next day the gates were forced, no one offering to make the least resistance, and the army having taken possession of the place, the inhabitants, to the number of fifty-three thousand, were sold for slaves.

About the same time *Publius Crassus*, whom *Cæsar* had sent with a legion against the *Veneti* *, and six other neighbouring states †, inhabiting the sea-coast, dispatched messengers to acquaint him, that all those states had submitted to the dominion of the *Romans*.

* The people of Vannes.

The campaign being ended, and all the provinces of *Gaul* subdued, such was the opinion conceived of this war among the Barbarians round about, that even the nations beyond the *Rhine* sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, offering to give hostages, and submit to his commands: But he, being then in haste to return to *Italy* and *Illyricum*, ordered them to attend him next spring. Having put his army into winter-quarters, in the territories of the *Andes*, *Turones*, and *Carnutes*, which states lay nearest to the provinces that had been the seat of the war, he himself set out for *Italy*.

The people of Anjou, Touraine, and Chartrain.

The Senate, informed by letter from *Cæsar* of his successes, decreed a thanksgiving of fifteen days, a number never granted before to any General †.

Cæsar, upon his departure for *Italy*, sent *Sergius Galba*, with the twelfth legion, against the *Nantuates* †, *Veragri*, and *Seduni*, whose territories extended from the confines of the *Allobroges*, the lake *Lemanus*, and the river *Rhone*, to the top of the *Alps*. His design, in this expedition, was to open a free passage over those mountains for the *Roman* merchants,

J. C. Comm. lib. iii.

* The *Ucelli*, *Osismii*, *Carisolytæ*, *Sesuvii*, *Aulerci*, and *Rhedones*. The exact situation of these is unknown.

† *Pompey* was the first General to whose honour so many as ten days had been decreed. *Vid. supra*, p. 271.

* The *Nantuates* are said to have been the ancient inhabitants of that part of *Switzerland* now called *Lechthal*. The chief town of the *Veragri*, was *Aganthy*, now *St. Maurice*. The capital of the *Seduni* was *Sion*, in *Switzerland*.

who had hitherto travelled them with great danger, and subject to many grievous exactions. *Galba* executed his commission, made himself master of several forts, received Ambassadors from the nations all around, and, having settled the terms of peace with them, received hostages for their fidelity. Having quartered two cohorts among the *Nantuates*, he himself, with the rest of the troops, took up his winter-quarters in a town of the *Veragri*, called *Oedurus*. It was situated in the midst of a valley, upon a plain of no great extent, and bounded on all sides with very high mountains.

As the city was divided into two parts by a river, he left one to the *Gauls*, and assigned the other to his soldiers, commanding them to fortify it with a ditch and rampart. After many days spent here, he was suddenly informed, that the *Gauls* had abandoned, in the night, that part of the city which had been allotted to them; and that the impending mountains were covered with the *Viragri* and *Seduni*. Upon this intelligence, *Galba*, who had neither completed the fortifications of his camp, nor laid in a sufficient store of corn and other provisions, as little apprehending an insurrection of this kind among the people who had submitted and given hostages, speedily assembled a council of war: The danger was imminent and unexpected; there was no room to hope for succours, or for supplies of provision, the enemy being in possession of all the avenues to the camp. Some of the council, thinking the case desperate, declared for abandoning the baggage, and attempting by a sally to recover their old quarters: But the greater number were for reserving this expedient to the last extremity, and in the mean time defending the camp in the best manner they could. It was not long before the enemy came rushing down upon them from all parts, and began the assault with a shower of stones and darts. When the battle had lasted upwards of six hours without intermission, the *Romans* not only found their strength greatly exhausted, but even began to be in want of weapons wherewith to annoy the enemy. The *Gauls*, on the other hand, urged the combat with greater fury than ever; and, meeting with but a faint resistance, fell to demolishing the rampart, and filling up the ditch. All was giving way before them, when *P. Sextius Baculus*, a Centurion of the first rank, and highest reputation for courage, who had received many wounds in the battle against the *Nervii*; as likewise *Volsenus*, a man equally distinguished for his conduct and his bravery, came to *Galba*, and represented to him that the only expedient now left was to make a sudden sally, and put all upon the issue of one bold attack. Accordingly *Galba*, calling the Centurions together, directed them immediately to signify to the soldiers, that they should for some time keep only upon the defensive, and when they had a little recovered their strength, and furnished themselves with the weapons thrown at them by the enemy, upon a signal given, to sally out of the camp, and place all their hopes of safety in their valour. The orders were punctually obeyed: The *Romans*,
rushing

rushing furiously upon the enemy, gave them no time either to comprehend the meaning of so unexpected an attack, or to recover out of the confusion into which it threw them : And thus fortune changed sides. Of thirty thousand fighting men, who had been engaged in the assault, more than 10,000 perished upon the spot : The rest fled in terror and confusion. *Galba*, seeing the enemy entirely dispersed, quitted the pursuit and retired within his intrenchments. The next day, unwilling to expose himself a second time to the inconstancy of fortune, and being in great want of corn and forage, set fire to the town, and began his march back into the province. As there was no enemy in the field to molest or oppose him in his retreat, he brought the legion safe into the country of the *Nantuates*, and thence into the territories of the *Allobroges*, where he put them into winter-quarters.

The insurrection being thus entirely quelled, *Cæsar*, who believed that tranquillity was now re-established in *Gaul* (the *Belgæ* being subdued, the *Germans* expelled, and the inhabitants of the *Alps* compelled to submit) made a journey, in the beginning of the winter, into *Illyricum* ; when all on a sudden a new war broke out in *Celtic Gaul*. The occasion of it was this : The seventh legion, commanded by young *Crassus*, had been quartered among the *Andes*, a people bordering upon the ocean. As there was a great scarcity of corn in those parts, *Crassus* sent some officers of the cavalry to solicit a supply from the neighbouring states. Of these states the *Veneti* were by far the most powerful, not only on account of their abundant shipping, wherewith they drove a mighty traffic to *Britain*, but because most of the nations that trade on those seas were tributaries to them. They began to revolt by detaining the officers sent to them by *Crassus*, hoping, by this means, to recover the hostages put into his hands. The neighbouring states, moved by their example and authority, (as the *Gauls* are in general very sudden and forward in their resolves) detained, for the same reason, the officers sent to them, and speedily dispatching embassies from one to another, entered into a strict confederacy for supporting the common cause ; earnestly soliciting, at the same time, the inland provinces to rise in defence of that liberty they had received from their ancestors, and not tamely submit to the ignominious yoke of the *Romans*. All the states upon the sea-coast coming readily into his alliance, they jointly sent Ambassadors to *Crassus* to acquaint him, that he must first restore to them their hostages, if he expected to have his officers restored to him.

Cæsar, receiving intelligence of these things from *Crassus*, and being then at a great distance from *Gaul*, sent orders for building a great number of galleys upon their *Loire*, and for drawing together, from the province, mariners, rowers, and pilots. These orders were executed with good dispatch ; and he himself, as soon as the season of the year permitted, went to the army.

[Year

[Year of Rome 697^c.]

The *Veneti* and their allies, not ignorant of the greatness of their crime, in detaining and loading with irons, Ambassadors, a name ever looked upon, among all nations, as sacred and inviolable, made preparations in proportion to the danger that threatened them. The natural situation of their country gave them confident hopes of being able to defend themselves: For the passes by land were every where cut asunder by many friths and arms of the sea; and the approach by sea was not less difficult on account of the small number of harbours, the little knowledge the *Romans*, accustomed only to the navigation of the *Mediterranean*, had of the art of governing ships on the ocean, and their total ignorance of the coast. Neither did the *Veneti* believe it practicable for the *Roman* army to continue long in that country, by reason of the great scarcity of corn; and they had a mighty confidence in the strength and number of their shipping.

Cæsar, to restrain those of the *Gauls* who had not yet declared themselves, and to hinder the confederates^a from uniting their forces into one army, divided his troops, and dispersed them into different parts of *Gaul*. He sent *Labienus* towards *Treves* with a body of cavalry. *P. Crassus*, at the head of twelve legionary cohorts, passed the *Garonne*, and entered into *Aquitain*, to prevent the enemies receiving any supplies from that quarter. Another of his Lieutenants, *Titurius Sabinus*, with three legions, found employment for the people who inhabited the coasts of *Basse-Bretagne*, and of *Normandy*, as far as *Lisieux*. To *D. Brutus* was given the command of the fleet, and *Cæsar* himself conducted the land forces.

Most of the enemies towns were built upon promontories, and points of land, whose feet were washed by the sea at high water, and left dry at ebb. So that neither his land forces nor his ships could stay long before them.

Cæsar, duly considering this, perceived plainly, that he should never be able to reduce the *Veneti* but by a naval battle. He resolved therefore to wait for his fleet. His fleet arrived; and the enemy did not delay to come out of their ports to fight. Full of confidence in their naval strength and skill, they, with 220 tall vessels, fell furiously upon the *Romans*. The construction of their ships, which were much higher than the *Roman* galleys, gave the *Gauls* a considerable advantage in throwing their darts; and the *Romans* suffered much at first from this circumstance. But *Cæsar* had fortunately provided a great number of sharp crooked *kythes*, like those that were used in sieges. With these, fixed to the end

^a *Cæ. Corn. Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *L. Marcianus Philippus*, Consuls.

^b *Cæsar* tells us, that the *Veneti* brought into their alliance the *Osismi*, *Latavii*, *Nan-*

netes, *Andriani*, *Morini*, *Diabliques*, and *Mannapii*; and dispatched Ambassadors into *Britain*, which lies over-against their coast, to solicit assistance from thence.

of long poles, the *Romans*, laying hold of the tackle of the enemy's vessels, towed them away by force of rowing; then, cutting the cables, the main-yards fell down, whereby the enemy, who relied on their sails and rigging, were at once deprived of the use of them: And now, the dispute depending wholly on courage and manhood, the *Roman* soldiers, who fought under the eye of their General, and of a vast number of witnesses (for all the hills that looked upon the sea were covered with spectators) easily obtained the victory.

The *Veneti*, observing that the *Romans* had already boarded and made themselves masters of a great part of their fleet, began to think of providing for the safety of the rest by flight. Accordingly they tacked about to run before the wind: But all on a sudden there ensued so dead a calm, that not a vessel could stir out of its place; and then the *Romans* took them with great ease. After a conflict that had lasted from nine in the morning, a very few escaped under favour of the night.

This victory put an end to the war with the *Veneti*; for they had lost the whole body of their youth, as well as the most eminent men among them for rank or authority, and all their naval strength. Those who survived this defeat, having no resource left, surrendered themselves to *Cæsar's* mercy; who thought it necessary to proceed against them with severity, that he might impress upon the minds of the *Gauls* for the future a proper regard to the sacred character of Ambassadors. He condemned therefore all their Senators to death, and sold the people for slaves.

The arms of *Cæsar* prospered on every side. At the same time that he vanquished the *Veneti*, *Titurius Sabinus* obtained a great victory over the united forces of the *Unelli*, *Eburones*, and *Lexovii*†. The two last mentioned nations were so furiously bent upon the war, that they massacred their Senate for opposing it. After this cruel execution, they joined their troops to those of the *Unelli*, whose conductor *Viridovix* was recognized for Generalissimo of the army of the three nations. Under his command they advanced against the *Romans*, and, approaching near their camp, defied them to battle. *Sabinus* pretended fear, kept close within his intrenchments, and, by means of a pretended deserter, deceived the enemy into a belief that he was the next night to steal privately out of his camp, in order to go to the succour of his General, much distressed by the *Veneti*. By this stratagem he drew the *Gauls* to attack him in his camp, which was upon an eminence. Mounting it with precipitation, they arrived quite out of breath. *Sabinus* instantly caused all his troops to sally out upon them by two gates at once. The assailants, not able to support the very first shock, took to flight; the *Roman* cavalry pursued them, and almost finished the destruction of that numerous army.

† Inhabitants of Coutance, Evreux, and Lisieux.

Much about the same time, *P. Crassus* arrived in *Aquitan*; Having made due provision of corn, raised some cavalry, assembled his auxiliary troops, and strengthened his army with a select body of volunteers from

• Inhab-
iting the
country
about
Aire.

Tolouse, Carcasson, and Narbonne, states in that part of the *Roman* province that lies nearest to *Aquitain*, he advanced with all his forces to the territories of the *Sotiates**. *Crassus*, with great slaughter, put them to the rout, and presently after invested their capital. They made a brave resistance for some time; but finding that the *Romans* would surmount all the difficulties that could be thrown in their way, they sent to *Crassus*, requesting that they might be admitted to a surrendry.

The defeat of the *Sotiates*, and the reduction of their city, roused the other states of *Aquitain* to unite themselves against the conqueror: And they procured assistance from the *Spaniards* their neighbours. *Crassus* attacked them in their camp, and of fifty thousand men, of which their strength consisted, scarce a fourth part escaped being cut in pieces. The fruit of this victory was the submission of all *Aquitain*.

[This was the last service performed by *P. Crassus* in the war of *Gaul*; for, with *Cæsar's* permission, he went soon after to *Rome*, and the next year into *Asia*, taking with him a thousand *Gallic* horse, to assist his father in his expedition against the *Parthians*.]

When *Cæsar* had finished the war against the *Veneti*, the season was far advanced: Nevertheless, as the *Morini*¹ and *Menapii*, who were situated in the northern part of *Gaul*, and who, though they had entered into the league which was just dissolved, had taken no step yet to shew their submission, to the *Romans*, *Cæsar*, who thought nothing done, while there remained any thing to do², marched against them in order to finish his conquest. At his approach they retired, with all their effects, into the woods and morasses, with which their country abounded, hoping to find there a safe shelter. But *Cæsar* resolved to lay low those immense forests; and with the trees which he cut down he made a kind of rampart to cover the flanks of his army against any sudden incursions of the *Barbarians*. He had made a considerable progress in this work, when, the bad weather coming on, and the continual rains requiring that he should find some shelter for his army, necessity compelled him to leave his conquest incomplete. Having ravaged the country and burnt the villages, he retired, and distributed his troops into winter-quarters in the territories of the *Auleri-Eburovices*, *Lexovii*, and the other newly subdued states³.

[Year of Rome 698.]

1 C. Cæsar.
lib. 17.

THE next year [when *Pompey* and *Crassus* were Consuls] a great body of the *Usipetes* and *Tenctheri*, German nations, passed the *Rhine*, not far from its mouth. The hostilities of their neighbours the *Suevi*, who had for many years harraised them with continual wars, and hindered

¹ The *Morini* probably inhabited the sea-coast from the *Somme* to the *Scheld*: The *Menapii*, both banks of some part of the lower *Rhine*.

² Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum. *Lucan.* ii. 657.

³ For what passed at *Rome* this year, 697, in relation to *Cæsar*, see above, p. 484, 485, and 487.

them

them from cultivating their lands, were the cause of their making this emigration.

The *Suevi*, by far the most warlike and considerable of all the *Germans*, were divided into a hundred cantons, each of which used to send yearly into the field a thousand armed men. The rest, who continued in their several districts, employed themselves in cultivating the lands. These husbandmen became the next year soldiers, and were succeeded in the care of the lands by the troops that had served the year before. Thus they lived in the continual exercise of agriculture and war alternately. In the distribution of the lands, no such thing was allowed among them as property or private possession, their residence in any place being confined to one year. They had little trade, having nothing to sell but spoils taken in war. They suffered no wine to be imported into their territories, as thinking that it both enervated the mind, and unfitted the body for exercise and labour.

Having tried the strength of their neighbours, the *Ubii*, in many wars, they found them too numerous and potent to be dispossessed of their territories; yet they prevailed so far as to impose a tribute upon them, and very much reduce their power.

But the *Uspetes* and *Tenchtheri*, before mentioned, after many years resistance, were at length totally driven out of their possessions by the *Suevi*. Having wandered over many regions of *Germany* during the space of three years, they arrived at last upon the banks of the *Rhine*, where the *Menapii* had houses, lands, and villages, on both sides the river. These, alarmed at the approach of so prodigious a multitude (for they were not an army, but two nations, who marched in a body, men, women, and children, to the number of above 430,000) they abandoned all their habitations on the right bank of the *Rhine*, and, retiring to the left side, disposed their troops in a proper manner, to hinder the passage of their invaders. The *Germans* tried every expedient; and finding they could neither force a passage, because of their want of shipping, nor steal over privately, by reason of the strict watch kept by the *Menapii*, had recourse to stratagem. They gave out, that they would, without delay, go back to their own country; and, to gain credit to this report, they, in fact, thitherward made a three-days march. The *Menapii* were deceived. Such of them as had dwelt on the farther bank of the *Rhine* returned to their habitations, secure and fearless of danger. Surprized by the *German* cavalry, who in one night recovered the whole ground of the three days march, they were all put to the sword: And the *Germans*, having seized the shipping before the *Menapii* on this side had intelligence of their approach, passed the river, took possession of towns and villages, and supported themselves the rest of the winter with the provisions there found.

Cæsar, informed of these things, and dreading the levity of the *Gauls*, who were very changeable in their councils, and fond of novelties, made

The people
about
Liege and
Namur.
† People
of Treves.

all the haste he could to join his army. Upon his arrival he found that things were fallen out exactly as he had apprehended: Some of the states of *Gaul* had sent Ambassadors to the *Germans*, inviting them to leave the banks of the *Rhine*, and assuring them that all their demands should be readily complied with. The *Germans*, allured by these hopes, had already penetrated into the territories of the *Eburones* and *Condrusi*, both which nations were under the protection of the *Treviri* †. *Cæsar* assembled the chiefs of the *Gauls*, dissimulated his knowledge of their secret designs, and by soft words endeavoured to confirm them in their alliance with the people of *Rome*: He then demanded of them a certain number of horse, and prepared to march against the *Germans*.

When he came within a few days march of their camp, Ambassadors arrived from them, who addressed him in words to the following effect: "The *Germans* have no design of beginning a war with the People of *Rome*; they are come into these parts against their inclination, having been forcibly driven from their former dwellings. If the *Romans* are disposed to accept of their friendship, they will rest satisfied with the quiet possession of those lands they have already conquered, or with such as the *Romans* shall think proper to assign them: In bravery they yield to the *Suevi* alone, for whom the immortal Gods themselves are not an equal match."

Cæsar made such reply as best suited his present views: But the conclusion of his speech was of the following purport: "That he could enter into no treaty of friendship with them, so long as they continued in *Gaul*: That men unable to defend their own territories were not likely to make conquests in other countries: That there were no uncultivated lands in *Gaul*, sufficient for so great a multitude, without invading the properties of others: But that, if they pleased, they might incorporate themselves with the *Ubi*, whose Ambassadors were then in his camp to complain of the injuries done them by the *Suevi*, and request his aid against their encroachments: And this he promised to obtain for them from the *Ubi*."

The Ambassadors replied, "That they would report to their countrymen what he had said, and in three days return with an answer, requesting that in the mean time he would not advance with his army."

But this *Cæsar* refused, as knowing that, a few days before, they had sent a great body of cavalry over the *Meuse*, to forage and plunder in the territories of the *Ambivari* †. He thence concluded, that they asked for delay, because they waited the return of that party. *Cæsar* therefore still advanced. When within twelve miles of the enemy, he was met by the Ambassadors on the day appointed: They were very earnest in their request that he would advance no farther; but not being able to prevail, intreated him, that he would restrain the cavalry of his advanced guard from doing any act of hostility: And in the mean time permit them to send Ambassadors to the *Ubi*; from whose Senate and Magistrates if they could obtain

† Probably
the people
of Breda
and Boile-
duc.

obtain, under the sanction of a solemn oath, the conditions proposed by *Cæsar*, they declared themselves ready to accept them: Only they desired, that he would allow them the space of three days to bring matters to a final issue. *Cæsar* believed that they had no other view in what they said, than to gain time till their cavalry should arrive: He told them, nevertheless, that, for the sake of water, he would that day advance four miles, and no farther; but desired that their chiefs would attend him the day after to acquaint him with their demands. In the mean time he sent orders to the officers of his cavalry not to attack the enemy: and, in case they should be attacked themselves, only to maintain their ground till he should come up with the rest of the army.

But the *Germans*, though their cavalry did not exceed eight hundred, by reason of the absence of those who had been sent to forage, yet, seeing the *Roman* horse advance without caution, fell suddenly upon them. These amounted to five thousand, but having no apprehension of an attack, because they knew that the *German* Ambassadors had been with *Cæsar* a little before, and had obtained a day's truce, were easily thrown into disorder and put to flight. The *Romans* lost seventy-four men". And

NOW

Tom. III.
p. 506.

" " This battle," says M. Crevier, " is of
" very great importance, on account of the
" circumstance of its being fought at a time
" when there was a negotiation actually on
" foot between *Cæsar* and the *Germans*. By
" whom the hostility was begun, and conse-
" quently upon whom the reproach of perfidy
" ought to fall, is a problem, that labours
" under some difficulty. *Cæsar* threw the
" fault upon the Barbarians: But several per-
" sons at *Rome* were persuaded, that it was he
" who had violated the faith of the negotia-
" tion: And when the Senate were decreeing
" him honours for his exploits in this cam-
" paign, *Cato* gave it as his opinion, that
" *Cæsar* should be delivered up to the *Germans*;
" to the end that he alone might suffer the
" punishment of his breach of faith, and the
" Commonwealth not be answerable for it to
" Gods or men.

" It is difficult to decide upon a point so
" obscure, and concerning which the interest of
" *Cæsar*, on one hand, lessens the weight of
" his evidence; and hatred and partiality, on
" the other, may have carried *Cato* beyond
" due bounds. It is known that *Cæsar* was
" not scrupulous in morals" [for he was too
" much addicted to gallantry] " but his pro-
" ceedings were frank and generous, at least
" outwardly so; and how little care soever

" he took to have truth and justice really on
" his side, he always affected to have the ap-
" pearances of them. *Is must, nevertheless,*
" *be allowed, that appearances are not for him*
" *here. It is not probable, that eight hundred*
" *horsemen should think of attacking five thou-*
" *sand.*" Surely it is less probable, that eight
" hundred horse should beat five thousand, un-
" less the latter were " surprised and unpre-
" pared (as *Cæsar* says they were) because
" trusting to the truce granted at the enemy's
" request." M. Crevier proceeds: " And
" what seems to prove the good faith of the
" *Germans* is, that, the day after the battle,
" they sent their deputies again to *Cæsar*, to
" make apologies, and to continue the nego-
" tiation." If they were perfidious in attack-
" ing the *Roman* cavalry, it is no wonder that
" *Cæsar* shewed no regard to their apology, but
" considered them as no less perfidious in their
" new deputation. But, with relation to the notable
" advice said to have been given by *Cato* to the
" Senate, what evidence is there of the fact, that
" *Cato* did deliver that opinion? Is it sufficiently
" warranted? Who is the historian, that records
" it? *Plutarch*, the only writer we have who
" mentions the matter, gives us *Tanufius Gemi-*
" *nus* for his authority. And who was this *Ta-*
" *nufius* or *Tanufius*? (He is cited by *Suetonius*
" for several tales of the flanderous kind, that
" carry

now *Cæsar* resolved neither to give audience to the Ambassadors of the *Germans*, nor admit them to terms of peace, seeing they had treacherously solicited for a truce, and afterwards broke it themselves. He likewise considered that it would be downright madness to delay coming to an action, till the *German* army should be augmented by their cavalry, then absent; and, besides, he was perfectly well acquainted with the levity of the *Gauls*, among whom the successful attack made by the *Germans* had given them a considerable reputation. A very lucky accident fell out to bring about *Cæsar's* purpose: For the very next morning the *Germans*, persisting in their treachery and dissimulation, came in great numbers to his camp; all their nobility making part of the embassy. Their pretended design in coming was to vindicate themselves in regard to what had happened the day before; but their real motive was to obtain, if possible, another insidious truce. *Cæsar*, overjoyed to have them thus in his power, caused them to be secured; and immediately drew his forces out of the camp. The cavalry, whom he supposed terrified by the late disaster, were commanded to follow in the rear.

Having drawn up his army in three lines, and made a very expeditious march of eight miles, he appeared before the enemies camp. Their consternation was not a little increased by the unexpectedness of his appearance, and the absence of their own officers; they had hardly time to take counsel, or to arm: Their camp was presently forced: The women and children betook themselves to flight on all sides. *Cæsar* sent the cavalry in pursuit of them: The *Germans*, hearing a noise behind them, and seeing their wives and children put to the sword, threw down their arms, and fled out of the camp. Being arrived at the conflux of the *Rhine* and *Meuse*, and finding it impossible to continue their flight any farther, they threw themselves into the river; where, through fear, weariness, or the force of the current, they almost all perished. And thus the *Romans*, without the loss of a man, put an end to this formidable war. *Cæsar* offered those of the *Germans* whom he had detained in his camp liberty to depart: But they, dreading the resentment of the *Gauls*, whose lands they had ravaged, chose rather to continue with him, and they obtained his consent.

Cæsar had various reasons for resolving to lead his army over the *Rhine*. But what chiefly swayed him was, that, seeing the *Germans* were so easily induced to transport their forces into *Gaul*, he thought it might be of no small service to let them see that the *Romans* wanted neither resolution nor ability to transport an army into *Germany*. Add to this,

De Hist. carry no face of probability.) *Possius*, con-
Lat. lib. i. taining him, writes thus: *Et Seneca verbis*
cap. xii. *liquet, fuisse annales Tamesi, quales illi Volusi;*
qui eodem vixit tempore. De eo fit Catullus:
Annales Volusi cacata charta.

Add to this, the great unlikelihood that *Cæsar*, envious and malicious as he was, even

almost to madness, whenever *Cæsar's* name was in question, should yet expose his weakness to so great a degree, as, in the Consulship of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, to give an advice concerning *Cæsar*, which at any time must appear senseless and impracticable.

that

that the cavalry of the *Usipetes* and *Tenctheri*, who, having passed the *Meuse* (as was above related) to forage and plunder, and escaped thereby the disaster of the late defeat, had, upon receiving the news of it, repassed the *Rhine*, and retired into the territories of the *Sicambri*†; and *Cæsar*, having demanded that these troops should be delivered up to him, had received for answer, “ That the *Rhine* was the boundary of the *Roman* “ empire: That if he thought it unjustifiable in the *Germans* to pass over “ into *Gaul* without his leave, upon what pretence could he claim any “ power or authority on the *German* side of that river?”

† From whom the Franks were descended.

But *Cæsar* had a third reason: For the *Ubii*, who alone, of all the nations beyond the *Rhine*, had sent Ambassadors to him, entered into alliance with him, and given him hostages, earnestly entreated him to come to their assistance, they being very hard pressed by the *Suevi*. They said, that his shewing himself in *Germany* would be alone sufficient to secure repose to them for the future; and they offered him boats to transport his legions.

Cæsar thought that it was neither safe, nor for the dignity of the *Roman* name, to make use of boats for crossing the *Rhine*. To build a bridge would be difficult, on account of the breadth, depth, and rapidity of the river: Nevertheless he undertook it; and the work was completed in ten days, reckoning from the time they began to bring the timber to the bank of the river. *Cæsar* led over his army; and leaving a strong guard on each side the stream, marched directly into the territories of the *Sicambri*; who, so soon as they heard that the bridge was begun, had, by advice of the *Usipetes* and *Tenctheri*, withdrawn, with their effects, into the neighbouring woods and deserts. *Cæsar* made but a short stay in their country, burnt their villages, cut down their corn, and marched into the territories of the *Ubii*. The *Suevi*, in pursuance of an order of their national council, acted as the *Sicambri*, only with this difference, that all such as were able to bear arms met, by command, at a place of general rendezvous, in the very heart of their country, there to wait the arrival of the *Romans*, and give them battle. But *Cæsar*, having accomplished all he intended, in carrying his arms over the *Rhine*, which was to spread an universal terror among the *Germans*, take vengeance of the *Sicambri*, and set the *Ubii* at liberty, after a stay of only eighteen days in *Germany*, led back his army into *Gaul*, and broke down the bridge.

Cæsar builds a bridge over the *Rhine*.

Though but a small part of the summer now remained, *Cæsar* resolved to pass over into *Britain*, having certain intelligence that, in all his wars, with the *Gauls*, they had constantly received assistance from thence. He foresaw that the season of the year would not permit him to finish the enterprize; yet he thought it would be of no small advantage, should he only take a view of the island, learn the temper and manners of the inhabitants, and acquaint himself with the coast, harbours, and landing-places, to all which the *Gauls* were perfect strangers. The merchants who traded

Cæsar prepares to pass into *Britain*.

thither, and of whom he enquired, could neither tell him what was the extent of the island, nor what was the strength of the nations that inhabited it, nor their skill in war, nor what harbours they had, fit to receive large ships. For which reason, before he embarked, he thought proper to send *C. Volusenus* with a galley, to get some knowledge of these things; commanding him to return with all expedition, when he had informed himself as fully as opportunity would allow. *Cæsar* himself marched with his whole army into the territories of the *Morini*; because thence was the nearest passage into *Britain*. Here he ordered a great many ships from the neighbouring ports to attend him, and the fleet which he had made use of the year before in his war with the *Veneti*.

Mean while the *Britons*, having notice of his design by the merchants that resorted to their island, Ambassadors from many of their states came to him, with an offer of hostages, and submission to the authority of the People of *Rome*. To these Ambassadors he gave a favourable audience, and, exhorting them to continue in the same mind, sent them back into their own country. With them he dispatched *Comius*, whom he had constituted King of the *Atrebates*, a man, in whose virtue, wisdom, and fidelity, he greatly confided, and whose authority in the island was very considerable. To him he gave it in charge to visit as many states as he could, and persuade them to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*; letting them know, at the same time, that *Cæsar* designed, as soon as possible, to come over in person into their island.

Volusenus, having taken a view of the country, so far as it was possible for a man who was resolved not to quit his ship, or trust himself in the hands of the Barbarians, returned on the fifth day, and acquainted *Cæsar* with his discoveries.

While *Cæsar* continued in the country of the *Morini*, for the sake of getting ready his fleet; deputies arrived from almost all their cantons, to excuse their late war with the People of *Rome*, and to promise an entire submission for the future. This fell out very opportunely; because a war with these people would have obliged him to postpone his expedition into *Britain*. He therefore ordered them to send him a great number of hostages; and, on their compliance, received them into his friendship. Having got together about eighty transports, he thought these would be sufficient for carrying over two legions. His galleys he distributed to his *Quæstor*, Lieutenants, and chief officers of the navy. Eighteen vessels, which he had appointed to transport his cavalry, were detained by contrary winds at a port about eight miles off. The rest of the army, under the command of *Titurius Sabinus* and *L. Aurunculeius Cotta*, were sent against the *Menapii*, and those cantons of the *Morini*, which had not submitted. *P. Sulpicius Rufus* had the charge of the harbour where he embarked, with a strong garrison to maintain it.

Things

Things being in this manner settled, and the wind springing up fair, *Cæsar* weighed anchor about midnight, ordering the cavalry to embark at the other port, and follow him. About nine in the morning he himself, with a part of the fleet, reached the coast of *Britain*, where he saw all the cliffs covered with the enemies forces. From those cliffs it was easy for them to pour down their javelins upon the *Romans*. Not thinking this, therefore, a convenient landing-place, he cast anchor at three in the afternoon, purposing to wait the arrival of the rest of his fleet. Mean while, having called the Lieutenants and military Tribunes together, he informed them of what he had learnt from *Volusenus*; instructed them in the part they were to act; and particularly exhorted them to do every thing with readiness and upon a signal given, agreeably to the rules of military discipline; expedition and dispatch being more especially requisite in sea-affairs, because of all the most liable to sudden changes. Having dismissed them, and finding both the wind and weather favourable, he made the signal for weighing anchor, and, after sailing about eight miles farther, he arrived at a smooth open shore.

Cliffs of
Dover.

Deal.

But the Barbarians, perceiving his design, had sent before them their cavalry, and their chariots, such as they commonly made use of in battle; and, following with the rest of their forces, endeavoured to oppose his landing. And indeed the difficulty of effecting it was great on many accounts: For the *Roman* ships drew so much water, that they could not come very near the shore; and it was a painful service for the soldiers, loaded with a weight of armour, and unacquainted with the place, to leap from the ships, and, wading breast-high through the waves, encounter an enemy, who, standing upon dry ground, or advancing only a little way into the water, had the free use of their arms; and, knowing perfectly the ground, could also boldly spur on their horses against the invaders. All these circumstances spread a terror among the *Romans*, wholly strangers to this way of fighting, they shewed not their wonted alacrity, and cheerful readiness to advance against the enemy. *Cæsar*, observing this, ordered some of his galleys, which drew less water than his transports, to draw nearer the shore, and endeavour, by showers of darts from the engines which they carried, to drive the enemy to some distance. This proved of considerable service to them: For the surprize occasioned by the make of the galleys, the motion of the oars, and the playing of the engines, made the Barbarians halt, and presently after begin to give back. But the *Roman* soldiers still demurring to leap into the sea, chiefly because of the depth of the water in those parts, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having first invoked the Gods for success, cried out aloud: "Follow me, fellow-soldiers, unless you will betray the *Roman* eagle into the hands of the enemy: For my part, I am resolved to discharge my duty to *Cæsar* and the Commonwealt^h." Instantly he jumped into the sea, advanced with the eagle, and was followed by all that were in the ship: which being

Balistas.

perceived by those in the other vessels, they also did the like, and boldly approached the enemy.

The *Britons* defended themselves with resolution ; nor were the *Romans* able to get firm footing till *Cæsar* ordered some small boats to be manned with recruits, and go to the assistance of the foremost ranks ; by which means they were soon enabled to put the enemy to the rout. But, as the cavalry were not yet arrived, *Cæsar* could not pursue the runaways, nor advance far into the island.

The vanquished, soon after their defeat, dispatched Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to sue for peace, offering hostages and an intire submission to his commands. With these Ambassadors came *Comius*, whom *Cæsar* (as above related) had sent before him into *Britain*. The natives had seized him as soon as he landed, and, though charged with a commission from *Cæsar*, thrown him into irons. Upon the late defeat, they thought proper to release him and send him back ; casting the blame upon the multitude. *Cæsar*, after some reproaches for having begun the war against him after they had sent Ambassadors to him into *Gaul* to sue for peace, at length told them he would forgive their fault ; and commanded them to send a certain number of hostages. Part were delivered immediately, and the rest, as living at some distance, they promised to send in a few days. In the mean time they disbanded their troops ; and the several chiefs came to *Cæsar's* camp, to negotiate their own concerns and those of the states to which they belonged : A peace being thus concluded four days after *Cæsar's* arrival in *Britain*.

* P. 624. The eighteen transports appointed to carry the calvary, of whom we have spoken above *, put to sea with a gentle gale : But, when they had so near approached the coast as to be within view of the camp, so violent a storm all on a sudden arose, that, being unable to hold on their course, some were obliged to return to the port whence they set out, and others driven to the farther end of the island westward, not without great danger. There they cast anchor : But the waves rising very high, so as to fill the ships with water, they were again, in the night, obliged to stand out to sea, and make for the continent of *Gaul*. That very night it happened to be full moon, when the tides upon the sea-coast always rise highest, a thing, in those days, wholly unknown to the *Romans*. Thus, at one and the same time, the galleys, which *Cæsar* had caused to be drawn up on the strand, and the transports that were at anchor in the road, were raised up, tossed about, and beat to pieces by the tempestuous waves. Nor was it possible to attempt any thing for their preservation. This disaster spread a general consternation through the camp : For there were no other ships to carry back the troops, nor any materials to repair those that had been disabled by the tempest. And, as it had been all along *Cæsar's* design to winter in *Gaul*, he was wholly without corn to subsist the troops.

All

All this being known among the *British* chiefs, who, after the battle had repaired (as was just now said) to *Cæsar's* camp, they began to hold conferences among themselves. They plainly saw that the *Romans* were destitute of cavalry, shipping, and corn; and judged, from the smallness of their camp, that the number of their troops was but inconsiderable; in which notion they were the more confirmed, because *Cæsar*, having brought over the legions without baggage, had occasion to inclose but a small spot of ground. They thought therefore they had now a fair opportunity to rid themselves of the invaders, and effectually put a stop to all future attempts upon *Britain*. Having therefore entered into a confederacy, they gradually left the camp, and began to draw the islanders together. But *Cæsar*, though he was not yet apprised of their design, yet conjecturing their intention, from the disaster which had befallen his fleet, and the delays formed in relation to the hostages, made preparations accordingly. He sent reapers every day into the field and stored his camp with corn. The timber of the ships that had been most damaged he ordered to be made use of in repairing the rest, sending to *Gaul* for what other materials he wanted. As the soldiers were indefatigable in this service, his fleet was soon in a condition to sail, being diminished only by twelve ships. During these transactions, a cloud of dust appeared suddenly on the side where the seventh legion was supposed to be foraging. As but one field remained unreaped, the enemy suspected that the *Romans* would go thither to forage; and had therefore hid themselves, during the night, in the woods, there waiting till the reapers had quitted their arms, and dispersed themselves for the work in hand: Then sallying out on a sudden they began to surround them with horses and chariots. *Cæsar*, conjecturing how matters went, marched away with the cohorts that were upon guard, and ordered those that were in the camp to follow him as soon as possible. He had gone but a little way, when he saw his men with great difficulty sustaining the fight, being driven into a small compass, and exposed on all sides to the darts of the assailants. Upon his approach the enemy made a stand, and the *Romans* recovered from their fear. However, *Cæsar*, not thinking it a proper time for a general engagement, stood a while facing the enemy, and then led back his legions to the camp. The continual rains that followed for some days, both kept the *Romans* within their intrenchment, and withheld the enemy from attacking them. Mean time the *Britons* dispatched messengers into all parts to make known to their countrymen how favourable an opportunity they had of enriching themselves with spoil, and of securing themselves for ever from all future invasions, by forcing the camp of the *Romans*, whose number was very small. By this means having drawn together a great body of horse and foot, they boldly advanced towards the *Roman* intrenchments. *Cæsar* drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the *Britons* so warm a reception, that they

presently turned their backs and fled. He pursued them, with great slaughter, till his men were out of breath ; and then returned to his camp. The *Britons*, disheartened by the loss they had sustained, dispatched Ambassadors the same day to sue for peace ; which *Cæsar* readily granted, upon their promising to send him over into *Gaul* double the number of hostages he had required before. His want of horse, and the fear of exposing his fleet to another storm, if he staid till the equinox, made him hasten his departure. The same night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed anchor, and arrived safe in *Gaul* ; whence he immediately wrote to the Senate, acquainting them with his exploits in *Britain* ; for which a supplication, or general thanksgiving, was decreed *for twenty days* *.

The *Britons*, it would seem, were not much awed by *Cæsar*'s arms ; for of all the states who had promised to send him hostages, two only performed their engagements. He resolved therefore to make a new descent the following spring with a more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he returned to *Italy*, where he usually passed a part of the winter, he ordered his Lieutenants to refit the old ships, and build as many new ones as they could.

When he had finished what he had to do in *Cisalpine Gaul*, he set out for *Illyricum*, upon advice that the *Pirustæ*, a people of that country, were making devastations in the province [that is, in those parts of *Illyricum* which recognized the *Roman* government.] When he arrived there, he ordered the several states to furnish their contingents, and appointed a place of general rendezvous. *Cæsar* was put to no other trouble than that of appearing in the country to compel the injurious Barbarians to give hostages, and make satisfaction for the damage they had done.

[Year of *Rome* 699 *.]

J. Cæf.
Comm.
l. v.

The order which *Cæsar* had left with his Lieutenants had been executed with such diligence during his absence, that, at his return into *Gaul*, he found six hundred transport ships, and twenty-eight galleys, ready to be launched in a few days. He ordered the whole fleet to rendezvous at port *Itius*, the island being there not above thirty miles distant from the continent : But because the *Treviri* seemed disposed to rebellion, having neither appeared at the general diets of *Gaul*, nor submitted to the orders of the Republic, and were reported to have even solicited assistance from *Germany*, he marched into their territories with four legions and eight hundred horse ; being desirous totally to quiet *Gaul* before he engaged in his enterprize against *Britain*. Two of the principal men of the *Treviri*, *Indutiomarus* and *Cingetorix*, were at this time competitors for the supreme authority. The latter, so soon as he heard of the arrival of

* See above, p. 494, and 500, for those transactions at *Rome* of the year 698, wherein *Cæsar* was interested.

* *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *App. Claudius Pulcher*, Consuls.

Cæsar,

Cæsar, came to him and assured him, that he and all his party would continue firm to their duty. The other soon after submitted, finding himself deserted by some principal men of his own party. *Cæsar* exacted of him two hundred hostages, among whom were to be his son, and all his nearest relations, specified by name. *Indutiomarus* complied : Nevertheless, *Cæsar*, assembling all the principal men of *Treves*, reconciled them one after another to *Cingetorix*, thinking it of importance to establish thoroughly the authority of a man, of whose inviolable attachment he had received convincing proofs.

This affair being settled, *Cæsar* hastened with his legions to port *Itius* °, where he found four thousand *Gallic* horse, and all the prime nobility of the several states assembled. *Cæsar*'s design was to leave behind him a few only of these nobles, on whose fidelity he could rely, and to take the rest into *Britain* as hostages, in order to prevent any commotions in *Gaul* during his absence.

Among those whom he resolved to carry away with him, was *Dumnorix* the *Æduan* ; because he knew him to be a lover of novelties, ambitious, enterprizing, and of great interest and authority among the *Gauls*. *Dumnorix* at first earnestly requested to be left behind ; sometimes pre-

° *Calais* or *Boulogne*.

Midd.
p. 494.

" *Cæsar* was now upon his second expedition into *Britain*, which raised much talk and expectation at *Rome*, and gave *Cicero* no small concern for the safety of his brother, who, as one of *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants, was to bear a considerable part in it. But the accounts which he received from the place soon eased him of his apprehensions, by informing him, that there was nothing either to fear or to hope for from the attempt ; no danger from the people, no spoils from the country. In a letter to *Atticus* : We are in suspense, says he, about the British war : It is certain that the access of the island is strongly fortified ; and it is known also already, that there is not a grain of silver in it, nor any thing else but slaves ; of whom you will scarce expect any, I dare say, skilled in music or letters. In another to *Trebatius* : I hear that there is not any gold or silver in the island : If so, you have nothing to do but to take one of their chariots and fly back to us.

Ad Quint.
i. 16.
Ad Att.
iv. 16.

Ep. Fam.
vii. 7.

" From their raileries of this kind (says Dr. Middleton) one cannot help reflecting on the surprizing fate and revolutions of kingdoms : How *Rome*, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire, and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance, and poverty ; en-

" slaved to the most cruel as well as to the most contemptible of tyrants, superstition and religious imposture : While this remote country, antiently the jest and contempt of the polite Romans, is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters, flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life ; yet running, perhaps, the same course which *Rome* itself had run before it ; from virtuous industry to wealth, from wealth to luxury, from luxury to an impatience of discipline and corruption of morals ; till, by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls a prey at last to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valuable, sinks gradually again into its original barbarism."

This reflection is undoubtedly very judicious, as far as it regards the danger to which our country, with respect to its liberties, is exposed by the corruption of its morals : But who would not imagine that, in the opinion of the Author, *Ancient Rome was free from superstition and religious imposture* ? Who would imagine that the author had written a book with this title : *The religion of the present Romans derived from that of their Heathen Ancestors* ?

tending that he was unused to the sea, and afraid of it; sometimes, that religious engagements required him to stay at home: But, finding his reasons had no weight with *Cæsar*, he began to cabal among the *Gallic* nobles, advising them not to leave the continent, and telling them that *Cæsar*'s intention was undoubtedly to destroy them all; but that, not daring to do it in their own country, he was carrying them into *Britain*, where he hoped to find a favourable opportunity of executing his cruel purpose.

Cæsar, though fully informed of these practices, yet, in consideration of the *Ædvi*, a nation for which he had a singular regard, satisfied himself with endeavouring to traverse the designs of the malecontent; being determined, nevertheless, to continue inflexible, and to prefer the interest of the Commonwealth to every other consideration. While detained at the port about five and twenty days, during which the North-west wind, very common on that coast, hindered him from sailing, he studied to keep *Dumnorix* in his duty by ways of gentleness and persuasion, not neglecting, however, to watch all his motions. At length, the wind springing up fair, he ordered both horse and foot to embark, as the execution of this order universally engaged the attention of the camp, *Dumnorix* seized the opportunity to draw off the *Ædvan* cavalry; and he began his march homeward. *Cæsar* had early notice of it, instantly put a stop to the embarkation, and, postponing every other business, sent out a strong party of horse to pursue the *Ædvan*, and bring him back. Their orders were to kill him in case of disobedience or resistance. They overtook him; he refused to return, defended himself sword in hand, and implored the assistance of his followers, often crying out to them, *that he was free, and the subject of a free state*. The *Romans*, pursuant to the orders they had received, surrounded and slew him; upon which all the *Ædvan* cavalry returned to *Cæsar*.

Cæsar's
second in-
vasion of
Britain.

And now *Cæsar*, leaving *Labienus*, with three legions and two thousand horse to secure the port, provide corn, and have an eye upon the transactions of the continent, embarked on board his vessels the same number of horse, together with five legions; and, weighing anchor about sun-set, arrived with his whole fleet, the next day by noon, on the *British* coast, where he landed without opposition, in the same place which he had found so convenient the year before. The *Britons* had assembled in vast multitudes to oppose his landing, as he afterwards understood by the prisoners; but, being terrified at the sight of so numerous a fleet, which, with the vessels that private persons had provided for their own use, amounted to eight hundred and upward, had quitted the shore, and retired to the hills. *Cæsar* left ten cohorts and three hundred horse to secure the fleet; and with the rest marched in quest of the enemy, whom, agreeably to the intelligence he had received, he found posted on the farther side of a river*, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed. They made

* Supposed
to be the
Stour.

some

some efforts to hinder his passage, but were quickly driven from their post, and put to flight. However, the day being far spent, *Cæsar*, who was wholly unacquainted with the country, would not pursue them, but chose to employ the rest of the day in fortifying his camp.

Early the next morning he sent out, in pursuit of the enemy, his troops both horse and foot, divided into three bodies : These were but just come within sight of the *British* army, when they received orders from *Cæsar* to proceed no farther, but return to the camp. Some horsemen, dispatched by *Q. Atrius*, had brought him word that, by a dreadful storm in the night before, his fleet was in a manner destroyed. This made him hasten back to the sea-side. Forty of his ships, he saw, were entirely lost, and the rest so damaged as to seem almost irreparable. Nevertheless he set all the carpenters of both the fleet and the army to work, and sent over to *Gaul* for others, ordering, at the same time, *Labienus* to build as many ships as he could, by the labour of the legions that were with him. And, to prevent the like misfortune thereafter, he drew all his ships on shore, and enclosed them within the fortifications of his camp. This stupendous work was completed in ten days, the soldiers labouring the whole time without intermission. The ships being thus secured, and the camp strongly fortified, he left the same troops to guard it as before, and returned to the place where he had ceased the pursuit of the enemy.

Upon his arrival he found their numbers greatly increased, The chief command and administration of the war had, by common consent, been conferred upon *Cassibelanus*, King of the *Trinobantes**, whose territories (says *Cæsar*) were divided from the maritime states by the river *Thames*, at eighty miles distance from the sea. This prince had hitherto been engaged in almost continual wars with his neighbours : But the terror, caused by the arrival of the *Romans*, making the *Britons* unite among themselves, they intrusted him with the whole conduct of the war.

* The people of Middlesex and Essex.

The *Britons*, in the beginning, gained some slight advantage over the *Romans*, surprized and astonished at their manner of employing their chariots in battle ; but in an attempt which they afterwards made to cut off the *Roman* foragers, they suffered so terrible a slaughter from the *Roman* cavalry whom *Cæsar* sent to the assistance of the foragers, that the auxiliary troops of *Cassibelanus* abandoned him, returning to their respective countries : Nor did the *Britons* any more, with their united forces, engage the *Romans*.

Cæsar marched towards the *Thames*, in order to penetrate into the kingdom of *Cassibelanus*. The river was fordable but in one place, and not there without much difficulty ; and the enemy were drawn up in great numbers on the other side : They had likewise fortified the bank with sharp stakes, and driven a great number of these into the bed of the river, so as to be covered by the water. Of this *Cæsar* had intelligence from prisoners and deserters : Nevertheless he undertook to force his passage,

passage, and he succeeded. The legions advanced with so much expedition and alacrity, though up to their necks in water, that the enemy, unable to sustain the charge, betook themselves to flight.

Cassibelanus from that time determined to avoid a general action: Disbanding his other forces, he kept with him only four thousand chariots, with which he watched opportunities to cut off the *Roman* stragglers; or, when he had enticed the *Romans*, by a prospect of booty, to a disadvantageous ground, to start from his ambush, and fall upon them by surprise. These frequent alarms obliged *Cæsar* to order his cavalry to keep always so near the foot, as to be sure of having the support of these when necessity required.

And now several of the states round about sent ambassadors to make their submission to *Cæsar*. Of these the *Trinobantes* were the first. Their King *Imanuentius* had been put to death by *Cassibelanus*, and *Mandubratius*, the son of that unfortunate Prince, was now in *Cæsar's* army, to whom he had fled, even into *Gaul*, for shelter and protection. The *Trinobantes* desired *Cæsar* to send him back to govern them. They obtained their request; and, in compliance with *Cæsar's* demands, sent him forty hostages, and supplied him with corn.

The protection granted to the *Trinobantes* securing them from the insults of the soldiers, several other petty states sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, and submitted. From them he had intelligence, that he was not far from the capital^{*} of *Cassibelanus*, which was situated amidst woods and marshes, and whither great numbers of men and cattle were retired. Thither *Cæsar* marched his legions: And though the place appeared to be exceeding strong, both by art and nature, he nevertheless attacked it in two several quarters, and after a short resistance carried it; the *Britons* retiring to another part of the wood.

While these things passed on the North-side of the *Thames*, four petty Kings of *Kent*, by order from *Cassibelanus*, drew all their forces together, purposing to fall by surprise on the naval camp of the *Romans*: But these, sallying out against them as they approached, put them to the rout with great slaughter, took one of the four Kings prisoner, and returned safe to the camp. *Cassibelanus*, discouraged by so many losses, the devastation of his territories, and, above all, the revolt of the provinces, sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to sue for peace, by the mediation of *Comius* of *Arras*.

Cæsar, designing to pass the winter in *Gaul*, because of the frequent commotions in that country, and reflecting that but a small part of the summer remained, during which it would be easy for the *Britons* to protract the war, demanded hostages, and appointed the yearly tribute which

* A town among the *Britons* was nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch

and a rampart, to serve as a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies.

Britain should pay to the *Romans*. At the same time he took *Mandubratius* and the *Trinobantes* under his protection, strictly charging *Cassibellanus* to give them no molestation. Having received the hostages, he led his forces back to the sea-side, where he found his fleet repaired. The time of the equinox drew near: He seized therefore the opportunity of a favourable gentle breeze, weighed anchor about ten at night, and brought his whole fleet safe to the continent. He was the first of the *Romans*, says *Tacitus*, who transported an army into *Britain*: He terrified the natives, and became master of the coast; yet it would seem, that he only gave his countrymen a view of *Britain*, not the possession of it. *Tac. Agric. n. 13.*

Having laid up his fleet, and held a general assembly of the *Gauls* at *Samarobriua**, his next affair was to put his legions into winter-quarters; and as the crop this year had been very thin, by reason of the great droughts, he was obliged to quarter his men in different provinces. One legion he quartered on the *Morini*†, under the command of *C. Fabius*: Another among the *Nervii*‡, under *Q. Cicero*: A third with the *Ædui*§, under *L. Roscius*: And a fourth in the country of the *Rhemi*, on the borders of the *Treviri*, under *Labienus*. Three were sent into *Belgium*||, over whom he appointed three commanders, his Quæstor *M. Crassus*, *L. Munatius Plancus*, and *C. Trebonius*. The eighth and last, which *Cæsar* had newly raised on the other side of the *Po*, were sent, together with five cohorts, among the *Eburones*†, between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*, where *Ambiorix* and *Cativolcus* reigned. At the head of this last body were two of *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants, *Q. Titurius Sabinus* and *L. Aurunculeius Cotta*. By this distribution of his legions, *Cæsar* thought he had found a remedy against the scarcity of corn; and yet they lay all within the compass of one hundred miles, except the legion under *L. Roscius*, for which he was in no pain, as being quartered in a very quiet and friendly country. He resolved, however, not to leave *Gaul* till he had received assurances that their quarters were established, fortified, and secured.

Among the *Carnutes*‡ lived *Tasgetius*, a man of distinguished birth, and whose ancestors had been possessed of the sovereignty of that state. *Cæsar* had restored him to the dignity of his forefathers, in consideration of the many services he had done him in all his wars. It was now the third year of his reign, when he was openly assassinated. The affair was laid before *Cæsar*, who, fearing lest the great number concerned in the plot might draw the state into a revolt, ordered *L. Plancus*, with a legion from *Belgium*, to march speedily into the country of the *Carnutes*, fix his winter-quarters in that province, seize all who had been concerned in the murder, and send them to him.

* In the text of *Cæsar* we read *Effui* [an unknown people] but *Vossius* thinks we should read *Ædui*, the *Autunois*.

† People of Ternois in Artois.

‡ People of Cambresis.

§ The present Picardy, a part of Belgic Gaul.

† People of Liege.

‡ People of Chartres.

Scarce fifteen days had elapsed since the arrival of the legions in their appointed quarters, when a general conspiracy of the *Gauls* broke out, discovering itself first in the revolt of the *Eburones*. Their two chiefs or Kings, *Ambiorix* and *Cativulcus*, had been to meet, in a friendly manner, on their frontiers, *Sabinus* and *Cotta*; and had supplied them with corn: But now, instigated by *Indutiomarus* of *Treves*, they excited their people to take up arms; and, having fallen by surprize on some *Roman* soldiers who were cutting wood, and put them to the sword, came with a great body of troops to attack the camp where the legion was entrenched. Repulsed with loss, they had recourse to cunning and perfidy, demanding a conference, and pretending that they had something to say which concerned the common interest, and might put an end to the present differences.

Accordingly *Arpinus*, a *Roman* Knight, a friend of *Sabinus*; and *Junius* of *Spain*, who had frequently before been sent to *Ambiorix*; were deputed to treat. *Ambiorix*, addressed them in words to this effect: “ I have in no sort forgot the many obligations I am under to *Cæsar*, who freed me from the tribute I was wont to pay to the *Aduatici*, and restored to me my son and nephew, whom that people, after receiving them as hostages, had treated as slaves. The hostilities I have just now committed were not the effect of my own private animosity against the *Romans*, but were the act of the whole state; where the government is of such a nature, that the people have as much power over me as I have over the people. Even the state itself in a manner has been forced into this war: I can appeal to my own weakness for the truth of what I say, being not so very unskilled in affairs, as to imagine that the *Eburones* are a match for the *Romans*. It is a scheme concerted by all the states of *Gaul*, to assault in one day, this very day, all the quarters of the *Roman* army, so that no one may be able to succour another. It was not easy for us to resist the importunity of those of our own nation, especially when the proposal was to act in concert, for the recovery of liberty. But, having performed what the common voice of my country demanded, I think I may now listen to that of gratitude: I find myself compelled by my attachment to *Cæsar*, and by my friendship for *Sabinus*, to give you notice of the extreme danger to which your legion is exposed. A great body of *Germans* has actually passed the *Rhine*, and will be here in two days at farthest: *Sabinus* and *Cotta* therefore are to consider, whether it will be advisable to retire with their troops, and, before the neighbouring states can be apprized of their design, go and join *Labienus* or *Cicero*, who are neither of them distant above fifty miles. As for myself, I promise, by all that is sacred, to secure your retreat through my territories; and I undertake this the more readily, as I shall thereby not only discharge my duty to my country, in delivering it from the inconvenience of wintering the *Romans*, but at the

“ the same time I shall manifest my gratitude to *Cæsar*.” Having made this speech, he withdrew.

Arpinus and *Junius* reported what they had heard to the Lieutenants, who thought the information not to be neglected, though it came from an enemy: For it appeared to them altogether incredible, that the *Eburones*, a weak and inconsiderable people, should, unsupported, presume to rise up in arms against the *Romans*: They laid the matter therefore before a council of war. *Cotta*, with a great number of the military Tribunes, and Centurions of the first rank, were against undertaking any thing hastily, or quitting their winter-quarters, before they had received orders from *Cæsar* so to do. They alledged that their camp was well fortified, and might be defended against all the forces of the *Germans*: That it was well stored with provisions, so as to be in no danger of distress on that account. And lastly, that nothing could be more dishonourable or injudicious, than, in affairs of the greatest moment, to take measures upon the information of an enemy.

Sabinus, on the other hand, exclaimed, that it would be too late to think of retiring, when the enemy, strengthened by the accession of the *Germans*, should come against them; or when the *Romans* in the nearest quarters to them should have received some considerable blow: That *Cæsar* was unquestionably gone into *Italy*; and that the enemy knew it, which gave the *Carnutes* the boldness to think of assassinating *Tasgetius*, and the *Eburones* of assaulting the *Roman* camp. “ Who could imagine *Ambiorix*, without a certainty of being supported, would have embarked in so dangerous an enterprize?” He added, “ My advice is in all respects safe; because, if no such confederacy has been formed, we have nothing to apprehend in marching to the nearest legion; if, on the contrary, all *Gaul* and *Germany* are united, expedition alone can save us from destruction: Whereas, by following the advice of *Cotta*, though we may defend ourselves for a while, we are sure in the end of perishing by famine.” The dispute grew warm, and continued long: *Cotta* and the principal officers strongly opposing the march of the troops. At last *Sabinus* raising his voice, that he might be heard by the soldiers without: “ Be it so then (says he) since you seem so resolved: I am not the man who is afraid of death. But if any misfortune happen, those who hear me will know whom to blame. In two days, did not you oppose it, we might easily reach the quarters next us; and there, in conjunction with our fellow-soldiers, confront the common danger: Whereas, by keeping the troops separate, and at a distance, you reduce them to the necessity of perishing by sword or famine.”

The officers, surrounding their Generals, conjured them not to put all to hazard by their dissension.—That, whatever resolution was taken, whether to go or stay, the danger was by no means great, provided they acted in concert; but their disagreement threatened the troops with in-

evitable destruction. The debates continued till midnight: When at length *Cotta*, vanquished by importunity, yielded to *Sabinus*. Orders were given for marching by break of day. The remainder of the night was none of it passed in sleep, each man being taken up in chusing what things to carry with him; so that their want of rest rendered them incapable of a vigorous defence, in case of being attacked upon their march. At day-break they left their camp, not like men acting by the advice of an enemy, but as if *Ambiorix* had been their particular friend; marching in a very extended column, and followed by a great train of baggage.

The enemy, judging, from the hurry and bustle in the camp, that the *Romans* intended to leave it, placed themselves in ambush in a wood, and there waited for them at about two miles distance; and, when the greater part of the army had entered a large valley, suddenly appeared, and attacked them both in front and rear.

Then *Sabinus*, like one conscious of having neglected all the necessary precautions, and unable to hide his concern, ran up and down among the troops, beginning to dispose them in order of battle; but with an air so timid and disconcerted, that it appeared he had no hopes of success, as happens for the most part to those who leave all to the last moment of execution. But *Cotta*, who had foreseen that this might happen, and had therefore opposed the departure of the troops, omitted nothing in his power for the common safety, calling to and encouraging the men like an able General, and at the same time fighting with the bravery of a common soldier: And, because the great length of the column rendered it difficult for the Lieutenants to remedy all disorders, and repair expeditiously enough to the places where their presence was necessary, orders were given to quit the defence of the baggage, and form into an orb. This disposition, though not improper in these circumstances, was nevertheless attended with very unhappy consequences; for, being considered as the effect of terror and despair, it discouraged the *Romans*, and augmented the confidence of the enemy. Besides, as unavoidably happens on such occasions, many of the soldiers, quitting their ensigns, hurried away to fetch from the baggage the things they most valued, and filled all parts with uproar and lamentation.

The *Gauls* conducted themselves with great prudence: Their officers proclaimed through the ranks: "Let no man stir from his post; the baggage of the *Romans* and every thing they have shall be yours: but let your first care be to secure the victory." The *Romans*, not being fewer in number or less brave than the enemy, cherished a hope, though they had neither a General nor fortune on their side, that yet by their bravery they should be able to surmount all difficulties; and whenever any of the cohorts sallied out, so as to come to close fighting with the enemy, a considerable slaughter of the *Gauls* ensued. This being observed by *Ambiorix*, he ordered his men to cast their darts at a distance, avoid a close fight, retire before the *Romans* when they advanced, and pursue them when
returning

returning to their standards. These orders were exactly followed, much to the advantage of the enemy. The *Romans* however still maintained their ground; and, though the fight had continued from sun-rise till two in the afternoon, they had done nothing, in all that time, unworthy of the *Roman* name. At length *Balventius*, who the year before had been made first Centurion of a legion, a man of distinguished courage, and great authority among the troops, had both his thighs pierced through with a dart. *Lucanius*, an officer of the same rank, endeavouring to rescue his son, whom he saw surrounded by the enemy, was killed after a brave resistance: And *Cotta*, the Lieutenant, encouraging the several cohorts and companies, received a blow on the mouth from a sling.

These disasters totally dispirited *Sabinus*; who, perceiving *Ambiorix* at a distance animating his troops, sent his interpreter, *Cn. Pompey*, to beg quarter for his soldiers and for himself. *Ambiorix* answered: "That if *Sabinus* desired a conference, he was ready to grant it, and to pledge his faith, that no hurt should befall his person; and that, as to the *Roman* soldiers, he hoped to prevail with the multitude to spare them too." This answer *Sabinus* communicated to *Cotta*, proposing to him that they should go and confer with *Ambiorix*, from whom he hoped to obtain quarter both for themselves and their men. *Cotta* absolutely refused to go to an armed enemy, and persisted in that resolution. *Sabinus*, attended by such of the officers as were then about him, set forward; and when he drew near to *Ambiorix*, being commanded to lay down his arms, obeyed; ordering those that were with him to do the same: After which, being gradually surrounded, while *Ambiorix* purposely spun out a long discourse, he was perfidiously murdered. Then the *Gauls*, according to their custom, raising a shout and crying out victory, charged the *Roman* troops with great fury, and put them into disorder. *Cotta*, fighting manfully, was slain, with the greatest part of the soldiers. The rest retreated to the camp they had quitted in the morning; of these, *Petrofidius*, the standard-bearer, finding himself sore pressed by the enemy, threw the eagle within the intrenchments, and was killed fighting bravely before them. Those that remained, with much difficulty, sustained the attack till night; but, having no hope of preservation, killed one another to the last man. A few, who had escaped out of the battle in the field, got by different ways to *Labienus's* camp, and brought him the news of this sad event.

Ambiorix, elated with his victory, marched immediately, at the head of his cavalry, into the country of the *Aduatici*, which bordered upon his territories. Having informed them of his success, and roused them to arms, he the next day arrived among the *Nervii*, and urged them not to lose the favourable opportunity of freeing themselves for ever from the yoke of slavery, and revenging the injuries they had received from the *Romans*. He added: "Two of their Lieutenants have been slain, and

" a great

“ a great part of their army cut to pieces : It will be an easy matter, by
 “ a sudden attack, to destroy the legion quartered in your country, under
 “ the command of *Cicero* ; and I myself am ready to assist you in the en-
 “ terprize.” By this speech he drew in the *Nervii*. They dispatched
 messengers forthwith to the cantons dependent on their state, and, having
 assembled what forces they could, came unexpectedly upon *Cicero*’s quar-
 ters, who had heard nothing yet of the fate of *Sabinus*. Here it unavoid-
 ably fell out, that, by the sudden arrival of the cavalry, the *Roman* soldiers
 who had been sent out to cut wood for firing, and for the fortification of
 the camp, were intercepted and put to the sword ; after which the *Eburo-*
nes, *Aduatici*, and *Nervii*, with their allies and tributaries, amounting to a
 formidable army, came and attacked the camp. The *Romans* instantly
 flew to arms, mounted the rampart, and sustained that day’s assault, though
 with difficulty ; for the enemy placed all their hopes in dispatch, and firmly
 believed, that, if they came off conquerors upon this occasion, they could
 not fail of victory every where else.

Cicero’s first care was to write to *Cæsar*, promising the messengers great
 rewards if they carried the letters safe : But, as all the ways were beset
 with the enemies troops, most of his couriers were intercepted. Of the
 materials which had been brought for fortifying the camp, 120 towers
 were built with incredible dispatch during the night, and the works about
 the rampart completed. Next day the enemy, much stronger than before,
 attacked the camp and filled up the ditch, but were again repulsed by the
Romans. This continued for several days together. The night was wholly
 employed in repairing the breaches made by day ; insomuch that neither
 the sick nor the wounded were exempted from labour. *Cicero* himself,
 though much out of order, would take no repose even during the night,
 unless when the soldiers constrained him to it.

In the mean time some officers of the *Nervii*, who were well acquainted
 with *Cicero*, desired a conference with him : To this he having given
 consent, they addressed him in the same strain that *Ambiorix* had used to
Sabinus : They said that all *Gaul* was in arms : That the *Germans* had
 passed the *Rhine* : That *Cæsar* and the rest of the *Romans* were besieged
 in their winter-quarters. They told him likewise of the fate of *Sabinus*,
 and, to gain credit, produced *Ambiorix*, adding : “ It is in vain for you to
 “ expect relief from those who are in the utmost distress : We mean not,
 “ however, any injury to you or to the *Romans* ; but only to prevent their
 “ wintering in this country, and bringing that practice into a custom :
 “ You are at liberty therefore to leave your quarters, and may retire, in
 “ safety and without molestation, whithersoever you please.” To this
Cicero made a short answer : “ It is not usual with the people of *Rome* to ac-
 “ cept conditions from an army enemy : But, if you will lay down your
 “ arms, I promise to be your mediator, and will permit you to send Ambassa-
 “ dors to *Cæsar*, from whose justice you may reasonably expect redress.”

The *Nervii*, not succeeding by this stratagem, surrounded the camp with a line, the rampart of which was eleven feet high, and the ditch fifteen deep. They had learnt something of this in their former wars with *Cæsar*, and they got further instructions from their prisoners: But, being unprovided of the tools necessary in this kind of service, they were obliged to cut the turf with their swords, dig up the earth with their hands, and carry it in their cloaks. And hence it will be easy to form some judgment of their number: For in less than three hours they completed a line of fifteen miles in circuit. The following days were employed in raising towers proportioned to the height of the *Roman* rampart; and in preparing scythes and wooden galleries, in which they were again assisted by the prisoners.

On the seventh day of the attack, a very high wind arising, they began to throw red-hot balls of clay, and burning javelins, upon the barracks of the *Romans*, which, after the manner of the *Gauls*, were thatched with straw. These soon took fire; and the flames were in a moment spread by the wind into all parts of the camp. The enemy falling on with a mighty shout, as if already secure of victory, advanced their towers and galleries, and prepared to scale the rampart. But such was the constancy of the *Roman* soldiers, that though the flames surrounded them on every side, and they were oppressed with showers of darts, and saw their huts, their baggage, and their whole fortunes in a blaze, yet not only did they continue firm in their posts, but scarce a man offered so much as to look behind him; so intent were they on fighting and repelling the enemy. This was by much the hardest day for the *Roman* troops; but had nevertheless this fortunate issue, that the greatest number of the enemy were on that day wounded or slain: For, as they had crowded close up to the ramparts, those behind prevented the front ranks from retiring. The flames abating by degrees, and the enemy having brought forward one of their towers even to the foot of the rampart, the Centurions^{*} of the third cohort drew

^{*} In this legion were two Centurions of distinguished valour, *T. Pulpio* and *L. Varenus*, who stood fair for being raised to the first rank of their order. These were perpetually disputing with one another the pre-eminence in courage, and at every year's promotion contended with great eagerness for precedence. In the heat of the attack before the rampart, *Pulpio* said to *Varenus*: "What hinders you now, or what more glorious opportunity would you desire of signaling your bravery? This, this is the day for determining the controversy between us."—Instantly he sallied out of the camp, and rushed amidst the thickest of the *Gauls*. Nor did *Varenus* decline the challenge; but, thinking his honour

at stake, followed at some distance. *Pulpio* darted his javelin at a *Gaul* in the enemy's van, and transfixing him: He fell dead; the multitude covered him with their shields, and all poured their darts upon *Pulpio*, giving him no time to retire. A javelin pierced his shield, and stuck fast in his belt. This accident gave the enemy time to surround him, before he could make use of his right hand to draw his sword. *Varenus* flew to his assistance, and endeavoured to rescue him. Immediately the whole multitude, quitting *Pulpio*, as fancying the dart had dispatched him, turned upon *Varenus*. He met them with his sword drawn, charged them hand to hand; and having laid one dead at his feet, drove back the rest: But pursuing

drew off their men a little, beckoning to the *Gauls*, and challenging them to enter: But, as not a man of them would run the hazard, the *Romans* attacked them on all sides with stones, drove them from the tower, and set it on fire.

As the defence every day became more difficult, chiefly by the great multitude of killed and wounded, which considerably lessened the number of defendants, *Cicero* sent letter after letter to inform *Cæsar* of his danger. Many of these couriers, falling into the enemies hands, were tortured to death within view of the *Roman* soldiers. There was at this time in the *Roman* camp a *Nervian* of distinction, by name *Vertico*, who in the beginning of the siege had fled to *Cicero*, and given ample proofs of his fidelity. This man engaged one of his slaves, by the hope of liberty and a promise of great rewards, to carry a letter to *Cæsar*. The slave passed through the camp of the *Gauls* unsuspected, as being himself of their nation, and arrived safe at *Cæsar's* quarters.

Cæsar, receiving the letter about five in the afternoon, immediately dispatched a messenger to *Marcus Crassus*, who was quartered among the *Bellovaci* twenty-five miles off, ordering him to draw out his legion at midnight, and march with all possible expedition to join him. *Crassus* came away with the courier. *Cæsar* sent likewise to *C. Fabius*, who wintered with the *Morini*, to lead his legion into the country of the *Atrebates*, which was in the way to *Cicero*: And he wrote to *Labienus* to meet him upon the frontiers of the *Nervii*, if it could be done with safety. He himself, in the mean time, assembled about four hundred horse from the nearest garrisons, resolving not to wait for those parts of his army which lay at too great a distance.

At nine in the morning he had notice from his scouts of the arrival of *Crassus*. That day he marched twenty miles, leaving *Crassus* with a legion at *Samarobriva**, where he had deposited the baggage, hostages, public papers, and all the provisions which had been laid up for the winter. *Fabius*, in consequence of his instructions, having made all the haste he could, met him with his legion. *Labienus*, who had been informed of the death of *Sabinus*, and the destruction of the troops under his command, and who saw all the forces of *Treves* advancing against him, fearing, lest, if he should quit his quarters, the enemy might construe it into a flight, and that it would be impossible for him to sustain their attack, especially as they were flushed with their late success against *Sabinus*, wrote to *Cæsar*, informing him of that disaster, and the danger that would attend the quitting his camp; and that all the forces of the *Treviri*, both horse and foot, were encamped within three miles of him.

puruing them with too much eagerness, stepped into a hole, and fell down. *Pulso* hastened to his relief; and both together, after having slain a multitude of the *Gauls*, and acquired infinite applause, retired unhurt within the

intrenchments. This fortune gave such a turn to the dispute, that each owed his life to his rival; nor was it possible to determine which of them had the better title to the prize of valour.

Cæsar

Cæsar approved his reasons, though he thereby found himself reduced from three to two legions: And well knowing that all depended upon expedition, he made forced marches, reached the territories of the *Nervii*, and there learnt from some prisoners the state of the siege, and the danger the legion was in. Immediately he engaged a *Gallic* horseman, by the promise of great rewards, to carry a letter to *Cicero*: It was written in *Greek* characters, that, if it fell into the enemies hands, it might not be intelligible to them. The messenger had orders, in case he found it impracticable for him to get into the *Roman* camp, to tie the letter to a javelin, and throw it in. In this letter *Cæsar* sent word to *Cicero*, that he was already on the march to relieve him, and would be up very soon: exhorting him to defend himself in the mean time with his wonted bravery. The *Gaul*, fearing to be discovered and intercepted, threw the letter in the camp as he had been ordered: But the javelin, accidentally sticking in a tower, remained there two days unperceived: On the third a soldier saw it, took it down, and brought it to *Cicero*; who immediately read it in full assembly, and thereby diffused universal joy through the camp. Presently after, they perceived the smoke of the villages fired by *Cæsar* in his march, which put the arrival of succour beyond all doubt.

The *Gauls*, having notice of it also by their scouts, thought proper to quit the siege and march away to meet *Cæsar*. Their army consisted of about 60,000 men. *Cicero*, now at liberty, applied himself again to *Vertico*, for the slave above spoken of, whom, having admonished him to use the utmost diligence and circumspection, he dispatched with a letter to *Cæsar*, informing him, that the enemy had raised the siege, and were advancing against him with all their forces. *Cæsar* received the letter about midnight, communicated the contents to his army, and exhorted them to meet the enemy with courage. Next day he decamped early, and, after a march of four miles, discovered the *Gauls* on the other side of a large valley, with a rivulet in front. As the siege of *Cicero's* camp was now raised, *Cæsar* had no longer any reason to be in a hurry: He encamped, therefore, in the most convenient spot he could find, and compleated his intrenchments. His army, consisting of no more than seven thousand men, without baggage, required but a very small camp; nevertheless, to inspire the enemy with the greater contempt of him, he contracted it as much as possible; and, in the mean time, sending out scouts on all sides, he endeavoured to find where he might cross the valley with safety.

The rest of the day passed in slight skirmishes near the brook; but the main body of the army on both sides kept within their lines; the *Gauls*, in expectation of more forces, which were not yet come up; *Cæsar*, that, by pretending fear, he might draw the enemy to his side of the valley. Early the next morning, the enemy's cavalry, approaching the camp of the *Romans*, charged their cavalry; which, by *Cæsar's* orders, purposely

gave ground and retired behind the works. At the same time he ordered the ramparts to be raised higher, and the gates to be barricaded ; and that the soldiers, in the execution of these orders, should run up and down tumultuously, and affect an appearance of timidity and concern. The enemy, invited by all these appearances, crossed the valley, and drew up in a very disadvantageous place. The *Romans* in the mean while retiring from the rampart, the *Nervii* approached still nearer, cast their darts on all sides within the trenches, and sent heralds round the camp to proclaim, that, if any of the *Gauls* or *Romans* had a mind to come over to them, they should be at liberty so to do till nine o'clock, after which no quarter would be granted. Nay, so far did they carry their contempt, that, thinking they could not break in by the gates (which, to deceive them, were stopped up with a single row of turf) some began to scale the rampart, and others to fill up the ditch. But then *Cæsar*, sallying forth by all the gates at once, and charging them briskly with his cavalry, put them to so precipitate a flight, that not a man offered to make the least resistance. Great numbers were slain, and the rest obliged to throw down their arms. The same day he joined *Cicero* with all his forces, when, beholding the towers, galleries, and other works of the *Gauls*, he could not help being struck with admiration. He then reviewed *Cicero's* legion, and found that not a tenth man had escaped unwounded ; which gave him a just idea of the greatness of the danger to which they had been exposed, and of the vigorous defence they had made. He bestowed great commendation on the legion and its commander ; and addressed himself to the Centurions and military Tribunes by name, of whose valour *Cicero* made honourable mention.

In the mean time, the report of *Cæsar's* victory flew with incredible speed, through the country of the *Rbemi*, to *Labienus*. For, though he lay at the distance of fifty miles from *Cicero's* camp, where *Cæsar* did not arrive till past three in the afternoon, yet before midnight a shout was raised by the *Rbemi* at the gates of *Labienus's* camp, by which they notified *Cæsar's* victory, and their congratulations on that success. This news being carried to the *Treviri*, *Indutiomarus*, who had determined to attack the camp of *Labienus* the next day, made off in the night, and retired with all his forces into his own country. *Cæsar* sent back *Fabius* with his legion to his former quarters, resolving to take up his own for the winter near *Samarobriæ* with three legions, and to continue in person with them, *Gaul* being then universally in motion. For the defeat and death of *Sabinus* spreading every where, the states of *Gaul* were almost every one of them meditating a revolt ; with which view they sent messengers and deputies into all parts, to concert measures, and agree upon the properest place where to begin the war.

But *Cæsar*, having summoned the principal noblemen of every state to attend him, and having made them sensible that he was no stranger to their designs, prevailed, partly by menaces, and partly by exhortations,

to

to keep the greatest part of *Gaul* in its duty. The *Senones*, however, a People
Sen. potent state, and of great authority among the *Gauls*, formed the design of assassinating *Cavarinus*, whom *Cæsar* had given them for a King; whose brother *Moritagus* had held the sovereignty at the time of *Cæsar*'s arrival in *Gaul*, and whose ancestors had long been in possession of that dignity. *Cavarinus*, having intelligence of the plot, thought proper to fly; whereupon pursuing him to the very frontiers, they drove him from his kingdom, and sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to justify their conduct: But, upon his ordering their whole Senate to repair to him, they refused to comply. And of such influence was this example among the Barbarians, that some at last became hardy enough to declare open war; and so great a change did it produce in the inclinations of all, that, except the *Ædui* and *Rhemi*, who had always been particularly distinguished and favoured by *Cæsar* (the first, on account of their ancient and inviolable fidelity to the People of *Rome*; the last, for their late services in the *Gallic* war) scarce was there a single state in all *Gaul* that did not give cause of suspicion. Nor is it, in truth, to be much wondered at, that a people of high spirit, and framed above all other nations for their military virtues, could not with patience see themselves so fallen from their former height of glory, as to be forced to bend under the yoke of *Roman* domination.

Indutiomarus and the *Treviri* ceased not, during the whole winter, to send Ambassadors over the *Rhine*, soliciting the *German* states, offering them money, and assuring them that the greater part of the *Roman* army was already cut off: But no one of those states could be persuaded to come into their designs: Because, having twice before tried their fortunes with the *Romans*, first in the war of *Ariovistus*, and then in the defeat of the *Tenctheri*, they were resolved, they told them, to run no more hazards. *Indutiomarus*, disappointed of this hope, was not less active in drawing forces together, soliciting recruits from the neighbouring states, providing horses, and encouraging even out-laws and convicts, by the promise of great rewards, to engage in his service. And so great credit and authority had he by this means acquired in *Gaul*, that, from all parts, embassies and messages were sent to solicit his alliance and friendship.

Finding himself thus voluntarily courted; on one side by the *Senones* and *Carnutes*, whom a consciousness of guilt incited thereto; on another by the *Nervii* and *Aduatici*, who were actually preparing for a war with the *Romans*; so that if he once took the field, forces would not be wanting; he called an assembly of the states in arms. This, according to the custom of the *Gauls*, implies an actual commencement of war; and, by a standing law, obliges all their youth to appear in arms at the assembly; in which they are so very strict, that whosoever has the misfortune to come last, is put to death, in sight of the multitude, with all manner of torments. In this assembly, *Cingetorix*, the son-in-law of *Indutiomarus*,
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and who (as related above) had declared for *Cæsar*, and still continued firm to him, was proclaimed a public enemy, and his estate confiscated. After which *Indutiomarus* acquainted the council, That the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and several other states of *Gaul*, had solicited his assistance; that he accordingly intended to join his forces with theirs, taking his route through the territories of the *Rbemi*, and giving up their lands to be plundered; but that, before he began his march, he was desirous of mastering the camp of *Labienus*: And, to effect this, he gave the necessary directions.

Labienus, whose camp, both by the nature of the ground, and the fortifications he had added, was extremely strong, feared nothing; but was wholly intent upon a project to give the enemy some considerable blow. Informed by *Cingetorix* and his adherents of the speech made by *Indutiomarus* in the general council of *Gaul*, he sent deputies to the neighbouring states, to solicit them for a recruit of horse, and appointed a day of rendezvous for the cavalry they should send: In the mean time, by an affectation of fear, the *Roman* was contriving to beget presumption and security in the mind of his enemy. The stratagem succeeded. The King at the head of his cavalry, came every day quite up to the camp of the *Romans*, insulting them with opprobrious language, and challenging them to fight. The *Romans* making no answer, the *Gauls* retired towards night, and, without observing any order, dispersed themselves. *Labienus* had, unknown to the enemy, received into his camp by night all the horse he had sent for. One evening, therefore, when the enemy had retreated in their careless manner, he ordered all his cavalry to make a sally on a sudden, strictly cautioning and charging his men, that, as soon as they had put the *Gauls* to flight (which happened according to his expectation) they should every one single out *Indutiomarus*, nor attempt to kill or wound any other, till they saw him slain: For *Labienus* was unwilling that any delay, occasioned by the slaughter of the rest, should give the General an opportunity to escape; and he promised great rewards to the man who should kill him. This measure succeeded: For, as they were intent upon the destruction of *Indutiomarus* alone, he was overtaken and slain in passing a river, and his head brought to the camp. The *Roman* cavalry, in their return, put all to the sword that came in their way. Upon the news of this defeat, the forces of the *Eburones* and *Nervii* returned home; and *Gaul* was somewhat quieter the rest of the winter.

J. C.
Comm.
lib. vi.

Cæsar, for many reasons, expecting greater commotions in *Gaul*, ordered his Lieutenants, *M. Silanus*, *C. Antistius Reginus*, and *T. Sextius*, to levy recruits. And as *Pompey*, now Proconsul, had, during his second Consulship (688) enlisted, in *Cisalpine Gaul*, a considerable number of soldiers, to the amount of a legion, but had not put them into that form, (the public affairs detaining him near the city) *Cæsar* requested of him to set those forces on foot, form them into a legion, and send it to him: For he thought

it

it of the utmost importance, towards securing a proper respect from the *Gauls* for the time to come, to give them such an idea of the power of *Italy*, as might convince them, that it was not only able speedily to repair any losses sustained, but even to bring a greater force into the field. "Friendship and the good of the Commonwealth, says *Cæsar*, equally determined *Pompey* to comply with this request:" And the Lieutenants having with great diligence executed their commissions, three new legions, containing double the number of cohorts lost with *Sabinus*, were brought into *Gaul* before the end of winter.

After the death of *Indutiomarus*, slain as related above, the *Treviri* conferred the command on his relations. They persisted likewise in soliciting the *Germans*, and gained them by force of money; and they associated *Ambiorix* in the confederacy. *Cæsar* found that he was threatened with war on all sides: The *Nervii*, *Aduatici*, *Menapii*, with all the *Germans* on that side the *Rhine*, were actually in arms: The *Senones* refused to attend him, pursuant to his orders; and were tampering with the *Carnutes*, and other neighbouring states: and that the *Treviri* were soliciting the *Germans* by frequent embassies: He judged therefore that it would be necessary to open the campaign early. Accordingly, without waiting till the winter was over, he drew together the four nearest legions, and fell unexpectedly into the territories of the *Nervii*, before they could either assemble in a body, or find means to save themselves by flight. Having carried off a great number of men and cattle, enriched the soldiers with booty, and laid waste the country, he compelled the inhabitants to give hostages, and then led back his legions into their winter-quarters.

[Year of Rome 700'.]

YEARLY in the spring, *Cæsar* summoned a general assembly of *Gaul*. No deputies from the *Senones*, or the *Carnutes*, or the *Treviri*, appearing, he looked upon this as the beginning of a revolt, adjourned the session, and transferred it to *Lutetia*; whose inhabitants, though they had been united with the *Senones* for one hundred years past, did not appear to be concerned with them in their present measures. The same day in which he declared the adjournment, he set out with his legions against the *Senones*, and made such haste, that *Acco* their chief, not having time to collect his forces, ordered the multitude to shelter themselves in their towns: But before this could be done, the *Romans* appeared. Intreaties were now the only resource left to the *Senones*. *Cæsar*, at the request of his faithful allies the *Ædui*, whose clients they were, pardoned them; but demanded of them one hundred hostages; and these he committed to the custody of the *Ædui*. The *Carnutes* likewise submitted, and obtained the same con-

* For the events and transaction, at Rome, in this year 699, see above, p. 525, 526.

† N. B. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and M.

Valerius Messala, the Consuls of the year 700, did not enter on their magistracy before the middle of July.

ditions by the mediation of the *Rbemi*, their patrons. *Cæsar* then went to *Lutetia*, put an end to the session of the states, and ordered the *Gauls* to furnish him with a body of cavalry.

Celtic Gaul being thus restored to a state of tranquillity, *Cæsar* turned his thoughts to the war with the *Treviri*, and with *Ambiorix*, King of the *Eburones*, purposing to revenge, by his death, the slaughter of the *Roman* cohorts.

He knew that *Ambiorix* was in friendship with the *Menapii*, a fierce nation, who, living in a country full of woods and morasses, had hitherto eluded the efforts of the *Roman* army, and had never made the least step towards a submission to *Cæsar*: He knew likewise, that, by means of the *Treviri*, he had entered into an alliance with the *Germans*. *Cæsar* thought it adviseable, therefore, to deprive him of those two supports, before he attacked him in person. This resolution being taken, he sent the baggage of the whole army to *Labienus* in the country of the *Treviri*, ordered him a reinforcement of two legions, and marched himself against the *Menapii* with five legions, who carried nothing with them but their arms. The *Menapii* were soon constrained to submit, and gave hostages. *Cæsar* granted them peace, on condition of their engaging not to admit *Ambiorix*, or any one from him, into their territories. These things settled, he left *Cornius* of *Arras* there, with a body of horse, to keep them in awe, and set out himself against the *Treviri*.

In the mean time *Labienus*, by pretending fear and flight, had drawn the *Treviri* over a river, that was between him and them; and had then with great ease put them to the rout. The *Germans*, who were coming to their assistance, hearing of their defeat, returned home; and the relations of *Indutiomarus*, who had been the authors of the revolt, chose likewise to retire with them: And within a few days the whole state submitted. *Cingetorix*, who had always continued faithful to the *Romans*, was thereupon invested with the supreme authority.

Cæsar, after his arrival at *Treves* from the country of the *Menapii*, resolved, for two reasons, to pass the *Rhine* a second time; to punish the *Germans* for sending succours to the *Treviri*, and to deter them from giving or promising a retreat to *Ambiorix*. In consequence of this resolution, he set about making a bridge, which was finished in a few days. Upon his arrival on the *German* side of the river, Ambassadors came to him from the *Ubi*, to assure him that they had neither sent troops to the assistance of the *Treviri*, nor in any instance departed from their engagements; and they requested he would spare their territories, and not, out of a general hatred to the *Germans*, involve the innocent in the punishment of the guilty. *Cæsar*, upon enquiry, found that the *Ubi* were wholly innocent, and that the aids sent to the *Treviri* were from the *Suevi*. These, upon certain information of the arrival of the *Roman* army, had retired to the remotest part of the country with all their forces, and those

of their allies ; and there they waited the coming of the enemy at the entrance of an immense forest, called *Bacenis**, which served as a barrier between the *Cherusci* and the *Suevi*, to prevent their mutual incursion^w.

Cæsar,

* *Cellarius* takes it to be the forest of *Hartz* in *Lower Saxony*, in the principality of *Wolfenbutel*.

^w On this occasion, says *Cæsar*, it may not be improper to say somewhat of the manners of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and the difference of customs between these two nations. A spirit of faction prevails throughout *Gaul*, and that not only in their several states, districts, and villages, but almost in every private family. -- When *Cæsar* arrived in the country, the *Ædui* were at the head of one faction, and the *Sequani* of the other. The latter being the weaker, because the *Ædui* had several considerable states in their dependance, they united with *Ariovistus* and the *Germans*, whom, by great presents and promises, they drew over the *Rhine* to their assistance. This alliance made them so powerful, that having worsted their enemies in several battles, and killed almost all their nobility, they forced the states dependent upon the *Ædui* to have recourse to them for protection; obliged the *Ædui* themselves to give the children of their principal nobility as hostages, swear publicly not to attempt any thing against the *Sequani*, and resign up to their possession a part of their territories; and by this means they rendered themselves in a manner sovereigns of all *Gaul*. *Divitiacus*, in this necessity, applied himself to the Senate of *Rome* for relief, but without effect. *Cæsar's* arrival soon changed the face of affairs. The *Æduan* hostages were sent back, their former clients restored, and new ones procured them by *Cæsar's* interest; it appearing, that such as were under their protection, enjoyed a more equal and milder lot than others: By all which their fortune and authority being considerably enlarged, the *Sequani* were obliged to resign the sovereignty. The *Rhemi* now held the second place: And, as they were known to be in the same degree of favour with *Cæsar*, such of the *Gauls* as could not get over their old animosity to the *Ædui*, put themselves under the protection of the *Rhemi*. These were extremely attentive to the interests of their clients, and thereby both preserved their old authority, and that which they

had newly acquired. Such therefore was the then situation of *Gaul*: The *Ædui* possessed indisputably the first rank, the *Rhemi* were next in consideration and dignity.

Over all *Gaul*, there are only two orders of men in any degree of honour and esteem: For the common people are little better than slaves; attempting nothing of themselves, and having no share in the public deliberations. As they are generally oppressed with debt, heavy tributes, or the exactions of their superiors, they make themselves vassals to the great, who exercise the same jurisdiction over them as masters do over slaves. The two orders of men, with whom, as we have said, all authority and distinction are lodged, are the *Druids* and the *Nobles*. The *Druids* preside in matters of religion, have the care of public and private sacrifices, and interpret the will of the Gods. They have the direction and education of the youth, by whom they are held in great honour. In almost all controversies, whether public or private, the decision is left to them: And if any crime is committed, any murder perpetrated; if any dispute arises touching an inheritance, or the limits of adjoining estates; in all such cases they are the supreme judges. They decree rewards and punishments: and if any one refuses to submit to their sentence, whether Magistrate or private man, they interdict him the sacrifices. This is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted among the *Gauls*; because such as are under this prohibition, are considered as impious and wicked: All men shun them, and decline their conversation and fellowship, lest they should suffer from them by contagion. They can neither have recourse to the law for justice, nor are capable of any public office. The *Druids* are all under one chief, who possesses the supreme authority in that body. Upon his death, if any one remarkably excels the rest, he succeeds: But if there are several candidates of equal merit, the affair is determined by a plurality of suffrages. Sometimes they have even recourse to arms before the dispute can be decided. Once a year they assemble at a consecrated place in the territories of the *Carnutes*, whose country is sup- Le pays
posé Chartrain.

Cæsar, fearing the want of provisions, because *Germany* was but ill cultivated, resolved not to advance any farther : But, to keep the enemy still

posed to be in the middle of *Gaul*. Hither such as have any suits depending flock from all parts, and submit implicitly to the decrees of the *Druids*. Their institution is supposed to have come originally from *Britain* ; and even at this day, such as are desirous of being perfect in it, travel thither for instruction. The *Druids* never go to war, are exempted from taxes and military service, and enjoy all manner of immunities. These mighty encouragements induce many to put themselves, of their own accord, under the discipline of this order ; and many are made to enter into it by their parents and relations. They are taught to repeat a great number of verses by heart, and often spend twenty years upon this institution : For it is deemed unlawful to commit their statutes to writing ; though in other matters, whether public or private, they make use of *Greek* characters. They seem to me (adds *Cæsar*) to follow this method for two reasons : To hide their mysteries from the knowledge of the vulgar ; and to exercise the memory of their scholars, which would be apt to be neglected, had they letters to trust to, as we find is often the case. It is one of their principal maxims, that the soul never dies, but after death passes from one body to another ; which, they think, contributes greatly to exalt mens courage, by disarming death of its terrors. They teach likewise many things relating to the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world and our earth, the nature of things, and the power and prerogatives of the immortal Gods.

The other order of men are the Nobles [*Cæsar* calls them *Equites*, Cavaliers ; doubtless because they fought on horseback, as at this time the *Polish* nobility do, and as those among us formerly did, whom our ancestors called *Men of arms* ;] who, when any war breaks out (and before *Cæsar*'s arrival the *Gauls* were almost every year engaged in war, either offensive or defensive) all take the field, at the head of their clients and dependents ; and the greater number of these, the more honourable the leader ; for the *Gauls* have no other measure of dignity and grandeur.

The whole nation is extremely addicted to superstition : Whence, in threatening distempers, and the imminent dangers of war, they make no scruple to sacrifice men, or engage themselves by vow to such sacrifices ; in which they make use of the ministry of the *Druids* : For it is a prevalent opinion among them, that the life of one man cannot be ransomed but by the life of another ; inso-much that they have established even public sacrifices of this kind. Some prepare huge *Colossuses* of osier twigs, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to them, those within expire amidst the flames. They prefer for victims such as have been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes ; believing them the most acceptable to the Gods : But, when criminals are wanting, the innocent are often made to suffer. *Mercury* is the chief deity with them : Of him they have many images, account him the inventor of all arts, their guide and conductor in their journeys, and the patron of merchandize and gain. Next to him are *Apollo*, and *Mars*, and *Jupiter*, and *Minerva*. Their notions in regard to them are pretty much the same with those of other nations. *Apollo* is their God of physic ; *Minerva* of works and manufactures ; *Jove* holds the empire of heaven ; and *Mars* presides in war. To this last, when they resolve upon a battle, they commonly devote the spoil. If they prove victorious, they offer up all the cattle taken, and set apart the rest of the plunder in a place appointed for that purpose : And it is common in many provinces to see these monuments of offerings piled up in consecrated places. Nay, it rarely happens, that any one shews so great a disregard of religion, as either to conceal the plunder, or pillage the public oblations ; and the severest punishments are inflicted upon such offenders.

The *Gauls* fancy themselves to be descended from the god *Pluto* ; which, it seems, is an established tradition among the *Druids*. For this reason they compute their time by nights, not by days ; and in the observance of birth-days, new moons, and the beginning of the year, always commence the celebration from the preceding night. In one custom they differ from almost

still in some fear of his return, and to prevent their sending succours into *Gaul*, after his repassing the river, broke down only about two hundred feet

almost all other nations; which is, that they never suffer their children to come openly into their presence, until they are of age to bear arms: The appearance of a son in public with his father, before he has reached the age of manhood, is accounted dishonourable.

Whatever fortune the woman brings, the husband is obliged to equal it out of his own estate. This whole sum, with its annual product, is left untouched, and goes always to the survivor. The men have power of life and death over their wives and children: And when any father of a family of illustrious rank dies, his relations assemble, and, upon the least ground of suspicion, put even his wives to the torture like slaves. If they are found guilty, iron and fire are employed to torment and destroy them. Their funerals are magnificent and sumptuous, according to their quality. Every thing that was dear to the deceased, even animals, are thrown into the pile: And formerly, such of their slaves and clients as they loved most, sacrificed themselves at the funeral of their Lord.

In their best regulated states they have a law, that whoever hears any thing relating to the public, whether by rumour or otherwise, shall give immediate notice to the magistrate, without imparting it to any one else: For the nature of the people is such, that rash and unexperienced men, alarmed by false reports, are often hurried to the greatest extremities, and take upon them to determine in matters of the highest consequence. The Magistrates stifle things improper to be known, and only communicate to the multitude what they think needful for the service of the Commonwealth: Nor do the laws permit to speak of state affairs, except in public councils.

THE *Germans* differ widely in their manners from the *Gauls*. For neither have they *Druids* to preside in religious affairs, nor do they trouble themselves about sacrifices. They acknowledge no Gods but those that are objects of sight, and by whom they are apparently benefited, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, and *Vulcan* [Fire.] Of others they know nothing, not even by report. Their whole life is addicted to hunting and war; and from their infancy they are inured to fatigue and hard-

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ships. They esteem those most who continue longest strangers to women, as imagining nothing contributes so much to stature, strength, and vigour of body: But to have any commerce of this kind before the age of twenty, is accounted in the highest degree ignominious. Nor is it possible to conceal any irregularity this way, because they bathe promiscuously in rivers, and are clothed in skins, or short mantles of fur, which leave the greatest part of their bodies naked.

Agriculture is little regarded amongst them, as they live mostly on milk, cheese, and the flesh of animals. Nor has any man lands of his own, or distinguished by fixed boundaries. The Magistrates, and those in authority, portion out yearly, to every canton and family, such a quantity of land, and in what part of the country they think proper; and the year following remove them to some other spot. Many reasons are assigned for this practice; *Left, seduced by habit and continuance, they should learn to prefer tillage to war: Left a desire of enlarging their possessions should gain ground, and prompt the stronger to expel the weaker: Left they should become curious in their buildings, in order to guard against the extremes of heat and cold: Left avarice should get footing amongst them, whence spring factions and discords.* Finally, *to preserve contentment and equality among the people, when they find their possessions nothing inferior to those of the most powerful.*

It is accounted honourable for states to have the country all around them lie waste and depopulated. For they think it a proof of bravery to expel their near neighbours; and a part of prudence thus to provide against sudden incursions. When a state is engaged in war, either offensive or defensive, they make choice of Magistrates to preside in it, whom they arm with power of life and death. In time of peace there are no public Magistrates; but the chiefs of the several provinces and clans administer justice, and decide differences within their respective limits. Robbing has nothing infamous in it, when committed without the territories of the state to which they belong: They even pretend that it serves to exercise their youth, and prevent them

feet of his bridge on the *German* side; and, to secure the rest, built at the extremity a tower of four stories, where he left a garrison of twelve cohorts, and strengthened the place with all manner of works. To *C. Volcatius Tullus* he gave the charge of the fort and garrison. He himself, as soon as the corn began to be ripe, marched against *Ambiorix* and the *Eburones*, taking his way through the forest of *Arden*. *Basilus*, whom he sent before him with all the cavalry, pushed on with such expedition, and so well concealed his approach from the enemy, that he surprized great numbers of them in the field. Being informed by them of the place whither *Ambiorix* had retired with a few horse, thither he without delay directed his course.

Fortune, says *Cæsar*, has a considerable share in all human concerns, and particularly in those of war. For, as it was a very extraordinary chance, that *Basilus* should come upon *Ambiorix* before he had the least notice of his approach, so was it equally an effect of fortune, that the *Gaul*, after having lost his arms, horses, and chariots, should yet find means to escape. This was principally owing to the situation of his house, which was surrounded with a wood; it being customary among the *Gauls*, in order to avoid the heats, to build in the neighbourhood of woods and

them from falling into sloth. When any of their princes offers himself publicly in council to be the leader of an expedition, such as approve of it rise up, declare themselves ready to follow him, and for this are applauded by the whole multitude. They who go back from their engagement, are looked upon as traitors and deserters, and lose all esteem and credit for the time to come. The laws of hospitality are held inviolable among them. All that fly to them for refuge, on whatever account, are sure of protection and defence; their houses are open to receive them, and they plentifully supply their wants.

Formerly the *Gauls* exceeded the *Germans* in bravery, often made war upon them, and, as they abounded in people beyond what the country could maintain, sent several colonies over the *Rhine*. Accordingly, the more fertile parts of *Germany*, in the neighbourhood of the *Hercynian* forest (which I find mentioned by *Eratosthenes* and other *Greek* writers under the name of *Orcinia*) fell to the share of the *Volce Teutofages**, who settled in those parts, and have ever since kept possession. They are in the highest reputation for justice

and bravery, and no less remarkable than the *Germans* for poverty, abstinence, and patience of fatigue, conforming themselves to the *German* customs both in habit and way of living. But the neighbourhood of the *Roman province*, and an acquaintance with commerce, have introduced luxury and plenty among the *Gauls*: Whence, becoming gradually an unequal match for the *Germans*, and being worsted in many battles, they no longer pretend to compare with them in martial prowess.

The *Hercynian* forest, of which mention was just now made, is about nine days journey in breadth: For as the *Germans* are ignorant of the art of measuring land, they have no other way of computing. It begins from the borders of the *Helvetii*, *Nemetes*, and *Rauraci*, and, following directly the course of the *Danube*, extends to the territories of the *Anartes* and *Daci*: Thence, turning from the river to the left, it runs through a multitude of different regions: And though there are many in the country who have advanced six days journey into the forest, yet no one pretends to have reached the extremity of it, or to have discovered how far it extends.

* A people of *Galie Narbonensis*, of whom whole armies passed not only into *Germany*, but into *Asia*.

rivers. His attendants and friends, possessing themselves of a narrow pass, sustained the attack of the *Roman* cavalry for some time; during which, one of his servants having provided him with a horse, he got safely off.

Ambiorix, seeing the storm that was going to break on his country, and knowing that he could not possibly assemble an army strong enough to make head against *Cæsar*, dispatched messengers privately through the country, to signify to the *Eburones*, that every one should shift for himself as well as he could. They followed his advice, and dispersing themselves, retired, some into woods, others to inaccessible morasses, others to places near the sea, which at high water became islands. Many, abandoning their country altogether, trusted themselves and their fortunes to the faith of foreigners. *Cativolcus*, who had shared the rule with *Ambiorix*, being very old and infirm, and therefore incapable of supporting the fatigues of either war or flight, poisoned himself, after venting bitter imprecations against his colleague for drawing him into so fatal an enterprize.

Cæsar's intention was utterly to extirpate the *Eburones*: The difficulty was how to find them. With this view he divided his forces, and deposited the baggage of the whole army in the fort of *Aduatica*^{*}, which was situated in the heart of their country, the late quarters of the unfortunate *Sabinus* and *Cotta*. As its works were still entire, the labour of the soldiers would be the less. The fourteenth legion, one of the three lately levied in *Italy*, he left to guard the fort, under the command of *Q. Cicero*. Dividing the rest of his army, he sent *Labienus* with three legions towards the sea-coast, and the provinces that bordered upon the *Menapii*: *Trebonius*, with the like number of legions, he commissioned to lay waste the country adjoining to the *Aduatici*; and resolved to march himself with the other three towards the *Scheld*, and to the extremities of the forest of *Arden*, whither he was informed that *Ambiorix* had retired with a few horse. *Cæsar*, at his departure, promised to return at the end of seven days, the legion which he had left in garrison being provided with corn only for that time: And he exhorted *Labienus* and *Trebonius*, if they found it consistent with the public advantage, to return with their legions at the same time; that consulting together, and taking their measures from the conduct of the enemy, they might resolve whither next to carry the war.

Tongres,
in the
country of
Liege.

The *Eburones*, as was before observed, had no formed body of troops, no garrison, no fortified town to defend by arms, but were a dispersed multitude. Wherever a cave, or a thicket, or a morass, offered them shelter, thither they retired. This made it difficult for *Cæsar* and his army to take their revenge on this perfidious race; whom he could not

^{*} The *Aduatici* were a distinct people from the *Eburones*; and their capital, according to many geographers, was *Namur*. Crevier.

Vid. *supr.*
p. 623.

attack with his united forces, nor, without great danger to his men, suffer them in small parties to seek out the enemy in their hiding-places. He sent messengers therefore to the neighbouring states, inviting them all, by the hopes of plunder, to join in the extirpation of the *Eburones*. Accordingly, great numbers flocked suddenly thither from all parts. The *Eburones* were attacked on all sides, and the havock continued till the seventh day, which *Cæsar* had appointed for returning to his camp. It then evidently appeared, says *Cæsar*, what influence fortune has in war. The report being spread among the *Germans* beyond the *Rhine*, that the territories of the *Eburones* were given up to be plundered, and that all without distinction were invited to share in the spoil, the *Sicambri*, who had afforded a retreat to the *Usipetes* and *Tenctheri* (spoken of above) assembled immediately a body of two thousand horse, passed the river in barks, about thirty miles below *Cæsar's* bridge and fort, and advanced directly towards the territories of the devoted nation. Many of the scattered people fell into their hands, and abundance of cattle, and the invaders, allured by this success, pushed on still farther. Inquiring of the prisoners concerning *Cæsar*, they understood that he had left the country with his whole army, and was a great way off. “What makes you lose your time” (says one of the prisoners) in the pursuit of acquisitions trifling and insignificant, when fortune offers you so rich a booty? In three hours you may reach *Aduatica*, where the *Romans* have deposited all their wealth. The garrison is hardly sufficient to line the rampart, much less to make sallies.” The *Sicambri*, full of hope, marched directly towards *Aduatica*, under the guidance of the captive who had given them the information.

Cicero, who hitherto had kept his soldiers strictly within the camp, according to *Cæsar's* orders, nor had suffered so much as a servant to straggle beyond the lines, seeing the seventh day arrive, began to despair of *Cæsar's* return; who, he heard, was marched farther into the country. Wearied out therefore with the continual murmurings of the soldiers, who complained that he kept them up like men besieged; and not suspecting that any accident could befall him within the small extent of three miles, especially from an enemy in a manner totally dispersed, he sent out five cohorts to forage in a field, separated from the camp by only a single hill. About three hundred men, who had been sick, and were now pretty well recovered, joined the detachment: These were followed by almost all the servants of the camp, together with a vast number of carts and carriage horses. In that very instant the *German* cavalry arrived, and, without discontinuing their course, endeavoured to force an immediate entrance by the *Decuman* gate. As their march had been covered by a wood, they were not perceived till they were just upon the camp; insomuch that the sutlers, who kept their booths under the rampart, had not time to retire within the intrenchments. The cohort upon guard could scarce sustain the

the first onset, so surprized and struck were the soldiers by the sudden and unexpected attack. The whole camp was in an uproar, every one enquiring of another the cause of the confusion; nor could they determine which way to advance the standards, or where to post themselves. Some reported, that the camp was already taken; others, that the *Germans*, having destroyed *Cæsar* and his troops, were come victorious to assault it. The greater number, full of imaginary fears, called to mind the fate of *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, who perished on that very spot.

Among the sick in the garrison was *P. Sextius Baculus*, a Centurion of the first rank, of whom honourable mention has been already made. This officer, though he had not tasted food for five days, rushed unarmed out of his tent. Seeing the enemy at hand, and the danger extreme, he snatched up the first arms that offered, and posted himself in the gate of the camp. The Centurions of the cohort upon guard followed his example, and for a while sustained the enemies charge. *Sextius* expired under a multitude of wounds, and was with difficulty carried off by the soldiers. But the *Romans* now had begun to resume their courage; so far at least as to mount the rampart, and make a shew of defending themselves.

Mean time the foragers, returning, heard the noise at the camp. They sent some horsemen before to learn the cause of it, who were quickly apprized of the danger. The new levies, unexperienced in matters of war, fixed their eyes upon the officers, waiting their orders. Not a man was found so hardy and resolute as not to be disturbed and disconcerted by the unexpected accident. The *Germans*, when they perceived the *Roman* ensigns at a distance, gave over the attack of the camp, imagining at first that it was *Cæsar* with the legions; but discovering in a short time how few they were whom they had to deal with, fell upon them on all sides.

The servants of the camp fled to the nearest rising ground; whence being presently driven, they threw themselves amongst the ranks of the cohorts, and thereby increased their terror. Some retired to a hill, there to defend themselves in the best manner they could: But the veteran soldiers of the detachment, mutually encouraging one another, and being led on by their commander *C. Trebonius*, a *Roman* Knight, broke through the midst of the enemy, and all to a man arrived safe at the camp. The servants and cavalry followed them, and assisting their retreat, were likewise by their bravery preserved. But the troops which had retired to the hill, being unexperienced in military affairs, did not persist in the resolution they had taken of defending themselves there, but in a short time, quitting the advantage of the situation, endeavoured to gain the camp: But they failed in the attempt: A few only escaped; the rest were surrounded and cut to pieces by the Barbarians.

The *Germans*, despairing now to force the camp, repassed the *Rhine* with the booty which they had deposited in the woods: But, even when they

they were gone, the terror the *Romans* were under continued to be so great, that *Volusenus*, arriving in the camp the same night with the cavalry, could not persuade them that *Cæsar* and the army were safe: They persisted in believing that the infantry was wholly destroyed, and that the cavalry alone had escaped, it seeming to them altogether incredible, that the *Germans* would have dared to attack the camp, had no misfortune befallen the *Roman* army. *Cæsar's* arrival quickly put an end to their fears.

Being informed of what had happened, he only complained of the sending out the cohorts to forage: Observing, that in war nothing ought to be left to fortune, whose power had shewed itself evidently in the sudden arrival of the enemy, and much more in their coming up unperceived to the very gates of the camp. But nothing in this whole affair appeared to him more wonderful than that the *Germans*, having crossed the *Rhine* with the purpose of plundering the territories of *Ambiorix*, should do him a most acceptable service, by falling upon the *Roman* camp.

Cæsar marched a second time to harass and distress the enemy, and having drawn a great number of troops together from the neighbouring states, sent them into all parts upon this service. Such devastation was made, that it seemed likely, if the enemy escaped the sword for the present, they would afterwards perish by famine. Nothing was left unattempted to take *Ambiorix* prisoner, the parties that were sent out in search of him believing they should thereby gain the highest favour with *Cæsar*, whose good fortune waited only this to render it complete. But all their endeavours were fruitless: *Ambiorix* found means to hide himself in the woods and morasses; whence removing privately in the night, he escaped into other countries, accompanied only by four horsemen, in whom alone he durst confide,

Cæsar in this expedition had lost only two cohorts; and, having laid waste the whole country, led back his army into the territories of the *Rhemi*. There he summoned a general assembly of *Gaul*, to examine into the affair of the *Senones* and the *Carnutes*; and having passed sentence against *Acco*, the author of the revolt, ordered him to be executed on the spot. Some, fearing a like fate, fled; whom having banished by a decree of the assembly, he quartered two legions in *Treves*, two among the *Lingones*, and the remaining six in the country of the *Senones*: And, having provided the army with corn, he went, pursuant to his design, into *Italy*, to hold the assemblies of *Cisalpine Gaul*.

J. C.

Comm. lib.
vii.

While *Cæsar* was on the *Italian* side of the *Alps*, the *Gauls* on the other side plotted a general revolt, and made a more vigorous effort, than they had ever done before, to shake off the *Roman* yoke. The execution of *Acco*, chief of the *Senones*, had alarmed all the great men, each thinking himself exposed to the same treatment. And what more especially encouraged their making an attempt at this time to recover their freedom, were the

the intestine commotions and seditions at *Rome*, which the death of *Cleodius* had occasioned, and which they thought would detain *Cæsar* a long time in *Italy*. Besides, as his ten legions were stationed in the remote extremity of *Gaul*, on the north and the east, if the country between him and them revolted, it would not be easy for him to rejoin them when he should be at leisure to do it; nor would the legions, without their General, dare to leave their winter quarters. And lastly, they came to this conclusion, that it was better to die bravely in the field, than not regain their former martial glory, and the liberty derived to them from their ancestors.

Such were the debates and resolutions in the private councils of the *Gauls*, held in woods and remote places for the sake of secrecy. The *Carnutes*, declaring themselves ready to submit to any danger for the common safety, offered to be the first to take up arms against the *Romans*; and because the exchanging of hostages might occasion a too early discovery of their design, they proposed, that the other states should bind themselves by a solemn oath, sworn before the military ensigns collected together (which is the most sacred obligation among the *Gauls*) not to abandon them during the course of the war. This offer of the *Carnutes* was received with universal applause, and the oath taken by all present: after which, the time for action being fixed, the assembly separated.

When the appointed day came, the *Carnutes*, headed by two men of desperate resolution, flew on a sudden to *Genabum*, massacred the *Roman* Citizens who had settled there on account of trade, and seized their effects. Among the slain was *C. Fufius Cotta*, a *Roman* Knight of eminence, to whom *Cæsar* had committed the care of supplying the army with provisions. The fame of this massacre soon spread into all the provinces of *Gaul*: for, when any thing extraordinary and important happened, it was their custom to publish it from place to place by outcries, which, being successively repeated by men stationed on purpose, were carried with incredible expedition over the whole country. And thus it was on the present occasion; what had been done at *Genabum* about sun-rising, was known before nine at night in the territories of the *Arverni*, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles.

Instigated by this example, *Vercingetorix*, the son of *Celtillus*, of the nation of the *Arverni*, a young nobleman of great power and interest (whose father had presided over all *Celtic Gaul*, and for aiming at the sovereignty had been put to death by his countrymen) calling his clients and followers together, easily persuaded them to a revolt. His design being discovered, the people immediately flew to arms; and *Gobanitio* his uncle, with the other principal men of the state, dreading the consequences of so rash an enterprize, united all their authority against him,
and

and expelled him the city of *Gergovia*¹. But *Vercingetorix*, not discouraged by this opposition, having engaged in his service a considerable number of outlaws and fugitives, soon made himself master of *Gergovia*, and drove out of the country all those who had so lately forced him to leave that city. He was, upon this, saluted King by his followers, and immediately dispatched Ambassadors into all parts to exhort the confederate states to continue firm to their engagements. The *Senones*, *Parisii*, *Pictones*, *Cadurci*, *Turones*, *Aulerci*, *Lemovices*, *Andes*, and the nations bordering upon the ocean, readily came into the alliance, and with unanimous consent declared him Generalissimo of the league. Invested with this authority, he demanded hostages of the several states, ordered them, at a prefixed time, to furnish him with a certain number of men and arms; and more particularly applied himself to the raising of a numerous cavalry. To an extreme diligence, he joined an extreme rigour of command: For greater faults, the criminals, after having been tortured, were burnt alive; and for lighter offences, they had their ears cut off, or one of their eyes put out, and were in that condition sent home to serve as an example to the rest. Thus by the severity of his punishments he obliged the irresolute to declare themselves in his favour.

* The inhabitants of Rouergue.

Having assembled a considerable army, he sent *Luterius* of *Quercy*, a bold and enterprising man, with part of the forces, against the *Rutheni*^{*}; and marched himself into the territories of the *Bituriges*. This people, upon his arrival, dispatched Ambassadors to the *Ædui*, under whose protection they were, to demand succours against the enemy. The *Ædui*, by the advice of the Lieutenants *Cæsar* had left with the army, ordered a body of horse and foot to the assistance of the *Bituriges*; but those troops advanced no farther than the banks of the *Loire*, which divides their country from that of the *Bituriges*, and after halting there a few days, returned home, pretending that they had received information, that in case they had passed the river, they would be treacherously attacked on one side by the *Bituriges*, whom they went to assist, and on the other by the *Arverni*. On their departure, the *Bituriges* immediately joined the forces of the revolted states.

[Year of Rome 701².]

Cæsar, upon the first report of this insurrection, left *Italy*, and set out for *Transalpine Gaul*. On his arrival there he found it very difficult to resolve, in what manner to join the army; for should he order the legions to repair to the *Province*, he foresaw they would be attacked on their march in his absence; and should he himself proceed to the quarters of the legions, he was not without apprehension of danger, even from those states, that seemingly continued faithful to the *Romans*.

¹ City of *Auvergne*, the ruins of which are visible two leagues south-east of *Clermont*: the mountain is still called *Gergaie*.

² For the events and transactions at *Rome* in the year 700, see above, p. 527, 540.

In the mean time *Luterius* of *Quercy*, who had been sent by *Vercingetorix* into the territories of the *Rutbeni*, brought over that state to the alliance of the *Arverni*. Advancing from thence among the *Nitobrigi* * and *Gabali* †, he received hostages from both nations; and having got together a numerous body of troops, drew towards *Narbonne*, to attack the *Romans* on that side. *Cæsar*, informed of his design, thought it incumbent on him first to provide for the security of the *Province*. He therefore flew to *Narbonne*, secured that town, placed garrisons in the towns of the *Rutbeni*, subject to the *Romans*, also in those of the *Volci*, *Tolosani*, and other states bordering upon the enemy. *Luterius*, not daring to march forwards among so many *Roman* garrisons, thought proper to retire. Thus *Cæsar* was left at liberty to execute the project he had formed of penetrating into the country of the *Arverni*, through the territories of the *Helvii*, which were separated from each other by the high mountain *Cebenna*. With this view he joined a part of the provincial forces, and the recruits he had brought from *Italy*, whom he had before ordered to rendezvous on the frontiers of the *Helvii*, and proceeding on his march, opened a way over the *Cebenna*, with infinite labour to the soldiers, the mountain being covered with snow to the depth of six feet. The *Arverni*, who looked upon the *Cebenna* as an impenetrable barrier, impassable in that season even to single men, were altogether unprepared on the arrival of the *Romans*; and *Cæsar*, to strike a general terror among them, ordered his cavalry to spread themselves on all sides over the country.

Fame and messengers from the state soon informed *Vercingetorix* of the calamity of his country. The *Arverni* gathered round him, and, with looks full of dismay, conjured him to have regard to their fortunes, and not abandon them to the ravages of the enemy; especially as he now saw that the whole war was pointed against them. *Vercingetorix*, moved by their intreaties, broke up his camp, and marched towards *Auvergne*. This *Cæsar* had foreseen: and his scheme being to amuse the enemy on that side, while he stole off to his legions, he staid only two days in the camp; and leaving young *Brutus* to command in his absence, with orders to disperse the cavalry as wide as he could, he set out on pretence of going for a reinforcement, promising to return, if possible, in three days. But posting by great journies to *Vienne*, he there joined the new levied cavalry, whom he had sent thither some time before. From thence travelling day and night, without taking any rest, through the country of the *Ædui*, to prevent by his expedition any designs they might form against his person, he at length reached the confines of the *Lingones*, where two of his legions wintered; and sending immediately to the rest, he drew them all together, before the *Arverni* could be apprized of his arrival in those parts.

* People of the Agennais.
† Those of the Gavaudan.

Vercingetorix, upon notice of this junction, led back his army into the territories of the *Bituriges*, and invested *Gergovia*, a town belonging to the *Boii*, where they had been settled by *Cæsar* after the defeat of the *Helvetii*, and made subject to the *Æduan* state. This motion of the enemy greatly perplexed the *Roman* General. If he continued incamped with his legions during the rest of the winter, and abandoned the subjects of the *Ædui* to the attempts of the enemy, he had reason to apprehend that the *Gauls*, seeing him afford no protection to his friends, would universally revolt. On the other hand, if he took the field too early, he risked the want of provisions and forage, by the great difficulty of procuring convoys. Resolving, however, not to submit to an affront that must for ever alienate the minds of his allies, he in the strongest terms enjoined the *Ædui* to be diligent in supplying him with the necessary provisions, dispatched messengers to the *Boii* to inform them of his approach, and exhort them to continue firm to their duty: then leaving two legions with the baggage of the whole army at *Agendicum* *, he began his march to the relief of *Gergovia*.

* Sens.

† Bezune
in Gati-
nois.

He arrived the next day before *Vellaunodunum* †, a city of the *Senones*, which surrendered after a siege of two days. In two days more he reached *Genabum*, where the *Roman* citizens had been lately massacred by the *Car-
nutes*. *Cæsar*'s sudden approach had not left the enemy time to prepare for a defence; they therefore attempted to make their escape in the night by a bridge over the *Loire*. To prevent the execution of such a design, *Cæsar* had ordered two legions to be in readiness under arms: and about midnight, being informed by his scouts that the enemy were stealing off, he set fire to the gates of the town; the legions entered, pursued the fugitives over the bridge, and almost intirely destroyed them. The town was plundered and burnt.

‡ Novan.

Here *Cæsar* passed the *Loire*, and, marching into the territories of the *Bituriges*, sat down before *Noviodunum* ‡. The inhabitants sent deputies to treat of a surrendry, but before the articles agreed upon could be put into execution, the cavalry of *Vercingetorix* appeared at a distance. This General of the *Gauls*, informed of *Cæsar*'s approach, had raised the siege of *Gergovia*, and marched to meet the *Romans*. The besieged, on this prospect of relief, though they had already given hostages, and received into the town some centurions and soldiers of the *Roman* army, with great clamours flew to arms, shut the gates, and manned the walls. The *centu-
rions* in the town judging, from the noise among the *Gauls*, that they had some new project in view, had cautiously posted themselves at one of the gates, and getting all their men together, retreated without loss to the camp. *Cæsar* soon dispersed the enemies horse, which was not supported by the body of the army; and the people of *Noviodunum*, disappointed and terrified at the defeat of their friends, seized immediately on all those who had been instrumental in breaking the capitulation, sent them prisoners

to *Cæsar's* camp, and delivered up the town. From thence *Cæsar* marched on to *Avaricum*, the strongest and most considerable city of the *Bituriges*.

Vercingetorix, alarmed at the loss of so many towns in so short a time, called a general council of his followers, and represented to them : “ That
“ it was necessary to resolve upon a very different plan of war, from that
“ which they had hitherto pursued ; and, instead of giving battle to the
“ *Romans*, they should bend their whole aim to intercept their convoys
“ and foragers : That this might be easily effected, as they themselves
“ abounded in cavalry, and in the present season of the year, there being
“ no forage in the fields, the enemy must unavoidably disperse them-
“ selves into the distant villages for subsistence, and thereby give daily
“ opportunities of destroying them. That, where life and liberty were at
“ stake, property and private possession ought to be little regarded ; that
“ therefore the best resolution they could take was, at once to burn all
“ their houses and villages, from the territories of the *Boii* to wherever
“ the *Romans* might extend their quarters for the sake of forage : That
“ they themselves had no reason to apprehend scarcity, as they would be
“ plentifully supplied by those states, whose territories they were ready to
“ defend at so great loss ; whereas, the enemy must either be reduced
“ to the necessity of starving, or making distant and dangerous excursions
“ from their camp ; that it equally answered the purpose of the *Gauls*, to
“ defeat the *Roman* army, or seize upon their baggage and convoys ; be-
“ cause without these last, it would be impossible for them to carry on the
“ war : That, in his opinion, they would do well to set fire even to the
“ towns themselves, which were not strong enough to be perfectly secure
“ against all danger ; as by this means they would neither become places
“ of retreat to their own men, to screen them from military service ; nor
“ contribute to the support of the *Romans* by the supplies and plunder
“ they might furnish : He added, that though these things were indeed
“ grievous, yet they ought to reflect that it was still more grievous to see
“ their wives and children dragged into captivity, and be themselves put
“ to the sword, the unavoidable fate of the conquered.”

This proposal being approved by all, more than twenty cities of the *Bituriges* were burnt in one day ; the like was done in other states ; nothing but conflagrations were seen over the whole country ; and though the natives bore this desolation with extreme regret, they comforted themselves with the hopes, that it was the sure way to a speedy victory, which would amply recompence their losses. The fate of *Avaricum* was solemnly debated in council, whether it should be burnt or defended ; the *Bituriges* falling prostrate on the ground, earnestly begged that they might not be obliged to burn with their own hands one of the most beautiful cities of *Gaul*, the ornament and the security of their state ; especially as the town itself, almost wholly surrounded by a river and morass, and affording but

one very narrow approach, was from the nature of its situation, capable of an easy defence. *Vercingetorix* at first opposed their request, but at length moved by their prayers, and the generous compassion of the army, he yielded, and sent a strong garrison to defend the town.

This affair determined, he followed *Cæsar* by easy marches, and chose for his camp a place surrounded with woods and marshes, about fifteen miles distant from *Avaricum*. There he had hourly intelligence by his scouts, of all that passed before the town; and sent his orders from time to time to the garrison. He kept a constant watch upon the *Roman* convoys, and foragers, whom, notwithstanding their vigilance, he frequently cut off, when necessity obliged them to seek for provisions at too great a distance.

Cæsar having incamped on that side, where the river and morasses left a narrow access to the town, began to raise a mount, bring forward his battering engines, and prepare two towers of assault; without attempting to make lines of circumvallation, which the nature of the ground rendered impossible. He was continually soliciting the *Æduans* and *Boii* for corn, but received no great supplies from either; partly through the negligence of the *Æduans*, who were not zealous in the affair; partly through the inability of the *Boii*, who possessing an inconsiderable territory, soon consumed all the corn their land produced. The army were for many days altogether without bread, and had nothing to appease their hunger but the cattle brought from distant villages: yet not an expression was heard among the soldiers unworthy the majesty of the *Roman* name, or the glory they had acquired by former victories. And when *Cæsar* visited the different quarters of the legions in person, and offered to raise the siege, if they found the famine insupportable; they with one voice requested him not to do it, adding, "That, during the many years they had served under him, they never yet had met with any check, or formed any enterprize in which they had not succeeded; that they could not but look upon it as inglorious to abandon a siege they had once begun; and had rather undergo the greatest hardships, than not revenge the blood of the *Roman* Citizens, perfidiously massacred by the *Gauls* in *Genabum*."

And now the towers began to approach the walls, when *Cæsar* was informed by some prisoners, that *Vercingetorix*, having consumed all the forage round him, had removed his camp nearer to *Avaricum*, and was gone himself at the head of the cavalry, and the light-armed troops accustomed to fight in their intervals, to form an ambuscade for the *Romans*, in a place where it was supposed they would come the next day to forage. Upon this intelligence, setting out about midnight in great silence, he arrived the next morning at the enemy's camp. But they having had timely notice by their scouts, instantly conveyed their baggage and carriages into a thick wood, and drew up in order of battle on an open hill. *Cæsar* immediately ordered all his soldiers to prepare for an engagement.

The

The hill itself where the enemy stood, rising all the way with an easy ascent, was almost wholly furrounded by a morass difficult and dangerous to pass, though not above fifty feet over. Here the *Gauls*, confiding in the strength of their post, and having broke down all the bridges over the morass, appeared with an air of resolution. They had formed themselves into different bodies, according to their several states; and planting select detachments at all the avenues and fords, waited with determined courage, that, if the *Romans* should attempt to force their way through, they might fall upon them from the higher ground, while embarrassed in the morass. The *Romans*, full of indignation, that the enemy should dare to face them, loudly demanded to be led to battle. *Cæsar* checked their ardour, and endeavoured to make them sensible, that in attacking an army so strongly posted, the victory would be attended with the loss of many brave men; adding, that he could not be too tender of the lives of those, whom he found ready to encounter every kind of danger for his glory. Having by this speech comforted the soldiers, he led them back the same day to *Avaricum* and applied himself wholly to the carrying on of the siege.

Vercingetorix, upon his return to the camp, was accused by the army of treason. The removal of his quarters nearer to those of the enemy, his departure at the head of all the cavalry, his leaving so many troops without a commander in chief, and the opportune and speedy arrival of the *Romans* during his absence; all these things, they said, could not easily happen without design, and gave great reason to believe, that he had rather owe the sovereignty of *Gaul* to *Cæsar's* favour, than to the free choice of his countrymen. To this charge he replied: “ That the removal of his
“ camp was occasioned by the want of forage, and made at their own ex-
“ press desire: That he had posted himself nearer to the *Romans*, on ac-
“ count of the advantage of the ground, which secured him against all
“ attacks: That cavalry were by no means wanted in a morass, but might
“ have been extremely serviceable in the place to which he had led them:
“ That he purposely forbore naming a commander in chief at his departure,
“ lest the impatience of the multitude should have forced him to give bat-
“ tle; to which he perceived they were all strongly inclined, through a
“ certain weakness and effeminacy of mind, that rendered them incapable
“ of bearing long fatigue: That whether accident or intelligence brought
“ the *Romans* to their camp, they ought to thank, in the one case fortune,
“ in the other the informer, for giving them an opportunity of discovering,
“ from the higher ground, the inconsiderable number of the enemy, and
“ despising their feeble efforts; for not daring to hazard an engagement,
“ they had ignominiously retreated to their camp: That for his part, he
“ scorned treacherously to hold an authority of *Cæsar*, which he hoped
“ soon to merit by a victory, of which both he and the rest of the *Gauls* had
“ now a certain prospect: That he was willing to resign the command,
“ if they thought the honour, done him by that distinction, exceeded the
“ advantages

“ advantages procured by his conduct.” He added : “ To convince you of
 “ the truth of what I have said, hear the *Roman* soldiers themselves.” Instantly he produced some slaves, whom he had made prisoners a few days before, and whom by severity and hard usage he had brought to his purpose. These, according to the instructions they had received, declared,
 “ That they were legionary soldiers : That, urged by hunger, they had
 “ privately stolen out of the camp, to search for corn and cattle in the fields :
 “ That the whole army was reduced to so weak a condition, as no longer
 “ to be capable of supporting fatigue : That the General had therefore
 “ resolved, if the town held out three days longer, to draw off his men
 “ from the siege.” “ Such (said *Vercingetorix*) are the services you receive from the man, whom you charge with treason. To him it is owing, that, without drawing a sword, you see a powerful and victorious
 “ army almost wholly destroyed by famine. He has moreover taken effectual care, that, when necessity compels them to seek refuge in a shameful flight, no state shall receive them into its territories.”

The whole multitude set up a shout ; and, as their manner was, clashing their arms, to denote their approbation of the speaker, proclaimed *Vercingetorix* a consummate General, whose fidelity ought not to be questioned, and whose conduct deserved the highest praise. They decreed that ten thousand men, chosen out of all the troops, should be sent to reinforce the garrison of *Avaricum* ; it seeming too hazardous to rely upon the *Bituriges* alone for the defence of a place, whose preservation, they imagined, would necessarily give them the superiority in the war.

Though the *Romans* carried on the siege with incredible vigour, yet was their progress greatly obstructed by the address and contrivance of the *Gauls*. For they were a people of singular ingenuity, quick of apprehension, easily imitating whatever they saw practised by others. They turned aside with ropes, the hooks made use of by the *Romans*, and after having seized them, drew them into the town with engines. They likewise endeavoured to undermine the mount ; an art they were perfectly skilled in, as their country abounded with iron-mines. At the same time they raised towers on all parts of the wall, covered them with raw hides, and in frequent sallies by day and night, either set fire to the mount, or fell upon the workmen. In proportion as the *Roman* towers increased in height, by the continual addition to the mount, in the same proportion did they advance the towers upon their walls *, raising one story above another. And
 counter-

* The fortified towns among the *Gauls*, had their walls mostly built in the following manner. Long massy beams of wood were placed upon the ground, at the distance of two feet one from another, and so as to constitute by their length the thickness of the wall. These being again crossed by others, which served to

bind them together, had their intervals on the inside filled up with earth, and on the outside with large stones. The first rank thus completed and firmly joined, a second was laid over it, with the same distance between the beams : but these did not rest upon the beams of the order below, but were placed above their intervals,

counter-working the mines with the utmost diligence, they either filled them with great stones, or poured melted pitch into them, or repulsed the miners with long stakes, burnt and sharpened at the end.

Such were the obstacles the *Romans* met with in this siege. But the soldiers, though much incommoded, during the whole time, with cold and perpetual rains, yet, by dint of labour, overcame all difficulties, and at the end of twenty-five days, had raised a mount three hundred and thirty feet broad, and eighty feet high. When it was brought almost close to the walls, *Cæsar*, according to custom, attended the works, and encouraged the soldiers to labour without intermission; a little before midnight it was observed to smoke, the enemy having undermined and fired it. At the same time they raised a mighty shout, and sallying from two of their gates, vigorously attacked the works. Some threw lighted torches and dry wood from the walls upon the mount, others pitch and all sorts of combustibles; so that it was not easy to know on which side it was proper first to send relief. But as *Cæsar* kept always two legions upon guard in the trenches, besides great numbers employed in the works, who relieved one another by turns, his troops were soon in a condition, some to oppose those that sallied from the town, others to draw off the towers, and make openings in the mount; whilst the rest endeavoured to extinguish the flames.

The fight continued with great obstinacy during the remaining part of the night. The enemy still entertained hopes of victory, and persisted with the more firmness, as they saw the mantlets that covered the towers burnt down, the *Romans* being unable to rescue them for want of shelter. Fresh troops were continually advancing from the town to relieve the fatigued, the enemy believing, that the safety of *Gaul* depended on that critical moment. Here (says *Cæsar*) I cannot forbear mentioning a remarkable instance of intrepidity, to which I was myself a witness upon this occasion. A certain *Gaul*, posted before the gate of the city, threw, into the fire, balls of pitch and tallow to feed it. This man being exposed to the discharge of a *Roman* battery, was struck through the side with a dart, and expired. Another striding over his body, immediately took his place. He also was killed in the same manner. A third succeeded; to the third a fourth; nor was this dangerous post left vacant, till the fire of the mount was extinguished, the enemy repulsed on all sides, and an end put to the conflict.

The *Gauls* having in vain tried all methods of defence, consulted the next day about leaving the town, in consequence of the orders they had received from *Vercingetorix*. This they hoped easily to effect in the

tervals, and filled up as before with earth and stones. In this manner the work was carried to a proper height, and the building was as useful as beautiful. For as the variety and regular intermixture of the materials pleased the

eye, so the stone was proof against fire, and the beams against the battering-ram; for being fastened on the inside with continued planks, they could neither be disjointed, nor thrown down.

night;

night ; as that General's camp was not far off, and the morafs between them and the *Romans* would ferve to cover their retreat. Night came, and the befieged were preparing to put their fcheme in execution ; when fuddenly the women running out into the ftreets, and throwing themfelves at their husbands feet, conjured them, with many tears, not to abandon to the fury of an enraged enemy them and their common children, whom nature and weaknefs rendered incapable of flight. Finding their entreaties ineffectual (for, in extreme danger, fear often excludes compaffion) they began to fet up a loud cry, to inform the *Romans* of the intended efcape. This alarmed the garrifon, who, apprehending the paffages would be feized by the enemy's cavalry, delifted from their attempt.

Next day *Cæfar* brought forward the tower, and gave the neceffary directions concerning the works. A heavy rain chancing juft then to fall, he thought it a favourable opportunity of effecting his purpofe, efpecially as he obferved that the walls were negligently guarded. Wherefore, ordering the foldiers to abate a little of their armour in the works, and having inftructed them in what manner to proceed, he exhorted the legions, who advanced under cover of the machines, to feize at laft the fruit of fo many toils. Then promifing rewards to thofe who fhould firft fcale the town, he gave the fignal of attack. The *Romans* rufhed fuddenly upon the enemy from all parts, and in a moment poffeffed themfelves of the walls. The *Gauls* terrified at the vigour of the affault, and driven from their towers and battlements, drew themfelves up in the form of a triangle in the market-place, expecting that the *Romans* would advance to attack them. But obferving that they ftill kept upon the walls, and were endeavouring to get poffeffion of their whole circuit, they began to fear left they fhould be fhut up on every fide. Therefore, throwing down their arms, they ran tumultuoufly to the fartheft part of the town, where many of them were flain by the legionaries, the narrownefs of the gates obftructing their flight. Others were flaughtered by the cavalry without the walls. The *Romans*, regardless of plunder, but eager to revenge the mafacre of *Genabum*, and exafperated by the obftinate defence of the place, fpared neither old men, women, nor children ; infomuch that of all that multitude, amounting to about forty thoufand, fcarce eight hundred, who had quitted the town upon the firft alarm, efaped fafe to *Vercingetorix*. He received them into his camp in the dead of the night : For, fearing left their entrance by day, and in a body, fhould occafion a tumult among the troops ; he had fent out his friends, and the principal noblemen of each province, to meet them by the way, and conduct them to the quarters of their feveral ftates.

Vercingetorix having called a council, comforted the foldiers, and exhorted them not to be difcouraged by their late misfortune. He faid, “ The *Romans* had not overcome by bravery, or in the field, but
 “ by their addrefs and fkill in fieges, an art the *Gauls* were little acquaint-
 “ ed with ; that they deceived themfelves, who in war expected fuccefs

“ to

“ to attend every enterprize; that he himself, as they all knew, had never
 “ advised the defence of *Avaricum*, and could not but impute the present
 “ disaster to the imprudence of the *Bituriges*, and the too easy compliance
 “ of the rest: That he hoped, however, soon to compensate their loss by su-
 “ perior advantages, as he was using his utmost endeavours to bring over
 “ the other states, which had hitherto refused their concurrence, and to
 “ form one general confederacy of all *Gaul*, against whose united strength,
 “ not the whole world would be able to prevail: That he had even in a
 “ great measure effected his design, and in the mean time only required of
 “ them, for the sake of the common safety, immediately to fortify their
 “ camp, the better to secure themselves from the sudden attacks of the
 “ enemy.” This speech was not displeasing to the *Gauls*, and the rather,
 that, notwithstanding so great a blow, *Vercingetorix* neither retired from
 public view, nor seemed to have lost any thing of his wonted courage.
 They even entertained a higher opinion of his prudence and foresight; as
 from the first he had advised the burning of *Avaricum*, and at last sent or-
 ders to abandon it. Thus ill success, which usually sinks the reputation
 of a commander, served only to augment his credit, and give him greater
 authority among the troops. At the same time, from the assurances he
 had given them, they were full of hopes that the other states would accede
 to the alliance. And now for the first time the *Gauls* set about fortifying
 their camp; being so humbled by their late misfortunes, that, though natu-
 rally impatient of fatigue, they submitted to every task imposed upon them
 by their General.

Vercingetorix on his side was extremely active to bring over to the
 confederacy the other provinces of *Gaul*, endeavouring, by presents and pro-
 mises, to gain the leading men in each state. For this purpose he made
 choice of fit agents, who, by their address, or peculiar ties of friendship,
 were most likely to influence those to whom they were sent. He provided
 arms and cloathing for the troops that had escaped from *Avaricum*, and to
 repair the loss sustained by the taking of that place, gave orders to the se-
 veral states in alliance to furnish a certain number of men, and send them
 to the camp, by a day prefixed. At the same time he required of them,
 that all the archers, of which there were great numbers in *Gaul*, should be
 sought out and sent to the army. By these measures he soon filled up the
 places of those he lost at the siege of *Avaricum*. In the mean time *Theuto-*
matus, the son of *Ollovico*, and King of the *Nitobrigi*, whose father had
 been stiled friend and ally by the Senate of *Rome*, came and joined *Vercinge-*
torix with a great body of horse, which he had raised in his own territories,
 and in the province of *Aquitain*.

Cæsar finding great plenty of corn and other provisions at *Avaricum*,
 stayed there several days to refresh his troops, after their late sufferings
 from scarcity and fatigue. Spring was now approaching, and as the
 season invited him to take the field, he resolved to march against the

enemy, either to draw them out of the woods and marshes, or besiege them in their fortresses. While he was preparing for this expedition, deputies arrived from the *Ædii* to beg he would interpose his authority to settle the differences in their state. “ Every thing there, they told him, threatened
 “ an intestine war. That as it was their custom to be governed by a
 “ single magistrate, who possessed the supreme power for one year, two
 “ Noblemen contended for that office: each affirming his election was
 “ according to law. The one was *Conviſtolitanis*, an illustrious and
 “ popular young man; the other *Cotus*, of an ancient family, great
 “ authority, and powerful relations, whose brother *Videliacus* had held
 “ the same magistracy the year before: That the whole state was in
 “ arms, the senate and people divided; nor had they hopes of escaping a
 “ civil war, but in his care and timely endeavours to put an end to the
 “ contest.”

Although *Cæſar* was sensible it would greatly prejudice his affairs, to quit the pursuit of the war, and leave the enemy behind him; yet reflecting on the mischiefs that arose from divisions, and desirous if possible to prevent so powerful a state, in strict amity with the people of *Rome*, and which he had always in a particular manner cherished and befriended, from having recourse to violence and arms, which might drive the party that least confided in his friendship, to seek the assistance of *Vercingetorix*, he resolved to make it his first care, to put a stop to the progress of those disorders. And because, by the constitutions of the *Ædii*, it was not lawful for the supreme magistrate to pass beyond the limits of the state, that he might not seem to infringe their privileges, he resolved to go thither in person, and summoned the senate and the two candidates to meet him at *Decetia*. The assembly was very numerous, and it appeared that *Cotus* had been declared chief magistrate by his own brother, in presence of only a few electors privately called together, without regard to time or place, and even contrary to the express laws of the state, which prohibited two of the same family to hold the supreme dignity, while he who first obtained it was alive, or so much as sit together in the senate. *Cæſar* therefore obliged *Cotus* to resign in favour of *Conviſtolitanis*, who, upon the expiration of the office of the preceding magistrate, had been elected in due form by the priests.

This sentence being passed, *Cæſar* exhorted the *Ædii* to lay aside their quarrels, and apply themselves solely to the business of the present war; to expect with confidence the full recompence of their services, as soon as the reduction of *Gaul* should be compleated; and to send him immediately all their cavalry, and 10,000 foot, to form a chain of posts for the security of his convoys. He then divided his army into two parts. Four legions, under the conduct of *Labienus*, he sent against the *Senones* and *Parisi*, and the other six he led in person along the banks of the *Allier*, towards the territories of the *Arverni*, with a design to invest *Gergovia*.

Part

Part of the cavalry followed *Labienus*; part remained with *Cæsar*. *Vercingetorix* having notice of these motions, broke down all the bridges upon the *Allier*, and marched along the other side of the river.

As both armies were continually in view, encamped almost over-against each other, and the enemies scouts so stationed, that it was impossible for the *Romans* to make a bridge for carrying over their forces, *Cæsar* began to be uneasy, lest he should be stopped in his progress the greatest part of the summer by the river, the *Allier* being seldom fordable till towards autumn. But he soon found means to compass his end. He encamped in a place covered by woods, over-against one of those bridges which *Vercingetorix* had caused to be broke down. The next day remaining there concealed with two legions, he sent forward with all the baggage the other four, dividing them into six corps, that the number of the legions might appear complete, and ordered them to march as far as they could. When, by the time of the day, he judged they were arrived at the place of their encampment, speedily he rebuilt the bridge upon the old piles, the lower part of which the enemy had left standing; marched over the troops he had with him, and, having chose a proper place for his camp, recalled the rest of his forces. *Vercingetorix* being informed, that the *Romans* had passed the river, marched on before them by long journeys, that he might not be forced to a battle against his will.

Cæsar, after five days march, came before *Gergovia*, where he had a slight engagement with the enemy's cavalry. Having taken a view of the place, which he found situated on a very high hill, all whose approaches were extremely difficult, he not only despaired of reducing it by storm, but resolved not to invest it, till he had secured a supply of provisions for his army. *Vercingetorix* was encamped near the town, where he had disposed the forces of the several states in different divisions, separated from one another by moderate intervals. As his army covered the whole summits of the hill, it made a very formidable appearance. Every morning, by day-break, the chiefs of each state, who composed his council, assembled in his tent, to advise with him, and receive his orders: and he scarcely let a day pass, without detaching some cavalry, intermixed with archers, to skirmish with the *Romans*, that he might make trial of the spirit and courage of his men. There was a rising ground, that joined to the foot of the hill on which the town stood, well fortified by nature, being very steep on all sides. This eminence, though of such importance to the *Gauls*, that if the *Romans* should get possession of it, they could in a great measure deprive them of water and forage, was yet but indifferently guarded. *Cæsar* therefore leaving his camp about midnight, dislodged the enemy before any assistance could arrive from the town, seized the hill, and having placed two legions to defend it, drew a double ditch twelve feet deep from the greater to the lesser camp, that the soldiers might pass and repass without danger.

While these things were transacted at *Gergovia*, *Conviſolitanis* the *Ædun*, to whom, as we have before related, *Cæſar* had adjudged the ſupreme magiſtracy, being bribed by the *Arverni*, endeavoured to engage in the confederacy ſome young noblemen, the chief of whom were *Litavicus* and his brothers, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed family in the country. With theſe he ſhared the money he had received, and exhorted them to conſider, “ That they were free, and born to command: That the *Ædui* “ alone obſtructed the victory of the league, that their authority reſtrained “ the other ſtates from joining in the common cauſe, and that their “ concurrence in it would not leave the *Romans* a poſſibility of ſupporting “ themſelves in *Gaul*. That he himſelf indeed was under ſome obligation to “ *Cæſar*, at leaſt ſo far as an equitable deciſion deſerved that name, but “ he ſtill owed more to his country; adding, that the *Ædui* had no greater “ reaſon to have recourſe to the *Roman* General, in what regarded their “ laws and cuſtoms, than the *Romans* had in the like caſe to apply themſelves to the *Ædui*.” The representations of the magiſtrate, and the rewards he beſtowed, ſoon prevailed with the young noblemen. They offered to become the chief conductors of the enterprize; and nothing remained but to conſult on the proper means for accompliſhing their deſign; for they well knew, that the ſtate would not be eaſily induced to engage in the war. It was agreed, that *Litavicus* ſhould have the command of the 10,000 foot appointed to join *Cæſar*, and that his brothers ſhould be ſent before. They alſo concerted in what manner the reſt of the project ſhould be executed.

Litavicus having taken the command of the army, and led them within thirty miles of *Gergovia*, ſuddenly called the troops together, and addreſſing them with tears: “ Whither ſoldiers, ſaid he, are we going? “ All our cavalry, all our nobility are ſlain. *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, “ men of the firſt quality in the ſtate, accuſed by the *Romans* of treaſon, are put to death without a trial. But learn theſe things of thoſe “ who have eſcaped the ſlaughter; for, as to me, overwhelmed with grief “ for the loſs of my brothers and kiſmen, I am unable to utter our calamities.” He then produced ſome, whom he had before inſtructed for that purpoſe, who repeated to the multitude, “ That the greateſt part of “ the *Ædun* cavalry had been put to the ſword, under pretence of their “ holding intelligence with the *Arverni*; and that they themſelves had eſcaped with great difficulty by mixing with the *Roman* ſoldiers.” Hereupon the whole army called aloud to *Litavicus*, entreating him to provide for their ſafety; “ As if, ſaid he, there was room for counſel, or any choice “ left, but that of marching directly to *Gergovia*, and joining the *Arverni*. “ Can we doubt, after ſo black an inſtance of *Roman* perfidy, but that they “ are already on their way to deſtroy us? Let us, therefore, if any ſpirit “ or courage remains in us, revenge the death of our countrymen, ſo unworthily ſlain, and put theſe inhuman ſpoilers to the ſword.” He then pointed

pointed to some *Roman* Citizens, who had taken the opportunity of their march to bring a large supply of corn and provisions to the camp. Instantly the convoy was plundered, the *Romans* put to death with cruel torments, and messengers dispatched through all the territories of the *Ædui*, to spread the same forgery of the massacre of the cavalry and princes, and excite them to take the like vengeance on the common enemy.

Eporedorix, the *Æduan*, a young nobleman of distinguished birth, and great interest in the state; as likewise *Virdumarus*, of the same age and equal authority, though not so well descended (whom *Cæsar*, on the recommendation of *Divitiacus*, had raised from a low condition to the highest dignities) were both at this time in the *Roman* camp. Between these two was a competition for greatness; and in the late dispute about the magistracy, the one had declared warmly for *Convictolitanus*, the other for *Cotus*. *Eporedorix*, having notice of *Litavicus's* design, came at midnight to *Cæsar's* tent, discovered the whole plot, and entreated him not to suffer the state, through the mischievous counsels of a few young men, to fall off from the alliance of the *Romans*, which he foresaw must happen, if they should join the enemy with so many thousand men, whose safety would neither be neglected by their relations, nor disregarded by the state.

This intelligence gave *Cæsar* extreme concern, because he had always had a particular regard for the *Ædui*. He therefore immediately drew out four legions, together with all the cavalry; nor had he time to contract his camp, because the affair seemed wholly to depend upon expedition. He left *C. Fabius*, his Lieutenant, to command in his absence with two legions. *Litavicus's* brothers, whom he ordered to be seized, had some time before escaped to the enemy. Having exhorted the soldiers to bear the fatigue cheerfully in so pressing a conjuncture, they marched with great alacrity, and about five and twenty miles from *Gergovia* came within sight of the *Ædui*. *Cæsar* immediately detached the cavalry to retard and stop their march; but with strict charge to abstain from slaughter. He ordered *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, whom the *Ædui* had lamented as dead, to ride up and down among the squadrons, and call to their countrymen. They were soon known, and *Litavicus's* forgery being detected, the *Ædui* stretched out their hands, offered to submit, and throwing down their arms, begged their lives might be spared. *Litavicus*, with his clients (who by the custom of the *Gauls* cannot without infamy abandon their patrons, even in the greatest extremity of fortune) fled to *Gergovia*.

Cæsar, having dispatched messengers to the *Ædui* to inform them, that from a regard for their state he had spared those, whom by the right of war he might have put to the sword, after allowing the army three hours rest, marched back to *Gergovia*. About half way he was met by a party of horse, sent by *Fabius*, to acquaint him with the danger that threatened his

his camp. They told him, “ That the enemy had attacked it with all their
 “ forces, relieving the fatigued with supplies of fresh men, while the
 “ *Romans* were kept to continual labour ; for the vast extent of ground
 “ they had to defend, obliged them to be perpetually upon the rampart.
 “ That the multitude of arrows and darts discharged by the *Gauls* had
 “ wounded many of the soldiers, notwithstanding the protection received
 “ from the engines, which yet had been of good service in repelling the
 “ assailants : That *Fabius*, upon the retreat of the enemy, had closed up
 “ all the gates of the camp except two, carried a breastwork quite round
 “ the rampart, and made preparation for sustaining the assault the next
 “ day.” *Cæsar*, upon this news, hastened his march with all diligence,
 and seconded by the ardour of the troops, arrived in the camp before sun-
 rising.

While these things passed at *Gergovia*, the *Ædui*, upon receipt of the
 first dispatches from *Litavicus*, staid not for the confirmation of the re-
 port ; but prompted, some by avarice, others by revenge, and many hur-
 ried on by a levity and rashness, natural to that people, who are always
 ready to give credit to every flying rumour, ran immediately to arms,
 plundered the *Roman* Citizens, killed some of them, and sold others
 for slaves. *Convidolitanus* incited to the utmost this fury of the multi-
 tude, that, by engaging them in desperate acts of violence, he might
 render a return to right measures the more difficult. At his instigation,
 they obliged *M. Ariftius*, a military Tribune, who was upon his way to
 join the army, to quit *Cabillonum*, promising not to molest him in his
 journey : They engaged also several *Roman* merchants, who resided there
 on account of traffick, to quit their habitations ; then attacking them trea-
 cherously on the road, they stripped them of their baggage, and invested
 day and night those who made resistance. But as soon as they had intel-
 ligence, that all their troops were in *Cæsar*’s power, they ran to *Arif-
 tius*, assured him that nothing had been done by public authority ; order-
 ed informations to be brought against those, who had been concerned in
 pillaging the *Romans* ; confiscated the estates of *Litavicus* and his bro-
 thers, and sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, to excuse what had happened.
 This they did with a view to recover their troops, but unwilling to part
 with the plunder, in which great numbers had shared, conscious of guilt,
 and dreading the punishment they deserved, they began privately to con-
 cert measures of war, and by their Ambassadors solicited other states to
 join them. Though *Cæsar* was not ignorant of those practices, he spoke
 with the greatest mildness to the *Ædian* deputies, assuring them that he
 would not consider the imprudence and levity of the multitude as a crime
 of the whole nation, nor upon that account lessen his regard for the state.
 Apprehending however an universal revolt of *Gaul*, and that he might be
 furrounded by all the forces of the states at once, he began to think of
 retiring from *Gergovia*, and drawing his whole army again into a body ;

yet in such a manner, that the retreat, occasioned by the fear of a general insurrection, should not carry with it the appearance of a flight.

While he was intent on these thoughts, fortune seemed to present him with an opportunity of acting against the enemy with success. For coming into the lesser camp, to take a view of the works, he observed a hill quite destitute of troops, that for some days before was scarce to be seen for the multitude that covered it. Wondering what might be the cause, he inquired of the deserters, who flocked daily in great numbers to his camp. They all agreed with *Cæsar's* scouts, that the back of the hill was almost an even ground, but narrow and woody in that part where a passage led to the other side of the town: That the enemy were extremely afraid of losing this post, because the *Romans*, who had already possessed themselves of one hill, if they should seize the other, would in a manner quite surround them, become masters of all the outlets, and entirely cut off their forage: That *Vercingetorix* had therefore drawn all his forces on that side, in order to fortify the passage.

Cæsar, upon this intelligence, dispatched some squadrons of cavalry towards that place about midnight, ordering them to ride up and down with as much noise as possible. At day-break he drew a great number of mules and carriage-horses out of the camp, without the usual harness, and furnishing the grooms and waggoners with helmets, to make them appear like cavalry, commanded them to march round the hill. With these he joined some squadrons of horse, who, for the greater shew, were to range a little more freely. The whole detachment had orders to move towards the same place, taking a very large circuit. All these dispositions were seen from the town, which commanded a full view of the *Roman* camp, though the distance was too great to distinguish objects with certainty. At the same time *Cæsar*, the more effectually to deceive the enemy, detached a legion towards the eminence; and when it was advanced a little way, stationed it at the foot of the hill, affecting to conceal it in the woods. This increasing the suspicion of the *Gauls*, they immediately led all their forces to defend that post. *Cæsar* seeing their intrenchments abandoned, made his soldiers cover the military ensigns and standards, and file off in small parties from the greater to the lesser camp, that they might not be perceived from the town. He then opened his designs to his Lieutenants, whom he had appointed to command the several Legions, directing them above all things to moderate the ardour of the soldiers, that the hope of plunder, or desire of fighting, might not carry them too far. He represented to them the danger they were exposed to by the disadvantage of the ground, for which there was no remedy but dispatch; and that he intended only to make a sudden attack, not to fight a battle. These precautions taken, he gave the signal to engage, and at the same time dispatched the *Ædui* by another ascent, to charge the enemy on the right.

The

The wall of the town was about twelve hundred paces distant from the foot of the hill, without reckoning the breaks and hollows. The compass the troops were obliged to take, to moderate the steepness of the ascent, added still to this space upon the march. About half way up the hill, the *Gauls* had run a wall of large stones, six feet high, the better to defend themselves against the attacks of the *Romans*. Between this and the plain, the enemy had no troops; but the upper part of the hill, to the very walls of the town, was crowded with the camps of their several states.

The signal being given, the *Romans* immediately mounted the hill, scaled the nearest wall, and possessed themselves of three of the enemies camps. Such too was the expedition wherewith they carried them, that coming suddenly upon *Teutomatus*, King of the *Nitobrigi*, as he was reposing himself in his tent about noon, he very narrowly escaped being taken: he was obliged to fly half naked, and had his horse wounded under him.

Cæsar, having accomplished all he had in view, ordered a retreat to be sounded; and the tenth legion, which fought near his person, obeyed, the other legions did not hear the signal, being separated from him by the valley; but the Lieutenants and military Tribunes, according to the instructions given by *Cæsar* in the beginning, commanded them to halt. Nevertheless, elated with the hopes of a speedy victory, and the remembrance of their former successes, they thought nothing impracticable to their valour; nor did they desist from the pursuit, till they had reached the walls and gates of the town. Upon this a great cry arising from all parts, those that were farthest from the place of assault, terrified by the noise and tumult, and imagining the enemy already within the gates, quitted the town with precipitation. The women throwing their money and clothes from the walls, with naked breasts, and extended arms, conjured the *Romans* to spare their lives, and not, as at *Avaricum*, sacrifice all to their resentment, without distinction of age or sex. Some being let down from the wall, delivered themselves up to the soldiers. *L. Fabius*, a Centurion of the eighth Legion, told his troop, that he had not yet forgot the plunder of *Avaricum*, and was resolved no man should enter the place before him. Accordingly, having with the assistance of three of his company got upon the town-wall, he helped them one after another to do the like.

In the mean time the *Gauls*, who, as we have before related, were gone to defend the post on the other side of the town, excited by the cries of the combatants, and the repeated accounts that the enemy had entered the place, sending all the cavalry before to stop the progress of the *Romans*, advanced in great crowds to the attack, and as they arrived drew up under the walls. They soon became formidable by their multitude, and the women, who a little before had implored the compassion of the *Romans*, now began to encourage their own troops, shewing their dishevelled hair, and

producing their children according to the custom of the *Gauls*. The contest was by no means equal either in respect of numbers, or of the ground; and the *Romans* already fatigued with their march, and the length of the combat, were little able to sustain the attack of fresh and vigorous troops.

CÆSAR perceiving the disadvantages his troops laboured under, began to fear the event: sending therefore to SEXTUS his Lieutenant, whom he had left to guard the lesser camp, he ordered him to draw out the cohorts with all expedition, and post them at the foot of the hill upon the enemy's right: that if the legions engaged should give way, the cohorts might deter the *Gauls* from pursuing them. He himself advancing a little with the tenth legion, waited the issue of the combat.

While the conflict was maintained with the utmost vigour on both sides; the enemy trusting to their post and numbers, the *Romans* to their courage; suddenly the *Ædui*, whom CÆSAR had detached by another ascent on the right to make a diversion, appeared on the open flank of his men. As they were armed after the manner of the *Gauls*, this sight greatly terrified them, and though the *Ædui* extended their right hands in token of peace, yet still the *Romans* imagined it a stratagem to deceive them. At the same time L. FABIVS the Centurion, and those who had mounted the wall with him, being surrounded and slain, were thrown down by the enemy from the battlements. M. PETREIVS, a Centurion of the same legion, who had endeavoured to force the gates, finding himself overpowered, and despairing of safety, because he was already covered with wounds, turned to the soldiers that followed him, and said: "Since I find I am unable to save both myself and you, I will do my utmost to preserve your lives, which, through too eager a desire of glory, I have brought into this danger; seize the opportunity, and retire." Then rushing on, killed two of the enemy, drove the rest from the gate, and seeing his men approach to his assistance, he cried: "In vain do you endeavour to preserve my life: my blood and strength forsake me. Go therefore, while you may, and rejoin your legion." Continuing still to fight, he expired soon after, generously sacrificing his own life to the safety of his followers.

The *Romans*, thus pressed on all sides, were at length driven from the place. But the tenth legion, which had been posted on a more advantageous ground to cover their retreat, checked the impetuous pursuit of the *Gauls*, and was sustained by the cohorts of the thirteenth legion, who had quitted the lesser camp under SEXTIVS, and possessed themselves of an eminence. The legions having reached the plain, immediately halted, and faced about towards the enemy; who advancing no farther than the foot of the hill, returned back to their intrenchments. The *Romans* lost forty-six centurions, and about seven hundred men.

CÆSAR having assembled the army the next day, severely blamed the temerity and avarice of the soldiers, "That they had taken upon them-

“ selves, to judge how far they were to proceed, and what they were to
 “ perform; regarding neither the signal to retreat, nor the orders of their
 “ officers. He represented to them the danger of fighting on disadvantage-
 “ ous ground, and reminded them of his own conduct at the siege of *Ava-*
 “ *ricum*, when, having surprized the enemy without a General, and with-
 “ out cavalry, he had chosen rather to give up a certain victory, than, by
 “ attacking them in a difficult post, hazard a considerable loss: That as
 “ much as he admired their courage, which neither the intrenchments of
 “ the camps, nor the height of the hill, nor the walls of the town could
 “ check; so much did he blame their licentiousness and arrogance, who
 “ thought they knew more than their General, and could see better than
 “ him the way to conquest: That he looked upon obedience and mo-
 “ deration, as virtues no less essential to a good soldier, than valour and
 “ magnanimity.” In the end he exhorted them “ not to be discouraged
 “ by their late misfortune, nor ascribe that to the bravery of the enemy,
 “ which was entirely owing to the disadvantage of the ground, on which
 “ they fought.” He still persisted in his design of retiring from *Gergo-*
vic, but first drew out his legions on the plain, and offered battle to the
 enemy; which *Vercingetorix* declined, not thinking it adviseable to quit
 the advantage of his situation; and *Cæsar* returned to his camp after a
 small but successful skirmish between the cavalry. The following day he
 again drew out his army, and thinking he had done enough to confirm
 the courage of his own men, and abate the pride of the *Gauls*, he de-
 camped and marched towards the territories of the *Ædui*. The enemy
 made no attempt to pursue him. He arrived the third day on the banks
 of the *Allier*, and having repaired the bridge, passed over with his whole
 army.

Here *Heporedorix* and *Viridomarus* informed him, that *Litavicus* was
 gone with all the cavalry to solicit the *Ædui* to revolt; and that it im-
 ported greatly, that they should be there before him, to confirm the
 state in their attachment to the *Romans*. Though *Cæsar* was by many
 proofs fully convinced of the perfidy of the *Ædui*, and foresaw that the
 departure of these men would hasten the revolt, yet not to give ground
 of offence, or betray any fear, he did not think it advisable to detain them.
 After enumerating the many services he had done the *Ædui*; “ That
 “ having found them low and depressed, shut up within their towns,
 “ deprived of their lands, without troops, tributaries to their enemies,
 “ and ignominiously obliged to give hostages, he had not only restored
 “ them to their former condition, but had raised them to a degree of
 “ power and authority beyond what they had ever possessed;” he dis-
 missed them.

Noviodunum was a town belonging to the *Ædui*, conveniently situated
 on the banks of the *Loire*. Here *Cæsar* had lodged all the hostages
 of *Gaul*, his provisions, the public money, and great part of his own
 and

and his army's baggage : here also he kept the horses brought from *Italy* and *Spain* for the service of the war. When *Eporedorix* and *Viridomarus* arrived at this place, and were informed how the *Ædunan* state was disposed : " That *Litavicus* had been received into *Bibracte* ; that *Con-*
" *victolitanes*, the chief magistrate, and almost all the senate, had repair-
" ed thither to meet him ; that Ambassadors had been publicly sent to
" *Vercingetorix*, to conclude a treaty of alliance ; " they thought the present favourable opportunity was by no means to be neglected. Having therefore put to the sword the garrison of *Noviodunum*, with all the *Romans* found in the place, they divided the money and horses, ordered the hostages to be conducted to *Bibracte*, and set fire to the town. Then drawing together the troops cantoned in the neighbourhood, they placed guards along the banks of the *Loire*, and began to scour the country with their cavalry ; in order to cut off *Cæsar's* convoys, and oblige him, through want of provisions, to return into the *Roman Province*. This they thought the more easy to effect, as the *Loire* was then considerably swelled by the melting of the snow, and did not appear to be any where fordable.

Cæsar, sensible that a retreat into the *Roman Province* over the *Cebenna* would be both inglorious and difficult, and that it was necessary to rejoin *Labienus* with the legions under his command, and come to an action with the enemy before they could draw all their forces together, resolved to cross the *Loire*, though he should be under a necessity of building a bridge over it. Therefore, marching day and night with the utmost diligence, he arrived unexpectedly on the banks of the river. His cavalry very opportunely having found a ford, which however was so deep that the water reached to the shoulders of his men, he placed his horse higher up in order to break the stream, and carried over his army without loss ; the enemy being so terrified at his boldness, that they did not dare to make any opposition. Finding an abundance of corn and cattle in the fields, he plentifully supplied his army, and directed his march towards the country of the *Senones*.

While *Cæsar* was thus employed, *Labienus* on his side, leaving at *Agendicum*, to guard his baggage, the new levies lately arrived from *Italy*, marched with four legions to *Lutetia*, a town of the *Parisii*, situated in an island of the *Seine*. Upon notice of his approach, the enemy drew together a great army from the neighbouring states ; which was commanded by *Camulogenus*, an *Aulercian*, who, though very much advanced in age, was raised to that honour for his singular knowledge in the art of war. This General pitched his camp near the town behind a large morass, whose waters ran into the *Seine*, and obstructed all the passages on that side. *Labienus* attempted, by the means of hurdles covered with mold, to make a passage through it ; but not succeeding, he silently made off in the night, and retired as far as *Melodunum*, a city of
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the *Senones*, situated also in an island of the *Seine*. There having seized about fifty boats, and filled them with soldiers, with a view of storming the town; the inhabitants terrified at this new manner of attack, and being too few to defend the place, because the greater part of them had joined *CAMULOGENUS*, yielded without making any resistance. *LABIENUS* immediately repaired the bridge, which had been cut down on his approach, crossed the *Seine*, and following the course of the river, marched back to *Lutetia*. The *Gauls* informed of his motions set fire to the town, broke down the bridges, and encamped on the other side of the river over-against the *Romans*.

It was now every where known, that *CÆSAR* had left *Gergovia*, and that the *Ædui*, with many other states of *Gaul*, had joined in the revolt. It was likewise reported that *CÆSAR* had been obliged to return into the *Roman Province*. At the same time the *Bellovaci*, who bordered upon the territories of the *Parisii*, were raising troops with all diligence. In this situation of affairs, *LABIENUS*, menaced on one side by this war-like people, and pressed on the other by the army of *CAMULOGENUS*, saw it was no proper time to think of making conquests, but rather in what manner to secure his retreat to *Agedincum*, where he had left all his baggage, with the rest of his troops, and from which place he was now separated by a large river. This he effected in the following manner:

He had brought from *Melodunum* the fifty boats found there, the command of which he gave to as many *Roman Knights*, and ordered them to fall down the river silently four miles below *Lutetia*, and there wait his arrival. Five cohorts, the least fit for action, were appointed to guard the camp, the other five of the same legion were directed to march up the river with all the baggage, making as much stir and noise as possible; while a few barks that attended them increased this noise with their oars. Soon after their departure, he marched with three legions to the boats that waited for him, and passed them over. *CAMULOGENUS*, informed at day-break of these motions, imagined that the legions were ordered to pass the river in three different places, and dividing his army into three corps, one he left to guard the passage over-against the *Roman* camp; another had orders to march up the river as far as the *Romans* should proceed that way; and the rest, being the greatest part of his troops, he led himself against *LABIENUS*. On his approach, the *Roman* General drew up his army, and gave the signal for battle. At the first charge, the seventh legion, which formed the right wing, routed the left of the *Gauls*. But their right wing, where *CAMULOGENUS* commanded in person, and which was engaged with the twelfth legion, maintained its ground with the utmost bravery; the conflict was long and doubtful, till the seventh legion, leaving the pursuit of the left, faced about and attacked the *Gauls* in the rear. Thus surrounded, they still obstinately maintained the fight, and were with their General cut

to pieces. LABIENUS having gained a compleat victory, retired to *Agendicum*, and from thence marched with all his forces and joined CÆSAR.

The revolt of the *Ædui* gave great strength to the confederacy. Interest, money, authority, were all employed to procure the concurrence of the states, that still continued quiet. The hostages found at *Noviodunum*, were made a means to compel some of them. But it was with great reluctance that the *Ædui* submitted to the command of VERCINGETORIX, an *Arvernian*; they loudly demanded to have the chief conduct of the war, which not being consented to by VERCINGETORIX and his friends, the affair was referred to the decision of a general assembly of the revolted states, summoned to meet at *Bibracte* for that purpose, where the public voice declared VERCINGETORIX General in chief.

Confirmed in his command, he demanded of the states to furnish him with fifteen thousand horse. He told them, “ he was sufficiently provided
“ with infantry, as he had no intention to refer the decision of the war to
“ fortune, or hazard a pitched battle; but would endeavour to intercept
“ the convoys of the enemy by the means of his superior cavalry; which
“ he judged the easiest and safest way to ruin them: That the confederates
“ must resolve to destroy their corn and houses, and patiently submit
“ to a present loss, which would be rewarded by perpetual liberty.” He ordered the *Ædui* and *Segusi* to raise ten thousand foot, to whom having joined eight hundred horse, he gave the command of them to EPOREDORIX’s brother, with directions to attack the *Allobroges*. On the other hand, he commissioned the *Gabali*, and some cantons of *Auvergne*, to make an irruption into the territories of the *Helvii*, and sent the *Rutbeni*, and *Cadurci*, into those of the *Volsci-Arecomici*. He neglected not, however, both by public ambassadors and private agents, to solicit the concurrence of the *Allobroges*; endeavouring to gain the leading men by presents, and allure the state by an offer of the sovereignty of the *Roman Province*.

L. CÆSAR, who commanded in those parts, had levied twenty-two cohorts in the *Province*, and with them prepared to make head on all sides. The *Helvii* venturing to come to an engagement with the enemy, were defeated, and forced to shelter themselves in their walled towns. But the *Allobroges* placing detachments at proper distances along the banks of the *Rhone*, guarded all the avenues of their country with great diligence.

CÆSAR, seeing that the enemy was much superior in cavalry, and that his communication with *Italy* and the *Province* was cut off, had recourse to his *German* allies beyond the *Rhine*, of whom he obtained a supply of cavalry, with some light-armed infantry accustomed to fight amongst them. On their arrival, finding that they were but indifferently mounted, he gave them the horses of the Tribunes and other officers of his own army, and marched through the frontiers of the *Lingones* into the country of the *Sequani*, in order to be at hand to succour the *Roman Province*.

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The forces of the enemy from *Auvergne*, and the cavalry of all the confederate states, were now met at the general rendezvous, and formed a very numerous army. *Vercingetorix*, elated with the prosperity of his affairs, and suffering himself to be led into a contempt of *Cæsar*, whom he thought had no other view, but of retiring into the *Roman Province*, rashly deviated from that prudent plan of war, which he had hitherto so steadily pursued. He followed the *Romans*, and posted himself at about four miles distance from their army in three camps. Having assembled the officers of the cavalry, he endeavoured to persuade them that the time of victory was come. He told them, “ That the *Romans* were at last obliged to leave *Gaul*, and
 “ retreat into the *Province*: That this retreat secured liberty for the present,
 “ but did not ascertain future tranquillity; as the *Romans* would doubtless
 “ soon return with greater forces, and persist in the design of enslaving
 “ them: That it was therefore highly expedient to attack them now, while
 “ they marched encumbered with their baggage: That in this attack their
 “ cavalry would never dare to stir from the main body of the army; and
 “ if the infantry faced about, in order to assist them, they would thereby
 “ be unable to continue their march: If, as was more likely, they
 “ abandoned the baggage to provide for their own safety, they would
 “ be deprived of every conveniency, and return home covered with
 “ ignominy and reproach: That to strike a greater terror into the
 “ enemy, he would, during the action, keep all his infantry under arms
 “ before the camp.” These words were followed by the acclamations of all the cavalry, who proposed taking an oath never to return home, nor see again their parents, wives or children, if they did not twice pierce through the *Roman* army.

This proposal being approved, and the oath administered to all, *Vercingetorix* the next day attacked the *Romans* on their march; he had divided his cavalry into three bodies, two of which moved towards the flanks of the enemy’s army, while the third began to charge and harass them in front. *Cæsar* formed also his horse into three divisions, and ordered them to advance against the *Gauls*, while the infantry halted, and covered the baggage, which was received into the center. Wherever the *Roman* cavalry gave way, or appeared hard pressed, thither *Cæsar* sent detachments from the legions, which both checked the progress of the *Gauls*, and confirmed the courage of his own men. At last the *Germans* on the right, having driven the enemy from an eminence, pursued them with great slaughter to the river, where *Vercingetorix* was posted with the infantry. The rest of the *Gallie* cavalry perceiving the defeat of their countrymen, and apprehensive of being surrounded, betook themselves likewise to flight. Three *Æduan* noblemen of distinguished rank were brought prisoners to *Cæsar*: *Cotus*, General of the cavalry, who the year before had been competitor with *Convidolitanes* for the supreme magistracy; *Cavarillus*, who after *Litavicus’s* revolt, was appointed

to command the infantry, and *Eporodoricx*, who had been Generalissimo of the *Æduan* forces in the war against the *Sequani* before *Cæsar*'s arrival in *Gaul*.

Vercingetorix seeing his cavalry routed, drew off the infantry, and immediately retreated towards *Alesia*, a town belonging to the *Mandubii*. *Cæsar* pursued him till night, cut three thousand of his rear to pieces, and arrived the next day before *Alesia*. After examining the situation of the town, he resolved to take advantage of the consternation of the enemy, and lay siege to it.

Alesia was situated on the top of a very high hill, at the bottom of which ran two rivers that washed it on two sides. Before the town was a plain extending about three miles in length, but on every other side the place was surrounded, at a moderate distance, by a ridge of hills, whose summits were nearly of an equal height. Under the walls, on the side facing the East, lay encamped all the forces of the *Gauls*, which were defended by a ditch, and a rampart six feet high. The line of circumvallation made by the *Romans* took in a circuit of eleven miles. Their camp was conveniently situated, and strengthened with three and twenty redoubts, in which centinels were placed by day, and a strong guard by night.

Whilst the *Romans* were employed in these works, *Vercingetorix* ventured another engagement with the cavalry, in the plain between the hills. The battle was sharply maintained on both sides, but the *Romans* beginning to give ground, *Cæsar* detached the *Germans* to their assistance, and drew up the legions in order of battle before the camp, that he might be ready to oppose any sudden irruption of the enemy's infantry. The sight of the legions encouraged his men; the *Gauls* were put to the rout, and crowding upon one another in their flight, obstructed their entrance at the gates of their camp, and gave the *Germans*, who pursued them to their intrenchments, an opportunity of destroying great numbers, and carrying off a multitude of prisoners.

Vercingetorix now resolved to dismiss his cavalry, before *Cæsar* had completed his lines. At their departure he enjoined them, "To repair to their respective states, and assemble all the men capable of bearing arms. He set forth the many services he had done them, and conjured them not to neglect his safety, or abandon to the cruelty of the enemy one who had deserved so well of the common liberty. He told them, that, if they were dilatory in the execution of his orders, 80,000 chosen men must perish with him: That he had scarce corn for thirty days, and that with the utmost œconomy it could not be made to last much longer." After giving these instructions, he sent them away silently about nine at night, on the side where the *Roman* line was not yet finished. He then distributed among his soldiers all the cattle in the place, but ordered the corn to be brought in to him, resolving to deliver it out sparingly and by measure. He entered the town with all
his

his forces, and having prepared for an obstinate defence, waited for the expected succours.

Cæsar, informed of these dispositions by the prisoners and deserters, constructed his fortifications in the following manner : He first drew a perpendicular ditch twenty feet wide. All the other works he made four hundred feet farther from the town than that ditch. This he did to secure his workmen from the darts of the enemy by day, and his works from sudden and nocturnal sallies. Observing therefore the distance above-mentioned, he made two other ditches, each fifteen feet broad, and as many deep, and filled the innermost, which lay in a low and level ground, with water from the river. Behind these he raised a rampart twelve feet high, strengthened with a parapet and battlements ; and to prevent the enemy from getting over, a fraile ran along the foot of the parapet, made of long stakes, with branches cut into points, like the horns of a stag. On the whole work were placed turrets, eighty feet distant one from another.

But as the soldiers were employed to fetch provisions, bring materials, and work at the fortifications, which considerably lessened the number of troops left to defend them, and as the enemy sometimes sallied out to attack the lines, *Cæsar* judged it necessary to make the following addition to his works, that they might not require so many men to guard them. Between the first and second ditches that were nearest the town, he run a trench five feet deep, and fixed in it small trees and strong branches, the tops of which he had caused to be sharpened. He then filled the trench with earth, so that nothing appeared above ground but the sharp points of the branches, which must necessarily run into those who attempted to pass them : and as there were five rows of them, interwoven in a manner with each other, they could not be avoided. In the front of these he caused pits to be dug three feet deep, and something narrower at bottom than at top. In these pits he fixed strong stakes, about the thickness of a man's thigh, burnt and sharpened at the top, which rose only four inches above the level of the ground, into which they were planted three feet deeper than the pits, to keep them firm. The pits were covered with bushes to deceive the enemy. There were eight rows of them at the distance of three feet from each other, and disposed in the form of a Quincunx. The whole space between the pits and the advanced ditch was sowed with crows-feet, or Caltrops, of an extraordinary size.

These works compleated, he drew another line fourteen miles in compass, constructed in the same manner as the former, and carried through the most even places he could find, to serve as a barrier against the enemy without ; that if the *Gauls* should attack the camp, they might not be able to surround it with their troops, or charge with equal vigour in all parts. To prevent the danger his men might be exposed to, when in quest of provisions and forage, he laid in a sufficient store of both for thirty days.

Whilst these things passed before *Alesia*, a general council being held by the chiefs of the *Gauls*, it was not thought adviseable to assemble all that were able to bear arms, as *Vercingetorix* had desired; but to order each nation to furnish a contingent; lest so great a multitude should occasion a scarcity of provisions, and render the observance of military discipline impracticable. The *Ædui*, with their vassals the *Segusii*, *Ambivareti*, *Aulerci Brannovices*, and *Branuari*, were rated at thirty-five thousand men. A like number was demanded of the *Arverni*, in conjunction with their dependents the *Cadurci*, *Gabali*, and *Velauni*. The *Senones*, *Sequani*, *Bituriges*, *Xantones*, *Rutbeni*, and *Carnutes*, were ordered each to furnish twelve thousand; and *Bellovaci*, ten thousand; the *Lemovices*, the same number; the *Piætones*, *Turoni*, *Parisii*, *Helvii*, *Suessiones*, each eight thousand; the *Ambiani*, *Mediomatrici*, *Petricorii*, *Nervii*, *Morini*, *Nitobrigi*, *Aulerci Cenomani*, each five thousand; the *Atrebatæ*, four thousand; the *Bellocazii*, *Lexovii*, and *Aulerci Eburvices*, each three thousand; the *Rauraci*, and *Boii*, thirty thousand; the maritime and *Armorican* states, of which number were the *Curioselites*, *Rhedones*, *Caletes*, *Osismii*, *Lemovices*, *Veneti*, and *Unelli*, each six thousand. The *Bellovaci* alone refused to furnish the troops required, declaring that it was their design to wage an independent war with the *Romans*, without being subject to the command of any foreign General or state: However, at the request of *Comius*, they sent a body of two thousand men.

Comius, as has been before related, had been singularly faithful and serviceable to *Cæsar* in his *Britannic* expedition: In consideration of which, his countrymen had been exempted from tribute, restored to the full enjoyment of their laws and privileges, and had their territories enlarged by the addition of the country of the *Morini*. But such was the present zeal of the *Gauls* to vindicate their liberty, and recover their ancient military glory, that neither friendship nor benefits received had any influence on them, but all with one consent devoted themselves and their fortunes to the support of this war. They raised an army of two hundred and forty thousand foot, and eighty thousand horse, and the country of the *Ædui* was the place of general rendezvous. Four commanders in chief were appointed, *Comius* the *Atrebatian*, *Viridumarus* and *Eporedorix*, *Æduans*, and *Virgafillaunus* of *Auvergne*, cousin-german to *Vercingetorix*. To these were added a select number of men, chosen from among the several states, to serve as Counsellors to the Generals in the conduct of the war. The whole army advanced towards *Alesia* with great alacrity, confident that the *Romans* would not so much as sustain the sight of so vast a multitude, especially as they would be attacked by another numerous army from the town.

The troops shut up in *Alesia*, having consumed all their provisions, finding the day appointed for the arrival of succours expired, and knowing nothing of what was transacted among the *Ædui*, summoned a council of

war to debate on what was requisite to be done in the present extremity. Various were the opinions proposed: some advised a surrendry; others were for falling forth, while yet their strength would permit, in order to break through the enemy, or die bravely in the field. Amongst the rest, *Critognatus*, a man of the first rank and authority in *Auvergne*, addressed the assembly in a speech, which, says *Cæsar*, deserves to be mentioned for its singular and detestable inhumanity. He said, “ I shall take little notice of the opinion of those, who, under the name of a surrendry, advise you to an ignominious servitude. Such should neither be esteemed *Gauls*, nor suffered to come into this assembly. Let me rather apply myself to them who approve of a general fall. In this proposal you seem to think there is something worthy of our ancient bravery. It is not courage that aspires such thoughts, but weakness and an effeminacy of mind, which render us unable to bear want for a few days. It is easier to find men who will voluntarily rush on death, than such as can patiently endure pain. I should not however be against this proposal, which has something generous in it, if only our own lives were at stake. But on our present determination depends the fate of all *Gaul*, which we have stirred up to our assistance. How would it dishearten our relations and friends to see eighty thousand of their countrymen slaughtered in one place, and be obliged to fight in the midst of their dead bodies! Deprive not then of your assistance those, who, to save you, have exposed themselves to the greatest dangers; nor, through folly and rashness, or imbecillity of mind, destroy at once the expectations of *Gaul*, and condemn her to perpetual servitude. If the expected succours are not arrived exactly at the appointed time, ought you therefore to suspect the fidelity and constancy of your countrymen? Can you think that it is for amusement only that the *Romans* labour on those lines towards the country? Though you hear not from your friends, because all communication is interrupted, yet you may learn their approach from your enemies, who, through fear of them, work day and night on those fortifications. What then do I propose? What, but to do as our ancestors did in the war with the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*; a war much less important than the present? Compelled to shut themselves up in their towns, and reduced to a distress equal to what we now suffer, rather than surrender to their enemies, they fed upon the bodies of those whom age had rendered useless in war. Had we no such precedent to follow, yet still I should esteem it glorious, in the noble cause of liberty, to give one to posterity. The *Cimbri*, after spreading desolation over the country, at length withdrew their forces, and repaired to other regions; leaving us in the full enjoyment of our lands, laws, and liberties. But the *Romans*, envying a people so renowned and powerful in war, aim at nothing less than to take possession of our cities and territories, and reduce us to perpetual servitude. This has ever been the object of
“ their

“ their wars. If you are unacquainted with what passes in distant countries,
 “ cast your eyes upon the adjoining *Gaul*, which, reduced into the form of
 “ a *Province*, deprived of its laws and privileges, and subjected to the arbi-
 “ trary sway of *Rome*, groans under the yoke of endless slavery.” When
 all had delivered their opinions, it was resolved, that such as were unfit for
 war should be obliged to quit the town, and every expedient be tried,
 rather than agree to the proposal of *Critognatus*: but if relief were long
 deferred, and necessity urged, they determined to submit to his advice,
 rather than consent to a surrendry. The *Mandubii*, natives of the town,
 were ordered to leave it with their wives and children. When they
 came to the *Roman* lines, they with tears petitioned to be received
 as slaves, and to be saved from perishing by famine: but *Cæsar*
 having planted guards along the rampart, refused to admit them into
 his camp.

At length *Comius* and the other Generals of the *Gauls* appeared with
 their army before *Alesia*, and encamped on a hill not above five hundred
 paces from the *Roman* lines. The next day they drew out their cavalry,
 and covered the whole plain under the hill: the infantry were stationed
 at some distance on the heights. Great was the joy of the besieged at this
 sight; they immediately came forth with all their forces, posted themselves
 before the town, and having filled up the nearest ditch with earth and
 fascines, prepared for a vigorous attack.

Cæsar, having disposed his troops along both his lines, ordered the
 cavalry to march out and charge the enemy. The *Gauls* had interspersed
 among their horse some archers and light-armed troops, to sustain them,
 and check the impetuosity of the *Roman* cavalry. Many of these being
 wounded at the first onset, were obliged to quit the battle. The *Gauls*
 seeing they had the advantage, and that the *Romans* were hard pressed by
 numbers, set up a general shout, both within and without the place, to
 give new life to their troops. As the action passed in view of both ar-
 mies, the desire of applause and fear of ignominy spurred on both parties
 to exert their utmost bravery. After a conflict that lasted from noon till
 near sun-set, victory still continuing doubtful, the *Germans* in close order
 charged furiously the *Gauls* upon one side, and routed them. Their flight
 leaving the archers exposed, they were all surrounded and cut to pieces.
 The success was equal in other parts of the field, where the *Romans*,
 pursuing the runaways to their camp, gave them no time to rally. The
 troops on the side of the town, despairing of victory, retired disconsolate
 within the walls.

After the interval of a day, which was spent in providing a great number
 of fascines, scaling-ladders, and iron hooks, the *Gauls* issued out of their
 camp about midnight, and approaching the *Roman* lines, set up a shout, to
 give notice to the besieged of their arrival, threw the fascines into the
 ditch, and endeavoured by a discharge of stones, darts, and arrows, to

drive the *Romans* from the rampart. At the same time *Vercingetorix* gave the signal, and led forth his men to the attack. While the *Gauls* kept at a distance from the *Roman* lines, they did great execution by the multitude of their darts; but in proportion as they advanced, they either entangled themselves among the Caltrops, or tumbling into the pits, were wounded by the pointed stakes, or were pierced by the darts discharged from the towers and rampart. Finding, when day appeared, that they had not forced any post in the lines, and fearing to be taken in flank by some troops that were falling from the redoubts on the eminence, they retreated to their camp. The besieged, on their side, after much time spent in making preparations for the assault, and filling up the advanced ditch, seeing their countrymen were retired, before they could so much as approach the works, returned into the town without effecting any thing.

The *Gauls*, thus twice repulsed with great loss, thought it proper to change the plan of their attack. North of the town was a hill of too great compass to be taken into the *Roman* lines, and *Cæsar* had been obliged to place a camp on the ascent, in a disadvantageous situation, as it was commanded by the summit. *C. Antistius Reginus* and *C. Caninius Rebilus* guarded this quarter with two legions. The *Gallic* Generals, informed by their scouts of the situation of this camp, resolved to form the attack on that side. Having concerted their plan, they selected fifty-five thousand of their best men, and assigned the command of them to *Vergasillaunus* of *Auvergne*, with directions to begin the assault at noon. This General, marching out in the evening, arrived before day-break at the back of the hill on which the *Roman* camp above-mentioned was situated. There lying concealed, he ordered his troops to take refreshment. About noon he approached the quarters of the two legions. At the same time the *Gallic* cavalry advanced into the plain, and the rest of the army drew out before their camp. *Vercingetorix*, observing these motions, led forth his troops from *Alesia*, carrying with him fascines, covered galleries, long poles, hooks, and other instruments prepared to force the lines. The fight began on all sides at once, and was maintained by the *Gauls* with great ardour. The *Romans*, having such extensive works to guard, scarcely sufficed for the defence of them all. What greatly contributed to disturb them was the cries of the combatants behind, which informed them that their safety depended on the valour of others.

The chief stress of the battle lay at the higher fortifications, where *Vergasillaunus* charged with his forces. The eminence which commanded the declivity of the hill gave his men great advantage. Some threw darts, others advanced under cover of their shields formed into a tortoise, fresh troops continually succeeded in the room of the fatigued. The earth they threw up against the lines not only enabled them to mount the rampart, but filled the pits and ditches, and frustrated the design
of

of the works made in the ground. The *Romans*, thus continually pressed, had neither strength nor weapons left to make resistance.

Cæsar, who had chosen a post from whence he could see all that passed, observing the danger his men were in on that side, sent *Labienus* with six cohorts to their assistance; ordering him, if he was not able to defend the works, to draw off the troops, and sally out upon the enemy; yet this only in case of extremity. He went in person to the rest of his men, and exhorted them to bear up courageously under the present fatigue, representing that the fruit of all their former victories depended upon the issue of that critical moment.

The *Gauls* under the command of *Vercingetorix*, despairing to force the intrenchments in the plain, on account of the great strength of the works, attacked them in the higher and uneven ground, whither they brought all the instruments for the assault. They soon drove the *Romans* from the towers by a discharge of darts, filled up the ditches and pits with earth and fascines, and began to pull down the rampart and breast-work with their hooks.

Cæsar first sent young *Brutus*, with six cohorts, to the aid of his men; after him, *C. Fabius*, with seven more; and, as the contest grew warmer, led in person fresh troops to their assistance. Having restored the battle, and forced the enemy to retire, he hastened to the side where *Labienus* was engaged. He drew four cohorts from the nearest fort, ordered part of the cavalry to follow him, and commanded the rest to take a circuit round the outward works, and fall upon the enemy's rear. *Labienus*, finding that neither the rampart nor ditch were sufficient to stop the progress of the *Gauls*, drew together about thirty-nine cohorts from the nearest forts, and sent to inform *Cæsar* of his design to sally out upon the enemy. *Cæsar* immediately quickened his march, that he might be present at the action.

His arrival being known from the colour of his garments, by which he used to distinguish himself in a day of battle, and the troops and cohorts he had ordered to follow him appearing, the fight was renewed. The *Gauls* raised on all sides a mighty shout, which, being returned from the rampart, was carried quite round the lines. The *Romans* having cast their darts, fell furiously upon the enemy sword in hand. At the same time the cavalry appeared unexpectedly in their rear; fresh cohorts flocked continually to the assistance of those already engaged; the *Gauls*, unable to sustain the violent shock, took to flight, and being met by the *Roman* cavalry, a dreadful slaughter ensued. *Sedulius*, chief and general of the *Lemovices*, was slain upon the field of battle; *Vergasillaunus* of *Auvergne* was made prisoner in the pursuit; seventy-four colours were taken; and, of so numerous an army, very few regained their camp. The rout and slaughter being observed from the town, the besieged, on their side despairing of success, drew off their troops from
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the attack. The rest of the *Gauls* instantly abandoned their camp; and had not the *Romans* been exhausted by the continual fatigue of the day, the whole *Gallic* army might have been destroyed. However, about midnight, *Cæsar* detached the cavalry to pursue them, who falling in with their rear, slew and took great numbers. The rest fled to their several cities.

The next day, *Vercingetorix*, assembling a council, represented to the besieged; "That he had undertaken that war, not from a motive of private interest, but to recover the common liberty of *Gaul*; and that, since there was a necessity of yielding to fortune, he was willing to become a victim for their safety, whether they should think proper to appease the anger of the conqueror by his death, or to deliver him up alive."

Deputies were immediately sent to *Cæsar* to receive his commands. He ordered them to surrender their arms, and deliver up all their chiefs. Having seated himself at the head of his lines, their leaders were brought before him, and *Vercingetorix* was delivered up, together with their arms. *Cæsar*, reserving the *Ædui* and the *Arverni*, as a means to recover those two nations, divided among his soldiers the rest of the prisoners.

These affairs dispatched, he marched into the territories of the *Ædui*, and received the submission of their state. There he was addressed by the Ambassadors of the *Arverni*, who promised an entire obedience to his commands. Having exacted a great number of hostages, and restored to those two states twenty thousand captives, he sent his legions into different parts of *Gaul* to keep the country in subjection. *T. Labienus*, with two legions and the cavalry, was quartered among the *Sequani*, jointly with *M. Sempronius Rutilus*. *C. Fabius* and *L. Minutius Basilus* were ordered with two legions into the country of the *Rhemi*, to defend it against the attempts of the *Bellovaci*, their neighbours. *C. Antistius Reginus* had his station assigned him among the *Ambivareti*; *T. Sextius* among the *Bituriges*; and *C. Caninius Rebilus* among the *Rutbeni*; each with one legion. *Q. Tullius Cicero* and *P. Sulpicius* were placed at *Cabillo* and *Matisco* upon the *Arar* in the country of the *Ædui*, and were charged with the care of the provisions. He himself took up his winter-quarters at *Bibracte*.

Thus ended this memorable campaign, in which *Cæsar* gave those proofs of military skill and valour which have been the object of the admiration of the greatest Generals in all ages. Having sent an account of his victory to the *Roman Senate*, they decreed a *Thanksgiving of twenty days*.

The unsuccessful event of this campaign had convinced the *Gauls*, that they were not able to resist the *Romans* by any army they could bring together into one place; but they persuaded themselves, that if many states revolted at once, and set on foot many separate wars, the *Romans* would have neither time nor troops sufficient to oppose them all.

And though some of those states must be sufferers, yet that misfortune, they thought, should be borne with, since their particular loss would purchase the liberty of the rest. Many states therefore agreed to this plan, and began to make preparations for renewing the war. To disappoint their views, *Cæsar* judged it necessary to use the utmost expedition. Leaving *M. Antony*, the Quæstor, to command in his winter-quarters, he set out on the last of *December* from *Bibraëte* with his cavalry, and went to the camp of the thirteenth legion, which he had placed among the *Bituriges*, not far from the territories of the *Ædui*. To these he joined the eleventh legion, whose quarters lay nearest; and, leaving two cohorts to guard the baggage, marched with the rest of the army into the most fertile parts of the country of the *Bituriges*. By this sudden and unexpected arrival he found them unprepared, and dispersed up and down in the fields. He forbade setting fire to the houses, the usual sign of an invasion, that he might neither alarm the enemy nor expose himself to the want of corn and forage, if it should be necessary to advance far into the country. Many thousands of the *Bituriges* were made prisoners, surprized by the *Roman* cavalry before they could retreat into their towns. Such as escaped fled in great terror to the neighbouring states. But *Cæsar* pursued them with great expedition, and those states, anxious for their own safety, submitted, gave hostages, and were received into his protection. The *Bituriges*, seeing that his clemency left the way still open to his friendship, followed their example, and were pardoned. *Cæsar*, to recompence the fatigue and labour of his soldiers, gave two hundred sesterces to every private man, and two thousand to every Centurion; and, having sent back the legions to their winter-quarters, returned again to *Bibraëte*, after an absence of forty-days. He had not been there above eighteen days, when Ambassadors arrived from the *Bituriges* to implore his assistance against the *Carnutes*, who were laying waste their country. *Cæsar* set out to their relief with the sixth and fourteenth legions, which had not been engaged in the last expedition. The *Carnutes*, hearing of his approach, abandoned their towns and villages, consisting then mostly of little cottages, ran up in haste to defend them from the cold, and fled different ways. *Cæsar*, thinking it sufficient, in that severe season of the year, to have dispersed the forces that began to assemble, and prevented their rekindling the war, encamped at *Genabum* during the remaining part of the winter.

A new and more difficult war gave him more serious employment in the beginning of the spring. The *Rhemi*, by frequent embassies, informed him, that the *Bellovaci*, the most distinguished for bravery of all the *Belgic* or *Gallic* nations, with some of the neighbouring states, under the conduct of *Correus*, General of the *Bellovaci*, and *Comius* the *Atrebatian*, were raising an army, and drawing their forces to a general rendezvous, with design to invade the territories of the *Suessiones*, a people subject

* For what passed at *Rome* this year, see p. 549.

to the jurisdiction of the *Rhemi*. Honour and interest required of him to undertake the defence of allies, who had deserved so well of the Commonwealth. He marched therefore immediately, with four legions, into the country of the *Bellovaci*, which he found abandoned by its inhabitants. The few prisoners his cavalry made had been left as spies. These informed him, “ That all those capable of bearing arms had assembled in
 “ one place, and been joined by the *Ambiani*, *Aulerci*, *Caletes*, *Vellocassi*,
 “ and *Arrebates*; that they had chosen for their camp a rising ground,
 “ surrounded with a difficult morass, and disposed of their baggage in
 “ woods that lay behind them; that many of their chiefs were in the
 “ army, but the principal authority rested in *Correus*, because he was
 “ known to bear an implacable hatred to the *Roman* name; that a few
 “ days before, *Comius* had left the camp to solicit aid of the *Germans*,
 “ who were their nearest neighbours, and abounded in troops; that it
 “ had been resolved among the *Bellovaci*, with consent of all the chiefs,
 “ and at the earnest desire of the people, to offer battle to *Cæsar*, if,
 “ as was reported, he came at the head of only three legions, lest they
 “ should be afterwards obliged to fight upon more unequal terms, when
 “ he had got his whole army together; but, if he brought greater forces
 “ with him, to continue within their camp, intercept his convoys, and cut
 “ off his forage, which in that season of the year was extremely scarce.”

In consequence of this information, *Cæsar* resolved to try every method to draw the enemy into a contempt of his numbers, and thereby induce them to hazard a battle. He had with him the seventh, eighth, and ninth legions, all veterans of approved valour; and though the eleventh, which he had also drawn out of its winter-quarters, was not of equal standing, nor had attained the same reputation of bravery, they were yet chosen men, of great hopes, and had served under him eight campaigns. Calling therefore the army together, he laid before them the advices he had received, and exhorted the soldiers to behave themselves with their usual courage. He arrived before the enemy's camp much sooner than they expected, and, as he approached, disposed the legions in the following order. The seventh, eighth, and ninth legions marched in front, the baggage followed, and the eleventh legion formed the rear. Thus there appeared in view no more than three legions, the number the *Gauls* had determined to encounter. But, when they saw the *Romans* advancing against them with a steady pace, they did not think it proper to follow the resolution which had been reported to *Cæsar*; and either fearing the event of a battle, or surprized at his sudden approach, or desirous to penetrate further into his intentions, they would not descend from the higher ground, but drew up in arms before their camp. *Cæsar*, though earnest to come to an engagement, yet, considering the multitude of the enemy, and the advantage of their situation, contented himself for the present to encamp directly over-against them, being separated from them by a deep but narrow valley. He threw up before his camp a rampart twelve feet high,
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strengthened by a proportionable breast-work, and secured it by two ditches, each fifteen feet wide, with perpendicular sides. Upon the rampart he raised, at small distances, turrets of three stories, and joined them to each other by galleries, which had little parapets of osier before them. Thus the works were defended by a double range of soldiers; one of which fighting from the galleries, and secured by their height, would with more boldness and advantage launch their darts against the enemy; the other, though nearer danger, and placed upon the rampart, were yet screened by the galleries from the impending darts. All the entrances of the camp were secured by strong gates, over which he placed turrets of a greater height than the rest.

Cæsar had a twofold design in these fortifications; one, by the greatness of the works to make the enemy believe he was afraid of them, and thereby increase their presumption; the other, to enable him to defend his camp with a few troops, when it should be necessary to go far in quest of corn and forage. There happened frequent skirmishes between the two camps, carried on for the most part with missive weapons at a distance, by reason of a morass that separated the combatants. Sometimes the auxiliary *Gauls* and *Germans* in the *Roman* army crossed the morass and pursued the enemy; sometimes the *Bellovaci*, having the advantage, passed in their turn and drove back the *Roman* auxiliaries. And as the *Romans* daily sent out parties to forage, who were obliged to disperse themselves over the country, their men were sometimes surprized and cut to pieces by the detachments of the enemy. In one of these encounters, the *Rbemi*, auxiliaries in *Cæsar's* army, lost a great part of their cavalry. The *Bellovaci*, having observed the daily stations of the horse destined to guard the *Roman* foragers, placed a chosen body of foot in ambush in a wood, and sent some squadrons of cavalry to draw the enemy into the snare. The cavalry of the *Rbemi*, upon guard that day, suddenly discovering the *Gallic* horse, and despising their small numbers, attacked and pursued them with such eagerness, that, being surprized and almost surrounded by the foot, they fled with precipitation, lost many of their men, and, among the rest, their commander *Vertiscus*, the chief man of their state. This General, though so far advanced in years that he could hardly sit on horseback, yet, according to the custom of the *Gauls*, would neither decline the command on account of his age, nor suffer his people to fight without him.

Cæsar, finding that the enemy kept within their camp, and considering that he could neither force their entrenchments without great loss, nor with so small an army inclose them within lines, wrote to *C. Trebonius* to join him with three legions. Upon their arrival, the Generals of the *Bellovaci*, fearing a siege like that of *Alesia*, ordered all those who were weak, and less fit for service, to be sent away by night, and with them the baggage of the army. But, before this confused and numerous train could be put in order, day-light appeared; and the *Gauls*, to hinder the

the *Romans* from disturbing the march, drew up in arms before their camp. *Cæsar* did not think it proper to attack them in so advantageous a post, nor was he willing to let them retire without loss. To be in readiness for the pursuit, he passed the morass with his legions, and seized an eminence which commanded the enemy's camp, and was separated from it only by a small valley. The *Gauls*, confiding in the strength of their post, did not decline fighting, if they were attacked, and both armies remained in order of battle the whole day. At night the *Bellovaci*, seeing the *Romans* prepared for the pursuit, made use of the following stratagem to secure their own retreat. Having collected and placed at the head of their line all the falcines in the camp, they set fire to them at once, and, being concealed by the smoke, marched off with the utmost diligence to another advantageous post ten miles distant. *Cæsar*, though he suspected that this was a contrivance to cover their flight, yet fearing also an ambuscade, and that they might possibly continue in the same post, to draw his men into a place of disadvantage, followed but slowly with his army, and suffered the enemy to escape.

The *Bellovaci* from their new camp carried on the same defensive war; and in frequent ambuscades attacked and cut to pieces the *Roman* foragers. *Cæsar*, having suffered many losses of this kind, was at last informed by a prisoner, that *Correus*, General of the *Bellovaci*, had chosen six thousand of his best infantry, and a thousand horse, to form an ambuscade in a place abounding in corn and grass, and where it was therefore presumed the *Romans* would come to forage. Upon this intelligence he sent the cavalry, who formed the ordinary guard of the foragers, before, intermixed them with platoons of light-armed foot, and he himself followed with some legions to support them. The *Gauls* had disposed their forces in ambush round the plain where the *Romans* were to forage, which extended a mile every way, and was environed with thick woods or a deep river. The *Roman* cavalry entered the plain, troop by troop, with great resolution, knowing that the legions were behind to sustain them. *Correus* immediately appeared, but with a few men, and fell upon the nearest squadrons. The *Romans*, prepared for the attack, did not flock together in crowds, which frequently happens among the cavalry on occasions of sudden surprize, and often throws them into confusion; but, preserving the proper distances, received the enemy in good order; not did they suffer themselves to be taken in flank. The rest of the *Gallic* cavalry then broke from the woods, and advanced to the aid of those who fought under *Correus*. The contest was maintained with great heat and equal advantage, till the infantry of the *Gauls*, advancing slowly in order of battle, obliged the *Romans* to give way; but their light-armed infantry, marching up speedily, and posting themselves in the intervals of the squadrons, restored and continued the fight. Soon after, both sides had notice that *Cæsar* was approaching with his forces in order of battle. The *Roman* cavalry then redoubled their efforts, lest the legions should share with them
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the honour of the victory. The enemy, on the other hand, lost courage, and fled different ways: But, being obstructed by the same difficulties of the ground in which they hoped to have entangled the *Romans*, the greatest part of them were put to the sword. *Correus*, whose resolution no misfortune could abate, would neither quit the field nor accept of quarter; but, fighting to the last with invincible courage, and wounding several of his enemies, forced them at length to transfix him with their javelins.

The *Bellovaci*, and the other states in their alliance, finding that their General was slain, their cavalry and the flower of their infantry destroyed, and dreading the approach of the *Roman* army, speedily assembled a council, in which it was resolved, by common consent, to send Ambassadors and hostages to *Cæsar*. *Comius* alone refused to join in the treaty, from a distrust of the *Romans*, who had attempted the year before, by the order of *Labienus*, to assassinate him treacherously at an interview with *Volusenus Quadratus*, where he was grievously wounded by a *Roman* Centurion.

Cæsar granted peace to the *Bellovaci* and their allies, and, having thus subdued the most warlike nations of *Gaul*, he divided his troops into several bodies, under the command of his Lieutenants, and sent them into different parts, to keep the whole country in subjection. He himself marched into the territories of the *Eburones*, with a view to get *Ambiorix* into his power. But the *Gaul* flying before him, *Cæsar* destroyed the country with fire and sword, killing or taking prisoners great numbers of the inhabitants, that he might render *Ambiorix* odious to his people, as the cause of so great a calamity, and preclude his being again received into the state. He then dispatched *Labienus*, with two legions, against the *Treviri*, who bordering upon *Germany*, and being exercised in continual wars with that nation, differed but little from them in barbarity and fierceness; nor ever submitted to his commands, unless enforced by the presence of an army. Leaving *M. Antony*, with fifteen cohorts, in the country of the *Bellovaci*, to prevent any new insurrection among the *Belgæ*, he marched into the country of the *Carnutes*. They had been lately reduced by his Lieutenant *Fabius*, who had defeated *Dumnacus*, the General of the *Gauls* in those parts, destroyed or dispersed his army, and expelled him out of that and the neighbouring countries. *Cæsar* pardoned the *Carnutes*, on their delivering up *Gutervaulus*, the prime mover and incendiary of the war. This man had hid himself, even from his countrymen; but, being diligently sought after by the people, desirous to appease *Cæsar's* resentment, they soon found him, and brought him to the camp, where he was beaten with rods and beheaded.

Caninius, one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, had defeated the *Cadurci* in battle, under their Generals *Drapes* and *Luterius*, and was besieging *Uxellodunum*, a strong fortress in that country. Thither *Cæsar* repaired, and found the circumvallation completed. Many reasons determined him

to continue the siege. He could not raise it without dishonour; the obstinacy of the garrison, which consisted of only two thousand men, deserved exemplary punishment; and, if the place were not reduced, the *Gauls* might imagine that not strength but constancy had been wanting to enable them to resist the *Roman* arms; a persuasion which might perhaps induce other states, who had the advantage of strong towns, to endeavour again to assert their liberty; especially as it was generally known that only one year of his government remained, during which if they could but hold out, they had no farther danger to apprehend. *Cæsar*, understanding from the deserters that the besieged were well stored with provisions, determined, if possible, to deprive them of water.

Uxellodunum stood upon a steep rock, which was almost surrounded by a river, where the townsmen used to water. There was no possible way to turn the course of this river, because it flowed so near the foot of the rock, and in so low a channel, that ditches could not be sunk deep enough to receive it. But the descent to it from the town was so difficult and steep, and lay so open, that the people, in coming to it, could be easily annoyed by the *Romans*. *Cæsar*, taking advantage of this circumstance, posted archers and slingers, with some engines, over-against all the places of access. This forced the townsmen to water at a fountain which issued close under the walls, on the side where the town was not surrounded by the river. To deprive them of this resource, *Cæsar* undertook to raise a terrace over-against the fountain, which could not be performed without incredible fatigue, almost continual fighting, and much danger to the soldiers; for they were exposed to the assaults of the enemy, who fought in safety, at a distance, and from the higher ground. A terrace notwithstanding was raised, sixty feet high, and a tower of ten stories placed upon it; not indeed equal to the height of the walls, for which no works were sufficient, but to command the fountain. From this tower the *Romans* continually played their engines upon all the accesses to the spring, which made it extremely dangerous to water there; insomuch that not only cattle and beasts of burthen, but great numbers of people, perished by thirst.

The besieged were not dismayed by this distress. They filled many barrels with tallow, pitch, and dry wood, and, having set them on fire, rolled them down upon their works; and at the same time charged the *Romans* with great fury. The machines soon were on fire: But *Cæsar*, to give his men time to extinguish it, and to draw off the enemy, ordered some troops to ascend the hill on all sides, and raise a great shout, as if preparing to scale the walls. This alarming the inhabitants, they recalled their men to the defence of the town; and the *Romans*, being relieved from the attack, soon put a stop to the flames. The place continued to hold out with great obstinacy, till *Cæsar* contrived to drain the fountain by mines. When the besieged saw it suddenly become dry, they imagined it an event brought about not by human wisdom but by
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the will of the Gods; and therefore, despairing of success, they immediately surrendered themselves.

Cæsar, satisfied that his clemency was known to all, and no way fearing that his severity on this occasion would be imputed to cruelty; as he perceived there would be no end of the war, if other states of *Gaul* should in like manner revolt; resolved, by a signal example of punishment, to deter them from such projects. He ordered the hands of all those whom he found in arms to be cut off; granting them their lives, that their punishment might be the more conspicuous. *Drapes*, who had been made prisoner by *Caninius*, either out of indignation for his captivity, or dreading a severer fate, put an end to his life by abstaining from food. *Luterius*, who had escaped out of the battle when *Drapes* was taken prisoner, falling into the hands of *Eparnaëtus* of *Auvergne*, a faithful friend to the *Romans*, was by him delivered bound to *Cæsar*.

About this time *Labienus* sent intelligence that he had engaged the cavalry of the *Treviri* with success, killed a great number on the field of battle, with many *Germans* who had joined them, and made prisoners the greatest part of their chiefs; amongst the rest *Surus* the *Æduan*, a man of distinguished birth and valour, and the only one of that nation who had till then continued in arms. Thus the whole country being pacified, *Cæsar* marched with two legions into *Aquitain*, which *P. Crassus* had in a great measure reduced to his obedience. On his arrival, the states sent Ambassadors to him, and delivered hostages. At *Narbonne* he ordered his army into winter-quarters, under the command of his Lieutenants. *M. Antony*, *C. Trebonius*, *P. Vatinius*, and *Q. Tullius*, were quartered in *Belgium* with four legions; two were sent into the country of the *Ædui*; two into that of the *Turones*, bordering upon the *Carnutes*, to hold the maritime states in awe; and the remaining two were stationed amongst the *Lemovices*, not far from *Auvergne*. He held at *Narbonne* the usual assemblies of the province, decided the differences subsisting among the states, recompensed those who had distinguished themselves by their fidelity and services, and, after dispatching all those affairs, repaired to the legions in *Belgium*, and took up his winter-quarters at *Nemetocenna* *.

* Arras.

Here he found all quiet; even *Comius*, that bitter enemy to the *Romans*, had been received into friendship. This *Atrebatian* General, who had headed the armies of the *Bellovaci*, retired to his *German* allies, when matters were compounded with *Cæsar*, but always kept a watchful eye upon the motions of his countrymen, that, in case of a war, he might be ready to offer them his counsel and assistance. Finding that the state now submitted quietly to the *Romans*, he employed the troops that remained with him to support himself and his followers by plunder, and frequently carried off the convoys that were going to the *Roman* winter-quarters. *M. Antony* sent against him *C. Volusenus Quadratus*, an officer of distinguished valour; the man who, by the order of *Labienus*, had lately attempted.

attempted to kill him at an interview, and who still preserved a particular hatred to him. These two mortal enemies soon met in battle: *Volusenus*, after a successful engagement, urged by an eager desire of making *Comius* prisoner, rashly pursued him with only a few attendants. The *Gaul*, by a precipitate flight, drew the *Roman* a considerable way from the main body of his army; then, turning to his own men, he called upon them to revenge the wound he had so treacherously received. They instantly faced about, charged their pursuers, and repulsed them. *Comius*, clapping spurs to his horse, ran furiously against *Volusenus*, and drove his spear through his thigh. The *Romans*, seeing their Commander dangerously wounded, fought with redoubled fury, and put the enemy to flight a second time, with considerable slaughter. *Comius* escaped by the swiftness of his horse; but, as he had lost the greatest part of his men, he sent a deputation to *Antony*, offering to retire wherever he should order him, to submit to any terms that should be imposed on him, and to give hostages for his good behaviour; requesting only that so much regard might be had to his fears, as that he should not be obliged to appear in the presence of any *Roman*. *Antony*, before the arrival of *Cæsar*, consented, took hostages, and granted him peace.

This campaign effectually completed the reduction of *Gaul* and put an end to the *Gallic* war, in the course of which it is said that *Cæsar* either took by force eight hundred towns, or made them yield to the terror of his arms; that he subdued three hundred different nations; that he defeated in battle three millions of men, of which more than one million were killed in the field, and another million made prisoners^c.

[Year of Rome 703^d.]

The ninth and last year of his government was quite pacific. In his winter-quarters at *Nemetocenna* in *Belgium*, and in the following year, he made it his business to ingratiate himself with the *Gauls*, and deprive them of all pretence for a revolt. He treated the several states with respect, imposed no new burthens upon them, and was extremely liberal to their chiefs. By these means he prevailed with them, wearied and exhausted by long and unsuccessful wars, to embrace the ease and quiet, attendant on their present submission. Thus he had leisure, in this last year, to fix his attention on *Rome*, where a contest for and against him was carried on with great vehemence; a contest which ended in that memorable civil war, that changed the form of the *Roman* government into *Monarchic Despotism*.

^c Plut. in *Cæf.* Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 25.

^d For the transactions at *Rome* in this year, 703, see p. 566.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.





1501/170.

THE
ROMAN
HISTORY,

FROM THE
Building of *Rome* to the Ruin
of the *Commonwealth*.

Illustrated with MAPS and other Plates.

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MDCCLXXI.

T H E

Roman History.

T E N T H B O O K.

From the end of the Year 703, when the Civil War broke out between POMPEY and CÆSAR, to the Second Triumvirate, or the League which was formed between LEPIDUS, ANTONY, and OCTAVIUS, in the Year 710.

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THE Roman History.

TENTH BOOK.

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FROM the year 693, the *Triumvirate* reigned in Rome: The whole management of the public affairs was in the hands of the three most powerful men of the State, *Crassus*, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*. The latter, during his consulship in 694, had cemented and established the power of the confederacy; and *Pompey* directed it in his absence for his own, and the purposes of his associates. Vid. supr. Vol. III. p. 415. He was, therefore, in a manner, the Sovereign of the Republic, while *Cæsar* was employed in the conquest of Gaul. In the year 696, he was invested, on the proposal of *Cicero*, whose motion was approved of by the Senate, with an absolute power for five years over all the public stores and corn-rents of the Empire; * by which means all those who were concerned in the naval, the commercial, and landed interest, be-
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* This law was moved and carried by the Consul *Lentulus Sпинther*, one of the heads of the aristocratical party, with a view to his own designs, and to divert *Pompey* from the thoughts of being employed in re-establishing *Ptolemy* on the throne of Egypt; an of-
2 Vid. supr. Vol. III. p. 463 477. fice

Vil. supr.
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3 and 4.

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542.

came his tributaries and dependants. Another law, proposed at the same time by the Tribune *Messius*, * gave him the additional power of raising what fleets and armies he thought fit ; with a greater command through all the provinces than their proper Governors had in each. These extraordinary concessions to *Pompey* created a jealousy in *Crassus*, who, perceiving himself quite eclipsed by his old enemy and rival, now his partner in power, encouraged *Publius Clodius* to put some public affronts upon him, which *Pompey* openly resented, and complained of. A reconciliation, however, was speedily effected by *Cæsar* ; and, in 697, the triple league was renewed at *Lucca* ; where the Governor of the two Gauls, after three successful campaigns, spent the winter season in the greatest splendor, attended by almost all the Magistrates and great men of the Republic. It was agreed upon by the *Triumviri* that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should sue for the consulship of the following year, take to themselves what provinces they liked best, and continue *Cæsar* in his government of *Gaul* for five years more. How all this was effected has been formerly related. *Crassus*, before the expiration of his consulship, set out for his government of *Syria* and the *Partbian* war : but *Pompey* remained in *Italy*, though invested with the command of an army and the government of *Spain* ; and there continued to influence all the public transactions. His commission for the providing of corn, which expired not till the year 701, furnished him with a pretence for not going to his province. He is universally accused of having given way to all the disorders of the city, and of having inflamed public discord with a view of forcing the Senate to create him *Dictator* ; in which scheme he succeeded so far as to get himself elected *sole Consul* by the unanimous vote of the Senate, and the consent even of *Cato*. But, while he was invested with the whole public authority in the year 701, in order to settle the State, he employed it to a very different purpose. † Before his law

Ere which the Consul was solicitous should be assigned to himself.

* *Licero*, though he thought the law of *Messius* insufferable, yet held his peace, because the *Pontifices* had yet decreed nothing concerning his house ;—*Nos taceamus ; et eo magis, quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc Pontifices responderunt*. *Melm.* Vol. I. p. 56. Thus were the liberties of *Rome* sacrificed to the private purposes of her pretended Patriots.

† *Cicero* often extols *Pompey's* third consulship, so far as to call it *divine* ; yet he influenced the Judges to condemn *Milo*, whom *Cato* loudly acquitted, while *Sansoni* was absolved, who headed *Milo's* gladiators in forcing the inn where *Clodius* was killed : *Milone* *rem non magis invidia facti, quam Pompeii damnarunt voluntas : Quem*

quidem M. Cato palam lata absolvit sententia. *Vel. Pat.* ii. 47. He employed his authority to save *Scipio*, though notoriously guilty, while he let *Hypseus* be condemned by an *ex post facto* law, who had been his Quæstor, and ever obsequious to his will. He abandoned *Seaurus*, who had served under him, and to whom he left the government of *Syria* after the *Mithridatic* war ; because, says *Asconius*, he took offence at *Seaurus's* marrying *Mutia*, his divorced wife ;—*in eo judicio neque Pompeius propensum adjutorium præbuit, videbatur enim apud animum ejus non minus offensionis contraxisse, quod judicium ejus in Mutiam, crimine impudicitie ab eo dimissam, levius fecisse existimaretur, cum eam ipse probasset, quam gratia acquisisse necessitudinis jure, quod ex eadem uterque liberor* ba.



law took place for disqualifying all future Consuls and Prætors from holding any province till five years after the expiration of their magistracy, he was careful to provide an exception for himself, and got the government of *Spain* continued to him for five years longer. His chief intention, after he had secured his own interest and power, was to quell the passions, and stop the ambitious pursuits of his Fellow-grandeës. He was under a necessity, however, of providing something extraordinary for his partner *Cæsar*; and he consented to a law dispensing with his absence in suing for the Consulship. *Calpurnius*, Tribune of the people, who promoted this law, had been engaged to it by *Cicero*, at the joint request of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*; and it was carried with the concurrence of all the other Tribunes, though not without difficulty and obstruction from the Senate. This last measure in favour of *Cæsar* was entered into by *Pompey* against his inclination, and he soon had reason to repent of it. *Julia's* death had broken all his ties with her father, and that of *Crassus* had given a new turn to their several pretensions: His commission over the corn-rents of the Empire was expired, and the laws loudly ordered him away to *Spain*, where he had no mind to go. He had been greatly caressed of late by the Senate, who had trusted him with the whole power of the State; but the popular party was, with very good reason, better inclined to *Cæsar*. In these circumstances he thought it advisable to change his scheme of politics: And, by *Cicero's* account to *Calpurnius* in the very beginning of the year 702, *Pompey*

B 2

was

haberet. In Arg. Or. pro Scauro. He, with his father-in-law *Scipio*, restored also the censorship; but who were elected to this office? Two of the most notoriously profligate citizens of *Rome*, *Appius* and *Piso*. How infamous must have been the character of *Scipio* himself, whom *Pompey* took for his father-in-law and colleague in the consulship, if the following story from *Valerius Maximus* be true: *Æque flagitiosum illud convivium, quod Gemellus Tribunicius viator ingenui sanguinis, sed officii intra servilem habitum deformis, Metello Scipioni Consuli, ac Tribuni Plebis, magno cum rubore civitatis comparavit. Lupanari enim domi sue instituto, Mutiam et Fulviam, tum a patre tum a viro utramque abductam, et nobilem puerum Saturninum in eo prostituit.* Lib. ix. c. 1. *Cæsar*, in the beginning of the third book of the civil war, affirms, that many of the decisions given at this time were so little conformable to law, that sentence was often pronounced by a party of Judges different from those who attended the pleadings. *Tacitus*, it may likewise be added, is far from giving us a favourable idea of *Pompey's*

third Consulship: *Cn. Pompeius tertium Consul, corrigendis moribus delectus, et gravior remediis quam delicta erant, suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor.*—An. iii. c. 28.

° *Well then: Shall I declare against Cæsar? Where then is the faith I plighted him? For I Ad. Att. was the means of the dispensation being granted vii. 1. him; and, when Cæsar solicited for my vote at RAVENNA, at his request, I brought over Cælius to his party. But what do I say of Cæsar? I was solicited to the same purpose by our darling Pompey in that immortal third consulate of his. Yet Cicero, in his second Philippic, affirms that he endeavoured to dissuade Pompey from suffering this law to pass. There are many such contradictions in Cicero's writings.*

* *Septimo ferme anno Cæsar morabatur in Gallis, cum medium jam ex invidia Pompeii male coherentis inter Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem concordia pignus, Julia uxor Magni decessit; atque omnia inter destinatos tanto discrimini duces dirimente fortuna, filius quoque parvus Pompeii, Julia natus, intra breve spatium obiit. Tum in gla-*

Philipp. ii. c. 10.

was quite alienated from his father-in-law^f, and associate in power, without having received the least provocation either real or pretended, and had resolved to act in concert with his enemies. Hitherto, *Pompey* and *Cæsar* had joined their interests against the chief of the Nobility, and obtained from the people what the Senate would not grant; but, now that the whole power of the Empire was thrown as a kind of prize between two, it was natural that they should divide, and head, respectively, the two permanent and distinct parties in the Republic, the *Aristocracy* and the *People*.

Eight years successively had *Cæsar* conducted the *Roman* arms in *Gaul* with such amazing success as intitled him to a triumph for the actions of every campaign^g; no wonder, therefore, that his enemies among the Nobles should feel an apprehension of his growing power with the people, who, before the recent proofs he had given of his superior military abilities, and of his amiable qualities, had in many instances distinguished him by singular marks of their esteem, affection, and confidence. *Pompey* too was undoubtedly jealous of his glory as a Captain, which, it must be confessed, exceeded his own; and he easily foresaw that, if *Cæsar* was permitted to sue for the consulship, and to enter upon it at the expiration of his military command, he would become master of the Republic; and, after his magistracy, procure, by a law of the people, the most considerable province, with a powerful army; while he himself in the mean time would be obliged to withdraw to his government of *Spain*. Thus *Pompey* and the *Aristocracy*, though agreeing in little else, were induced to unite their strength against the conqueror of *Gaul*.

A coalition was therefore formed, and a resolution taken to revoke *Cæsar's* command before the time was out, and to oblige him to come

gladios cædesque civium furente ambitu, cujus neque finis reperiebatur, nec modus, tertius consularis soli Cn. Pompeio, etiam adversantium antea dignitati ejus judicio delatus est: Cujus ille honoris gloria, veluti reconciliatis sibi optimatibus, maxime a C. Cæsare alienatus est. *Vell. Pat. lib. ii. 47.*

^f "I passed several days with *Pompey*,
" conversing with him on nothing else but
" the Republic:—Take this from me,
" that *Pompey* is an excellent citizen, prepa-
" red both with courage and counsel for all
" events which can be foreseen: Where-
" fore give yourself up to the man; believe
" me, he will embrace you; for he now
" holds the same opinion with us of good and
" bad citizens." *Ep. Fam. xi. 8. Melm. III.*
28. "I left *Pompey* an excellent citizen,
" and in readiness against all events which
" we may dread." *Ad Aus. iv. 8.*

^g Novemque æstatibus vix ulla non justissimus triumphus emeritus. *Vell. Pat. L. ii. c. 47.* Dicam enim ex animo, Patres conscripti, quod sentio, et quod vobis audientibus sæpe jam dixi. Si mihi nunquam amicus C. Cæsar fuisset, sed semper iratus: Si, aspernaretur amicitiam meam, seseque mihi implacabilem inexpiabilemque præberet, tamen ei, cum tantas res gessisset gereretque quotidie, non amicus esse non possem. Cujus ego imperio non Alpium vallum contra adscensam transgressionemque Gallorum, non Rheni fossam, gurgitibus illis redandantem, Germanorum immanissimis gentibus objicio et oppono. Perfecit ille, ut, si montes resedissent, amnes exaravissent non naturæ præsidio, sed victoriâ suâ, rebusque gestis Italiam munitam haberemus. *Cic. in Pis.*

as a private man to sue for the consulship; in which case he had been exposed to the mercy of his enemies, and *Cato* had threatened publicly to bring him to a trial. But this resolution was very difficult to be put into practice, as it would necessarily occasion, as a previous step, the repeal of two laws, the one made by the Senate itself, the other by the people, with the unanimous concurrence of the Tribunes, and with the approbation of *Pompey*.

The Consuls for the year 702 were *Servius Sulpitius* and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, who had been elected by the joint interest of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*. *Cato* had stood candidate with them; but, having displeased the people by an ill-timed severity, he was rejected. *Plutarch* informs us, that he had obtained a decree from the Senate, ordering the candidates to make interest by themselves, and not by their friends; so that the people were deprived not only of their usual bribes, but of the satisfaction of being courted: And he refused also, says the same author, to condescend to that submissive manner of soliciting which is common on such occasions, and behaved with great state, *choosing rather to preserve the dignity of his character, than to acquire the dignity of Consul*. On the very day he had lost his election, as if quite unconcerned for what had happened, he was seen in the *Campus Martius* playing at tennis; a behaviour which *Plutarch* greatly extols, but which might have been nothing else but an affectation of singularity, or a consequence of that haughty rage, which made him declare, that he would no more stand candidate for any magistracy.

Marcellus, intirely devoted to *Pompey*, was no sooner entered into office, than he began the attack upon *Cæsar*, by declaring his intention to abrogate immediately his command, and to appoint him a successor, alleging that the war in *Gaul* was now brought to a conclusion. But he was stopped for some months in this pursuit, probably by *Pompey's* falling ill soon after his promotion to the consulship, and by the opposition of his colleague *Sulpitius*, who, being of a more moderate temper, and

Suet. in
Cæf. cap.
xxviii.
Dio. l. xl.
p. 148.

^a Dr. Middleton, Vol. II. p. 196, has given the following character of him: "He was the head of a family, which, for a succession of many ages, had made the first figure in *Rome*; and was himself adorned with all the virtues that could qualify him to sustain that dignity which he derived from his noble ancestors. He had formed himself in a particular manner for the bar, where he soon acquired great fame; and, of all the orators of his time, seems to have approached the nearest to *Cicero* himself in the character of a complete speaker. His manner of speaking was elegant, strong, and copious; with a

"sweetness of voice, and propriety of action, that added a grace and lustre to every thing that he said. He was a constant admirer and imitator of *Cicero*; and of the same principles in peace, and on the same side in war." His fierceness, however, it may be remarked, against *Cæsar*, so ill-timed, gives us no great idea of his prudence or his honour: It was this probably which procured the consulship successively to two of his relations.

ⁱ "Sulpitius was of a noble and patrician family, of the same age, the same studies, and the same principles with *Cicero*, with whom he kept up a perpetual friendship.

"They

Caes. 13.

and addicted to neither faction, over-ruled his motions. The enemies of *Caesar* contented themselves therefore with making vows for the success of the *Bellovaci*, with whom he was engaged in war; and for the destruction of the *Roman* General. *Marcellus* had also made some attempt to deprive *Novum Comum*, a colony, which *Caesar*, when Consul, had settled at the foot of the *Alps*, of the freedom of the city, granted to it by a law preferred by *Vatinius*. He was likewise frustrated in this design, yet resolved to have no regard to the privilege of the colony; and, having caught a *Comensian* Magistrate, who was acting the citizen at *Rome*, he ordered him to be seized, and publicly whipped; an indignity from which all citizens were exempted by law; bidding the man go, and shew these marks of his citizenship to *Caesar* ^k.

The elections of Magistrates for the ensuing year engaged the attention of the city in the months of *July* and *August*; and *Pompey's* faction ge-

“ They went through their exercises toge-
 “ ther when young, both at *Rome*, and at
 “ *Rhodes*, in the celebrated school of *Melo*:
 “ Whence he became an eminent pleader of
 “ causes, and passed through all the great
 “ offices of the State, with a singular repu-
 “ tation of wisdom, learning, and integrity;
 “ a constant admirer of the modesty of the
 “ ancients; and a reprover of the insolence of
 “ his own times. When he could not arrive
 “ at the first degree of fame, as an Orator,
 “ he resolved to excel in what was next to
 “ it, the character of a Lawyer; choosing
 “ rather to be the first, in the second art,
 “ than the second only in the first: Leaving
 “ therefore to *Cicero* the field of eloquence,
 “ he contented himself with such a share of
 “ it as was sufficient to sustain and adorn the
 “ profession of the law. In this he suc-
 “ ceeded to his wish; and was far superior
 “ to all who had ever professed it in *Rome*;
 “ being the first who reduced it to a proper
 “ science, or rational system; and added
 “ light and method to that which all others
 “ before him had taught darkly and con-
 “ fusedly. Nor was his knowledge con-
 “ fined to the external forms, or the effects
 “ of the Municipal laws; but enlarged by
 “ a comprehensive view of universal equity,
 “ which he made the interpreter of its sanc-
 “ tions, and the rule of all his decisions;
 “ yet he was always better pleased to put an
 “ amicable end to a controversy, than to di-
 “ rect a process at law. In his political be-
 “ haviour he was always a friend to peace
 “ and liberty; moderating the violence of
 “ opposite parties, and discouraging every
 “ step towards civil dissension; and, in the

“ wars which ensued, he was so busy in con-
 “ triving projects of an accommodation, that
 “ he gained the name of *the peace-maker*.
 “ Through a natural timidity of temper,
 “ confirmed by a profession and course of
 “ life averse from arms, though he preferred
 “ *Pompey's* cause as the best, he did not care
 “ to fight for it; but, taking *Caesar's* to be
 “ the strongest, suffered his son to follow
 “ that camp, while he himself continued
 “ quiet and neuter: For this he was ho-
 “ noured by *Caesar*, yet could never be in-
 “ duced to approve his government. From
 “ the time of *Caesar's* death, he continued
 “ still to advise and promote all measures
 “ which seemed likely to establish the pub-
 “ lic concord; and died at last, as he lived,
 “ in the very act and office of *peace-mak-*
 “ *ing*.” *Middl. p. 361.*

“ ^k “ All the other colonies on that side of
 “ the *Po* had before obtained from *Pom-*
 “ *pey's* father the rights of *Latium*, [*Jus*
 “ *Latii*] that is, the freedom of the city of
 “ *Rome* to those which had borne an annual
 “ magistracy in them. Hence *Cicero* blames
 “ this act of *Marcellus* as violent and unjust.
 “ *Marcellus*, says he, behaved shamefully
 “ in the case of the *Comensian*; for, if the
 “ man had never been a Magistrate, he was
 “ yet of a colony beyond the *Po*; so that *Pom-*
 “ *pey* will not be less shocked at it than *Caesar*
 “ himself.” *Middl. p. 44.* Those who had
 not been Magistrates might give their votes
 in the assemblies of *Rome*, if ordered by
 the presiding Magistrate to vote in such a
 tribe: But only the Magistrates could pre-
 tend to any office.

generally prevailed. *C. Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Paulus*¹ were chosen Consuls. The first, who was cousin-german to *M. Marcellus*, carried his suit in competition with *Calidius*, an eminent orator and friend to *Cæsar*, and was zealously attached to *Pompey*. The second set out also in his administration with principles agreeable to those of his colleague.

Marcus Cælius, *Cicero*'s friend and correspondent, obtained the ædileship this year. He had been Tribune of the people in *Pompey*'s third consulship, and had distinguished himself in that office by his zeal for *Milo*, and was reputed of the aristocratical faction^m.

Curio likewise obtained the tribunate, which he sought with no other design, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying *Cæsar*, against whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceness. Heⁿ was a young Nobleman of great parts, spirit, and eloquence; but addicted be-

¹ *Cicero* wrote congratulatory letters to them both from *Cilicia*, and another to *M. Marcellus*, which, as it informs us how the Consuls' thoughts were taken up before the elections, we shall insert it here:

To *Marcus Marcellus*, Consul.

"I very warmly congratulate you on your relation *Caius Marcellus* being elected to succeed you: As I sincerely rejoice in your having received this happy fruit of your pious affection to your family, of your patriot-zeal to your country, and of your illustrious deportment in the consular office. I can easily imagine the sentiments which your address on this occasion has created in *Rome*; and as to myself, whom you have sent to these far distant parts of the globe; believe me, I speak of it with the highest and most unfeigned applause. I can with strict truth assure you, that I have ever had a particular attachment to you from your earliest youth: As I am sensible, you have always shewn by your generous offices in promoting my dignities, that you deemed me worthy of the most distinguished honours. But this late instance of your judicious management in procuring the consulship for *Marcellus*, together with the proof it affords of the favour in which you stand with the Republic, has raised you still higher in my esteem. It is with great complacency, therefore, I hear it observed by men of the first distinction for sense and merit, that, in all our words and actions, our tastes and studies, our principles and pursuits, we bear a strong resemblance to each other. The only circum-

stance, that can render your glorious consulship still more agreeable to me, will be your procuring a successor to be nominated to this province as soon as possible. But if this cannot be obtained; let me intreat you at least not to suffer my continuance here to be prolonged beyond the time limited by your decree, and the law which passed for that purpose. In a word, I hope upon all occasions to experience in my absence the benefit of your friendship and protection. Farewell." *Ep. Fam. xv. 9. Melm. iii. 35.*

^m See some account of him, Vol III. p. 483. and 550.

ⁿ "The circumstance of *Curio*'s standing candidate for the tribuneship", says *Cælius* "in a letter to *Cicero*, in 702, greatly alarms those who are unacquainted with the real good qualities of *Curio*'s heart. I hope, and indeed believe, he will act agreeably to his professions, and join with the Senate in supporting the friends of the Republic. I am sure, at least, he is full of these designs at present; in which *Cæsar*'s conduct has been the principal occasion of engaging him. For *Cæsar*, though he spares no pains or expence to gain over even the lowest of the people to his interest, has thought fit to treat *Curio* with singular contempt. The latter has behaved with so much temper upon this occasion, that he, who never acted with artifice in all his life, is suspected to have dissembled his resentment, in order the more effectually to defeat the schemes of those who oppose his election; I mean the *Lalii* and the *Antonii*, together with the rest of that wonderful party."

yond

beyond all measure or modesty to the prevailing luxury and gallantries of a most dissolute age. In his youth, he had been the leader of the young Nobility, and a warm assertor of the authority of the Senate against the power of the Triumvirate. Upon his first taste of public honours, his ambition and thirst of popularity had engaged him in such expence and prodigality, that, to supply the magnificence of his shews and plays, he had contracted an immense debt.

Ep. Fam.
viii. 4.
Melm. iii.
31. [Dated
Aug. 1,
702.]

The Consul *Marcellus*, who, when taken up in these elections, had seemed to have dropped the design of abrogating *Cæsar's* proconsular power*, upon which he was so intent in the beginning of his magistracy, resumed the affair after the Consuls were chosen. "At a meeting of the Senate [says *Cælius* to *Cicero*] held on the 22d of July, in the temple of *Apollo*", upon a debate relating to the payment of the forces commanded by *Pompey*, mention was made of that legion, which, as appeared by his accounts, had been lent to *Cæsar*; and he was asked of what number of men it consisted, and for what purpose it was borrowed? In short, *Pompey* was pushed so strongly upon this article, that he found himself under a necessity of promising to recal this legion out of *Gaul*; but he added at the same time, that the clamours of his enemies should not force him to take this step too precipitately. It was afterwards moved, that the question might be put concerning the election of a successor to *Cæsar*. Accordingly the Senate came to a resolution that *Pompey* (who was just going to the army at *Ariminum*), and did immediately after set out for that purpose)

* "Marcellus, says *Cælius* to *Cicero*, has dropped the design upon which he was lately so intent: But not so much from indolence, I believe, as prudence." Ep. Fam. viii. 2. Melm. iii. 29

The temple of *Apollo* was situated without the town, and the Senate was assembled there, that *Pompey*, who was actually Governor of *Spain*, and commanded a considerable army, might be present: And all the matter of this deliberation had been probably concerted with him.

This army was probably part of the four legions which were decreed to *Pompey* for the support of his government of *Spain*. He feigned at this time a resolution of going to that province which was opposed by *Cæsar's* enemies and *Cicero* himself.

Ad. Att.
v. 11.

The last writes thus to *Atticus* on the 6th of July: "It appeared to me likewise as if *Pompey* (according to what you wrote me *Varro* had said) would most certainly go

to *Spain*. This resolution by no means met with my approbation. I easily made *Phœnaces** sensible that he could do nothing better than to remain where he was. That *Gracian* therefore will do all he can to detain him, and indeed I know that *Pompey* has a great deference for his opinion." From this it appears that *Cicero* and all the Aristocrats thought, that on *Pompey's* presence rested the safety of what they called the *Republic*.

In another letter to his friend *Atticus*, he writes: "As to the affairs of *Rome*, we have ugly accounts of *Curio* and *Paulus*; not that I see any danger while we have *Pompey*: Let him only keep his health, and we are safe." [Non quo ullum periculum videam stante *Pompeio*, vel etiam sedente; valeat modo.] "But I am concerned for my friends *Curio* and *Paulus*." Ad Att. vi. 3 Yet the same *Cicero* has the confidence, in a subsequent letter, written to *Aulus Cæcina*, in

707.

* A learned Greek of *Asiatic*, who was *Pompey's* constant companion, and wrote his life.

“ purpose) should be ordered to return to *Rome* with all expedition;
 “ *that the affair relating to a general election of new governors for all the*
 “ *provinces might be debated in his presence.* This point, adds *Calpurnius*, I
 “ imagine will be brought before the Senate on *the 13th of this month*;
 “ when, if no infamous obstacles should be thrown in the way by the
 “ Tribunes, the House will certainly come to some resolution; for
 “ *Pompey*, in the course of the debate, let fall an intimation, that he
 “ thought every man owed obedience to the authority of that Assem-
 “ bly.”

Thus the Senate threw themselves precipitately into the arms of *Pompey*. The affair was not debated on *the 13th of August*, because *Marcellus*, though he had exerted himself in the pursuit of his design, was not able to assemble a complete number of Senators. Many absented themselves, being in *Cæsar's* interest; others were backward, because they saw that these motions tended to a rupture, and that nothing could be legally determined; the Tribunes of *Cæsar's* party being always ready to interpose their negative. At last, an Assembly was held on the *30th of September*; and *Pompey*, who, in a preceding meeting, had opened himself so far as to declare, that *Cæsar* ought not to be admitted as a candidate for the consulship, whilst he retained his command in *Gaul*, now let fall an expression which was much observed, and gave, says *Calpurnius* to *Cicero*, confident hopes of his good intentions; that he could not, without great injustice, determine any thing in relation to the provinces under *Cæsar's* command before the *1st of March*; but that, after that time, he should have no sort of scruple. It was resolved accordingly by the Senate, that the Consuls elect, *L. PAULUS* and *C. METELLUS*, should move them on the *1st of March* to settle the consular provinces; and, if any Magistrate should interpose to hinder the effect of their decrees, that he should be deemed an enemy to the Republic; and, if any one actually interposed, that this vote and resolution should be entered into the journals as an order of the

Marcellus

707, to affirm solemnly, that he always advised *Pompey* to go to his government, and boasts, at the same time, of his having never been deceived in the foresight of future events. “ Now, if the principles” says he, “ of the *Etruscan* science, in which you were instructed by your illustrious and excellent father, did not deceive you with respect to me; neither will my presages be less infallible with regard to you. They are derived, indeed, not only from the maxims and records of the most distinguished sages, whose writings, you well know, I have studied with great application; but from a long experience in public affairs, and from having passed through various scenes both of prosperity and adversity. I have the stronger reason to

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“ confide in this method of divination, as
 “ it has never once deceived me, during all these
 “ dark and distracted times: Insomuch that,
 “ were I to mention my predictions, I am afraid
 “ you would suspect that I framed them after
 “ the events I pretend to have foretold.—
 “ I always gave it as my opinion, that *Pompey*
 “ should go to his government of *SPAIN*:
 “ With which if he had happily complied,
 “ we should never have been involved in
 “ this fatal civil war.”—*Ep. Fam. vi. 6.*
Mém. ix. 34. This is most evidently false;
 and we shall see him out in his politics
 in almost every circumstance: Yet *Cornelius Nepos*, and all *Cicero's* Commentators,
 have taken his word for it, and are astonished at his prophetic discernment.

C

Senate,

Senate to be considered some other time by the House, and laid before the people. In this same Assembly, Pompey being asked, *what if a negative should be put on the 1st of March, upon the decree for recalling Cæsar?* He declared, that he looked upon it just as the same thing, whether Cæsar openly refused to obey the orders of the Senate, or secretly procured some Magistrate to obstruct them. *What, said another, if he should insist on being Consul, and holding his province also?* What, replied Pompey, *if my son should take a stick, and beat me?* From expressions of this kind, it was generally conceived that a rupture would undoubtedly ensue between Pompey and Cæsar: And indeed the votes of the Senate, and the measures taken at the same time by Pompey, were no less than a declaration of war against Cæsar, who lost no time to prepare himself against this attack of his enemies. As soon as he had vanquished the *Bellovaci*, he applied himself to quiet the affairs of his province, that he might be able to give all his attention to the city, and have his army in readiness to support him. At the same time he left no stone unturned to procure friends among the Magistrates of the ensuing year. He first attempted to gain *C. Marcellus*; but, finding him too rigid, he addressed himself to *L. Paulus*, to whom he is said to have given 1500 talents, or about three hundred thousand pounds, which he employed in building a noble palace adjoining to the Forum. He gave a much greater sum to the Tribune *Curio*, who, by his prodigalities, had not only wasted his immense fortune, but had contracted a debt of six hundred thousand sesterces, or about half a million*. The Consul and Tribune agreed therefore, secretly, to suffer nothing prejudicial to Cæsar's interest to pass during their magistracy; but both continued to appear in the party of Pompey*.

Ep. Fam.
viii. 10.
Melm. iv.
14.

In the last months of this year, the city was greatly alarmed by the news sent them by *Cassius* of an invasion of the *Parthians*. As the Senate had no opinion of the military skill of *Bibulus* and *Cicero*, who governed in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, the two frontier provinces, some were of opinion that the command should be given to Pompey; and he himself seemed to relish the proposition*. This project would serve his ends in *Asia*, and would furnish a pretext for staying in *Italy*, and taking from Cæsar two of his legions. Others were for assigning this expedition

* *Momentumque fuit mutatus Cariorerum,
Gallorum captus spoliis, et Cæsaris auro.*

Lucan. Lib. iv. 819.

Caught by the spoils of Gaul, and Cæsar's gold,

Curio turn'd traitor, and his country sold.

The *vendidit hic auro Patriam* of *Virgil* is also applied to the case of *Curio*. *Servius*.

"As for *Paulus*," says *Cælius*, in a letter to *Cicero*, dated the 18th of Nov. "he declares most vehemently against suffering Cæsar to continue in Gaul, and our friend *Furnius* is the only Tribune, whom I suspect of obstructing his measures for that

purpose: *Curio*," says he, in the same letter, "I foresee will undertake two things; he will in the first place attempt to weaken the authority of Cæsar; and in the next endeavour to throw some little advantages on the side of Pompey." Ep. Fam. viii. x. Melm. iv. 14.

"I shall be able," says *Cicero* to *Atticus*, "with the reinforcement of *Deiotarus*, to keep the *Parthians* in play till Pompey arrives: His letter informs me that he will be appointed to that command." Ad Att. vi. 1.

to *Cæsar* and his army; and many named the Consuls as the most proper persons to be employed. And these Magistrates, in the apprehension that they would either be nominated to a commission, which they did not relish, or suffer the disgrace of its being delegated to others, forbore to convene the Senate; though they thereby incurred the censure of neglecting the public interest. But whether indolence, or pusillanimity, was the real motive of their declining the conduct of the war, it was concealed under the specious appearance of modesty; and thus the year was spun out without doing any effectual business. The Senate, however, with a view to weaken *Cæsar*, taking advantage of the general apprehension of an irruption of the *Parthians* into *Syria*, ordered that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* should each of them furnish a legion to be sent into that province. But *Pompey*, instead of giving one of his, called for that which he had formerly lent to *Cæsar*; and *Appius* was dispatched to take the command of it, and to bring it into *Italy*. *Cæsar*, though he easily saw through the policy of his enemies, obeyed without demur the decree of the Senate, and not only delivered to *Appius Pompey's* legion, but also the 15th cantoned at that time in *bitber Gaul*, which was immediately replaced by the thirteenth. *Plutarch* says that he gave to each soldier of the two legions 250 drachms, about 8l. sterling; a circumstance which *Cæsar* himself has not mentioned. These troops were no sooner arrived in *Italy*, but they had quarters assigned them in *Campania*, near *Capua*, instead of being sent into *Syria*.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, } Consuls.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, }

The beginning of the year 703 was very quiet, but the calm soon ended in a mighty tempest. *Curio*, who had already sold himself to *Cæsar*, and who had hitherto acted insidiously with the friends of *Pompey*, and even signed the decrees of the Senate against *Cæsar*, was now looking out for a pretext to quarrel with his party: With this view he applied to the Pontifical College for an *intercalation*, in order to lengthen out the period of his tribunitian ministry; and, the priests rejecting his demand, their refusal furnished him with the pretence he wanted, and gave a colour, such as it was, to the desertion he had long meditated. He instantly declared against the Senate, and harangued the people in favour of *Cæsar*, threatening, at the same time, to propose not only an *agrarian* and a *viarian* law*, but a law also which would

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* *Consules autem habemus summa diligentia: Adhuc senatusconsultum nisi de feriis Latinis nullum facere potuerunt. Curioni nostro tribunatus congelat: Sed dici non potest quomodo hic omnia jaceant: Nisi ego cum tabernis et aquariis pugnarem, veteranus civitatem occupasset. . . . Quod tibi supra scripsi Curionem frizere, jam calet. Nam ferventissime concerpitur. Levissime enim, quia de*

intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum et pro Cæsare loqui cepit; legemque viariam non dissimilem agrariæ Rulli et aliam mentariam, quas jubet ædiles metiri, jactavit. Hoc nondum fecerat, cum priorum epistolæ partem scripsi. Cælius Ciceroni. He threatens likewise to propose a viarian law, somewhat of the same tendency with the agrarian one which was formerly attempted by Rullus.

Ep. Fam.
viii. 16.
Melm. v.
5.

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impower the ædiles to distribute corn among the people. These motions, however, soon gave way to one that was more important and interesting. *C. Marcellus* proposed, on the 1st of March, the affair of the consular provinces, as it had been ordered by the vote of the Senate of the 30th of September. *Paulus*, the other Consul, was silent; but *Curio*, after giving his approbation to the proposition, demanded that *Pompey* should likewise be ordered to renounce the government of *Spain*, and the command of the legions allotted to him; declaring, that the Republic could never be free, till both he and *Cæsar* were reduced to the condition of private citizens; and that, if the one was continued in command, the other ought not to be stripped of his authority; which, in that case, was necessary to preserve the balance, and to prevent the Republic from being at the disposal of one man. The Senate, not being willing to make a decree so contrary to the interest of *Pompey*, rejected the Tribune's proposal; who, in return, put his negative on every other resolution.

Isid.

When the news of the debate reached *Pompey*, who was then in *Campania*, he wrote, with a false modesty which deceived no-body, "that, whatever honours had been heaped upon him, they had been freely granted him by the good-will of his fellow-citizens, without his ever soliciting any: That, lately, he had been forced into a third consulship, and to take the government of *Spain* for another five years; and that they should always find him ready to resign, at their will, an employment which he had received with reluctance." These protestations he even renewed on his return to *Rome*; but *Curio*, who was not to be put off with fair words, insisted upon his carrying his promises into execution, assuring him of a like submission from *Cæsar*.

Ep. Fam.
viii. 12.
Melm. vi.
6.

There were fresh debates upon this subject; and *Cælius* has given the following accounts of them to *Cicero*: "As to political affairs; the efforts of all parties are at present directed to a single point: And the general contest still is, in relation to the provinces. *Pompey* seems to unite in earnest with the Senate, that the 13th of November may be limited for *Cæsar's* resigning his government. *Curio*, on the contrary, is determined to oppose this to the utmost; and, accordingly, has relinquished all his other schemes, in order to apply his whole strength to the

This place must be corrupted; for the *viarian* and *agrarian* laws were different. The former regarded the keeping of the high roads in repair, and regulated the equipages of travellers, imposing a tax on them; and the latter is thus explained by *Cælius*, in a letter written in the end of the year 702: "I forgot to mention that *Curio* designs to make an attempt to procure a division of the lands in *Campania*: it is pretended that *Cæsar* does not concern himself in

this matter; certain however it is, that *Pompey* is very desirous of having the distribution settled before *Cæsar's* return, that he may be precluded from applying them to his own purposes." *Ep. Fam.* viii. 10. *Melm.* iv. 14. *Cæsar's* *agrarian* law had not probably been executed in its whole extent, and *Curio* meant to carry the remaining part into execution. *Cælius* compares the *agrarian* law of *Curio* to that of *Rullus*, to shew his disapprobation of it.

“ the affair in question. As to our party, you well know their irreso-
 “ lution ; and consequently will readily believe me when I tell you they
 “ have not the spirit to push their opposition to the last extremity. The
 “ whole mystery of the scene in short is this : *Pompey*, that he may not
 “ seem to oppose *Cæsar*, or to aim at any thing but what the latter shall
 “ think perfectly equitable, represents *Curio* as acting in this affair
 “ merely upon his own authority, and with no other view than to create
 “ disturbances. It is certain, at the same time, that *Pompey* is much
 “ averse to *Cæsar*’s being elected Consul before he shall have delivered
 “ up his government, together with the command of his army : And
 “ indeed he seems to be extremely apprehensive of the consequences, if
 “ it should prove otherwise. In the mean time he is severely attacked
 “ by *Curio* : Who is perpetually reproaching him with deviating from
 “ the principles on which he acted in his second consulship. Take my
 “ word for it, notwithstanding all the difficulties they may throw in
 “ *Curio*’s way, *Cæsar* will never want a friend to rise up in his cause :
 “ And if the whole turns, as they seem to fear, upon his procuring
 “ some Tribune to interpose his negative to their decrees, I will venture
 “ to pronounce that he may remain in *Gaul* as long as he shall think
 “ proper.”

“ Do you know, my dear *Cicero*, what a victory *Curio* has lately ob-
 “ tained in relation to the provinces ? The Senate, in pursuance of a
 “ former order, having assembled to consider of the obstruction which
 “ some of the Tribunes had given to their decree ; *M. Marcellus* moved
 “ that the application might be made to those Magistrates to withdraw
 “ their protest : *But it was carried in the negative by a considerable ma-*
 “ *ajority.* *Pompey* is at present in such delicate circumstances, that he
 “ will scarce find any measures, I believe, perfectly to his satisfaction.
 “ The Senate, however, seem to intend, by the resolution I just now
 “ mentioned, that *Cæsar* shall be admitted as a candidate for the consulship,
 “ notwithstanding he should refuse to resign his government.” *Cicero* speaks
 of this resolution in a letter to *Atticus*, and produces it as a proof that
 the intentions of the Senate were not true to the interest of the Com-
 monwealth : “ For, had the motion,” says he, “ of *Marcellus* been vigo-
 “ rously supported, *Curio*’s opposition would have been vain, and
 “ *Cæsar* must necessarily have resigned his command.” But this mea-
 sure had been certainly unconstitutional : And *Pompey*, who had often
 shewn himself ungrateful to his friends, and cruel to his enemies, had
 no merit with the greater part of the Senate, comparatively with *Cæsar*,
 who never courted them, but relied intirely upon the people, while his
 antagonist, as induced by his interest, had applied to the one and to the
 other.

“ As to political affairs ; I have often mentioned to you, that I ima-
 “ gined the public tranquillity could not possibly be preserved beyond
 “ the present year : And the nearer we approach to those contentions,
 “ which

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Ep. Fam.
viii. 13.
Melm. vi.

Ad. Att.
vii. 7.

Ep. Fam.
viii. 14.
Melm. vi.
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“ which must inevitably arise, the more evident this danger appears. For *Pompey* is determined most strenuously to oppose *Cæsar*’s being Consul, unless he resigns his command: And *Cæsar*, on the contrary, is persuaded that he cannot be safe upon those terms. *He has* offered, however, to throw up his commission, provided *Pompey* will do the same. And thus their very suspicious alliance will probably end at last in an open war With respect to our present divisions, I foresee that the Senate, together with the whole order of Judges, will declare in favour of *Pompey*: And that all those of desperate fortunes, or who are obnoxious to the laws, will list themselves under the banners of *Cæsar*. As to their armies, I am persuaded there will be a great inequality. But to answer your question in a few words, concerning my sentiments of public affairs; if one or other of our Chiefs should not be employed against the *Partians*, I am persuaded great *diffensions* will soon ensue: *diffensions*, my friend, *which nothing can terminate but the sword, and which each of them seem well inclined and prepared to draw.*”

The consular elections were carried by *Pompey* and his party. *Sergius Galba*, a Lieutenant of *Cæsar*, who stood candidate, was rejected; and *L. Lentulus Crus* and *C. Marcellus*, his fiercest enemies, were chosen.

Cæsar, after the campaign of the year 702, had made it his bu-

* These accounts are the most authentic we have: What *Suetonius*, or *Plutarch*, or *Appian*, add to them, cannot be depended upon, being full of blunders and absurdities. The relations, nevertheless, of these authors, are copied by almost every writer of Roman history. *Appian* talks of a debate in the Senate, in which the Consul *C. Marcellus* having put the question separately, first, whether they were of opinion that *Pompey* should lay down his command, the majority answered in the negative: Then putting the question, whether a successor should be named to *Cæsar*? All agreed to it. But that *Curio*, re-uniting what the Consul had separated, put to the vote another question, Whether they should not both be ordered to dismiss their armies; twenty-one rejected it, and 370 answered in the affirmative; all, says he, *affectionate to the public good*: Whereupon the Consul dismissed the Assembly, crying, *Well then, take Cæsar for your master*. He adds, that soon after, a false rumour coming that *Cæsar* had passed the *Alps*, and was marching directly to *Rome*, the city was alarmed, and the Consuls proposed to the Senate to send for the legions at *Capua*, to employ them against him as an enemy to the State; but

that, upon *Curio*’s declaring the report to be false, the Consul, in great wrath, said: *Since, in consulting with the Senate, I am hindered to provide for the safety of the common-wealth, I will provide alone, according to the power I am intrusted with*. Then, rushing out of the city with his colleague, [who was *L. Emilius Paulus*, *Cæsar*’s fast friend] and presenting a sword to *Pompey*, *we order you*, said he, *my colleague and I, to march against Cæsar, and fight for your country*; and, to that end, *we give you the command of the army at Capua, and all the forces in Italy; with power to raise troops at your discretion*. *Pompey* declared he would obey them, because it was their command; adding, however, these words, *if no better expedient can be found*. *Plutarch* has much the same tale, but has added, most ridiculously, that the Senate followed the Consul, and that the whole city put on mourning. *Dio* has adopted only a part of the story, and tells us that the subject of the debate was, whether *Curio* should be turned out of the Senate; *Appian*, the Censor, having declared that, in his judgment, he ought to be degraded. He observes, that only *C. Marcellus* and the two Consuls elect went to *Pompey*. *Lib. x. p. 151.*

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finest in the winter-season to pacify his province, and to take away all occasion of future insurrections. He treated the cities honourably; rewarding generously the Noblemen and Leading-men, and did not burden the country with new impositions. In the spring, he hastened into *Italy*, under the pretence of assisting his Quæstor *Antony* in his suit for the augurate; but in reality to take a nearer view of the transactions in the city, and to encourage his party there. The news therefore which he received of *Antony's* success, before he reached *Italy*, did not stop him. It was then time to thank the municipal towns for the assistance they had given his friend upon his recommendation, and to recommend unto them his own case touching the consulate, which he purposed to apply for the next year. He was received with extraordinary respect and affection: All the people came forth to meet him; sacrifices were offered over the whole country; and the gates where he was to pass, the market-places, and the temples were adorned as in a day of triumph. After making his tour through the municipal towns, and agreeing with his friends at *Rome*, he left *T. Labienus* to command in *Italy*, and went himself into *Gaul* to review his army and put it in readiness to act on the first call.

In the end of the year 703, he returned to *Italy*: And, when he came thither, he found that the two legions which he had dismissed, and which, by the decree of the Senate, should have been employed against the *Parthians*, had been delivered to *Pompey* by *C. Marcellus*, the Consul, and were kept in the neighbourhood of the city, and that every measure had been taken to abrogate his command, and reduce him to the state of a private citizen. Here he was joined by *Curio*, who, after some fruitless attempts to prohibit *Pompey's* levies, seeing the opposite party greatly incensed against him, had left the city before the expiration of his office.

*Mark Antony*² succeeded him in the tribunate on the 10th of November, and in all his zeal for *Cæsar*. He was no sooner in possession of his

¹ We have an account of this election in a letter from *Calpurnius* to *Cicero*: "If you had taken the King of *Partbia* himself prisoner, and sacked his metropolis, it could not make you amends for your absence.— You have lost indeed a subject of inexpressible mirth, by not being spectator of the very ridiculous figure which the luckless [*L.*] *Pomptinus* displayed, when he lately found himself disappointed in his election. The assembly of the people was exceedingly numerous upon this occasion; but the force of party bore down all before it, and even carried away many of the friends of *Domitius* from his interest. This circumstance he imputes to my

management; and as he considers the preference which has been given to his competitor *Antony*, as a real injury done to himself, he honours me with the same marks of his displeasure with which he distinguishes the most intimate of his friends. He is at present indeed a very diverting compound of wrath and indignation; which he impotently discharges, in the first place against myself for promoting the election of *M. Antony*; and in the next against the people, for expressing too much satisfaction in his repulse." *Ep. Fam. viii. 14. Melm. vi. 15.*

² Dr. Middleton has collected, from *Cicero's* writings, the history of *M. Antony's* life.

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his office, than he proposed that the two legions taken from *Cæsar* should be sent into *Syria*; that all new levies should be stopped, and that

life to the commencement of the civil wars; and the reader will allow me to transcribe this article from that intelligent historian.

"*M. Antony*, who now began to make a figure in the affairs of *Rome*, was of an ancient and noble extraction; the grandson of that celebrated statesman and orator who lost his life in the massacres of *Marinus* and *Cinna*: His father had been honoured with one of the most important commissions of the Republic; but, after an inglorious discharge of it, died with the character of a corrupt, oppressive, and rapacious Commander. The son, trained in the discipline of such a parent, whom he lost when he was very young, launched out at once into all the excesses of riot and debauchery, and wasted his whole patrimony before he had put on the manly gown; shewing himself to be the genuine son of that father, who was born, as *Salust* says, to squander money, without ever employing a thought on business, till a present necessity urged him. His comely person, lively wit, insinuating address, made young *Curio* infinitely fond of him; so that, in spite of the commands of a severe father, who had often turned *Antony* out of doors and forbidden him his house, he could not be prevailed with to forsake his company; but supplied him with money for his frolics and amours, till he had involved himself on his account in a debt of fifty thousand pounds. This greatly afflicted old *Curio*; and *Cicero* was called in to heal the distress of the family; whom the son intreated, with tears in his eyes, to intercede for *Antony*, as well as for himself, and not suffer them to be parted: But *Cicero*, having prevailed with the father to make the son easy, by discharging his debts, advised him to insist upon it as a condition, and to enforce it by his paternal power, that he should have no farther commerce with *Antony*. This laid the foundation of an early aversion in *Antony* to *Cicero*, increased still by the perpetual course of *Antony's* life, which fortune happened to throw among *Cicero's* inveterate enemies: For, by the second marriage of his mother, [*Julia*, a relation of *Cæsar's*] he became son-in-law to that *Lentulus* who was

"put to death for conspiring with *Cataline*, by whom he was initiated into all the cabals of a traiterous faction, and infected with principles pernicious to the liberty of *Rome*. To revenge the death of this father [in-law] he attached himself to *Clodius*; and, during his tribunate, was one of the ministers of all his violences; yet was detected at the same time in some criminal intrigue in his family, injurious to the honour of his patron. From this education in the city, he went abroad to learn the art of war under *Gabinus*, the most profligate of all Generals;" [*Plutarch* tells us, that *Antony* not being able to endure the madness of *Clodius*, and apprehensive of the power of his enemies, withdrew himself, and retired into *Greece*, where he inured his body to warlike exercises, and applied his mind to the study of eloquence; and that it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon by *Gabinus* to serve under him.] who gave him the command of his horse in *Syria*; where he signalised his courage in the restoration of King *Ptolemy*, and acquired the first taste of martial glory, in an expedition undertaken against the laws and religion of his country." [an expedition which *Cicero* encouraged his great and noble friend *Lentulus Siple* to undertake.] From *Egypt*, instead of coming home, where his debts would not suffer him to be easy, he went to *Cæsar* into *Gaul*, the sure refuge of all the needy, the desperate, and the audacious:" [This is not a fair manner of representing *Antony's* behaviour. Was not *Cæsar's* camp the school of military skill, and the field of glory? Had not *Cæsar*, among his Lieutenants, *P. Crassus*, so much extolled by *Cicero*: *Quintus Cicero*, *M. Brutus*, and many other Officers of great merit: And where could *Antony* spend his youth better?] And, after some stay in that province, being furnished with money and credit by *Cæsar*, he returned to sue for the *quæstors*hip. *Cæsar* recommended him in a pressing manner to *Cicero*, intreating him to accept *Antony's* submission, and pardon him what was past, and to assist him in his present suit: With which *Cicero* readily complied, and obliged *Antony* so highly by it, that

that all those who had already given in their names, and taken the oath, should be released from their obligation, and even be forbid to serve. On the 21st, he made a speech to the people, which was a perpetual invective on *Pompey's* conduct from his first appearance in public, with great complaints against the violent and arbitrary condemnation of citizens, and the terror of his arms; and it was probably on this occasion that he read *Cæsar's* letter to the people, mentioned by *Plutarch*, in which he expressed a desire that both *Pompey* and he, quitting their governments and dismissing their armies, should submit to their judgment. According to *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian*, *Cæsar* made other equitable overtures, proposing to part immediately with eight of his legions and *Transalpine Gaul*, provided he might keep two legions with the *Cisalpine* province, or but one legion with *Illyricum* and *Cisalpine Gaul*, till he was made Consul. *Plutarch* and *Appian* add, that *Pompey* was satisfied with these conditions, but that they were rejected by the Consuls; a circumstance extremely improbable: For *Pompey*, it is certain, was as averse to peace as the most determined of *Cæsar's* enemies. In an interview that *Cicero* had with him, on the 10th of *December*, *Pompey* told him, that *there was no hope of an accommodation*, and that war was inevitable; and, finding *Cicero* wholly bent on peace, he contrived to have a second conference with him at *Lavernium*, on the 27th, before he reached the city, in hopes to allay his fears, and to turn him from the vain project of an accommodation, which might contribute to cool the zeal of his friends in the Senate. He declared, *that there could be no pacification, but such as was treacherous and dangerous; and that, if Cæsar should resign the command of his army, and take the consulship, he would throw the Republic into confusion.* At this time he was even actually disposing of all the governments; and he tried to engage *Cicero* to go to *Sicily*, though neither the resolution of the Senate nor the orders of the People had given him any command in that quarter. He farther assured *Cicero*, that, when *Cæsar* heard of the earnest and mighty preparations that were making against him, he would throw up his pretensions to the consulship, and stick by his army and government: "But supposing," added he, "that *Cæsar* should act like a madman, and fly to extremities, I should despise every thing he could

" he declared war presently against *Clodius*,
 " whom he attacked with great fierceness in
 " the Forum, and would certainly have killed,
 " if he had not found means to hide himself
 " under some stairs. *Antony* openly gave out,
 " that he owed all this to *Cicero's* generosity,
 " to whom he could never make amends for
 " former injuries, but by the destruction of his
 " enemy *CLODIUS*. Being chosen *Quæstor*,
 " he went back immediately to *Cæsar*, with-
 " out expecting his lot, or a decree of the Se-
 " nate, to appoint him his province; where,

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" though he had all imaginable opportu-
 " nities of acquiring money, yet, by squan-
 " dering, as fast as he got it, he came, a se-
 " cond time, empty and beggarly to Rome, to
 " put in for the tribunate; in which office,
 " after the example of his friend *Curio*,
 " having sold himself to *Cæsar*, he was, as
 " *Cicero* says, as much the cause of the ensu-
 " ing war, as *Helen* was of that of *Troy*." *Phil. ii. 21, 22. Midd. p. 64.*

* He means the *Aristocratic* faction.

D

" do,

Y. R. 703. "do, and should place an intire confidence in my own and the Re-
 Bef. Chr. "public's forces". "In short," says *Cicero*, "though I was fre-
 49
 403 Conf. "quently checked by reflecting on the doubtful events of war, yet I
 "was made the more easy, when I heard a General, of such courage
 Ad An. vii. "and such experience and authority, discoursing, like a Statesman, up-
 8. "on the dangers that might attend an insincere accommodation."

^b This extravagant confidence betrays great weakness in *Pompey*, and the historians bring several reasons to account for it. He looked upon himself, it is said, as the idol of the people of *Italy*: For, having fallen dangerously ill, in the beginning of this same year, in *Campania*, the whole country made sacrifices to the gods for his recovery, and the example was followed by the rest of *Italy*: And, when he appeared in public, such multitudes came forth to see him, that no place could contain them. *Plutarch*, it may likewise be observed, has informed us, that *Atticus* and those who brought him the two legions from *Gaul* very much vilified *Cæsar*'s actions there, and gave out scandalous reports in derogation of his honour, telling *Pompey* that he was unacquainted with his own strength and reputation, if he made use of any other forces against *Cæsar* than his own; for such was the soldiers' hatred to *Cæsar* and their love to *Pompey*, that they would all come over to him upon his first appearance. Whatever were the causes which raised in him so favourable an opinion of his power

and security, certain it is that he proceeded so far as to laugh at those who seemed to dread the war; and somebody telling him, that, if *Cæsar* determined to march to *Rome*, there was nothing to oppose him, *Pompey* answered: *In whatever part of Italy I stamp with my foot, there will rise up legions.*

^c *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus* on the subject of his interview with *Pompey* on the 10th of *December*, writes thus: "*Pompey* said, that he had long perceived *Cæsar* to be alienated from him, but had received a very late instance of it: For that *Hirtius* came from *Cæsar* a few days before, and did not come to see him; and, when *Balbus* promised to bring *Scipio* an account of his business the next morning before day, *Hirtius* was gone back to *Cæsar* in the night: This he takes for a clear proof of *Cæsar*'s resolution to break with him." *Ad Att. vii. 4.* Had not *Pompey* given *Cæsar* sufficient provocation? If *Cæsar* had acted with the perfidious insincerity of *Pompey*, it had been an eternal blemish upon his character.

CHAP. II.

Cæsar is ordered, by a Decree of the Senate, to disband his army, and, in case of refusal, is declared a public enemy. The Consuls and other Magistrates are vested with extraordinary powers. *Cæsar* passes the *Rubicon* with one legion, and, in two months time, makes himself Master of all *Italy*.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, } Consuls.
 L. LENTULUS CRUS,

Y. R. 704. **O**N the 1st of *January*^d, *Cæsar* came to *Rome*, and produced letters
 Bef. Chr. from *Cæsar* to the Senate, in which, after enumerating his ma-
 48.
 403 Conf. ny services to the Republic, and answering the accusations of his ene-
 mies,

^d The months of the *Roman* calendar, at this time, did not perfectly correspond with those of our *Julian* year; but the difference

was not so great as our learned Bishop *Usher* has made it. *Annals*, p. 639 According to him the 1st of *January* of this *Roman* year answered

mies, he declared, "that he was willing to lay down his command, if Pompey should also consent to that measure; and that, as there could be no safety for him upon any other terms, he would immediately, if his demand was not complied with, march into Italy, and revenge the injuries done to himself and the Commonwealth." It was with great difficulty that the Tribunes procured these letters to be read; but nothing could prevail with the Consuls to permit their contents to come under the deliberation of the House: And they proposed to debate on the state of the Commonwealth. *Lentulus* declared that he would not be wanting to the Senate and the common cause, if they would deliver their opinions with freedom and courage: But that, if they continued to regard *Cæsar*, and affected to court his friendship, he would disclaim intirely their authority. *Scipio*, father-in-law to *Pompey*, spoke to the same purpose: He said that *Pompey* was firmly bent not to abandon the Republic, if he found the Senators ready to support him: But that, if they cooled or were remiss in their resolves, it would be in vain for them to expect his aid, if they should afterwards find it necessary to apply for it. The speech of *Scipio* was considered as proceeding from *Pompey*, who was at that time in the suburbs. Others proposed milder councils. *M. Marcellus* objected to any deliberation on this matter till troops were raised over all Italy, and an army got ready, under whose protection the Senate might proceed with freedom and safety in their debates. It was moved by *Callidius*, that *Pompey* should be sent to his government of Spain, in order to take away all occasion of discord; because *Cæsar*, it was said, had reason to fear that the two legions, taken from him, were retained by *Pompey* in the neighbourhood of Rome, to be employed against him. *M. Cælius* spoke to the same purpose. But they were all severely reprimanded by the Consul *Lentulus*, who expressly refused

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Cæsar de
Bell. Civ.
Com. lib. i.

answered to the 22d of October of the Julian year, 50 before Christ; so that the autumnal months were carried back into summer, and the winter months into autumn. It is impossible to reconcile this way of reckoning with the unanimous testimony of the ancient historians. And the Primate pretends that they were deceived by *Cæsar's* reformation of the Kalendar. But it is also irreconcilable with the facts related by them; and it is astonishing that *Abbé Mongault*, *Dr. Middleton*, and *M. Cævier*, who have examined so narrowly into every thing relating to these times, did not perceive this mistake. *Cicero*, in a letter to *Tiro*, whom he had left sick beyond seas, dated the 29th of January, charges him not to fail during winter: *Carve festines aut committas, ut aut æger aut hieme naviges*; and he adds, that he

imagines the hard winter has prevented his letters from reaching him: *Neque enim meas puto ad te litteras tanta hieme perferre.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 11. Could *Cicero*, then in the Southern parts of Italy, call the beginning of November hard winter? No; he speaks of letters written in the end of December. In a letter dated the 7th of April, ad Att. x. 2. he says, the swallow is come, *garrula [hirundo] en adest*, or the spring is come. The 1st of April therefore could not answer to any part of the month of January; it was certainly March. The ingenious *M. de la Nauze*, Member of the Royal Academy of Literature in Paris, has proved the first day of this Roman year to be the 16th of December of the Julian year, which is fifty-five days later than our learned Primate.

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to put *Callidius's* motion to the vote: And *M. Marcellus*, awed by the Consul's rebuke, retracted what he had said. Thus the clamours of *Lentulus*, the dread of an army at the gates of *Rome*, and the menaces of *Pompey's* friends, intimidating the greatest part of the Senate, it was carried, though with great difficulty, that *Cæsar* should be ordered to disband his army before a certain day then fixed; and that, in case of disobedience, he should be declared an enemy to the Republic. This is *Cæsar's* account, and it appears to be a true one, from the conduct of the Senate in the last year, and from *Cicero's* letters*. The boasted advantage of *Pompey's* having the support of the Senate must be considered, of consequence, as nothing more than a fair appearance; and was in reality a new infringement of the liberty of his country; since it was procured by the most illegal and tyrannical means.

404. De
h. l. Civ.
Com. lib. i.

M. Antony and *Q. Cassius*, Tribunes of the People, put their negative on the decree of the Senate; but their prerogative was disputed, and a debate ensued, in the course of which many severe speeches were made against them. He who spoke with the greatest warmth and passion was most applauded by the *Pompeian* faction. The assembly broke up without coming to any determination; and *Pompey*, in the evening, sent for all those who were of his party, and commended the forward, and reproved and animated the more moderate. Multitudes of veterans, who had formerly served under him, flocked to *Rome* from all parts, allured by the expectation of rewards and dignities: And a great number of Officers belonging to the legions lately returned by *Cæsar* had likewise orders to attend him. The city was filled with troops.

11.1.

The contest between the Consuls and the Tribunes was renewed the following days, and continued till the 7th, during which time *Piso*, the Censor, father-in-law to *Cæsar*, and *L. Roscius*, the Prætor, who had served under *Cæsar* in *Gaul*, offered to go to him and acquaint him with the state of affairs, demanding only six days for that purpose. Others proposed to send Deputies to him: But all these pro-

* He writes to *Atticus* in the end of *December*: "I am daily more apprehensive of the public commotions, for even our patriots are not so unanimous as they ought to be. How many Knights, how many Senators have I seen, who have bitterly inveighed against the whole of *Pompey's* conduct, and especially the unreasonable journey he has undertaken?" *Ad Att. l. vii. 5.* [This journey was probably to give directions for the raising of troops.] *Ibid. 6.* "I am in great concern about the public, nor have I hitherto found a Man, who did not think it better to yield to *Cæsar* all he demands, than enter upon a civil war." *Cicero* him-

self was of the same opinion, as he declares in the same letter: "You will ask me then, what are my real sentiments? Why, truly, they are not the same with my words. My sentiments are, that any concession is preferable to a civil war: But I will talk, and that too from no servile motive, in the same strain that *Pompey* does. For indeed it would be of the worst consequence to the public, and particularly unbecoming in me, should I differ from *Pompey* at this important juncture." Unbecoming to speak his real sentiments, and to advise what he thought was for the public good! This, it must be confessed, is a very strange morality.

posals

posals were rejected by the Consuls, and by *Scipio*, *Cato*, and the other chiefs of the *Aristocratical* faction. The tribunes were threatened, or, according to *Appian*¹, were ordered to leave the House: And the Senate had recourse to that decree, which was never used but in the greatest extremity, *that the Consuls, Prætors, Tribunes of the People, and the Proconsuls that were near Rome, should take care that the Commonwealth received no detriment*². *Antony* and *Cassius* left the city that same night, disguised like slaves, in a hired carriage, and stopped not till they got to *Rimini*. *Curio* and *M. Cælius* soon followed them.

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The following days the Senate assembled *without the city*, where *Pompey* confirmed every thing he had before intimated by the mouth of *Scipio*: He applauded the resolution and courage of the Senators, and acquainted them, that he had ten legions already in arms, and was besides well informed that *Cæsar*'s troops were by no means satisfied with their General, and had even refused to support and follow him. It was then proposed that troops should be raised all over *Italy*; that *Faustus Sylla* should be sent *Proprætor* to *Mauritania*; and that King *Juba* should have the title of King and Ally to the people of *Rome*. *Marcellus*, the Consul, opposed the last of these motions, and *Philippus*, Tribune of the people, would not agree to the *proprætorship* of *Sylla*. The other motions were approved of. The affair of the provinces, two of which were consular, and the rest *prætorian*, came next to be canvassed. *Syria* was allotted to *Scipio*, and *Transalpine Gaul* to *L. Domitius*. To the *prætorian* provinces Governors were assigned without the privacy or approbation of the people, and they instantly departed for their several commands. Thus war was in effect declared against *Cæsar*; and measures were taken to arm the whole empire in order to crush him. The *Pompeians* flattered themselves that, before *Cæsar* could draw his forces together from the several quarters of *Gaul* where they

Cæs. de
Bell. Civ.
Com. lib. i.

Ep. Fam.
xvi. 12.
Melm 7. 5.

¹ *Appian* says, "that *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* ordered *Antony* and *Cassius* to leave the Senate, lest no regard should be had to their dignity: That *Antony*, leaping from his seat in great rage, invoked the faith of the gods and men, and lamented that an authority, which had been hitherto held sacred, was no longer a security; and that those who proposed salutary advice were driven out of the Senate, as if they had been guilty of murder or some other crime: That, after pronouncing these words, he instantly departed in a fury, foretelling, in a prophetic strain, the wars, proscriptions, banishments, and confiscations with which the city was threatened, and making horrid impreca-

tions against those who were the cause of all these miseries." On the contrary, *Cicero*, in a letter to *Tiro*, dated the 12th of *January*, writes thus: " *Curio* in conjunction with *Q. Cassius* and *M. Antony*, without the least violence being offered to them, have withdrawn themselves to *Cæsar*. They took this step immediately after the Senate had given in charge to the *Consuls*, the *Prætors*, and the *Tribunes of the People*, together with those of us who are inveiled with *proconsular* power, to take care of the interest of the Republic. Ep. Fam. xvi. 11. Melm. vii. 1.

² *Id Jan.* or the 7th of *January*: The 28th of *October* according to *Bishop Usher*, but rather the 12th of *December*.

were

Y. R. 704- were quartered, *Pompey* would have a considerable army on foot, with
 Bof. Car. which he might possess himself of the principal parts of *Italy*, obstruct
 48. his access to *Rome*, and hold him continually employed, till the army
 423 Conf. from *Spain*, consisting of five legions under the command of *Afranius*,
Petreibus, and *Varro*, came up upon his rear, to complete his over-
 throw. They did not doubt but he would be deserted by great num-
 bers of his Officers and soldiers, and that the two *Gauls* would rise
 against him; every part of those provinces, excepting only the colo-
 nies beyond the *Po*, being thought utterly averse to him.

Ep. Fam. Cicero arrived at *Rome* on the 4th of *January*, with all the pomp of
 vii. 11. his proconsular and imperial dignity: And, in this disordered state
 Melm. vii. of the city, he solicited a decree for his triumph, to which, as he in-
 1. forms us, in a letter to *Tiro*, "the Senate, in a very full House, im-
 "mediately consented: But that the Consul *Lentulus*, in order to ap-
 "propriate to himself a greater share in conferring this honour, told
 "them, that he would propose it himself in proper form as soon as
 "he should have dispatched the affairs that were necessary in the pre-
 "sent conjuncture." In the same letter, which is dated the 12th of
January, he adds, "I am unhappily fallen into the very midst of pub-
 "lic dissension, or, rather indeed, I find myself surrounded with the
 "flames of a civil war. It was my earnest desire to have composed
 "these dangerous ferments: And I probably might, if the passions of
 "some in both parties, who are equally eager for war, had not ren-
 "dered my endeavours ineffectual.——We are raising forces with
 "all possible diligence, under the authority and with the assistance of
 "*Pompey*: Who now begins, somewhat too late, I fear, to be ap-
 "prehensive of *Cæsar's* power.——I act with great moderation:
 "And this conduct renders my influence with both parties so much
 "the stronger. The several districts of *Italy* are assigned to our re-
 "spective protections: And *Capua* is the department I have taken for
 "mine." And in a letter, dated the 29th of *January*, he observes, "It has
 "been the perpetual purpose of all my speeches, my votes, and my ac-
 "tions, ever since I returned to *Rome*, to preserve the public tranquillity,
 "but an invincible rage for war had unaccountably seized not only the
 "enemies, but even those who are esteemed the friends of the Commonwealth:
 "And it was in vain I remonstrated that nothing was more to be
 "dreaded than a civil war.——Upon my return to *Rome*, it was too
 "late to enforce my pacific sentiments: I was wholly unsupported in
 "my opinion, and not only found myself among a set of men, who
 "were madly inflamed with a thirst of war, but was considered likewise
 "as one, who, by a long absence, was quite unacquainted with the
 "true state of the Commonwealth."

It is remarkable that *Cicero*, in his letter to *Tiro*, talks of his influence with both parties, and that here he complains of his being totally disregarded.

Cæsar

Cæsar was at *Ravenna*, when he received the first intelligence of the proceedings against him. He assembled his troops, and acquainted them with the grateful requital which his long and glorious services had met with from the Senate. In his speech, he insisted on nothing so much as the violation of the tribunitian power in the persons of *Antony* and *Cassius*. He complained of the innovation introduced into the Commonwealth, which checked, by the terror of arms, the authority of the *Tribunes*: He said, "that *Sylla*, who had made it his business "to humble, and almost annihilate that magistracy, had yet left it "the liberty of opposition; but that *Pompey*, who valued himself for "having restored it to all its prerogatives, deprived it now of that "privilege which it had always enjoyed." His Officers and soldiers having testified their readiness to defend him and the *Tribunes*, he sent dispatches to his Lieutenants in *Gaul* to quit their winter-quarters and come to him with all expedition; and he himself entered immediately upon action, and marched to *Ariminum*. There he found *Antony* and *Cassius*, whom he produced in the servile disguise they had been forced to put on for their security: And the sight of them greatly exasperated the soldiers, who made fresh protestations to their General, that they would follow him wherever he should think proper to lead them¹.

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Cæf. de
Bell. Civ.
Com. lib. i.

Cæsar,

¹ *Suetonius* (in *Vit. Cæs.* c. 31.) mentions several particulars which I have not thought worthy of being inserted into the text of this history. He says, "that, as soon as *Cæsar* was informed that the interposition of "the *Tribunes* had been over-ruled, and "that they themselves had been forced to "save themselves by flight, he *privately* "dispatched away some battalions; and, to "prevent any suspicion of his design, he "attended at a public show, and examined "the model of a school for gladiators, "which he intended to build; and sat down "to table with his friends as usual: That "after sun-set, having caused mules from "a neighbouring mill to be put to his chaise, "he set out with all possible secrecy and a "small retinue; but, his lights going out, "he lost his way, and wandered a long "time in the dark, till, meeting at break "of day with a guide, he got on foot "through some narrow paths into the road "again, and came up with his troops on "the banks of the *Rubicon*, which was the "boundary of his province: And that there "he remained silent and pensive for some "time, musing on the greatness of his attempt; then, turning to those about him,

"we may still retreat, said he, but, if we "pass this little bridge, we must put all to the "decision of the sword." *Cæsar* mentions nothing of all this. The great secrecy so much insisted on could serve no purpose; nor is it consistent with *Cæsar's* speech to his soldiers at *Ravenna*. His hesitation on the banks of the *Rubicon* is quite ridiculous: His determination had been taken long before, and indeed was not free: But let us proceed with this curious narrative.

"Whilst *Cæsar* was demurring upon the "matter, a man of an extraordinary size "and shape appeared of a sudden, sitting "by the river, and playing on a rural flute. "The novelty of the sight drew together a "great many of the soldiers, and among "the rest a trumpeter, from whom the extraordinary man, snatching the trumpet, "leaped into the water, and, sounding a "charge, went over to the other side; "upon which *Cæsar*, without farther consideration, crossed the river, crying out "aloud, *Let us go where the Gods so remarkably call us, and where the fury of our enemies drives us: The lot is cast.*

The same historian adds, "and accordingly, passing the river with his army, "and

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B. f. Chr.
48.
403 C. C.

Arezzo.
Peters.
Fano.
Lugubro.

Ofmo.

Ascoli.

Mid. p. 69.

Cæsar, sensible of what importance celerity was in his present situation, to prevent the efforts of his enemies, and to raise the courage of his friends, did not lose a moment, but sent *M. Antony* with five cohorts to seize *Arretium*, and other Officers to secure *Pisaurum*, *Fanum*, and *Ancona*, while he himself remained at *Ariminum* to levy troops. And, being informed that the Prætor *Thermus* had entered *Iguvium* with five cohorts, and was endeavouring to fortify the town, whose inhabitants he knew to be well inclined to his interest, he detached instantly *Curio* to oppose him with three cohorts, drawn from the towns he had already got possession of. *Thermus* left the place on *Curio's* approach, and was deserted by his soldiers in his retreat. *Attius Varus* also, who commanded in *Auximum*, was obliged to abandon it, on account of the disaffection of the townsmen to his cause, and, being attacked in his retreat, was likewise deserted by his troops, part of which went to their homes, and the rest joined themselves to *Cæsar*.

The first report of this march towards *Rome* struck the Magistrates with such a panic, that they precipitately came to the shameful resolution of forsaking the city. *Pompey* had treated with contempt the menaces of his rival, but it plainly appeared that he was utterly unprepared to oppose him. Instead of marching towards *Cæsar*, and taking the command of the troops cantoned in *Picenum* and the neighbouring provinces, he withdrew to the two legions near *Capua*, whither he was soon followed by the Consuls and the chief Senators of his faction. *Cæsar* affirms that their consternation was so great, that, when the Consul *Lentulus* came to the treasury to deliver out the money to *Pompey*, in consequence of the decree of the Senate, he scarce waited the opening of the inner door, but hastily left the place, upon a false rumour that *Cæsar* was approaching, and that some of his cavalry were already in view. However, *Pompey* sent orders to the Commanders in the North of *Italy*, to stop *Cæsar's* progress as much as possible: And *Lentulus Spinther* threw himself into *Asculum*, a town of *Picenum*, with ten cohorts, while at the same time *L. Domitius* took possession of *Corfinium*, a strong town in the country of the *Peliani*, at the foot of the *Apennine*, on the *Adriatic* side, where he proposed to make a stand till *Pompey* could come up.

At *Capua*, the Consuls took courage, and began to renew their levies in the surrounding colonies. This town had always been the

common seminary or place for educating gladiators for the great men of

“and having received the Tribunes of
“the people, he, with tears in his eyes and
“his cloaths torn away from his breast, im-
“plored the protection of the soldiers.”
Could *Cæsar* be ignorant of the attachment
of his soldiers to him? Had they not fol-
lowed him with an intire confidence for nine

years? Had he not endeared himself to them
by the unwearied care he had taken of their
subsistence, and by his magnificent presents?
Did not both the soldiers and Officers ground
the hopes of their fortunes upon his gene-
rosity and protection?

of *Rome*; and there *Cæsar* had a famous school of them at this time, which he had long maintained under the best masters, for the occasions of his public shews in the city. And, as they were very numerous and well furnished with arms, there was reason to apprehend that they would break out, and make some attempt in favour of their Master, which, in the present state of affairs, might be of dangerous consequence. *Pompey* therefore, we are told, thought it necessary to take them out of their school, and to distribute them among the principal inhabitants of the place, assigning two to each Master of a family, by which he secured them from doing any mischief. But *Cæsar's* account is very different; he tells us, "that *Lentulus* summoned the gladiators into the Forum, gave them their liberty, furnished them with horses, and commanded them to follow him: But, being admonished by his friends that this step was unanimously condemned, he dispersed them into the neighbouring towns of *Campania* to keep garrison there." It is probable that *Lentulus* had rashly employed, or thought of employing, the gladiators, in the manner here mentioned, but that *Pompey*, sensible of the impropriety of arming slaves against their Master, had disposed of them as we have just now related^{*}.

While preparations were thus making on the side of *Pompey*, and while *Cæsar* was pushing on the war with incredible vigour, messages were sent by the two Generals to each other concerning an accommodation. Before *Cæsar* left *Ariminum*, young *L. Cæsar*, whose father was one of his Lieutenants, came to him, and told him, that he was impowered to inform him, "that *Pompey* was desirous of clearing himself to *Cæsar*, lest he might interpret those actions as designed to affront him, which had no other aim but the good of the Commonwealth; the advantage of which it was *Pompey's* constant maxim to prefer to any private interest; and that *Cæsar*, in the opinion of *Pompey*, should sacrifice his passion and resentment to the same noble motive, and not prejudice his country by pushing too far his resentment against his private enemies." The Prætor *Roscius*, who had a commission of the like nature from *Pompey*, joined likewise in the negotiation. *Cæsar* made answer, "that the interest of the Commonwealth had always been dearer to him than life; and that, though he could not help being alarmed at the malice of his enemies, who had frustrated the good intentions of the *Roman* people in his favour, by cutting off

^{*} It appears from a letter of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, that, in relation to these gladiators, there were two different reports at different times: "I was misinformed," says he, "as to what I wrote to you, upon the strength of *Torquatus's* intelligence, with regard to *Cæsar's* gladiators at *Capua*: For *Pompey* has quartered them very judiciously

"among the inhabitants, two to each family. There were five thousand, and they threatened to break out. This was a measure greatly for the service of the public." *Ad Att. vii. 14.* I cannot think there could be five thousand gladiators in one school: Perhaps there may be an error in the number.

V. R. - 24. " six months from his command, and obliging him to return to *Rome*
 Bel. Chr. " to sue for the consulship, he had yet, for the sake of his country;
 48. " patiently submitted to this assault upon his honour. That his pro-
 403 Conf. " posal of disbanding the armies, on both sides, which he had made
 " in his letter to the Senate, had been rejected; and that new levies
 " were making all over *Italy*. That the two legions, which had been
 " taken from him under the pretence of the *Parthian* war, were still
 " retained in the service of his enemies; and that the whole State was
 " in arms. That all this aimed evidently at his destruction: But that,
 " nevertheless, he was ready to agree to any proposal, and expose him-
 " self to any danger for the sake of his country. Let *Pompey* [he conti-
 " nued] go to his government: Let all the armies be disbanded: Let every
 " one throughout *Italy* lay down his arms: Let everything that participates
 " of terror and force be removed: Let the elections of magistrates be made
 " with perfect freedom: And let the Republic be administered by the autho-
 " rity of the Senate and People. And, the better to settle all these ar-
 " ticles, and in order to corroborate them with an oath, let *Pompey* him-
 " self draw nearer, or suffer *Cæsar* to approach him; as all differences
 " may most easily be determined by a conference ¹."

L. Cæsar

En. Fam. xvi. 12. ¹ *Cicero*, in a letter to *Tiro*, dated the 20th of *January*, gives a quite different account of *Cæsar's* proposals, which is followed by Dr. *Middleton*: "*Cæsar* is reported to have offered us [*ferantur conditiones*] the following conditions: In the first place, that *Pompey* shall retire to his government of *Spain*; in the next, that the army we have raised shall be disbanded, and our garrisons evacuated. Upon these terms he promised to deliver up the farther *Gaul* into the hands of *L. Domitius*, and the nearer into those of *Confidius Novianus*; the persons to whom these provinces have been respectively allotted. He farther engages to resign his right of suing for the consulship in his absence, and is willing to return to *Rome* in order to appear as a candidate in the regular form. We have accepted these propositions, provided he withdraws his forces from the several towns he has taken, that the Senate may assemble at *Rome* in order to pass a decree for that purpose. If he should think proper to comply with this proposal, there are hopes of peace; not indeed of a very honourable one, as the terms are imposed upon us; yet any thing is preferable to our present circumstances. But, if he should refuse to stand to his overtures, we are prepared for an engagement: But

" an engagement which *Cæsar*, after having incurred the general odium of retracting his own conditions, will scarce be able to sustain." It is not at all probable that *Cæsar* made the proposals here mentioned: because he would thereby have given himself up to his enemies. *Cicero*, therefore, was either ill informed, or *L. Cæsar* added to what *Cæsar* had proposed: And this, according to *Dion. Cassius*, was really the case. The following extracts from *Cicero's* letters to *Atticus*, concerning this whole negotiation, cannot, I think, be disagreeable to the reader, who may compare them with *Cæsar's* relation, to which I have given the preference:

" I saw *L. Cæsar* at *Minturnæ* on the 23d of *January* in the morning. This rope of sand, for I cannot call him a man, was charged with propositions so absurd, that I imagined *Cæsar* designed them as a ridicule upon all negotiations, especially as he gave so important a commission to so inconsiderable a creature. I cannot account for his conduct any other way, unless (which may possibly be the case) this Envoy has caught up some random expressions of *Cæsar* and converted them into a commission for himself." *Ad Att.* vii. 13. *Guthrie's transl.* It is plain, that *L. Cæsar* did not explain his commission to

L. *Cæsar* and *Roscius*, having received this answer, departed for *Capua*, near which place they found *Pompey* and the Consuls, and laid *Cæsar's*

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to *Cicero* on the 23^d, as *Cicero* explained it six days after to *Tiro*, or *Cicero* would not have treated it with such contempt.

"On the 23^d, L. *Cæsar* delivered *Cæsar's* proposals to *Pompey*, while he was at *Theanum* with the Consuls. The terms were approved of, on condition that he should withdraw his troops from all the places, not within his own government, that he had seized. If he would do that, it was agreed that we should return to *Rome*, and that the Senate should ratify the treaty. *At present I am in hopes we shall have peace*; because *Cæsar* thinks he has gone too far, and *Pompey* that his army is too weak." *Ad Att.* vii. 14 [dated the 25th.]

"Upon my arrival at *Capua* yesterday, being the 25th of *January*, I had a meeting with the Consuls and many others of the Senate. All of them wished that *Cæsar* would draw off his troops and stand to the terms he had proposed. *Favonius* was the only man who expressed his dislike of his imposing terms upon us; but he was very little regarded in the meeting. for *Caro* himself would now rather comply than fight. He declares, however, that he intends to be present in the Senate, where, I am afraid, he will do great hurt.—We have here great variety of opinions as to public matters. It is generally imagined that *Cæsar* will not stand to his proposals, which he is thought to have made to divert us from making the necessary preparations to oppose him in the field. For my own part, I am of opinion, that he will stand to them so far as to withdraw his troops from the towns not in his government. For he will have gained his ends, if he should be made Consul, and the conclusion of this scene will be less guilty than its commencement. But still we must be under his buffet; for we are scandalously unprovided both as to troops and money; having left to his mercy not only the private property, but the public treasury of *Rome*." *Ad Att.* vii. 15. [dated the 26th.]

"We are now in great suspense concerning two points. The one is, how *Cæsar* will proceed upon the answer which L.

Cæsar was charged with to lay before him.

"The other is, how *Pompey* will act, who writes to me, that, in a few days, he will be at the head of an effective army, and gives me hopes that, when he arrives at *Picenum*, we shall be in a condition to return to *Rome*. He has with him *Labienus*, who takes it for granted that *Cæsar's* army is but weak, and his desertion has put our friend *Pompey* into high spirits." *Ibid.* Ep. xvi. [dated the 29th.]

"Now you doubtless know the answer which *Pompey* sent to *Cæsar* by L. *Cæsar*, and the letter he sent him by the same hand: for they were written and delivered with a view of making them public. I have blamed *Pompey* in my own mind as he himself has a very perspicuous style, for employing our friend *Settius* in drawing up a writing of so great importance, especially as it is to be made public: Nor, to say the truth, did I ever see any thing more truly in the *Settian* style. But, from *Pompey's* letter, it is plain that *Cæsar* has been denied nothing; that he has obtained all, and more than he demanded: And, as he has obtained his demands, impudent as they are, he would be the worst of madmen should he break off the accommodation. For what right had he, or you, or any man to say, I will do so and so, if *Pompey* will go to *Spain*, and if he will withdraw his troops from *Italy*? Yet even this has been complied with, though I own the compliance does not now come with so good a grace, after the government has been attacked and hostilities commenced, as it would have done before, when he demanded the dispensation with his absence while he stood for the consulate. After all, I am apprehensive, that even these terms will not satisfy him. It was no good symptom that he continued his operations during the dependence of the treaty which he committed to L. *Cæsar*, and before he had any answer. At present, he is said to proceed more violently than ever." *Ibid.* Ep. xvii. [dated Feb. 2.]

"We hear that the city is wonderfully pleased with *Pompey's* answer, and that it was approved of in an assembly of the people.

Y. R. 704. *Cæsar's* proposals before them. After deliberating upon the affair, they sent a reply in writing by the same messengers, which informed *Cæsar* that he must quit *Ariminum*, return to *Gaul*, and disband his army; which conditions being performed, *Pompey* would go into *Spain*: And that, in the mean time, till he gave security for the performance of what he had promised, neither *Pompey* nor the Consuls would discontinue their levies.

It was by no means, in the opinion of *Cæsar*, a fair proposal, that he should be obliged to quit *Ariminum* and return to *Gaul*: whilst *Pompey* held provinces and legions that had not been legally allotted to him; and that he should dismiss his army, whilst *Pompey* was levying troops, and only promised to go to his government without fixing a day: An evasion by which, was he to be found in *Italy* even at the expiration of *Cæsar's* consulship, he could not be charged with a breach of faith. His forbearing to appoint a time for a conference, and his declining to approach nearer, gave little reason to hope for a peace^m.

T. Labienus,

"people. I always thought it would; and
 "that *Cæsar* would lose his interest, should
 "be reject it. But, should he accept it —
 "alas, say you, which is the lesser evil?
 "This is a question I cannot answer, unless
 "I knew in what forwardness our prepara-
 "tions are. *Ibid. Ep. 18*, [dated Feb. 3.]
 "I am really so far from having any thing
 "to write, that I have withdrawn a letter
 "which I was to have sent you, because it
 "was so full of hopes for the best, founded
 "upon my informations of the dispositions
 "of the assembly of the people of *Rome*, and
 "upon my own suggestions that *Cæsar* would
 "never reject the terms that were granted
 "him, especially as they were proposed by
 "himself. Mean while, on the morning
 "of the 4th of February, I received letters
 "from you, from *Philistinus* and *Furnius*,
 "with one to the latter from *Curius*, ridi-
 "culing the whole of *L. Cæsar's* negotia-
 "tion. We are indeed reduced to a despe-
 "rate pass. — I am setting out for *Capua*,
 "where I can be better informed of *Pompey's*
 "situation." *Ibid. Ep. xix*. [dated Feb. 4.]
 "This juncture requires fewness of words.
 "I despair of peace: We are unprovided
 "for war. You cannot imagine two more
 "despicable creatures than our Consuls. After
 "coming, as I was ordered, to *Capua*,
 "through a deluge of rain upon the 4th in-
 "stant, in hopes of hearing and understand-
 "ing our preparations, I have missed them
 "here, and when they come they will come
 "unprovided and unprepared. As to *Pom-*
 "*pey*, he is said to be at *Luccia* to put him-

self at the head of some cohorts of *Attius's*
 "legions, who are thought to be wavering."
Ibid. Ep. xx. [dated Feb. 5.]

"It seems very evident," says the in-
 "genious author of the life of *Cicero*, "that
 "*Cæsar* had no real thoughts of peace, by
 "his paying no regard to *Pompey's* answer,
 "and the trifling reasons which he gave for
 "slighting it. The sending a message so
 "important by a person so insignificant as
 "young *L. Cæsar* looked, says *Cicero*, as
 "if he had done it by way of contempt, or
 "with a view to disclaim it, especially
 "when, after offering conditions which
 "were likely to be accepted, he would not
 "sit still to wait an answer, but continued
 "his march with the same diligence; and
 "in the same hostile manners before." He
 "is therefore of opinion, "that *Cæsar* had a
 "double view in offering these conditions;
 "for by *Pompey's* rejecting them, as there
 "was reason to expect, from his known aver-
 "sion to any treaty, he hoped to load him
 "with the odium of the war; or, by his em-
 "bracing them, to slacken his prepara-
 "tions and retard his design of leaving *I-*
 "*taly*; whilst he himself, in the mean
 "time, by following him with a celerity
 "that amazed every body, might chance to
 "come up with him, and give a decisive
 "blow to the war; from which he had no-
 "thing to apprehend, but its being drawn
 "into length. I now plainly see, says *Ci-*
 "*cero*, though later indeed than I could have
 "wished, on account of the assurances given
 "me by *Balbus*, that he aims at nothing else,
 "nor

T. Labienus, *Cæsar's* principal Lieutenant in the *Gallic* war, who had not only eminently distinguished himself by his military exploits, but had raised an immense fortune, deserted his General about this time, and came over to *Pompey*. This added a new life to his cause, and raised an expectation that many more would follow the example. He was much caressed and carried about every-where by *Pompey*, who promised himself great service from his fame and experience, and especially from his credit in *Cæsar's* army, and his knowledge of his councils: But his account of things, like that of all deserters, was accommodated rather to please than to serve his new friends; representing *the weakness of CÆSAR's troops, their aversion to his present designs, the disaffection of the two Gauls, and disposition to revolt; the contrary of all*

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Midd. p.
70.

"nor has ever aimed at any thing from the beginning but POMPEY's life." Midd. p. 72, 73. But this is the conclusion of a man whose mind was confounded by continual disappointments, (for indeed he was no prophet, as he is commonly supposed to have been) and disturbed by a thousand vain fears. *Cicero* apprehended also that *Cæsar* would prove a *Phalaris*, sack Rome, and commit all manner of cruelties. Such passionate expressions are no authorities. *Velleius Paterculus*, (l. ii. c. 50.) has, from the consideration of *Cæsar's* conduct, inferred just the contrary: *At Cæsar Domitio legionibusque Corfinii, quæ una cum eo fuerant, potitus, duce aliisque qui voluerant abire ad Pompeium, sine dilatione dimissis, persequitur Brundisium, ita ut appareret, malle, integris rebus & conditionibus, finire bellum, quam opprimere fugientes.*—As to the arguments brought in proof of *Cæsar's* insincerity, they are very weak. 1. *Cæsar's* reasons for paying no regard to *Pompey's* answer are no ways trifling. If he had submitted to go back to his province, whilst *Pompey* remained in *Italy* to influence the public deliberations, his cause was discredited, and he was evidently undone. He would have been obliged to submit to every thing imposed upon him by *Pompey* and his adherents, backed by the forces he would soon have had at hand. 2. *Cæsar's* message was given not only to *L. Cæsar*, but also to the *Prætor Roscius*: And *L. Cæsar* was employed for no other reason, than because he had brought a message from *Pompey*. 3. It would have been folly in *Cæsar*, while his enemies were making preparations against him with the utmost diligence, to have suspended his military operations in a conjuncture when all

depended upon expedition. And I oppose to the authority of Dr. Middleton that of *Matius*, of whom *Cicero* gives this character: (*Ad Att.* ix. 11.) "Indeed I think him a discreet, wise man, and he has been always reckoned an adviser of peaceable measures."—"As we had a great deal of conversation, says *Cicero*, I shewed him *Cæsar's* letter to me, and I begged to know what he meant by his expressions of his wanting to be directed by my advice, interest, authority, and assistance in all things. His answer was, that he made no doubt *Cæsar* applied to me for my assistance and interest in bringing about an accommodation.—He was very positive that *Cæsar's* sentiments were pacific, and promised to recommend the thing to him himself." *Velleius Paterculus*, who, in general, is not unfavourable to *Pompey* and his cause, intirely condemns the *Pompeians* in this negotiation. After saying: *Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmitior: Hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia: Pompeium Senatus auctoritas, Cæsarem militum armavit fiducia:—Vir antiquus et gravis Pompeii partes laudaret magis, prudens sequeretur Cæsaris; et illa gloriosa, hæc terribiliora duceret:* He adds, *Nihil reliquum a Cæsare, quod servandæ pacis causa tentari posset: Nihil receptum a Pompeianis; cum alter Consul iusto esset feracior; Lentulus vero salva rep. salvis esse non posset; M. autem Cato moriendum ante, quam ullam conditionem civis accipiendam rep. contenderet: ut deinde spretis omnibus quæ Cæsar postulaverat, tantummodo contentus cum una legione titulum retinere provincie; privatus in urbem veniret, et se in petitione consulatus suffragiis pop. Rom. committeret decrevere.* L. ii. c. 49.

which.

Y. R. 704. which was found to be true in the event: And as he came to them
 L. C. alone, without bringing with him any of those troops with which
 403. Conf. he had acquired his reputation, so his desertion had no other effect than
 to ruin his own fortunes without doing any service to *Pompey* *. *Cæsar*
 behaved on this occasion with great magnanimity: He took very little
 notice of his Lieutenant's desertion, though the example might have
 been of dangerous consequence in the beginning of a war of this na-
 ture; and sent after him all his equipage, and every thing he had left
 behind.

There were now little hopes of an accommodation between the two
 ambitious Chiefs: Matters were too far engaged, and their enmity too
 openly declared. Their reciprocal proposals, which were drawn up
 in writing and immediately published, were no more than manifestoes
 to justify their conduct. *Pompey*, whose chief reliance was on his troops
 in *Spain*, and the forces of the East, which were absolutely in his in-
 terest, resolved to hazard nothing in *Italy*, and, while he remained
 there, his sole aim was to gain time. *Cæsar*, on the contrary, who
 had nothing to depend on but his army, and the present favourable
 dispositions of the people of *Rome*, was bent upon pushing his point,
 with all possible celerity. From *Auximum*, where we left him, he tra-
 versed the whole country of *Picenum*°, as far as *Cingulum*, with only

* *Cicero* thinks aloud in his letters to his
 friend *Atticus*, and it is entertaining to con-
 sider his various views of the same objects,
 and the shiftings of his mind. *Ep.* vii. 12.
ad Att. dated Jan. 22. "It is next to cer-
 tain that *Labienus* has left *Cæsar*. In that
 case, if he had gone to *Rome*, while the
 Magistrates and the Senate were there,
 he would have been of great use to our
 party. It would have intimated that the
 best of *Cæsar's* friends had condemned
 him as a traitor to his country. The fact
 is indeed so, but, at the present juncture,
 it is of less use, because our party cannot avail
 itself of it; and I believe that *Labienus*
 himself repeats of what he has done. Yet,
 after all, there is a possibility that his
 leaving *Cæsar* is false; we, however, de-
 pend upon it as a certainty."

Ep. xiii. "I look upon *Labienus* to be a He-
 ro. We have not for these many years had so
 noble an instance of Roman spirit. Had it
 no other effect, it has that of galling *Cæ-*
sar, but I am in hopes of seeing it produc-
 tive of more solid consequences."

Ibid. "Labienus, whom I think a truly
 great man, came on the 22d instant to
 Tbeaunum, where he had a conference
 with *Pompey* and the Consuls. What the

"import and result of it was, I will write
 to you when I am better informed.—
 Labienus seems to have given us spirits." Yes, *Pompey*, encouraged by him, talked
 big, that he would soon be at the head of an
 effective army; that he would march into *Pi-*
cenum, and put things into such a posture that
 the Senate might safely return to *Rome*.

Ad Att. viii. 2. Feb. 17. "There is no
 dignity in *Labienus*." And thus the Hero,
 the high-spirited Roman, sinks into a base
 deserter:

Fortis in armis
Cæsaris Labienus erat; nunc transfuga vilis.
Lucan. v. 345.

About the same time *Piso*, *Cæsar's* fa-
 ther-in-law, left the city: This step engages
 all *Cicero's* affection to him, and raises his
 prophetic spirit: I am in love with *Piso*,
 and I can foresee the dislike he has signified of
 his son-in-law's conduct will make a great
 impression on the public.

* *Picenum* was reduced before the 8th of
 Feb. for *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus* of that
 date, (vii. 21.) writes, "*Picenum* is lost;
 nobody knows it but myself, by letters I
 have received from *Dolabella*. I expect
 every moment to hear of *Cæsar's* being in
Apulia, and *Pompey* on shipboard."

one legion. He was joyfully received in all parts by the inhabitants, who were dazzled undoubtedly by the splendor of his victories, and the reputation of his generosity: And they furnished his army with every thing necessary. Even *Cingulum* itself, a town founded by *Labienus*, and built at his own expence, sent deputies to him with an offer of their submission and services; and he demanded from it a certain number of soldiers, which were immediately sent to him. There he was joined by the 12th legion, and, with this additional force, he continued his march to *Asculum*, of which *Lentulus Spinther* had taken possession, with ten cohorts. *Lentulus*, on the first news of his approach, quitted the place, and, in his retreat, was almost intirely deserted by his men: He joined, with the few that remained, *Vibullius Rufus*, whom *Pompey* had sent into *Picenum*, to encourage his followers in those parts. This Commander, understanding the state of affairs, and seeing himself unable to make head against *Cæsar*, drew together, from the neighbouring provinces, as many of *Pompey's* levies as he could meet with, and, among the rest, six cohorts under the command of *Ulcilles Hirrus*, who were flying from *Camerinam*, where they had been quartered; and, having formed, out of all these, thirteen cohorts, he posted by great journeys to *Corfinium*, where *Domitius* had already got together twenty-two, well disposed to *Pompey's* cause.

Pompey's intention was not that those numerous cohorts should remain in *Corfinium*, and there become a prey to *Cæsar*: He wrote the most pressing letters to *L. Domitius* to bring them to him; and these, as their contents are both interesting and necessary for the understanding of *Pompey's* conduct, should not be omitted, I think, by any one who writes the history of these times.

CN. MAGNUS, Proconsul, to DOMITIUS, Proconsul.

“ I AM surpris'd at my not hearing from you, and that all my
 “ public intelligence comes through other hands than yours. With
 “ forces so disunited as ours are it is impossible for us to be a match
 “ for our enemies; but, were they united, I am in hopes we may
 “ be yet the means of saving our country and providing for our own
 “ safety. Therefore, as *Vibullius* wrote to me, on the 5th of *Febru-*
 “ *ary*, that you were about to march from *Corfinium* to join me with
 “ your army, I cannot comprehend why you have altered your resolu-
 “ tion. The reason *Vibullius* intimated to me, viz. that you had intelli-
 “ gence of *Cæsar's* march from *Firmum* to the castle of *Truentum*, was a
 “ trifling one: For, the quicker the enemy's advances were towards you,
 “ your dispatch ought to have been the greater to join me, before *Cæsar*
 “ could have the means of either obstructing your march, or of cutting
 “ off my communication with you. I therefore, in the most earnest
 “ manner, intreat you again to take the very first opportunity of march-
 ing

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

Cæf. de
Bell. Civ.
Com. lib. i.

Ad Att.
viii. 12.

Y. R. 704-^{48.} ing to *Luceria*, before the troops which *Cæsar* proposes to draw together can cut off our communication with one another. Should
 48. any endeavour to persuade you to remain as a guard to their properties, you cannot refuse to send me the cohorts which came from *Picensum* and *Camerinum*, and which have left behind them all their fortunes."

CN. MAGNUS, Proconsul, to DOMITIUS, Proconsul.

Ad Ann.
 viii. 12.

"M. CALENIUS brought me a letter from you the 16th of February, informing me, that you intended to observe *Cæsar's* motions; and, should he point his march for me by the sea, that you would forthwith join me in *Samnium*; but, should he tarry about those parts, that you was resolved to check him, in case he should attempt to extend his quarters. I am sensible this resolution proceeds from your courage and magnanimity; but we must be upon our guard, lest our being divided may give the enemy a superiority, as his army, which is already strong, is hourly increasing. It is inconsistent with your wisdom to have an eye only to the number of cohorts which *Cæsar* at present commands against you, without reflecting upon the great force of cavalry and infantry which he will, in a very short time, assemble. The letter I received from *Buſſenius* is an evidence that his strength will be much more considerable soon; for he tells me, and his intelligence is confirmed by many other correspondents, that *Curio* has drawn all the garrisons out of *Umbria* and *Tuscany*, and is marching at their head to join *Cæsar*. Now should all these troops join, and part of them be detached towards *Alba*, while part of them defile towards you, you must be shut up, as the enemy needs not fight you but upon his own terms: Neither can you, singly, in the face of such an enemy, send out foraging parties to maintain your numbers. I therefore again earnestly conjure you forthwith to march all your troops hither, the Consuls having come to the same resolution.

"I ordered *Metuscius* to acquaint you, how necessary it was for me to take care, that the two legions should not, without the *Picentine* cohorts, come in sight of *Cæsar's* quarters. You are therefore to give yourself no concern, if you shall hear that I retreat upon *Cæsar's* advancing against me. I must take care not to engage myself too far; for both the season of the year, and the dispositions of my soldiers, render it impracticable for me to form a regular incampment; nor would it be adviseable for me to draw all our garrisons from the fortified places, lest I should be cut off from all retreat. I have, therefore, assembled no more than fourteen cohorts at *Luceria*. The Consuls are either to join me with the troops they have drawn from the fortified places, or they are to go to *Sicily*.
 "For

“ For, we must either have an army strong enough to force our way
 “ through the enemy, or we must take possession of such passes as they
 “ cannot force. Now, both these expedients are impracticable at this
 “ juncture, both because *Cæsar* is master of great part of *Italy*, and be-
 “ cause our army is neither so well provided, nor so numerous as his.
 “ We are therefore to be the more cautious in exposing the interests of
 “ the Republic. I again conjure you instantly to join me with all your
 “ troops. We may yet restore the government, if we serve her in con-
 “ cert with one another ; but, by being dissipated and disunited, we
 “ shall become weak. Such are my sentiments.

Y. R. 704.
 Bef. Chr.
 48.
 403. Conf.

“ *P. S.* When I had finished this letter, *Sica* delivered to me your
 “ letter and commission, exhorting me to march towards *Corfinium* ;
 “ but that, I think, is what I cannot venture to do, especially as I
 “ put no great trust in the fidelity of the legions I command.”

Pompey, who had become sensible of the impossibility of defending
Rome, and of his error in leaving the public money a prey to *Cæsar**,
 had sent, on the 7th of *February*, the Tribune *C. Cassius* to *Capua* with
 directions to the Consuls to return to the city, which they were to
 leave, after taking all the money out of the Sacred Treasury. But
 one of the Consuls wrote back to *Pompey*, that he should first make
 himself Master of *Picenum*. The thing was now become impracti-
 cable : “ Return to *Rome*,” says *Cicero*, “ where is their convoy ?”
 “ Return from *Rome*, how shall they obtain leave ?” Notwithstand-
 ing this testimony of *Cicero*, our modern Historians commonly sup-
 pose that *Lentulus* did venture to go to *Rome*, and that it was on
 this occasion, that, frightened by a false report of *Cæsar*’s approach,
 he betook himself to flight without waiting till the inner door was
 opened, which is also contrary to the express testimony of *Cæsar*.

Ad Att.
 vii. 21.

Cæsar, having made himself Master of *Asculum*, ordered the soldiers
 who had deserted *Lentulus* to be sought after, and new levies to be
 made. He remained there but one day, to settle what related to pro-
 visions, and pursued his march to *Corfinium*. His advanced parties
 found five cohorts employed in breaking down a bridge three miles

* “ The leaving the public treasure at
 “ *Rome* a prey to *Cæsar* is censured more
 “ than once by *Cicero*, as one of the blun-
 “ ders of his friends : [See *Ad Att.* vii. 12.
 “ 15.] but it is a common case in civil dis-
 “ sentions, for the honest side, through
 “ the fear of discrediting their cause by any
 “ irregular act, to ruin it by an unseason-
 “ able moderation. The public money was
 “ kept in the temple of *Saturn*, and the
 “ Consuls contented themselves with carry-
 “ ing away the keys, fancying that the sanc-

“ tity of the place would secure it from vio-
 “ lence ; especially when the greatest part of
 “ it was a fund of the sacred kind, set apart
 “ by the laws for occasions only of the last
 “ exigency, or the terror of a *Gallie* inva-
 “ sion.” *Dr. Middl.* p. 104. *Cicero* says
 that he advised the carrying away of this
 sacred treasure. [*Ad Att.* ix. 2.] And it was
 all along the intention of *Pompey* and the
 Consuls so to do, and it would have been
 done, had not their fears deprived them of
 their senses.

Y. R. 704. distant from the town, who instantly retired upon the first attack ;
 Bef. Chr. and *Cæsar* brought his legions under the very walls where he pitched
 42. his camp.
 403 Conf.

As this was the first place which dared to make head against *Cæsar*, every body expected with impatience what would be the success of the enterprise. The *Pompeians*,^a both at *Rome* and in other parts of *Italy*, conceived great hopes, and did not doubt but *Pompey* would advance to the assistance of *Domitius*, to which he was earnestly pressed by that Commander ; who represented by letters, “ that it would be easy in “ that close country to shut up *Cæsar* between two armies, and cut off “ all his provisions ; and that, unless this course was followed, a great “ number of Senators and Roman Knights would be exposed to immi- “ nent danger.” He, at the same time, made preparations for a vigorous defence : He disposed engines all round the walls, appointed every one his particular post, and, to animate his men, promised every soldier four acres of land out of his own estate, and in proportion to every centurion and volunteer.

Cæsar de Bell. Civ. Corn. lib. i. *Cæsar*, who was not without apprehensions of being attacked by *Pompey*, employed the three first days after his sitting down before *Corfinium* in strongly fortifying his camp, and in procuring corn from the neighbouring towns. He did not, however, keep altogether within his intrenchments. Being informed that the people of *Sulmona*, a town seven miles distant from *Corfinium*, desired to put themselves under his protection, but were hindered by *Q. Lucretius*, a Senator, and *Attius*, a *Pelignian*, who held them in subjection with a garrison of seven cohorts ; he sent thither *M. Antony* with five cohorts, whose ensigns were no sooner descried from the walls, than the gates were thrown open, and the whole people in a body, both soldiers and townsmen, came out to congratulate *Antony* on his arrival. *Lucretius* and *Attius* endeavoured to escape over the walls ; but *Attius* was taken. *Antony* returned the same day ; and *Cæsar*, having joined the cohorts to his army, set *Attius* at liberty.

“ a A letter from *Philotimus* informed me
 “ on the 9th of *February*, in the evening,
 “ that *Domitius* was at the head of a strong
 “ army, which had been joined by the
 “ cohorts from *Picenum*, under the conduct
 “ of *Lentulus* and *Thermus* ; that *Cæsar*
 “ was apprehensive his communication
 “ would be cut off, which could be easily
 “ effected ; and that the Patriot party at
 “ *Rome* had recovered their spirits, and that
 “ the rebels were in a manner thunder-
 “ struck. Tho’ I am informed that this good
 “ news is little better than visionary ; yet
 “ this letter from *Philotimus* has brought to
 “ life *M. Lepidus*, *L. Torquatus*, and the
 “ Tribune *C. Cassius*, who are with me at

“ *Fernie*. For my own part, I am afraid
 “ they are not so well founded as the ac-
 “ counts are of our being almost surrounded
 “ by the enemy, and that *Pompey* is retiring
 “ from *Italy*.” Ad Att. vii. 23.
 “ At present I have a small gleam of
 “ hope, and it is chiefly occasioned by the
 “ letter which came from *Rome* concerning
 “ *L. Domitius* and the *Picentine* cohorts.
 “ Every thing since has put on a more
 “ cheerful aspect, and no-body thinks of
 “ flying, as they intended. *Cæsar*’s threat-
 “ ening manifestos are despised ; in short,
 “ our reports concerning *Domitius* are good,
 “ those concerning *Afranius* still better.”
 Ibid. Ep. 26.

liberty. His army was now also considerably increased by the arrival of the eighth legion, with two and twenty cohorts of new levies, and about three hundred horse from the King of *Noricum*. This obliged him to form a second camp on the other side of the town under the command of *Curio*, who had brought up these recruits, as *Pompey* had foreseen, and foretold to *Domitius*. He employed the following days in drawing a line with redoubts round the place; which was nearly completed, when the messengers that had been sent by *Domitius* to *Pompey* returned with this answer:

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

CN. MAGNUS, Proconsul, to DOMITIUS, Proconsul.

“YOUR letter of the 17th of February came to my hands, advising me of *Cæsar*’s having incamped before *Corfinium*. I foresaw and forewarned you of what has happened; that, as things now stand, he would not venture to fight you; and that he would draw together all his forces to coop you up, to obstruct the communication between you and me, and to prevent your joining the well-affectioned troops you command with my suspected legions. Your letter alarms me the more, because I cannot stake the whole fortune of the Republic upon the loyalty of the troops that serve under me; nor am I yet joined by those the Consuls have levied. I therefore recommend it to you to do all you can, if it is now possible, to disengage yourself, and immediately to join me, before the enemy’s junction can be completed; for our new recruits cannot march time enough to this rendezvous; and, though they were already come up, you are sensible how little dependence there is on raw men, who are strangers to one another, against a veteran army.” *Pompey* wrote at the same time the following letter to the Consuls:

Ad An.
viii. 13.

CN. MAGNUS, Proconsul, to C. MARCELLUS and L. LENTULUS, Consuls.

“BEING persuaded, that, while we remained scattered, we could neither serve the Republic, nor defend ourselves, I wrote to *L. Domitius*, that he should make all haste to join me with his whole force; and, if he had any apprehensions with regard to himself, that he should send me the nineteen cohorts which were upon their march to join me from *Picenum*. It happened, as I dreaded, that *Domitius* was surrounded, without having with him forces sufficient for a regular incampment; my nineteen cohorts and his twelve being quartered in three different towns: (for he had stationed some of them at *Alba*, and some at *Sulmo*;) nor, indeed, could he escape should he attempt it. Now, you must know, that this accident gives me the greatest disquiet imaginable. At the same time that I earnestly desire to de-

Ibid.

Y. R. 704. 48. 403. Coal. " I live so many illustrious *Romans* from the danger of being besieged, it
 Bef. Chr. " is impossible for me to relieve them; because I judge it unsafe to
 " march the two legions I command here into those quarters; and of
 " those two legions I can bring together no more than fourteen cohorts;
 " having thrown a garrison into *Brundisium*, and taken care of *Canu-*
 " *sium*, which I did not think proper to leave without a sufficient force
 " to defend it.

" As I was in hopes that our army would grow stronger, I charged
 " *Lælius* with a request, if you thought proper, that one of you should
 " repair to me, and that the other should go to *Sicily* with the troops
 " you have raised at *Capua* or in its neighbourhood, and with the levies
 " of *Faustus*; that *Domitius* should join them with his twelve cohorts;
 " and that the rest of the troops should assemble at *Brundisium*, and be
 " shipped over from thence to *Dyrrachium*. Now, as things are circum-
 " stanced, it is as much out of my power, as out of yours, to relieve *Do-*
 " *mitius*, who cannot get off by the mountains: And we are to take
 " care that the enemy shall neither come up with those fourteen waver-
 " ing cohorts, nor overtake me in my march. I therefore think proper,
 " and I am joined in sentiments by *Marcellus*, and the other Senators
 " in this place, to march the troops I have with me here to *Brundisium*.
 " I therefore request you to make all possible dispatch to join me there,
 " with as many troops as you can get together. My opinion is, that
 " you give to the troops, you have with you, the arms you proposed to
 " send to me; and, if you have more than are requisite for that purpose,
 " it will be of great service, if they can be conveyed in waggons to
 " *Brundisium*. I beg that you will give our friends advice concerning
 " that matter. I have sent to require the Prætors, *P. Eupus* and
 " *C. Coponius*, to join me, and to resign to you the command of their
 " forces."

Domi-

" In a letter from *Cicero* to *Atticus*, there is a short letter from *Pompey* to the Consuls on this occasion, which was written before that which we have now transcribed: It runs thus: " I received a letter from *L. Domi-*
 " *tius* on the 17th of February, of which I
 " inclose you a copy. Now, though I had
 " not written to you, I know you are sensi-
 " ble how important it is for the Common-
 " wealth, that, as soon as possible, there
 " should be a general muster at one place of
 " all our forces. Therefore, if you please,
 " you will make all possible dispatch to join
 " me; and leave at *Capua* such a garrison
 " as you shall judge sufficient." Ad Att.
 viii. 6. Here *Pompey* conceals his answer to
Domitius, and his resolution of leaving *Italy*.
Cicero, who did not doubt but the rendez-

vous was in order to march forwards, is in great terror for the event on the meeting of the two armies. In the next letter he seems to have penetrated into *Pompey's* design; and, in the eighth, he reflects thus on *Pompey's* conduct: " Disgraceful and therefore
 " miserable measure! for such are my senti-
 " ments, that what is disgraceful is the last,
 " may the only character of misery. He
 " had fostered up *Cæsar's* power; of a
 " sudden he begins to fear him, he discour-
 " ages all advances to an accommodation,
 " he neglects all preparation for war, he a-
 " bandons the city, his misconduct loses *Pi-*
 " *cenum*, he pins himself up in *Apulia*, he
 " prepares to go to *Greece*, he forsakes us
 " without bidding us adieu, and utter stran-
 " gers to those mighty, those monstrous re-
 solu-

Domitius thought proper to dissemble the contents of the letter he had received from *Pompey*, and declared in Council, that this General of the Republic would speedily come to their assistance: And he exhorted his troops to behave with courage, and to obey those orders which were necessary for providing every thing for a vigorous defence. But as his looks and speech were found to disagree, and as he behaved not with his usual composure and firmness, and was observed, contrary to his custom, to be much in conference with his friends, it was not possible to conceal the truth. In the evening of the same day, the soldiers discovered that they were not to receive any succour, and that their Commander was meditating his escape: And they began to mutiny, and by means of their Under-officers to make known their thoughts to one another. “They were besieged (they said) by *Cæsar*, who had already in a manner completed his works; and their General *Domitius*, in whose promises of assistance they had placed their chief hope, abandoning all concern for their safety, was contriving to escape privately by flight: Wherefore it was their business to look to their own preservation.” The *Marssi*, ignorant of the motive that prompted their companions to mutiny, at first opposed this resolution, and possessed themselves of the strongest part of the town; and the dispute grew so warm that it almost came to be decided by the sword. But, as soon as they understood that *Domitius* was preparing for a private escape, they dropped their opposition, and joined in the sedition. The person of *Domitius* was then secured, and Deputies were sent to *Cæsar*, to inform him, “that the town and the garrison were ready to receive his orders.”

Though *Cæsar* was fully sensible of what great importance it was to get possession of the town immediately, and join so numerous a garrison to his own army, lest by largesses, promises of speedy relief, or false reports, any change should be produced in the minds of the soldiers; yet fearing that, if he introduced his troops into it in the night, they would take that opportunity to plunder it, he sent back the Deputies with thanks for their proffer, and delayed the taking possession of it till the next day. But he caused the walls and the gates to be watched with the greatest care: He disposed his men along the works, not at certain distances,

“solutions. Well, all at once a letter comes from *Domitius* to him, and another from him to the Consuls.—*Pompey* retires to *Brun-
dium*.” [*Cicero* is often too severe upon his friend *Pompey* even in regard to his military capacity: The letters above do not shew him to have been at this time so bewildered and out of his senses, as *Cicero* represents him in several of his epistles, for no other reason, perhaps, than because he did not think proper to make this timorous and talkative orator privy to his motions.] “Where

“or when are we to emerge, headed as we are by a General who knows so little of his profession, that he was a stranger to the important situation of *Picenum*? His misconduct carries its condemnation upon its own face.—Even at this time I am ignorant of his designs, but am incessantly endeavouring to fish somewhat out of him by letters: Nothing can be more unmanly or unmeaning than the whole of his management.” *Ad Att.* vii. 13.

Y. R. 704. distances, as usual, but in one continued range, so as to touch each
 Eccl. Chr. other, and to form a circle ; and he ordered the military Tribunes and
 48. Officers of the cavalry to patrol about the works, and not only to be
 423 Conf. upon their guard against sallies, but to take care to prevent the escape
 of any particular persons. Not a man in the camp closed his eyes
 that night : All were busy in executing the General's orders, and in
 conjecturing the fate of the *Corfinians*, of *Domitius*, *Lentulus*, and the
 other illustrious *Romans* confined in the town.

Three in
 the morn-
 ing.

About the fourth watch of the night, *Lentulus Spintber* called from
 the wall to the guard, and desired to be conducted to *Cæsar*. His re-
 quest being granted, he came out of the town, attended by some of
Domitius's soldiers, who never left him till he was in *Cæsar's* presence :
 " He begged *Cæsar* to spare his life, and pardon the injuries he had done
 " him, in consideration of their former friendship. He owned the
 " many great favours he had formerly received from him ; that, by his
 " interest, he had been elected into the College of Priests, obtained the
 " government of *Spain*, after the expiration of his prætorship, and that he
 " had been assisted by him when he was candidate for the consulship."
 Here *Cæsar*, interrupting him, said, " that he was not come out of the
 " bounds of his province with an intent to injure any one : But to repel
 " the injuries done to him by his enemies ; to revenge the wrongs of
 " the Tribunes ; and to restore the *Roman* people, who were oppressed
 " by a small faction of the Nobles, to their liberty and privileges."
Lentulus, encouraged by this speech, asked leave to return into the
 town ; " where" he said, " the assurances he had obtained of his own
 " safety, would contribute not a little to the consolation of others, some
 " of whom were so terrified, that they were ready to take desperate
 " resolutions."

48437 l.
 Earl.

As soon as it was light, *Cæsar* ordered before him all the principal
 men. These were *L. Domitius*, *P. Lentulus Spintber*, *L. Vibullius Rufus*,
Sextus Quinctilius Varus, Quæstor, and *L. Rubrius* ; who were of Sena-
 torian rank ; and *Domitius's* son, and several young men of quality,
 with some *Roman* Knights, and a few Decurions or Senators of the
 neighbouring municipal towns. When they appeared, he gave orders
 to secure them from the insults of the soldiery ; and, addressing them
 in a few words, he reproached them with their animosity to him, which
 he said he had not deserved, and then set them all at liberty. He like-
 wise restored to *Domitius* six millions of sesterces, which that General
 had brought with him to *Corfinium*, and had deposited in the hands of
 the two Treasurers of the town. As this was public money assigned by
Pompey for the payment of his forces, *Cæsar* might justly have seized it ;
 but, he says, he was willing to shew himself generous as well as merciful.
 He ordered *Domitius's* soldiers to take the usual oath to him, and set
 out immediately for *Apulia*, in pursuit of *Pompey* ; who, having now lost,
 by the rashness of *Domitius*, the half of his forces, and the only troops

well-

well-affectioned to his cause, was under the necessity of retiring with all expedition, and of abandoning *Italy* to his rival. ^{Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48.}

Mean-while, a notion universally prevailed among the *Pompeians*, ^{403 Conf. Middl. p. 79.} of *Cæsar's* cruel and revengeful temper, from which horrible effects were apprehended: *Cicero* himself was strongly possessed with it, as appears from many of his letters; where he seems to take it for granted, that he would be a second *Phalaris*, not a *Pisistratus*; a bloody, not a gentle tyrant. This he inferred from the violence of his past life; the nature of his present enterprise; and, above all, from the character of his friends and followers; who were, generally speaking, a needy, profligate, audacious crew; prepared for every thing that was desperate. It was affirmed likewise, with great confidence, he had openly declared, that he was now coming to revenge the deaths of *Cn. Carbo*, *M. Brutus*, and all the other *Marian* Chiefs, whom *Pompey*, when acting under *Sylla*, had cruelly put to death for their opposition to the *Syllan* cause. His generous and magnanimous behaviour to his most inveterate enemies, taken at *Corfinium*, allayed all these vain suspicions and fears, and confirmed what he had always given out, that he sought nothing by the war, but the security of his person and dignity. The following letter to *Oppius* and *Balbus* was published at that time, and expresses the motives of his conduct.

CÆSAR TO OPPIUS and BALBUS.

“ I AM extremely glad at your expressing, under your hands, your ^{Ad Att. ix.} great approbation of what has passed at *Corfinium*: I will follow your ^{7.} advice with the greater pleasure, than it was always my own disposition to act with the utmost lenity, and to court an accommodation with *Pompey*. Let us try whether it be possible, by this means, to regain the affections of mankind, and to make our successes durable; since others by cruelty fell into detestation: and none of them, excepting *Sylla*, whom I don't chuse to imitate, enjoyed his successes long: Let us shew the world a new method of conquering; and let clemency and munificence be my only guard. I have already formed some schemes; and many more may be formed, for effecting this. I desire you to turn your thoughts to the same subject.

“ I took

* *Cæsar* made himself master of *Corfinium* viii. kal. Mar. or the 22d of February of the Roman year: According to *Usher*, the 11th of the Julian December; but really on the 26th of January. *Cælius*, in a letter written to *Cicero*, while *Cæsar* was marching from *Corfinium* to *Brundisium*, says: “ Look upon *Cæsar's* troops, my friend, and tell me, whether one would not imagine, by the gaiety of their countenances, that, in-

“ stead of having fought their way through the roughest and coldest countries in the hardest winter, they had been regaling themselves in all the delicacies of ease and plenty?”—“ Nonne tibi nostri milites, qui durissimis et frigidissimis locis, teterrima hieme, bellum ambulando confecerunt, malis orbiculatis esse passi videntur?” Ep. Fam. viii. 15. Melm. vii. 7.

V. P. 24. "I took prisoner *Cæ. Magius*, one of *Pompey's* masters of the works ;
 B. 1. C. 12. "but, according to the plan I laid down, I instantly dismissed him.
 403. Conf. "He is the second master of the works who has fallen into my hands,
 ——— "and whom I have dismissed. If they want to shew their gratitude,
 "they will exhort *Pompey* to prefer my friendship to that of those men,
 "who have ever shewn themselves both his and my enemies ; and by
 "whose practices the public is reduced to its present state."

This conduct gave a considerable turn to his affairs ; while the behaviour of *Pompey*, on the other hand, appeared every day more and more despicable. He fled perpetually before an enemy whom his pride and perverseness were said to have driven to the necessity of taking arms ; and he was continually throwing out threats against those who did not follow him : Before he set out from *Brundisium*, he talked of nothing but proscriptions, and of acting in imitation of *Sylla* ; and his future conduct sufficiently answered these early professions.

Cæf. de
 Bell. Civ.
 Com. l. 1.

As soon as he got intelligence of the surrendry of *Corfinium*, he retreated from *Luceria* to *Cannusium*, and from thence to *Brundisium*.* Here he

Ad. Art. viii.
 13.

"Are you not sensible, says *Cicero* to
Atticus, what a discerning, what a vigilant, what a resolute Commander the Commonwealth has to do with. By Heavens ! if he does not imbrue his hand in blood, or stretch it out in rapine, he will become the darling of those who dreaded him most. I have had a great deal of talk with our townsmen, and a great deal with our country gentlemen in these quarters : And, take my word for it, they have no concern but about their lands, their farms, and their money. You see what a pass things are come to. They fear the man they trusted ; they love the man they feared. It is with anguish that I recollect the miscarriages and misconduct that have brought us to this."

Middl. p.
 31.

From this first experiment of *Cæsar's* clemency, *Cicero* took occasion to send him a letter of compliment, and to thank him particularly for his generous treatment of *Lentulus*, who, when Consul, had been the chief author of his restoration ; to which *Cæsar* returned the following answer :

"You judge rightly of me, for I am thoroughly known to you, that nothing is

"farther removed from me than cruelty ;
 "and, as I have a great pleasure from the thing itself, so I rejoice and triumph to find my act approved by you : Nor does it at all move me, that those, who were dismissed by me, are said to be gone away to renew the war against me ; for I desire nothing more, than that I may always act like myself ; they like themselves." I wish that you would meet me at the city, that I may use your council and assistance as I have hitherto done in all things. Nothing, I assure you, is dearer to me than *Dolabella* ; I will owe this favour therefore to him : Nor is it possible for him indeed to behave otherwise, such is his humanity, his good sense, and his affection to me. Adieu !" *Ad. Art. ix. 16.*

* *Pompey* was now obliged to declare what he had never before owned, his design of quitting *Italy*, and carrying the war abroad ; he gave notice of it to *Cicero*, and wrote two letters to him at *Formiæ*, to press him to come away directly ; but *Cicero*, already much out of humour with him, was disgusted still the more by his short and negligent manner of writing, upon an occasion so

* *Domitius* retired to his country-house at *Cosa*, in *Tuscany* ; and, having manned some ships with his own servants, set sail for *Marseilles* ; which he held for *Pompey*, with consent of the inhabitants, and defended it, as we shall soon see, against *Cæsar*. *Ad. Art. ix. 6.* *Cæsar de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.* *Lentulus* went secretly to his house at *Patrae* ; and, after concealing himself for some time, he joined *Pompey*. *Publius Rufus* went also to *Pompey*, who sent him into *Spain*, charged with orders to his Lieutenants there : And *Varus* sailed for *Africa*.

he ordered all the new levies to join him ; and, arming three hundred slaves and shepherds, he furnished them with horses. The Prætor,
 Vol. IV. G L. Man- Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

so important : The second of *Pompey's* letters, with *Cicero's* answer, will explain the present state of their affairs, and *Cicero's* sentiments upon them.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, Proconsul, to
 M. CICERO, Emperor :

" IF you are in good health, I rejoice :
 " I read your letter with pleasure : For I
 " perceived in it your ancient virtue by
 " your concern for the common safety.
 " The Consuls are come to the army, which
 " I had in *Apulia* : I earnestly exhort you,
 " by your singular and perpetual affection
 " to the Republic, to come also to us ; that,
 " by our joint advice, we may give help
 " and relief to the afflicted State. I would
 " have you make the *Appian* way your
 " road, and come in all haste to *Brundisium*.
 " Take care of your health." *Ad Att. viii.*
 11.

M. CICERO, Emperor, to CN. MAGNUS,
 Proconsul.

" WHEN I sent that letter, which was
 " delivered to you at *Canusium*, I had no sus-
 " picion of your crossing the sea for the ser-
 " vice of the Republic, and was in great
 " hopes that we should be able either to
 " bring about an accommodation, which
 " to me seemed the most useful, or to de-
 " fend the Republic with the greatest dig-
 " nity in *Italy*. In the mean time, before
 " my letter reached you, being informed of
 " your resolution by the instructions which
 " you sent to the Consuls, I did not wait
 " till I could have a letter from you, but set
 " out immediately towards you, with my
 " brother, and our children, to *Apulia*.
 " When we were come to *Trebanum*, your
 " friend *C. Messius*, and many others, told
 " us, that *Cæsar* was in the road to *Capua*,
 " and would lodge that very night at *Æser-*
 " *nia* : I was much disturbed at it ; because,
 " if it was true, I not only took my journey
 " to be precluded, but myself also to be
 " certainly a prisoner. I went on, there-
 " fore, to *Cales*, with intent to stay there,
 " till I could learn from *Æsernia* the cer-
 " tainty of my intelligence : At *Cales*, there

" was brought to me a copy of the letter
 " which you wrote to the Consul *Lentulus*,
 " with which you sent the copy also of one
 " that you had received from *Domitius*,
 " dated the 18th of *February*, and signified
 " that it was of great importance to the Re-
 " public that all the troops should be drawn
 " together, as soon as possible, to one place ;
 " yet so as to leave a sufficient garrison in
 " *Capua*. Upon reading these letters, I
 " was of the same opinion with all the rest,
 " that you were resolved to march to *Cor-*
 " *finium* with all your forces ; whither, when
 " *Cæsar* lay before the town, I thought it
 " impossible for me to come. While this
 " affair was in the utmost expectation,
 " we were informed at one and the same
 " time both of what had happened at *Cor-*
 " *finium*, and that you were actually march-
 " ing towards *Brundisium* : And, when I
 " and my brother resolved, without hesita-
 " tion, to follow you thither, we were ad-
 " vertised by many, who came from *Sam-*
 " *nium* and *Apulia*, to take care that we did
 " not fall into *Cæsar's* hands ; for that he
 " was upon his march to the same places
 " where our road lay, and would reach
 " them sooner than we could possibly do.
 " This being the case, it did not seem ad-
 " viseable to me, or my brother, or any of
 " our friends, to run the risk of hurting,
 " not only ourselves, but the Republic, by
 " our rashness : Especially when we could
 " not doubt, but that, if the journey had
 " been safe to us, we should not then be
 " able to overtake you. In the mean while
 " I received your letter dated from *Canu-*
 " *sum*, the 21st of *February*, in which you
 " exhort me to come in all haste to *Brun-*
 " *dusium* : But, as I did not receive it till
 " the 29th, I made no question but that
 " you were already arrived at *Brundisium* ;
 " and all that road seemed wholly shut up
 " to us, and we ourselves as surely inter-
 " cepted as those who were taken at *Cor-*
 " *finium* : For we did not reckon them only
 " to be prisoners, who were actually fallen
 " into the enemy's hands, but those too
 " not less so, who happen to be inclosed
 " within the quarters and garrisons of their
 " adversaries. Since this is our case, I
 " heartily wish, in the first place, that I
 " had

Y. R. 704. L. Manlius, in his retreat from *Alba*, with six cohorts, and the Prætor
 Bef. Clk. Rutilius Lupus, from *Terracina*, with three, perceiving *Cæsar's* cavalry
 48. at a distance, commanded by *Bivius Curius*, were extremely dis-
 403 Conf. concerted; and, while they meditated what step to take, their soldiers
 deserted them, and joined the troops under the conduct of *Curius*. Se-
 veral other parties, flying different ways, fell in, some with *Cæsar's* foot,
 others with his cavalry. *Cn. Magius*, of *Cremona*, *Pompey's* master of
 the works, or chief engineer, being taken in his way to *Brundisium*,

" had always been with you, as I then told
 " you, when I relinquished the command
 " of *Capua*, which I did not do for the sake
 " of avoiding trouble, but because I saw
 " that the town could not be held without
 " an army, and was unwilling that the same
 " accident should happen to me, which, to
 " my sorrow, has happened to some of our
 " bravest citizens at *Corfinium*: But, since it
 " has not been my lot to be with you, I wish
 " that I had been made privy to your coun-
 " cils; for I could not possibly suspect, and
 " should sooner have believed any thing,
 " than that, for the good of the Republic,
 " under such a leader as you, we should not
 " be able to stand our ground in *Italy*:
 " Nor do I now blame your conduct, but
 " lament the fate of the Republic; and,
 " though I cannot comprehend what it is
 " which you have followed, yet I am not
 " the less persuaded that you have done no-
 " thing but with the greatest reason. You
 " remember, I believe, that my opinion al-
 " ways was, first, to preserve peace, even on
 " bad conditions; then about leaving the
 " city; for, as to *Italy*, you never intimated
 " a tittle to me about it; but I do not take
 " upon myself to think that my advice
 " ought to have been followed: I followed
 " yours; nor that for the sake of the Re-
 " public, of which I despaired, and which
 " is now overturned, so as not to be raised
 " up again without a civil and most pern-
 " cious war. I fought you; desired to be
 " with you; nor will I omit the first oppor-
 " tunity which offers of effecting it. I
 " easily perceived, through all this affair,
 " that I did not satisfy those who are fond
 " of fighting: For I made no scruple to
 " own, that I wished for nothing so much
 " as peace; not but that I had the same
 " apprehensions from it as they; but I
 " thought them more tolerable than a civil
 " war: Then, after the war was begun,
 " when I saw that conditions of peace were
 " offered to you, and a full and honourable

" answer given to them, I began to weigh
 " and deliberate well upon my own con-
 " duct, which, considering your kindness
 " to me, I fancied that I should easily ex-
 " plain to your satisfaction: I recollected
 " that I was the only man who, for the
 " greatest services to the public, had suffered a
 " most wretched and cruel punishment: That
 " I was the only one, who, if I offended him,
 " to whom, at the very time when we were
 " in arms against him, a second consulship and
 " most splendid triumph were offered, should be
 " involved again in all the same struggles; so
 " that my person seemed to stand always
 " exposed as a public mark to the insults of
 " profligate citizens: Nor did I suspect any
 " of these things till I was openly threatened
 " with them: Nor was I so much afraid of
 " them, if they were really to befall me, as
 " I judged it prudent to decline them, if
 " they could honestly be avoided. You
 " see, in short, the state of my conduct
 " while we had any hopes of peace; what
 " has since happened deprived me of all
 " power to do any thing: But to those
 " whom I do not please I can easily answer,
 " that I never was more a friend to *C. Cæsar*
 " than they, nor they ever better friends to
 " the Republic than myself: The only dif-
 " ference between me and them is, that as
 " they are excellent citizens, and I not far
 " removed from that character, it was my
 " advice to proceed by way of treaty, which
 " I understood to be approved also by you;
 " theirs by way of arms; and, since this
 " method has prevailed, it shall be my care
 " to behave myself so, that the Republic
 " may not want in me the spirit of a true
 " citizen, nor you of a friend. Adieu."
Ad Att. viii. 11. The expostulations in the
 latter part of this letter were certainly use-
 less, unfriendly, and ill-timed. His excu-
 ses in the first part were all false; for he
 owns to *Atticus*, that, in truth, he was wil-
 ling to consider a little longer what was right
 and fit for him to do.—*viii. 12.*

was brought to *Cæsar*, who sent him back to *Pompey* with this message :
 “ That, as he had not yet obtained an interview, his design was to come
 “ to *Brundisium*, there to confer with him in relation to the common
 “ safety ; because they soon would be able to dispatch, in a personal
 “ treaty, what, if managed by the intervention of others, might run
 “ into a tedious negociation.” It appears, by a letter of *Cæsar* to
Oppius, * that *Pompey* sent back *Magius*, as soon as *Cæsar* arrived before
Brundisium, with some proposals which we know nothing of ; nor of
 those in return which were then made by *Cæsar*. Young *Balbus* was
 sent also after the Consul *Lentulus*, to endeavour to engage him to stay
 in *Italy*, and to return to the city, by the offer of every thing that could
 tempt him ; and *Cicero* seems to think that *Lentulus* might have com-
 plied with the invitation, if *Balbus* and he had met ; but the Consul had
 failed before *Balbus* could come up with him.

In fine, *Cæsar* was so bent upon an accommodation, that, seeing
Magius † did not return to him, as he expected, he dispatched *Caninius*
Rebilus, one of his Lieutenants, a relation and intimate friend of *Scribo-*
nus Libo, to confer with him on the subject. His orders were to exhort
Libo, in the most earnest manner, to procure an interview between him
 and *Pompey* : To represent to him that, by this means, peace might be
 concluded upon reasonable terms ; and that the honour of it would re-
 dound to him by whose mediation both parties should be prevailed with
 to lay down their arms. *Libo*, after conferring with *Caninius*, waited on
Pompey, and returned with this answer : “ That the Consuls were ab-
 “ sent, without whom *Pompey* had no power to treat of an accommo-
 “ dation.” *Pompey*’s aversion to all negociations was known to his
 party ;

G 2

* “ On the 9th of March, I arrived at
 “ *Brundisium*, and have invested it. *Pom-*
 “ *pey* is within the place. He sent *Magius*
 “ to me, to treat of peace. I answered
 “ him as I thought proper. I was willing
 “ you should be instantly informed of this.
 “ When I shall have any prospect of an ac-
 “ commodation, I will let you know with-
 “ out loss of time.” *Ad Att.* ix. 13. “ I
 “ have no copy,” says *Cicero*, “ of the pro-
 “ posals you ask for, sent by *Cæsar* to the
 “ Consuls and to *Pompey* : While I was upon
 “ the road, I sent you those brought by
 “ *Ægypta* ; by which, I suppose, you may
 “ gather the substance of the others.” *Ad*
Att. ix. 15.

† *M. Crevier* (Vol. XIII. p. 255.) taking it
 for granted that *Cæsar* means to say in this
 place that *Magius* was never sent to him by
Pompey, makes a very severe and hasty reflexion
 upon his veracity. “ *Cæsar*” [to use the words
 of this historian] “ says, in his Commentaries,

“ that *Magius* brought him back no answer
 “ from *Pompey* ; but we have a letter from
 “ *Cæsar* to *Oppius* and *Balbus*, which proves
 “ the contrary. *Pompey*,” says he, “ has
 “ sent *Magius* to me, with overtures of peace,
 “ and I have answered him what I thought
 “ proper. It is difficult to reconcile these
 “ contradictions, but by supposing that
 “ *Cæsar* has not been scrupulously faithful
 “ as to facts in his Commentaries ; particu-
 “ larly in what regards the civil war. *Asi-*
 “ *nus Pollio*, who accompanied him in seve-
 “ ral expeditions, expressly accused him of
 “ it. So that this great man, this gene-
 “ rous, elevated soul, disdained not to dis-
 “ honour himself by falsehood, and to sup-
 “ press the truth in a work destined for pos-
 “ terity.” The letter cited by *M. Crevier*,
 and which is copied above, proves that
Cæsar expected *Magius* again. His first
 message by him, when taken prisoner, was
 only in general terms, to demand an inter-
 view ;

Y. R. 704.
 Bell. Civ.
 48.
 403 Conf.

Cæf. de
 Bell. Civ.
 Com. l. i.

Y. R. 704. party;* and, lest the Consuls should engage in one against his will, he
 Bel. Chr. was all along very desirous of sending them out of *Italy*.

48. *Cæsar* sat down, on the ninth of *March*, before *Brundisium* with six
 403 Cons. legions; three of which were composed of veteran soldiers, and the rest
 Cæf. de of new levies drawn together upon his march. He had sent *Domitius's*
 Bel. Civ. troops directly from *Corfinium*, towards *Sicily*, not caring to bring them
 Com. l. i. near *Pompey's* quarters. The Consuls had sailed on the 4th with thirty
 cohorts, and there were still twenty in the town with *Pompey*. Nor was
 it certainly known whether he continued there for want of shipping to
 transport his troops, or with the design to keep possession of *Brundisium*,
 that he might be master of the whole *Adriatic* sea, the farthest parts of
Italy, and the country of *Greece*, in order to make war on both sides the
 Gulph. *Cæsar*, having lost all hopes of an accommodation, and fearing
 that it was his intention to keep footing in *Italy*, resolved to push the
 war with vigour, and to deprive him of the advantages he might reap
 from the port of *Brundisium*. The following works were contrived by
 him for this purpose. He carried on a mole on each side of the haven
 where the entrance was narrowest, and the water shallow. But as this
 undertaking could not be carried quite across the port, by reason of the
 great depth of the sea, he prepared double floats of timber, thirty feet
 square, which were each secured by four anchors, to enable them to re-
 sist the fury of the waves. These, which were to extend all the way
 between the two moles, were covered over with earth and fascines,
 that the soldiers might pass and repass with ease, and have firm footing
 to defend them. The front and sides were armed with a parapet of
 hurdles; and every fourth float had a tower of two stories, the better
 to keep the enemies ships at a distance, and to guard the work from
 fire and the shocks of vessels.

Against these preparations *Pompey* made use of several large ships,
 upon which he raised turrets three stories high; and, having filled them
 with engines and darts, he let them loose upon *Cæsar's* floats in order to
 break through the staccado, and interrupt the progress of the works.
 Thus daily skirmishes happened with darts, arrows, and slings, at a
 distance; and *Cæsar* had spent nine days in these works, and had half-
 finished the staccado, when the ships employed in the first embarkation
 were sent back by the Consuls. *Pompey*, either alarmed at *Cæsar's*
 works, or because from the first he had resolved to abandon *Italy*, im-
 mediately prepared to carry off the rest of his forces: And, the better
 to secure his retreat, and to hinder the enemy from breaking into the
 town

view; he made no proposals. *Cæsar* has
 neglected to mention *Magius's* first visit;
 or, perhaps, as in many other places of his
 Commentaries, there are some lines wanting.

* "Your last letter is dated the 1st of
 " *March*; and in it you wish for an inter-

" view, and do not despair of an accommo-
 " dation between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; but,
 " in my present way of thinking, I cannot
 " believe that there will be any interview;
 " or, if there is, that *Pompey* will agree
 " to any terms." Ad. Att. viii. 15.

town during the embarkation, he walled up the gates, barricaded the streets, or cut ditches across them, which he filled with pointed stakes, and covered with hurdles and earth. The two streets which led to the port, and which he left open for the passage of his men, were fortified with a double palisado of very strong well-sharpened stakes. After these precautions, he ordered the soldiers to embark in silence, having placed on the walls and towers some select archers and slingers, who were to wait till all the troops had got aboard; and were then, upon a signal given, to retire to some small ships that waited for them at a convenient distance.

The inhabitants of *Brundisium*, dissatisfied with *Pompey's* soldiers, and provoked by the damage done to their town by his works, found means to give notice to *Cæsar* of his departure, from the tops of their houses. He immediately upon this intelligence ordered scaling-ladders to be prepared, and the soldiers to repair to their arms, that he might not lose any opportunity of acting. *Pompey* weighed anchor a little before night, and gave the signal for recalling the soldiers that were upon the walls, who retired with all possible expedition to the ships prepared for them. At the same time the scaling-ladders were applied to the walls, and *Cæsar's* troops entered the town: But, being informed by the *Brundisians* of the snares and ditches provided for them by the enemy, they were obliged to take a circuit; which gave *Pompey* time enough to put to sea. Two transports only, impeded by *Cæsar's* mole, were taken with the troops on board.

Thus *Pompey*, on the 17th of *March*, abandoned all *Italy* to his rival. It is the opinion of many, that he saw from the beginning he should be reduced to this necessity; but had kept the secret to himself, and had humoured his party in the contrary notion, often talking big to keep up their spirits. In this view, after the desertion of *Labiens*, he wrote to *Cicero*, "that in a few days he would have a firm army, with which he would march against *Cæsar* into *Picenum*; so that the Senate might have an opportunity of returning to the city." *Cicero* may be quoted as of this opinion. In a letter to *Atticus*, he writes to the following purpose: "*Pompey* and *Cæsar* are rivals in power——"
 "*Pompey* did not abandon *Rome* because it was untenable, nor *Italy* because he was driven out of it; it had all along been his intention to move earth and sea, to rouse barbarous monarchs, to introduce the troops of barbarous nations into *Italy*, and to levy numerous armies. He has many to second him in what he has long thirsted for, a species of *Sylla's* tyranny." But *Cicero* writes not always to his friend his real sentiments; he says and unsays: He is now all love, and the moment after all indignation. He begins the tenth letter of the ninth book with these words: "I have nothing to write to you; because, since I answered yours, the day before yesterday, I have had no fresh intelligence. But as fretting not only keeps me from sleeping, but
 "gives

Y. R. 704.
 Bef. Chr.
 48.
 403 Conf.

Ad. Ant.
 viii. 11.

Y. R. 704. "gives me the greatest pain while I am awake; I set myself down to
 Bel. Chr. "scribble somewhat or other, in which I have no manner of meaning, but
 48.
 493 Conf. "to converse as it were with you, who are my only comfort." And I do not

perceive any thing in the history of the commencement of this war, but what convinces me that *Pompey* thought himself capable of defending *Italy*; in which opinion he was certainly confirmed by *Labienus*, who would never have quitted *Cæsar*, if he had thought otherwise. He gave the strongest assurances to his party before the rupture, that *Cæsar* would never dare to proceed in an hostile manner; and that, if he was mad enough to do so, he held him in the utmost contempt. He had provided himself with two legions of veteran troops, and ordered levies all over *Italy* sufficient to form eight other legions: And he sent his Officers with troops to stop *Cæsar's* progress. But he was greatly disappointed in every thing he relied upon, and his spirits were sunk by these disappointments. The sudden panic that seized the town on the first news of *Cæsar's* march, and made the two Consuls and all the Senators of *Pompey's* faction fly out of it, put a stop to all levies there. In the southern parts, on whose affection *Pompey* depended so much, the levies went on but slowly: The people shewed a great backwardness to enlist. The northern parts shewed themselves, contrary to his expectation, to be in *Cæsar's* interest, and surrendered to him upon the first summons: Even many towns declared for him before they were summoned. The *Pompeian* Commanders were deserted every-where by their troops, which inspired *Pompey* with a just diffidence of the two legions that had been taken from *Cæsar*; and which constituted, in reality, his chief strength. Lastly, *Cæsar's* astonishing celerity baffled all his attempts to preserve *Italy*: For, from his setting out at *Ravenna* with one legion, though he was forced to take in all the great towns on his road, and spent seven days before *Corfinium*, and nine before *Brundisium*; yet in two months he marched the whole length of *Italy*, entered *Brundisium* with six legions, and was master of four more at least in different parts of the country.

Ad. Ant. 11. 3.
 Midd. p. 73. A very ingenious and justly-admired writer, to whose performance we are much indebted, but to whose opinions we are not always disposed to subscribe, speaks in the following manner of *Cæsar's* enterprise: "If we consider the famous passage of the *Rubicon*, abstractedly from the event, it seems to have been so hazardous and desperate, that *Pompey* might reasonably condemn the thought of it, as of an attempt too rash for any prudent man to venture upon. If *Cæsar's* view indeed had been to possess himself only of *Italy*, there could have been no difficulty in it: His army was undoubtedly the best which was then in the world; flushed with victory, animated with zeal for the person of their General, and an overmatch for any which could be brought against it into the field: But this single army was all that he had to trust to; he had no resource: The loss of one battle
 " was

“ was certain ruin to him ; and yet he must necessarily run the risk of
 “ many before he could gain his end : For the whole Empire was armed Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
 “ against him ; every province offered a fresh enemy, and a fresh field 403 Conf.
 “ of action, where he was like to be exposed to the same danger as on
 “ the plains of *Pharsalia*. But, above all, his enemies were masters of
 “ the sea, so that he could not transport his forces abroad without the
 “ hazard of their being destroyed by a superior fleet, or of being
 “ starved at land by the difficulty of conveying supplies and provisions
 “ to them : *Pompey* relied chiefly on this single circumstance, and was
 “ persuaded that it must necessarily determine the war in his favour :
 “ So that it seems surprising how such a superiority of advantage, in the
 “ hands of so great a Commander, could possibly fail of success ; and
 “ we must admire rather *the fortune*, than *the conduct of Cæsar*, for car-
 “ rying himself safe through all these difficulties to the possession of the
 “ Empire.”

But it must be remembered, on the other hand, that a certain destruc-
 tion would have attended *Cæsar*, if he had submitted to the decree made
 against him by the Senate. He would thereby have been disarmed
 at once, and reduced to the condition of a private citizen : And *Pom-*
phey, with all the power of the State in his hands, would easily have dis-
 appointed him of the consulship. He intended, it is certain, to do so,
 and even to bring him to trial, as *Cato* and others were continually
 threatening him : And, of this last circumstance, *Cæsar*, according to
Suetonius, was really apprehensive. “ He engaged in the war,” says Suet. in
Cæsar, 30.
 that historian, “ because he was afraid of being called to an account for
 “ what he had done in his first consulship, contrary to the religion, the
 “ laws, and the authority of the Tribunes : For *Cato* often declared, and
 “ with an oath too, that he would impeach him as soon as he disbanded
 “ his army : And it was commonly talked, that, *if he returned a private*
 “ *person, he would, like Milo, be tried with a guard to attend the Court.*
 “ This circumstance *Afinius Pollio* has confirmed, when he says that
 “ *Cæsar*, upon viewing his enemies slaughtered and put to flight upon
 “ the plains of *Pharsalia*, spoke these words : *They would have it so : I*
 “ *Caius Cæsar, who have performed such great things, must have undergone*
 “ *a sentence of condemnation, had I not desired the assistance of my army.*”

If it was so evident, [as *Dr. Middleton* will have it] that *Pompey* could
 not defend *Italy*, this threw at once an immense power into *Cæsar*'s
 hands, and put him in possession of the fortunes of all his enemies :
 Which consideration he might think sufficient to induce them not to
 pursue their scheme of depriving him of his government ; and it cer-
 tainly would have had this effect, if *Pompey* had not deceived the Senate
 by assuring them that he had an army sufficient to defend the city.
 This is very plain from the many reproaches which were thrown on
Pompey, when things went contrary to the general expectation.

Y. R. 704. *Cæsar*, with an army of martial and experienced soldiers, and possessed
 Bef. Chr. 48. of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and the adjacent islands, was an overmatch for the rest of
 403 Conf. the world. For what was the fighting world? Truly, six legions of
 veterans in *Spain*, and an army of new levies out of *Italy* and the oriental provinces, with two legions that had served under *Cæsar*, and three more dispersed in *Asia*. But *Cæsar*, it is said, *must run the risk of many battles, all the empire was armed, and every province offered a fresh field of action*: This, however, was not the case: It was, on the contrary, most evident from the beginning, that one general engagement would decide the fate of the two Chiefs; and, with regard to the provinces, it must be observed, that they were quite indifferent in the quarrel, and could not stop, if they intended it, the progress of the conqueror.

See Middl. In fine, *Cicero* does not always represent *Cæsar's* enterprise as a kind of
 P. 74. madness. Here is his account to his friend *Atticus*: "I perceive *Cæsar*
 Ad. Att. ix. 13. "to be very strong in infantry, in cavalry, in shipping, and in auxiliary
 "Gauls; whose numbers *Matius*, I believe, exaggerated, when he said
 "they had offered to maintain for him, at their own expence, ten thousand foot, and six thousand horse. But, supposing this to be a vaunt, yet it is certain that he is very strong; and he will not, like *Pompey*, be obliged to maintain his forces upon extraordinary imposts; for he will have the riches of all *Rome* at his command: And add to this *Cæsar's* enterprising spirit, and the weakness of our Patriots, who are grieved at war for no other reason, than because they have incurred *Cæsar's* resentment.—*Cæsar*, however, has been more moderate than he appeared to be at setting out, and the common people have lost the great affection they had for *Pompey*, and seem fond of him. The situation therefore of *Cæsar* is such, that, supposing he cannot conquer, yet I cannot see how he can be conquered.—I do not understand whom you call *Patriots*: I know of none: I mean I know of no order of men deserving that appellation: Take them man by man, they are very worthy gentlemen: But, in civil dissensions, we are to look for patriotism in the constituent members of the Body Politic. Do you look for it in the Senate? Let me ask you by whom were the provinces left without governors?—Do you look for patriotism among the farmers of the revenue? Alas! they never were steady, and now they are entirely devoted to *Cæsar*. Do you look for it in our trading, or in our landed interest? They are fondest of peace. Can you imagine that they have any terrible apprehensions of living under a monarchy; they, to whom all forms of government are indifferent, provided they enjoy their ease?—When his stream of power was weak, it might have been easily stopt. But now he is master of eleven legions [of veterans] and as much cavalry as he pleases to draw into the field. Think upon the towns beyond the *Po*, the mob of *Rome*, upon so great a majority of the *Tribunes*, upon a profligate rising generation,

Ad Att.
 vii. 7.

“ration, upon a General, with such sagacity to contrive, and such
“boldness to execute.” Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.

“It was with reluctance I undertook that commission at *Capua*; 48.
403 Conf.
“not that I would have declined it, had we been acting upon any
“concert: But I could see *no declared, sincere concern for their country* Ad Att.
viii. 3.
“*in any of our public bodies; nor, in reality, among private persons.* Our
“Patriots were without spirit and activity, as usual, and as I had fore-
“seen; while *the mob discovered a manifest bias to Cæsar*; and most of
“them were fond of a change.” These extracts from *Cicero* seem to
contain a very natural and true description of the times; and this de-
scription leads us to consider the justice of *Pompey’s* or *Cæsar’s* cause.

The ingenious author above-cited has given his decision on this Middl. p.
67.
head, in the following passage from *Cicero*; which we must beg leave Ad Att.
vii. 9.
to accompany with our remarks. *You have beld [Cicero had been*
speaking of Cæsar] your government ten years, not granted to you by the
Senate, but extorted by violence and faction: [Was not this the case with
every other grant at this time? Was the Gabinian, or the Manilian, or
the Messian law, more legally preferred? The government of Gaul was
given to Cæsar by a law of the people, which the Senate thought fit to
confirm by a decree of their own] the full term is expired, not of the law,
but of your licentious will: But allow it to be a law; [Cicero allowed it
to have been such, and voted for it; and he himself engaged Cælius to
propose, in favour of Cæsar, another bill to dispense with his presence
in suing for the consulate during the continuance of the law in ques-
tion] it is now decreed, that you must have a successor: [By whom? By
the people? No: By a decree of the Senate? No: For the Tribunes
interposed: By a vote of the Senate? Yes: But of the Senate awed il-
legally by the power of Pompey] you refuse; and say, Have some regard
to me: Do you first shew your regard to us: Will you pretend to keep an
army longer than the people ordered, and contrary to the will of the Senate?
To this passage from *Cicero* *Dr. Middleton* has added: “But *Cæsar’s*
“strength lay not in the goodness of his cause, but of his troops:
“——The flight of the Tribunes gave him a plausible handle to be-
“gin, and seemed to sanctify his attempt; but his real motive, says
“*Plutarch [in Ant.]* was the same that animated *Cyrus* and *Alexander*
“before him to disturb the peace of mankind; the unquenchable thirst
“of Empire, and the wild ambition of being the greatest man in the
“world; which was not possible, till *Pompey* was first destroyed.”

In this state of the merit of *Cæsar’s* cause, we have two assertions
which require a particular consideration. It is affirmed, that the full
term appointed for *Cæsar’s* government of *Gaul* was expired; and that
he continued to hold his province against law in defiance of the Senate
and of the people of *Rome*: And *Dr. Middleton* has said, in another p. 45.
place, that the 1st of *March* of the year 703 *was the term prescribed to*
it by law. Secondly, *Cæsar* is condemned as guilty of an impudent

Y. R. 704. and treacherous behaviour in not obeying the orders of the Senate.
 E. C. C. 48.
 423 C. C. 1. 17.

Now, as to the first point, *Dr. Middleton* is certainly mistaken, and contradicts *Cicero* himself, when he supposes that *Cæsar's* government was to last but eight years, and ended on the 1st of March, 703. *Dio Cassius* indeed says, that *Cæsar's* government was only prolonged to him for three years; but he is in this contradicted by every other historian, and by indubitable facts. *Cæsar*, in his harangue to his soldiers at *Ravenna*, tells them, that they had served under him for nine years; and it appears by what he mentions soon afterwards, that, beyond the period fixed by the decree of the Senate for disbanding his forces, there wanted *six months* to complete the time allotted to him by law. The complaints of the Tribunes of the people against the Senate, for pretending to abrogate a law of the people, were evidently grounded upon this supposition. What could mean the privilege granted him in the year 701, when *Pompey* was sole Consul, of *suing for the consulship in his absence*, if his government was to expire before he could legally present himself as a candidate? And it would have expired, if it had not been *decennial*. In fine, *Cicero* owns, in other places, that *Cæsar* had law on his side: "Yet, such is the General we are either to encounter, or we are to gratify him *in what he can already claim by law*." And Monsieur l'Abbe *Mongault* has thus remarked on the passage of *Cicero* cited above: "*Cicero* writes here in the *Pompeian* style, or he means only that *Cæsar's* government would nearly expire about the time of the elections of the next Consuls; and that therefore he might well consent to leave it, in order to come and stand candidate in person, as was required of him: Or, perhaps, *Pompey's* faction began to reckon the years of *Cæsar's* government, from the very moment that the law was passed at *Rome*, allotting that province to him; but the general and legal method was to reckon from the day in which the Governor entered his province."

At Ant.
 C. C. 7.

As to the second point, I shall not interpose my judgment: The reader, who has had the whole evidence laid impartially before him, will, probably, have determined for himself. I shall, however, beg leave to insert a paragraph or two from the spirited performance of our late poet laureat.

The character and conduct of *Cicero* considered from the history of his life, by *Dr. Middleton*, p. 183.

"After several difficulties, doubts, debates, and political schemes, to make bad matters worse, at last the Senate, *without any notice taken of the people's right to confirm or reject it*, came to this bold resolution, that *Cæsar* should dismiss his army by a certain day, or be declared an enemy, &c. Does not the very menace in this vote imply a doubt or apprehension of its not being obeyed? And whence could that doubt come but from a consciousness of *their severity in taking his command from Cæsar, before the time of its legal duration was expired*? Was this a treatment that the high spirit of *Cæsar* could comply with, or quietly bear? Or, indeed, if he would have borne it, where,

at

“ at that time, was the policy of it ? What good was the Senate or the
 “ public to reap by it ? Would they have less reason to be afraid of
 “ *Pompey's* power, because *Pompey* then must have had less reason to
 “ be afraid of *Cæsar* ; while they were both rivals, they could be but
 “ candidates for empire ; but, when one of them was destroyed, the
 “ other of course became equal to their master duly elected. Could
 “ they then imagine that *Cæsar*, whose strength (says *Dr. Middleton*)
 “ lay not in the goodness of his cause, but of his troops, would chuse to
 “ come from the head of them merely to humble himself into a pri-
 “ vate innocent man, and to depend upon the favour of *Pompey* for his
 “ future preferment ? Or, if this was really what their wisdom proposed
 “ by their sage and sober vote, why, at least, when they knew *Cæsar*
 “ was so formidable in the field, would they not previously choose to
 “ soften him into obedience by giving him a reasonable hope that
 “ some such great and gracious honour should be secured to him ? But,
 “ perhaps, the neglect of this civility might be owing to the *sic volo* of
 “ *Pompey*, whose disregard of *Cæsar* might not as yet have given them
 “ his orders to make him any such proposal ; his orders, I call them,
 “ because, whatever at this time was proposed in the Senate went but
 “ very slowly forward, that had not an eye to the interest or good-
 “ liking of *Pompey*. It would be therefore the greatest absurdity to
 “ suppose so rash and enterprising a vote could have come from them
 “ *ex mero motu*, as the free and voluntary act of their own pious care
 “ of the public. No, had that been their case, had they been their
 “ own masters, it can admit of no doubt but that *Pompey*, as well as
 “ *Cæsar*, would have had the same disbanding vote passed upon him
 “ too. But, *Cæsar* being then abroad and *Pompey* at home, they natu-
 “ rally chose to be most afraid of the danger that was nearest to
 “ them.”

Cicero, we may remember, in the account he gives of his interview
 with *Pompey*, tells us, that, as to public affairs, *Pompey* talked in such a
 strain, as if a war was inevitable, without giving the least hopes of an ac-
 commodation.

“ While such [continues our Laureat] was the disposition of *Pom-*
 “ *pey's* mind, we can be no longer in doubt from whence came this
 “ peremptory vote upon *Cæsar*.

“ Thus the government *de jure* having utterly lost its power, the
 “ only debateable question now was, whether *Pompey* or *Cæsar* should
 “ be the sole governor *de facto*. A melancholy election for liberty !
 “ Nor had it a better appearance to *Cicero*, who tells us, that, which-
 “ side soever got the better, the war must necessarily end in tyranny ; the
 “ only difference was, that, if their enemies conquered, they should be pro-
 “ scribed ; if their friends, be slaves.

“ This being the most equal light that the cause of *Pompey* or of
 “ *Cæsar* can stand in, we must either suppose, that, had *Cæsar*, in obe-

Y. R. 704. " dience to the Senate, disbanded his army, the public liberty would
 Eccl. Chr. " have been of course restored ; or that, if it would not, (*as there is*
 48. " *not the most distant pretence to say it would*) it then must follow, that,
 403 Conf. " whether *Pompey* or *Cæsar* had prevailed, it could have wrought no
 " different consequence to the *Roman* liberty ; the ruin of which, under
 " the sole dominion of either, must (as *Cicero* confesses) have been
 " equally inevitable : Let this be granted, and neither the virtue, nor
 " the critical learning of posterity, will ever think this cause a dispu-
 " table point, or give the least preference to the pretensions of either
 " of these celebrated competitors. 'Tis true, they may tell us, that
 " *Pompey* had the fairer appearance in the Senate's support. Yes, but in
 " nothing more than appearance ; not by their free and independent
 " choice, but by the palpable terror of his arms ; nor from their opinion
 " of his better intentions to the public, than they conceived of *Cæsar's* ;
 " but the plain truth is, that, in this situation, they rather chose to let
 " *Pompey's* orders seem to be their own, than that any thing should
 " appear to be transacted without their authority. If *Cæsar* then was
 " not so tame as the Senate in yielding up his liberty, or refused to
 " obey the mandate of an intimidated authority ; rather choosing, if
 " he could not live like a *Roman*, to die like *Cæsar* : Will this stand
 " in no excuse for him ? Or, will it be too partially favourable,
 " should we call his slighting such a Senate an almost laudable ambi-
 " tion ? For never surely can it be urged that *Cæsar's* disobeying them
 " was a more criminal infringement of the public liberty than was *Pompey's*
 " keeping them in fear of him. And yet, again, if the presumption of
 " either their disobeying or commanding could be mitigated by appear-
 " ances, *Cæsar*, by his offering to lay down his arms, provided *Pompey* might
 " be under the same obligation at the same time, made an advancement to
 " the Patriot, which *POMPEY* had not virtue enough to dissemble. And
 " though it may have been objected, that this compliance of *Cæsar*
 " was all but grimace, without the least intention of his making it
 " good ; yet, as this is but an imaginary charge, it ought at least to
 " have been brought to a proof before *Cæsar* could be justly con-
 " demned upon it. But *Pompey's* absolutely, and, without hesitation, re-
 " fusing the proposal, was an open declaration, that no peaceable terms should
 " prevail upon him to part with a grain of his power. While *Pompey*,
 " therefore, lies under this imputation, he stands in a less favourable
 " light, or was, rather, a more notorious offender than *Cæsar*."

C H A P. III.

Cæsar, after settling every thing in the South of Italy, and taking measures
 to secure Sicily and Sardinia, sets out for Rome. In his way, he has a
 conference with *Cicero*, who soon after retires to *Pompey's* camp. At
 Rome,

Rome, he seizes the public treasure; and, finding the Senate unwilling to act any part, he takes upon himself the public administration. After a stay of six or seven days, he sets out for Spain.

CÆSAR was very sensible, that, to put a speedy end to the war, Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conf. the best plan he could follow was to pass the sea immediately, and endeavour to come up with *Pompey* and the Consuls in their present defenceless state, before they could draw the transmarine forces together. But the execution of this design was at present absolutely impracticable; for all the ships had been carried off the coast; and to gather others from *Picenum*, *Sicily*, and the coasts of *Gaul*, was a tedious business, and in the winter season subject to great uncertainty. Dreading therefore this delay and loss of time, he determined to go to *Spain*, whither also a very interesting consideration called him. It appeared of dangerous consequence to suffer a veteran army to strengthen themselves in his rival's interest by new levies of horse and foot, and to prepare a sure resource for their General, when driven out of *Greece* and *Asia*: And he could never have a more favourable opportunity of conquering *Spain*, and the legions there, than when *Pompey* was at such a distance from them, and unable to give them any assistance. He resolved therefore upon this expedition, saying, *he would go first to find an army without a General, and then return to a General without an army.* It is commonly supposed, that *Pompey* committed a capital error Middl. p. 118. in not going to *Spain*, and in neglecting to put himself at the head of the best troops he had, in a country devoted to his interest, and commodious for the operations of his naval force; and *Cicero* is cited, as being so much of this opinion, that, when he first heard of *Pompey's* resolution to go to *Greece*, he called it *monstrous*. But it is to be considered, that *Pompey* had at this time no fleet in readiness; and, if he had sailed for *Spain* directly, he would not have had influence enough in the East to have raised the fleets and armies, which, by his presence there, he was enabled to collect. *Cæsar* would have been before-hand with him; and, by transporting a few legions into *Greece*, would have awed all the States of the East, who were most of them very indifferent about this quarrel: And *Pompey*, in the mean time, would have been cooped up in *Spain*, and precluded from every province of the Empire besides *Africa*.

Cæsar, before he left *Brundisium*, sent orders to all the municipal Cæf. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. 1 towns upon the several coasts to assemble all the vessels they could, and send them to that port: And, knowing of what importance it was to his credit, that *Italy* should be abundantly supplied with provisions, which *Pompey* was determined to cut off by every possible method,^a he

^a (*Ad Att. ix. 9.*) "I perceive a most destructive war ready to break out, which *Pompey* will begin by famishing *Italy*; And yet I mourn for not taking part in this

Y. R. 704. he immediately dispatched *Valerius*, one of his Lieutenants, into *Sardinia*, with one legion; and *Curio* into *Sicily* with three; commanding
 B. C. 48. him, as soon as he had mastered this island, to pass over into *Africa*.
 403 Conf. Then, having put his legions into winter-quarters in the towns along
 Ad An. the coast, at *Brundisium*, *Tarentum*, *Sipontum*, and other places, in such
 x. 15. a manner as to lock up all the passages by sea, and having ordered levies over the whole country, he set out for *Rome*.
 Ad An. In the midst of his military operations, he had neglected no means of
 x. 19. gaining over to his party all those who were not his avowed enemies.
 Ad An. As soon as he was informed that the Senators had left *Rome*, he wrote
 vii. 17. to many of them to return, and desired *Trebatius* to write to *Cicero* to beg of him not to absent himself from the city: And, after *Cicero* had left it, he employed all their common friends to use their endeavours to induce him to imitate the conduct of some other Consuls, who had determined to preserve a *neutrality*. *Cicero*, upon these applications, keeping at a distance from *Pompey*, *Cæsar* imagined they had made an impression upon him; and he began to attempt another point with him, viz. to persuade him to come back to *Rome*, and assist in the Councils of the Senate, which he designed to summon at his return from following *Pompey*. With this view, in the hurry of his march towards *Brundisium*, *Cæsar* sent him the following letter.

CÆSAR, Emperor, to CICERO, Emperor.

Ad An. "WHEN I had but just time to see our friend *Furnius*, nor
 ix. 6. "could conveniently speak with, or hear him, was in haste, and on
 "my march, having sent the legions before me; yet I could not pass
 "by without writing, and sending him to you with my thanks:
 "Though I have often paid this duty before, and seem likely to pay
 "it oftener, you deserve it so well of me. I desire of you, in a special manner, that, as I hope to be in the city shortly, I may see you there, and have the benefit of your advice, your interest, your authority, your assistance in all things. But to return to the point: You will pardon the haste and brevity of my letter, and learn the rest from *Furnius*." To this very polite letter *Cicero* made the following answer.

"this war; a war! so detestable, that, tho' "there is nothing more unnatural than not "to assist our parents, yet have the leaders "of it taken their measures for famishing "the most venerable, the most sacred of all "parents, I mean their country. My apprehensions are not founded upon conjecture, but upon what I have heard from "themselves. This fleet that is gathering "from *Alexandria*, *Colchis*, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, "Aradus, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodes, "Chios, Bizantium, Lesbos, Miletus, Smyrna, "and Coos, is designed to intercept the provisions of Italy, and to seize the coasts of the corn countries."

CICERO,

CICERO, Emperor, to CÆSAR, Emperor.

“ UPON reading your letter, delivered to me by *Furnius*, in which
 “ you pressed me to come to the city, I did not so much wonder at
 “ what you there intimated, of your desire to use my *advice* and *autho-*
 “ *rity*, but was at a loss to find out what you meant by my *interest*
 “ and *assistance* : Yet I flattered myself into a persuasion, that, out of
 “ your *admirable and singular wisdom*, you were desirous to enter into
 “ some measures for establishing the peace and concord of the city ;
 “ and in that case I looked upon my temper and character as fit e-
 “ nough to be employed in such a deliberation. If the case be so, and
 “ you have any concern for the safety of our friend POMPEY, and of
 “ reconciling him to yourself, and to the Republic, you will certainly find
 “ no man more proper for such a work than I am, who, from the
 “ very first, have always been the adviser of peace both to him and
 “ the Senate ; and, since this recourse to arms, have not meddled with
 “ any part of the war, but *thought you to be really injured by it, while*
 “ *your enemies and enviers were attempting to deprive you of those honours*
 “ *which the Roman people had granted you.* But as at that time I was
 “ not only a favourer of your dignity, but an encourager also of others
 “ to assist you in it ; so now the dignity of Pompey greatly affects me :
 “ For many years ago I made choice of you two, with whom to cul-
 “ tivate a particular friendship, and to be, as I now am, most strictly
 “ united. Wherefore I desire of you, or rather beg and implore with
 “ all my prayers, that in the hurry of your cares you would indulge a
 “ moment to this thought, how by your generosity I may be permitted
 “ to shew myself an honest, grateful, pious man, in remembering an
 “ act of the greatest kindness to me. If this related only to myself, I
 “ should hope still to obtain it from you : But it concerns, I think,
 “ both your honour and the Republic, that by your means I should
 “ be allowed to continue in a situation the best adapted to promote the
 “ peace of you two, as well as the general concord of all the citizens.
 “ After I had sent my thanks to you before on the account of *Lentulus* ;
 “ for giving safety to him who had given it to me ; yet, upon reading
 “ his letter, in which he expresses the most grateful sense of your libe-
 “ rality, I took myself to have received the same grace from you,
 “ which he had done : Towards whom, if by this you perceive me to
 “ be grateful, let it be your care, I beseech you, that I may be so too
 “ towards Pompey.”

In

* (Middleton, p. 92.) Cicero was cen-
 sured for some passages of this letter, which
 Cæsar took care to make public, viz. the
 compliment on Cæsar's admirable wisdom ;

and, above all, the acknowledgment of his
 being injured by his adversaries in the present
 war : In excuse of which he says : (*Ad*
Att. viii. 9.) “ that he was not sorry for the
 pub-

Y. R. 704.
B.C. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

In his way to *Rome*, *Cæsar* had a conference with *Cicero*, at *Formiæ*, on the 29th of *March*; of which, the latter gives the following account

10

“lication of it, for he himself had given several copies of it; and, considering what had since happened, was pleased to have it known to the world how much he had always been inclined to peace; and, that in urging *Cæsar* to save his country, he thought it his business to use such expressions as were the most likely to gain authority with him, without fearing to be thought guilty of flattery, in urging him to an act for which he would gladly have thrown himself even at his feet.”

He received another letter on the same subject, and about the same time, written jointly by *Balbus* and *Oppius*, two of *Cæsar*’s chief confidants: “The advice, not only of little men, such as we are, but even of the greatest, is generally weighed, not by the intention of the giver, but the event; yet, relying on your humanity, we will give you what we take to be the best in the case about which you wrote to us; which, though it should not be found prudent, yet certainly flows from the utmost fidelity and affection to you. If we did not know from *Cæsar* himself, that, as soon as he comes to *Rome*, he will do what in our judgment we think he ought to do, treat about a reconciliation between him and *Pompey*, we should give over exhorting you to come and take a part in those deliberations; that, by your help, who have a strict friendship with them both, the whole affair may be settled with ease and dignity: Or, if, on the contrary, we believed that *Cæsar* would not do it, and knew that he was resolved upon a war with *Pompey*, we should never try to persuade you to take arms against a man to whom you have the greatest obligations, in the same manner as we have always intreated you, not to fight against *Cæsar*. But, since, at present, we can only guess, rather than know what *Cæsar* will do, we have nothing to offer but this, that it does not seem agreeable to your dignity, or your fidelity, so well known to all, when you are intimate with them both, to take arms against either; and this we do not doubt but *Cæsar*, according to his humanity, will highly approve: Yet, if you judge proper, we will

“write to him, to let us know what he will really do about it; and, if he returns us an answer, we will presently send you notice what we think of it, and give you our word, that we will advise only, what we take to be most suitable to your honour, not to *Cæsar*’s views; and are persuaded that *Cæsar*, out of his indulgence to his friends, will be pleased with it.” *Ad Att.* ix. 8. This joint letter was followed by a separate one from *Balbus*: “Immediately after I had sent the common letter from *Oppius* and myself, I received one from *Cæsar*, of which I have sent you a copy; whence you will perceive how desirous he is of peace, and to be reconciled with *Pompey*, and how far removed from all thoughts of cruelty. It gives me an extreme joy, as it certainly ought to do, to see him in these sentiments. As to yourself, your fidelity, and your piety, I am entirely of the same mind, my dear *Cicero*, with you, that you cannot, consistently with your character and duty, bear arms against a man, to whom you declare yourself so greatly obliged; that *Cæsar* will approve this resolution, I certainly know from his singular humanity; and that you will perfectly satisfy him, by taking no part in the war against him, nor joining yourself to his adversaries; This he will think sufficient, not only from you, a person of such dignity and splendor; but has allowed it even to me, not to be found in that camp, which is likely to be formed against *Lentulus* and *Pompey*, from whom I have received the greatest obligations: It was enough, he said, if I performed my part to him in the city and the gown, which I might perform also to them, if I thought fit; wherefore I now manage all *Lentulus*’s affairs at *Rome*, and discharge my duty, my fidelity, my piety to them both: Yet, in truth, I do not take the hopes of an accommodation, though now so low, to be quite desperate, since *Cæsar* is in that mind in which we ought to wish him: One thing would please me, if you thought it proper, that you would write to him, and desire a guard from him, as you did from *Pompey*, at the time of *Mile*’s trial, with my approval.”

to his friend *Atticus*. “My discourse with him, says he, was such as
 “would rather make him think well of me than thank me. I stood
 “firm in refusing to go to *Rome*; but was deceived in expecting to
 “find him easy; for I never saw any one less so: He was condemned,
 “he said, by my judgment; and, if I did not come, others would be
 “the more backward: I told him that their case was very different
 “from mine. After many things said on both sides, he bad me come,
 “however, and try to make peace: Shall I do it, says I, in my own
 “way? Do you imagine, replied he, that I will prescribe to you? I
 “will move the Senate then, says I, for a decree against your going to
 “*Spain*, or transporting your troops into *Greece*, and say a great deal be-
 “sides in bewailing the case of *Pompey*: I will not allow, replied he,
 “such things to be said: So I thought, says I, and for that reason will
 “not come; because I must either say them, and many more, which I
 “cannot help saying, if I am there, or not come at all. The result
 “was, that, to shift off the discourse, he wished me to consider of it;
 “which I could not refuse to do, and so we parted. I am persuaded,
 “that he is not pleased with me; but I am pleased with myself; which
 “I have not been before of a long time. As for the rest; good Gods,
 “what a crew he has with him! What a hellish band, as you call
 “them! — What a deplorable affair! What desperate troops!
 “What a lamentable thing, to see *Servius*’s son, and *Titinius*’s, with
 “many more of their rank in that camp, which besieged *Pompey*! He
 “has six legions; wakes at all hours; fears nothing; I see no end of
 “this calamity. His declaration at the last, which I had almost forgot,
 “was odious; that, if he was not permitted to use my advice, he would
 “use such as he could get from others, and pursue all measures that
 “were for his service.”

Cicero fancied to himself, that *Cæsar* deemed his presence in the city as
 of the greatest importance to his cause, and meant to get a decision from
 him, that, in the absence of the Consuls, the Assembly for the elections

“probation: I will undertake for him, if
 “I rightly know *Cæsar*, that he will sooner
 “pay a regard to your dignity, than to his
 “own interest. How prudently I write
 “these things, I know not; but this I cer-
 “tainly know, that, whatever I write, I
 “write out of a singular love and affection
 “to you; for, (let me die, so as *Cæsar* may
 “but live) if I have not so great an esteem
 “for you, that few are equally dear to me.
 “When you have taken any resolution in
 “this affair, I wish that you would let me
 “know it, for I am exceedingly solicitous
 “that you should discharge your duty to
 “them both, which in truth I am confident
 “you will discharge.” *Dr. Middleton* is of

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opinion, that the offer of a guard was in-
 sinuated to deprive him of the liberty of re-
 tiring: But, considering *Cæsar*’s most gene-
 rous behaviour, even to his enemies, this
 suspicion seems to be intirely groundless.

“There was a time [says *Cibber*, p.
 “192.] when these followers of *Cæsar* were
 “all heroes with *Cicero*, they being still the
 “same ragamuffins that had done glorious
 “business abroad for the Republic under the
 “same command of *Cæsar*, and did as ef-
 “fectually (valiant rascals as they were) as
 “if they had been all Saints or Patriots.”
 Has not the illustrious Consul, who saved
Rome, condescended to sing their exploits in
 Greek verse?

I

of

Y.R. 704.
 Ref. Chr.
 48.
 403 Conf.

Y. R. 704. of the new Magistrates might be held by a Prætor: But *Cæsar*, it is
 Euf. Chr. 48. probable, did not think his presence of so much use, and certainly never
 403; Con. intended to force him into a compliance, but to win him by address, and
 the counsels of his friends.

Middl. p. 97. While *Cæsar* was on the road to *Rome*, young *Quintus Cicero*, the ne-
 Ad Ant. x. 4, 5, 7. phew, a fiery, giddy youth, privately wrote to him to offer his service,
 with a promise of some information concerning his uncle; upon which,
 being sent for, and admitted to an audience, he assured *Cæsar*, that his
*uncle was utterly disaffected to all his measures, and determined to leave Italy
 and go to POMPEY.* The boy was tempted to this rashness by the hopes
of a considerable present, and gave much uneasiness by it both to the fa-
 ther and the uncle, who had reason to fear some ill consequence from it:
 But *Cæsar*, desirous to divert *Cicero* from declaring against him, and to
 quiet the apprehensions which he might entertain for what was past,
 took occasion to signify to him, in a kind letter from *Rome*, that he re-
tained no resentment of his refusal to come to the city, though Volcatius Tul-
lus and Servius Sulpicius [two Consular Senators] had complained that he
had not shewn the same indulgence to them. And *Curio* told him a few
 days after, that, when *Delabella* was earnestly solicitous that he should
 come to *Rome*, *Cæsar*, in an answer, returned him many thanks, and told
 him, that he was not only satisfied, but pleased at his not coming. He
 assured him also that *Cæsar* would have made no difficulty in granting
 him the favour he had granted to *Philippus*, that of remaining neuter:
 That he might act as if the thing was agreed on with *Cæsar* himself;
 and that he would write to him, that matters were so settled between
 them: He added, that, if he pleased, he might leave *Italy*, and pass
 through *Sicily* to go into *Greece*. Yet *Cicero's* behaviour and residence
 in those villa's of his, which were nearest to the sea, gave rise to a gene-
 ral report, that he was waiting only for a wind to carry him over to
Pompey; upon which, *Cæsar* sent him another pressing letter to try, if
 possible, to dissuade him from that step.

CÆSAR, Emperor, to CICERO, Emperor.

Ad Ant. x. 8. “ **THOUGH** I never imagined that you would do any thing rashly
 “ or imprudently; yet, moved by common report, I thought proper to
 “ write to you, and beg of you, by our mutual affection, that you would
 “ not run to a declining cause, whither you did not think fit to go while
 “ it stood firm. For you will do the greatest injury to our friendship, and
 “ consult but ill for yourself, if you do not follow where fortune calls:
 “ For all things seem to have succeeded most prosperously for us, most
 “ unfortunately for them: Nor will you be thought to have followed
 “ the cause (since that was the same, when you chose to withdraw your-
 “ self from their Councils) but to have condemned some act of mine;
 “ than which you could do nothing that could affect me more sensibly,
 “ and

“ and what I beg, by the rights of our friendship, that you would
 “ not do. Lastly, what is more agreeable to the character of an ho-
 “ nest, quiet man, and good citizen, than to retire from civil broils?
 “ from which some, who would gladly have done it, have been de-
 “ terred by an apprehension of danger: But you, after a full testi-
 “ mony of my life, and trial of my friendship, will find nothing more
 “ safe or reputable, than to keep yourself clear from all this conten-
 “ tion. The 16th of April, on the road.”

Y. R. 704.
 Bcf. Chr.
 48.
 403 Conf.

Antony, also, whom *Cæsar* left to guard *Italy* in his absence, wrote to him to the same purpose, and on the same day.

ANTONIUS, Tribune of the People and Proprætor, to CICERO, Emperor.

“ IF I had not a great esteem for you, and much greater indeed
 “ than you imagine, I should not be concerned at the report which is
 “ spread of you, especially when I take it to be false. But, out of
 “ the excess of my affection, I cannot dissemble, that even a report,
 “ though false, makes some impression on me. I cannot believe that
 “ you are preparing to cross the sea, when you have such a value for
 “ *Dolabella*, and your daughter *Tullia*, that excellent woman, and are
 “ so much valued by us all, to whom, in truth, your dignity and ho-
 “ nour are almost dearer than to yourself: Yet I did not think it the
 “ part of a friend not to be moved by the discourse even of ill-design-
 “ ing men, and wrote this with the greater inclination, as I take my
 “ part to be the more difficult on the account of our late coldness, oc-
 “ sioned rather by my jealousy than any injury from you. For I de-
 “ sire you to assure yourself, that nobody is dearer to me than you,
 “ excepting my *Cæsar*, and that I know also that *Cæsar* reckons *M. Ci-*
 “ *cero* in the first class of his friends. Wherefore, I beg of you,
 “ my *Cicero*, that you will keep yourself free and undetermined, and
 “ despise the fidelity of that man who first did you an injury, that he
 “ might afterwards do you a kindness; nor fly from him, who,
 “ though he should not love you, which is impossible, yet will al-
 “ ways desire to see you in safety and splendor. I have sent *Calpur-*
 “ *nus* to you with this, the most intimate of my friends, that you
 “ might perceive the great concern which I have for your life and
 “ dignity.”

Ad Att. x.

Calpurnius also wrote to him on the same subject; but finding, by some hints in *Cicero's* answer, that he was actually preparing to run away to *Pompey*, he sent him a second letter, in a most pathetic, or, as *Cicero* Ad Att. calls it, *lamentable strain*, in hopes to work upon him by alarming all his fears.

x. 9.

COELIUS TO CICERO.

Y. R. 704. " BEING in a consternation at your letter, by which you shew
 Ref. Chr. " that you are meditating nothing but what is dismal, yet neither tell
 48. " me directly what it is, nor wholly hide it from me, I presently wrote
 403 Conf. " this to you. By all your fortunes, *Cicero*, by your children, I beg
 Ep. Fam. " and beseech you not to take any step injurious to your safety : For I
 viii. 16. " call the gods and men and our friendship to witness, that what I
 " have told, and forewarned you of, was not any vain conceit of my
 " own, but after I had talked with *Cæsar*, and understood from him,
 " how he resolved to act after his victory, I informed you of what I
 " had learned. If you imagine that his conduct will be always the
 " same, in dismissing his enemies and offering conditions, you are mis-
 " taken : He thinks and even talks of nothing but what is fierce and
 " severe*, and is gone away much out of humour with the Senate,
 " and thoroughly provoked with the opposition which he has met with,
 " nor will there be any room for mercy. Wherefore, if you yourself,
 " your only son, your house, your remaining hopes be dear to you ;
 " if I, if the worthy man your son-in-law, have any weight with you ;
 " you should not desire to overturn our fortunes, and force us to hate
 " or to relinquish that cause in which our safety consists, or to enter-
 " tain an impious wish against yours. Lastly, reflect on this, that
 " you have already given all the offence which you can give by stay-
 " ing so long behind ; and now to declare against a Conqueror, whom
 " you would not offend, while his cause was doubtful, and to fly after
 " those who run away, with whom you would not join while they
 " were in a condition to resist, is the utmost folly. Take care that,
 " while you are ashamed not to approve yourself one of the best citi-
 " zens, you be not too hasty in determining what is the best. But, if
 " I cannot wholly prevail with you, yet wait at least till you know
 " how we succeed in *Spain*, which, I now tell you, will be ours as
 " soon as *Cæsar* comes thither. What hopes they may have when
 " *Spain* is lost, I know not ; and what your view can be in acceding
 " to a desperate cause, by my faith, I cannot find out. As to the
 " thing, which you discover to me by your silence about it, *Cæsar* has
 " been informed of it ; and, after the first salutation, told me pre-
 " sently what he had heard of you : I denied that I knew any thing of
 " the matter, but begged of him to write to you in a manner the
 " most effectual to make you stay. He carries me with him into *Spain* ;

* It is evident that *Coelius* writes thus to frighten *Cicero*, whom he knew to be a coward. *Caris* told him also, in his way to *Sicily*, that *Cæsar*'s clemency flowed not from his natural disposition, but because he thought it popular ; and that, if he once lost the affections of the people, he would be cruel. *Ad Att.* x. 4.

" if

“ if he did not, I would run away to you, wherever you are, before
 “ I came to *Rome*, to dispute this point with you in person, and hold
 “ you fast even by force. Consider, *Cicero*, again and again, that you
 “ do not utterly ruin both you and yours; that you do not knowingly
 “ and wilfully throw yourself into difficulties, whence you see no way
 “ to extricate yourself. But, if either the reproaches of the better sort
 “ touch you, or you cannot bear the insolence and haughtiness of a
 “ certain set of men, I would advise you to chuse some place remote
 “ from the war, till these contests be over, which will soon be decided:
 “ If you do this, I shall think that you have done wisely, and you
 “ will not offend *Cæsar*.”

The

* The conclusion, the partial conclusion of Dr. Middleton, p. 106, from these letters, is as follows: “ These letters give us the most sensible proof of the high esteem and credit in which *Cicero* flourished at this time in *Rome*: When in a contest for empire, which force alone was to decide, we see the Chiefs on both sides so solicitous to gain a man to their party, who had no peculiar skill in arms, or talents for war: But his name and authority was the acquisition which they sought; since, whatever was the fate of their arms, the world, they knew, would judge better of the cause which *Cicero* espoused. The same letters will confute, likewise, in a great measure, the common opinion of his want of resolution in all cases of difficulty, since no man could shew a greater than he did on the present occasion, when, against the importunities of his friends, and all the invitations of a successful power, he chose to follow the cause which he thought the best, though he knew it to be the weakest.”

The same elegant panegyrist of *Cicero* has laid open, in the following manner, the motives of his conduct at this time. P. 109, 110, 113. “ From the time of his leaving the city, together with *Pompey* and the Senate, there passed not a single day in which he did not write one or more letters to *Atticus*, the only friend whom he trusted with the secret of his thoughts. From these letters it appears, that the sum of *Atticus*’s advice to him agreed intirely with his own sentiments, that, if *Pompey* remained in *Italy*, he ought to join with him; if not, should stay behind, and expect what fresh accidents might produce. This was what *Cicero* had hitherto followed;

“ and as to his future conduct, though he seems sometimes to be a little wavering and irresolute, yet the result of his deliberations constantly turned in favour of *Pompey*. His personal affection for the man, preference of his cause, the reproaches of the better sort, who began to censure his tardiness, and, above all, his gratitude for favours received, which had ever the greatest weight with him, made him resolve at all adventures to run after him; and though he was displeased with his management of the war, and without any hopes of his success; though he knew him before to be no politician, and now perceived him, he says, to be no General; yet, with all his faults, he could not endure the thoughts of deserting him, nor hardly forgive himself for staying so long behind him.—What held him still a while longer was the tears of his family, and the remonstrances of his daughter *Tullia*, who intreated him to wait only the issue of the *Spanish* war, and urged it as the advice of *Atticus*.—Pursuing at last the result of all his deliberations, and preferring the consideration of duty to that of his safety, he embarked to follow *Pompey* on the eleventh of June.”

Mr. Melmoth has given a quite different, *Cic. Lett.* and, I think, a truer account of *Cicero*’s motives. He thinks that his conduct, during this important crisis, evidently shews the strength and measure of his patriotism: “ Upon the news that *Cæsar* was marching into *Italy*, *Pompey* was appointed General in chief of the republican forces: And the principal Magistrates, together with those who were invested with proconsular power, were distributed into different cantons in *Italy*, in order to raise troops for
 “ the

Y. R. 704.
 Bef. Chr.
 48.
 403 Conf.

V. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Cons.

The substance of his answers to these letters from *Cæsar*, *Antony*, and others, is contained in the following letter to *Cælius*, which is written with particular care.

CICERO

“ the defence of the common cause. *Cicero* had his particular district assigned him among the rest: But, instead of executing this important commission with spirit and vigour, he remained altogether inactive at his several villa’s in that part of *Italy*. And this he signified to *Cæsar*, by means of their common friend *Trebatius*; who had written to him in *Cæsar*’s name, in order to prevail with him to return to *Rome*: I answered *Trebatius* that what he required of me was impracticable at this juncture: But that I lived in my own farms, and did not concern myself in the new levies of troops, or any public business. *Ad Att. vii. 37* *Pompey*, in the mean time [a month after] was pressing *Cicero* to join him: But he excused himself by representing, that, while he was actually on the road for that purpose, he was informed that he could not proceed without the danger of being intercepted by *Cæsar*’s troops. *Epist. 2. Cic. ad Pomp. apud Epist. ad Att. viii.* *Cicero*, however, is so ingenuous as to acknowledge in the same letter to *Pompey*, that, so long as there were hopes that the negotiations for a peace would be attended with success, he thought it a justifiable piece of prudence not to be too active in forwarding the preparations that were carrying on against *Cæsar*, remembering, he says, how much he had formerly suffered from the resentment of the latter in the affair of his exile. This was explaining at once the true principle of his whole conduct: And he avows it more expressly in a letter to *Atticus*: Then, say you, why did not you go beyond seas with *Pompey*? I tell you it was out of my power to do it: And I refer you to the days and dates of our letters. At the same time I will frankly confess what I might have easily conceived; I was, perhaps, in the wrong in laying too great a stress upon a certain circumstance, in which I was deceived. I have flattered myself with the hopes of an accommodation: Should that happen, I was unwilling to have *Cæsar* for my enemy, when he was reconciled with *Pompey*. I was sensible that they were still the same men: And it was this

“ that occasioned my indecision. *Ad Att. x. 8.* *Pompey*, however, had no sooner set sail for *Greece*, than *Cicero* was struck with the consciousness of his having acted an unworthy part: *Hitherto I was vexed and uneasy, because unable to come to any resolution. But, now that POMPEY and the Consuls have left Italy, it is no longer vexation and grief, it is anguish and distraction.—I am not, believe me, in my senses, so overwhelmed am I with the infamy, I think, I have incurred. Ad Att. ix. 6.* After several deliberations, therefore, he was determined, he tells *Atticus*, to follow *Pompey*, without waiting for the event of *Cæsar*’s arms in *Spain*. *Ad Att. ix. 19. x. 8.* This resolution, nevertheless, soon gave way to a second: For, having received some accounts which contradicted a former report that had been spread concerning the advantageous posture of *Pompey*’s affairs, *Cicero* renounced his intention of joining him, and now purposed to stand neuter. *Ad Att. x. 9.* But a new turn in favour of *Pompey* seems to have brought *Cicero* back to his former scheme. For, in a subsequent letter to *Atticus*, wherein he mentions some reasons to believe that *Pompey*’s affairs went well in *Spain*, and takes notice, likewise, of some disgust, which the populace expressed towards *Cæsar* in the theatre; we find him resuming his design of openly uniting with *Pompey*. And, accordingly, he resolved to join those who were maintaining *Pompey*’s cause in *Sicily*. *Ad Att. x. 12.* It does not appear, by any of his letters, upon what motive he afterwards exchanged his plan, for that of sailing directly to *Pompey*’s camp in *Greece*: Which, after various debates with himself, he, at length, executed. There is a passage, however, in *Cæsar*’s Commentaries, which perhaps will render it probable, that the news which, about this time, was confidently spread at *Rome*, that *Cæsar*’s army had been almost totally defeated in *Spain*, was the determining reason that sent *Cicero* to *Pompey*. The fact was, that *Afranius* and *Petreibus* had gained some advantages over *Cæsar*: But, as they magnified

“ them

CICERO TO MARCUS COELIUS.

“ I SHOULD have been extremely affected by your letter, if Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48.
 “ reason had not banished from my heart all its disquietudes, and despair 403 Conf.
 “ of seeing better days had not long since hardened it against every new Ep. Fam. ii. 16.
 “ impression of grief; yet, strong as I must acknowledge my despon- Melm. vi. 11.
 “ dency to be, I am not sensible, however, that I said any thing in
 “ my last, which could justly raise the suspicion you have conceived.
 “ What more did my letter contain than general expressions of dissatis-
 “ faction at the sad prospect of our affairs? A prospect, which cannot,
 “ surely, suggest to your own mind less gloomy apprehensions than it
 “ presents to mine. For I am too well persuaded of the force of your
 “ penetration to imagine that my judgment can discover consequences
 “ which lie concealed from yours. but I am surprised that you, who
 “ ought to know me perfectly well, should believe me capable of acting
 “ with so little policy as to abandon a rising fortune, for one in its de-
 “ cline, at least, if not utterly fallen; or so variable, as not only to de-
 “ stroy at once all the interest I have established with *Cæsar*, but to de-
 “ viate even from myself, by engaging at last in a civil war, which it has
 “ hitherto been my determined maxim to avoid. Where then did you
 “ discover those unhappy resolutions you impute to me? Perhaps you
 “ collected them from what I said of secluding myself in some se-
 “ questered solitude. And indeed you are sensible how ill I can submit,
 “ I do not say to endure, but even to be a witness of the insolencies of
 “ the successful party: A sentiment, my friend, which once, I am sure,
 “ was yours no less than mine. But in vain would I retire, whilst I pre-
 “ serve the title with which I am at present distinguished, [of *Impera-*
 “ *tor*] and bear about this embarrassing parade of *Lictors*. Were I
 “ eased of this troublesome honour, there is no part of *Italy* so obscure,
 “ in which I should not be well contented to hide myself. Yet these,
 “ my laurels, unwelcome as they are to myself, are the object both of
 “ the envy and the raillery of my malevolent enemies. [†] Nevertheless,
 under

“ them in their letters to *Rome*, much be-
 “ yond the truth; several persons of note,
 “ who had hitherto been fluctuating in
 “ their resolutions, thought it was high time
 “ to declare themselves, and went off im-
 “ mediately to *Pompey*.” *De Bell. Civ.* i.
 55. *Cicero* very well knew from the be-
 ginning, which was the most honourable
 part for a man of his political principles to
 act under his connections with the Chiefs of
 the aristocracy, and his formal engagements
 to *Pompey*; but the prudential part was
 not so clear a point. He dreaded *Cæsar*’s

resentment, but he was still more afraid of
 the resentment of *Pompey*: “ I find I am
 “ either way in danger; from the one party
 “ by not doing my duty, and from the other
 “ by doing it; and so distracted are public
 “ affairs, that I can steer no course but
 “ what is full of perils.”

[†] *Cicero*, undoubtedly, gave upon this
 occasion but too much colour to the censure
 of his enemies: For it could not but have a
 very strange appearance, that he should
 preserve the thoughts of a triumph, at a time
 when his country was bleeding with a civil
 war.

Y. R. 704. " under all these temptations of withdrawing from so disgusting a
 Bef. Chr. " scene, I never once entertained a thought of leaving *Italy* without the
 48. " previous approbation of yourself and some others. But you know the
 403. Conf. " situation of my several villa's : And as it is among these that I am
 " obliged to divide my time, that I may not incommode my friends ;
 " the preference I give to those which stand on the sea-coast has raised
 " a suspicion that I am meditating a flight into *Greece*. If peace, indeed,
 " were to be found in that country, I should not perhaps be unwilling
 " to undertake the voyage : But to enter upon it, in order to engage in
 " a war, would be altogether inconsistent, surely, with my principles
 " and character ; especially, as it would be taking up arms not only a-
 " gainst a man who I hope is perfectly well satisfied with my conduct,
 " but in favour of one whom it is now impossible I should ever render
 " so. In a word, as I made no secret to you when you met me at
 " my *Cuman* villa, of the conversation which had passed between *Am-*
 " *pius* and myself, you could not be at a loss to guess my sentiments
 " upon this head : And indeed you plainly saw how utterly averse I was
 " to the scheme of *Pompey's* deserting *Rome*. Did I not then affirm,
 " that there was nothing I would not suffer, rather than be reduced to
 " follow the civil war beyond the limits of *Italy* ? And has any event
 " since happened, that could give me just reason of changing my senti-
 " ments ? On the contrary, has not every circumstance concurred to
 " fix me in them. *

" Be assured, (and I am well persuaded 'tis what you already believe)
 " that the single aim of my actions, in these our public calamities, has
 " been to convince the world, that my great and earnest desire was to
 " preserve the peace of our country ; and, when this would no longer be
 " hoped, that there was nothing I wished more, than to avoid taking
 " any part in the civil war. And I shall never, I trust, have reason to
 " repent of firmly persevering in these sentiments. It was the frequent
 " boast, I remember, of my friend *Hortensius*, that he had never taken
 " up arms in any of our civil dissensions. But I may glory in the
 " same honest neutrality, with a much better grace : As that of *Horten-*
sius

war. But, as he was extremely ambitious of this honour, he was greatly unwilling to renounce it ; still flattering himself, perhaps, that some accommodation between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* would afford him an opportunity of enjoying what he so strongly desired. *Melmoth.*

* Notwithstanding *Cicero's* strong assertions, that he had no thoughts of joining *Pompey*, he had actually determined to do so a few days before he received the preceding letter from *Calpurnius* ; as appears by an epistle to *Atticus*, wherein he expressly tells him,

that he was only waiting for a fair wind. But, before he wrote the present letter, he had received some news not altogether favourable to *Pompey's* party : In consequence of which, he renounced his former design, and was now determined, (though he does not think proper to own it in this letter) to retire to *Melia*, as a neutral island. This resolution, however, he soon afterwards rejected, and resumed his first intentions of following *Pompey* into *Greece*. And this scheme he at length executed. *Ad Att. x. 8, 9.*

“ *fius* was suspected to have arisen from the timidity of his temper ; whereas
 “ mine, I think, cannot be imputed to any motive of that unworthy kind.
 [Cicero seems to have been sensible that *Calius* intended to frighten him
 into a neutrality] “ Nor am I in the least terrified by those considera-
 “ tions, with which you so faithfully and affectionately endeavour to
 “ alarm my fears. The truth of it is, there is no calamity so severe,
 “ to which we are not all of us, it should seem, in this universal anarchy
 “ and confusion, equally and unavoidably exposed. But if I could have
 “ averted this dreadful storm from the Republic, at the expence of my
 “ own private and domestic enjoyments, even of those, my friend,
 “ which you so emphatically recommend to my care, I should most
 “ willingly have made the sacrifice. As to my son, (who I rejoice to
 “ find has a share in your concern) I shall leave him a sufficient patri-
 “ mony in that honour with which my name will be remembered, so
 “ long as the Republic shall subsist : And, if it be destroyed, I shall
 “ have the consolation at least to reflect, that he will suffer nothing more
 “ than must be the common lot of every *Roman*. With regard to that
 “ dear and excellent young man, my son-in-law, whose welfare you in-
 “ treat me to consider ; can you once doubt, knowing, as you perfectly
 “ do, the tenderness I bear, not only for him, but for *Tullia*, that I am
 “ infinitely anxious upon his account ? I am the more so indeed, as it
 “ was my single consolation amidst these general distractions, that they
 “ might possibly prove a means of protecting him from those inconve-
 “ niences in which his too generous spirit had involved him. ^b How
 “ much he suffered from them during the time he continued in *Rome*, as
 “ well as how little that circumstance was to my credit, are points
 “ which I choose to leave to your own inquiry.

“ Affairs in *Spain*, I doubt not, will terminate in the manner you
 “ mention. But I neither wait the event of them in order to determine
 “ my conduct, ^c nor am I acting in any other respect with the least arti-
 “ fice. If the Republic should be preserved, I shall certainly hold my
 “ rank in it : But, if it should be subverted, you yourself, I dare say,
 “ will join me in my intended solitude. But this latter supposition is,

K

“ per-

^b It should seem, by this passage, that *Dolabella*, who had contracted very considerable debts, was at this time under some difficulties from his creditors : From whom *Cicero* flattered himself that *Cæsar*’s power would have protected him. Some commentators, however, instead of *liberalitate*, adopted in this translation, read *libertate* : And suppose that *Cicero* alludes to the prosecution in which *Dolabella* had been engaged against *Appius*. But, whichever be the true word, the sentiment is observable. For, surely, it was utterly unworthy of *Ci-*

cero to find the least consolation amidst the calamities of his country, in the hope that they might prove a screen to *Dolabella*, either from the justice of his creditors, or the malice of his enemies. *Melmoth*.

^c The contrary of this was the truth : For *Cicero* was at this time determined to wait the event of *Cæsar*’s expedition against the Lieutenants of *Pompey* in *Spain*. And for this purpose he had thoughts of retiring to *Melia* : *Melitum, opinor, capeßam* (says he to *Atticus*) *dum quid in Hispania*. *Ad Att. x. 9.* *Melm.*

Y. R. 704. " perhaps, the vain and groundless surmise of a disturbed imagina-
 Bef. Chr. " tion; and affairs, after all, may take a happier turn than I am apt
 48. " to presage. I remember the despondency which prevailed in my
 40; Conf. " earliest days amongst our patriots of more advanced years¹: Possibly
 " my present apprehensions may be of the same cast, and no other than
 " the effect of a common weakness incident to old age. Heaven
 " grant they may prove so! And yet you have heard, I suppose, that
 " a robe of magistracy is in the looms for *Oppius*; and that *Curtius*
 " has hopes of being invested with the double-dyed purple: But the
 " principal workman, it seems, somewhat delays him. I throw in
 " this little pleasantry, to let you see I can smile in the midst of my
 " indignation.

" Let me advise you to enter into the affair which I formerly men-
 " tioned concerning *Dolabella*, with the same warmth as if it were your
 " own. I have only to add, that you may depend upon it I shall take
 " no hasty or inconsiderate measures. But, to whatever part of the
 " world I may direct my course, I intreat you to protect both me and
 " mine, agreeably to your honour and to our mutual friendship.
 " Farewell."

Cicero tarried about two months in *Italy*, after *Cæsar's* departure, under continual perplexities, whether to stay or to go; to wait the issue of the *Spanish* war, or to depart before it; whether to sail to *Sicily* first, or to *Malta*, or to *Pompey's* camp. He resolved, at last, to cross the sea to *Pompey*: yet, knowing all his motions to be narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his intention, especially from *Antony*, who resided at this time in his neighbourhood, and kept a strict eye upon him. He sent him word, therefore, by letter, *that he had no design against Cæsar; that he remembered his friendship, and his son-in-law Dolabella; that, if he had other thoughts, he could easily have been with POMPEY; that his chief reason for retiring was to avoid the uneasiness of appearing in public with the formality of his liegors.* But *Antony* (who saw through his finess) wrote him a surly answer; which *Cicero* calls a *Laconic mandate*, and sent a copy of it to *Atticus*, to let him see, he says, *how tyrannically it was drawn.*

———— " How sincere is your way of acting? for he, who has a
 " mind to stand neuter, stays at home; he, who goes abroad, seems
 " to pass a judgment on the one side or the other. But it does not
 " belong to me to determine, whether a man may go abroad or
 " not. *Cæsar* has imposed this task upon me, not to suffer any man
 " to go out of *Italy*. Wherefore it signifies nothing to me to approve

¹ This alludes to the contentions between *Sylla* and *Marins*: Which, notwithstanding the probability of their terminating in the total subversion of the Constitution, the Republic, however, survived. *Melm.*

“ your resolution, if I have no power to indulge you in it. I would
 “ have you write to *Cæsar*, and ask that favour of him : I do not
 “ doubt but you will obtain it, especially since you promise to retain
 “ a regard for our friendship.”

Y. R. 704.
 Bef. Chr.
 48.
 403 Conf.

Antony, after this letter, he tells us, never came to see him, but sent an excuse, *that he was ashamed to do it, because he took him to be angry with him*, giving him to understand, at the same time, by *Trebatius*, *that he had special orders to observe his motions*^k. In these circumstances, while he was preparing all things for his voyage, and waiting only for a fair wind, he removed from his *Cuman* to his *Pompeian* villa beyond *Naples*, which, not being so commodious for an embarkment, would help to lessen the suspicion of his intended flight^l. He at last stole away on the *eleventh of June*^m,

Ad Att. x.
 12. 15.

K 2

with

^k *Cicero*, in his letters to *Atticus*, vents his spleen against *Antony* : He thus describes his usual equipage in travelling about *Italy* : “ He carries with him in an open chaise the “ famed actress *Cytheris* ; his wife follows “ in a second, with seven other close litters “ full of his whores and boys. See by what “ base hands we fall ; and doubt, if you “ can, whether *Cæsar*, let him come van- “ quished or victorious, will not make cruel “ work among us at his return.” Among *Antony*’s other extravagances, he had the insolence to appear sometimes in public, *with his mistress Cytheris, in a chariot drawn by lions*. But *Cicero* tells his friend that, *though the beasts were fierce, the Master himself was very tame*. *Pliny* gravely reflects on this frolic, and speaks of it as a designed insult on the Roman people, as if, by the emblem of lions, *Antony* intended to give them to understand, *that the fiercest spirits of them would be forced to submit to the yoke*. *Plutarch* also mentions it, but both of them place it after the battle of *Pharsalia*, though it is evident, from *Cicero*’s letters, that it happened long before. *Ad Att. x. 10. 13. Middl. p. 107.*

^l *Cicero*, *ad Att. x. 12*, writes : “ I often “ propose to myself the example of *Cælius* “ *Caldus*,” [a consular man of the *Marian* faction, who raised troops for *Marius*, when at war with *Sylla*, and was killed in the attempt to support him] “ Could I find an “ occasion of imitating him, I would not let “ it slip.—I perceive the legions, which “ *Cæsar* raised in *Italy*, are very ill affect- “ ed to him : But he has not a greater foe “ than he is to himself. You rightly fear “ his abandoning himself to all excesses,

“ which he certainly will, if he grows “ desperate. This is the reason why I “ ought to attempt something in the spirit “ of a *Cælius*, but, I hope, with better suc- “ cess.” And, in *Ep. 15*, he says : “ The “ opportunity for executing my project of “ imitating *Cælius* ripens every day : If a “ standard was erected, numbers would flock “ to it.” Now, while he was at his *Pompeian* villa, his friend *Ninnius* brought him a message from the Officers of the three cohorts, which were in garrison at *Pompeii*, to beg leave to wait upon him the day following, in order to deliver their troops and the town into his hands ; but, instead of listening to the overture, he slipped away the next morning before day, to avoid seeing them. “ I reflected, says he, on the fate “ of *Cælius*.” *Ep. 16.* “ I do not blame, “ says *Abbé Mongault*, his circumspection ; “ but why does he boast so much of his “ prowess ?”

^m According to *Usher*’s computation on the first of *April*, or thereabout, of the *Julian* year. Now, if *Cicero* set out so early in the year, it is not possible that he should have heard any thing of the affairs of *Spain*, as he certainly did ; for it was about harvest-time, when *Cæsar* forced *Pompey*’s Lieutenants to capitulate ; and he reduced them to this extremity in forty days, so that he had scarce got into *Spain* by the month of *April* of the *Julian* year. According to our calculation, he sailed about the 15th of *May*. In a letter dated the 16th of *May* of the *Roman* style, *ad Att. x. 17*, he writes : *Nunc quidem æquinoctium nos moratur, quod valde perturbatum erat.* *Abbé Mongault* and *Mir. Guthrie*,

Y. R. 704. with his son, his brother, and nephew, and arrived safely at Dyrrachium.²
Ecl. Chr.

^{48.}
403 Cenz. To make some amends for his past behaviour, and gain the greater authority with his party, he furnished Pompey, who was in great want of money, with a large sum out of his own stock, for the public service. But he met with nothing but disgust: He was reproached by some for coming so late; and Cato blamed him for coming to them at all, and deserting that neutral post, which might have given him the better opportunity of bringing about an accommodation. Pompey gave him no employment; and his counsels were slighted as timorous and cowardly; so that he soon repented of having embarked in the war, contrary to the advice of his best friends. In this disagreeable situation he resumed his usual way of raillery, and, what he could not dissuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his jests. By this conduct he is said to have provoked Pompey so far, that he told him, *I wish you would go over to the other side, that you may begin to fear us*: And it gave occasion afterwards to Antony, in a speech to the Senate, to censure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect not only upon his fears, but the unseasonableness also of his jokes^o. Having paid this attention to the greatest civil character of his time, let us return to Caesar, whom we left in his progress to Rome.

Ad Ant. xi. 3, 13. Caesar, so vigorous in action, so temperate in victory, was now become the object of public admiration all over Italy. The municipal towns in the southern parts, who, the year before, had put up prayers for Pompey's recovery, were now as earnest to shew their zeal for his rival; and he every-where received congratulations on his success. The people flocked to Rome, not only those whom particular favours

Guthrie, deceived by our learned Primate, have translated these lines in this sense: *I wait for the equinox, the season of which is now in great confusion*. But it is plain that the equinox was passed; *quod perturbatum erat*: The equinox, which has been very tempestuous, stops me. In the next letter, dated the 19th of May, he says he is detained by the dead calms more than by the guards that watch him: *Ne mirifice tranquillitates adhuc tenerent*. This description of storms and subsequent calms agrees very well with the month of April, in which, according to our computation, these letters were written, one on the 22d, the other on the 25th.

Middl. p. 124. We have no account of the manner and circumstances of his voyage, or by what course he steered towards Dyrrachium: For, after his leaving Italy, all his correspondence with it was in a great measure cut off, so that, from

June, in which he sailed, we find an intermission of about nine months in the series of his letters, and not more than four of them written to Atticus during the continuance of the war. Ad Att. xi. 1, 2, 3, 4.

^o Some of Cicero's sayings on this occasion are preserved by different writers. When Pompey put him in mind of his coming so late to them: How can I come late, said he, when I find nothing in readiness among you? And upon Pompey's asking him sarcastically, Where his son-in-law Dolabella was; He is with your father-in-law, replied he. To a person newly arrived from Italy, and informing them of a strong report at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up by Caesar; and you sailed thither therefore, said he, that you might see it with your own eyes. Vid. Macrobi. Sat. ii. 3. Plut. in Cic. Middl. p. 116.

had

had attached to his person, but those also, who, guided by their interest, thought, with *Calpurnius*, that in civil contentions, when it came to arms, the *stronger* side was the *best*, because the *safest*. Several also of the Nobles, of the *honest*, were more complaisant than *Cicero*; and did not think it advisable to disregard *Cæsar's* solicitations: Among these were *Servius Sulpicius*, *Volcatius Tullus*, and *M. Lepidus*. The city neither wanted a Senate, nor its Magistrates, except the Consuls: The Prætors administered justice as usual; and the Ediles were making preparations for the public games. *M. Antony* and *Q. Cassius*, two Tribunes of the people, the most zealous in *Cæsar's* interest, convoked, on his arrival, the Senate in the suburbs, that he might be present without the infringement of the laws.

In his harangue to the House, after complaining of the injuries of his enemies, he said, "that he had never affected extraordinary and " *illegal* honours", but waited patiently the time prescribed by the " laws to solicit for a second consulship. That the people, with the " concurrence of the whole college of Tribunes, had allowed him to " stand candidate, though absent, and that even in the consulship of " *Pompey*; who might have prevented the passing of the decree, if he " had disapproved of it; and who could now have no good reason to " oppose it. That he had given proof of his moderation, by having " voluntarily proposed, that both parties should lay down their arms; " a measure which would have divested him of his government and " command. That the malice of his enemies was such, that they " sought to impose terms upon him, to which they would not submit " themselves; chusing rather to involve the state in a civil war, than " to part with their armies and provinces. That he had been injured " by having two of his legions taken away from him, and that the " violation of the authority of the Tribunes was oppressive and inso- " lent. That he had frequently made offers of peace, and had often " desired an interview; and that all his efforts for an accommodation " and the public good had been ineffectual." Upon all these accounts, he requested and conjured the Senate to take the Republic under their protection, and to assist him to govern it: And, if they declined, he said, through fear, this important charge, he would take it wholly upon himself. He then proposed to send Deputies to *Pompey* to treat of an accommodation. " Nor was he moved, he told them, by a re- " flection which *Pompey* had made lately in the House, that to send

^p *Pompey* had been habituated to them from his youth, and made haughty and insolent by them: He would bear no equal, and *Cæsar* did not think himself obliged to acknowledge him for his superior:

*Nec quumquam jam ferre potest Cæsarve priorem,
Pompeiusve parem.*— — Lucan.

" Sure then *Cæsar* comes nearer to the com-
" monwealth's-man than *Pompey*. *Pompey's*
" *no equal* has a visible tincture of offensive
" ambition; while *Cæsar's* *no superior*, at
" most, aspires but to a share in command-
" ing." *Cibber*. p. 183.

" Deputies

Y. R. 704. "Deputies was to acknowledge the superiority of him to whom they were
 Bef. Chr. 48. "sent, and a mark of timidity in the sender. This, he said, was a low
 423 Conf. "way of thinking; and, in the same manner as he had endeavoured at
 "a superiority in action, he would also strive at a superiority in justice
 "and equity." This proposal of a deputation was generally applauded; but no one was found who would undertake the office: And three days were spent in debates and excuses upon this point. For *Pompey* had declared, before his departure, *that he should look upon those who staid behind in Rome equally guilty with those who were in CÆSAR's camp*⁹.

L. xli. p. 150. *Dio* writes, that, having also assembled the people without the city, he harangued in the same strain, and promised to keep up plenty in *Rome*, by sending corn from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and to make a donative of three hundred sesterces to each of the poorer citizens; and that, in consequence of these pacific speeches, the *Romans* resumed the appearance of peace, which they had put off from the taking of *Rimini*; but were far from being easy. The great number of *Cæsar's* soldiers in the city; the little confidence to be put in a language which the circumstances of affairs might dictate; and the examples of *Marius* and *Sylla*, who had made as fair promises at first; all contributed to excite the anxiety and terror of the more deliberate and thoughtful.

About 21.
105.

Cæsar, finding that the Senate was backward to take any resolution, and that his enemies had engaged *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes, to oppose his designs, was not willing to waste his time to no purpose; and he resolved not to commit the same error his enemies had been guilty of, in leaving behind them the public money. He therefore ordered the Treasury to be broke open, and seized the money for his own use. *Metellus* had the boldness to attempt to obstruct him in this measure; and *Cæsar* is said to have treated him with unusual roughness; telling him *that it was in vain to talk of laws in the midst of arms; and that he*

Ad Att. ix. 7. *Cicero* himself was not very forward to undertake the task of peace-making; and others might very well be backward: He writes thus to *Atticus*: "But, if *Cæsar* does not leave me at liberty to stand neuter, you advise me to declare myself publicly a mediator for an accommodation. No danger shall deter me from that: For, surrounded as I am with dangers, act how I will, why not expose myself to that which will do me the most honour? But I am afraid lest this should gail *Pompey*, and engage him to give me a very bad reception. For our friend affects strangely the domination of *Sylla*. I know what I say, and he has never made less a secret of any thing in his life, than he does of this. If such, say you, are his dispositions, would you follow him? Believe me, my friend, I

"follow him for the kindnesses he has done me, not as he is the head of a party. I befriend him as I did *Milo*, as I did —, Then, say you, you disapprove of his cause. No, it is an excellent one: but, remember what I say; he and his party will act scandalously. They will endeavour to starve *Rome* and *Italy*; then plunder and burn their country, and seize the properties of monied men. — If *Pompey* prevails, we will not leave in *Italy* one stone upon another." And *Ad Att. ix. 10.* he says, "What threatenings against our free towns, against some of our patriots in particular, and against all those who staid behind! How frequent was that saying in *Pompey's* mouth, *Could Sylla do such a thing, and cannot I do it!*"

was

was Master, not only of the money, but of the lives of all those whom he had conquered. The Tribune, not being intimidated by these terrible words, and persisting in his opposition with the applause of some that were present, *Cæsar* threatened to kill him, adding: *Young man, consider it is harder for me to say it than to do it.* Some people, says *Plutarch*, yet ventured to represent, that there was in the Treasury a sacred fund, not to be employed but under the terror of a *Gallic* invasion: *I have entirely removed that scruple,* replied *Cæsar*, *by subduing the Gauls.* He found there, according to *Pliny's* computation, twenty-five thousand bars of gold, thirty-five thousand of silver, and forty millions of sesterces¹.

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

About
322,9161.

Cæsar left the city immediately after this necessary but unpopular step, and, as *Curio* told *Cicero*, much disturbed to see the people disgusted with it. He had resolved to speak to them before he set out, but he durst not venture upon it for fear of some affront: And hurried away much discomposed, having made a stay of only six or seven days.

¹ *Pliny* has also related, l. xxxiii. 3, that *Cæsar* took out of the Treasury 1500 pounds of *Lafer* of *Cyrene*, a drug of great value among the ancients, and much esteemed by them, not only for medicinal use, but for sauce. This drug is, however, according

to the opinion of an author much to be depended on in these matters, what we now call *assa fetida*, the taste and smell of which are scarce to be borne. The Orientals are to this day very fond of it. *Crevier*.

Geoffroi
Mat. Med.
t. ii. p. 606.

CHAP. IV.

The reduction of SARDINIA by VALERIUS, of SICILY by CURIO, and of SPAIN by CÆSAR.

CÆSAR, before he set out for Spain, committed the care of the city to the Prætor *L. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was afterwards Triumvir with *Antony* and *Octavius*: He appointed *Antony* to command the forces in Italy, named his brother *C. Antonius* to the government of *Illyricum*, and *Licinius Crassus* to that of *Cisalpine Gaul*. He also gave orders for the speedy fitting out of two fleets, the one to guard the coasts of the *Adriatic*, of which he made *Dolabella* Admiral; the other, under the direction of *Q. Hortensius*¹, the son of the famous Orator of that name,

¹ Young *Hortensius* had been disinherited by his father, who left his great wealth to his wife *Marcia*. This lady had been married before to *Cato*, by whom she had several children; and was actually with child when he consented to let his friend have her. When she was a rich widow, *Cato* took her back again: Which gave, says *Plutarch*, in *Cat.* an occasion to *Cæsar* to reproach him with covetousness and mercenary views. For, said he, if he wanted a wife, why did

he part with her? And, if he did not, why did he take her again? Unless he gave her only as a bait to *Hortensius*; and lent her when she was young, to have her again when she was rich. This behaviour of *Cato* did not inspire the young man with any zeal for his and *Pompey's* cause; and, though the father was a pillar of the *Aristocratical* faction, it is no wonder to see the son employed on the popular side.

was

Y. B. 1224. was to protect those of the *Tuian* sea. He set at liberty, at the same
 Bell. Civ. time, the unfortunate *Aristobulus*, formerly King of the *Jews*, and sent
 43 him to *Judea*, to raise commotions there, and give disturbance to *Sci-*
 423 C. 1. 1. *pio*, who was gone to his province of *Syria*, to gather forces and money for *Pompey*.

Valerius and *Curio* had been appointed at *Brundisium* to pass over into *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; and they now set out with *Cæsar* for the execution of his orders, in which they met with no opposition. The inhabitant of *Callaris*, now *Cagliari*, the principal town in *Sardinia*, no sooner heard of *Valerius's* commission, than they drove out *Cotta*; who commanded there for *Pompey*, and who, finding the whole island in *Cæsar's* interest, fled precipitately into *Africa*.

Cato had been sent into *Sicily* by *Pompey* some weeks before he left *Italy*. On his arrival there, he applied himself with great diligence to gather forces for both the sea and land service. He refitted old ships and caused new ones to be built, and he ordered the several states of the island to furnish him with levies of horse and foot. He also sent his Officers to raise troops in *Lucania*, and the country of the *Brutii*. But, perceiving that he was not to be supported by *Pompey*, and must trust entirely to his own strength, he did not think it expedient to defend his province: And, calling his officers together, he complained of *Pompey*, who, without any previous preparations, had involved the Commonwealth in an unnecessary war; and who, when questioned by himself and others, in the Senate, had assured them that he was in readiness to sustain it. Having declared, in this manner, his sentiments, he quitted the island on the approach of *Curio*. *Cicero* was much scandalised at this conduct, being persuaded that he might have held his possession without difficulty, and that all honest men would have flocked to him, especially when *Pompey's* fleet was so near to support him. *I wish*, says he, *that Cotta may hold out Sardinia, as it is said he will; for, if so, how base will Cato's behaviour appear!* And he cites *Curio*, as being of this opinion, who, he says, confessed, that, if *Pompey's* fleet had appeared upon the coast and begun to act, *he would himself have run away the first*.

Cæsar, on his arrival in *Gaul*, was informed that *Pompey* had sent *Vibullius Rufus* into *Spain*; who, not many days before, had been taken

* *Plutarch in Cat. and Appian de Bell. Civ. l. ii.* relate, that *Asinius Pollio*, having brought over some troops to *Messana* before *Curio's* arrival, *Cato* sent to him to inquire, by whose authority, whether of the Senate or the people, he had landed in his province: That *Pollio* answered, *it was by the authority of him who was Master in Italy*: That *Cato*, at the same time, being informed that *Pompey* had really failed for *Dyr-*

ebium, said he could easily drive *Pollio* out of *Sicily*; but, as greater forces were coming to join him, he would not engage the island in a war; and after complaining, not of *Pompey*, as *Cæsar* relates, but of the Gods, who gave *Pompey* success in every foolish and dishonest enterprise, and now abandoned him when he was defending his country, he advised the people of *Syracuse* to submit to *Curio*, and provide for their own safety.

prisoner

prisoner at *Corfinium*, and had been set at liberty; that *L. Domitius*,^{Y. R. 704. Buf. Cl. 48. 403 Cont.} named by the Senate to the government of *Gaul*, was expected at *Marseilles*; and that, to prepare the way for his reception, the *Massilian* Deputies in *Rome*, young men of the first quality, had been sent home by *Pompey*, before he left the city; and had been exhorted by him to remain in their ancient attachment and fidelity to the Senate, and not to suffer the memory of his past services to their country to be blotted out by those they had since received from *Cæsar*. The inhabitants of *Marseilles*, in consequence of these remonstrances, had determined to shut their gates against *Cæsar*, and called to their aid the *Albici*, a barbarous people who had long been under their protection, and inhabited the adjoining mountains. They laid in stores of provisions, set up workshops for the making of arms, refitted their navy, repaired their walls and gates, and neglected nothing to put their town in a state of defence.

The government of the city was aristocratical, the whole power^{Strab. l. 1. p. 179.} being in the hands of a Senate consisting of six hundred Nobles, who held their places for life: But out of this number there was formed a Council of fifteen for the execution of the laws and dispatch of business. *Cæsar* sent for these, and exhorted them to follow the example and authority of all *Italy*, which was now in his interest, rather than the will of one particular person and his adherents. The Counsellors, returning into the city, assembled the Senate on this important occasion, which sent back the following answer: "That they saw that the *Romans* were divided into two parties, and that it did not belong to them to decide the quarrel. That at the head of these parties were *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, both patrons of their city; the first having added to its dominion the country of the *Volca-Arecomici* and *Helvii*; the other that of the *Salyæ*: And that, as they were equally indebted to both, it did not become them to assist the one against the other; but to remain in a state of neutrality, and to grant to neither an admittance into their town or port.

This answer had just been given, when *Domitius* arrived at *Marseilles*, with a fleet of seven galleys, which he had manned with the slaves, freedmen, and peasants, who belonged to his lands in *Tuscany*. He was received, however, into the town, was appointed its Governor, and charged with the administration of the war; and by his order the *Massilian* fleet was sent out immediately to sail along the coasts, that it might seize and bring in all the merchant-vessels it could find, in order that they might be made fit for service, or taken to pieces to repair others. *Cæsar* was incensed at these proceedings, and, being sensible of the consequence of leaving behind him in the interest of his enemies a city which was the key of *Gaul*, he resolved to lay siege to it directly both by sea and land. He appointed three legions for this purpose, and, at the same time that he prepared towers and other works for the approaches by land, he had twelve galleys built at *Arles*; which, being

Y. R. 704. completed, and brought down the *Rhone* to *Marseilles* in thirty days, he
 Bel. Chr. gave the command of them to *Decimus Brutus*, and charged *C. Trebo-*
 48. *nus* with the conduct of the siege.
 403 Conl.

The employment *Cæsar* found so unexpectedly at *Marseilles* delayed not his *Spanish* expedition. While preparations were making for the siege, he sent *C. Fabius* with three legions that were quartered near *Narbonne*, to take possession of the passes of the *Pyrenees*, which were guarded by a party of *Afranius's* troops: And this Commander, having forced these, advanced by long marches towards the main army. *Pompey* had three Lieutenants in *Spain*, *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro*: The first of these was at the head of three legions in the nearer *Spain*: The other two, reckoning their new levies, had each two legions. *Petreius* commanded from the *Castilian* forest to the *Anas*: *Varro* from the *Anas* quite through *Lusitania* and the territories of the *Vettones*. These Lieutenants, upon the arrival of *Vibullius Rufus*, had consulted together, and agreed, that *Petreius* should join *Afranius* with his two legions, and that *Varro* should remain in further *Spain* and secure that province. They raised with all diligence eighty cohorts among the *Spaniards*, and five thousand horse; and determined to make *Ilerda* the seat of the war, on account of its convenient situation, upon a rising ground, twenty miles from the *Iberus*, between the rivers *Sicoris* and *Cinga*.

Lerida.

Segre.

Cæsar sent after *Fabius* what other legions he had in *Gaul* not employed at the siege of *Marseilles*; which could not be more than two, unless he brought from *Italy* the three with which he had made himself master of it. To these legions he added six thousand auxiliary foot, and three thousand horse, who had served under him in all his former wars; and he was now furnished with as many more. For, having heard that *Pompey* was coming with his whole force through *Mauritania* into *Spain**, he sent circular letters to all the *Gallie* States, inviting by name those of the most known and approved valour, and, in particular, a select body of mountaineers from *Aquitania*, where it borders upon the *Roman* province. And, to assure himself the better of the fidelity of both officers and soldiers in his army, he borrowed sums of money of all his Tribunes and Centurions; which he distributed among the soldiers; by that means engaging his officers by their own interest, and the soldiers by his liberality. He soon followed himself, with nine hundred horse, which he had kept for a body-guard.

Fabius, before *Cæsar's* arrival, had left nothing unattempted for gaining the country round about to his party by his letters and ambassadors. He had already laid two bridges over the *Sicoris*, four miles distant from each other, for the convenience of foraging, having consumed all the pas-

* It was reported at this time in *Italy*, And this news, says *Cicero*, is grounded upon that *Pompey*, at the head of a great army, indisputable authority. *Ad Att. x. 9.* had passed through *Illyria* into *Germany*:

ture on his side of the river. *Pompey's* Generals did the same, and with the same view; which occasioned frequent skirmishes between the horse. It happened, one day, that two of *Pompey's* legions, going out to guard the foragers, according to custom, had passed the river, and, the carriages and cavalry endeavouring to follow after, the bridge broke down on a sudden, and prevented them from joining the foot. This *Afranius* and *Petorius* perceiving, by the hurdles and other materials that came swimming down with the stream, immediately detached four legions, with all their cavalry, to attack the two legions. *L. Plancus*, who commanded the foraging guard, seized a rising ground, and, forming his men in two divisions, posted them back to back, and so made a double front to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy's horse. By this disposition, though inferior in number, he was enabled to sustain the furious charge of the *Pompeian* legions and cavalry, till the colours of two legions, which *Fabius* sent over by the further bridge to the assistance of his party, were descried at a distance. Their approach put an end to the engagement, and both armies returned to their several camps.

Two days after this engagement, *Cæsar* arrived in the camp*: And he ordered the bridge that had broke down to be instantly repaired. The next day he took a view of the country, and, leaving six cohorts to guard the bridge and the camp, he marched with the rest of his forces in three lines to *Ilerda* and stopped near *Afranius's* camp, where he remained under arms, and offered him battle on an even ground. *Afranius* drew out his troops and formed them half-way down the hill. *Cæsar*, finding that he declined an engagement upon equal terms, resolved to encamp within four hundred paces of the foot of the mountain; and, to hinder his troops from being alarmed or interrupted in their works by sudden incursions from the enemy, he ordered the soldiers of the third line, while those of the first and second continued in order of battle, to cut a ditch fifteen feet broad behind them, without throwing up a rampart, which would have been perceived by the enemy. Thus the front of his camp was secured by a ditch, before *Afranius* had the least suspicion of his design to encamp so near him. In the evening he made the legions file off by the two ends of the ditch, and brought them behind it, where he passed the whole night under arms. The day after, he carried his entrenchments quite round the camp: And, because materials for a rampart must have been fetched from a great distance, he contented himself for the present with a naked ditch; allotting a legion to each side of the camp, and keeping the rest of the troops under arms to cover those employed in the works. The *Pompeian* Generals came down with their troops as far as the bottom of the mountain, and threatened to give battle. But

* *Cæsar* arrived at *Marseilles* before the end of the month of *April*: (*Ad Att.* x. 10.) and he seems to have reached his army in *Spain* before the end of the month of *May*.

V. R. 724.
Bel. Cir.
45.
403. Com. *Cæsar*, trusting to the three legions under arms, and the defence of his ditch, did not call off his workmen; and *Afranius*, not venturing to come farther into the plain, after a short stay, wheeled off with his men. The third day *Cæsar* added a rampart to his fortifications, and sent orders to the cohorts he had left behind, to decamp, and come up to him.

Cæf. de
Bel. Civ.
Com. lib. i. Between the city of *Ilerda* and the hill, where *Petreibus* and *Afranius* were encamped, there was a plain of about three hundred paces; in the midst of which was a rising ground: And *Cæsar* perceived, that, by the means of this post, it would be easy for him to deprive the enemy of the conveniency of their bridge, and their communication with the city, from whence they furnished themselves with all their subsistence. In order to get possession of it, he drew out three legions, and, having formed them in order of battle, commanded the foremost of them to run before and gain the place. *Afranius*, seeing his design, dispatched, by a nearer way, the cohorts that were upon guard to the same eminence. The fight was sharply maintained on both sides: but *Afranius's* men, who first got possession, obliged those of *Cæsar* to give ground; and, being reinforced by fresh supplies, put them at last to the rout, and forced them to fly for shelter to the legions. *Cæsar* ascribes the advantage which *Afranius's* troops had over his on this occasion to their manner of fighting. It was their method to come forward briskly against an enemy, and boldly possess themselves of some post; neither taking care to preserve their ranks, nor holding it necessary to fight in a close compact body; and, if they found themselves hard pressed, they thought it no dishonour to retire. In these particulars they followed the example of the *Lusitani* and the other barbarous nations of *Spain*. This manner of fighting, as it was new and unexpected, disordered *Cæsar's* men, who, seeing the enemy come forward without regard to order, were apprehensive of being surrounded, while they were obliged to maintain their ranks, and not to abandon their ensigns.

Cæsar, contrary to his expectation, finding the consternation like to spread through the whole army, encouraged his men, and, leading on himself the ninth legion to the assistance of those that fled, he soon put a stop to the vigorous and insulting pursuit of the enemy, obliged them in their turn to give way, and pursued them to the very walls of *Ilerda*. But the soldiers, elated with success, and eager to repair the loss they had sustained, followed the runaways with so much impetuosity, that they were drawn into a disadvantageous place, and found themselves directly under the hill where the town stood; whence, when they endeavoured to retire, the enemy, facing about, charged them vigorously from the higher ground. The hill was rough and steep on each side, and the spot, where they stood, was so narrow, that only three cohorts could be drawn up in front, which could be neither reinforced in flank, nor protected by the cavalry. The enemy's forces increased every moment,
fresh

fresh cohorts being sent from the camp through the town, to relieve those that were fatigued: And *Cæsar* was obliged to detach also small parties to maintain the battle, and bring off the wounded.

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

The fight had lasted five hours, without intermission, when *Cæsar's* men, pressed by the multitude of the enemy, and having spent their darts, attacked the cohorts on the hill sword in hand, and, bearing down a few, obliged the rest to betake themselves to flight. The pursuit was continued to the very walls of *Ilerda*, and, a part of the enemy taking shelter within the town, *Cæsar's* men had an opportunity of making good their retreat. At the same time the cavalry found means to gain the summit of the mountain, and, riding between both armies, hindered the enemy from harrassing the rear. Thus the engagement was attended with various turns of fortune; and both sides, of consequence, laid claim to the victory: *Cæsar's* soldiers, because they had bravely maintained themselves for five hours in a disadvantageous post, and had, at last, driven the enemy into the town; and *Afranius's* soldiers, because they had kept possession of the hill which had occasioned the battle. The loss on both sides was but inconsiderable for so long and so fierce a contention. *Cæsar* lost the first Centurion of the *bastati* of the fourteenth legion, with about seventy men: And above six hundred were wounded. On the other side were slain five Centurions and above two hundred soldiers. *Afranius*, made sensible of the great importance of the disputed post, caused the place to be fortified, and placed in it a strong garrison for its defence.

This engagement was followed, two days after, by an accident, which brought *Cæsar's* whole army into the greatest distress and danger. A violent storm of rain, and the melted snow from the mountains, made the *Sicoris* overflow its banks, and break down, in the same day, the two bridges which *Fabius* had erected over it. Thus *Cæsar* found himself shut up in a compass of thirty miles, between two rivers, neither of which was fordable. The States that had declared for him could supply him with no provisions: the troops sent beyond the river to forage could not return to the camp; and the convoys he expected from *Gaul* and *Italy* could not get to him. It was almost harvest-time, and for that reason corn was become very scarce, and the more so, as *Afranius* had carried great quantities of it into *Ilerda*, and the rest had been consumed by *Cæsar's* troops. The cattle, which were the next resource in the present want, had been removed to a distance by the neighbouring nations, upon the breaking out of the war. The parties, sent out to get provisions in the country that lay behind the camp, were perpetually harrassed by the *Spanish* infantry, who, being accustomed to pass the rivers on blown-up skins, pursued them every-where.

Cæsar endeavoured to repair his bridges, but to no purpose: The river was deep and rapid, and the enemy, stationed along the opposite bank, showered their darts upon the spot where the men attempted to

work.

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Corf.

work. While things were in this posture, a large convoy from *Gaul* arrived on the other bank of the river, at some distance above *Cæsar's* camp. It consisted of archers from the *Rutkeni*, some *Gallic* horse, with many carts and much baggage, and about six thousand men of all sorts, with their domestics and slaves, who, being apprehensive of no danger, kept no order or discipline in their march. There were likewise along with it many young Noblemen, Senators sons, and *Roman* Knights, with the Deputies from the States of *Gaul*, and some of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants. *Afranius*, apprised of their arrival, set out in the night with three legions and all his cavalry; and, sending the horse before, attacked them, when they least expected it. The *Gallic* squadrons, forming themselves with great expedition, began the fight; and, though few in number, comparatively with the enemy, maintained their ground, and gave the rest of the convoy time to repair to the neighbouring mountains; whither they also retreated, as soon as they saw the legions advancing towards them. They lost only two hundred archers, a few troopers, and some servants and baggage.

About 1 l.
30 s.

This event served to enhance the price of provisions; a calamity inseparable from present scarcity, and the prospect of future want. Corn was sold at *fifty denarii* a bushel: The soldiers began to lose their strength, and, the evil increasing every moment, *Cæsar* dismissed all the useless mouths. *Afranius*, on the contrary, abounded in all things: He had large magazines of corn, was continually receiving fresh supplies, and had plenty of forage.

These circumstances were greatly exaggerated by *Afranius* and *Petrius* in their letters to *Rome*, where most people concluding, that the war was almost at an end, made public congratulations to the relations of the two Generals on their great success. Many also of the Nobility left *Italy* in order to join *Pompey*; some to carry the first accounts of this grateful news, others that they might not be so late as to subject themselves to the reproach of having waited for the event of things. Among the rest, *Servius Sulpicius* and *C. Marcellus* probably put to sea on this occasion, and, perhaps, *Cicero* himself; for intelligence of the battle of *Ilerda*, and of *Cæsar's* distress, might very well have reached him before the *eleventh* of *June*.

The joy of *Pompey's* party was but short. *Cæsar*, seeing no possibility of repairing the bridges, gave orders for the building some of that sort of vessels, the use whereof he had learned in his *British* expedition. The keel and ribs of these boats were of light wood, and the rest of osier covered over with leather. When he had got a sufficient number, he sent them by night in waggons to a place twenty-two miles distant from his camp. There having embarked a good number of his soldiers and carried them over the river, he took possession of a hill on the other side; threw up a fortification and posted a legion in it before the enemy thought of obstructing him: And here, in two days time, he laid a bridge

bridge over the *Sicoris*, by which means he recovered his foragers, secured the convoy, and opened a passage for future supplies.

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.

The change of fortune was sudden and great. *Cæsar* being much superior in cavalry, the enemy was now reduced to confine their foraging within the neighbourhood of their camp; and to detach parties for that purpose in the night. Six considerable States also[†] declared themselves in his favour, and agreed to furnish him with provisions. A cohort composed from one of them, which served under *Afranius*, deserted to him upon hearing the resolution of their countrymen. The other provinces more distant, seeing the rumour industriously spread of *Pompey's* march through *Mauritania* quite extinguished, renounced also their engagements with *Afranius*, and besought *Cæsar's* friendship.

48.
403 Conf.

The bridge over the *Sicoris* was twenty-two miles from the camp, which obliged the cavalry to take this compass, when they went to forage: And *Cæsar*, to remedy this inconveniency, undertook to make the river fordable by turning its water into canals, thirty feet deep. When the work was almost completed, *Petreius* and *Afranius*, perceiving that they would be soon cut off from their provisions by a cavalry so superior to their own, took the resolution to carry the war into *Celtiberia*; a province where *Pompey's* fame was great, and where they expected to make new levies of horse and foot. They proposed by taking possession of some strong post to protract the war till winter. In order to execute this plan, they got together all the boats they could on the *Iberus*, and carried them to *Ostogesa*, a town upon that river, about twenty miles from their camp. There they cauled a bridge of boats to be made; and, having sent two legions over the *Sicoris* to fortify a camp with a rampart of twelve feet, they prepared to follow with the rest of their army.

Cæsar, informed of this motion by his scouts, laboured day and night at his drains, and lowered the water in the *Sicoris* to that degree that the cavalry could pass without difficulty; but it still took the infantry up to the shoulders, a depth which, joined to the rapidity of the stream, seemed to render it impassable to them. On the other side, *Afranius*, seeing *Cæsar's* works in such forwardness, and having notice that the bridge over the *Iberus* was perfected, lost no time, but, leaving two auxiliary cohorts in *Ilerda*, he crossed the *Sicoris* with all his forces, and joined the two legions he had sent before. *Cæsar* had no means of stopping their march, but by harassing them with his cavalry; for he could not send his foot soon enough over his bridge, the distance was so great.

He ordered therefore his horse to pass the river; and they soon came up with *Afranius*, who had decamped at midnight. At break of day their motions were easily descried from the hills near the camp. They

† The *Oscenses*, *Calagurritani*, *Tarraconenses*, *Jacetani*, *Ausetani*, and *Illurgavonenses*.
pressed.

Y. R. 704. pressed extremely the enemy's rear, disordered their ranks, and obliged
 B. 7. Cl. them to halt: Then the cohorts facing about forced the cavalry to give
 48. ground; who, as soon as they began to march, renewed the attack.
 40; C. C.

At this sight the legionary soldiers, running up and down the camp, loudly complained, that the enemy would escape, and that the war would be unnecessarily protracted: And they desired their officers to assure *Cæsar*, that they feared neither danger nor fatigue, and were ready to pass the river as the horse had done. *Cæsar*, moved by their alacrity, though he saw some danger in exposing his army in a deep and rapid stream, yet resolved to make a trial of the passage. Having first drawn from every company such as were weak of body, he left them with one legion to guard the camp. Then disposing a double line of cavalry above and below the ford, he carried over all his soldiers without the loss of one man. Those, who were borne down by the violence of the current, were saved by the horse below them. *Cæsar* began the pursuit without delay, marching in three lines; and such was the ardour of the soldiers, that, though they were forced to go six miles about, and had lost a great deal of time in passing the river, they came up with the enemy at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Afranius and *Petreius*, intimidated by an approach so sudden and unexpected, halted on an eminence, and put their troops in order of battle. *Cæsar* kept his in the plain, being unwilling to hazard an action till his army had recovered their fatigue. But, the moment that the two Generals began again to move on, he followed; and thus forced them to encamp much sooner than they intended. They took up their quarters in a range of mountains to avoid the insults of the cavalry; and, having placed parties in all the passes to stop *Cæsar*'s progress, hoped by this means to get off safe to the *Iberus*. This, says *Cæsar*, was their great object, and what, above all things, they should have endeavoured to effect: But, being fatigued by a long march, and their continual skirmishes with the horse, they imprudently deferred it till the next day. *Cæsar* likewise encamped on a hill not far from them.

About midnight, however, *Cæsar*'s cavalry, having picked up some soldiers of the enemy, who had ventured too far from the camp in quest of water, were informed by them that *Pompey*'s Lieutenants had altered their resolution, and were decamping in deep silence. Immediately he ordered the alarm to be sounded, and the signal given for marching: Which engaged the enemy to delay their retreat, as they would have had greatly the disadvantage in a nocturnal march, both on account of their heavy baggage, and the superiority of *Cæsar*'s cavalry. Next day, *Petreius* went out with a party of horse to take a view of the country: And *Decidius Saxa* ² was detached by *Cæsar* with a squadron for the same pur-

² This *Decidius Saxa* was afterwards advanced by *Cæsar* to be Tribune of the people, at which *Cicero* was much scandalised. In his 13th *Philippic* he says, "How can I omit

purpose. Both made the like report, in their several camps, that the country for five miles together was level and open, but after that rough and mountainous ; and that which ever army first got possession of the defiles might easily prevent the other from approaching.

Y. R. 724
Bef. C. h.
48.
403 Cont.

Afranius and *Petreius* called a Council of war to debate whether they should depart that night, or wait till the morning. The greater number were for setting out in the dark, in hopes of reaching the defiles before *Cæsar* could have notice of their departure. Others argued against the possibility of decamping privately. They mentioned “ the alarm given in *Cæsar*’s camp the night before ; and observed, that the enemy’s cavalry were continually patrolling in the night, and had beset all the ways and passes ; that a nocturnal engagement was to be avoided, because, in a civil war, the soldiers were more apt to listen to their fears, than to the obligations of the military oath ; that shame, and the presence of the Tribunes and Centurions, the great instruments of obedience and military duty, could have their proper effect only in the light ; and that therefore they should make their attempt by day ; in which case, if they received a disaster, or small loss, yet the bulk of the army would escape, and be able to possess themselves of the post in question.” These reasons prevailed, and it was resolved to set out the next morning by break of day.

But *Cæsar* got the start of them, and marched with his legions as soon as it was light, taking a considerable circuit, and following no particular route : For the direct way to the *Iberus* by *Ostogesa* lay through the enemy’s camp. He was obliged therefore to lead his men through deep valleys, and over steep rocks, which they could not climb, but by disencumbering themselves of their arms, and returning them afterwards to one another. The soldiers, however, in the hopes of putting speedily a period to their labours, went on joyfully. As in this march *Cæsar*’s army seemed to turn their backs, and pursued at first an opposite course, *Afranius*’s soldiers, elated with this appearance, came forth from their camp, and insulted them on their supposed flight, imagining that the want of provisions forced them to return to *Ilerda*. Their Generals applauded themselves upon the resolution they had taken of not decamping in the night ; and were confirmed in the notion of *Cæsar*’s retreat, when they saw that he had neither baggage nor carriages, which made them conclude that the scarcity must be exceeding great. But when they perceived his men soon after turn to the right, and that his advanced guard had already gained the ground beyond their camp, all immediately ran to arms, and, leaving a few cohorts to guard the baggage, they sallied out in a body, pursuing their way directly to the *Iberus*.

“ omit this *Decidius Saxa*, a man brought “ we see Tribune of the people, before we
“ from the farthest end of the world ; whom “ ever saw him a citizen.”

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All

M

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Cens

All depended now upon dispatch. The difficulty of the ways was a great hindrance to *Cæsar's* troops; but his cavalry in return greatly incommoded the soldiers of *Afranius*; who, though he should succeed in getting first to the defiles, was yet certain of losing his baggage, and the cohorts which were left to guard it in the camp. But *Cæsar* outmarched him, such was the vigour and alacrity of his men; and, having got into the plain beyond the rocks, formed his legions in order of battle. The two Generals, perceiving the enemy's infantry in front, and being attacked by his cavalry in their rear, halted upon a rising ground, from whence they detached four Spanish cohorts to take possession of the highest mountain that appeared in sight; thinking to open to themselves a way over the hills to *Obagesa*. The Spaniards, wheeling obliquely to take possession of the place, were perceived by *Cæsar's* cavalry, who, charging them furiously, broke them at the first onset, and surrounded and cut them to pieces in the view of both armies.

Cæsar had now a most favourable opportunity of giving his enemy a total overthrow; and he was sensible they could make but a faint resistance under their present consternation, surrounded on all sides as they were by his cavalry, and obliged to fight on an open and even ground. His Officers, gathering round him, earnestly begged that he would not delay the engagement: They represented, "that the soldiers were eager for a battle, and that *Afranius's* army had given many marks of fear: For they had neither dared to support their own detachment, nor come down the hill: And that they had brought all their Ensigns into one place, where they crouded confusedly round them, without observing rank or order." They added, "that, if he thought the enemy too advantageously posted, he would soon have an opportunity of attacking them in another place more favourable, the want of water laying them under a necessity of changing their camp." But *Cæsar*, having cut them off from all provisions, was confident that he had it now in his power to reduce them without bloodshed: And he thought it better to gain the victory by his conduct, than by the force of arms. He therefore retired to a small distance, to give *Afranius* an opportunity to regain his camp: And then, placing troops in the mountains to guard all the passages to the *Iberus*, he lodged himself as near as he could to the enemy.

The next day, while *Pompey's* Lieutenants were in Council debating what measures they should follow, whether to return to *Ilerda*, or march to *Tarraco*, notice was given them, that *Cæsar's* cavalry had fallen upon the parties sent out in quest of water, and pressed them hard. Upon this intelligence, which called for all their attention, they immediately formed several corps of horse and foot intermixed with legionary cohorts, and began to throw up a rampart from the camp to the place where they watered. *Afranius* and *Petreibus* divided this work between them, and went in person to direct it.

In

In the mean time, the soldiers of the two armies had an opportunity of conferring together; and those who belonged to *Afranius* and *Petreibius* thanked *Cæsar*'s troops for the generosity they had shewed in sparing them the day before, and testified their concern at being obliged to fight with their countrymen and relations. They then inquired, if they could trust to *Cæsar*'s clemency, and even promised to join him, if the lives of *Petreibius* and *Afranius* were granted them: And they sent some of their principal Officers to treat with *Cæsar*. These preliminaries being settled, the soldiers of both armies went to one another's tents, and a great number of Centurions and military Tribunes came to pay their court to *Cæsar*, and to beg his protection. The Spanish Chiefs, who had been summoned to attend upon *Afranius*, and were detained in the camp as hostages, followed their example. Things were carried to such a length, that *Afranius*'s son, a young man, treated with *Cæsar*, by the mediation of *Sulpicius*, for his own and his father's preservation. The joy was general; the *Afranians* thought themselves happy to have escaped such imminent danger; and the *Cæsarians* to have brought to a happy conclusion so important an enterprise without striking a blow. *Cæsar*, in the judgment of all, was upon the point of reaping the fruits of his clemency, and all unanimously applauded his late conduct.

Afranius, informed of what was transacting, quitted the work he was engaged in, and returned to the camp, not at all disturbed, and prepared for all events: But *Petreibius* discovered a very different spirit. He armed his slaves, and, joining to them a prætorian cohort and some Spanish cavalry, he flew to the rampart, and broke off the conferences of the soldiers, drove *Cæsar*'s men out of the camp, and put all of them he could find to the sword. Those of them who had an opportunity to rally, wrapping their clokes round their left arms, drew their swords; and, trusting to the nearness of their camp, defended themselves till they gradually retreated to the advanced guard, who screened them from any further pursuit.

Then *Petreibius* went through the whole camp, begging the troops, with tears in his eyes, to have pity on him and on *Pompey* their General, and not to deliver them up to the cruel vengeance of their enemies. The soldiers followed him to the head-quarters; and there he proposed to them to bind themselves by a new oath, not to abandon their Commanders, nor to act separately, but with concert and unanimity for the public good. He himself took the oath first, then tendered it to *Afranius*, then to the military Tribunes and Centurions; and, lastly, to all the companies of the army. At the same time an order was issued, that all who had any of *Cæsar*'s troops in their tents should produce them, in order that they might be put to death in the sight of the whole army. A few obeyed; but the greatest part, detesting this bloody decree, carefully concealed those who were under their protection, and procured them means to escape in the night. However, the terror im-

Y. R. 704
 Def. Ch.
 42.
 403 Cont.

pressed upon them by their Generals, the severity shewn in punishing, and the new oath they had been obliged to take, defeated, for the present, all hopes of a surrender, and reduced the war to its former state. *Cæsar*, on his side, ordered diligent search to be made after the *Afranians* who had remained in his camp, and carefully sent them back. Some Officers chose to stay with him; and these he afterwards treated with great distinction, promoting them to higher ranks, and honouring such of them as were *Roman* knights with the office of military Tribune.

The army of *Afranius* had now no forage, and could not water but with much difficulty. The legionary soldiers, who had been ordered to take with them two and twenty days provision, had some corn remaining: But the Spanish infantry and auxiliary troops had none; and, having no opportunity of supplying themselves, they deserted in great numbers to *Cæsar*. In this extremity, the expedient of returning to *Ilerda* appeared the safest, as they had still some provisions in that city; and there they proposed to consult concerning the future management of the war. *Tarraco* was at a greater distance, and they would of consequence be exposed to greater hazards in the way. This resolution being taken, they decamped; and *Cæsar* followed, sending his cavalry before, which perpetually harrassed the rear of the enemy. The manner of fighting was thus: Some light-armed cohorts formed the rear-guard of *Afranius's* army; and these, where the ground was even, halted from time to time, and made head against the cavalry. When they fell in with an eminence, the very nature of the ground furnished them with the means of defending themselves; because those who were foremost could protect those who followed. When they came, however, to a descent, the van could give no assistance to the rear, and the cavalry annoyed them with their darts. To avoid this inconveniency, the legions halted, and, driving back the cavalry a good way, ran down the hill precipitately, and traversed the valley until they came to the opposite eminence. Their cavalry, which should have been of great use in this retreat, and of which they had a considerable number, were so terrified by their ill success in former engagements, that they had been placed in the midst of the army, in order to be defended by the infantry; and, if any of them dared to straggle out of this situation, they were immediately taken by *Cæsar's* horse.

During these perpetual skirmishes, in which the *Afranians* were often obliged to stop to disengage the rear, their march could not but be very slow. After advancing four miles, finding themselves hard pressed by the cavalry, they halted on an eminence, and drew a line before them, as if they meant to encamp; but did not unload their baggage: And when they saw that *Cæsar* had marked out his camp, pitched his tents, and sent his cavalry to forage, they suddenly, towards noon, resumed their march, hoping to be rid of the cavalry for some time. *Cæsar*,
 leaving

leaving a few cohorts to guard his baggage, followed with his legions, and sent orders for his cavalry to return with all speed. The cavalry observed his orders, and, coming up with the enemy before the close of day, fell upon their rear with such impetuosity that it was almost put to the rout. A great number of soldiers, and some Centurions, lost their lives. At the same time *Cæsar* appearing with his whole army, the enemy were threatened with a total overthrow, as they could neither continue their march, nor look out for a proper place for a camp. They were forced to halt in a very disadvantageous ground, and at a distance from water. *Cæsar*, constant in his purpose, did not offer to attack them, but kept all his troops under arms to be in readiness to pursue, if they should attempt to escape either in the day or night. *Pompey's* Lieutenants, sensible of the disadvantage of their situation, employed the whole night in throwing up intrenchments, and in disposing their camp with an opposite front to *Cæsar's* army. The next day they continued at their works, and laboured from sun-rise to the evening. But the farther they extended their lines in order to better their position, the farther they removed from water: And thus, to avoid one inconveniency, they fell into a greater. *Cæsar*, who wanted to oblige them to capitulate, by reducing them to extreme necessity, drew lines round their camp; and by this method he offered an obstruction to any sallies or eruptions which they might make. The scarcity of forage, and the view of performing their march with the greater expedition, soon induced them to kill all the beasts of burden which they could not feed: And two days were wasted in forming and executing this resolution. But, on the third, *Afranius* and *Petreibus*, seeing *Cæsar's* works very much advanced, and being apprehensive of the consequences, drew all their forces out of the camp, and formed them in order of battle. *Cæsar*, aware of the hurt it might do his reputation, if, contrary to the inclination of his troops, and the general expectation, he still continued to decline an engagement, called in his workmen, assembled his cavalry, and put his army in a condition to receive them. He resolved, however, to remain upon the defensive; and the rather, because the distance between the two camps was so small, being only two thousand feet, that, should he put the enemy to the rout, he could not flatter himself with the hopes of a complete victory.

Afranius's troops were ranged in a double line, consisting of five legions: The *Spanish* cohorts, which used to be stationed in the wings, formed the body of reserve. *Cæsar's* legions were drawn up in three lines: The first consisted of twenty cohorts, four out of each of his legions; the second of fifteen cohorts, three out of each legion; and the third of the same number. The archers and slingers were disposed in the middle, and the cavalry in the two wings. The army being drawn up in this manner, each General kept firm to his resolution; *Cæsar*, not to engage unless forced to it; and *Afranius* to prevent the

pro-

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

Y. R. 707
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Cons. greſs of *Cæſar*'s works. In this poſture they continued till ſun-ſet, when both armies returned to their ſeveral camps. The next day *Cæſar* propoſed to finiſh his lines ; and *Pompey*'s Lieutenants endeavoured to find a fordable place in the *Sicoris* : But *Cæſar* had taken his meaſures againſt this attempt, and had ſent his light-armed *Germans* with part of his cavalry over the river, and poſted bodies of troops along the banks at a ſmall diſtance from one another.

The two Generals, having now no hope left, and being in want of wood, water, and corn, they demanded a parley, and begged that it might be in ſome place out of the ſight of the ſoldiers. *Cæſar* conſented to an interview, but the latter part of their requeſt was denied them : And *Afranius*, having firſt given his ſon for an hoſtage, met *Cæſar* in the preſence of both armies. He addreſſed him to this effect, with all poſſible marks of ſubmiſſion : “ that it was no juſt matter of blame, “ either in him or his ſoldiers, to have preſerved their fidelity to their “ General *Pompey* ; but that they had now ſufficiently acquitted them- “ ſelves of their duty, and ſuffered enough in his cauſe by the want of “ all kinds of neceſſaries : That, like wild beaſts caught in a toil, “ they were deprived of the moſt common enjoyments ; having their “ bodies oppreſſed with want, and their minds overwhelmed with ig- “ nominy ; and that therefore they acknowledged themſelves to be “ vanquiſhed, and beſought and conjured him not to make a rigorous “ uſe of his victory, but to ſpare the lives of his unhappy country- “ men.” *Cæſar* replied, “ that *Afranius*, of all men, had the leaſt rea- “ ſon to complain of his preſent unfortunate ſituation, and the leaſt “ pretenſions to any favour ; for that every one elſe had performed “ their duty : He himſelf, in declining to attack his army, though “ favoured by the advantages of time and place, in order that the way “ might be open to an accommodation : His army, in returning un- “ hurt the men that were in their power, after injuries received, and “ the maſſacre of their comrades : And even *Afranius*'s own troops, in “ endeavouring to conclude a peace whereon the common ſafety de- “ pended. That thus, when all orders had ſhewn an inclination to “ treat, *Afranius* and *Petreius* alone had oppoſed the ſteps to an accom- “ modation ; refuſing an interview, and barbarouſly murdering thoſe “ whom the faith of a conference had inticed into their camp. That “ it had therefore happened to them, as it often happens to men of “ obſtinacy and arrogance ; and they were forced to have recourſe to “ prayers, and earneſtly to ſollicit the ſame terms which they had re- “ jected with ſcorn. That he would not, however, take advantage of “ their preſent ſubmiſſion, or the favourable circumſtances he was in, “ to inſiſt upon any thing tending to the increaſe of his power : And “ that he only requeſted they would diſband thoſe troops which “ had been ſo long kept on foot againſt him : For with what other “ view (he ſaid) had fix legions been ſent into *Spain* ; a ſeventh levied “ there ;

“there; so many powerful navies equipped; and so many able and
 “experienced Officers sent over? That such mighty preparations
 “could not be meant against *Spain*, or to supply the want of a pro-
 “vince, which, having enjoyed a long peace, had no occasion for such
 “extraordinary forces: That their real end was his destruction; to
 “effect which, a new species of power had been introduced into the
 “Commonwealth; and that, on this account, the same man had been
 “appointed to command in *Italy* at the gates of *Rome*, and to hold for
 “so many years, though absent, the government of the two most po-
 “tent provinces of the Republic. That, for this reason alone, the
 “Magistrates had been stripped of their prerogatives, the Consuls and
 “Prætors not being suffered, as had been always the custom, to take
 “the different provinces at the expiration of their offices; and particu-
 “lar Governors were appointed by the choice and management of a
 “faction. That, for this reason alone, he had been denied that justice
 “which had never been refused to any General before him; and was
 “not allowed to disband his army, and to return home with honour;
 “or, at least, without ignominy, after having successfully served the
 “public. That all these injuries he had hitherto borne, and still re-
 “solved to bear with patience; that it was not now his design to take
 “from *Afranius* his soldiers, and to enlist them in his own service,
 “which it would be easy for him to do; and that he only meant to
 “prevent their being employed against him. That, therefore, *Afra-*
 “*nus* must quit *Spain*, and disband his forces; that this was his de-
 “termined resolution: And that these were the only terms of peace
 “he would grant.”

Y. R. 704.
 Bef. Chr.
 48.
 403 Conf.

These conditions were very agreeable to *Afranius*'s soldiers; who, in-
 stead of being punished, as they feared, were, in some sort, rewarded
 by the discharge procured them. They plainly shewed their satisfac-
 tion: For, while the place and time of their dismissal were under de-
 bate between *Cæsar* and *Afranius*, they signified by their gestures and
 cries from the rampart, that they desired to be immediately disbanded.
 After some discussion, it was determined that those who had houses and
 possessions in *Spain* should be discharged upon the spot, and the rest,
 when they arrived at the *Varus*, a river between *Gaul* and *Italy*. And
Cæsar declared, that no person should be injured or forced into his ser-
 vice: And that all those who had lost any thing during the war should
 be indemnified. He also engaged to furnish them with corn till they
 got to the *Varus*. By this generous behaviour, he acquired the con-
 fidence of *Pompey*'s army to such a degree, that he became the arbiter
 of all their disputes, either among themselves, or with their Com-
 manders: And when they were ready to mutiny about their pay, which
Petorius and *Afranius* affirmed not to be yet due, the matter was re-
 ferred to him, and he determined it to the equal satisfaction of both
 parties. One third of the army was disbanded during the two days
 they

The Var.

V. R. 724.
Bel. Chr.
48.
493 Conf. they continued in their camp : The rest set out for the *Varus*, two of *Cæsar*'s legions marching before, and the others following after, and encamping near them. *Q. Fufus Calenus*, one of *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants, presided over the march ; and, when he arrived at the *Varus*, disbanded them ; but the greatest part of them came over voluntarily to *Cæsar* : The two Generals went to find out *Pompey*.

Cæf. de
Bell. Civ.
Com. 1. 1. Thus did *Cæsar*, within forty days from his arrival in *Spain*, with five legions, and some auxiliary *Gauls*, reduce an army of five legions of veterans, eighty cohorts of *Spaniards*, and five thousand horse : And now many reasons called upon him to return into *Italy* ; but he did not think it adviseable to leave *Spain*, till he had subjected the whole country to his obedience. *M. Varro* commanded two legions in further *Spain*, to which he had added thirty auxiliary cohorts : And he had formed great magazines of corn, not only for his own use, but with a view also of supplying *Marseilles*, and the army under *Afranius* and *Petreibus*. The *Gaditani* had been ordered to furnish him with ten ships of war, and more had been built at *Hispalis*. He had put all his provisions into *Gades*, and had conveyed thither all the money and ornaments which he had found in the temple of *Hercules* : And, to guard this town, he gave it a garrison of six cohorts, under the command of *C. Gallonius*, a Roman Knight. This Commander had spoken upon every occasion with contempt of *Cæsar*'s forces, and had frequently declared from his tribunal, that *Cæsar* had been worsted, and that his soldiers had gone over to *Afranius*. By these arts, he had struck such a terror into the *Roman* citizens who resided in his province, that he engaged them to promise him one hundred and ninety thousand sesterces, twenty thousand weight of silver, with one hundred and twenty thousand bushels of wheat. The States well affected to *Cæsar* he loaded with heavy impositions, and quartered soldiers upon them : He harassed private men whom he thought averse to his cause with arbitrary judgments : He confiscated the estates of many, whom he accused of having spoken against what he called the *Commonwealth* : And he obliged the whole province to take an oath of fidelity to himself and *Pompey*. *Cæsar*, who seems to give an account of this General's^{*} behaviour with a particular resentment, tells us, that in the beginning of the civil war, while his affairs went on successfully in *Italy*, *Varro* had affected to speak of him with great regard, and in a most friendly manner, saying, " that indeed he was under particular obligations to *Pompey*, who had made him his Lieutenant, but at the same time was " greatly indebted to *Cæsar* : That he was not ignorant of the duty of " an Officer employed by his General in an office of trust ; but that " he likewise knew his own weakness, and the attachment of the whole

The people
of Cadiz.
Seville.
Cadiz.

^{*} He was probably the learned *Varro*, who had also served under *Pompey* in the war against the pirates.

“ province to *Cæsar*.” When he understood, however, that *Cæsar* was stopped by the siege of *Marseilles*; that *Afranius* and *Petreibus* had executed the junction of their troops, which they had considerably increased; and that all hither *Spain* had unanimously declared to support them; he changed his behaviour and speech. *Varro*, therefore, having committed to many acts of hostility, resolved to persist in his measures, and prepare for war: And, being sensible that the whole province was in *Cæsar*’s interest, he determined to shut himself up in *Gades*, where all his provisions and shipping lay; hoping, by the strength of the town, which is an island surrounded by the sea, and with the help of his fleet, to draw out the war into length.

Y. R. 704
Bef. Chr.
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Cæsar sent against him *Q. Cassius*, Tribune of the people, with two legions; and he himself set out by great journeys at the head of six hundred horse, for *Corduba*, whither he summoned the Magistrates of the different States. All obeyed: Every city sent its Deputies, nor was there a *Roman* citizen of any note who did not repair to him. The Senate of *Corduba* shut their gates against *Varro*, stationed guards and centinels along the walls, and detained two cohorts, called *Colonica*, which were accidentally marching that way, that they might serve to protect the town. At the same time, the people of *Carmona* drove out of their city, which is the most considerable in the whole province, three cohorts which *Varro* had left there, and shut their gates against them.

Cordova.

The apparent affection of the province for *Cæsar* determined *Varro* to make all possible dispatch to reach *Gades* before his march could be intercepted. But he had advanced but a little way, when he received letters, informing him, “ That, as soon as *Cæsar*’s edict was known, “ the principal men of the town had conspired with the Tribunes of “ the garrison to drive out *Gallonius*, and deliver up the city and island “ to *Cæsar*; that, this agreement being made, they had warned *Gallonius* to retire of his own accord; threatening, if he refused to comply voluntarily, to force him to it: And that this Commander, terrified by so general a revolt, had thought proper to leave *Gades*.” Upon this intelligence, one of the legions, called *Vernacula*, took up their ensigns in *Varro*’s presence, quitted the camp, and marched directly to *Hispalis*, where they sat down in the market-place, without committing the least act of violence; a circumstance which so wrought upon the *Roman* citizens residing in the town, that every one was desirous of accommodating them in their houses. *Varro*, astonished and confounded at these proceedings, turned back with design to reach *Italica*, but was informed that its gates were shut. At last, finding himself surrounded on all sides, and the ways every-where beset, he wrote to *Cæsar*, that he was ready to resign the legion under his command to whomsoever he would appoint to receive it. *Cæsar* sent *Sextus Cæsar* to take the command; and *Varro*, having delivered up

Y. R. 701. the legion accordingly, came to him at *Corduba*: Where, after giving
 Bell. Civ. an account of the state of the province, he faithfully resigned all the
 48. public money he had in his hands, and informed him of the quantity of
 403 Con. corn and shipping he had prepared.

Cæsar, in the Assembly of the States at *Corduba*, having returned thanks to all those who had declared in his favour, remitted the tribute imposed by *Varro* upon the *Roman* citizens; restored their estates to those who had been deprived of them for speaking freely their thoughts; distributed rewards to a great many in public and private; gave all hopes to receive the like favours hereafter; and, after a stay of two days, went to *Gades*; where he restored to the temple of *Hercules* all the treasures and ornaments it had been spoiled of, and soon after procured this city the freedom of *Rome*. And, having committed the government of the province to *Q. Cassius*, with the command of four legions, he embarked for *Terraco* on board the fleet which *Varro* had obliged the *Gaditani* to equip. There he found the Deputies of all *netber Spain*; and having, in like manner as at *Corduba*, thanked and rewarded them, both publicly and privately, he went by land to *Narbonne*, and so to the siege of *Marseilles*.

CHAP. V.

The siege of Marseilles. Caius Antonius and Dolabella, Cæsar's Lieutenants, in Illyricum, are defeated by M. Octavius and Scribonius Libo. Curio's unfortunate expedition into Africa.

Cæf. de
 Bell. Civ.
 Com. lib. i.

WHILE *Cæsar* was employed in reducing *Spain*, *C. Trebonius* and *D. Brutus* had carried on the siege of *Marseilles* with great vigour; and the inhabitants had bravely defended themselves. The town of *Marseilles* was formerly washed by the sea on three sides: It could be approached by land only on the fourth; and the citadel, being very strong by nature, because of a deep valley that ran before it, required a long and difficult siege.¹ It was of great importance to the besieged to command the sea: And, to beat off *Brutus's* fleet, they equipped seventeen gallies. To these they added a great number of smaller vessels, filled with archers and the mountaineers whom they had engaged in their service; and, on board of which, *Domitius* put also his own domestics whom he had brought with him from *Italy*. With this force they sailed out to give battle to *Brutus*, who lay at anchor at an island over-against the town. His fleet was much inferior

¹ From this description it appears, says *M. D'Arville*, that the town did not then stand upon the same extent of ground as now: It only covered a triangle formed on one side by the port, and on the other by the coast of the great sea: Whereas now it is built round the port. *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaul*, p. 440.

to that of the *Massilians* in the number of ships; but *Cæsar* had manned it with his best soldiers, chosen out of all the legions, and headed by Centurions of distinguished bravery; and he had provided it with hooks and grappling irons, and offensive weapons of all sorts. Upon the first notice of the approach of the enemy, *Brutus* stood out to sea. The conflict was sharp and vigorous; for the mountaineers, a hardy race, habituated to arms, and trained up to war, yielded little in point of valour to the *Romans*. *Domitius's* vassals were animated with the hopes of liberty; and, fighting under the eye of their master, behaved gallantly. The townsfolk confided in the nimbleness of their ships and the skill of their pilots, and employed all their art to elude the shock of *Brutus's* vessels, and to baffle all their attempts. The enemy extended their line of battle in order to surround his fleet, or attack his ships singly with a number of theirs, or in running along side, to sweep away a range of oars. When they were compelled to come to a closer engagement, they relied wholly on the bravery of their mountaineers and the *Italian* peasants. *Brutus's* fleet was but indifferently provided with rowers and pilots, who had been hastily taken out of some merchant-ships, and knew not so much as the names of the tackle. They were incommoded too by the weight and lumpishness of their vessels, which, being built with too much expedition and of unseasoned timber, were not so ready at tacking about. When an opportunity however offered of coming to close fight, they would boldly get between two of the enemy's ships; and, grappling them with their hooks, charge them on each side, board them, and cut to pieces the mountaineers and peasants who defended them. In this manner, they sunk part of the *Massilian* vessels, took some, with all the men on board, and drove the rest into the haven.

This loss was repaired with all possible expedition. The *Massilians* drew out of their docks, and rigged as many old ships as they had lost; they also prepared a number of fishing barks, which they filled with archers and engines; and thus they were in readiness to sail upon the first occasion. *Pempey*, who was sensible of what importance it was to keep *Cæsar* employed in these parts, sent *L. Nasidius* to the succour of *Marseilles*, with a fleet of sixteen ships, some of which were very strong, and armed with beaks of brass. This fleet passed the streights of *Sicily* unknown to *Curio*, and, in their way, put in at *Messana*, where their unexpected arrival caused so great a terror, that the town was deserted by the Senate and the principal inhabitants: And *Nasidius*, entering the harbour without any opposition, drew out one of the galleys, which he joined to his fleet. The *Massilians*, informed of his arrival, sailed out a second time to try their fortune, and rendezvoused at *Taurentum*, a castle belonging to the town, where *Nasidius* lay with his whole squadron.

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

Cæf. de
Bell. Civ.
Com. lib. ii.

Messina.

Taurenti,
on the right
side of the
bay of C. 10-

Brutus tal.

Y. R. 104. *Brutus* went to fight them with his fleet, which he had considerably
 En. Chr. 48. increased by six ships which he had taken in the late action. The bat-
 403 Conf. tle was maintained on both sides with determined courage. The *Mas-*
silians had put on board their ships the choice of their youth, and the
 most considerable men of the city; who were all convinced, that on
 the issue of that day's engagement depended the safety and preserva-
 tion of their country. But *Nasidius* was of no service to them: He
 left them during the engagement, and retired without hurt to the coast
 of *Spain*. *Brutus* obtained a second victory, having sunk five, and
 taken four of the enemy's ships.

These disasters at sea disheartened not the inhabitants of the town:
 They continued to defend themselves by land against *Trebonius* with
 great courage. This Commander had attacked them in two places;
 on the side of the port where the docks were; and on the side towards
 the sea, near the mouth of the *Rhone*: And, having been furnished
 from all parts of the province with a great number of workmen and
 carriages, and with wood and other materials, he had greatly advanced
 his works. But so well was the town stored with all engines necessary
 for its defence, that no mantelets of osier were sufficient to withstand
 their violence. Their *Baliste* shot wooden beams, twelve feet in
 length, and armed with iron, with such force, that, after they had
 pierced four rows of hurdles, they entered a considerable way into the
 earth. To resist the violence of these machines, the besiegers were
 obliged to roof their galleries with pieces of wood of a foot in thick-
 ness, strongly compacted together. Under this cover the materials
 necessary for raising the mount or terras, which was to be opposed to
 the town wall, were conveyed; and a tortoise, sixty feet long, com-
 posed of strong beams, and every thing necessary to defend it against
 fire and stones, was carried before to level the ground. But, in spite
 of all endeavours, and the greatness of the works employed against
 them, the height of their wall and towers, and the multitude of their
 machines, retarded the approaches of the besiegers. Besides, the
 mountaineers made frequent sallies, which greatly annoyed the work-
 men.

The Legionaries, who had the charge of the works on the right,
 perceived that a tower of brick, built at a little distance from the walls,
 would be of great service to shelter them from the frequent sallies of
 the enemy. At first they made it very low and small; and it served
 chiefly as a place of retreat, when they were repulsed. But they soon
 perceived that it would be of much more use if it were raised to a
 greater height. This they effected in the following manner: The
 tower was of a square form, thirty feet every way, allowing for the
 thickness of the walls, which was five feet. When it was raised to the
 height of one story, they laid a floor over it, the extremities of whose
 beams were concealed in the thickness of the wall, that they might

not, by appearing on the outside, be liable to be set on fire. Then the wall was continued directly upwards as far as their mantelets would permit: And two beams were laid across each other, the ends of which almost reached the angles of the wall. These were for supporting the floor, which was to serve as a roof to the tower. Over these beams they placed the joists of the roof, and covered them with planks. These joists projected a little beyond the wall, in order to suspend from them what might be necessary to shelter the workmen. This floor they paved with tiles and mortar, to render it proof against fire; and it had besides a covering of mattresses to break the force of the darts and stones which might be thrown against it by the enemy. At the same time, they hung from the beams of this roof, that projected beyond the wall, curtains, made of strong cables, woven to the depth of four feet, and which went round the three sides of the tower which were exposed to the engines; having formerly experienced, that this kind of cover was impenetrable to any dart or engine whatever. When the roof with its curtains was thus prepared, they removed the mantelets, and elevated the roof from the first story as far as the curtains would permit. Then, secure from all insult, they laboured at the brick wall: And, when they had raised it to the height of a second story, they again screwed up the roof; and, under its defence, and of the curtains hanging from it, they continued the work, and laid the interjacent floors. In this manner they proceeded till they had completed six stories, leaving always holes in convenient places from which they could play their engines.

When, by means of this tower, they thought they had sufficiently provided for the security of the works around it, they undertook to build a moveable gallery, sixty feet long, of timber two feet in thickness, to extend from their brick tower to the walls of the town. The gallery they constructed in this manner: Two beams of equal length were first laid upon the ground at the distance of four feet from one another: And upon these were erected pillars, five feet high, joined at the top by pieces of wood designed to support the roof of the gallery. Over these were placed rafters two feet square, fastened strongly with nails and plates of iron. The upper part of the roof was composed of square laths, four inches thick, to bear the weight of the tiles that were to be laid upon them; and a covering of hides was thrown over it to hinder the cement from being washed away by spouts of water. Over all were laid strong mattresses to screen the hides from fire and stones. This work was finished close by the brick fortress, under cover of four mantelets, and immediately carried forward upon rollers, till it unexpectedly reached the very tower of the enemy.

The besieged, astonished at so threatening and unlooked for a machine, pushed forward with levers the largest stones they could find, and tumbled them upon it. But the strength of the wood resisted their weight

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

Y. R. 704. weight and violence, so that they fell to the ground without doing any
 Bef. Chr. hurt. Observing this, they poured down barrels of burning pitch and
 48. other combustible matter. But these likewise rolled along the roof with-
 403 Conf. out damage, and, falling to the ground, were thrust away from the
 works with forks and long poles. Meanwhile the soldiers, under the
 protection of this gallery, were endeavouring to undermine the enemy's
 fortress; the gallery itself was defended by the brick tower, whence
 the engines played without intermission, insomuch that the enemy,
 driven from their battlements, were at last obliged to abandon their
 defence. By degrees the tower being undermined, part of it fell down,
 and the rest was so shaken that it could not stand long.

The *Massilians* dismayed, and dreading the plunder and devastation
 of their city, came out in the habit of supplicants, and besought the
 compassion of the army and Generals, earnestly requesting that all fur-
 ther operations should be suspended till *Cæsar's* arrival. They told
 them, "that, their tower being destroyed, they were sensible the city
 " could hold out no longer; and therefore meant not to defend it.
 " That, in the mean time, no prejudice could arise to the besiegers from
 " a short respite, because, if they refused to submit upon *Cæsar's*
 " coming, he would have it in his power to treat them as he pleased."
 They added, "that, if the whole tower should be broken down, it would
 " be impossible to hinder the soldiers from yielding to the desire of
 " plunder, by breaking into and pillaging the town." *Cæsar* had ear-
 nestly recommended to *Trebonius*, by letter, to prevent, if possible, the
 city's being taken by storm, lest the soldiers, irritated by its obstinate
 resistance, should put all the youth to the sword, which they threatened
 to do. The request of the *Massilians* was therefore complied with,
 though the soldiers murmured at the delay of a conquest which they
 looked upon as easy and certain.

But the *Massilians* were insincere, and aimed at nothing in all this, but
 to find a time and opportunity to deceive the *Romans*, and put in prac-
 tice the perfidious design they had formed. For, after a few days,
 they suddenly sallied from the town, and, the wind being favourable,
 they set fire to the enemy's works. The flame, in a moment, spread
 itself on all sides, and the terrafs, the mantelets, the tortoise, and the
 tower, with its machines, were entirely consumed, before it was pos-
 sible to discover whence the disaster arose. The *Romans* ran imme-
 diately to their arms, every one taking what came first to his hands;
 and flew from the camp to their works, where they attacked the enemy
 with great fierceness, but their ardour was checked by the arrows and
 darts poured in upon them from the town. The besieged, now secure
 under their walls, destroyed without difficulty the brick tower, and the
 gallery connected with it. Next day, being favoured by the same
 wind, they attacked, with still greater assurance, another tower and ter-
 rafs of the other attack. But *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, grown wise by his
 late

late misfortune, had made all necessary preparations for their defence : So that the enemy, after losing many men, were obliged to retreat into the city without effecting their purpose.

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

Trebonius immediately resolved to repair his loss, and he was warmly seconded by his soldiers, who were greatly provoked to see their credulity had been abused, and that they were the jest of a perfidious enemy. All the wood in the neighbourhood of *Marseilles* had been already cut down : They were therefore obliged to raise a terrace of a new kind, and such as history nowhere mentions before that time. They erected two walls of brick, each six feet thick, and of the same distance from each other with those of the former terrace. Over these they laid a covering which was supported by beams laid across : And, to make it firm, they placed pillars underneath between the walls. Hurdles, with brick and earth intermixed, served to make it proof against fire. The soldiers, thus sheltered over head, on the right and left by the walls, and before by mantelets, brought without danger the necessary materials for carrying on the works : And, by the eagerness with which they laboured, soon completed them ; leaving doors at convenient places, from which they might sally out upon occasion.

The townsmen seeing that the *Romans* had repaired in a few days what they imagined must have cost them the labour of many months ; that there was no hope left either of deceiving them, or sallying out upon them with success ; that all the approaches to the city by land might in like manner be shut up by a wall and towers, so as to render it impossible for them to appear upon their battlements ; that they could neither discharge their javelins to any effect, nor make use of their engines, in which their principal hope lay ; and that they were now reduced to the necessity of fighting upon equal terms ; they were forced to have recourse again to the same conditions of truce they had so ill deserved before ; and, on *Cæsar's* arrival, having no prospect of relief, they surrendered at discretion. *Domitius*, some days before, took the opportunity of a storm to sail out of the harbour with three vessels. They were chased by *Brutus's* ships, which kept constantly at anchor in the road, or before the port : And two of the three were obliged to return back, but that, which carried *Domitius*, made its escape. *Cæsar* spared the town, he says, more in regard to its antiquity and reputation, than to any real merit it could plead. He obliged the citizens, however, to deliver up their arms, machines, and ships of war, to surrender all the money in their treasury, and to receive a garrison of two legions. The rest of his army he sent into *Italy*, and he himself set out for *Rome* *.

Cæsar de
Bell. Civ.
Com. lib. ii.

* *Pompey* and the Senate in his camp, to reward, in some manner, the fidelity of the town of *Marseilles*, gave the rights and privileges of a free city to *Phocæa* in *Ionian*, which was the mother-town of *Marseilles*. *Dio.*

Y. R. 704.
 Ref. Chr.
 48.
 403 Cons.

Oderzo.

Cæsar's arms were not equally successful when conducted by his Lieutenants. Fortune, says *Florus*, ventured to do something in *Illyricum* and *Africa* against the absent General: But it was as if she meant, by some dark shades of adversity, to heighten the splendor of his own exploits. We have but few particulars of what passed in *Illyricum*, *Cæsar's* account being lost. We may gather from the historians, particularly *Florus*, that *Dolabella* and *Antonius* were suddenly surrounded by a superior number of men from *Pompey's* fleets, commanded by *M. Octavius* and *Scribonius Libo*: And that *C. Antonius* was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender himself prisoner, with fifteen cohorts, in the island of *Corgyra*, off the coast of *Dalmatia*. An expression of *Cæsar* informs us, that the loss of the army was occasioned by the perfidy of *Pulcio*, one of his officers. Some of the troops attempted to escape in small flat-bottomed boats; but were stopped by a contrivance of the *Cilician* marines in *Pompey's* fleet. These had formed nets made of twisted ropes and chains, and extended them from rock to rock under water. However, of three boats, two got off by the working of the sea, but the third, filled with soldiers from a town beyond the *Po* called *Opitergium*, could not be disengaged. It was surrounded on all sides: And the soldiers, after having defended themselves for a whole day, chose, in the night, at the instigation of one of their officers, to turn their swords against one another, and mutually kill themselves to the last man, rather than surrender to the enemy.

The cause of *Cæsar's* loss in *Africa* was the rashness of *Curio*. This Commander, who had conceived the highest contempt for the troops headed by *Publius Varus*, sailed from *Sicily* into *Africa*, with only two of the four legions, which had been put under his command by *Cæsar*, and five hundred horse. *Varus*, after the loss of his cohorts at *Auximum*, had fled into *Africa*; which he had governed some years before, after the expiration of his prætorship. There, by his knowledge of the people and country, he levied two legions, and took the command of the province with the consent of the natives. *Tubero*, who had been named by the *Pompeians* to this command, arriving some time after with his fleet before *Utica*, was forbid the town and harbour: Nor could he even obtain leave for his son to land, who was sick on board his fleet: And he was obliged to weigh anchor and return to *Pompey*. *Curio*, after two days and three nights sailing, landed at a place called *Aquilaria*, twenty-two miles distant from *Clupea*; where *L. Cæsar*, the son, was waiting for him with ten gallies, which *Varus* had repaired at *Utica* and put under his command. But *L. Cæsar*, terrified at the number of ships *Curio* brought with him, stood in for the coast; where, running his galley on shore, he left her, and went by land to *Adrumetum*, a town possessed by *C. Confidius Longus*, with a garrison of one legion. To this place likewise the rest of his fleet repaired. *M. Rufus*, the Quæstor, who commanded for *Curio* twelve ships, towed the galley off the strand, and returned with the fleet to *Curio*.

Curio

Curio ordered him to sail directly for *Utica*; whither he followed with his land-army. After a march of two days, he arrived at the river *Ba-*
gradas, where he left *C. Caninius Rebilus* with the legions, and advanced before with the cavalry to take a view of the spot called the *Cornelian*
 camp, because the first *Scipio Africanus* had encamped there. The situation was judged to be very advantageous. It was a high rock jutting out into the sea, steep and rough on both sides, but with an easy descent where it fronts *Utica*. It lay little more than a mile from that town, in a direct line: But as there was a fountain about half-way, which overflowed the plain and formed a morass, it was necessary to take a compass of six miles in marching to *Utica*. When he had taken a view of this post, he went and examined *Varus's* camp.

Y. R. 704.
 Bef. Chr.
 48.
 403 Conf.

It was covered by the town of *Utica* itself on one side, and on the other by a kind of theatre that stood without the walls: And, the works round this theatre taking up a great extent of ground, they rendered the approach to the camp extremely difficult. While he was taking his survey, he saw all the roads crowded with people, who were carrying their valuable effects into the city: And he detached his cavalry to plunder them. At the same time *Varus* ordered six hundred *Numidian* horse, with four hundred foot, to their assistance. The *Numidians*, unable to stand the first shock, retreated immediately to their camp with the loss of one hundred and twenty men. Mean while the port of *Utica* was deserted by all the merchant-ships that were there to the number of two hundred, in obedience to a proclamation *Curio* had published, in which he threatened to treat them as enemies, if they did not instantly repair to the *Cornelian* camp. By this means the army was at once plentifully supplied with every commodity: And *Curio*, upon his return to the camp at *Ba gradas*, was saluted *Imperator* by the joint acclamations of the soldiers.

Next day, he led his army towards *Utica*, and encamped not far from the town: But, before he had made his intrenchments, he was informed by some parties of horse stationed near the camp, that a powerful body of infantry and cavalry had been sent by *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*, to its succour, and were marching towards it. At the same time was seen a cloud of dust, and soon after the enemy's van was in view. This King inherited from his father an affection for *Pompey*, and he personally hated *Curio*, who, during his tribuneship, had proposed a law to deprive him of his kingdom. *Curio* immediately sent the cavalry to sustain their first charge and keep them in play: And he hastened to form the legions in order of battle. The horse engaged according to his orders, and with such success, that, before the legions could be drawn up, the whole body of the King's troops, which marched without order or apprehension of danger, falling into confusion, betook themselves to flight. The cavalry, wheeling nimbly along the shore,

Y. R. 704. found means to escape with little loss into the town: But great numbers of the infantry were cut to pieces.

48.
403 Conf The night following two Centurions of the nation of the *Marfi*, with twenty-two soldiers, deserted from *Curio*, and went over to *Attius Varus*. These men assured him, that the whole army was extremely averse to *Curio*, and would infallibly revolt, if he would but shew himself, and come to a conference with them. *Varus* accordingly drew out his legions the next day: *Curio* did the same: And both armies stood facing one another in order of battle, with a small valley between them. *Sextus Quintilius Varus*, who had been made prisoner at *Corfinium*, where he performed the office of Quæstor to *Domitius*, and had been dismissed by *Cæsar*, was now in *Attius's* camp: And *Curio* had brought over the very same legions which had revolted from him and his General. He took occasion, from this circumstance, to try to debauch *Curio's* army, “and began with putting the soldiers in mind of their former oath to *Domitius* and to himself: He exhorted them not to bear arms against the old companions of their fortune, who had shared with them all the hazards of the same siege; nor fight in defence of a party which could not call them but by the ignominious name of deserters.” To these considerations he added offers of a liberal recompence, if they would follow his fortune, and that of *Attius*. *Curio's* soldiers returned no answer, nor made any declaration of their sentiments: But an uncommon panic spread itself suddenly among them, and the reflections, which they communicated to one another, served only to increase it.

Curio summoned a Council of war to deliberate on the proper remedies for this evil. Some of the officers proposed to attack at all hazards *Varus's* camp, and deemed this the best expedient to free the soldiers of their alarms. “It was better, they said, to trust to valour, and try the fortune of a battle, than to see themselves abandoned by their men, and delivered up to the barbarity of the enemy.” Others were for retiring during the night to the *Cornelian* camp, where they might at leisure cure the minds of the soldiers: And whence, in case of a disaster, they could with more safety and ease retire into *Sicily* by the means and under the protection of their fleet. *Curio* was averse to both these measures: The one, he thought, argued cowardice; the other an unjustifiable temerity. “With what hope, said he, can we attack a camp fortified by nature and art, and what advantage can we draw from an attempt whence we shall be obliged to retire with loss? Does not success always secure to a General the affection of his troops, whereas ill fortune is always followed with contempt and hatred? To change our camp would have the appearance of an ignominious flight, and might alienate from us the minds of the army: The dutiful ought not to know that we distrust them; nor the disaffected that we fear them, because our apprehensions would only augment the presumption of the one, and abate the zeal of the other. But if what is

“ reported

“ reported of the discontent of the army be true, which I am yet un-
 “ willing to believe, we ought, for that reason, rather to hide and dis-
 “ semble our fears, than, by an unseasonable discovery of them, to add
 “ strength to the evil, and give courage to the enemy. It is proposed
 “ to march away at midnight; this would only furnish a fairer occasion
 “ to the ill-affected to execute their purpose. For fear and shame are
 “ powerful restraints by day, but night entirely divests them of their
 “ force. In fine, I own, that I am not so daring as to attack a camp
 “ without hopes of success; nor so blinded by fear as to be at a loss
 “ what measures to pursue. It is my opinion that we ought to try every
 “ thing, rather than follow either of these schemes; and I doubt not
 “ but, by your counsel, to fall upon some safe and honourable expe-
 “ dient, that will be attended with success.”

Then, assembling the soldiers, he reminded them of the great obli-
 gations *Cæsar* had to them: “ It was you that gave the example of
 “ submission at *Corfinium*, and all the municipal towns followed it; it
 “ was you that obliged *Pompey* to quit *Italy*, without being forced to it
 “ by the loss of a battle. Can you therefore make any doubt but that
 “ he hates you, or that *Cæsar* ranks you among his best friends; parti-
 “ cularly, when you see he has committed my safety to your care, and
 “ entrusted you with the protection of *Sicily* and *Africa*, without which
 “ he cannot hold *Italy*. You are now in the presence of those who ex-
 “ hort you to abandon us: And indeed what can be more desirable
 “ to them, than at the same time to circumvent us, and fix upon you
 “ the stain of an infamous crime? What worse opinion could an enraged
 “ enemy conceive of you, than to suppose you capable of betraying
 “ those who own themselves indebted to you for all their success; and
 “ of throwing yourselves into the power of a party, who consider you
 “ as the authors of all their misfortunes? Are you strangers to *Cæsar*’s
 “ exploits in *Spain*? He has defeated two armies, overcome two Gene-
 “ rals, and brought two provinces under subjection: And all this with-
 “ in forty days after he came in sight of the enemy. Is it likely that
 “ those, who with forces unbroken could not stand their ground, will
 “ be able to resist, now that they have received such considerable losses?
 “ And will you, who followed *Cæsar* before fortune declared in his fa-
 “ vour, now return to the vanquished, and lose the reward of your ser-
 “ vices? They charge you with having abandoned and betrayed them,
 “ contrary to the faith of oaths: But did you desert *Domitius*, or *Domitius*
 “ his soldiers? Were you not ready to have endured the last extre-
 “ mities, whilst he privately endeavoured to escape? Were you not be-
 “ trayed by him, and saved by *Cæsar*’s mercy? And how can the oath
 “ any longer oblige you, when he to whom you swore, laying down the
 “ ensigns of his office and authority, became a private person, and sur-
 “ rendered himself a captive to another? But perhaps, though you ap-
 “ prove of *Cæsar*’s cause, you dislike your General. I shall not insist on

Y. R. 704. " the obligations you have to me : They are much inferior to my own
 Bef. Chr. " desire and your deserts : But you are not ignorant that the rewards of
 48. " military service come not till after the conclusion of the war, and, I
 403 Conf. " believe, you little doubt what will be the issue of the present one.
 " Yet why should I decline taking notice of the diligence I have used, the
 " progress I have already made, and the good fortune that has hitherto
 " attended me ? Have I not landed my army safe in *Africa* without the
 " loss of a single ship ; dispersed the enemy's fleet ; worsted their ca-
 " valry ; forced two hundred of their merchant-ships to quit the port of
 " *Utica* and join me ; and reduced them to a situation where it is im-
 " possible for them to receive any supplies either by land or sea ? Can
 " you think of deserting a cause headed by such leaders and attended
 " with such success, to return to those who ignominiously delivered up
 " *Corfinium*, fled from *Italy*, surrendered *Spain*,* and have already suf-
 " fered such losses in this *African* war ? For my part, I desired no greater
 " name than *Cæsar's* soldier ; you have thought fit to give me that of
 " *Imperator* ; which I am ready this moment to resign, if you repent of
 " having done me that honour. Give me again my former name,
 " that it may not be said, that I was honoured, to be covered after-
 " wards with greater ignominy."

This speech had its proper effect : The soldiers often interrupted him to express their grief at his suspecting their fidelity : And, when he retired, they all gathered round him, begging him to lead them to battle, and make a trial of their zeal and bravery. This behaviour of the troops entirely satisfied the officers, and, with the consent of them all, *Curio* determined to take the first occasion to engage the enemy. Accordingly, he drew out his men the next day, and *Autius Varus* did the same. The valley between the two armies, though not very large, was of difficult ascent : And each army waited till the other should venture to pass it, that they might engage with the greater advantage. At length all the cavalry of *Varus's* left wing, together with the light-armed foot, descended into it. Upon this, *Curio* immediately detached his horse with two cohorts, to engage them : And the enemy, unable to sustain the first onset, returned with full speed to their main body ; leaving the light-armed foot behind, who were surrounded and cut to pieces in sight of *Varus's* whole army. In that instant *Canninius Rebilus*, (one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, who had distinguished himself in the *Gallie* war, and whom *Curio* had chosen for his Counsellor on account of his military capacity) cried out to his General : " Why do you delay seizing the favourable
 " moment ? You see the enemy is struck with terror." *Curio* made no answer ; only he desired his soldiers to remember what they had promised the day before : And, advancing himself before the rest, commanded them to follow him. The ascent on the other side of the valley was so steep, that the foremost could not get up but with the assistance of those that came after. The enemy, however, were so fright-
 ened

ened with the rout and slaughter of their men, that they made no resistance: And, before a dart was thrown, the whole army turned their backs, and fled to their camp, imagining themselves already surrounded by the victorious cavalry. Of *Varus's* army, about six hundred were killed; and a thousand were wounded at the gates of the camp, where the throng was so great, that many were crushed to death. *Curio* lost but one man, by name *Fabius Pelignus*, a Centurion of the lowest rank in his army: As this man was pursuing the runaways, he called with a loud voice to *Varus*, who, hearing himself named several times, and taking him to be an officer of his own army, turned, and stood still, demanding who he was, and what he wanted. *Fabius* then aimed a blow at his shoulder, which was uncovered, and would have certainly killed him, if he had not been immediately surrounded and put to death.

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

Varus, seeing his army under the greatest consternation, and that many of the men had deserted the camp to take refuge in the town, brought all the rest at midnight within the walls: And *Curio* the next day began a line of circumvallation, resolving to lay siege to the place. *Utica* was filled with a great number of inhabitants, whom a long peace had rendered quite unfit for war, and, having formerly received many favours from *Cæsar*, stood well-affected to his cause. The Magistrates were so terrified with the bad success they had met with, that they talked openly of surrendering; and begged of *Varus* not to ruin them with his obstinacy. But messengers from King *Juba*, who came while this affair was in agitation, made them alter their resolution. They brought the news that the King was himself coming to their assistance, at the head of a numerous army, and would soon appear. *Curio* received the same intelligence: But for some time, through too great a confidence in his good fortune, would give no credit to it. The news of *Cæsar's* success in *Spain* being now publicly known in *Africa*, he could not be persuaded that *Juba* would dare to attempt any thing against him. But, being at last convinced by repeated accounts, that the King with all his forces was already arrived within twenty-five miles of *Utica*, he quitted his works, and retired to the *Cornelian* camp. It was conveniently placed near the sea, was well fortified by art and nature, was plentifully stored with water and salt, and the country around was covered with trees, and abounded with corn: Here, therefore, he resolved to wait the arrival of the forces which he had left in *Sicily*.

Curio, however, did not long abide by this prudent resolution: Some deserters bringing him an account that *Juba* had been obliged to return home to defend the borders of his kingdom, and compose the broils among the *Leptitani*, and had only sent forward *Sabura* with a few troops; he too hastily gave credit to this report: And, hurried away by his natural impetuosity, determined to march towards the enemy.

Y. R. 724. enemy. He sent, in the beginning of the night, all his cavalry to-
 Bet. Chr. wards their camp, which was upon the river *Bagradas*: And he him-
 48. self marched with the rest of the forces about three in the morning,
 423 Conl. leaving only five cohorts to guard his baggage. After a march of six
 miles he was met by his cavalry, who, having travelled all the night,
 had surprised *Sabura's* camp, killed a great number of his men, and
 made some prisoners. *Curio* asked these, who commanded at *Bagra-*
das? They answered, *Sabura*. Upon this, without making any fur-
 ther enquiries, he turned to the soldiers next to him, and said: "Do
 " you not see that the report of the prisoners corresponds exactly with
 " the intelligence given by the deserters? *Juba* is not with the army.
 " It must consist but of a few troops, since they were not able to
 " withstand the charge of a small body of horse. Let us hasten then
 " to obtain victory, booty, and glory." The ardour of the army
 was equal to that of their General. On they marched precipitately,
 that they might come as soon as possible upon a frightened enemy. The
 horse were ordered to follow, but, fatigued with their late march, they
 halted, some in one place and some in another. *Juba* was only six
 miles behind *Sabura*, and, having notice of the last night's engagement,
 he detached to his assistance two thousand *Spanish* and *Gallie* horse, of
 his ordinary guard, with that part of the infantry on which he chiefly
 relied. He followed leisurely with the rest of the troops, and about
 forty elephants; suspecting that *Curio* had sent his cavalry before, and
 was not far off with his army. *Sabura*, having drawn up his horse and
 foot, ordered them to give ground upon the enemy's attack. *Curio*,
 deceived by this behaviour, and not doubting but the enemy were pre-
 paring to fly, drew his army down into the plain from the higher
 ground. At length, having advanced a considerable way, he halted
 to give his men breath, who had now marched upwards of six-
 teen miles. That moment *Sabura* sounded the charge, led on his men
 in order of battle, and went from rank to rank to animate them: But
 he suffered the cavalry only to come to blows, keeping the infantry at
 a small distance, but in good order. *Curio* was not wanting on his
 part; he exhorted his men to place all their hopes in their valour:
 Nor did the foot, though wearied with their march, or the cavalry,
 though few in number, and exhausted with the duty they had already
 done, betray any symptoms of fear. Of the latter there were only two
 hundred, the rest having halted by the way; yet, wherever they charged,
 they obliged the enemy to give ground: But their horses were so tired
 that they could not pursue them far. On the other side the *Numidian*
 cavalry began to surround the *Roman* army, and to gall them in the
 rear. Whenever the cohorts issued out to charge them, the *Numidians*,
 being fresh, avoided the attack by their nimbleness, and, immediately
 returning, got behind the *Romans*, and cut them off from the army.
 Thus it was equally dangerous for them to keep their ground, or to
 advance

advance to battle. *Sabura's* forces increased continually by the reinforcements sent by *Juba*: *Curio's*, disabled by fatigue, and surrounded on all sides, had no place of safety to which they could retire or carry their wounded. Sensible of their extreme distress, they began to give themselves up to despair. *Curio*, perceiving the soldiers were in so great a consternation, as neither to give ear to his commands nor entreaties, gave orders, as the last resource, that they should endeavour to gain the neighbouring hills: But these were already possessed by *Sabura's* cavalry. Some of the *Romans*, attempting to escape by flight, were killed by the enemy's horse: Others, seeing it useless to make any efforts to save their lives, threw themselves upon the ground. While affairs were in this desperate condition, *Cn. Domitius*, Commander of the cavalry, having only a few of his followers left, advised *Curio* to save himself by retreating to the camp, and promised not to forsake him. But *Curio* could not think of surviving the loss of his army; and continued fighting bravely till he was killed: A few of the cavalry escaped: And those of them who had staid behind to refresh themselves, perceiving at a distance the rout of the army, retired with precipitation to the camp. Every man of the infantry was cut to pieces.

When the total overthrow and destruction of the army was known in the camp, *M. Rufus*, the Quæstor, who commanded there, intreated his men not to lose their courage. They insisted, however, to be transported to *Sicily*: And he ordered the Masters of the ships to have them in readiness at night along the shore. But such was the general consternation, that some cried out that *Juba* was arrived with his troops: Others that *Varus* approached with his legions, the dust of whose march they pretended to discern: And many declared that the enemy's fleet would be upon them in an instant. Confounded by their fears, they consulted every man his own preservation. Those who had embarked hoisted sail immediately, and their flight drew the transports after them. A few only of the boats would obey *Rufus's* orders: But the strand was so crowded, and every one so eager to get on board before the rest, that some of these vessels were sunk, and others were afraid to come nearer the shore. It thus happened that a small number of soldiers only got safe to *Sicily*. Those who remained, having sent their Centurions that night as deputies to *Varus*, surrendered. These *Juba* claimed as his property the next day, commanded the greatest part to be put to the sword, and sent the rest into *Numidia*. In vain did *Varus* intercede for them, and complain of this breach of faith: He durst not make any resistance. The haughty King made his entrance into the city attended by a great number of Senators: And, after regulating every thing according to his pleasure, returned triumphant with all his forces into his own kingdom.

C H A P. VI.

Cæsar is created Dictator : He returns to Rome, where he holds the Assembly for the election of Magistrates, and settles the affairs of the city. He follows Pompey into Greece. The disturbances raised by Coelius and Milo are quieted. The famous campaign between Cæsar and Pompey before Dyrrachium and in Thessaly. The battle of Pharsalia. Pompey's flight and death. The dispersion of his followers.

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
493 Conf.

See. in
Cæf.
Dio.

M. *Æmilius Lepidus*, to whose care, as Prætor, *Cæsar* had committed the government of the city in his absence, obtained, after the reduction of *Pompey's* army in *Spain*, an ordinance of the people for creating a Dictator; and, pursuant to it, he named *Cæsar* to that office¹. *Cæsar* received the news of his election on his arrival at *Marseilles*, but did not immediately set out for *Rome*. He spent the remainder of the year in *Gaul* and in the North of *Italy*, to strengthen his army, and give directions for the security of the provinces which he was about to leave. It was in this interval that the ninth legion mutinied at *Placentia*, and demanded its dismissal. This was the first event of the kind that had ever befallen him. They said that they were worn out by labour, and deserved to have at last some rest: But their discontent proceeded from *Cæsar's* conduct since the commencement of the civil war, and particularly at the siege of *Marseilles*, where, notwithstanding the perfidious behaviour of the inhabitants, and the many provocations they had given him, he would not suffer them to be plundered. He brought this legion back to its duty, not by any mean compliance, but by his authority and resolution. After reproaching them with their ingratitude and folly, he told them, “that he had no occasion for their service, and that he should never want soldiers to share his prosperity and triumphs: And that, before he disbanded them, he would punish their crime, and order them to be decimated.” These words broke the spirit of the mutineers: They threw themselves at his feet and begged for pardon: And all their officers interceded for them. *Cæsar* was for some time inexorable; but at last, abating of his severity, he ordered them to deliver up to him an hundred and twenty of the most guilty; of these twenty were appointed by lot for execution; and the officers managed it so that the lots fell on the most insolent. After this execution the soldiers were obliged to renew their intreaties for leave to continue in his service.

¹ Some nations, as the *Syro-Macedonians*, *Cæsars*, or Roman Emperors. See *Usher's* reckoned from this epocha the years of the *Annals*, ad an. 3956.

On his arrival at *Rome*, he held the Comitia for the election of Magistrates, and was himself appointed Consul with *P. Servilius Isauricus*.^{Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48.} Of the Prætors, the most remarkable were *C. Trebonius*, whom *Cæsar*^{403 Conf.} appointed Prætor of the city, and *M. Cælius*, who had the department of foreign affairs. It was the universal belief, and the wish of many in *Cæsar's* party, that there would be a general abolition of all debts. In consequence of this, the public credit was at a stand over all *Italy*, every one refusing to pay what he owed. But *Cæsar* put an end to this uncertainty, by decreeing that arbiters should be appointed to make an estimate of the possessions of all debtors, and to convey them in payment to their creditors, at the price they bore before the war. *Suetonius* adds, that he allowed the debtors to deduct from the principal what they had paid for interest. *Dio Cassius* says, that the creditors lost by this regulation a fourth of their due: And that, as many were suspected of concealing great sums of money, an ordinance was published, forbidding any body to keep above sixty thousand sesterces.^{484 l.} This extraordinary ordinance has no other voucher besides *Dio*.

Many of those who had been tried and condemned for bribery, while *Pompey* kept his legions in the city, resorted to him in the beginning of the war; and, that he might not be charged with ingratitude towards these men, nor accused of invading the prerogatives of the people, he now caused them to be restored in a legal manner by a law propounded to the people by the Prætors and Tribunes. The pretext was, that they had been condemned at a time when *Pompey* had influenced the Judges. *Milo*, alone, seems to have been excepted from this general amnesty: He had made, perhaps, no advances to gain *Cæsar's* favour; who might have, besides, many other reasons to be dissatisfied with the enemy and murderer of his friend *Clodius*: He restored, at the same time, the sons of the proscribed to the rights of *Roman* citizens, from which they had been hitherto excluded by the cruelty of *Sylla*, and the injustice of the aristocratic faction. Having made these regulations, and celebrated the *Latin* festivals, he abdicated the Dictatorship, after holding it but eleven days, and immediately set out for *Brundisium*, where he arrived before the end of *December*: And, on the 1st of *January*,¹ he entered upon his office of Consul in that city.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, II. }
P. SERVILIUS VATTIA ISAURICUS, } Consuls.

Y. R. 705.
Bef. Chr.
47.

Pompey, having had a whole year to make his preparations, undisturbed by wars, and free from the interruption of an enemy, had gathered a mighty fleet from *Asia*, the *Cyclades*, *Corcyra*, *Athens*, *Pontus*, *Bitynia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Ægypt*: To all which places he had sent orders for the building of ships upon the first breaking out

404 Conf.

¹ The 11th of *October*, according to *Usher*; but, really, the 25th of *November*.
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Y. R. 905. of the civil war; being persuaded, that he who was master of the sea
 Bef. Chr. would certainly be superior also at land; * and he had exacted great
 47. sums of money from the people of *Asia* and *Syria*, from the Kings,
 404 C. 02. Tetrarchs, Dynasties, and free States of *Achaia*, and from all the cor-
 (ref. e. porations of the provinces subject to his command. He had got to-
 1. 1. Com. gether *nine legions of Roman citizens*; five he had brought with him
 1. 1. 11. from *Italy*; one had been sent him from *Sicily*, consisting wholly of
 veterans, and called *Gemella*, because composed of two; another, partly
 from *Crete*, and partly from *Macedonia*, of veteran soldiers likewise;
 who, having been disbanded by former Generals, had settled in those
 parts; and two more from *Asia*, levied there by *Lentulus*. Besides all
 these, he had troops from *Thessaly*, *Bactia*, *Achaia*, and *Epirus*: Which,
 together with the soldiers of *C. Antonius*, who had been obliged to sur-
 render in *Illyricum*, he distributed among the legions by way of recruits.
 He expected also two legions which *Scipio* commanded in *Syria*. He
 had three thousand archers from *Crete*, *Lacedæmon*, *Pontus*, and other
 provinces; six cohorts of slingers, and two of mercenaries. His cavalry
 amounted to seven thousand; six hundred of which came to him from
Galatia, under *Dejotarus*; five hundred from *Cappadocia*, under *Ario-
 barzanes*; the like number from *Thrace*, sent by *Cotus*, under the com-
 mand of his son *Sadalis*; two hundred from *Macedonia*, under *Rascipo-
 lis*, an Officer of distinction; five hundred from *Alexandria*, consisting
 of *Gauls* and *Germans*, left there by *Gabinus* to serve as a guard to
 King *Ptolemy*, and now brought over by young *Pompey* in his fleet, to-
 gether with eight hundred of his own domestics: *Castor* and *Donilaus*
 furnished him with three hundred; the first of these came himself in
 person, the second sent his son; and two hundred, most of them
 archers, were sent by *Antiochus Ccmagenus*, who lay under the greatest
 obligations to *Pompey*. He had likewise a great number of *Darda-
 nians* and *Bessians*, with others from *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, and the ad-
 joining States, who completed his cavalry, and were partly volunteers,
 and partly mercenaries. To subsist this mighty army, he had taken
 care to amass vast quantities of corn from *Thessaly*, *Asia*, *Ægypt*, *Crete*,
Cyrene, and other countries; and he resolved to quarter his troops du-
 ring the winter at *Dyrrhæcium*, *Apollonia*, and the other maritime towns,
 to prevent *Cæsar's* passing the sea; for which reason, he ordered also
 his fleet to cruise perpetually along the coasts. Young *Pompey* com-
 manded the *Egyptian* Squadron; *D. Lælius* and *C. Triarius*, the *Asiatic*;
C. Cossius, the *Syrian*; *C. Marcellus* and *C. Caponius*, the *Rhodian*; and
Scribonius Libo and *M. Octavius*, the *Liburnian* and *Achaian*: But the
 chief authority was given to *M. Bibulus*, who was High-admiral.
 In Cæ. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Pompey* had at first destined *Cato* to this impor-

* Pompeii omne consilium Themistocleum est. Existimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum
 necesse rerum potiri. *Ad Art. x. 8.*

tant command, and had even made him a promise of it : But that he afterwards changed his mind, lest that rigid republican, vested with so much power, should become troublesome to him after the defeat of *Cæsar*, and compel him to disband his soldiers, in order to restore the liberty of the Commonwealth.

Before the end of the year, while *Cæsar* was holding the Assemblies of the people in *Rome* for the election of Magistrates, the Consuls assembled at *Theffalonica* all the Senators who had followed *Pompey*, to the number of two hundred. There, after consecrating a place with augural ceremonies, they declared themselves the true *Roman Senate*; and enacted, that all those who were then *Consuls*, *Prætors*, and *Quæstors*, should retain their authority, and continue in the exercise of their several offices, under the names of *Proconsuls*, *Proprætors*, and *Proquæstors*. *Pompey* they declared *Generalissimo* of the Republic: And honours and thanks were decreed to the Kings and nations who favoured their cause; and, in particular, young *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, was confirmed in the possession of his crown, in exclusion of his sister, the famous *Cleopatra*, though she had an undoubted title by the will of *Ptolemy Auletes*, their common father, who had left the succession to his eldest son and eldest daughter jointly.

Cæsar found at *Brundisium* twelve legions, and all his cavalry: But his legions were far from being complete. They had been considerably weakened by the *Gallic* war, by their long march from *Spain*, and by a general sickness, which had lately prevailed among them, during the autumn in the unhealthy climate of *Apulia*. Yet, the want of ships alone hindered him, he says, from putting a speedy end to the war. For, notwithstanding his orders to build and assemble as many ships as possible, he had scarcely a sufficient number to embark twenty thousand men; who, in the present state of his army, formed seven legions and six hundred horse. On his arrival at *Erundisium*, he harangued his troops, and told them, “that, as they were now upon the point of seeing an end of all their toils and dangers, they should make no difficulty to leave their servants and baggage in *Italy*, in order that they might embark with less confusion, and in greater numbers; placing all their hopes in victory, and in the generosity of their General.” The whole army having loudly testified their assent, he embarked with seven legions on the 4th of *January*, and arrived the next day at the *Cæraunian* mountains, on the coast of *Epirus*; where, having found a tolerable harbour, he landed his troops at a place called *Pharsalus*. *Lucretius Vespillo* and *Minutius Rufus* were then at *Oricum*, with eighteen *Asiatic* ships; and *Bibulus* had one hundred and ten at *Corcyra*: But the first durst not hazard an engagement, though *Cæsar* had for his convoy no more than ten galleys, only four of which had decks; and *Bibulus* had not time to assemble his men and get his ships in order. For no account of *Cæsar*’s approach

*N. R. - 65.
Bel. Chu.
47.*

404 *Cons.*

*Plut. in
Pomp.
Dio.
Lucan. l. v.*

*Cæf. de
Bell. Civ.
Com. lib.
iii.*

Y. R. 705.
 B. C. Chr.
 404 C. n.

proach had reached these parts, till his fleet was seen from the continent. *Cæsar* sent the fleet back the same night to *Brundisium* to bring over the rest of his forces. *Fufius Calenus* had the charge of this expedition, with orders to use the utmost dispatch; but, setting sail too late, he lost the benefit of the wind, and fell in with the enemy. For *Bibulus*, hearing at *Corcyra* of *Cæsar's* arrival, forthwith put to sea, in hopes of intercepting some of the transports: And, meeting the fleet as it returned empty, took about thirty ships, which he burnt, with all that were on board. He imagined, by this example, to deter the rest of the troops from attempting the passage. He then stationed his fleet along the coast from *Salona* to *Oricum*, and remained himself on board, notwithstanding the rigour of the season; declining no fatigue nor danger, so that he might intercept *Cæsar's* supplies.

Cæsar, following the plan he had at first adopted, sent *Vibullius Rufus* (the same he had made prisoner at *Corfinium*, and afterwards in *Spain*) to *Pompey*, to treat of peace. He thought this man the properest person he could employ, as he had been twice indebted to him for his life, and was also much esteemed by *Pompey*, whom he had served with great zeal and fidelity in the quality of chief engineer. He was commissioned to represent to *Pompey*, "that it was now time to put an
 "end to their quarrel, and not obstinately expose themselves any more
 "to the precarious events of fortune: That the losses they had already
 "sustained ought to fill them with just apprehensions of the future:
 "That *Pompey* had been forced to abandon *Italy*, had lost *Sicily* and
 "*Sardinia*, the two *Spains*, with about an hundred and thirty cohorts
 "of *Roman* citizens. That he himself had been a considerable sufferer
 "by the death of *Curio*, the destruction of the *African* army, and the
 "surrender of his forces under *C. Antonius* at *Corcyra*. That it was
 "therefore incumbent on them to shew some regard to the sinking
 "state of the Commonwealth, and that the present moment was the
 "most favourable; because, not having yet tried one another's
 "strength, and considering themselves as equals, there was the more
 "likelihood of their coming to an agreement, upon moderate terms:
 "Whereas, if one of them once got the least advantage, he would
 "exact every thing from the other, and give up nothing himself.
 "That, as hitherto, they had been unable to settle the conditions of
 "peace, they ought to refer them to the Senate and people of *Rome*;
 "and, in the mean time, both swear to disband their armies in three
 "days time. That a proposition of this nature should be equally

▪ *Plutarch in Pomp.* tells us, that in a Council of war, in which *Caro* presided, a decree was passed, that no *Roman* citizen should be put to death but in battle, and that they should not plunder any city which was subject to the *Roman* Empire: And that such

moderation gained the affections of all people to *Pompey's* cause. *Cæsar* followed this rule, notwithstanding the greatest provocations: But, on *Pompey's* side, *Caro's* decree was very little regarded, and I doubt whether it was ever made.

"agree-

“agreeable to all ; since the two Commanders, divested of their
 “strength, would find themselves under a necessity of submitting to
 “the decree of the Senate and people. In fine, that to give *Pom-*
 “*pey* a proof of his readiness to perform these proposals, he would
 “give immediate orders for the discharge of all his forces, both in
 “garrison and in the field.” *Vibullius*, having received these instruc-
 tions, hastened to *Pompey*’s camp with all diligence, frequently changing
 horses, and posting day and night ; but he was more sollicitous to give
 him early notice of *Cæsar*’s arrival, and the condition of his army,
 than to execute the commission he was charged with. *Pompey* was in
Candavia, on his way through *Macedonia*, to his winter quarters at
Apollonia and *Dyrrhacchium* : And, surprised and disturbed at news so
 unexpected, he hastened his march, that he might prevent the loss of
 the sea coasts.

Cæsar, the very day he landed, brought his troops before *Oricum*,
 where *L. Torquatus* attempted to defend himself with a garrison of
 Greeks, called *Parthini* : But they, refusing to fight against the
 Consul of *Rome*, and the inhabitants being entirely in the same senti-
 ments, he surrendered. Thence *Cæsar* marched to *Apollonia*, whose
 citizens being also well affected towards him, *L. Staberius*, who com-
 manded for *Pompey*, privately left the place : And the inhabitants sent
 their Deputies to him, and received him into the town. The *Bulliden-*
ses, *Amantiani*, with the neighbouring nations, and all *Epirus*, followed
 their example, and sent ambassadors to *Cæsar* to receive his com-
 mands. This rapid progress made *Pompey* march day and night to
 reach *Dyrrhacchium* : And, when he drew near to that place, a false re-
 port, that *Cæsar* was not far off, threw the whole army into such con-
 sternation, that many abandoned their colours and arms, and the
 march in general was continued in so disorderly a manner, that it had
 all the appearance of a precipitate flight. They had not even recovered
 their consternation when they had reached *Dyrrhacchium*, and were about
 to intrench themselves under its walls : Which *Labienus* perceiving,
 he advanced, in the sight of all the soldiers, and solemnly swore never
 to abandon his General, but to share whatever fortune should befall
 him. All the other officers, and the whole army, took the same oath.
Cæsar, finding that he was prevented in his design upon *Dyrrhacchium*,
 pursued his march more leisurely, and encamped on the river *Apsus*, in
 the territory of the *Apollonians*, that he might be able to protect the
 possessions of a State, which had declared warmly in his favour.
 Here he resolved to wait the arrival of the rest of his troops. *Pompey*
 did the like ; and, having encamped on the other side of the same
 river, assembled there all his legions and auxiliaries.

Salona, a town in *Dalmatia*, where *Spalatro* now stands, sustained
 a memorable siege about this time against *M. Octavius*, Admiral of
 the *Liburnian* and *Achaian* fleets under *Bibulus*. It was built upon a
 hill,

Y. R. 705.
 Bef. Chr.
 47.
 404 Cons.

Cæf. de
 Bell. Civ.
 Com. l.
 iii.

Y. R. 100. hill, and advantageously situated for defence ; but, as the fortifications
B. 100. were very inconsiderable, the *Roman* citizens residing there immediately
A. 100. surrounded the place with wooden towers ; and, finding themselves too
few to resist the attacks of the enemy, after many of them had been
killed or disabled, they, in their last extremity, gave arms and liberty
to their slaves, and the women gave their hair to make cords for the
engines. *Octavius*, to conquer their obstinacy, blocked up the town on
all sides with five different camps, resolving to harass them with con-
tinual attacks. The brave *Salonians* dreaded nothing but the want of
corn ; and, on *Cæsar's* arrival on the coast of *Epirus*, they sent to him
to beg a supply. The siege had continued for some time ; and, the be-
siegiers not keeping a strict watch, they all sallied out at mid-day, leav-
ing, for a shew, their wives and children on the walls, and attacked
the nearest quarters of *Octavius*. Having forced these, they ran to the
next, and so successively to all the five camps ; and, driving the enemy
with great slaughter from every post, they compelled them to take re-
fuge in their ships. *Octavius*, as winter approached, and his loss had
been considerable, retired to *Dyrrhacchium*, and joined *Pompey*.

Cæsar de
Bell. Civ.
Can. lib.
iii.

Calenus was charged, as we have related above, to bring over to
Brundisium the rest of the forces ; and, having embarked according to
his instructions, he put to sea : But he had not sailed very far, when
he met with an advice-boat from *Cæsar*, informing him, that every part
of the coast was guarded, and he returned back into the harbour.
One ship, which was not under his command, continued its route, and
fell in at *Oricum* with the fleet of *Bibulus*, who put all on board to
death, not sparing even the freedmen, children, or slaves. The troops
under *Calenus*, had it not been for *Cæsar's* dispatches, would have met
with the same fate. If *Bibulus* thus deprived *Cæsar* of all supplies by
sea, he was in like manner greatly incommoded by *Cæsar* at land :
Who, having disposed parties all along the coast, hindered him from
getting either water or wood, or any thing else, except from the island
of *Cercyra* ; and, by this means, he was sometimes reduced to great
difficulties. Notwithstanding therefore his high spirit, he condescen-
ded to let *Libo* enter upon parley with two of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants,
M. Acilius and *Statius Murcus*, who guarded *Oricum*, and the sea coasts :
And these, believing the proposals made to them to be serious, did not
scruple to grant a truce. *Cæsar* was then at *Butbrotum*, a town over
against *Cercyra*, whither he had gone with one legion to reduce some
of the more distant States, and to get a supply of corn. Upon the
first information of this transaction, he hastened back to *Oricum*, and
invited *Libo* and *Bibulus* to a conference. *Libo* appeared, and made
the following apology and declaration on the part of *Bibulus* ; “ that,
“ being naturally hasty, and bearing a personal grudge to *Cæsar*, con-
“ tracted during the time of his quæstorship and edileship, he had de-
“ clined the interview, lest his presence might be an obstacle to the suc-
suc-

“ success of so desirable a design. That *Pompey* was, and ever had
 “ been inclined to lay down his arms, and terminate their differences
 “ by an accommodation ; but, as yet, had not sent him sufficient
 “ powers to treat ; which, however, he doubted not soon to receive, as
 “ the Council or Senate had intrusted him with the whole administra-
 “ tion of the war. That if *Cæsar*, therefore, would make known his
 “ demands, they would be sent to *Pompey*, who would soon come to a
 “ resolution upon the matter : And, in the mean time, he desired that
 “ the truce might continue, and both parties abstain from acts of hos-
 “ tility, till an answer could be obtained.” *Cæsar*, on his side, “ de-
 “ manded leave to send Ambassadors to *Pompey*, and required that
 “ *Libo* and *Bibulus* would answer for their return, or undertake to con-
 “ vey them in safety. With regard to the truce, he said, that such
 “ were the present circumstances of the war, that their fleet kept back
 “ his supplies and transports, and his forces deprived them of all ac-
 “ cess to the shore and other conveniencies. That, if they expected
 “ any abatement on his part, they must likewise abate in their constant
 “ guard at sea along the coast ; and that, while they persisted in their
 “ vigilance, he would not remit his attention and watchfulness. He
 “ added, however, that, though they could not agree on this point, the
 “ treaty might still proceed.” *Libo* declined receiving *Cæsar*’s Am-
 bassadors, or answering for their safe return, and chose to refer the
 whole matter to *Pompey* : Yet insisted on the truce, which *Cæsar* con-
 stantly rejected ; perceiving, that his only aim was to extricate the fleet
 from its present distress. *Bibulus* soon after died on ship-board : He
 had contracted a dangerous illness by cold and perpetual fatigue ; and,
 as he could not have proper assistance at sea, and would not be pre-
 vailed upon to quit his post, he sunk under the violence of his distem-
 per. Nobody succeeded him as Admiral : Each squadron was go-
 verned independently of the rest by its particular Commander, under
 the general direction of *Pompey*.

Vibullius at last thought proper to deliver to *Pompey*, in the presence
 of *Libo*, *L. Luccius*, and *Theophanes*, his most intimate Counsellors,
 the commission he had from *Cæsar*. But scarce had he begun to speak,
 when *Pompey* interrupted him, and ordered him to proceed no farther :
*What, said he, is my life and country to me, if I shall seem to be beholden for
 them to Cæsar ? And will it be believed that I am not indebted to him for
 them, if he by an accommodation restores me to Italy ?* *Cæsar* affirms that
 this speech of *Pompey* was reported to him after the conclusion of the
 war by those that were present. He assures us also, that, notwithstand-
 ing *Vibullius* brought him no answer back to his message, and *Libo* re-
 fused to conduct his Ambassadors to *Pompey*, yet he tried every other
 method to obtain peace. As the two camps were separated only by the
 river *Apfus*, the soldiers had frequent discourse among themselves, and
 committed no acts of hostility on these occasions. *Cæsar* laid hold on
 this

Y. R. 705. this circumstance, and ordered *Vatinius* to address himself to the officers
 Bel. Chr. and soldiers, and demand publicly and frequently, in the most serious
 47. and earnest manner, "Whether it might not be permitted to citizens
 404 Conf. "to send Deputies to their fellow-citizens to treat about peace: That
 "this was never denied even to fugitives and robbers, and ought much
 "less to be opposed, when the design was to prevent a civil war, and the
 "effusion of *Roman* blood." He was heard with great silence by both
 armies, and received this answer: "That *Varro* would next day appear
 "at an interview; whither *Cæsar's* Deputies might come in perfect se-
 "curity, and make known their demands." The hour of meeting was
 likewise settled; and multitudes flocked to the place, elated with the
 highest expectations. *Labiens*, advancing from the croud, began in a low
 voice to confer with *Vatinius*, as if to adjust the articles of the treaty:
 But their discourse was soon interrupted by a flight of darts which came
 pouring in upon all sides. *Vatinius* escaped unhurt, by means of
 the soldiers, who ran to cover him with their shields: But *Cornelius Bal-*
bus, *M. Pbotius*, *L. Tiburtus*, Centurions, and some private men, were
 wounded. The brutal *Labiens*, then raising his voice, cried out aloud:
Leave off prating any more of peace: For none you shall have, till you have
brought us CÆSAR's head. This declaration, so extraordinary, is of a piece
 with the whole behaviour of that deserter, and corresponds also very
 well with the haughty and cruel conduct of the whole party.

Cæf. de
 Bel. Civ.
 Com. l. iii.

While the two rival Generals lay during the winter on each side of the
 river *Apfius*, great commotions were raised in *Rome* and in some parts of
Italy by *M. Cælius* and the famous *Melo*. The first, who was Prætor at
Rome for foreign affairs, having met with some disappointments; or dis-
 obliged because *Cæsar* had given the more important charge of the city
 to his colleague *C. Trebonius*; or not relishing the law *Cæsar* had made
 in regard to the debtors, which might not answer his views; he engaged
 in the most rash and unjustifiable attempts. He had the boldness to
 undertake the cause of the debtors, and, on his entrance into office, or-
 dered his tribunal to be fixed near that of *Trebonius*, declaring that he
 would receive the complaints of such as should appeal to him, in regard
 to the estimation of estates, and payments made in consequence of *Cæ-*
sar's late regulation. But the law itself was so just, and *Trebonius's*
 judgments so moderate, that no pretence of appeal could be found.
 This Magistrate admitted of every reasonable plea, taking into consi-
 deration the poverty of the debtors, their personal losses, the hardness
 of the times, and the difficulty of bringing their effects to sale: And
 no one was so divested of honesty and shame, as to own themselves in
 debt, and yet pretend to keep their estates entire. Thus this first at-
 tempt of *Cælius* proved unsuccessful. His whole severity, therefore,
 was pointed now against those to whom the inheritances of the debtors
 were adjudged: And, having once embarked in the affair, that he
 might not seem to have engaged himself to no purpose in an unjustifi-

able cause, he proposed a law by which he allowed the debtors six years for the discharge of their debts, which they were to clear at equal payments without interest*. But the Consul *Servilius* and the rest of the Magistrates unanimously opposed the project; nor was it received by the people with the favour he expected: And he dropped the affair. This disappointment only served to render him more furious; and now, determined to keep no measures, he proposed two other laws, which he foresaw would more effectually inflame the people; the one "to exempt all the tenants of *Rome* from paying rent;" the other, "for a general abolition of debts." These laws took with the multitude; and *Calpurnius* at their head attacked *Trebonius* in his tribunal, drove him thence, and wounded some persons about him. The Consul *Servilius* complained to the Senate of his riotous behaviour, and *Calpurnius*, by a decree of the house, was interdicted the functions of his charge. In virtue of this decree the bills of his laws were torn down, admittance was refused him into the Senate, his chair of office was broke, and he himself was driven from his tribunal, whence he was going to harangue the people. It was doubtless in these circumstances that he wrote the following letter to *Cicero*, which I insert, because it clearly indicates the character of the man.

Y. R. 705.
Bef. Chr.
47.
404 Conf.

M. COELIUS TO CICERO.

"WAS it for this that I followed *Cæsar* into *Spain*? Why was I not rather at *Formiæ*, that I might have accompanied you to *Pompey*? But I was infatuated: And it was my aversion to *Appianus*, together with my friendship for *Curio*, that gradually drew me into this cursed cause. Nor were you entirely unaccessory to my error: For, when I called upon you that night I set out for *Ariminum*, why did you forget the friend, when you were gloriously acting the patriot; and not dissuade me from the purpose of my journey, at the same time that you commissioned me to urge *Cæsar* to pacific measures? Not that I have the least doubt of his success: But, believe me, perdition itself were preferable to being a witness of the insufferable behaviour of these his partisans. They have rendered themselves so generally odious, that we should long since have been driven out of *Rome*, were it not for the apprehension which people have conceived of the cruelty of your party. There is not at this juncture any order of citizens; or even a single man in *Rome*, except a few rascally usurers, who does not wish well to *Pompey*; and I have brought over to your cause, not only those among the plebeian families who were in

Ep. Fam.
viii. 17.
Melm. vii.
18.

* This place in *Cæsar* is corrupted, and the Commentators can make nothing of it. The sense above is according to *Murætorius's* interpretation. Others say that *Calpurnius's* law

gave the debtors three years to acquit themselves, in six payments, one every six months: Others, that it allowed but eighteen months, or one year and six months.

Y. R. 705. " the interest of *Cæſar*, but the whole populace in general. But you
 Bef. Chr. " will ask, perhaps, what can this avail us now? Wait the event, my
 47. " friend: I will render you victorious in ſpite of yourſelves.* For
 404 Conf. " ſurely a profound lethargy has locked up all the ſenſes of your party:
 " as they do not yet ſeem ſenſible how open we lie to an attack, and
 " how little capable we are of making any conſiderable oppoſition. It
 " is by no means from an intereſted motive that I offer my aſſiſtance, but
 " merely in reſentment of the unworthy uſage I have received; and re-
 " ſentment is a paſſion which uſually carries me, you know, the greateſt
 " lengths:—But what are you doing on the other ſide the water?
 " Are you imprudently waiting to give the enemy battle? What *Pom-*
 " *pey*'s forces may be, I know not: But *Cæſar*'s, I am ſure, are accuſ-
 " tomed to action, and enured to all the hardships of the moſt ſevere
 " campaigns. Farewell."

Cæſ. de
Bel. Civ.
Com. lib.
iii.

Cælius had privately written to his old friend *Milo*, to engage him to come into *Italy*, and join him with the remains of the gladiators, which he had bought for his public ſhews, and to make war on his enemy *Clodius*. *Milo*, exaſperated by the treatment he had met with from *Cæſar*, who had not reſtored him with the other exiles, inſtantly obeyed the ſummons, and began to gather troops all over *Italy*. For that purpoſe he diſpatched letters to all the colonies and free towns, intimating, that what he did was in conſequence of *Pompey*'s authority, who had ſent him his orders by *Bibulus*. He alſo endeavoured to draw to him the debtors, whoſe favour *Cælius* had gained by his project for a general abolition of debts. But he met with no ſucceſs, and all he could accompliſh was to ſet ſome ſlaves at liberty. With theſe, and his gladiators, he had the hardineſs to lay ſiege to *Coſa*,^{*} in the territory of *Thurium*; where *Q. Pedius* commanded with a gariſon of one legion; and there he was killed by a ſtone from a machine on the walls. *Cælius*, when he underſtood that *Milo* was in the country of *Thurium*, ſet out from *Rome*, under the pretence of carrying his complaints to *Cæſar*, but with a view of putting himſelf at the head of a number of partiſans he had in the ſouth of *Italy*. At *Cafilinum*, he heard that his enſigns and arms were ſeized at *Capua*; that his partiſans were diſcovered at *Naples*; and that he was looked upon as a public enemy. Finding, therefore, that his project was defeated, and apprehenſive of his ſafety, he gave out, on leaving *Cafilinum*, that he was gone to *Cæſar*; but, turning from the high road, he went privately acroſs the country to *Thurium*: where, notwithſtanding the unhappy end of *Milo*, he endeavoured to

* *Iritavi in me Catonem.*

^{*} *Vellius Paterculus* calls the place *Compſa*:—*Compſam in Hirſiniis oppugnans, ic-* quam armis petebat pœnas dedit; vir iniquus,
ſque lapide, tum P. Clodius, tum paria, et ultra ſortem temerarius. *Lib. ii. c. 68.*

debauch

debauch the inhabitants, and corrupt, by promises of money, some *Spanish* and *Gallie* horse, who had been left to garrison the place. These were deaf to his solicitations, and slew him.¹ Thus, says *Cæsar*, these dangerous beginnings, which, by reason of the multiplicity of affairs wherewith the Magistrates were distracted, and the ticklish situation of the times, threatened great revolutions, and alarmed all *Italy*, were brought to a safe and speedy issue.

The armies of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were still in the same situation. The great object of the two Generals was the army left at *Brundisium*: Which *Cæsar* now expected with great impatience; and whose passage *Pompey* was greatly interested to prevent. He ordered *Libo*, with the fleet under his command, consisting of fifty ships, to sail to *Brundisium*, and possess himself of an island that lay before the harbour, judging it of more importance to secure a post, by which the enemy's transports must necessarily pass, than to guard all the havens and ports on the other side. As his arrival was unexpected, he surprised and burnt some transports, and carried off a vessel laden with corn: And the consternation was so great upon the coast, that, having landed some foot, with a party of archers in the night, he drove before him the cavalry that were upon guard. Elated with this, he sent word to *Pompey*, that he might draw the rest of the navy on shore, and order them to be careened: For that he alone, with his squadron, would undertake to cut off *Cæsar's* supplies. But *Antony*, who commanded in *Brundisium*, soon found means to dislodge him. He ordered sixty boats belonging to the fleet to be covered with hurdles and galleries; and, having filled them with chosen soldiers, disposed them along the shore. To allure the enemy, he sent two three-benched galleys to the mouth of the harbour, as if with no other view than to exercise the rowers; and *Libo*, seeing them advance boldly, and hoping he might be able to intercept them, detached five four-banked galleys for that purpose. At their approach, *Antony's* galleys rowed back, and were inconsiderately pursued too far by the *Pompeians*: For now the boats, stationed along the coast, on a signal given, came pouring upon them from all parts; and, on the first charge, took one of the four-benched galleys, and forced the rest to save themselves by flight. *Antony*, also, by posting the cavalry all along the coast, effectually prevented the enemy from watering; and thus *Libo* was put to the shameful necessity of quitting the blockade.

¹ The reader is perfectly acquainted with the characters of these two men, from what has been related of their behaviour: We have in *Seneca* this anecdote concerning the temper of *Cælius*: *Calium oratorem fuisse iracundissimum constat; cum quo, ut aiunt, cenabat in cubiculo lætæ patientiæ cliens: Sed difficile erat illi in copulam conjeclo, rixam*

*ejus cum quo hærebat, effugere. Optimum judicavit quicquid dixisset signi, et secundas agere. Non tulit Cælius assensientem, sed exclamavit: Dic aliquid contra, ut duo simus. Vellius Paterculus, ii. 68, gives him the preference to *Curio*, both in eloquence and courage: *M. Cælius vir eloquio animoque Curioni simillimus, sed in utroque perfectior*—.*

Y. 2. 73. Several months had now past, and the winter was almost over; yet
 the passage of *Cæsar's* troops was not effected, and was every day more
 47. hazardous. *Pompey* was continually reproaching his Admirals for their
 neglect in relation to *Cæsar's* first passage, and exhorting them to make
 amends for it, by preventing the supplies from coming over. His sea-
 officers exerted themselves therefore, and were ever on the watch.
Cæsar, on his side, could not but think that *Antony* and *Calenus* had lost
 some opportunities, the wind having stood often fair for them: And he
 sent them peremptory orders to sail with the first wind that offered for
 the coast of *Apollonia*; which, having few havens, was not so closely be-
 set by the enemy.

All the historians, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Florus*, and *Dio*, tell
 us, that such was *Cæsar's* impatience at this time, that he resolved to go
 and fetch his troops himself; and, in the disguise of a slave, went on
 board a fisherman's bark at the mouth of the river *Apfus*, with a design
 to cross over to *Brundisium*. The master of the boat rowed off, it is
 said, with his men, but the wind rising made the water so very rough,
 that it seemed impossible to him to get out to sea, and he ordered his
 men to return back. Upon this, *Cæsar* discovered himself: *Fear no-*
 thing, said he, *thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune.* The mariners, en-
 couraged and awed by his presence, made fresh endeavours, and got
 out to sea; but the waves ran so high, and the danger was so immi-
 nent, that he permitted them to return to land. *Cæsar's* soldiers, in-
 formed of what had past, ran to meet him in great multitudes, and told
 him, with much tenderness and affection, *that he had greatly reflected*
upon their courage by going in quest of new forces, when they were sure to
conquer alone, as long as they acted under his direction.

LUCAN. l.
v.

The pressing orders he had sent for his soldiers, who were sufficiently
 eager of themselves to cross the sea, determined *Antony* and *Calenus* to
 sail with a south wind, which was not the most favourable for their pas-
 sage. They made for the coast of *Apollonia*, but were driven before
Dyrrhacchium: Whence, being descried by *Coponius*, he chased them with
 sixteen *Rhedian* gallies, and, the wind abating, the fleet had almost fal-
 len into his hands. A brisk gale, however, arising, they made their
 way, and put into the port of *Nymphæum*, about three miles beyond
Lissus. There they would have been in the greatest danger from the
 south wind, which had continued two days without intermission; but
 they were scarcely entered the port, when the wind changed to south-
 west. To this favourable circumstance they owed their safety. The
 fleet of *Coponius* was driven by the violence of the storm against the
 shore, and dashed to pieces. The greatest part of the soldiers and ma-
 riners perished among the rocks; a few only were taken up by *Antony's*
 soldiers; and these were afterwards sent by *Cæsar* to their several
 homes. There were two, however, of the transports, which, unable to
 keep up with the rest, were overtaken by the night, and, not knowing
 where

where the fleet had put in, cast anchor over against *Lissus*. *Otacilius* Y. R. 705. B. C. 47. 404 Cons. *Crassus*, who commanded in that place, sent out some boats and small vessels to attack them, and to promise them quarter, if they submitted. One of these vessels carried two hundred and twenty new-raised soldiers; the other less than two hundred veterans: And, on this occasion, appeared, says *Cæsar*, what resource there is in valour, in the most imminent dangers. The new levies, frightened at the number of their enemies, and fatigued with sea-sickness, surrendered on promise of their lives; but were cruelly slain, as soon as they came before *Otacilius*. The veterans, on the contrary, though they had both the storm and a leaky vessel to struggle with, abated nothing of their wonted bravery; they spun out the time till night, under the pretence of treating, and then obliged their pilot to run the vessel on shore; where they found an advantageous post. At day-break, *Otacilius* sent against them about four hundred horse; but they defended themselves with great bravery; and, having slain some of the enemy, rejoined without loss the rest of the troops. The Roman citizens inhabiting *Lissus*, to whom *Cæsar* had formerly made a grant of the town, after having fortified it with great care, were entirely in their patron's interest; and *Otacilius*, who well knew it, and dreaded the consequences of a revolt, quitted the place at this time, and fled to *Pompey*. As soon as he was gone, the inhabitants opened their gates to *Antony*, and furnished him with every thing he stood in need of. *Antony*, after landing his troops, which consisted of three veteran legions, one new-raised, and eight hundred horse, sent the most of the transports back again to *Brundisium*, to bring over the rest of the foot and cavalry, and retained only a few of *Gallic* structure, that, if *Pompey*, imagining *Italy* to be destitute of troops, should attempt to return thither, as was commonly rumoured, *Cæsar* might be able, in some measure, to follow him.

On the first news of *Antony's* landing, which the two Generals received about the same time, they both set out from their camps on the *Apfius*; *Cæsar* to join him as soon as possible; *Pompey* to hinder the junction, and, if possible, to draw *Antony* into an ambuscade. *Cæsar*, who had the river to cross, was obliged to fetch a compass, that he might reach a ford. But *Pompey*, having nothing to obstruct his march, advanced by great journeys against *Antony*; and, understanding that he was not far off, he posted his troops on an advantageous ground, ordering them to keep within their camp, and light no fires, that his approach might not be perceived. *Antony*, however, was apprised of it by the people of the country, and kept close for one day within his intrenchments; the next he was joined by *Cæsar*; and then *Pompey* retired to *Asparagium*, a town belonging to the *Dyrrhachians*. *Cæsar* followed him, and, after a march of three days, during which he made himself master of the capital town of the *Partbinians*, he came in sight of the enemy's camp, and pitched his own at a small distance from it. The next day he drew out all his

Y. R. 705. forces and offered *Pompey* battle. But *Pompey* stirred not, and from
 E. C. Cir. that moment *Cæsar* perceived that he must take other measures.

47.
 404 Conf. The day after *Cæsar* set out for *Dyrrhachium*, taking a long circuit, and through narrow and difficult ways, hoping thereby either to oblige *Pompey* to follow him thither, or to cut off his communication with the town, where he had laid up his provisions and magazines of war. In this last design he succeeded. For *Pompey*, seeing him set out another way, imagined he had been obliged to remove for want of provisions, and did not raise his camp till the next day, when he was informed by his scouts whither *Cæsar* directed his course. He, however, hoped to reach *Dyrrhachium* before him, by taking a nearer way: And though *Cæsar* gave his soldiers but little rest, and made them march with the greatest celerity, yet, when he arrived in the morning at *Dyrrhachium*, *Pompey's* van began to appear at a distance. *Cæsar* intrenched himself without delay: And *Pompey* seized a hill called *Petra*, where there was a tolerable harbour, sheltered from some winds. Here he ordered a part of his fleet to attend him and provisions to be brought to him from *Asia*, and the other provinces subject to his command. And *Cæsar*, apprehending, on his side, that the war would run into length, sent his officers into *Epirus* and all the adjoining countries, where provisions could be picked up.

In this situation of the two armies, *Cæsar* formed a project, which the nature of the country suggested. All round *Pompey's* camp, at a small distance from each other, were high and steep hills. He took possession of these, and built forts upon them; resolving, as the nature of the ground would allow, to draw lines of communication from one fort to another, and thus inclose *Pompey* within a circumvallation. By this means *Pompey's* cavalry, which was very strong, would no longer be troublesome to his convoys; they themselves would be distressed for forage; and *Pompey's* reputation would greatly suffer, when it was reported every where, that he had suffered himself to be imprisoned by *Cæsar's* works, and durst not hazard a battle to set himself at liberty. *Pompey*, who was determin'd neither to quit *Dyrrhachium* and the sea, nor to give battle, contented himself with obstructing *Cæsar's* works, and giving his men as much trouble as he possibly could. For this end he extended his army, taking in a great many hills, and a large circuit of country. He raised twenty-four forts, and, in imitation of *Cæsar*, drew lines between them, which took in a circumference of fifteen miles, in which were arable and pasture lands to feed his horses and beasts of burden: And his works were perfected before *Cæsar's*, as he had more hands to employ, and a narrower circuit to inclose. When *Cæsar* endeavoured to gain any place near his works, he failed not to detach parties of archers and slingers, who galled his men in such a manner, that they were obliged to furnish themselves with tunics made of sackcloth or wool, or thick leather. Both parties disputed every post with the greatest obstinacy.

Cæsar's

Cæsar's purpose was to inclose *Pompey* in as narrow a compass as possible: And *Pompey's* business was to extend himself in order to weaken his enemy by dividing his forces. In one engagement *Cæsar's* ninth legion was in such imminent danger, that *Pompey* ventured to declare publicly, *that he consented to be accounted no General, if Cæsar's men got off without considerable loss.* This legion had taken possession of a hill, which they began to fortify: And *Pompey* seized on that which was opposite to it, and from thence sent his archers and slingers with a strong detachment of light-armed troops to attack them. He played, at the same time, his engines upon them. *Cæsar* soon perceived it to be impossible to make any fortification there, while he was so briskly attacked, and resolved to draw off the legion; but, as he was to make his retreat by the steep part of the hill, it proved a business very nice and dangerous. For the *Pompeians*, as soon as they observed *Cæsar's* men to retire, pressed on the more fiercely, not doubting but their retreat was the effect of the terror they had impressed upon them. *Cæsar* therefore ordered his men to stand their ground, and he formed a palisado with hurdles on the ridge of the hill, and dug a ditch behind it. Then he made the legionaries file off, while some light-armed troops, posted on their flanks, protected them, and repulsed the enemy, with flights of darts and stones. But they had no sooner got behind the ditch, than the *Pompeians*, coming up to the hurdles, threw them into the ditch in such heaps, at convenient distances, as to make to themselves so many bridges: And, with great outcries and fierce menaces, they went pouring down the hill upon their enemies. *Cæsar*, sensible both of the dangerous situation of his men, and of the dishonour attending a retreat, which had all the appearance of a flight, ordered *Antony*, who commanded that legion, to encourage his men, and bravely fall upon the pursuers: Which they did in such close order and so briskly, that, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, they routed the *Pompeians*; who, while they endeavoured to escape, were not a little incommoded by the ditch and hurdles which had been designed to prevent their pursuit. *Cæsar*, seeing there was nothing now to fear from the enemy's return, having killed a great number of them, and lost only five of his own men, retired leisurely, and, after inclosing some other hills, completed his circumvallation. It was a very extraordinary attempt for a General with an inferior army, which wanted bread, and was obliged to make use of a root called *chara*, pounded and kneaded with milk, to undertake the surrounding of an army much superior in number, and which abounded in every kind of provision and ammunition. Nothing certainly could shew so much the superiority of both the General and the army, than that they could dare to form such a plan, and had the industry and courage to go through with it. Such indeed was the spirit of this army, that, when their enemies reproached them with the famine they endured, they answered their insults in no other manner than by throwing

Y. R. 705.
Esf. Chr.
47.
404 Conf.

V. R. 775. throwing among them their black loaves; glorying in their want, and
 Bar. C. 12. declaring that they would eat the bark of trees sooner than suffer them
 47. to escape; a behaviour which struck *Pompey* with astonishment, and
 424 Cor. 1. made him order the loaves of *ckera* to be carefully picked up, and con-
 1. 1. 1. 1. cealed as much as possible from his soldiery; saying, *he never thought*
to have had to do with wild beasts.

This event had fully the effect which *Cæsar* had intended: It raised his credit all over the empire, and diminished that of his rival. Nobody doubted but that *Pompey* would draw off his troops into his ships, and remove the war to some distant place: And, upon this, *Dolabella* wrote the following letter to *Cicero*, who was in *Pompey's* camp.

DOLABELLA TO CICERO.

Fp. Fam. 1. 3. 21. 12. 19. " I SHALL rejoice to hear you are well; as I have the satisfac-
 " tion to inform you, that both *Tullia* and myself are perfectly so. *Te-*
 " *rentia*, indeed, has been somewhat indisposed; but is now, I am as-
 " sured, perfectly recovered. As to the rest of the family, they are all
 " of them in the state you wish.

" It would be doing me great injustice to suspect, that I have at any
 " time advised you to join with me in the cause of *Cæsar*, or at least to
 " stand neuter, more with a view to the advantage of my own party
 " than of your interest. But, now that fortune has declared on our
 " side, it is impossible I should be supposed to recommend this alterna-
 " tive for any other reason, but because the duty I owe you will not
 " suffer me to be silent. Whether my advice, therefore, shall meet
 " with your approbation, or not, you will at least be so just as to be-
 " lieve, that it proceeds, my dear *Cicero*, from an honest intention, and
 " from an heart most sincerely desirous of your welfare.

" You see that neither the name of *Pompey the Great*, nor the cre-
 " dit of his former illustrious actions, nor the advantages he so frequent-
 " ly boasted of having Kings and nations in the number of his clients,
 " have any thing availed him. On the contrary, he has suffered a dis-
 " grace which never, perhaps, attended any other *Roman* General. For,
 " after having been driven out of *Italy*, and having lost both the *Spains*,
 " together with a veteran army, he is now invested on all sides in such a
 " manner, that he cannot execute what Generals of the lowest capacity
 " have often performed: He cannot even make an honourable retreat.
 " You will consider well, agreeably to your usual prudence, what hopes
 " can possibly remain either to him or to yourself: And the result will
 " evidently point out the measures which are the most expedient for you
 " to pursue. If *Pompey* extricates himself from this danger, in which
 " he is involved, and takes refuge in his fleet, I intreat you to consult
 " your own interest in preference to that of any other man. You have
 " fully satisfied your duty, your friendship, and your engagements to
 " that

“ that party, which you espoused in the republic. What then remains
 “ for us but to sit down quietly under the Republic as it now subsists,
 “ rather than, by vainly contending for the old constitution, to be abso-
 “ lutely deprived of both? If *Pompey*, therefore, should be driven from
 “ his present post, and obliged to retreat still farther; I conjure you,
 “ my dear *Cicero*, to withdraw to *Athens*, or to any other city uncon-
 “ cerned in the war. If you should comply with this advice, I beg you
 “ would give me notice, that I may fly to embrace you, if by any
 “ means it should be in my power. Such is our General’s natural gene-
 “ rosity, that you will find it easy to obtain from him any honourable
 “ conditions you shall demand: And I am persuaded that my sollicita-
 “ tions will have no inconsiderable weight for this purpose’.”

Y. R. 705.
 Bcf. Chr.
 47.
 404 Cons.

But the war soon after took a very different turn, and *Pompey*, instead of making his escape, forced *Cæsar*, by an unexpected defeat, to retire towards *Macedonia*. *Pompey*, inclosed as he was, began soon to suffer great inconveniencies from the want of water and forage. For *Cæsar* had not only turned the course of all the rivers and brooks which ran into the sea, but he had also taken the precaution to turn the current of the waters which, after a storm of rain, would fall from the mountains. This obliged the enemy to sink wells in the low and marshy grounds, which, lying at a considerable distance from some parts of the army, and being soon dried up by the heat, greatly increased the daily labour of the soldiers. As for forage, after consuming what was within the lines, they could have none but by sea, which not coming in sufficient quantities, the horses and cattle died in great numbers. It was therefore time for *Pompey* to make the most vigorous efforts to force *Cæsar*’s lines and set himself at liberty; and he made use of every stratagem to distress and fatigue his enemies. In the night he sent his archers wherever it appeared, by the fires, that their guards were, who, after pouring a flight of arrows upon them, retired instantly to their lines; so that *Cæsar*’s men were obliged to have fires in one place, and keep guard in another. After several particular assaults, the two armies were engaged in six different actions at once; in three near *Dyrrhachium*, and in three about the lines. We have lost the particulars of these several engagements, *Cæsar*’s commentaries being imperfect in this place. We gather from him, however, that the principal attack was at a fort garrisoned by a single cohort, commanded by the brave *Scæva*, who kept his ground for se-

Cæsar de
 Bell. Civ.
 Com.
 li.

* *Velleius Paterculus* informs us, that *Cæsar* still continued to solicit the Chiefs of *Pompey*’s party, and that *Cornelius Balbus*, at the peril of his life, entered privately *Pompey*’s camp, several times, to gain the late Consul *Lentulus*, his benefactor, who was wavering in his mind: *Tum Balbus Cæ-*

nelius, excedente humanam fidem temeritate, ingressus castra hostium sapiusque cum Lentulo collocutus, consule dubitante quanti se venderet, illis incrementis fecit viam, quibus Hispanus in triumphum & pontificatum assurgeret, fieretque ex privato consularis. L. ii. c. 51.

Y. R. 705. veral hours against four legions, till P. Sylla brought to his assistance,
 Ref. Chr. by *Cæsar*'s orders, two legions from the camp. The *Pompeians* were
 47. then repulsed; but they found it no easy matter to make good their re-
 404 Conf. treat. Having advanced to the summit of a hill, they had reason to
 fear *Cæsar*'s men would charge them in their descent; and *Pompey*, to
 sustain them, immediately took possession of an eminence out of the
 reach of the engines of the fort, where he threw up an intrenchment
 and brought more forces. But *Sylla*, who was intrusted with the care
 of the camp, satisfied to have disengaged his own men, had no intention
 to hazard a general battle, which might have been attended with ill con-
 sequences, and would have looked like arrogating the part of a General;
 and, checking the ardour of his soldiers, he brought them off from the
 pursuit. It was, however, generally believed, that, if he had pursued
 the enemy briskly, that day might have put an end to the war. "But
 "his conduct, says *Cæsar*, cannot justly be censured: For there is a
 "wide difference between a Lieutenant and a General: The one is
 "bound to act according to instructions; the other, free from restraint,
 "is at liberty to lay hold of all advantages." In these six engagements
Cæsar lost no more than twenty men, whereas *Pompey* had above two
 thousand of his legionaries killed, and several volunteers and Centu-
 rions. In the fort, however, not a soldier came off without a wound,
 and four Centurions lost their eyes. It appeared that thirty thousand ar-
 rows had been shot into it; and *Scæva* shewed two-and-thirty holes in
 his buckler. *Cæsar*, to reward such heroism, presented him with two
 hundred thousand asses, and advanced him from the eighth rank of
 Captains to the first. He also distributed military rewards to the officers
 and soldiers of the whole cohort, and assigned them, besides, double
 pay and a double allowance of corn. *Pompey* laboured all night at his
 fortifications, raised redoubts the following days, and, having carried
 his works fifteen feet high, covered all that part of his camp with man-
 telets. He staid there five days, and, taking advantage of a very dark
 night, he walled up the gates of this new camp, rendered all the ave-
 nues impracticable, and, drawing out all his troops in great silence, at
 midnight, returned to his former works.

About
645 L.

Cæf. de *Cæsar*, after this success, drew up his army every day to insult *Pom-*
 Bell. Civ. *pey*, offering him battle; and, to provoke him to accept it, he advanced
 Corn. i. iii. so near to his camp, that his van was within engine-shot of the ramparts.
Pompey also drew out his legions, but posted them in such a manner that
 his third line touched the rampart, and the whole army lay under co-
 ver of the weapons discharged from thence: And in this situation *Cæsar*
 did not think proper to attack him. *Pompey*, induced by the scarcity
 of forage, had sent his horse to *Dyrrhachium*; but there *Cæsar* soon laid
 them under the same constraint as in the camp: For, by drawing a line
 with forts round the town, he also effectually blocked it up. They
 therefore returned again by sea to the camp, where, having no forage

but

but what was imported from *Corcyra* and *Acarmania*, the horses were often fed with leaves of trees and the roots of green reeds bruised. At last, all expedients for their subsistence failing, *Pompey* resolved to set himself at liberty, if possible: And, in the execution of his design, he was greatly assisted by the counsels of two officers in *Cæsar's* cavalry, named *Roscillus* and *Ægus*, who, at this time, deserted to him. They were *Allobrogians*, the sons of *Abducillus*, who had long held the chief sway in his state, and, being men of singular bravery, who had done *Cæsar* eminent service in the wars of *Gaul*, he had greatly distinguished them, by raising them to the highest offices in their own country, and to a state of great wealth. These men, presuming on *Cæsar's* friendship, used their troopers ill, defrauded them of their pay, giving false musters, and secreted all the plunder for their own use; a behaviour which alienated from them not only the minds of the *Gallie* cavalry, but of the whole army, with whom they had been in high esteem: And a general complaint was made against them. *Cæsar*, not thinking it a proper time for animadversion, and regarding them greatly on account of their valour, declined all public notice of the affair, and only reprimanded them in private; admonishing them to expect every thing from his friendship, and to ground their future hopes on the experience of what he had already done for them. This rebuke, however, disgusted them greatly: And shame, a consciousness of guilt, and the fear, perhaps, of having entirely lost *Cæsar's* favour, made them resolve to try their fortune elsewhere, and to look out for new friendships. Having imparted their design to a few of their clients, whom they judged to be fit instruments for the execution of it, they first attempted to murder *C. Volusenus*, General of the cavalry, that, by so signal a piece of service, they might the more effectually recommend themselves to *Pompey*. But, finding that design attended with great hazard, and that no favourable opportunity offered for putting it in execution, they borrowed all the money they could, under pretence of reimbursing the troops and making restitution, and, having bought up a great number of horses, went over to *Pompey*, with those they had made privy to their counsels. As they were persons of noble birth, liberally educated, came with a great train of horses and servants, had been highly honoured by *Cæsar*, and were universally esteemed on account of their bravery, *Pompey* received them with great distinction, and ostentatiously carried them over all his camp, triumphing in this new and unexpected acquisition. For till then neither trooper nor foot-soldier had deserted to him, whereas scarce a day passed without some deserting from his army, especially among the levies in *Epirus* and *Greece*. The two brothers being well acquainted with the condition of *Cæsar's* camp and fortifications, where the defects of the lines lay, the particular times for every service, distances of places, strength and vigilance of the guards, with the temper

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Y. R. 705 and character of the officers who commanded in every post, made an
B. C. 42. exact report of all to *Pompey*.

404 Conf. Upon this intelligence, having already formed the design of forcing *Cæsar's* lines, he ordered the soldiers to make coverings of osier for their helmets, and provide themselves with fascines for filling up the trenches. This done, he embarked by night in boats a great number of light-armed troops and archers, with the fascines; and, having drawn together sixty cohorts from the greater camp and the forts, he led them towards that part of the enemy's line which lay nearest the sea, and was the farthest distant from their headquarters. The boats and all the galleys that lay at *Dyrrhachium*, filled with men and fascines, were ordered to the same spot. The place, which *Pompey* designed to attack, was commanded by *Lentulus Marcellinus*, Quæstor, whose health being infirm, *Fulvius Posthumus* was to assist him; and it was defended by a ditch fifteen feet broad, with a rampart towards *Pompey's* lines, ten feet high and of equal thickness. Behind this, at the distance of six hundred feet, was another rampart, somewhat lower than the former, and fronting the contrary way, designed as a defence against an attack from the sea. But the line that was to join the two ramparts, and run along the sea-shore, was not yet completed: And this, *Pompey* being informed of, it was of fatal consequence to *Cæsar*. *Pompey's* sixty cohorts approached at break of day towards *Cæsar's* line, and, by their sudden appearance, greatly surprised the cohort of the ninth legion upon guard. They planted their scaling-ladders against the inward rampart, and, plying those who defended it with darts and engines, spread a general terror over all that part of the works, which was still increased by the multitude of archers that poured flights of arrows on all sides. In this extremity, the only refuge of *Cæsar's* men was to ply the enemy with stones; but these were prevented from doing much execution by the osiers with which the *Pompeians* had bound their helmets. At the same time the troops that came by sea assailed the exterior rampart, and, soon discovering the defect in the lines, landed their men between the two ramparts, where the line of communication towards the sea remained unfinished; and thus, attacking in the rear the soldiers that defended them, they obliged them to withdraw from both.

Marcellinus, apprised of this disorder, detached some cohorts to sustain the flying troops: But, as the rout was become general, they could neither persuade them to rally, nor were able themselves to withstand the enemy's charge. The more supplies he sent, the greater confusion was created, and the means of escape became more difficult. In this action the Eagle-bearer of the ninth legion, finding himself dangerously wounded, and that his strength began to fail, called to some troopers who passed by, and said: *I have carefully preserved, to the last moment of my life, this Eagle, with which I have been intrusted;*
and,

and, now that I am dying, I return it to CÆSAR with the same fidelity: Carry it to him, I beseech you, nor suffer his arms to experience, in losing it, an ignominy with which they have been hitherto unacquainted. Thus the Eagle was preserved, but all the Centurions, except one, of the first cohort were killed. The *Pompeians*, now bearing down all before them, approached the quarters of *Marcellinus*, when *M. Antony*, who commanded in the nearest forts, was seen descending, with twelve cohorts, from the higher grounds. His arrival put a stop to the enemy's progress: And soon after *Cæsar* came up in person with more troops, being informed of the attack by the smoke of the forts, the usual signal on these occasions. He perceived that *Pompey* had forced the lines, and had lodged himself on a spot from whence he could freely forage, and which allowed him a communication with the sea, and, altering intirely the project he had formed of inclosing him, he encamped as near to him as he could.

An eagerness to repair this loss was like to be the cause of his total ruin. No sooner were the intrenchments of his new camp finished, than he was informed by his scouts, that a certain number of the enemy's cohorts, which appeared to them to be a complete legion, were retired behind a wood, and seemed to be on their march to an old camp, which had been successively occupied and abandoned by *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. This camp bordered upon a wood, and was about four hundred paces from the sea: It had been formed by *Cæsar's* ninth legion, when they were sent to oppose a body of *Pompey's* troops. Upon their removing to a greater distance, *Pompey* had taken possession of it, and, intending to lodge in it several legions, surrounded it with more extensive intrenchments, inclosing a small camp within one of a larger circumference. He likewise carried an intrenchment from the left angle of his camp to the river through the space of about four hundred spaces, which enabled him to water freely and without danger: But all these works he had thought proper to abandon. Hither the scouts reported they saw the standard of a legion carried, which was also confirmed by those who were stationed in the higher forts. The place was about five hundred paces from *Pompey's* new camp, and *Cæsar* hoped, that, if he could get to the old camp, unperceived by *Pompey*, he would be able to surprise the legion and cut it off. He set out therefore as privately as possible with thirty-three cohorts, in which number was the ninth legion, that had lately lost so many of its Centurions and soldiers: And, taking a circuit, arrived before *Pompey* had notice of his design. Though the intrenchments were strong, yet, charging the enemy briskly with his left wing, where he commanded in person, he quickly drove them from the rampart: But they continued some time to defend the gates, which were secured by a barricade; and here *T. Pulcio*, formerly an officer in *Cæsar's* army, and who had betrayed *C. Antonius*, gave signal proofs of his valour. At length *Cæsar's* men prevailed, cut down
the

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 Sed. Chr. to the inward and lesser one. But Fortune, says *Cæsar*, which often
 47. effects mighty changes from trifling causes, and whose influence is ne-
 404 Conf. ver greater than in war, shewed its power on this occasion. For the
 cohorts of *Cæsar's* right wing, unacquainted with the situation of the
 camp, and mistaking the rampart which led to the river for one of its
 sides, marched on that way in quest of a gate; but, perceiving their
 error, they got over the rampart and were followed by all the cavalry.
 This delay saved the enemy: For *Pompey*, having notice of what passed,
 brought up a legion and a large body of horse to sustain his party;
 which, being seen advancing by both sides, quickly changed the face
 of affairs. *Pompey's* legion, encouraged by this succour, bravely de-
 fended themselves, and stood their ground: On the other hand *Cæsar's*
 cavalry, who had entered by a narrow breach in the rampart, foresee-
 ing that a retreat would be extremely difficult, made off immediately.
 The right wing which had no communication with the left, observing
 the consternation of the cavalry, and fearing they should be overpow-
 ered within the camp, retired the same way they had entered; and ma-
 ny, to avoid being engaged in the narrow passes, threw themselves in-
 to the ditch; where, the first ranks being trodden to death, their bo-
 dies afforded an easy passage for those that followed. The left wing,
 who, from the rampart whence they had driven the enemy, saw *Pom-
 pey* advancing against them, and their own men flying, fearing to be
 entangled in the defiles, as they had the enemy upon them both within
 and without the camp, began also to retreat. Nothing was to be seen but
 consternation and disorder; and all *Cæsar's* efforts to rally his men were
 fruitless. If he seized any of them, they struggled till they got away:
 If he laid hold of their colours, they left them in his hands: Not a
 man could be prevailed upon to face about. In this calamity, what
 saved the army, says *Cæsar*, from entire destruction was, that *Pom-
 pey*, apprehending an ambuscade (probably because the success was
 beyond his hopes, as a little before he had seen his men worsted and
 put to flight) durst not for some time approach the intrenchments, and
 that his cavalry were retarded in the pursuit by the narrowness of the
 ways and the difficulty of passing the forts which *Cæsar's* soldiers were
 masters of. In these two actions *Cæsar* lost nine hundred and sixty sol-
 diers, thirty officers, and several Knights of note: Most of whom died
 without wounds, being trodden to death in the ditch, or on the banks
 of the river. He lost also thirty-three colours. The prisoners were
 delivered up to *Labiænas*, at his request; and this deserter, brutal and
 cruel as usual, diverted himself with insulting them in their calamity;
 and, after asking them sarcastically, whether it was common for pri-
 soners to run away, he caused them all to be put to death.

Pompey was saluted *Imperator* upon this occasion; a title which he
 bore ever after: But, neither in his letters nor his consular ensigns, did
 he

he think proper to assume the laurel. His party was so elated with this success, that they thought the war at an end, and proclaimed every-where their victory with great exaggerations*. *Cæsar*, seeing all his projects disconcerted, called his troops from the several forts into his camp, where, having assembled them, he said, “that they ought not to be anywise discouraged at what had happened, but should put, in the balance with their present loss, their many successful engagements; and should consider how Fortune had hitherto befriended them in the reduction of *Italy*, which they had effected without bloodshed; in the conquest of the two *Spains*, though defended by warlike troops under the conduct of skilful and experienced Leaders; in the subjection of *Epirus* and the neighbouring provinces, whence they had been supplied with provisions; and in their passing safe over the sea when the enemy covered it with their fleets, and were possessors of all the havens and coasts. If they were not successful in every thing, they must endeavour, he said, by prudence, to overcome the disappointments of Fortune; and attribute their late disaster to the caprice of that goddess, rather than to any fault on their side: For that he had led them on successfully, and had forced the enemy’s camp; and, if some sudden consternation, the mistaking their way, or any other mishap, had snatched a certain victory out of their hands, they ought to exert their utmost endeavours to repair the disgrace: Which would turn their misfortunes to a benefit, as it had happened at *Gergovia*, where those, who had been seized with a dread of the enemy, soon after earnestly urged him to lead them to battle.” This artful speech was followed by the disgrace of some Standard-bearers, who were reduced to the rank of private soldiers: But there was little occasion for severity; for the whole army was so grieved at their loss, and so desirous of expunging the stain their glory had received, that it was scarcely requisite for the officers to remind them of their duty. They begged with one voice to be led to the enemy, and some of the more considerable Commanders entreated *Cæsar* to venture

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* *Cicero* does not appear to have been in the same humour. We have a letter from him to *Atticus*, written at this time from *Dyrrhachium*, which is as follows: “You complain of not hearing from me, but I have nothing to send you that is worth your notice: For I absolutely disapprove of every thing that is done, and every thing that happens here. I wish I had rather conferred with you, at a certain time, than corresponded by letters. I defend you here with our party as well as I am able, and so does *Cicero*. I have hitherto declined all employment, and the rather, because I saw none in which I

could act consistently with my character and situation.

“You ask me what news: You may know from *Isidorus* what has lately happened: What remains to be done doth not seem more difficult.—My anxieties prey upon me so much, that I am reduced to a very low state of health: When I am somewhat recovered, I shall join our General, who is now very sanguine in his hopes. Our friend *Brutus* acts in this cause with great spirit. This is all I can say to you consistently with prudence. Adieu.” *Ad Att. xi. 4.*

a battle;

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 a battle; but he did not think it prudent to expose in the field, against an enemy elated with success, troops that had been just worsted, and in whom deep impressions might remain of their late fright. He therefore resolved to change his camp, and the whole plan of the war, and to give them time to recover themselves. As soon as night approached, he sent all the sick and wounded, with the baggage to *Apolonia*, under the guard of one legion, ordering them not to stop till they had reached the place: And at three in the morning he made all his forces, except two legions, file out of the several gates of the camp, and follow the same route that the baggage had taken. Soon after, that his march might not have the appearance of a flight, and be known to the enemy as late as possible, he ordered the usual signal of decamping to be given, and, setting out with the rest of the troops, lost sight of the camp in a moment. *Pompey*, informed of his retreat, prepared to follow him without delay, and sent his cavalry to harass and retard his rear-guard: But *Cæsar*, having no baggage, marched with such expedition, that they did not come up with him till he had reached the river *Genusus*. He sent his horse with some light-armed troops against them, who charged with such vigour, that they turned their backs and returned to *Pompey*, leaving a considerable number of their men dead upon the field. *Cæsar*, having crossed the *Genusus* and made a day's march, took up his quarters in his old camp at *Asparagium*; where he gave strict orders to the soldiers not to stroll without the rampart, and charged the cavalry, which he sent out, as it were to forage, to return without delay by the *Decuman* gate, which was the most remote from the enemy. *Pompey* also took up his quarters in the camp he had formerly made, where the works being entire, and the soldiers having nothing to do, some made long excursions in quest of wood and forage, and others, who had come almost without any baggage, having set out on a sudden, enticed by the nearness of their former camp, laid down their arms in their tents, and went to fetch what they had left behind. This dispersion rendered them unable to continue the pursuit, as *Cæsar* had foreseen; and about noon he gave the signal for decamping, and, by doubling that day's march, gained eight miles upon *Pompey*. The following days he set out at three every morning, and *Pompey*, after attempting for three days to overtake him, gave over the pursuit on the fourth, and began to think of other measures.

Both Generals had at this time armies in *Macedonia*. *Cæsar*, when he was joined by *M. Antony* with the troops from *Italy*, received a deputation from *Thessaly* and *Ætolia*, with assurances of submission from all the States in those parts, on condition that he would send troops to defend them. He had accordingly dispatched *L. Cassius Longinus* into *Thessaly* with a legion of new levies and two hundred horse; and *C. Calpurnius Sabinus* into *Ætolia* with five cohorts: Desiring them, as these

provinces lay nearest his camp, to provide him with corn. The latter was well received by the *Ætolians*, and, having driven out the enemy's garrison from *Calydon* and *Neupattum*, possessed himself of the whole country. In *Thessaly*, there were two factions: *Egerejetus*, a man of years and of established credit, favoured *Pompey*: *Patreius*, a young Nobleman, exerted his whole influence in behalf of *Cæsar*. About the same time, *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* was ordered into *Macedonia*, with the eleventh and twelfth legions and five hundred horse: Whither he had been also invited by *Menedemus*, a principal man of the country, who assured him of the general affection of the inhabitants. *Pompey*, on his side, sent messengers to *Scipio* in *Syria*, to hasten his march, and come and join him with the legions under his command. *Cæsar* gives us a strange account of this Proconsul's behaviour in his province, which corresponds, however, very well with the rest of his life. He tells us, that, after receiving some affronts and checks from the barbarous people of mount *Amanus*, he assumed the title of *Imperator*; that he exacted great sums of money from the neighbouring States and Princes; obliged the Farmers of the revenue to pay the two years taxes which lay in their hands, and advance a third by way of loan; and sent orders to the whole province for levying cavalry. In his progress through *Asia Minor*, he found the natives in the greatest terror on account of the *Parthians*; and his soldiers declared, that, though they were ready to serve against a public enemy, they were not disposed to act against the Consul and their fellow-citizens. But, to stifle their discontents, he not only made them considerable presents, but quartered them in *Pergamus*, and other rich towns, and gave up the whole country to their discretion. Heavy exactions, nevertheless, were made upon the province, and various new pretences devised to serve as a ground for them. Freedmen and slaves were subjected to a capitation tax: Imposts were laid on pillars and doors of houses: Corn, soldiers, mariners, arms, engines, carriages, in a word, every thing that had a name, furnished a sufficient handle for extorting money: Governors were appointed not only over towns, but over villages and castles; and he that acted with the greatest rigour and cruelty was accounted the worthiest man, and the best citizen. The province swarmed with *Lictors*, *Overseers*, and *Collectors*, who, besides the sums imposed by public authority, exacted money likewise on their own account; colouring their iniquitous demands with a pretence that they had been expelled their country and native homes, and were in want of every thing. Add to all these calamities immoderate usury, an evil inseparable from such exorbitant exactions; for, when sums are called for beyond what a country is able to furnish, they are obliged to apply for a delay, which, at any interest, is still accounted a favour. Thus the debts of the province increased immensely these two years. *Scipio* had given orders to seize all the treasure of the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, with all the statues of

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 Bef. Chr. other concerns, and advance to him. *Josephus* relates, that, while he
 47. was in *Syria*, he beheaded *Alexander*, Prince of the *Jews*, under the
 404 Conf. frivolous pretext of his having formerly occasioned some disturbances
 in *Judea*: but in truth, because he favoured *Cæsar's* cause, like his
 Jof. Ant. unfortunate father, *Aristobulus*, who had been poisoned a little before
 xiv. 13 & by *Pompey's* partisans, for the same reason.
 25.

On *Scipio's* arrival in *Macedonia*, he found there *Domitius*, and advanced towards him by great marches; but, being come within twenty miles of him, he suddenly changed his route, and, leaving *M. Favonius* at the river *Haliacmon*, which separates *Macedonia* from *Thessaly*, with eight cohorts, to guard the baggage, and there to raise a fort, he turned off in quest of *Cassius Longinus*, and marched so expeditiously that he was actually arrived before *Cassius* had notice of his approach. At the same time King *Celus's* cavalry came pouring upon *Cassius's* camp, who, knowing that *Scipio* was not far distant, believed the cavalry to be his, and retired, in a fright, to the mountains that begirt *Thessaly*, and thence directed his course towards *Ambracia*. *Scipio*, when he was preparing to follow him, was called back by *Favonius*, who informed him that *Domitius* was marching towards him, and that it would be impossible for him to defend his post. Marching, therefore, day and night without intermission, he arrived so opportunely, that his advanced guards and the dust of *Domitius's* army were descried at the same time. Thus *Domitius's* care preserved *Cassius*, and *Scipio's* diligence *Favonius*. These two Generals kept one another in play, during the blockade of *Dyrrhachium*, without coming to any decisive engagement. During which time, also, *Calenus*, taking the command of *Cassius's* and *Calpurnius's* troops, penetrated into *Acbaia*, where *Delfos*, *Thebes*, and *Orcbomenus* submitted to him: But he was stopped in his conquest by a Lieutenant of *Pompey*, *Rutilius Lupus*, who kept him out of the *Peloponnesus*.

Cæsar, from *Apollonia*, where he staid but to provide for his wounded, pay his army, and garrison the towns in his interest, set out to join *Domitius Calvinus*. He perceived, that, if *Pompey* followed him, he must leave the sea and the ammunition and provision he had treasured up at *Dyrrhachium*, and be reduced to engage him on equal terms; and, if *Pompey* passed into *Italy*, he purposed to join *Domitius* and march to its defence, by the coast of *Illyricum*: In fine, if *Pompey* should fall upon *Apollonia* and *Oricum*, and endeavour to exclude him from the sea-coast, he intended to attack *Scipio* and thereby force *Pompey* to come to his assistance. *Cæsar*, therefore, had dispatched couriers to *Calvinus* to acquaint him with his designs, and with orders how to act; and, having left four cohorts at *Apollonia*, one at *Lissus*, and three at *Oricum*, marched through *Epirus* and *Acarnania*. *Pompey*, on his side, penetrating into *Cæsar's* views, made what haste he could to join *Scipio*,
 that,

that, if *Cæsar* should march that way, he might prevent his being overpowered: But should he still keep near the sea, because of the legions and cavalry he expected from *Italy*, in that event he purposed to fall upon *Calvinus* with all his forces. Both Generals, therefore, marched with the greatest expedition, as well to afford timely relief to their friends, as not to miss the opportunity of distressing their enemies. *Cæsar*, however, had been forced to turn off to *Apollonia*, and *Pompey*, taking the direct way through *Candavia*, arrived first in *Macedonia*: And Fortune had almost thrown *Domitius* into his hands. For *Cæsar's* late defeat, which the *Pompeians* greatly exaggerated in their letters, having induced several States to throw off their allegiance, his couriers to *Domitius* were intercepted; and this General, having consumed all the provisions near his camp, had quitted it at this time, and was upon his march to *Heraclea Senticæ*, a town of the *Candavians*. What saved him was, that his scouts met accidentally with some *Allobrogi*ans, servants of *Ægus* and *Roscillus*, who, either from ancient familiarity or from a motive of vain-glory, informed them of all that had passed, and of *Pompey's* approach: Which news being immediately carried to *Calvinus*, who was not above four hours march from the enemy, he instantly turned off, and joined *Cæsar* at *Æginium*, a town on the borders of *Thessaly*.

From *Æginium* *Cæsar* marched with all his forces to *Gomphi*, the first town of *Thessaly* on the side of *Epirus*. A few months before, the inhabitants of their own accord had sent him a deputation, to petition for a garrison, and make him an offer of what their country produced: But now *Androsthenes*, Prætor of *Thessaly*, chusing rather to be the companion of *Pompey's* good fortune than a partner with *Cæsar* in his adversity, ordered all the people, whether free or slaves, to assemble in the town, and, having shut the gates against *Cæsar*, sent letters to *Scipio* and *Pompey* to come to his assistance, intimating, that the town was strong enough to hold out if they used dispatch, but was by no means in a condition to sustain a long siege. *Scipio* was then at *Larissa*, and *Pompey* had not yet entered *Thessaly*. *Cæsar*, after fortifying his camp and preparing every thing for a sudden attack, called his soldiers together, and represented to them, “ of what consequence
“ it was to make themselves masters of an opulent city, abounding in
“ all sorts of commodities, and, by the terror of whose punishment,
“ other States would be awed into submission: And this must be done
“ before any succours could arrive.” His soldiers having shewed an uncommon ardour, he led them on to the assault at three in the afternoon, and was master of it before sun-set. After giving it up to be plundered by his soldiers, he marched on to *Metropolis*, where he arrived before the inhabitants were apprised of the disaster of their neighbours. The *Metropolitans* proposed at first to stand upon their defence, but, being made acquainted with the fate of *Gomphi*, they

Y. R. 705. opened their gates, and *Cæsar* suffered no harm to be done them. The
 Bcf. Chr. other States of *Thessaly*, observing the different fates of these two ci-
 47- ties, readily submitted; except *Larissa*, which was awed by *Scipio's* le-
 454 Conf. gions. *Cæsar* now resolved to encamp, and wait for *Pompey*. For this
 purpose he pitched upon a convenient spot near a town called *Pharsalus*: And the adjacent country being good, and covered with corn, which was now almost ripe^{*}, he thought it a proper situation for the theatre of war, and for determining his quarrel with his rival.

Pompey came soon into *Thessaly*, and, joining *Scipio's* legions with his own in one camp, he first thanked his own men for their late important services, and then exhorted *Scipio's* troops to claim their share of the booty to which his late victory had intitled them. He divided all the honours of command with *Scipio*, ordering a prætorian tent to be prepared for him, and the trumpets to attend him. This increase of strength, by the union of two powerful armies, raised to such a height the presumption of his followers, and their assurance of victory, that now all delays were considered in no other light, than as an odious hindrance of their return into *Italy*: Insomuch that, if *Pompey* on any occasion acted with slowness and circumspection, they complained, “that he industriously protracted the war, which could easily be brought to a conclusion in one day, in the view of gratifying his ambition for command, and keeping in his dependence such a number of consular and prætorian Senators.” They began to contend with one another about the dignities and priesthoods of the State, and disposed of the consulship for several years. They even sued for the houses and estates of those who followed *Cæsar's* party: And a warm debate arose in Council, whether *L. Hirrus*, whom *Pompey* had sent Ambassador to the *Parthians*, should be allowed, in the next election for Prætors, to stand a candidate for that office in his absence. His friends implored *Pompey* to make good the promise he had made him at his departure, and not suffer him to be deceived by depending on his honour; while such as aspired to this office complained publicly that a promise should be made to any one candidate, when all were embarked in the same cause, and shared the like dangers. Great was the competition,

* This circumstance determines nearly the time of the *Julian* year when *Cæsar* sat down in *Thessaly*, and that of the battle of *Pharsalia*, which was about a month after: And, as we know the day of the *Roman* year when this said battle was fought, it serves to determine the relation of the *Roman* with the *Julian* year. In a discourse of M. de la Nauze, printed in the 26th vol. of the *Mémoires de Littérature*, of the Royal Academy of Paris, we find the following note: “M. l'Abbe Belley a depuis communiqué, à

“l'auteur de ce mémoire, l'extrait suivant
 “d'une lettre écrite à M. Pellerin par M.
 “de Clairambault, Consul de France à Sa-
 “lonique, en date du 4 Janvier, 1755: Sui-
 “vant les informations que j'ai demandées en
 “THESSALIE, & suivant ce que m'en on
 “rapporté ici les gens de ce pays-là, la moisson
 “s'y fait dans le mois de Juin; & du côté de
 “LARISSA & de Tricala, c'est dès les pri-
 “miers jours de Juin; & du côté de Jannina
 “& des environs, ce n'est que du 15 au 20
 “du même mois.”

and not without personal abuse between *Lentulus Spintber*, *L. Domitius*, Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conf. and *Scipio*, about the High-priesthood, with which *Cæsar* was invested; the first pleading his age, the second his dignity, and interest in the city, the third his alliance with *Pompey*. *Attius Rufus* impeached *Afranius* before his General, charging him with being the cause of the loss of the army in *Spain*. *L. Domitius* moved in Council, that, after *Cæsar's* destruction, a commission of the Senators in *Pompey's* camp should be empowered to pronounce judgment upon those who had either staid in *Italy*, or, after removing to countries under *Pompey's* command, had taken no share in the war; and that three billets should be given to these judges, one for acquittal, one for condemnation, and a third for a pecuniary fine. Thus every one's thoughts were employed on the honours and profit he was to share, or the vengeance he hoped to inflict upon his enemies: But no one considered by what methods the victory was to be obtained, looking now upon *Cæsar* as a certain and easy conquest. This account of the behaviour of the *Pompeian* Chiefs is not only given by *Cæsar*, but by all the other historians; and well might *Cicero* conceive the greatest disgust for the company he was engaged with. There is one circumstance suggested to us by *Cicero*

" We have *Cicero's* account of things in a letter to *M. Marius*, written in the year 707: " I resolved to sacrifice all considerations of personal safety to the dictates of my honour: And accordingly I joined *Pompey* in *Greece*. But I no sooner arrived in his army, than I had occasion to repent of my resolution; not so much from the danger to which I was myself exposed, as from the many capital faults I discovered among them: In the first place, *Pompey's* forces were neither very considerable in point of numbers," [at the battle of *Pharsalia*, they were more than double of those of *Cæsar*] " nor by any means composed of warlike troops; and, in the next place, excepting *Pompey* himself, and a few others of the principal Leaders, they carried on the war with such a spirit of rapaciousness, and breathed such principles of cruelty in their conversation, that I could not think even upon our success without horror. To this I must add, that some of our most dignified men were deeply involved in debt; and, in short, there was nothing good among them but their cause. Thus, despairing of success, I advised (what indeed I had always recommended) that proposals of accommodation should be offered to *Cæsar*; and, when I found *Pompey* utterly averse to all

" measures of that kind, I endeavoured to persuade him at least to avoid a general battle. This last advice he seemed sometimes inclined to follow; and, probably, would have followed, if a certain engagement, in which his troops behaved bravely, and he gained the victory, had not given him too great a confidence in them. From that moment, all the skill and conduct of this great man seem to have forsaken him: And he acted so little like a General, that, with a raw and unexperienced army," [he had at *Pharsalia* 11 legions of Roman citizens, of which 8 were made up of veterans] " he imprudently gave battle to the most brave and martial legions. The consequence was, that he suffered a most shameful defeat; and, abandoning his camp to *Cæsar*, he was obliged to run away unaccompanied even with a single attendant." *Id. Fam. vii. 3. Milm. viii. 1.* It is certain, therefore, that *Pompey* was not driven, as *Dr. Middleton* puts it, by a sense of shame, and against his judgment, to the experiment of a decisive action: *Pompeius, longe a iuxta aliis suadentibus (quorum plerique hortabantur, ut in Italiam transmitteret: Alii, ut bellum traheret, quod dignatione partium in dies ipsis magis prosperum fieret) usus impetu suo hostem secutus est. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 52.*

which

Y. B. 705. which had the greatest influence in determining Pompey's conduct at this time, his superstitious regard to omens, and the admonitions of diviners; to which his nature was strongly addicted. The Haruspices were all on his side, and flattered him with every thing that was prosperous; and, besides those in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them at Rome were sending him perpetual accounts of the fortunate and auspicious significations which they had observed in the entrails of their victims.*

Cæf. de
Bell. Civ.
Lib. iii.

The two armies were now in sight of each other; and *Cæsar*, having provided for the subsistence of his troops, and given them some days rest, thought it time to make a trial how Pompey stood affected to a general engagement. Accordingly, he drew out all his forces in order of battle, but first near his camp, and at a good distance from Pompey's; and each day he drew nearer and nearer to him; inspiring his men by this conduct with fresh courage, and a contempt of an army that dared not to leave the heights where they were incamped. His cavalry being much inferior in number to those of the enemy, he followed a method he had formerly put in practice with success to strengthen them. He singled out the stoutest and nimblest of his foot soldiers, and accustomed them to fight within the ranks of the horse; who were thereby so much emboldened, that, though but a thousand in number, they would upon occasion sustain the charge of Pompey's seven thousand; and in one skirmish they had actually the advantage, and killed *Ægus*, one of the *Allobrogian* brothers.

Pompey, who was come to *Pharsalia* with a firm resolution to give battle, drew up his army at the foot of the mountain, upon which his camp stood; presuming, that such was *Cæsar's* eagerness and temerity, that he would venture to fight him in that disadvantageous situation. This *Cæsar* would in no manner consent to; and, despairing to draw his adversary to battle on equal terms, he determined to move his camp, and to be always upon the march; in hopes, that, by frequently shifting his ground, he might the better be supplied with provisions, harraiss his enemy less used to fatigue, and find an opportunity of forcing them to a general action. But, just as the order for marching was given, *Cæsar* perceived that Pompey had quitted his intrenchments, and advanced farther than usual with his army in array, on a spot where he could engage them without disadvantage: And, turning to his soldiers, "let us no longer, said he, think of marching; now is the time for fighting, so long wished for; let us, therefore, arm ourselves with courage, and not miss so favourable an opportunity." Upon this, he immediately drew out his forces. Pompey's real design was to draw on a bat-

* Hoc civili bello, Dii immortales!—quæ nobis in Græciam Româ responsa Haruspicum missa sunt? quæ dicta Pompeio?—etenim ille admodum extis et ostentis movebatur. *De Div.* ii. 24.

a battle : He had taken his resolution, and, in a Council of war held two days before, he had declared, “ that *Cæsar*’s army would be defeated before the infantry came to engage.” And when some expressed their surprise at this speech : “ I know, said he, that what I promise appears almost incredible ; but hear the reasons on which I ground my confidence, that you may advance to battle with the greater assurance. I have engaged the cavalry to promise, that, as soon as the armies draw near, they shall fall upon *Cæsar*’s right wing ; and, taking it in flank and rear, force it to recoil in confusion upon the main body, and thus throw the whole army into disorder before we have launched a dart. In this manner we shall obtain a complete victory without exposing the legions to any peril ; nor can there be any difficulty in the design, since we are so much superior to them in cavalry.” He warned them at the same time “ to be in readiness for battle ; and that, since permission to fight the enemy, which they had so often demanded, was now granted them, to answer by their valour the expectation every one had conceived of them.” *Labienus* highly applauded this scheme ; and, expressing the greatest contempt for *Cæsar*’s army, which he assured them was almost intirely made up of new levies, raised in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and especially in the colonies beyond the *Po*, he took an oath, which he proffered to all those that were present, never to return again to their camp, unless victorious. After these solemn engagements, they separated, full of joy and expectation, assuring themselves of victory ; and relying intirely on the ability of their General, who, in an affair of that importance, would promise nothing, they were confident, without a certainty of success.

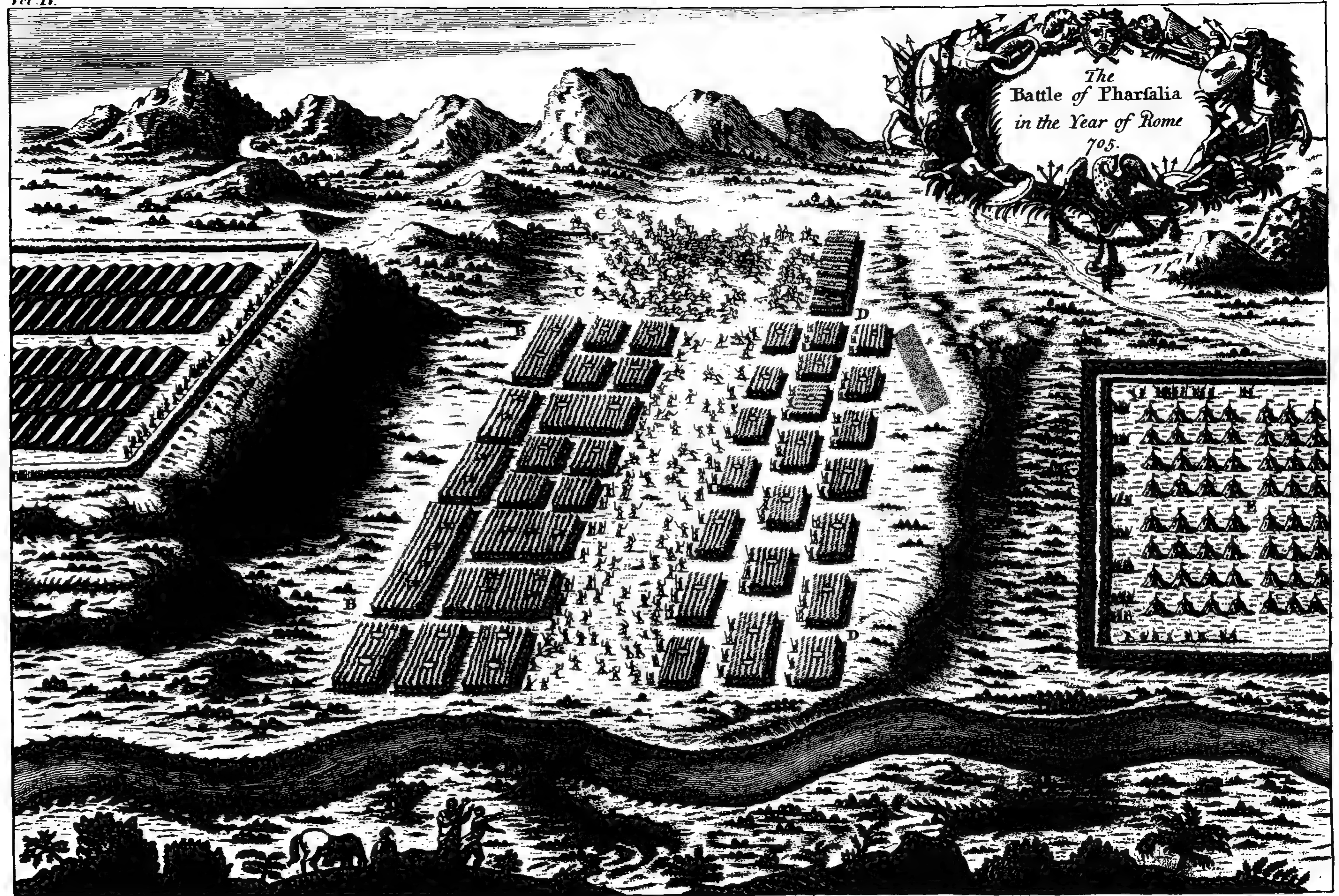
The two armies were drawn up in the following manner : *Pompey*, placed in his left wing, where he designed to command in person, the two legions taken from *Cæsar* in the beginning of the quarrel by a decree of the Senate. *Scipio* was in the center, with the legions he had brought out of *Syria* ; and the *Cilician* legion, joined to the *Spanish* cohorts brought over by *Afranius*, formed the right wing. These *Pompey* esteemed his best troops. The rest of his forces he distributed between the wings and the main body. He had in all forty-five thousand men, besides two cohorts of volunteers, who had served under him in his former wars ; and who, out of affection to their old General, though their legal time was expired, flocked to his standard on this occasion, and were dispersed by him in different quarters of his army. His other seven cohorts were left to guard the camp and the adjoining forts. The *Enipeus* covered his right wing ; and, on that account, he placed all the horse with the archers and slingers in the left. *Cæsar*, observing his ancient custom, placed the tenth legion in the right, and the ninth in the left wing ; and, as this last was considerably weakened by the several actions at *Dyrhachium*, he joined the eighth to it in such a manner, that they formed as it were but one legion, and had orders mutu-

ally

Y. R. 705.
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Y.R. ally to succour each other. His whole army amounted to fourscore
 cohorts, making in all twenty-two thousand men; besides two cohorts
 left to guard the camp. *Demitius Calvinus* was in the center, *M. An-*
tory in the left wing, and *P. Sylla* in the right. *Cæsar* himself took his
 post opposite to *Pompey*, at the head of the tenth legion; and, as he had
 observed that the disposition of the enemy was contrived to out-flank
 his right wing, to obviate that inconveniency, he made a draught of
 six cohorts from his rear line, formed them into a separate body, and
 opposed them to *Pompey's* horse, instructing them in the part they were
 to act, and admonishing them, that the success of that day would de-
 pend chiefly on their courage. At the same time he charged the whole
 army, and particularly the third line, not to advance to battle without
 orders; which, when he saw it proper, he would give by making the
 usual signal. In his harangue to them before the battle, after remind-
 ing them of the many favours received at his hands, he chiefly insisted
 "on the injustice and obstinacy of his enemies, who had forced him to
 "enter upon this war, and to prosecute it against his will. They
 "themselves, he told them, had been witnesses of his earnest endea-
 "vours after peace, and that he had left nothing unattempted to avoid
 "wasting the blood of his soldiers, and to spare the Commonwealth the
 "loss of her armies." After his speech, observing the ardour of his soldiers
 for the fight, he ordered the trumpets to sound the charge. Among
 the soldiers in *Cæsar's* army was one *Cressinus*, a man of distinguished
 courage, who, the year before, had been first Centurion of the tenth
 legion. This brave officer, as soon as the signal was given, called out
 to those next him, "Follow me, you that were formerly under my com-
 "mand, and acquit yourselves of the duty you owe to your General.
 "This one battle will restore him to his proper dignity, and us to the
 "enjoyment of our freedom." At the same, turning to *Cæsar*, "Ge-
 "neral, says he, this day you shall be satisfied with my behaviour; and,
 "whether I live or die, I will deserve your commendations." So say-
 ing, he marched up to the enemy, and began the attack with an hun-
 dred and twenty select men, who followed him.

Between the two armies there was space enough for them to move
 forwards upon one another, and form a shock, as is usual: But *Pompey*
 had given his troops orders to keep their ground, that *Cæsar's* troops
 might have all the way to make. In this, he is said to have been di-
 rected by the advice of *Triarius*, that the enemy's ranks might be dis-
 ordered, and the soldiers put out of breath, by having so far to run.
 It was also thought, that the enemy's javelins would have less effect
 upon his troops at rest, than if they sprung forward to meet them.
 "But herein, says *Cæsar*, he seems to have acted contrary to reason; be-
 "cause there is a certain alacrity and ardour of mind naturally planted
 "in every man, which is inflamed by the desire of fighting, and which
 "an able General, far from repressing, will, by all the methods he can de-
 vise,



A. Pompey's Camp. B. Pompey's Army. C. Pompey's Horse in disorder. D. Caesar's Army. E. Caesar's Camp.

“vise, foment and cherish: Nor was it a vain institution of our ancestors, that the trumpets should sound on every side; and that the whole army should raise a shout, in order to animate the courage of their own men, and strike a terror into the enemy.” However, *Cæsar*’s soldiers entirely defeated *Pompey*’s hopes by their good discipline and experience: For, perceiving the enemy did not stir, they halted of their own accord, in the midst of their career; and, having taken a moment’s breath, put themselves a second time in motion, marched up in good order, flung their javelins, and then, as *Cæsar* had ordered, betook themselves to their swords. Nor did *Pompey*’s men act with less presence of mind; for they bravely sustained their attack; and, having launched their javelins, immediately had also recourse to their swords. At this instant, *Pompey*’s horse, supported by the archers and slingers, attacked *Cæsar*’s; and, having compelled them to give ground, began to extend themselves in order to flank the infantry. Whereupon *Cæsar* gave the signal to the six cohorts, who fell on *Pompey*’s cavalry with such fury, that they not only drove them from the field of battle, but even forced them to take refuge in the mountains. It is reported by some historians, that *Cæsar* ordered his soldiers to aim at the faces of the enemy; and that this contrivance served much to disorder the nice and effeminate Knights, who could not bear the thoughts of being disfigured. He himself, however, has not mentioned this stratagem. The archers and slingers, deprived of the protection of the horse, were soon cut to pieces. The same cohorts, having thus driven the cavalry entirely out of the field, turned upon the enemy’s left wing, and began to charge it in the rear. *Cæsar* at the same time brought up his third line, which had not been engaged. The left wing of the enemy, thus attacked in front by fresh troops, and in the rear by the victorious cohorts, made but a faint resistance, and fled to their camp. *Pompey*, upon seeing that part of his army, on which he chiefly depended, put into disorder, despaired of being able to restore the battle, had retired from the field to wait the event in his tent. *Cæsar*, tho’ the battle lasted till noon, and the weather was excessively hot, yet, encouraging his soldiers, led them on, notwithstanding their fatigue, to attack the intrenchments of the vanquished. The camp was bravely defended by the cohorts left for its guard, and particularly by a body of *Thracians* and other barbarians. The soldiers who had fled from the battle were in too great a consternation to think of any thing but of making their escape. These fresh troops were overpowered however, driven from the rampart, and forced to fly to the neighbouring mountains.

Pompey, perceiving that all was lost, and that his intrenchments were forced, quitting his military dress for a habit more suitable to his ill fortune, mounted his horse, and, withdrawing by the Decuman gate, rode full speed to *Larissa*. He would not enter the town, Dio.

Y. R. 705. though invited by the citizens, that he might not expose them to the re-
 Bef. Chr. sentment of *Cæsar* : But, having called for what he wanted, he advised
 47. them to submit to the conqueror. Thence, continuing his flight day
 404. Cæsar. and night, without intermission, he arrived on the sea-side with thirty
 horse, and went on board a ship of burden ; often complaining “ that
 “ he had been so far deceived in his opinion of his followers, as to see
 “ those very men, from whom he expected victory, the first to fly, and
 “ betray him to his enemies.” His camp shewed how little he and
 his followers dreamed of the issue of that day. The tents of the Gran-
 dees were adorned with branches of myrtle, and shaded with ivy ; the
 tables were found covered, the side-boards loaded with plate ; and, in
 a word, every thing gave proofs of the highest luxury, and the greatest
 assurance of victory.

Cæsar, not thinking his victory yet complete, earnestly intreated his
 soldiers to form a line of circumvallation round the mountain, whi-
 ther a part of the conquered army had retired. But the *Pompeians*
 quickly abandoned a post which for want of water was not tenable,
 and endeavoured to reach the city of *Larissa* : Whereupon *Cæsar*, di-
 viding his army, left one part to guard *Pompey's* camp, sent back ano-
 ther to his own, and, with four legions, taking a nearer road than
 that by which the enemy passed, he found means to intercept them,
 and after six miles march drew up in order of battle. However, the
 vanquished troops once more found protection from a mountain, at
 the foot of which ran a rivulet. Though *Cæsar's* men were greatly
 fatigued by fighting the whole day, yet before night they flung up
 some works which were sufficient to prevent the enemy from having
 any communication with the rivulet : Who, by this step, being cut off
 from all hopes of relief, or of making good their retreat, sent Depu-
 ties to treat of a surrendry. Affairs continued in this situation all that
 night, and some Senators took the occasion to make their escape. At
 break of day they came down into the plain, and delivered up their
 arms ; humbly imploring *Cæsar's* goodness, and suing for mercy.
 He not only granted them readily their lives, but spoke to them with
 the greatest humanity, and gave strict orders that nothing should be
 taken from them. He then sent for the legions that had passed the
 night in the camp, to relieve those he had employed in the pursuit :
 And, being determined to follow *Pompey*, he began his march, and ar-
 rived the same day at *Larissa*. Thus *Cæsar*, by his admirable skill,
 and the indefatigable industry of his soldiers, obtained the most com-
 plete and important victory. According to his own account, he lost
 but two hundred men, ¹ with thirty Centurions. To the body of
Crassinus, who had been killed in the beginning of the engagement, he
 ordered particular honours to be paid. On *Pompey's* side there fell

¹ *Plutarch* and *Appian* say twelve hundred.

fifteen thousand; of whom the greatest number were servants, and ^{V.R. 705.} those who guarded the tents; only six thousand soldiers were killed, ^{Bef. Chr. 47.} ten Senators and forty Knights. Upwards of twenty-four thousand ^{404 Conf.} were made prisoners; for the cohorts that garrisoned the forts surrendered to *Sylla*. One hundred and eighty colours and nine eagles were ^{Plut. in Pomp.} taken. *L. Domitius Abenobarbus*, that mortal enemy to *Cæsar*, was overtaken in his flight, and put to death.² *Dio* relates, that *Cæsar* caused all those to be slain, who, having been once pardoned, had a second time carried arms against him. But this circumstance may well be doubted, since all the historians are unanimous in extolling his clemency both in the battle, and after it.³ As soon as he saw his enemies defeated, he cried to his soldiers *to spare the blood of their fellow-citizens*. Upon viewing the field of battle, he said with a sigh: *They have forced me to this sad necessity. Cæsar must have sought the assistance of his soldiers, or must have perished*. He generously pardoned all those he had made prisoners: And *Pliny* and *Seneca* have observed that, having found in ^{Suet. in Cæsar.} *Pompey's* tent a great many letters from several great men, in which, ^{Pliny, l. vii. c. 25.} undoubtedly, they had expressed in the warmest manner their zeal for ^{Sen. de Ira, ii. 23.} his party, he instantly gave orders to burn them. “Although,” says the last of these writers, “he was perfectly moderate in his anger, yet he rather chose to put it out of his power to resent such injuries, and thought that the most obliging manner of pardoning was to be ignorant of the nature of the offence.” *Dio* himself tells us, that he pardoned all the Kings and States who had assisted *Pompey*, and demanded nothing more of them than a sum of money; and, considering, adds the historian, that he himself was little known to them, and that they were under many and great obligations to *Pompey*, he had more regard for those who had appeared in arms, than for the others who had deserted their benefactor. To the *Athenians*, who sent Deputies to him to solicit their pardon, he granted it, with this reproach: “How long, having merited death by your degeneracy, will you owe your safety to the glory of your ancestors?”

This famous battle was fought on the 9th of August,⁴ as appears by

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² *Cicero*, *Philipp.* ii. c. 29, accuses *Antony* of having killed *Domitius*, and some others whom *Cæsar* probably would have spared: *Fueras in acie Pharsalica anseignatus: L. Domitium, nobilissimum et clarissimum virum, occideras: Mulios, qui de prælio effugerant, quos Cæsar, ut nonnullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus trucidaras*. He commanded, probably, the forces sent after the runaways.

³ Illud notandum est: Ut primum *C. Cæsar* inclinatam vidit Pompeianorum a-

ciem: Neque prius, neque antiquius quidquam habuit, quam quinque partes (militari et verbo et consuetudine utar) dimitteret. Proh Dii immortales! quod hujus voluntatis erga Brutum suæ postea vir tam mitis pretium tulit! Nihil illa victoria mirabilius, magnificentius, clarius fuit; quando neminem, nisi acie consumptum, civem patria desideravit. *Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 82.*

⁴ The 9th of August of the Roman year, according to *Primate Usher*, corresponded with the 6th of June of the Julian; but the bat-

X. R. 705.
Bef. Chr. an inscription produced by the learned *Muratori*; a circumstance unknown in *Lucan's* time.

47.
404. Conf. The news of *Pompey's* defeat was brought to *Dyrrhachium* by *Labi- enus*, who escaped thither with the *Gallie* and *German* horse. *Cato* had been left Governor of the town with fifteen cohorts, and with him were *Cicero*, the learned *Varro*, and some other Senators. They all, immediately, in the greatest consternation, got on board the ships in the port with their troops, and repaired to the island of *Corcyra*, which was the general rendezvous of *Pompey's* followers. *D. Lelius* brought there his fleet from before *Brundisium*, where he was attempting to block up the port: *C. Cassius*, who had just burned two of *Cæsar's* fleets, one of thirty-five sail at *Messana*, commanded by *M. Pomponius*, and another at *Vibo*, under the orders of *P. Sulpitius*, consisting of five gallies, arrived there with the *Syrian*, *Phœnician*, and *Cilician* squadrons from *Sicily*; and thither also *Octavius* brought the ships under his command. Young *Pompey* and *Cornelius* had been deserted by their forces, and arrived without them. Here a general Council was held, and we are told by *Plutarch*, that *Cato* offered the command of his cohorts to *Cicero*, as the superior in dignity; and that, upon his refusal and declaration, that he would join no longer in the war, young *Pompey* was so enraged, that he drew his sword, and would have killed him, if *Cato* had not interposed. There was no scheme agreed

Plut. in
Cato. & Cic.

Cæsar de
Bell. Civ.
Comm. lib.
iii.

battle, I should think, was fought later in the year. *Cæsar* encamped in the plains of *Pharsalia*, when the corn was almost ripe, *que prope jam matura erat*: It was therefore in the end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, of the *Julian* year. *Pompey* followed him a few days after, *paucis post diebus*, but was in no haste to give him battle. *Cæsar* had time to exercise his troops, to teach his light-armed soldiers to fight among the cavalry, and to raise the spirit and courage of his men, by sending them daily to offer battle to the enemy, *continentibus diebus*. There were several skirmishes between parties detached from the two armies. *Appian* and *Lucan* both tell us, that, before the battle, *Cæsar's* troops had been sent out to gather corn: And, in fire, *Cæsar* despairing to draw *Pompey* to an engagement, was preparing to march to another place; and one of his reasons was, the better to supply his army with provisions. So that we cannot allow less than a month between *Cæsar's* arrival in *Thessaly* and the battle. Now, the harvest in that country, as has been remarked above, does not come on before the beginning of *June* at *Larissa*, and the 15th

or 20th at *Jannina*. The 9th of *August*, of the *Roman* year, must, therefore, have corresponded with the end, or 29th of *June* of the *Julian* year: And thus the battle was given a few days after the harvest; which agrees with *Plutarch*, who tells us, that it was fought in the greatest heat of summer; and with *Suetonius*, who says, that *Cæsar* besieged *Pompey* four months at *Dyrrhachium*, which he did not begin to do till the end of winter, when *Antony* brought him the remainder of his army.

It appears, that *Cicero* had at this time great reason to complain of his party. "I cannot" says he to *Atticus*, "without the deepest sorrow, inform you what bitter, what heavy, what extraordinary motives have forced me to yield rather to a sudden impulse of passion, than the counsel of my reason: These motives are such, that they have induced me to act as you see." *Ad Att. x. 5.* In a letter to *Terentia*, he makes the same complaint. *Ep. Fam. xiv. 12.* *Milt. vii. 23.* "May the joy you express at my safe arrival in *Italy* be never interrupted! but my mind was so much discomposed by those atrocious injuries I had

agreed upon, and all dispersed themselves severally, as their hopes and inclinations led them. *Cicero* went straight to *Brundisium*, committing himself to the mercy of the conqueror. Many retired into *Acbaia*, to wait there the farther issue of things, and take such methods as fortune offered. *M. Marcellus* went to *Mytilene*: *Cacilius Bassus*, a Roman Knight, who acted a considerable part after *Cæsar*'s death, and *Libo*, hid themselves in *Tyre*. *Scipio*, *Labienus*, and many others, who had acted more violently against *Cæsar*, resolved at all events to renew the war, and sailed for *Africa*, to join *Varus* and King *Juba*. *Octavius* sailed with the *Liburnian* fleet to *Illyricum*, where he made war, as shall be related hereafter, with various fortune. Young *Pompey* and *Cato* followed the unfortunate General. *C. Cassius* sailed to *Cilicia*, where he waited *Cæsar*'s arrival in a bay at the mouth of the river *Cydus*, and there delivered up his fleet. ^d *Plutarch* tells us, that *M. Brutus*, seeing

Y. R. 705.
Bef. Chr.
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Pom-

“ had received, that I have taken a step, I
“ fear, which may be attended with great
“ difficulties.”

^d *Cicero*, *Philip.* ii. 11, tells us, that he lay there in wait for *Cæsar*, with a resolution to destroy him; which he would have effected, if *Cæsar* had not landed on the opposite shore, where he was not expected, and had not determined to land. This, however, it is thought, is a weak apology for *Cassius*; and the real motives of his conduct at this time are explained to us in a letter of *Cicero* to him, written in the year 706. *Ep. Fam.* xv. 15. *Melm.* vii. 36. “ It was the hope, that peace would be restored to our country, and the abhorrence of spilling the blood of our fellow citizens, that equally induced both you and myself to decline an obstinate perseverance in the civil war. But, though these sentiments were common to us both, yet, as I am considered as having been the first to inspire you with them, it is more my part, perhaps, to render you satisfied with having adopted them, than it is yours to perform the same friendly office towards me. But, to say the truth, (and it is a circumstance upon which I frequently reflect) *we mutually convinced each other*, in the free conversations we held upon this subject, that a single battle, if it should not wholly determine our cause, ought to be the limits however of

“ our particular opposition. And these sentiments have never seriously been condemned by any, but by those alone who think it more eligible that our constitution should be totally destroyed, than in any degree impaired. But my opinion was far otherwise: For I had no views to gratify by its extinction, and had much to hope from its remains. As to the consequences which have since ensued, they lay far beyond the reach of human discernment; and the wonder is, not so much how they escaped our penetration, as how it was possible they should have happened. I must confess, my own opinion always was, that the battle of *Pharsalia* would be decisive; and I imagined that the victors would act with a regard to the common preservation of all, and the vanquished to their own. But both the one and the other, I was well aware, depended on the expedition with which the conquerors would pursue their success. And, had they pursued immediately, those who have since carried the war into *Africa*, would have experienced (and experienced too, if I do not flatter myself, by my intercession *) the same clemency with which the rest of our party have been treated, who retired into *Asia* and *Acbaia*. But the critical opportunity (that season so important in all transactions, and especially in a civil war) was

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* It appears, by this flow of spirits, that this letter was written after *Cicero* had been comforted by *Cæsar*, and his terrors dispelled by the assurance of his pardon, in the kindest terms: And what follows shews it to have been penned before *Cæsar*'s return into *Italy*.

Y. R. 705. Pompey's camp forced, stole out of one of the gates, and hid himself in a
 Bef. Chr. morass covered with reeds; from whence, having got safe in the night
 47. to *Larissa*, he wrote immediately to *Cæsar*, who not only forgave him,
 424 Conf. but treated him with the greatest affection. Even before the battle
Cæsar had given particular orders, not to kill him on any account;
 and to make him prisoner, in case he was willing to surrender: but,
 if he refused, to let him go.

Cæsar de
Bell. Civ.
Com. lib.
 ii.

Pompey sailed first to *Amphipolis*, where he issued a proclamation, en-
 joining all the youth of the province, whether *Greeks* or *Romans*, to
 join him in arms: This he did, either with a design to keep footing in
Macedonia, or to conceal his real intention of retreating much further.
 He lay one night at anchor, sending to his friends in the town, and
 raising all the money he possibly could: But, being informed of
Cæsar's approach, he departed, and sailed for *Mitylene*, where he had
 left his wife *Cornelia*. Here he was detained two days by the badness of

"unhappily lost: And, a whole year inter-
 "vening, it raised the spirits of some of our
 "party to hope they might recover the vic-
 "tory; and rendered others so desperate
 "as not to dread the reverse. Fortune,
 "however, must be answerable for the
 "whole train of evils which this delay has
 "produced. For who could have ima-
 "gined, either that the *Alexandrine* war
 "could have been drawn out to so great a
 "length, or that the paltry *Pharnaces*
 "could have struck such a terror through-
 "out *Asia*. But, though we both acted by
 "the same measures, our present situations,
 "however, are extremely different. The
 "scheme which you thought proper to execute
 "has given you admission into *Cæsar's* coun-
 "cils, and opened a prospect to you of his
 "future purposes: [this scheme must be
 "the desertion of the *Pompeian* party, and the
 "surrendry of the fleet to *Cæsar*] "an advan-
 "tage, most certainly, that must spare you
 "all the uneasiness which attends a state of
 "doubt and suspense. Whereas, for my-
 "self, as I imagined that *Cæsar* would, im-
 "mediately after the battle of *Pharsalia*,
 "have returned into *Italy*, I hastened thi-
 "ther, in order to encourage and improve
 "that pacific disposition which he had dis-
 "covered, by his generosity, to so many of
 "his illustrious enemies: By which means,
 "I have ever since been separated from
 "him by an immense distance. Here, in
 "truth, I sit, the sad witness of those com-
 "plaints that are poured forth in *Rome*,
 "and throughout all *Italy*: Complaints

"which both you and I, according to our
 "respective powers, might contribute some-
 "what to remove, if *Cæsar* were present to
 "support us. I intreat you, then, to com-
 "municate to me, agreeably to your won-
 "ted friendship, all you observe and think
 "concerning the present state of affairs: In
 "a word, that you would inform me what
 "we are to expect, and how you would ad-
 "vise me to act. Be assured I shall lay
 "great stress upon your sentiments: And,
 "had I wisely followed those you gave me,
 "in your first letter from *Lutetia*, I might,
 "without difficulty, have still preserved my
 "dignities."

"*Plutarch in Pomp.* is very diffuse in
 "describing this Lady's disappointment and
 "inexpressible grief: She bitterly complained
 "of her ill destiny, which allied her to *Cæsar*
 "for first, and afterwards to *Pompey*, only to
 "cause the ruin of two illustrious families.
 "The same writer tells us, that the Stoic phi-
 "losopher *Cratippus* came to pay his compli-
 "ments in *Mitylene* to *Pompey*, and that *Pom-*
 "pey could not refrain from complaining to
 "him of the dispensations of Providence.
 "The philosopher declined, through politeness
 "and humanity, to enter upon the subject:
 "But he might have answered, says *Plutarch*,
 "that the disturbed state of *Rome*
 "required now an absolute monarchy, as a
 "necessary remedy to the public disorders."
 "And he might have added, "By what proof
 "may we be induced to believe, that, if the
 "victory had been yours, you would have
 "made a better use of it than *Cæsar*?"

the

the weather, and, having increased his fleet with a few gallies, he sailed to *Cilicia*¹, and thence to *Cyprus*. In this island he had intelligence that the people of *Antioch* and the *Roman* citizens, who traded there, had, with joint consent, seized the cattle, and sent Deputies to such of his followers as had taken refuge in the neighbouring places, not to approach that town. *L. Lentulus*, the late Consul, *P. Lentulus Spinther*, and some of the other principal men of his party, had been refused admittance into the island of *Rhodes*, and had been ordered to withdraw immediately. These accounts made him lay aside his design of going into *Syria*; and the money in the public bank, and borrowing as much more as he could of his friends; providing great quantities of brass for military uses, and raising two thousand soldiers; he set sail for *Pelusium*, to implore the assistance of *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*. This Prince, yet in his minority, was there at the head of a considerable army, making war against his sister *Cleopatra*, whom he had expelled the throne, to which by her father's will she had an equal right with him. *Pompey* sent to demand his protection, and a safe retreat in *Alexandria*, in consideration of the friendship that had subsisted between him and his father. The messengers, after discharging their commission, began to converse freely with the King's troops, many of whom had served formerly under *Pompey*, and had been left in *Egypt* by *Gabinus*; and they exhorted them not to despise their old General in his adverse fortune. The King's Ministers, who, during his minority, had the administration in their hands, either out of fear, as they afterwards pretended, that *Pompey* should debauch the army, and thereby make himself master of *Alexandria* and all *Egypt*, or despising his low condition, gave a favourable reception to the Deputies in public, and invited *Pompey* to court: But dispatched, at the same time *Acbillas*, Captain of the King's guards, and *Septimius*, a military Tribune, with secret orders to murder him before he came into the King's presence². They put off from the shore in a small bark, with a few guards, and made towards *Pompey's* ship. When on board, they accosted him with an air of frankness, and invited him into the boat. *Pompey*, after taking leave of *Cornelia*, ordered two Centurions,

Y. R. 705.
Bef. Chr.
47.
404 Conf.

Plut. in
Pomp.
Appian.
Dio.

¹ *Plutarch in Pomp.* says, that it was deliberated among his followers, since no province of the empire could afford them protection, to what foreign power it was most expedient to repair: That *Pompey* was strongly inclined to take refuge in *Parthia*; that others advised him to put himself under the protection of *Juba*; but that *Theopbanes* determined him to go to *Egypt*. See *Lucan*, l. viii.

² *Plutarch in Pomp.* tells us, that one *Theodotus*, Preceptor to the King, seeing the Council divided in their opinions concerning the reception it was proper to give

Pompey, some advising to receive him with honour, others to order him away immediately, he maintained, "that both proposals were equally dangerous: That to admit *Pompey* was making him their master, and drawing upon themselves the resentment of *Cæsar*: And, by not receiving him, they offended the one without obliging the other. That therefore the only expedient left was to let him land, and then kill him, which would be doing *Cæsar* a good service, and ridding themselves of all apprehensions on *Pompey's* account; because, said he, dead dogs do not bite."

Y. R. 705. one of his freedmen named *Philip*, and a slave, to enter the boat with
 B. Chr. him; and, as *Achilla* gave him his hand to assist him in coming out of
 47 the ship, he turned to his wife, and repeated two verses of *Sophocles*,
 404 Cont. signifying, *that whoever goes to the Court of a King becomes a slave from that moment*. During the passage from the ship to land, nobody spoke to him a single word, or shewed the least mark of friendship or respect; *Pompey* broke the silence, and, looking *Septimius* in the face, "methinks," said he, I remember you to have formerly served under me." *Septimius* gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or denoting the least civility. Whereupon *Pompey* took out a speech which he had prepared in *Greek* for the *Egyptian* King, and began to read it. In this manner they came near the land; and, when *Pompey* rose to go out, *Septimius* stabbed him in the back, and was immediately seconded by *Achillas*. *Pompey*, without making any resistance, or saying a word, covered his head with his robe, and resigned to fate. At this sad sight, *Cornelia* and her attendants weighed anchor and made off to sea. His murderers cut off his head, leaving the body on the shore. His freedman *Philip* stayed by it, and, while he was gathering up some pieces of a broken boat for a pile, he was thus accosted by an old soldier, who had served under *Pompey*: *Who art thou, that art making these sad preparations for the funeral of Pompey the Great?* *Philip* answered him, *one of his freedmen*. *Thou shalt not*, replied he, *have all this honour to thyself: Let me partake in an action so just and sacred. It will please me, amidst the miseries of my exile, to have touched the body, and assisted at the funeral of the greatest and noblest soldier ROME ever produced*. In this manner were the last rites performed to *Pompey*^b. His ashes, according to *Plutarch*, were carefully collected, and carried to *Cornelia*, who deposited them in a vault in his *Alban* villa^c. The *Egyptians*, however, afterwards raised a monu-

^b This is *Plutarch's* story; who does not tell us what became of the two Centurions and the slave *Pompey* took into the boat with him. *Lucan* relates that the body was flung over-board into the sea, and dragged out from thence in the night, and burnt by one *Cerdas*, who had been *Pompey's* Quæstor in *Cyprus*. *Aurelius Victor de Vir Illust.* calls him *Servius Cerdas*.

"New 'gan the glitt'ring stars to fade away,
 "Before the resy promise of the day,
 "When the pale youth th' unfinished rites
 "forsook,
 "And to the covert of his cave betook.
 "Ah! why thus rashly would thy fears dis-
 "claim
 "That only deed which must record thy
 "name." *Lucan*, b. viii. v. 1065.

Aurelius Victor and *Lucan* say, that upon his tomb was inscribed: *Hic situs est Magnus Pompeius*. And *Appian* has given us a *Greek* inscription to this purpose: *How poor a tomb covers the man who had so many temples erected to his honour!*

^c Every circumstance relating to the end of this great man is uncertain, except what we have in *Cæsar's* brief account. *Lucan* supposes that *Pompey's* ashes remained in *Egypt*:

"And thou, oh *Rome*! by whose forgetful
 "hand
 "Altars and temples rear'd to tyrants stand,
 "Canst thou neglect to call thy hero home,
 "And leave his ghost in banishment to roam?
 "What tho' the victor's frown, and thy base
 "fear
 "Bad thee, at first, the pious task forbear;
 "Yet

a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with figures of brass, which, having been defaced by time, and buried almost in sand and rubbish, was sought out and restored by the Emperor *Adrian*.
Y. R. 705.
Bef. Chr.
47.
404 Conf.

Such was the end of *Pompey the Great*, on the 28th of *April*, in the 58th year of his age. It did not surprise *Cicero*, as we find by the short reflection that he makes upon it. “As to *Pompey’s* end, says he, I never had any doubt about it: For the lost and desperate state of his affairs had so possessed the minds of all the Kings and States abroad, that, whithersoever he went, I took it for granted that this would be his fate.” How happy had it been for him to have died in that sickness,

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ness,

“Yet now, at least, oh! let him now re-
 “turn,

“And rest with honour in a *Roman* urn.

“Nor let mistaken superstition dread,

“On such occasions, to disturb the dead:

“Oh! would commanding *Rome* my hand
 “employ,

“This impious task should be perform’d with
 “joy.

“How would I fly to tear him from that
 “tomb,

“And bear his ashes in my bosom home!”

B. viii. l. 114.

* *Cicero* adds: *I cannot, however, help grieving at it; for I knew him to be an honest, grave, and worthy man: Hominem enim integrum, et castum, et gravem cognovi.* “This, says *Dr. Middleton*, was the short and true character of the man from one who perfectly knew him; not heightened as we sometimes find it by the shining colours of his eloquence, nor depressed by the darker strokes of his resentment.” Yet the same ingenious writer has thought proper to draw more at large the character of a man who was *Cicero’s* God upon earth, and indeed the above short and true character is but a scanty panegyric for one in *Pompey’s* high station: And, as this history includes a sort of critical examination of the life of *Cicero*, we will not scruple to present the reader with it, together with some short observations:

“*Pompey* had early acquired the surname of *Great*, by that sort of merit, which, from the constitution of the Republic, necessarily made him *great*; a fame and success in war superior to what *Rome* had ever known in the most celebrated of her Generals.” [The surname of *Great*, according to *Plutarch*, was a compliment of *Sylla*, after the good services *Pompey* had

done him in *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*. Tho’ young *Pompey* had been bred to war in the camp of his father, a man of great military capacity, and had shewn his talents in the support of *Sylla’s* party, he had not yet properly acquired or merited that surname by a success in war, superior to what *Rome* had ever known. *Livy*, or his abbreviator, says, that this surname was given him after his victories in *Asia*.] “He had triumphed at three several times over the three different parts of the known world, *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*; and, by his victories, had almost doubled the extent, as well as the revenues of the *Roman* dominion; for, as he declared to the people, on his return from the *Mithridatic* war, he had found the lesser *Asia* the boundary, but left it the middle of their empire.” [If *Pompey* made this declaration, he was guilty of an unpardonable gasconade, for he added to the *Roman* empire only *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and *Syria*: But, if he did not double the revenues of the Commonwealth, he greatly multiplied his own; for he received every month from *Antiochus*, King of *Cappadocia*, alone, above 6393 l. which was almost all that poor King could raise. See *Ad Att. vi. 1*] “He was six years older than *Cæsar*; and, while *Cæsar*, immersed in pleasures, oppressed with debts, and suspected by all honest men, was hardly able to shew his head, *Pompey* was flourishing in the height of power and glory, and by the consent of all parties placed at the head of the Republic.” [This is not a fair representation of the fortunes of these two men: *Pompey* was raised to all his power and wealth against the will of the Senate; who was ever envious and jealous of him: And *Cæsar* not only dared to shew his head, but was ever so much the darling of the city, that

Middl. p.

132.

Ad Att.

xi. 6.

Y. R. 705. neis, when all *Italy* was putting up vows and prayers for his safety?
 Bel. Chit. Or, if he had fallen by the chance of war on the plains of *Pharfalia*, in
 47. the
 404 Conf.

that he carried every thing he stood for, by almost the unanimous votes of the people, notwithstanding the opposition of the same Senate.] "This was the point that his ambition seemed to aim at, to be the first man in *Rome*; the Leader, not the tyrant of *Rome*." For he more than once had it in his power to have made himself the master of it without any risk, if his virtue, or his phlegm, at least, had not restrained him." [This is a groundless assertion. *Pompey*, after the *Sertorian* war, kept his army in *Italy*; and so did *Crassus* to check him; till they both disbanded their troops by agreement: Neither of them dared then to act the tyrant. After the *Mithridatic* war, the opposition *Cæsar* and *Metellus*, who openly courted *Pompey*, met with, plainly shewed how jealous the city was of *Pompey's* power: And that same jealousy prevailed after his arrival, notwithstanding all the favour and credit his victories had procured him. He could not depend upon his army in an enterprise against his country, when he had no motive of revenge to stimulate them with, nor indeed any other that he could avow with common decency. *Cæsar* and *Crassus* were willing to associate with him against the aristocracy, but not to become his servants.] "but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving, from the gift of the people, what he did not care to seize by force; and, by fomenting the disorders of the city, hoped to drive them to the necessity of creating him Dictator. It is an observation of all the historians, that, while *Cæsar* made no difference of power, whether it was conferred or usurped; whether over those who loved, or those who feared him; *Pompey* seemed to value none but what was offered; nor to have any desire to govern, but with the good-will of the governed." [Vellius, ii 29, says indeed of *Pompey*, *Potentia quæ honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus*: But I do not see any difference between *Pompey* and *Cæsar* in this respect. As long as power was offered to *Pompey*, he did not undertake to seize it by an armed force; neither did *Cæsar*; but no sooner did *Pompey* foresee that *Cæsar* would become his equal, than

he armed, illegally, the whole empire, to preserve his own superior power: And this is allowed by the same historian: *Civis in toga, nisi uti crederetur, ne quem haberet parum, modestissimus*. A power, maintained all along by the most open and scandalous bribery, cannot be deemed a power offered by the good-will of the governed: And a man who employs such means, in defiance of the laws, cannot, with any propriety, be called a man of integrity, *Virum integrum cognovi*.] "What leisure he found from his wars he employed in the study of polite letters, and especially of eloquence, in which he would have acquired great fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more dazzling glory of arms. Yet he pleaded several causes with applause, in the defence of his friends and clients; and some of them in conjunction with *Cicero*. His language was copious and elevated; his sentiments just; his voice sweet; his action noble and full of dignity. But his talents were better formed for arms than the gown; for though in both he observed the same discipline; a perpetual modesty, temperance, and gravity of outward behaviour; yet, in the licence of camps, the example was more rare and striking. His person was extremely graceful, and inspiring respect; yet with an air of reserve and haughtiness, which became the General better than the citizen. His parts were plausible rather than great; specious rather than penetrating; and his views of politics but narrow; for his chief instrument of governing was dissimulation; yet he had not always the art to conceal his real sentiments. As he was a better soldier than a statesman, so what he gained in the camp he usually lost in the city; and, though adored when abroad, was often affronted and mortified at home; till the imprudent opposition of the Senate drove him to that alliance with *Crassus* and *Cæsar*, which proved fatal both to himself and to the Republic. He took in these two not as the partners, but the ministers rather of his power;" [They had more interest in the city than he, and he could not compass his ends without their assistance: They were therefore necessary allies,

the defence of his country's liberty, he had died still glorious, though unfortunate; but, as if he had been reserved for an example of the instability of human greatness. he, who a few days before commanded Kings and Consuls, and all the noblest of *Rome*, was sentenced to die by a Council of slaves; murdered by a base deserter; cast out naked and headless on the *Egyptian* strand; and, when *the whole earth*, as *Velleius* says, *had scarce been sufficient for his victories, could not find a spot upon it for a grave*¹.

Y. R. 705.
Bet. Chr.
47.
404 Conf.

U 2

Lentulus,

allies, not ministers of his power.] "That, by giving them some share with him, he might make his own authority uncontrollable: He had no reason to apprehend that they could ever prove his rivals; since neither of them had any credit or character of that kind, which alone could raise them above the laws; a superior fame and experience in war, with the militia of the empire at their devotion: All this was purely his own; till, by cherishing *Cæsar*, and throwing into his hands the only things which he wanted, arms and military command, he made him at last too strong for himself, and never began to fear him till it was too late." [That *Pompey* helped *Cæsar*, during the triumvirate, will be easily granted, but that he owed all to *Pompey* is not true: And *Pompey* was at least as much indebted to *Cæsar*, as *Cæsar* to him. Would *Pompey* have condescended to marry the daughter of the man whom he suspected to have debauched his wife *Mucia*, the mother of *Cnæus* and *Sextus Pompey*, and whom for this reason, during the civil war, he used to call *Ægisthus*, if his alliance had not been deemed absolutely necessary to support his credit: And indeed he could never have supported himself in that long reign of his during the *Gallic* war without *Cæsar*'s interest. This is evident from the whole history of the times.] "Cicero warmly dissuaded both his union and his breach with *Cæsar*; [So *Cicero* says in his second *Philippic*; but his letters shew that he greatly approved of the breach between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, till the prospect was darkened, and the civil war was ready to break out with great advantage on *Cæsar*'s side. If *Cicero* did not approve of their union at first, he cemented it afterwards, and was very subservient to the confederate Chiefs. See his apologetic letter, cited Vol. iii. p. 509.] "And, after the rupture, as warmly still, the thought of giving him battle: If any of these counsels had been

followed, *Pompey* had preserved his life and honour, and the Republic its liberty." [Pace opus est: Ex victoria cum multa malis, tum certe tyrannus exisset. *Ad Att.* vii. 5. Lepugna, inquis, potius, quam servias: Ut quid? Si victus eris, proscribere? Si viciss, tamen servias? *Ad Att.* vii. 7. Hoc *Cnæus* noster cum antea nunquam, tum in hac causa minime cogitavit; beata et honesta civitas ut esset. Dominatio quaesita ab utroque est.—Genus illud *Sullani* regni jampridem appetitur, [a *Pompeio*] multis, qui una sunt, cupientibus. *Ad Att.* viii. 11. It appears then that *Cicero* was not of *Dr. Middleton*'s opinion. He thought also that *Pompey*'s victory would have been a very cruel one: Tanta erat in illis crudelitas, ut non nominatim, sed generatim proscriptio esset informata; ut jam omnium iudicio constitutum esset, omnium vestrum bona prædam esse illius victoriae; vestrum planè dico: Nunquam enim de te ipso, nisi crudelissimè, cogitatum est. *Ad Att.* xi. 6.] "But he was urged to his fate by a natural superstition, and attention to those vain auguries with which he was flattered by all the Haruspices: He had seen the same temper in *Marius* and *Sylla*, and observed the happy effects of it: But they assumed it only out of policy, he out of principle. They used to animate their soldiers, when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, against all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin." [I should think that *Pompey* was not altogether so credulous as *Dr. Middleton* makes him. *Cicero*, in his Letters, and *Cæsar*, in his Commentaries, assign other reasons for *Pompey*'s confidence, as we have seen above: And these reasons influenced not only *Pompey*, but *Labiens* and all the Generals in his army, whom we cannot suppose to have been all addicted, in a great degree, to superstition.

¹ Qui si ante biennium quam ad armatum est, perfectis muneribus theatri et aliorum operum quæ ei circumdedit gravissima tentatus

Y. R. 705.
Ber. Chr.
47
404 Cons. *Lentulus*, the late Consul, landed in *Egypt* a few days after his General, and was immediately seized and put to death. *Plutarch*, or the author whom he copied, to make his story more interesting, supposes that *Lentulus* landed just upon the spot where the body of *Pompey* had been burned the day before; and, seeing a little pile which yet smoked, broke out into these words, "Who is the wretch to whom are paid these last offices? Perhaps, alas! it is you, great *Pompey!*" *Lentulus Spinther* is said to have found in *Egypt* the same fate.

Cato, conjecturing that *Pompey* had retired to *Egypt* or *Lybia*, took that way. He first sailed from *Corcyra* to *Patrae*, where he picked up *Faustus Sylla*, *Petreius*, and some other fugitives. Then, doubling the cape of *Malta*, and coasting the isle of *Crete*, he came to *Palinurus*, a promontory of the *Cyrenaica*: Whence he marched to *Cyrene*, which opened its gates to him. Here he was met by *Cornelia* and *Sextus Pompeius*, *Pompey's* youngest son: Who had first fled to *Cyprus*, but, finding themselves too near *Egypt*, and fearing lest they should meet with *Cæsar*, steered towards the West, and put in at the same place to which *Cato* had brought the fleet. The news of *Pompey's* death occasioned a fresh division among his fugitive friends: Many who were attached personally to him, and had held out in hopes of seeing him again at their head, determined to have recourse to the Conqueror's clemency. *Cornelia* returned to *Italy*, well knowing that she had nothing to apprehend from *Cæsar*. *Cato*, with *Pompey's* two sons, remained in *Africa* and marched by land to join *Varus* and *Juba*: And we shall see immediately how they renewed the war, and exposed the Conqueror to new
per tiques and dangers.

tentatus valetudine decessisset in *Campania* (quo quidem tempore universa Italia vota pro salute ejus, primo omnium civium suscepit) defuisset fortunæ destruendi ejus locus; et quam apud superos habuerat magnitudinem, illibatam detulisset ad inferos. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 48. Princeps Romani nominis, imperio arbitrioque *Ægyptii* mancipii, jugulatus est. Hic post tres consulatus et

totidem triumphos, domitumque terrarum orbem, sanctissimi ac præstantissimi viri, in id evecti super quod adscendi non potest, duodesexagesimum annum agentis, pridie natalem ipsius, vitæ fuit exitus: In tantum in illo viro à se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam. *Id.* ii. 53.

ÆGYPTVS ANTIQA.

LIBYA



C H A P. VII.

Cæsar follows Pompey into Egypt. The Alexandrian war. The war against Pharnaces. Illyricum saved by Vatinius. Cæsar returns to Italy. Cicero's disquietudes at Brundisium during Cæsar's absence. Cæsar puts an end to the disturbances raised by Dolabella in the city: He quells a mutiny in his army, and sets out for Africa.

CÆSAR, sensible that all the hopes of the vanquished party were lodged in the person of *Pompey*, pursued him with the utmost diligence at the head of his cavalry, having first given orders to one of his legions to follow. He heard at *Amphipolis*, that *Pompey* had left *Greece*: But, having no ships, he was under the necessity of marching by land to the streights of the *Hellepont*, that he might only have that short passage by sea into *Asia*. Here, while he was crossing in a small vessel after his troops, he fell in with a squadron of the *Pompeian* fleet, commanded by *Cassius*, consisting, according to *Suetonius*, of ten ships of war^m, and which was sailing to the *Bosphorus*. *Cæsar*, making up to him, ordered him to surrender; he obeyed; and, coming on board the little boat, threw himself at *Cæsar's* feet. *Cæsar*, with these ships, and those he found on the coast of *Asia*, continued his route by sea. At *Ephesus*, he saved a second time the treasure of *Diana's* temple, which *J. Ampius* was going to plunder for *Pompey*. After a short stay in *Asia*, hearing that *Pompey* had been at *Cyprus*, and thence conjecturing that he had gone for *Egypt*, on account of the interest he had in that kingdom, and the advantage it could afford him; he sailed first to *Rhodes*, where having joined to his fleet the *Rhodian* gallies, he set out for *Egypt* with two legions, one of which he had ordered to follow him from *Thessaly*; the other he had detached from *Fufius Calenus* in *Achaia*. These two legions did not make up above three thousand two hundred foot, and eight hundred horse: But *Cæsar* depended on the reputation of his exploits, and the terror of his name.

Cæsar, on his arrival at *Alexandria*, was informed of *Pompey's* death: And, according to some authors was presented by the King's order with the head and ring of his rivalⁿ. These sad remains of so great a

Y. R. 705.
Bef. Chu.

47.
104 Conf.

Suet. in
Cæf. 63.
Dio, l. xlii.
App. 482.

^m *Appian* says 70. It may be observed, that authors have distinguished this *Cassius* from the *Cassius* who was one of the conspirators against *Cæsar*.

ⁿ *Plutarch* in *Pomp.* tells us, that *Theodotus*, a Greek rhetorician, one of the King's Counsellors, who had determined the Council to kill *Pompey*, was charged to carry *Cæsar* this present, and to compliment him

on the success of his arms; and that *Brutus*, after *Cæsar's* death, caused him to be executed for it with the most cruel torments. *Aurelius Victor*, de *Vir Illustr.* c. 77, says it was presented by *Achillas*. *Lucan* says,

Dira fatelles

Colla gerit Magni, Phario velamine testa.

l. ix.

man,

Y. R. 704.
Bef. Chr.
48.
403 Conf.

Appian,
448.

Cæf. de
Bell. Civ.
Com. l.
iii.

man, with whom he had lived so long in the strictest friendship, as the husband of his beloved *Julia*, and his partner in power, very naturally drew tears from him*. He caused the head to be burned with the most costly perfumes, and placed the ashes in a small temple, which he dedicated to *Nemesis*, the avenging power of cruel and inhuman deeds. He took up his quarters in the royal palace, where he kept a strict guard: For upon his landing he had been received in a clamorous manner by the garrison, and he observed that the mob appeared dissatisfied to see the fasces carried before him, which they interpreted as a degradation of the royal authority. During several days disturbances and tumults happened, and many *Roman* soldiers were murdered in different parts of the city. The *Etesian* winds, which blew at that time, were contrary to any passage by sea from *Alexandria*^p: And *Cæsar* thinking it belonged to him, as chief of the *Roman* Empire, to take cognisance of the quarrel between *Ptolemy* and his sister *Cleopatra*, which had broken out into an open war; he began to interfere in this dispute, not foreseeing the many difficulties and hazards in which this conduct was to involve him.

Plut. in
Ant.

Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year 702, left four children: Two sons, who were both called *Ptolemy*; and two daughters, the famous *Cleopatra* and *Arsinoë*. According to the established custom in the *Ptolemean* family, he had ordered that his eldest son should marry his eldest daughter, and reign with her. For the more certain execution of this his will, he implored the protection of the *Roman* people; and sent a copy of it by ambassadors to *Rome* to be deposited in the public treasury; which, however, in the confusion of the times, had been left with *Pompey*. The original was kept at *Alexandria*. The brother and sister did not live long in harmony: *Cleopatra* was seventeen years old, and her brother only thirteen; and she claimed a right to govern her young consort. On the other hand, the guardians of the young Prince, the chief of whom was the eunuch *Pothinus*, were ambitious to govern under his name and authority. This division had not yet produced an open rupture, when *Pompey's* eldest son came to *Alexandria* to demand succours for his father. *Cleopatra* even then is said to have prostituted her person to this young *Roman* to gain *Pompey's* interest: But *Pothinus* succeeded better, and obtained at the Senate held at *Thessalonica* a determination in favour of *Ptolemy*. *Cleopatra* was banished *Egypt*, and forced to retire with her sister *Arsinoë* into *Syria*, where she assembled an army, and advanced as far as *Pelusium*. *Ptolemy* marched with his troops to oppose her, and the two armies were in sight of each other near mount *Casius*, on the borders of *Egypt*, when *Pompey* came there to meet his unhappy fate. Things remained in the same situation till *Cæsar's* arrival; and he admonished the contending parties, that it was their duty to remit their respective pretensions to his de-

* It is positive, that these tears were counterfeit; and *Strabo* takes occasion from them to rail bitterly at *Cæsar*. See the end of the ninth book.

^p The *Etesian* winds are northerly winds, which begin to blow about the summer solstice, and do not cease till about the end of August.

termination. They both immediately repaired to him; and *Cleopatra* Y. R. 705. Def Chr. seems to have dismissed her army, for we hear no more mention made of it. We are told by some historians, that, in order to get into *Alexandria*, which was in the possession of her enemies, she went on board a small vessel, and, landing in the evening near the palace, was wrapped up in a bundle of cloaths, and thus carried by one of her attendants into *Cæsar's* bed-chamber. The day after, *Cæsar* sent for the King, who, being strangely surprised to see his sister with the Consul of *Rome*, fled from the palace to the market-place, crying out that he was betrayed; and, in the excess of his grief and passion, tore the diadem from his head. He was seized by the *Roman* soldiers, and brought back; but this occasioned a great alarm in the city, and, the people having assembled tumultuously about the palace, *Cæsar* signified to them that his intention was no other than to execute the late King's will, and to declare the brother and sister King and Queen of *Egypt*. *Dio* adds, that he promised also to give the isle of *Cyprus*, an ancient appendage of the kingdom of *Egypt*, to the younger *Ptolemy* and *Arfinoë*, his sister: But this circumstance is very improbable: And the authority of this historian is not much to be depended on, when unsupported by other testimonies. 40. Conf. Plot. in Cæs. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Luc. n. b. x. Dio l. xlii.

Pothinus, Governor and chief Minister to the King, *Cleopatra's* declared enemy, complained bitterly to his friends, that the King should be treated in this manner; and, finding them disposed to support him, he privately sent for the army at *Pelusium*, and gave the command of it to *Achillas*, the same who murdered *Pompey*, and was then Captain of the King's guards. This army was numerous and formidable, and *Cæsar's* forces were insufficient to keep the field against it. The only course therefore left for him was to secure the most convenient ports of the town, till he was informed of the designs of the *Egyptian* General. He admonished the King to send some persons of weight to forbid his approach. *Dioscorides* and *Serapion*, accordingly, who had both been ambassadors at *Rome*, and in great credit with *Ptolemy* the father, were deputed to him: But no sooner did they come into his presence, than, without giving them a hearing, or inquiring after their message, he ordered them to be seized and put to death. One was killed upon the spot, and the other, having received a dangerous wound, was carried off for dead by his attendants. Such an enormous behaviour was a warning to *Cæsar*. He took care to secure the King's person, whose name would authorise his proceedings, and make *Achillas* and his associates pass among the people for rebels to their Prince. Cæs. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

Achillas's army consisted of eighteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, all brave and experienced soldiers. Many of them were *Romans*, who had been brought into the country by *Gabinus*, when he came to settle *Auletes* on the throne; and who, having married and settled: Cæs. de Bell. Civ. Com. l. iii.

Y. R. 705. settled at *Alexandria*, were devoted to the *Ptolemean* interest: The
 Bel. Chr. others were mercenary troops from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and fugitive slaves,
 47. who found protection in *Egypt* by entering into the service. These
 404 Conf. troops were accustomed to give the law to their Sovereign: *Cæsar* tells
 us, that they had often taken upon them to put to death the King's
 Ministers, plunder the rich, invest the royal palace, banish some and
 send for others home, with other liberties of the like nature. This
 description of the *Alexandrian* militia accounts for the continual
 changes remarkable in the government of that city. Such will always
 be the fate of Princes, who chuse to rely upon a mercenary soldiery
 rather than the affections of their subjects. *Achillas*, trusting to the
 valour of this army, and despising the handful of men *Cæsar* had
 brought with him, quickly made himself master of *Alexandria*, the
 palace only excepted, where *Cæsar* had fortified himself, and which the
Egyptian General attacked briskly, though without success. The greatest
 efforts were made on the side of the harbour: Had *Achillas* got posses-
 sion of it and the shipping, he might have cut *Cæsar* off from all com-
 munication with the sea, and consequently from all hopes of receiving
 supplies either of victuals or forces. This made both the *Egyptians* and
 the *Romans* exert themselves with incredible vigour. At length *Cæ-*
sar carried his point, and not only burnt all the vessels in the harbour,
 which amounted to fifty-five galleys, with twenty-two guard-ships, but
 also those that were in the arsenals: In all one hundred and ten. The
 flames unfortunately extended themselves to the *Alexandrian* library:
 And that valuable monument of the magnificence of the *Ptolemy's*, and
 of their taste for learning, was almost wholly consumed⁹.

Cæf. de
 Bell. Civ.
 Com. lib.
 iii.

Cæsar, during the action, transported a body of troops into the isle
 of *Pbaros*, so called from a tower of prodigious height and wonderful
 workmanship, built by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. This island lay over-
 against *Alexandria*, and both formed and commanded the port, the
 entrance on each side of it being very narrow. A mole or causey,
 nine hundred paces long, ran through the middle of the port: At the
 two ends of this mole were two bridges, through the arches of which
 vessels could pass from one side of the port to the other. Many *Egyp-*
tian sea-faring men had built houses in the *Pbaros*, and lived chiefly
 by pillaging the ships that were thrown in upon their coast. By get-
 ting possession of this place, *Cæsar* secured the reception of the supplies
 he had sent for from all sides. In other quarters of the town the fight
 was maintained till night with equal advantage, and little loss, neither
 party losing ground. *Cæsar's* next care was to make fortifications
 round the King's palace and the theatre adjoining to it, of which he
 made a kind of citadel: And he thus put it out of the power of the

⁹ According to *Livy*, cited by *Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. 9.* there were in this library four hundred thousand volumes. According to *Aulus Gellius*, vi. 17, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xxiv. 17, seven hundred thousand.

Alexandrians to force him to a battle against his will. He then employed himself in inclosing the narrowest part of the town, which lay between the port and a lake towards the South : By which means he could have provision of water and forage. On the other side the *Alexandrians* were extremely active and industrious in making all sorts of preparations proper for their own defence, and for forcing *Cæsar's* quarters.

Y. R. 705.
Bel. Chr.
47.
405 Conf.

While these works were carrying on, *Cæsar* ordered *Potbinus* to be put to death, having discovered a secret correspondence between him and *Achillas*, whom he encouraged to a vigorous prosecution of his enterprise. According to *Plutarch*, he had formed a design of killing *Cæsar* at table ; and the conspiracy was discovered by a slave, whose exceeding timidity prompting him to be continually upon the watch, and to listen at every door, he had overheard *Potbinus* and his associates. About the same time *Arfinoë*, the youngest sister, found means to escape from the palace to *Achillas's* camp, under the conduct of *Ganymed*, her Governor ; hoping, in such confusion, to get into the throne herself, in the place of *Cleopatra*. But she soon disagreed with *Achillas*, and they endeavoured to supplant one another, and to gain, by bribes and promises, the affection of the mercenary soldiers. At length *Arfinoë* prevailed, and caused *Achillas* to be slain : And *Ganymed*, under the name and authority of *Arfinoë*, was vested with the supreme power, and proved not less bold and enterprising than his predecessor.

Cæf. de
Bel. Civ.
Com. l. iii.

Alexandria was supplied with water from the *Nile* : But, this water being generally muddy and unwholesome, every house was provided with a cistern, where it remained till it became fit to be drunk. *Ganymed*, being master of that part of the town where the river lay, and consequently of all the conduits, he undertook to taint all the cisterns in *Cæsar's* quarter, by pouring into the aqueducts a great quantity of sea-water, raised by the help of machines : And, at the same time, to preserve his own untainted, the aqueducts on his side were stopped up. The cisterns in the nearest houses soon began to taste saltier than usual, while no change could be observed in those that were more remote. However, the saltness soon became general, and the water was everywhere unfit for use. The *Roman* army, greatly discouraged at this unexpected event, began to complain against *Cæsar* for not abandoning the place ; but he soon found means to remove the inconveniency that so much alarmed them, by sinking a great number of wells ; and, with little difficulty, obstructed the laborious attempts of the *Alexandrians*.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS, Mag. Eq.

Y. R. 706.
Bel. Chr.
46.
405 Conf.

During these transactions the thirty-seventh legion, composed of *Pompey's* veterans, who had surrendered to *Cæsar* after the battle of *Pharfalia*,
VOL. IV. X

Hirtius de
Bell. Alex.

Y. R. 706. *Pharfalia*, were driven upon the coast of *Africa*, a little above *Alexan-*
 Bef. Chr. *dria*: where, being detained for several days by an easterly wind, and
 46. being pressed for want of water, they sent to inform him of their ar-
 40; Conf. rival and situation. *Cæsar*, upon this intelligence, immediately went
 on board one of the ships in the harbour, and ordered the whole fleet to
 follow, leaving the land-forces to defend the works. Being arrived at
 a port of the coast called *Cherfenesus*, he sent some mariners on shore to
 fetch water. These venturing too far into the country, for the sake of
 plunder, were intercepted by the enemy's horse, and from them the
Egyptians heard that *Cæsar* himself was on board without any soldiers.
 Upon this information, they thought that Fortune had thrown a fair
 opportunity in their way of attempting something with success. They
 got together all the ships that were in a condition to sail, and met *Cæ-*
jar on his return, at four in the afternoon. The *Roman* General was
 very desirous to avoid an engagement so late in the day, which pro-
 bably would be continued in the dark, when the *Alexandrians* would
 have the advantage by the knowledge they had of the coast; and he
 would not be able to encourage his men, and be witness of their be-
 haviour, a circumstance upon which he always greatly relied. He
 therefore drew all his ships as near the shore as possible, where he ima-
 gined the enemy would not venture to follow him. But, contrary to
 his inclination, he was engaged to fight by the temerity of a *Rhodian*
 galley of the right wing, which stood out at a considerable distance
 from the rest, and was immediately attacked by four gallies and se-
 veral open barks. *Cæsar*, not to suffer the disgrace of seeing her sunk
 before his eyes, was obliged to advance to her relief. The *Rhodians*,
 distinguished at all times by their valour and experience in naval engage-
 ments, exerted themselves on this occasion to the utmost, and gained
 a complete victory. One four-benched galley was taken, another was
 sunk, a third was disabled, and the whole fleet would have been destroy-
 ed, if night had not put a stop to the chase. *Cæsar*, after giving this de-
 feat to the enemy, took his transports in tow, and returned to *Alexandria*.

Hirt. de
 bell. Alex. The *Alexandrians* were much disheartened at this bad success, and at
 finding themselves so much outdone by the *Rhodian* mariners. But *Ga-*
nymed raised their dejected spirits by the strongest assurances of his being
 able to fit out, in a very short time, a fleet much superior to that which
 had been lately defeated. Having gathered all the ships stationed at the
 mouth of the *Nile*, for receiving the customs, he opposed again to
 the *Romans* twenty-two four-benched gallies and five *quinqueremes*, with
 a great number of open barks. *Cæsar's* fleet consisted in all of nine
Rhodian gallies, (for, of the ten he had brought with him, one had been
 shipwrecked on the coast of *Egypt*) eight from *Pontus*, five from *Lycia*,
 and twelve from *Asia*. Of these, however, only ten were *quadriremes*,
 and five *quinqueremes*: The rest were of an inferior bulk, and for the
 most part without decks. *Cæsar*, notwithstanding this inferiority of
 his

his fleet in number and strength, resolved to give the enemy battle; and, sailing round the *Pbaros* into that part of the port which the *Alexandrians* were masters of, he drew up his ships in the following order. His nine *Rhodian* gallies he placed in his right wing: The eight of *Pontus* in the left; leaving between them a space of four hundred paces to serve for the extending and working the vessels: And the rest of the fleet he destined as a reserve, and disposed them behind the two wings in such a manner that every ship followed that to which she was appointed to give succour. The *Alexandrians*, who came forth with great confidence, had placed their twenty-two *quadrirèmes* in front: Their other ships were arranged behind in a second line: And they had a number of smaller vessels which carried fire and burning weapons, by which they meant to strike a terror into the *Romans*. This regular disposition did not hold long. Between the two fleets, there were certain flats; and each side hesitated which should first pass them: Because, in case of any misfortune, they would be a great obstruction to a retreat; and it was difficult to draw up in order of battle beyond them in the presence of an enemy. *Euphranor*, the *Rhodian* Admiral, a man of distinguished courage and experience, perceiving *Cæsar*'s perplexity, addressed him to this effect: "Great General! it appears you are apprehensive lest by passing these shallows first, you should be forced to engage, before your whole fleet is drawn up: We beg of you to put your confidence in us, and we promise to maintain the fight till the whole fleet gets clear of the shallows. It is greatly dishonourable and afflicting, that the enemy should so long continue in our fight with that air of triumph." *Cæsar*, encouraging him in his design, gave the signal of battle: And four *Rhodian* ships, having passed the flats, were immediately assailed on all sides by the *Alexandrians*; but the *Rhodians* worked their vessels with so much skill, and disengaged themselves with so much address, that they never suffered any of the enemy's ships either to strike their flanks with their beaks, or to run along-side of them in order to sweep away or break their oars: They always found means to oppose beak to beak. Thus they maintained the fight till the rest of the fleet came up: And, art now becoming useless, the whole success depended upon valour. Both sides fought in sight of their friends at land; who, laying aside their work, and all thoughts of attack or defence, gave their whole attention to what was going forward at sea. The *Romans* risked more than the *Alexandrians* by this battle: A defeat would have deprived them of all resource either by sea or land, and victory would not

¹ This brave Admiral was soon after sent out to cruise off *Canopus*; an expedition in which he perished. He had begun an engagement with some *Alexandrian* ships, and had sunk the first he attacked; but, pursuing another too far, and, not being sustained by the rest of the fleet, his galley was surrounded and shattered to pieces. *Hirt., de Bell. Alex.*

Y. R. 706
Def. Cle.
46.
405 Cons.

much better their condition : The *Alexandrians*, on the contrary, if success attended them, gained every thing, and though defeated, could still maintain the war. On the side of the *Romans*, every thing depended on the bravery of a few : This *Cæsar* had often before the battle represented to his officers and soldiers, and they now repeated it to one another. They were animated by the difficulty and importance of their situation, and fought with such determined resolution, that neither the art nor efforts of the *Alexandrians*, nor the multitude of their ships and boats, could any ways avail them. In this action the *Romans* sustained not the loss of one vessel : But two *Alexandrian* gallies, one of five benches of oars, and another of two, with all the soldiers and mariners on board, were taken, and three others were sunk. The rest fled towards the town, and took shelter under the mole and forts, whither the *Romans* could not pursue them.

Hist. de
Bell. Alex.

Cæsar, to deprive the enemy of this resource, resolved to make himself master once more of the mole and the island, which had been retaken by the *Egyptians*, while he was employed in the more necessary works within the town. For the execution of this design, he put into boats and small vessels ten cohorts, a select body of light-armed infantry, and such of the *Gallie* cavalry as he thought most proper for his purpose, and sent them against the island. He himself, at the same time, to cause a diversion, attacked it on the other side with his fleet. The attack was brisk, and the *Pharians* defended themselves at first with vigour. They annoyed the *Romans* from the tops of their houses, and gallantly maintained their ground along the shore ; which was in most parts steep and craggy, and which, in the places of easier access, was skilfully defended by small boats properly stationed for the purpose. But when, after examining the approaches and shallows, a few of the *Romans* had found means to land, they were followed with so much expedition by others, that the *Pharians*, abandoning their ships and coast, fled into the town. There they might easily have defended themselves ; for the buildings were very high, and joined together so as to form a strong wall, and the *Romans* had neither ladders, nor any other instruments for assault : But such was their consternation, that they dared not to engage from a height of thirty feet ; and, throwing themselves from the mole into the sea, they endeavoured to gain *Alexandria*, though above eight hundred paces distant. Many were slain, and six hundred were made prisoners in this fight. *Cæsar* gave the plunder of the place to the soldiers, and demolished all the houses. The castle, however, at the end of the bridge next the island, he fortified and placed a garrison in it. The other castle, which was next the town, was much the strongest, and was still held by the *Alexandrians*. This he attacked the next day ; because, by getting possession of both forts, he would be entirely master of the port, and would be able to prevent any sudden incursions. By means of the arrows and darts launched from his engines, he quickly forced the

the garrison to abandon the place and retire into the town; and, having landed upon the mole three cohorts, which was all that the spot could well contain, he disposed the rest of his troops in his ships to sustain them. Things being in this forwardness, he ordered the arch of the bridge that joined the mole to the town, and through which the *Alexandrians* used to send their fire-boats against his vessels, to be entirely stopped up; and, at the same time, he began to raise a fortification upon the bridge. The *Alexandrians*, however, brought all the troops they could out of the town before this fortification could be finished, and posted them in an open area before it; and, having placed also a number of transports all along the mole, they began to attack the *Romans* by launching their javelins. While *Cæsar*, attentive to what passed, was exhorting and directing his troops, a number of rowers and mariners of his fleet, quitting their ships, threw themselves upon the mole, partly out of curiosity, and partly to have some share in the action. At first, with their slings, they forced the enemy's ships from the mole, and seemed to do great service; but, soon after, when a few of the *Alexandrians*, having ventured out upon the mole, attacked them in flank, they fled with precipitation. The *Alexandrians*, encouraged by this success, landed in greater numbers, and vigorously pushed the *Romans*, who were now in great confusion. Those that were in the galleys, perceiving this, removed the ladders, and put off from the mole to prevent the enemy's boarding them. The three cohorts, who were fortifying and defending the bridge at the head of the mole, where they had much business upon their hands, hearing a clamour behind them, and seeing the general rout of their friends, immediately interrupted their work; and, fearing to be surrounded, and precluded from a retreat, ran with all speed towards the galleys. Some, getting on board the nearest vessels, overloaded and sunk them; others, making head against the enemy, and, uncertain what course to take, were cut to pieces: A few, throwing their bucklers over their shoulders, swam to the ships which were at the smallest distance from them. *Cæsar* endeavoured to stop his men, and bring them back to the defence of the works; but, finding them giving ground universally, he retreated to his own galley; whither such a multitude followed and crowded after him, that it was impossible to work her. Foreseeing, therefore, what must happen, he flung himself into the sea, and swam to a ship that lay at some distance. Hence, dispatching boats to succour his men, he

P. R. 706.
Bef. Ch. 46.
405 Conf.

*Some ancient writers have finely embellished this story, and *M. Crevier* has extracted from them what is most curious in their several tales: "It is remarkable, that, having stripped off his coat of mail, (his General's cloak) which would have

"been an incumbrance to him in swimming, "he drew it after him with his teeth, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands; "and, as he had some papers in his left hand, "he constantly held it above water, at the same time swimming with the right, by which

Y. R. 706. he preserved a few. His own galley perished, with all that was on
 Bef. Chr. board; and he lost in this action four hundred legionary soldiers, and
 46. somewhat above that number of rowers and sailors. The *Alexandrians*
 425 Conf. secured the fort by strong works, and a great number of engines; and, having cleared away the stones with which *Cæsar* had filled up the arch of the bridge, they had, thereby, a free passage into that part of the port where *Cæsar's* fleet lay.

This misfortune, far from discouraging the *Romans*, served only the more to exasperate them; and they made their enemies sensible of the spirit and fury that transported them, by pushing on their attacks with greater vigour; insomuch that their General was more employed in restraining their ardour, than in inciting them to action.

The *Alexandrians* who now began to think it would be of great service to them to have their King at their head, sent Deputies to *Cæsar*, beseeching him to restore him to them, and representing it as the only means to bring about an accommodation. *Cæsar*, perfectly well acquainted with the false and perfidious character of the *Alexandrians*, was not to be imposed upon by this plausible pretext. He determined, however, to comply with their demands, being sensible that the whole hazard was to them and their King; for, as to what concerned himself, if, at first, he thought it might be of service to him to detain the young Prince, in order to prevent a rebellion; now that it was not only broken out, but had been obstinately maintained for several months, such a prisoner created him more trouble than real advantage; and he perceived, that it would be more for his honour to make war with the King himself, than with *Arsinoë*, and her eunuch *Ganymed*. He therefore, having exhorted *Ptolemy* to put an end to the misfortunes of his country, and to save from total ruin its metropolis, took him by the hand to conduct him out of the palace. The young Prince, who was already an adept in the art of dissimulation, entreated *Cæsar* with tears not to send him back; for that he took more pleasure in his company than in the possession of his Crown. *Cæsar* told him, that, if such were his real sentiments, they should quickly see one another again. *Ptolemy* took his leave, and had no sooner regained his liberty, than he carried on the war with so much fierceness, that the tears he shed at parting appeared to be tears of joy. *Cæsar's* officers and soldiers were highly diverted with the

“ which means the papers were not wetted.

“ However, his coat of armour got from

“ him, which proved of service to him:

“ For, being purple, and distinguishable by

“ the brightness of its colour, it sustained

“ all the fury of the enemy's shot, at the

“ same time that *Cæsar* saved himself with-

“ out being observed or known. The *Alex-*

“ *andrians* took it, and made it the princi-

“ pal ornament in the trophy they erected
 “ on the place of the engagement.” The

authorities for these particulars are *Suetonius*,
Florus, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dio*. But no
 authorities can make one believe, that *Cæsar*
 carried his papers upon the mole of *Alexan-*
drina, or in plunging into the sea did not
 wet them. The other circumstances are
 equally absurd.

the event; imagining, that, through his easiness of temper, he had let himself be duped by a boy.

Cæsar, in the beginning of this *Alexandrian* war, had sent *Mitbridates* of *Pergamus*^{*}, to raise troops in *Syria* and *Cilicia*. This General, having acquitted himself of the commission with great fidelity and expedition, was now upon the borders of *Egypt* with a numerous army; in which were three thousand *Jews*, commanded by *Antipater*, father of *Herod*, and Minister of *Hircan*, King of *Judea*. *Mitbridates* took *Pelusium* by storm the day he arrived before it, notwithstanding *Achillas* had placed a strong garrison in it, as it was the key of *Egypt* on the *Syrian* side. The shortest way from *Pelusium* to *Alexandria* was to keep a parallel line with the sea; but all the country is so traversed by the *Nile* and its canals, that *Mitbridates* found the march equally fatiguing and hazardous. This obliged him to march up the river as far as the head or point of the *Delta*, a province of *Egypt*, so called from its similitude to the *Greek* letter of that name. There the *Nile* divides itself into two great branches. The young King, understanding that *Mitbridates* approached this place, and knowing he must pass the river, sent a considerable body of troops against him to crush him, if possible, before his junction with *Cæsar*, at least to oppose his march. Part of this detachment, which formed the van, made what haste they could to engage him, that they alone might have all the honour of the victory: But *Mitbridates* had intrenched himself with great care; and, after keeping some time upon the defensive, he sallied out upon them from all parts, put a great number of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest. *Cæsar* and the King of *Egypt* had both information of this event, and set out at the same time to the assistance of their friends: The King, having a shorter cut, and the advantage of the river, got there first, but was not able to attempt any thing before *Cæsar*'s arrival, who found no difficulty in joining *Mitbridates*. The *Roman* General, seeing himself now at the head of a powerful army, resolved to put an end to the war by an assault upon the enemy's camp.

The King had intrenched himself in a place well fortified by nature: It was a rising ground, surrounded by a plain; and three of its sides were secured by different fences; one adjoined to the *Nile*, the other was steep, and of very difficult access, and the third was defended by a morass. About seven miles from it ran a narrow river, but with very high banks, which discharged itself into the *Nile*: And, as it lay between the two armies, *Ptolemy* sent all his cavalry and a select body of light-armed troops to prevent *Cæsar* from passing it. The legionary troops, however, found means to get over by throwing across from bank

* This *Mitbridates* was probably the son of *Mitbridates*, King of *Pontus*. His mother, though married, was one of the mistresses of that Monarch. The King of *Pontus* shewed a singular affection for him, gave him a royal education, and for many years kept him at his Court, and in his army.

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bank to bank a number of large trees, and some *German* cavalry ventured to pass it by swimming where the banks were lowest. These attacked the detachment from *Ptolemy's* camp, and with such fury, that very few escaped to the King with the news of his enemy's approach. *Cæsar*, willing to strike a terror into the *Alexandrins*, encamped as near to them as possible; and the next day he attacked a fort which lay at a small distance, and which *Ptolemy* had joined to his camp by a line of communication. He employed his whole army in this attack, with a design of falling immediately upon the camp itself, during the consternation and disorder which the loss of the fort would occasion. The *Romans* accordingly pursued the garrison of the fort to the works of the camp; and these they attempted to force by the two only approaches by which it seemed possible to attack them; the one by the plain, the other by a narrow pass between the camp and the *Nile*: But the former was bravely defended by a numerous body of their best troops; and the latter was not only protected from the rampart, but from the river, where a great number of archers and slingers made a continual discharge from the ships stationed there. *Cæsar*, observing that, though his troops fought with the greatest ardour, yet they made no progress, he ordered a few cohorts, under the command of *Carfulenus*, a brave officer, to wheel round the camp, and to climb up the steepest side of it, which he perceived to be unguarded; the whole army having crowded to the attacks, or giving their whole attention to them. *Carfulenus*, having executed his General's orders, soon put an end to the fight, by falling down upon the rear of the enemy. The *Alexandrins* fled on all sides in the greatest consternation, and, endeavouring to escape to the ships on the *Nile*, threw themselves over the rampart on that side. The King, during the confusion, got on shipboard, but the vessel was overloaded and sunk by the multitudes which followed him. Such was the end of this perfidious Prince. His body was afterwards found, covered with mud, and known by the golden cuirass, which it was customary for the *Ptolemy's* to wear in battle.

Cæsar marched immediately to *Alexandria*, at the head of his cavalry, by the shortest way, confident that the inhabitants and troops, left in the town, would not dare to make any resistance. On his approach the whole city came out to meet him in the habit of suppliants, preceded by all their Priests with the sacred symbols of their religion. The victorious General received their submission with his wonted humanity, and rode triumphant through the enemy's works into his own quarters*. Thus *Cæsar*, in a few months, extricated himself from a

* It appears by an old marble calendar, cited by *Grægorius*, Inscript. t. i. p. 133, that *Cæsar* entered *Alexandria*, vi cal. Ap. or 27th of March; which, according to *Usher*, was the 14th of January of the Julian year; but rather about the middle of February; *Suetonius* in Cæsar. 35. says the war was carried on in winter, *hyems anni*.

war, in which all manner of difficulties seem to have been combined to put his prudence, courage, vigilance and activity to the test. In the midst of winter, and absolutely unprepared and in want of every thing, he maintained himself at land and sea, within the very walls and port of an artful enemy, supplied with every commodity, and who brought against him a disciplined and warlike army, four times as numerous as that with which he had been forced to begin the war.

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He now banished *Arfinoë* the kingdom, and settled the crown, in conformity to *Auletes*'s will, upon the only surviving son and *Cleopatra*: And he left with them the greatest part of his troops, to support their authority over subjects, who, upon his account, were greatly disaffected to them. It seemed also for the honour and interest of the people of *Rome*, that the *Roman* forces should remain there to protect them, while they continued faithful; and to check them, if they should fall off from their allegiance. *Suetonius* tells us, that what deterred *Cæsar* from reducing *Egypt*, at this time, into a province of the empire, was, that he was apprehensive, lest an ambitious Governor, master of a country so opulent, and of such difficult access, should be tempted to revolt. Others ascribe it to his love for *Cleopatra*, who, not long after his departure, was delivered of a son to him, whom she named *Cæsario*, and whom *Cæsar* is said to have owned*. But, whatever passion he may be supposed to have had for *Cleopatra*, it certainly engaged him in no act of injustice, and never drew his attention from concerns of greater importance. As soon as affairs were settled in *Egypt*, and the season was open for military operations, he set out by land for *Syria*, with the sixth legion, in his way to *Pontus*, where *Pharnaces*, King of the *Bosphorus*, during the *Alexandrian* war, had made a great progress, and was likely to give him much uneasiness†.

This Prince, at the breaking out of the Civil War, thought he had a fair opportunity, while all was in such confusion, and the *Romans* employed in their mutual destruction, to reconquer the dominions of

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* So *Antony* gave out after *Cæsar*'s death: though *Oppian*, it may be observed, thought it worth his while to write a book to confute his testimony, and to prove that *Cæsario* was not *Cæsar*'s child.

† “*Cleopatra*'s charms, says *M. Crevier*, “ must have been very bewitching, since “ they had the power to retard *Cæsar*'s ac- “ tivity. After having confined himself nine “ months in *Alexandria* during which time “ the whole business of *Rome* and *Italy* was “ at a stand, and whereby the vanquished “ party found means to get strength, and “ become formidable in *Africa*, *Cæsar*, in- “ stead of quitting *Egypt*, with all expedi- “ tion, to go where honour and the affairs

“ of state required his presence, abandoned “ himself to pleasure, and passed whole “ nights in feasts and other debaucheries “ with *Cleopatra*: And at last set out with “ her to make a tour round the country. “ They went on board a ship richly orna- “ mented, and took their course up the *Nile*, “ attended by four hundred vessels. *Cæsar*'s “ design was to have gone to *Ethiopia*, but “ he was prevented by his army, who be- “ gan to dislike his proceedings.” *Suetonius*, *Appian*, and *Dio* are cited to confirm these particulars; but one has occasion for a very small share of penetration to perceive their improbability.

Y.R. 706. his ancestors. He began by taking *Phanegoria*, which *Pompey* had
 Bef. Chr. 46. declared free: He next subdued *Colchis*; then, entering *Pontus*, he
 405 Conf. made himself master of *Sinope*, the ancient residence of its Kings. E-
 ——— lated by this success, he had seized upon the *lesser Armenia*, which be-
 longed to *Dejotarus*, and carried his arms into *Cappadocia*, the kingdom
 of *Ariobarzanes*. *Dejotarus* found affairs in this situation, on his re-
 turn from *Pharsalia*; and had recourse to *Domitius Calvinus*, whom
Cæsar had appointed Commander in those parts. *Domitius* was very
 sensible that the Republic was not less interested in this war than *Dejo-*
tarus and *Ariobarzanes*, and that it was dishonourable to the *Roman*
 people, to *Cæsar*, and to himself, to suffer the dominions of their
 friends and allies to be invaded by a foreign Prince: He therefore sent
 ambassadors to *Pharnaces*, and required of him, “to withdraw im-
 “mediately out of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, and no longer to insult the
 “majesty of the *Roman Republic*.” At the same time, to give more
 weight to his embassy, he assembled what troops he could, and order-
 ed them to rendezvous at *Comana*. Of the three legions which *Cæsar*
 had left with him, he had sent two to *Egypt*, one by sea, the other
 with *Mithridates*: The thirty-sixth alone remained with him. He re-
 ceived, however, two legions from *Dejotarus*, and one had been late-
 ly raised in *Pontus*. These four legions, with some *Cilician* recruits,
 and two hundred horse, made up his whole army. *Pharnaces* made an-
 swer, “that he had quitted *Cappadocia*, and that the *lesser Armenia* was
 “his own by the right of inheritance; but that he would submit to the
 “decision of *Cæsar*.” *Domitius*, who understood that he had left *Cappa-*
docia for no other reason than because, *Armenia* lying contiguous to his
 kingdom, he could more easily defend it, sent him word, that he had
 no better right to *Armenia* than to *Cappadocia*, and that he must renounce
 acquisitions to which his sword alone had intitled him. *Pharnaces* en-
 deavoured in vain to amuse him with a negociation, and by sending
 Deputies after Deputies with presents. The *Roman* General advanced
 to *Nicopolis*, and a battle ensued. In this battle *Dejotarus*’s two legions
 gave ground on the first onset, the legion raised in *Pontus* was cut to
 pieces, and the legion alone of *Pompey*’s veterans, after sustaining the
 whole shock of the action, retreated in good order with the loss of only
 two hundred and fifty men. *Domitius*, assembling his scattered soldiers
 as well as he could, retired as far as *Asia*; while the King entered *Pon-*
tus as Conqueror, and committed all kinds of enormities. Affairs
 were in this situation, when *Cæsar* left *Egypt*.

Hist de Bell. Alex. On his arrival in *Syria*, he received advice from all hands, that eve-
 ry thing was in confusion at *Rome*; that the contests of the Tribunes
 produced daily seditions; that the officers kept up no discipline among
 the soldiers; and that his presence was necessary to give the laws their
 proper authority. However, he thought it necessary first to regulate
 the affairs of the Eastern provinces, and take vengeance on *Pharnaces*.

The

The Kings and petty Princes in and about *Syria* came from every side to wait on him, and were graciously received. He confirmed *Hircan* in the high-priesthood of the *Jews*, notwithstanding the solicitations of *Antigonus*, son to *Aristobulus*; and gave him leave to build the walls of *Jerusalem*, which *Pompey* had ordered to be pulled down: He likewise supported *Antipater* in the command he had for a long time exercised in *Judea*, under *Hircan's* name; which greatly strengthened the authority of that Prince. From *Syria* where he left the command in the hands of *Sextus Cæsar*, a young relation, he sailed for *Cilicia*: And, having convened the States of that province in *Tarsus*, and settled its affairs, he set out with the greatest expedition towards *Pontus*. At *Comana* he conferred the priesthood of *Bellona* on *Lycomedes* of *Bitbynia*, who claimed it in right of his ancestors, and, according to *Appian*, dispossessed *Archelaus*, the son of him whom *Pompey* had invested with that dignity. On his approaching the frontiers of *Gallœgræcia*, he was met by *Dejotarus*, who had not only divested himself of all marks of royalty, but had taken that of a suppliant “to beg forgiveness for having assisted *Pompey*, at a time when *Cæsar* could give him no protection: Urging that it was his business to obey the Governors who were present, without pretending to judge of the disputes of the *Roman* people.” *Cæsar*, who was well acquainted with what zeal and spirit he had served against him, after some reproaches, and refuting his excuses, restored him his royal habit, and commanded him to join him with all his cavalry and troops.

Pharnaces observed the same conduct with *Cæsar* as with *Domitius*: He pretended to sue for peace, but was fully resolved to push the war. *Cæsar* saw through his design: And, though his army was very considerable, both as to the number and the quality of his troops, consisting only of the sixth legion (now reduced to one thousand men) and the remains of *Domitius's* army, he resolved to give battle. He advanced therefore within five miles of the enemy. The country where the King was encamped was filled with hills, separated from each other by deep vallies: And, opposite to that eminence where *Pharnaces* had intrenched himself, was another at the distance only of one mile, and there *Cæsar* intended to pitch his camp. With this design, having ordered his men to prepare every thing necessary for throwing up a rampart, he set out in the night to take possession of it. *Pharnaces* was greatly surprised to see him there, at sun-rising, employed in making his fortifications, and immediately took the resolution to attack him. The approach was so very difficult and dangerous, that *Cæsar* concluded the King's intention was no other than to retard his works by keeping a great number of his men under arms: And, shewing therefore his first line in order of battle, he commanded the rest of the army to go on with the works. But the King, encouraged by favourable omens, and by reflecting that in this very place *Triarius* had been overcome by his father *Mitbridates*,

Y. R. 46. and having conceived an utter contempt for so small an army, made
 Bet. Cæsar. up, for the most part, of troops he had already defeated in the field,
 46. had determined upon a battle, and to that end began to cross the valley.

— Cæsar laughed at his foolish attempt in crowding his army into so narrow a place, where no General in his right senses would have entered; and did not think of calling his soldiers from their work. But, seeing him push on and ascend the hill, he found himself obliged, to his great astonishment, to post his army in order to receive him. An attack so sudden and unexpected caused some disorder at first, which was increased by the chariots armed with scythes, which, sent before the enemy's first line, fell in with Cæsar's ranks before they were quite formed: But the multitude of darts, which were launched against them, soon put a stop to their career. The army, which followed them close, began the battle by a shout; and the engagement was sharp and long. At last the Romans, by the advantage of their situation, repulsed the assailants: The victory began in the right wing, where the veterans of the sixth legion were posted; and, the troops in the center and in the left wing gaining soon a like superiority, the whole army of Pharnaces was driven precipitately down the hill. In the flight great numbers were slain and crushed by their own troops, and those who escaped were obliged to throw away their arms, so that, having crossed the valley and got to the opposite ascent, they could not face about, nor derive any benefit from the advantage of the ground. The Romans pursued them, and, without allowing them to rally, attacked and took their camp. It was during this attack that Pharnaces made his escape. Almost his whole army was destroyed or made prisoners. It is reported by Appian, that Cæsar, astonished at the ease with which he gained this victory, cried out: *Happy Pompey! such then are the enemies by whose defeat you acquired the surname of Great*: And in a letter to one of his friends at Rome, giving an account of this action, he described the rapidity of his conquest in these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; *I came, I saw, I conquered* *. And, when he triumphed afterwards on this occasion, he caused a tablet to be carried in the procession, with these very words inscribed in capitals. Hirtius tells us, that no victory ever gave him more joy, as he, at one blow, in so critical a conjuncture, put an end to a dangerous war, which he was afraid would detain him a long time from Rome, where his presence was necessary. Pharnaces, having retired to Sinope, was pursued thi-

* Rex Pharnaces magis discordiæ nostræ fiducia, quam virtutis suæ, infesto in Cappadociam agmine ruebat: Sed hunc Cæsar aggressus, uno, et, ut sic dixerim, non toto prælio, obtinuit; more salmisis, quod uno

eademque momento venit, percussit, abscessit. Nec vana de se prædicatio est Cæsaris, ante victum hostem esse, quam visum. Flor. l. iv. c. 2.

ther by *Domitius*, who forced him to leave the country. In the *Bos-* Y. R. 706.
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phcrus, *Asander*, whom he had left Regent of his kingdom, had revolt-
ed and set up for himself, during the expedition into *Pontus*; so that,
when the fugitive King returned home, he found a Rebel in a condi-
tion to dispute with him the possession. A battle ensued, in which
I'pharnaces lost his life. Such was the end of this parricide son of the
great *Mithridates*.

During the war in *Egypt* and in *Pontus*, *Greece* and *Illyricum* had Hirt. de
Bell. Alex.
been pacified by *Calenus* and *Vatinius*. The first made himself master
of all *Peloponnesus* without much difficulty. In *Illyricum* the struggle
was greater. *Cæsar*, upon his expedition against *Pompey*, had left *Q.*
Cornificius to command in that province with two legions, and this
Lieutenant had kept the Barbarians in subjection. After the battle of
Pharsalia, *Cæsar*, being informed that many of the vanquished party
had fled that way, and that *Octavius* had brought the fleet which he
commanded upon the coast, he sent orders to *Gabinus*, who was then
in *Italy*, to march with the new-raised legions to the succour of *Cor-*
nificius. *Gabinus*, imagining that the province was better stocked with
provisions than it really was, and depending on the terror impressed up-
on the inhabitants by *Cæsar's* late victory, marched into *Illyricum* in
the middle of winter, and, not finding sufficient subsistence in a pro-
vince already exhausted, and partly ill-affected, he was obliged to
make war upon the inhabitants for provisions, and to besiege them in
their strong-holds; and, receiving, on these occasions, many checks,
he was brought into such contempt, that the people of the country
ventured to attack him upon his march to *Salona*, and killed two thou-
sand of his soldiers, thirty-eight Centurions, and four Tribunes. He
escaped with the remainder to *Salona*, and died there of a disorder,
which the toil of a winter campaign and grief had occasioned. *Oc-*
tavius entered immediately into an alliance with the Barbarians, and
would soon have reduced the whole country, if *Vatinius* had not flown
to its assistance with the same spirit he had fought *Cæsar's* battles in
Rome at the head of the mob. Neither the sickness he then laboured
under, nor the hardships of the season, stopped him. He sent to *Ca-*
lenus for a squadron of gallies, but, these not coming with that dispatch
the affairs of *Illyricum* required, he fastened beaks to all the vessels he
found in the port of *Brundisium*, and, putting on board the veterans
whom *Cæsar* had left sick in those parts, and who had since recovered,
he sailed with this stout fleet in quest of *Octavius*. He found him be-
fore *Epidaurus*, which he was besieging both by sea and land. *Octavius*
immediately raised the siege and retired to *Tauris*, whither *Vatinius*,
having joined to his army the garrison of the place, followed him.
The *Pompeian* Admiral, informed of the condition of the enemy's
fleet, resolved to give battle, and, upon their approach, sailed out of
the harbour. *Vatinius*, though part of his ships had been dispersed by
a tempest,

Y. R. 706. a tempest, and the enemy was superior both in number and strength of
 B. f. C. r. vessels, gave the signal for battle, and began it himself by driving his
 45. quinquere me upon *Octavius's* four-benched galley, which it shocked
 405 Conf. with such violence, that it lost its beak. The battle raged with great
 fury among the rest of the ships, but chiefly round the two Admirals.
 As the ships on each side advanced to sustain those that had engaged,
 a close conflict ensued in a very narrow sea. Nothing could have
 happened more favourably for *Vatinius*; for his veterans leaped into
 the enemy's vessels, and, forcing them to an equal combat, soon mas-
 tered them by their superior valour. *Octavius's* galley was sunk; and
 many others had the same fate, or were taken. *Octavius* himself got
 into a boat, which sinking under the multitude that crouded after him,
 he swam to a neighbouring ship; where, being taken up, and night
 coming on, he spread all his sails and fled towards *Greece*. He thence
 continued his route for *Africa*, followed by a few that escaped out of
 the battle. *Vatinius* entered the town, whence *Octavius* had sailed to
 fight him, without the loss of one vessel, and, having refitted both his
 own ships and those taken from the enemy, he sailed to the island of
Issa; whither, he was informed, *Octavius* had retired. Here he was
 certified of *Octavius's* motions, and thus, having restored peace to *Il-*
lyricum, he returned triumphant with his army and fleet to *Brundisium*.

Hir. de *Cæsar*, after his victory over *Pharnaces*, was at liberty to return to
 Bell. Alex. *Rome*: And, the day after he had obtained it, he set out with a guard of
 light horse, having sent home *Deiotarus's* troops, and ordered the sixth
 legion to follow him into *Italy*, there to receive the recompence due to
 their services. He took his way through *Gallo-græcia* and *Bitbynia* in-
 to *Asia*, giving judgments, as he passed, in all controversies of mo-
 ment, and settling the limits and jurisdictions of the several Kings, Te-
 trarchs, and States. *Mitridates* of *Pergamus* was appointed to suc-
 ceed *Pharnaces* in the kingdom of the *Bosphorus*, and the tetrarchate of
Gallo-græcia was added to it, claimed now by *Mitridates*, in right of
 inheritance, though it had been possessed for some years by *Deiotarus*.
Cicero tells us, that *Cæsar* had a particular hatred to this Prince, that
 he also exacted large sums of money from him, and deprived him of
Armenia, bestowing it on *Aricbarzanes*. Nor is it difficult to account
 for his severity to *Deiotarus*. This Prince had been remarkable for his
 zeal for *Pompey*, and by this means had obtained several unjust grants
 from the Senate. *Cæsar* staid no where longer than the necessity of his
 affairs required, and, making the greatest dispatch, arrived in *Italy* in
 the month of *September*, much sooner than was expected.

Cicero, who had been, in a manner, a prisoner at *Brundisium*, ever
 since the battle of *Pharsalia*, and lived there in perpetual uneasiness^a,
 upon

Middl. p. 127. ^a " *Cicero* no sooner returned to *Italy*, " too hasty in coming home before the war
 " than he began to reflect, that he had been " was determined, and without any invita-
 " tion

upon the first notice of his landing at *Tarentum*, set out on foot to meet him. *Cæsar* no sooner saw him, than he alighted, ran to embrace him, and

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“tion from the conqueror; and, in a time
“of that general license, had reason to apprehend some insult from the soldiers, if
“he ventured to appear in public with his
“*sasces* and *laurel*; and yet to drop them
“would be a diminution of that honour
“which he had received from the *Roman*
“people, and the acknowledgment of a
“power superior to the laws: He condemned
“himself, therefore, for not continuing abroad,
“in some convenient place of retirement, till he
“had been sent for, or things were better
“settled. (*Ad Att. xi. 6. and 9.*) What gave
“him the greater reason to repent of this
“step, was a message that he received from
“*Antony*, who governed all in *Cæsar*’s absence, and with the same churlish spirit,
“with which he would have held him before
“in *Italy* against his will, seemed now disposed to drive him out of it; for he sent
“him the copy of a letter from *Cæsar*, in
“which *Cæsar* signified, that he had heard
“that *Cato* and *Metellus* were at *Rome*, and
“appeared openly there, which might occasion
“some disturbance; wherefore he strictly enjoined, that none should be suffered to come to
“*Italy* without a special license from himself.
“*Antony*, therefore, desired *Cicero* to excuse
“him, since he could not help obeying
“*Cæsar*’s commands: But *Cicero* sent *L. Læmia* to assure him, that *Cæsar* had ordered
“*Dolabella* to write to him to come to *Italy*
“as soon as he pleased; and that he came
“upon the authority of *Dolabella*’s letter.
“So that *Antony*, in the edict which he
“published to exclude the *Pompeians* from
“*Italy*, excepted *Cicero* by name: Which
“added still to his mortification; since all
“his desire was to be connived at only,
“or tacitly permitted, without being personally distinguished from the rest of his
“party.” (*Ad Att. xi. 7.*)

“He had several other grievances of a
“domestic kind, which concurred also to
“make him unhappy: His brother *Quintus*,
“with his son, after their escape from
“*Pharjalia*, followed *Cæsar* into *Asia*, to
“obtain their pardon from him in person:
“And *Quintus*, in order to make his own
“peace the more easily, resolved to throw
“all the blame upon his brother; and, for

“that purpose, made it the subject of all
“his letters and speeches to *Cæsar*’s friends,
“to rail at him in a manner the most inhuman. *Cicero* was informed of this from
“all quarters, and that young *Quintus*, who
“was sent before towards *Cæsar*, had read
“an oration to his friends, which he had
“prepared to speak to him against his uncle.” (*Ad Att. xi. 8, 9, 10.*) *Middl. p.*
128.

“But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was to be held still in suspense, in
“what touched him the most nearly, the
“case of his own safety, and of *Cæsar*’s disposition towards him; for, though all
“*Cæsar*’s friends assured him, not only of
“pardon, but of all kind of favour; yet he
“had received no intimation of kindness
“from *Cæsar* himself. To ease his mind
“in this respect, some of his friends at
“*Rome* contrived to send him a letter in
“*Cæsar*’s name, dated the 9th of February,
“from *Alexandria*, encouraging him to lay
“aside all gloomy apprehensions, and expect
“every thing that was kind and friendly
“from him: But it gave him little satisfaction, as he suspected what he afterwards
“found to be true, that it was forged by
“*Balbus* and *Oppius*, on purpose to raise his
“spirits, and administer some little comfort
“to him. All his accounts, however, confirmed to him the report of *Cæsar*’s clemency and moderation, and his granting
“pardon without exception to all who asked
“it; and, with regard to himself, *Cæsar*
“sent *Quintus*’s virulent letters to *Balbus*,
“with orders to shew them to him, as a proof
“of his kindness and dislike of *Quintus*’s perfidy. But *Cicero*’s present despondency,
“which interpreted every thing by his fears,
“made him suspect *Cæsar* the more, for refusing grace to none; as if such a clemency
“must needs be attended, and his revenge deferred only to a season more convenient; and,
“as to his brother’s letters, he fancied that
“*Cæsar* did not send them to *Italy*, because
“he condemned them, but to make his present misery and abject condition the more
“notorious and despicable to every body.”
(*Ad Att. xi. 16, 17, 20, 22.*)

“He had fears also from another quarter: *Middl. p.*
“ter: 140.

Y. R. 706. and walked with him alone, conversing very familiarly for several
 Bel. Chr. furlongs.

46.
 403 Conf. On his arrival at *Rome*, he found the city in the greatest ferment.
 I. i. c. xii. He had been created Dictator, after the battle of *Pharsalia*, for the following year; and *Antony*, as his Master of Horse, had governed in his absence. *Dolabella* had got into the tribunate, which he was no sooner invested with, than he revived the laws proposed the year before by *Calpurnius*, for an abolition of debts, and to exempt tenants from paying, in the present confusion, any rent to their landlords. We are told, that at first he was favoured by *Antony*, who found this project very suitable to his own circumstances; but, having discovered an intrigue between his wife *Antonia* and the young Tribune, he put her away, and from that moment sided with the Senate and two of the Tribunes in opposing *Dolabella*. The multitude favoured the scheme; the Tribune was obstinate in the pursuit of it; and, in the absence of *Antony*, who was obliged to make a tour to appease the mutiny of the veteran legions, the disorder became extreme. The creditors on one side, and the debtors on the other, formed two camps in the city, and alternately attacked each other with fire and sword. We are told that the *Vestals*, not thinking themselves safe in their temple, removed from thence with the sacred relics. *Antony* upon his return was charged by the Senate to take care the Republic received no detriment. *Dolabella* grew desperate; and, having fixed a day for the passing of his laws, he barricaded the avenues to the Forum, erected wooden turrets to prevent the approach of any person against his will, and made such dispositions as are usual, where a siege is to be maintained. *Antony*, on his side, brought a number of troops to the Capitol, forced the barriers, broke to pieces the tables on which the laws were inscribed, and, having taken some of the ringleaders of this sedition, he threw them down the *Tarpeian* rock.

“ter: *Cæsar*’s enemies had greatly strengthened themselves in *Africa*, and it was reported, that they would bring into *Italy* a powerful army before *Cæsar* could return from *Alexandria*. *Cicero*, in this case, was sure to be treated as a deserter; for while *Cæsar* looked upon all men as friends, who did not act against him, and pardoned even enemies, who submitted to his power; it was a declared law, on the other side, to consider all as enemies who were not actually in their camp: So that *Cicero* had nothing now to wish, either for himself, or the Republic, but, in the first place, a peace, of which he had still some hopes; or else that *Cæsar* might conquer; whose victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two.” *Ad Att.* xi. 6. 12. 19.)

“After a long series of perpetual mortifications, he was refreshed at last by a very obliging letter from *Cæsar*, who confirmed to him the full enjoyment of his state and dignity, and bad him resume his fasces and style of Emperor as before. *Cæsar*’s mind, adds *Dr. Middleton*, was too great to listen to the tales of the brother and nephew,” [which, however, contained a great deal of truth] “and, instead of approving their treachery, seems to have granted them their pardon on *Cicero*’s account, rather than their own: So that *Quintus*, upon the trial of *Cæsar*’s inclination, began presently to change his note, and to congratulate with his brother on *Cæsar*’s affection and esteem for him.” (*Ep. Fam.* xiv. 23. *Pro Lig.* iii. *Ad Att.* xi. 23.) *Middl.* p. 142.

Notwithstanding this exertion of Dictatorial and despotic power, the troubles continued till *Cæsar's* arrival. He did not think fit to take notice of any thing done in his absence by his friends; but, being desirous to gain the affection of the several parties, regulated affairs as much as possible to every one's satisfaction. He refused to listen to the clamours of the people, who demanded the abolition proposed by their Tribune, telling them, that he was as much incumbered with debts as any one, yet had no design of defrauding his creditors. However, besides the mitigation already granted by him, he farther indulged the debtors by a discharge of all arrears since the commencement of the civil war: And, with regard to the tenants, he eased the poor citizens by an order, importing, that all, not renting above two thousand sesterces annually in Rome, should be exempted from payment of a year's rent, and of a quarter's only in the other parts of *Italy*.

Q. FUFIVS CALENVS, } Consuls for the three last
P. VATINIUS, } Months of the Year.

Y. R. 706.
Bef. Clu.
46.
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Having thus settled the affairs of the city, and made *Vatinius* and *Fufius Calenus* Consuls for the remaining months of the year, he caused himself to be created Consul, and continued in the Dictatorship for the year following; taking, for his colleague in the Consulship, and his Master of the Horse, *M. Lepidus*; and he applied himself to raise the money necessary for the expedition to *Africa*, where the progress of the *Pompeians* called for his presence. *Dio* tells us, that, as it had been customary to present crowns of gold and erect statues to victorious Generals, *Cæsar* received under this pretence great sums from the corporations in *Italy*, and at the same time borrowed of them still greater. But the sale of the estates of the contrary faction was probably his chief resource. *Pompey's* estate, houses and goods, were sold at this time, and purchased by *Antony*: And it was undoubtedly one way of recompensing a great number of his followers to make over to them the effects of the vanquished at an under rate. *P. Sylla*, as well as *Antony*, was one of the most forward and eager purchasers.

l. xii.

When every thing for his expedition to *Africa* was ready, a violent sedition broke out among his old legions. They had been very mutinous ever since their return to *Italy*, being disappointed in not receiving immediately the rewards that had been promised them, and which they had so highly merited; and, when they perceived that *Cæsar* meant to employ them again in a dangerous war, they grew furious. Before *Cæsar's* return, the twelfth legion had treated their officers with contempt, and pelted with stones such of them as had dared to remind them of their duty: And now the tenth, so favoured by their General, and so much attached hitherto to his person, gave the signal of revolt, and was followed by the others in *Campania*. *Cæsar* sent to them *Sallust*, whom he had lately appointed Prætor, and to whom he destined the government of *Africa*, with instructions to let them know, that, as soon as he had put an end to the *African* war, besides the distributions of

Suet. in
Cæf.
Appian.
Dio, l. xlii.

land and money already due to them, he would add a thousand denarii to each man as a recompense for this last campaign. These offers, so wide of the soldiers expectations, greatly exasperated them. *Sallust* was obliged to save himself by flight; and, in the extremity of their resentment, they marched to *Rome*, plundering all in their way, and killed several people of distinction. *Cæsar*, under apprehensions for the city, ordered the gates to be shut, and sent to its defence what troops he had about him: But when he heard of their arrival, and that they had sat down in the *Campus Martius*, the entreaties of his friends, concerned for his safety, could not prevail with him to defer a moment going in person to speak with them. He boldly mounted his tribunal, and, with a menacing tone of voice, asked the soldiers, What had brought them thither, and what they wanted? This intrepid and imperious behaviour began to disconcert them: They were ashamed to reproach him with having delayed their promised rewards, but represented that, being worn out by fatigue, and weakened by the wounds they had received in his service, they were in hopes that he would have given them their discharge. *I give it you*, replied *Cæsar*; and, after a short silence, added, *and, when I shall have triumphed with other troops, I nevertheless will fulfil my engagements with you*. They were thunderstruck with these words; and the Dictator was about to retire, when he was stopped by the officers attending him; who conjured him to treat the companions of his victories with less coldness and severity. He consented to speak to them once more, and began by addressing them with the word *Quirites*, citizens. This expression instead of that of *Commilitones*, or *Comrades*, which he commonly used, quite overcame them, and brought them back effectually to their duty. They interrupted him, and insisted that they were still his soldiers, and begged he would consider them as such, offering to follow him into *Africa*, and every-where else*. He pardoned them, but soon after took the first occasion to punish the licentious behaviour and the rapines of some of the officers. *C. Aquilius*, a military Tribune of the tenth legion, when he set out from *Sicily*, having filled a ship entirely with his own equipage and servants, *Cæsar* summoned all the military Tribunes and Centurions to appear before his tribunal the next day, and addressed them in these words: "I could have wished that those, whose insolence and licentious carriage have given me cause of complaint, had been capable of amendment, and of making
king

* This event has been embellished with many circumstances which cannot be true. We are told, that the soldiers desired to be *decimated*, and that *Cæsar* refused them that honour, telling them, that he would treat them according to their deserts, and break them: That he continued inflexible towards the tenth legion; who, not being able to obtain their pardon, followed him of their own accord and without orders into *Africa*;

where *Cæsar* made indeed use of them, but employed them always in hazardous enterprises in order to get rid of them: And that after the war, when returned to *Italy*, he deprived the few that remained of one third of their reward in punishment of their mutiny. *Dio*, l. xlii. But we see that in the battle of *Thapsus*, and afterwards at *Munda*, they had the place of honour as usual, in the first line of the right wing. *Suet. in Cæs.* 70.

“ king a good use of my clemency. But, since they know not how to
 “ keep within bounds, I shall make an example of them according to
 “ the law of arms, that others may be taught a better conduct. You, ^{Y. R. 706.}
 “ *C. Avienus*, when you was in *Italy*, instigated the *Roman* soldiers to ^{Bef. Ciu.}
 “ mutiny against the Republic; you have been guilty of rapine in the ^{46.}
 “ municipal towns; and you have never been of any real service, either ^{405 Conf.}
 “ to the Commonwealth, or to your General: Lastly, in place of sol-
 “ diers, you have crouded the transports with your slaves and baggage:
 “ So that, through your fault, the Republic fails in troops, which at
 “ this time are not only useful, but necessary. For all these reasons I
 “ break you with ignominy, and order you to leave *Africa* this very
 “ day. In like manner, I break you, *A. Fonteius*, because you have be-
 “ haved yourself as a seditious officer, and as a bad citizen. You,
 “ *T. Salienus*, *M. Tiro*, *C. Clusinas*, have attained the rank of Centurions,
 “ through my indulgence, and not through your own merit; and, since
 “ you have been raised to that rank, have neither shewn bravery in
 “ war, nor good conduct in peace. Instead of behaving according to
 “ the rules of modesty, your whole study has been to stir up the soldiers
 “ against your General. I therefore think you unworthy of continuing
 “ Centurions in my army: I break you, and order you to quit *Africa* as
 “ soon as possible.” Having concluded this speech, he delivered them
 over to some Centurions, with orders to confine them separately on board
 a ship, allowing each of them but one single slave: And this seems to
 have been the only punishment he inflicted on those seditious troops.

C H A P. VIII.

The War of Cæsar in Africa against Scipio, Cato, and Juba.

CÆSAR set out from *Rome* towards the beginning of *December*;
 and, passing the streights at *Rbegium*, arrived on the 17th at *Lily-*
bæum, the farthest point of *Sicily*. It was his design to embark imme-
 diately, though he had but one legion of new levies, and not quite
 six hundred horse; and he ordered his tent to be pitched so near
 the sea-side, that the waves flowed quite up to it. This he did to
 take away all hopes of delay, and keep his men in readiness at an hour's
 warning: And, the wind proving contrary, he nevertheless suffered
 none of the soldiers or mariners to come on shore, that he might lose
 no opportunity of sailing. His view was to land and intrench himself
 on the coast of *Africa* before his enemies were apprised of his approach,
 or could assemble their army^b: And he meant also to shew an utter

^b We are told, that this reason prevailed with him more than the will of the Gods, declared by the Auspices: *Cum immolanti ausugisset hostia, profectiorem adversus Scipionem et Jubam non distulit.* Suet. in Cæs. c. 59. *Quid? Ipse Cæsar cum a summo haruspice moneretur, ne in Africam ante Brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? Quod ni fecisset, uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiae convenissent.* Cic. de Divinat. l. ii. c. 24.

Y. R. 706
Bef. Chr.
405 Cont. contempt of their forces, which were greatly exaggerated both in *Italy* and *Sicily*. While the wind remained contrary, his gallies and transports increased daily; and, before the 25th, he had got together six legions, and two thousand horse, with the greatest part of which he set sail, giving strict orders to *Allienus* the Prætor, whom he left to command in *Sicily*, to embark with the utmost expedition the remainder of his troops. The wind being favourable, he himself, with a few gallies, arrived the fourth day within sight of *Africa*: But most of his transports had not kept up with him, nor had he appointed them any place of rendezvous, knowing of no part that was clear of the enemy's forces, and resolving to land where occasion offered. He coasted some time along the shore, running southward, and leaving *Chyrea* and *Neapolis* behind him; and when he came before *Adrumetum*, where the enemy had a garrison commanded by *C. Censidius*, *Cn. Piso* appeared upon the shore with the cavalry and about two thousand Moors. Here, notwithstanding this shew of opposition, he landed the troops he had with him, which did not exceed three thousand foot and a hundred and fifty horse, and encamped before the town, keeping his soldiers within their intrenchments, and not suffering them to commit any hostilities. *L. Plancus*, one of his Lieutenants, dispatched a messenger into the town with a letter, exhorting *Censidius* to surrender: But *Censidius* ordered him to be slain in his presence, and sent the letter unopened to *Scipio*, saying, he knew no other General of the *Romans*. *Cæsar*, finding himself unable to storm the town, after staying before it one night and a day, broke up his camp. As he was drawing off his troops, the garrison which consisted of two legions made a sally, and, a body of *Juba's* horse, whom he had sent to receive their pay, happening just then to come up, they jointly took possession of the abandoned camp, and began to harass his rear. The legionaries immediately halted, and the cavalry, though few in number, boldly charged the great multitude of the enemy: Thirty *Gallie* horse are said on this occasion to have repulsed two thousand Moors, and driven them quite within the town. *Cæsar* reached *Ruspina* the same day, which was the 1st of *January*^c.

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, Dictator III.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, Mag. Eq.

405⁴⁵ Cont.

From *Ruspina*, *Cæsar* marched towards *Leptis*, a free town, and governed by its own laws. The inhabitants of this place had formerly assisted his enemies, but now they thought proper to send Deputies to him, to make offer of their submission and services; and, having placed a guard at its gates, to prevent the soldiers from entering it and committing disorders; he encamped with his army at a small distance. Here he was joined by a part of his fleet, by whom he was informed that the rest, uncertain what course to take, had steered towards *Utica*. *Cæsar* instantly dispatched ten gallies after them, and the next day, hav-

^c According to *Usher*, the 13th of *October*; but, more probably, the 5th of *November* of the *Julian* year.

ing left six cohorts at *Leptis*, he returned with the rest of his army to *Ruspina*; where he went on board with some of his best troops in the evening to the great astonishment and dismay of his army. They saw themselves but few in number, mostly new levies, exposed upon a foreign coast to the mighty forces of a crafty nation, which had an innumerable cavalry; nor had they the least expectation of safety from their own conduct, but derived all their hopes from the alacrity and cheerfulness which appeared in the countenance of their General: For, at no time, had he shewed a greater confidence. They soon, however, understood with what view he intended to put to sea, when, the next day, they saw him return with the rest of the troops, which his fleet had luckily brought him before he set sail. He was greatly apprehensive lest they should fall in with the enemy's fleet, and had resolved to go out to assist and direct them.

This junction of his forces was very necessary; for *Labienus* was in full march towards him with a considerable army of horse and foot. *Cæsar*, after forming his camp, having advanced only three miles into the country with thirty cohorts to forage, was informed by his scouts, and some advanced parties of horse, that the enemy was in view. Upon this intelligence, he ordered his horse, and a small number of archers which attended them, to advance, and his cohorts to follow and prepare for battle. *Labienus* drew up with a very extended front, consisting mostly of horse, with whom he intermixed light-armed *Numidians* and archers, and formed them in such close order, that *Cæsar's* army at a distance mistook them all for infantry; his right and left were strengthened with a numerous cavalry. *Cæsar* was forced to draw up his army also in one line, on account of the smallness of its number; ranging his bowmen in front, and his cavalry in the wings; and he gave them particular instructions not to suffer themselves to be surrounded. Both armies stood some time expecting the signal: At length, the enemy began to extend themselves, and to spread out upon the hills with a view to surround *Cæsar's* cavalry. The main bodies advancing then to engage, the enemy's horse, intermixed with the light-armed *Numidians*, suddenly sprung forward from among the legionaries, and threw their darts. Upon this, they retreated with all speed, leaving the legionaries to sustain the attack of *Cæsar's* troops, and soon after returned to the charge with fresh vigour. *Cæsar*, perceiving that his ranks were in danger of being broken by this new way of fighting, which enticed his men to pursue the horse, gave express orders that no soldier should advance above four feet beyond the ensigns. But he soon found himself surrounded on all sides, his cavalry being altogether unable to resist those of the enemy; and, in this perplexity, he formed his whole army into an orb. *Labienus*, to encourage his men, advanced on horseback to the front of the battle, and, addressing *Cæsar's* legions, upbraided them with their inexperience in war, and their infatuation in following him to their

cer-

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.
45.
466 Conf.

Hist. de
Bell. Afr.

Y. R. 707. certain destruction. One of the soldiers answered, *that he was no new*
 Bcf. Chr. *soldier, but a veteran of the tenth legion. Where then is your standard?*

⁴⁵
 406 Cont. said *Labienus. You shall know me presently,* answered the soldier: Then,
 — pulling off his helmet to discover himself, he launched his dart with all
 his strength against *Labienus*. The dart wounded his horse in the breast,
 and the veteran called out, *Learn, Labienus, to respect a warrior of the tenth*
legion. However, the whole army, particularly the new levies, began to
 be terrified; and, casting their eyes on *Cæsar*, expected their deliverance
 from his experience. *Cæsar*, to disengage himself, directed the cohorts
 of the right and left wings to extend themselves as much as possible, and
 push forward alternately; by which means he broke the enemy's circle
 at both his wings; and, attacking one part of it now separated from the
 other, with almost all his forces, easily put it to flight; and, with the
 same success, having repulsed the other part, he immediately gave orders
 for the retreat. But *M. Petreius* and *Cn Piso*, brought up in this moment
 eleven hundred select *Numidian* horse, and a considerable body of foot;
 and, this succour recovering the enemy from their terror, they fell again
 on the rear of the legions. *Cæsar* was forced to order his men to wheel
 about, and renew the battle; but, perceiving that the enemy still pur-
 sued their former plan, and avoided a close engagement, and, considering
 that his horses, fatigued with their late voyage at sea and the business of
 the day, were unfit for a vigorous and long pursuit, which the approach
 of night rendered also impossible, he ordered both horse and foot to
 fall at once briskly upon the enemy, and follow them beyond the next
 hill, and not to stop till they had taken possession of it. This scheme
 was immediately executed; and *Cæsar*, having kept that post for some
 time, retired slowly in order of battle to his camp. The enemy thought
 proper to do the same, having been rudely handled in this last attack,
 in which *Petreius* was also dangerously wounded, and obliged to quit the
 field. The battle lasted from eleven till sun-set. *Cæsar* made a great
 many prisoners, and many deserters flocked to him after the action, by
 whom he was informed that *Labienus* brought against him sixteen hun-
 dred *Gallie* and *German* horse, who had served under *Pompey*, with
 eleven hundred *Numidian* troopers commanded by *Petreius*, eight thou-
 sand *Numidian* foot, and four times that number of light-armed soldiers,
 with a multitude of archers and slingers; and that he had designed to
 have astonished *Cæsar's* raw levies, and few legionaries, with the new
 and uncommon manner of fighting of his troops; and, after surround-
 ing them with his cavalry, to have cut them to pieces, as *Saburra* did
Curio's army. He had said in Council, that he would lead such a nu-
 merous body of men against *Cæsar's* legions, as should fatigue them
 with the very slaughter, and defeat them even in the very bosom of
 victory. This is *Hirtius's* account. The *Greek* historians tell us, that
Cæsar had the worst of it in this day's battle; and it appears from a pas-
 sage in *Valerius Maximus*, that *Labienus* and *Scipio* rewarded their soldiers
 for

Pt. App.
 Dio.

Val. Max.
 v. l. 14.

for their bravery ; and they also probably gave out, that the victory was on their side, since *Cæsar* retreated to his camp^d.

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.

Cæsar was also informed, that within three days *Scipio* was expected with his forces, which consisted of eight legions and three thousand horse. He therefore fortified his camp and the forts about it with the greatest care, and threw up two intrenchments ; one from *Ruspina* quite to the sea, and the other from his camp to the sea likewise, in order to secure the communication, and receive his supplies without danger. He took out of his fleet a great number of the mariners, *Gauls*, *Rhodians*, and others, of whom he formed companies of light-armed troops to fight, after the example of the enemy, among the cavalry. Having thus strengthened his army, he stationed his fleet along the coasts and islands for the security of his convoys, wrote to *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to press for supplies of all kinds, and sent *Sallust* to seize *Cercinna*, an island upon the coast, where *Scipio* had a magazine of provisions. But, notwithstanding what was brought from thence, he found himself soon in very great scarcity, and particularly of forage. He was not master of six miles in *Africa*, and was obliged to keep within his intrenchments : It was the winter season, and navigation was very dangerous ; and his ships of burden were often taken by the enemy's fleets : The veteran soldiers, however, and cavalry, who had been accustomed to hardships of every kind, were nowise dismayed ; and with sea-weed, washed in fresh water, they subsisted the horses and cattle of the army.

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Cn. Pompey set out about this time upon a particular expedition. *Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, never ceased exhorting and urging the youth in words to this effect : “ Your father, when he was arrived at your
“ age, and saw the Commonwealth oppressed by wicked and daring
“ men ; and the honest party either slain, or driven by banishment
“ from their country and relations ; instigated by magnanimity and
“ the love of glory, though then only a private man, had yet the cou-
“ rage to rally the remains of his father's army, and to deliver *Italy* and
“ *Rome* from the yoke of slavery and tyranny under which they groaned.
“ He recovered, with amazing dispatch, *Sicily*, *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Mauri-*
“ *tania*, and by that means gained an illustrious and extensive reputation
“ among all nations, and triumphed at three-and-twenty, while but a
“ *Roman Knight*. Nor did he enter into the world with those advan-
“ tages which you enjoy ; the exploits and dignity of his father reflected

^d *Appian's* account is as follows : *Cæsar*, upon his landing in *Africa*, being informed that *Scipio* was gone to meet King *Juba*, took the opportunity of his absence, and drew up his army before the enemy's camp. *Labienus*, and *Petreibus*, *Scipio's* Lieutenants, accepted his defiance, and vigorously beat back *Cæsar's* men, driving them before them with contempt, till, *Labienus's* horse,

wounded in the belly, having thrown him, he was obliged to quit the fight. *Petreibus*, who took the command, contenting himself with having tried the courage of his soldiers, caused the retreat to be sounded, saying to those about him, *We must not deprive Scipio, our General, of the honour of beating Cæsar.*

V. R. 27. "on him no considerable lustre. Do you, dignified by your descent,
 B. C. 45. "bestir yourself and call together your friends, and vindicate your
 45. C. 45. "own liberty, that of the Commonwealth, and of every good and
 "honest man." Roused by the remonstrances of a man of such gravity, young *Pompey* collected about thirty sail of ships, of which a few were galleys, and, sailing from *Utica* to *Mauritania*, invaded the kingdom of *Bogud*, who was in alliance with *Cæsar*; but he had little success in this attempt. With an army of two thousand men, composed of freedmen and slaves, of whom some were armed and some not, he approached the city of *Ascurum*, in which the King had a garrison. The inhabitants suffered him to advance to the very walls and gates, and then, sallying out of a sudden, they drove him quite back to his ships. This defeat determined him to leave that coast, and he steered directly to the *Balearian* islands, and *Spain*, whither he was invited by a party which had declared for him; and there he raised a force sufficient to appear against *Cæsar* the following year, and to dispute with him the *Roman* empire.

Scipio, having left a strong garrison in *Utica*, under the command of *Cato*, had marched to *Adrumetum*, and, a few days after, joined *Petrius* and *Labiens*, whose camp was but three miles distant from *Cæsar's*. *Juba* also was advancing at the head of a great body of horse and foot, when news was brought him that *P. Silius** and King *Bogud* had united their forces, entered *Numidia*, and taken *Cirta*, the most opulent city of the country, by storm, with two other towns of the *Getulians*, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. He therefore marched immediately back to hinder the further devastation of his territories, leaving only thirty elephants behind him; but, as soon as he had put his kingdom in a better posture of defence, ordering *Sabura* to make head against *Silius*, he returned again to *Scipio* with three legions, eight hundred horse, a body of *Numidian* cavalry, thirty elephants more, and a great number of light-armed infantry. Both armies for four months were continually observing each other's motions; during which time there happened frequent engagements between detachments from the two camps, in which *Cæsar* had commonly the advantage. *Scipio*, on his arrival, had appeared very desirous of coming to a general battle, and brought out his troops every day; but *Cæsar* had not collected all his forces, and he was sensible from the last encounter, in which he had so much difficulty to bring off

* *P. Silius* was a *Roman* Knight, who, having made himself obnoxious to the laws, had been obliged to leave *Italy*, and retired into *Africa*. There he got about him a great number of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, of whom he formed a small army, and, in the wars between the petty Princes in *Africa*,

he let himself out to the best bidder: And, it being remarked, that the side he espoused always came off victorious, he gained great reputation, and was much courted. He was in alliance with *Bogud*, who favoured *Cæsar*.

his men, that, having to do with an army so superior in number, and commanded by experienced officers, it was necessary to use the greatest caution. He therefore kept within his intrenchments, and applied himself to gain over to his interest the people of the country, and to encourage desertion in the enemy's camp. He succeeded in his intentions; and the *Africans*, in particular, came to him in crowds when they understood that he was related to *C. Marius*, for whose name they had the greatest respect. The *Pompeians*, at the same time, were diligent in disciplining their elephants; and *Cato* was daily inlisting freedmen, *Africans*, slaves, and all that were of age to bear arms, and sending them to *Scipio's* camp.

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Bef. Chr.
45.
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When *Cæsar*, however, saw all his forces drawn together, and had taught them how to fight with elephants, and with troops who never stood their ground, but, after a fierce attack, retreated to return again, he was as desirous to give battle, as he had been formerly averse to it. But *Scipio*, in his turn, had changed his scheme, and resolved very prudently to protract the war. On the *fourteenth* of *April*, *Cæsar*, to force him to an engagement, decamping at midnight, marched to *Tbapsus*, a sea-port town of the utmost importance to the enemy, and where *Vergilius* commanded with a strong garrison. The very first day after his arrival he began the circumvallation, and soon raised all the forts necessary both for his own security, and to prevent any succours from entering the town. *Scipio* and *Juba*, to avoid the disgrace of abandoning *Vergilius* and the *Tbapsitani*, who had all along remained firm to their party, followed *Cæsar* without delay, and posted themselves in two camps eight miles from *Tbapsus*. They attempted first to throw troops into the place, but, finding that to be impossible, they resolved to give battle[†]. For this purpose *Scipio* approached with his army, and began to intrench himself about fifteen hundred paces from the sea. *Cæsar* immediately, leaving two legions to guard his camp, marched all the rest of his forces with the utmost expedition to the place where the enemy was posted. At the same time, he ordered part of his fleet to make as near the shore as possible towards the enemy's rear, and observe the signal he should give them; upon which they were to raise a sudden shout, that the enemy, alarmed and

[†] *Plutarch in Cat.* tells us, that *Cato* opposed this resolution with the greatest earnestness, and insisted upon protracting the war. But that *Scipio* rejected his advice with disdain; and, in a letter he sent him, taxed him with cowardice, and told him that he ought to be satisfied with being safe in a good city, behind strong walls; and that it was taking too much upon him to dissuade others from following the dictates of their courage. *Cato*, nettled at the reproach, replied, that,

if he would give him back the troops he had brought, he was ready to march at the head of them into *Italy*, and that it was more for their interest so to do, than to risk all in *Africa*. *Plutarch* adds, that he then sorely repented the having given up the command to a man who was incapable of a prudent conduct in the war, or of any moderation in victory: And indeed *Hirtius* has given us several instances of his cruel disposition.

Y. R. 227. disturbed by the noise behind them, might be forced to face about.
 B. f. Cnr. He found *Scipio's* army in order of battle before the intrenchments,
 45. 406 Conf. which were not yet perfected, and the elephants were ranged in the two
 wings. Upon this he drew up his army in three lines: He placed the
 second and tenth legions in the right wing, the eighth and ninth in
 the left, and five legions in the center: He covered his flanks with
 five cohorts posted opposite to the elephants, and disposed the archers
 and slingers in the two wings, and the light-armed troops, which he
 intermingled with his cavalry. He himself, on foot, went from rank
 to rank to rouse the courage of the veterans, putting them in mind of
 their great reputation for bravery; and to exhort the new levies to
 emulate the valour of the veterans, and attain the same degree of glory.
 As he spoke to his soldiers, he observed the enemy to be very uneasy,
 hurrying from place to place; one while retiring behind the rampart,
 then coming out again in great tumult and confusion; and his officers,
 making the same observation, begged that he would give the signal
 for battle. While he hesitated whether he should restrain the eagerness
 of his troops, a trumpeter in the right wing sounded, of a sudden, the
 charge, and all the cohorts rushed forwards. The Centurions strove
 in vain to keep them back, and *Cæsar*, perceiving that their ardour
 could not be checked, spurred on his horse and charged the enemy in
 the center. On the right wing the archers and slingers poured such a
 volley of arrows and stones upon the elephants, that these animals,
 which were not perfectly disciplined, turning upon their own men, trod
 them down, and rushed into the camp through the gates, which were
 but half finished. The *Mauritanian* horse followed them; upon which
 the legions pushed on to the intrenchments which they soon carried;
 and the greatest part of the troops that defended them fled to the camp,
 which they had quitted the preceding day. Thither they were follow-
 ed, and, finding neither General to command them, nor any security,
 they made towards *Juba's* quarters. This being likewise forced by the
 victorious troops, they retired to a hill; where, seeing their case des-
 perate, they endeavoured to soften their enemies, saluting them with
 the name of brethren: But the veterans, transported with rage, were
 not only deaf to their cries, but even killed and wounded some per-
 sons of distinction of their own army, whom they suspected to wish well
 to the contrary party. Ten thousand of the enemy were slain upon
 the spot: The rest were dispersed, and their three camps carried sword
 in hand with the loss of only fifty men killed, and a few wounded.

The garrison of *Thapsus*, during the battle, had sallied out of the
 town with a view either to assist *Scipio*, or to make their escape; but
 had been beat back by the servants and followers of the camp. *Cæsar*,
 in his return from the battle, stopped before the town, and ranged the
 sixty elephants he had taken, with their trappings and castles, in full
 view of the place. He was in hopes, by this evidence of his success,

to induce *Vergilius* to a surrendry; and he farther invited him to it by reminding him of his experienced clemency. No answer, however, being given, he retired from before the town; but, next day, after returning thanks to the Gods, he assembled his army before it, and, in the sight of the inhabitants, praised his soldiers from his tribunal, and rewarded them according to their deserts. Then leaving *C. Rebellius*, one of his Lieutenants, with three legions, to continue the siege, he sent *Cn. Domitius*, with two, to invest *Tisdra*, where *Confidius* now commanded, and marched himself towards *Utica*.

Scipio's cavalry had taken the same road in their flight, and, arriving at *Parada*, were refused admittance, the inhabitants being already apprised of *Cæsar's* victory. They thereupon forced the gates, and, lighting a great fire in the market-place, threw all the inhabitants they could seize into it, without distinction of age or sex, with all their effects: And thence they marched directly to *Utica*. *Cato*, who commanded there, knowing the common people to be well affected towards *Cæsar*, who had formerly procured them great privileges, had turned them out of the town, and obliged them to encamp without the walls under the protection of a slight intrenchment, round which he had placed guards. The cavalry attacked first this camp, but the people, animated with the news of *Cæsar's* victory, and enraged at the ill usage they had met with, repulsed them, though they had no other arms than clubs. Disappointed in this attempt, they entered the town, and began to sack it. *Cato*, unable to prevail with them to abstain from rapine and undertake the defence of the place, gave each of them an hundred sesterces, and *Faustus Sylla* gave them as many more, to retire in peace: And he marched them into the territories of *Juba*. Many of the other fugitives had by this time arrived at *Utica*, and *Cato*, having assembled them with the three hundred *Roman* merchants settled in the town, and of whom he had formed a council, he exhorted them to set their slaves free, and join with him in the necessary measures for defence; but, finding them averse to this resolution, he furnished them with ships to make their escape. He himself, having settled all his affairs with the utmost care, and recommended his children to *L. Cæsar*, his *Quæstor*, without the least indication, which might give cause of suspicion, or any change in his countenance and behaviour, privately carried a sword into his chamber, when he went to sleep, and stabbed himself with it. The wound, however, not proving mortal, and the noise of his fall creating a suspicion, a physician, with some of his friends, broke into his chamber, and endeavoured to bind it up; which he no sooner was sensible of, than, tearing it open again with his own hands, he expired with undaunted resolution and presence of mind. The *Uticans*, though they hated his party, yet, in consideration of his singular integrity, his behaviour, so different from that of the other Chiefs, and the wonderful fortifica-

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Y. R. 707- tions he had erected to defend their town, interred him honourably.
 Ed. Cl. This is the account we find of *Cato's* conduct and death in the Memoirs
 45- concerning the *African* war, and it contains the substance of *Plutarch's*
 406 C. n. longer narrative. As the *Greek* historian's circumstantial relation,
 however, has passed hitherto for authentic, and is the ground-work of
 all the panegyric which has been written upon *Cato*, it might look
 like partiality, if we should omit it. It is as follows:

Plut. in The news of the battle of *Thapsus*, and the utter ruin of *Scipio's* and
 C. Juba's armies, caused the greatest consternation in *Utica*. *Cato* applied
 himself first to quiet the minds of the people, by representing to them,
 that the reports were greatly exaggerated; and, as he went from street
 to street, his presence appeased for a time their apprehensions. His
 next care was to assemble the three hundred *Roman* merchants or
 bankers, with whom he used to consult, and who had been very ser-
 viceable to his cause: And, after bestowing due praises upon their past
 fidelity and services, he exhorted them above all to a strict union, as
 the only means by which they could support themselves, or make
 themselves considered by the Conqueror. He then told them to con-
 sult together what was proper to be done, and that, if they thought fit
 to submit to fortune, he would ascribe their resolution to necessity;
 but that, if they resolved to persist in the defence of their liberty, he
 would be their Leader in such a glorious cause. " *Rome*, he said, had
 " often emerged out of greater difficulties: The Conqueror was per-
 " plexed in many difficult affairs: *Spain* had revolted to *Pompey's* sons:
 " And the *Romans* would unanimously throw off a yoke which they
 " wore with indignation." His speech had the desired effect: All ap-
 peared zealous for the prosecution of the war, and promised to arm
 themselves: But a little reflection soon cooled their ardour. " Who
 " are we? said they, and to whom do we refuse submission? Is not
 " *Cesar* vested with the whole authority of the *Roman* empire? Does
 " he not command its forces? Shall we dispute the possession of *Utica*
 " with him to whom *Pompey* and all his adherents were forced to aban-
 " don *Italy*? And, when the whole earth submits to his yoke, shall
 " we undertake the defence of the *Roman* liberty?" They made a de-
 claration of these sentiments to *Cato*, and many of them even formed
 a design of seizing the *Roman* Senators, and delivering them up to
Cesar, the better to ingratiate themselves with him. *Cato*, sensible
 that it was impossible to keep *Utica*, gave notice of it to *Scipio* and
Juba; the first had escaped to his fleet at sea, and then lay concealed
 behind a promontory not far from the city; and the other was hid in
 the neighbouring woods, and had sent messengers to him. The arri-
 val of *Scipio's* cavalry gave *Cato* fresh hopes, and he went out to
 meet them, attended by all the *Roman* Senators except *M. Rubrius*,
 whom he left to watch the motions of the three hundred during his
 absence. He addressed the Commanders of this body of cavalry, and
 entreated

entreated them not to give themselves up to a foreign Prince, but to prefer *Cato* to *Juba*, representing to them the dishonour of such a conduct, and that, by affording a protection to him and the Senators with him, they would provide for their own safety in a town so well furnished with provisions and every thing necessary to hold out a siege. The officers replied, they would consult their troopers, and *Cato* sat down on an eminence waiting their answer. Here *Rubrius* came to him, complaining of the audaciousness of the three hundred, who had revolted, and raised a commotion in the city. *Cato* sent him back to beseech them to wait his return. The answer of the cavalry added to his perplexity. They sent him word “that they had no inclination to serve under *Juba*; nor any apprehensions of *Cæsar* when under *Cato*’s command: But that they would not put their trust in the inhabitants of *Utica*, whom, therefore, he must consent to murder, or expel the city, if he would make use of their assistance².” *Cato*’s answer was, “that he would consult with the three hundred.” Upon his return into the town, he found that these men were come to a resolution of having recourse to *Cæsar*’s mercy, and explained themselves pretty clearly on their design of delivering up the Senators; and, at the same time, notice was given him that the cavalry were making off. *Cato*, fearing lest the three hundred should immediately execute their threats, when they saw themselves delivered from the cavalry, called for a horse and rode after them, and by his entreaties, which he accompanied with tears, he with much difficulty prevailed upon them to halt one day; and, having brought them back, posted them at the gates of the city, and put them in possession of the citadel. The three hundred, alarmed at this proceeding, assembled, and invited *Cato* to their meeting. The Senators were very earnest to dissuade him from putting himself into their hands, but he knew that he had nothing to fear from them. They began by making their acknowledgments for the confidence he reposed in them, and gave him the strongest assurances of their respect and of their attachment to his person; but told him, that they were not *Cato*’s, and could not attain to his exalted sentiments. They added that they had come to a resolution to send Deputies to *Cæsar* to implore his clemency; but that the first and principal object of their solicitation should be *Cato*’s safety, which if they could not obtain, they would fight in his defence to the last moment of their lives. *Cato* thanked them for their good-will towards him, approved of their design of submitting to *Cæsar*, and advised them to lose no time, but desired them to make no solicitation in his favour. “It is proper, said he, for the vanquished to have recourse to prayers, and for those who have com-

² We are told by *Plutarch*, that *Juba* had proposed, in the beginning of the war, to destroy the city and exterminate the inhabitants, and that *Scipio* had consented to this massacre; but that *Cato* opposed it with so much vehemence and indignation, that the barbarous project was not carried into execution.

Y. R. 757. "mitted faults to sue for pardon. As for me, I have been invincible
 Ref. Chr. "during the whole course of my life, and even now I am victorious,
 456 Conf. "and triumph over *Cæsar* by the superiority of justice and equity. It
 ——— "is he that is conquered: This day is he attainted and convicted by
 "undeniable evidence, notwithstanding what he has said to the con-
 "trary, of plotting against his country." *Cato*, as he came out from
 this conference, was informed, that *Cæsar* was on his march with the
 greatest part of his forces to besiege *Utica*. Alas! says he, he pays us
 a compliment we do not deserve: He takes us for men. Another
 message was brought him presently after from *M. Octavius*, who sent
 to let him know that he was near *Utica* with two legions, and was
 ready to join him, but it was necessary first to settle who should have
 the command in chief. *Cato* returned no answer to the message, but,
 addressing himself to his friends, "Well, says he, ought we to be
 "surprised that our affairs have not succeeded, since, when upon the
 "brink of ruin, we are contending for the the vain honour of com-
 "mand." His only care now was to hasten the departure of the *Ro-*
man Senators before the cavalry retired; and, having ordered all the
 gates of the town to be shut, except that which led to the port, he ap-
 pointed ships and furnished every thing requisite to those who were to
 sail. The cavalry, now looking upon *Utica* as a town of their ene-
 mies, had begun to plunder it; but *Cato*, interposing, wrested, out of
 the hands of those he met first, the spoils they were carrying off, and
 the rest threw away of their own accord what they had seized,
 and departed in silence, ashamed of what they done. He then
 called together the citizens of *Utica*, and recommended it to them
 to act in concert with the three hundred, and seek their com-
 mon safety together with them. Having done this, he went to the
 port and took leave of the Senators who were about to embark. His
 son, however, remained with him, and *Statilius*, a young man re-
 markable for his hatred to *Cæsar*. He did not insist upon his son's
 departing, but endeavoured to persuade the other to go with the rest:
 And, upon his refusing to do it, he turned to *Apollonides* and *Deme-*
trius, two philosophers who constantly attended him; "it is your bu-
 "siness, said he, to bend that stubborn spirit, and give it a more use-
 "ful turn." *Cato* then returned to his affairs, and dispatched busi-
 ness all that night and the greatest part of the following day. *L. Cæ-*
sar, being appointed Deputy for the three hundred, begged of *Cato*
 that he would assist him in drawing up the speech for the occasion;
 and declared, at the same time, that he would be also mediator for
 him, and would throw himself at the Dictator's feet, and embrace his
 knees to obtain his pardon. "By no means, replied *Cato*; were I
 "disposed to owe my life to *Cæsar*, I should myself go to him, but I
 "will not be beholden to the tyrant for any act of his injustice: For
 "it is unjust in him to pretend as a master to pardon those over whom
 " he

“ he has no lawful power. But, if you please, let us consider what
 “ it is proper to say in behalf of the three hundred.” They then con-
 ferred together on this subject, and *Cato* at parting recommended to
 him his son and the rest of his friends. These being assembled at his
 house, among other discourse, he forbid his son to take any share in
 the administration of public affairs; “ for to act as became him was
 “ now impossible, and to do otherwise was dishonourable.” Towards
 evening he went into the bath, and, there calling to mind *Statilius*, he
 inquired of *Apollonides* whether he had succeeded with him; “ and is
 “ he gone, said he, without taking leave of us? “ No, replied the
 “ philosopher; I have discoursed much with him, but to no purpose:
 “ He is resolute, and declares that he will stay and follow your ex-
 “ ample.” *Cato* smiled, and answered, “ of that we shall soon judge.”
 After bathing he supped with his friends and the magistrates of the
 city. They sat late at table, and the conversation was lively: The
 discourse falling upon this maxim of the Stoics, that *the wise man alone*
is free, and that the vicious are slaves, which *Demetrius*, who was a *Pe-*
ripatetic, undertook to confute from the principles of his school, *Cato*,
 in answer, treated the matter very amply, and with so much earnest-
 ness and vehemence of voice, that he betrayed himself, and confirmed
 the suspicions which his friends had already conceived of his design to
 kill himself. When he had done speaking, a melancholy silence en-
 sued; and *Cato*, perceiving it, turned the discourse to the present situ-
 ation of affairs, expressing his concern for those who had been ob-
 liged to put to sea, as well as for those who, having determined to
 make their escape by land, had a dry and sandy desert to pass. After
 supper, the company being dismissed, he walked for some time with
 a few friends, and gave his orders to the officers of the guard; and,
 going into his chamber, he embraced his son and his friends with
 more than usual tenderness, which farther confirmed the suspicions of
 the resolution he had taken. Then, laying himself down on his bed,
 he took up *Plato's* Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul. Having
 read for some time, he looked up, and, missing his sword, which his
 son had removed while he was at supper, he called a slave and asked
 who had taken it away; and, receiving no pertinent answer, he re-
 sumed his reading. Some time after he asked again for his sword,
 and, without shewing any impatience, ordered it to be brought to
 him: But, having read out the book, and finding nobody had brought
 him his sword, he called for all his servants, fell into a rage, and
 struck one of them with so much violence on the mouth, that he very
 much hurt his own hand, crying out in a passionate manner, *What?*
do my own son and family conspire to betray me, and deliver me up naked
and unarmed to the enemy? Immediately his son and friends rushed into
 the room, and began to lament, and to beseech him to change his re-
 solution. *Cato*, raising himself, and looking fiercely at them, *How*
long

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Y. R. 707. long is it, said he, *since I have lost my senses, and since my son has become*
 Ref. Cl. my keeper? Brave and generous son, why do you not bind your father's
 455 Cont. hands, that, when CÆSAR comes, he may find me unable to defend
 myself? Do you imagine, that without a sword I cannot end my life? Cannot I destroy myself by holding my breath for some moments, or by striking my head against the wall? His son answered with his tears, and retired. *Apelionides* and *Demetrius* remained with him, and to them he addressed himself in the following words: *Is it to watch over me that you sit silent here? Do you pretend to force a man of my years to live? Or can you bring any reason to prove, that it is not base and unworthy of Cato to beg his safety of an enemy? Or why do you not persuade me to unlearn what I have been taught, that, rejecting all the opinions I have hitherto defended, I may now by CÆSAR's means grow wiser, and be yet more obliged to him than for life alone? Not that I have determined any thing concerning myself, but I would have it in my power to perform what I shall think fit to resolve upon: And I shall not fail to ask your counsel, when I shall have occasion to act up to the principles which your philosophy teaches.* Go, tell my son that he should not compel his father to what he cannot persuade him. They withdrew, and the sword was brought by a young slave: *Cato* drew it, and, finding the point to be sharp, Now, said he, *I am my own master*: And, laying it down, he took up his book again, which, it is reported, he read twice over. After this he slept so soundly, that he was heard to snore by those who were near him^b. About midnight he called two of his freedmen, *Cleantes*, his physician, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in the management of his affairs. The last he sent to the port, to see whether all the *Romans* were gone: To the physician he gave his hand to be dressed, which was swelled by the blow he had given his slave. This, being an intimation that he intended to live, gave great joy to his family. *Butas* soon returned and brought word, that they were all gone except *Crassus*, who had staid upon some business, but was just ready to depart. He added, that the wind was high and the sea rough. These words drew a sigh from *Cato*. He sent *Butas* again to the port to know, whether there might not be some one, who, in the hurry of the embarkation, had forgot some necessary provisions, and had been obliged to put back to *Utica*. It was no: break of day, and *Cato* slept yet a little more, till *Butas* returned to tell him, that all was perfectly quiet. He then ordered him to shut his door, and he flung himself upon his bed, as if

^b There are doubtless several circumstances in this story which have the appearance of a forgery. It is not probable that a man in such a heat of passion, and taken up with the thoughts of putting an end to his life, would sleep so soundly. And it is still more strange, that he should read twice

over *Plato's Phædo*, to confirm himself in his desperate resolution: For there is not a passage in it to encourage self-murder, and many against it: Indeed the whole is so, and no one, who admires the death of *Socrates*, can ever die like *Cato*.

he meant to finish his night's rest. But, immediately, he took his sword, and stabbed himself a little below his chest; yet, not being able to use his hand so well by reason of the swelling, the blow did not kill him. It threw him into a convulsion, in which he fell from his bed, and overturned a table near it. The noise gave the alarm, and his son, and the rest of the family, entered the room, where they found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels half out of his body. The surgeon upon examination found that his intestines were not cut, and was preparing to replace them and bind up the wound, when *Cato*, recovering his senses, thrust the surgeon from him, and, tearing out his bowels, immediately expired.

Thus died, according to his admirers, the famous *Cato*, in the forty eighth year of his age. "If we consider his character without prejudice," dice, says a celebrated writer, he was certainly a great and worthy man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty: Yet, fallaciously measuring all duty by the absurd rigour of the *Stoical* rule, he was generally disappointed of the end which he sought by it, the happiness both of his public and private life¹. In his private conduct, he was severe, morose, inexorable; banishing all the softer affections, as natural enemies to justice, and as suggesting false motives of acting, from favour, clemency, and compassion: In public affairs he was the same²; had

¹ What this *Stoical* rule was, we are told in another place, p. 564. "The Stoics were the bigots or enthusiasts in philosophy; who held none to be truly wise and good but themselves; placed perfect happiness in virtue, though stripped of every other good; affirmed all sins to be equal; all deviations from right equally wicked; to kill a dunghill-cock, without reason, the same crime as to kill a parent; that a wise man could never forgive; never be moved by anger, favour, or pity; never be deceived; never repent; never change his mind. With these principles, *Cato* entered into public life." These, certainly, were never the practical principles of any man; and, if to live a wise man, or to be a true *Stoic*, is to live up to them, *Cato* had no pretensions to that character. He was often deceived; sometimes he changed his mind, was very subject to envy and anger, and sometimes was moved by favour. There are many examples of his frailties in the foregoing pages. The account of this pretended rule, by which *Cato* measured all duty, is taken from the oration of *Cicero pro Murena*; in which the orator ridicules the *Stoics*, and banters *Cato*, who was the accuser. *Cato* was so far from acknowledging the rule to be

his, that he cried out, *What a merry Consul we have got? Cicero* was Consul when he spoke this oration.

² This made him obstinate, rather than constant, morose instead of being grave, and sour, when he would be most sincere. His humour was not only always overcast, but sometimes broke out upon his best friends in indecent passions: His temper was rather stiff than steady; for he was as inflexibly in the wrong as in the right; he withstood compassion as resolutely as bribery, and avoided common decency as much as flattery: He would come into the Forum with nothing but his under garment on, and that loose; his bosom and feet bare; and in this condition sit upon the bench when he was Prætor, and pass sentence upon those of the first quality. *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, being at *Rome*, and desiring to speak with him, he sent word, as he was upon the close-stool, that he might come to him, if he had any thing to say to him. See his behaviour on his return from the *Cyrian* expedition, and after his losing the consulate. This gives a suspicion of his setting too great a value upon his actions, and being liable to something of vain-glory. *Adams*.

Y. R. 707. " but one rule of policy, *to adhere to what was right*, without regard
 Bef. Chr. " to times and circumstances, or even to a force that *could controul him*¹ :
 406 Conf. " For, instead of managing the power of the Great, so as to mitigate
 " the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of
 " violence by a perpetual defiance ; so that, *with the best intentions in*
 " *the world, he often did great harm to the Republic*. This was his ge-
 " neral behaviour ; yet, from some particular facts, it appears that his
 " strength of mind was not always impregnable, but had its weak pla-
 " ces of pride, ambition, and party-zeal ; which, when managed and
 " flattered to a certain point, would betray him sometimes into mea-
 " sures contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The last act of
 " his life was agreeable to his nature and philosophy : When he could
 " no longer be what he had been ; or when the ills of life overbalanced
 " the good ; which, by the principles of his sect, was a just cause for
 " dying ; he put an end to his life with a spirit and resolution which
 " would make one imagine that he was glad to have found an occasion
 " of dying in his proper character. On the whole, his life was rather
 " admirable than amiable ; fit to be praised rather than imitated."

L. Cæsar,

¹ Nothing is *right* that is not so, taking in the consideration of all circumstances of time, place, and persons. But, besides, did Cato make *right* the rule of his conduct, when he opposed salutary laws, because proposed by Cæsar ; when, in punishing Cataline's accomplices, he extended, against the fundamental laws of the state, the prerogative of the Senate ; and when he refused to allow Cæsar what had been granted him by a law of the people, and a decree of the Senate. Have we not seen him a riotous Magistrate, violating the privilege of the tribuneship in the person of one of his colleagues, and, from personal hatred to Cæsar, approving of bribery and corruption at the elections for magistracy ? See Vol. III. p. 383, 399.

" It is said, in another place, p. 564, that " after a perpetual course of disappoint-
 " ments and repulses, finding himself unable
 " to pursue his old way any farther ; instead
 " of taking a new one, he was *driven by his*
 " *philosophy* to put an end to his life." We
 have seen above, a King of Cyprus, a friend
 and ally of the Roman people, accused of no
 practices, nor suspected of any designs a-
 gainst the Republic, yet deprived of his
 kingdom and estate by an iniquitous law pre-
 ferred by P. Clodius ; and that our Stoic
 philosopher Cato took upon him to execute
 this unparalleled act of injustice, and valued

himself upon this his Cyprian expedition. Ptolemy, unable to resist the Roman power, and too proud to take up with a private station after he had reigned so long, was driven by his royal philosophy to put an end to his life by poison. In what is the Stoic philosophy of Cato preferable to the royal philosophy of the Cyprian Monarch ? What can be alledged to excuse the one, which does not equally excuse the other ? Ptolemy, I should imagine, was driven to that extremity by injuries much more evidently unjust and more affecting than were those which Cato complained of. But we are told by Cicero, that it was becoming and proper in Cato to die in this way ; and that otherwise he would not have kept up the *decorum of life*, which consists in maintaining a certain likeness in all our actions, a certain equality of behaviour : And this, he adds, is grounded upon universal and particular nature. " The difference of particular nature, says he, which forms the several
 " characters of men, is of that force, that
 " one sometimes ought to kill himself,
 " and yet another in the same circumstances
 " ought not ; for was not Cato's case the
 " very same with that of those who surren-
 " dered themselves to Cæsar in Africa ?
 " And yet, perhaps, it would have been
 " blameable in them to have killed them-
 " selves, because their manners were gent-
 " ler

L. Cæsar, to procure some advantages by *Cato's* death, assembled the people, and in an harangue exhorted them to throw themselves upon *Cæsar's* clemency, from which they had the greatest reason to hope the best.

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.
45.
466 Conf.

Cæsar from *Thapsus* had marched to *Usceta*, where *Scipio* had laid up a great store of corn and ammunition, and which immediately surrendered: He entered also *Adrumetum* without opposition, where he found *Q. Ligarius* and *C. Convidius*, the son, whom he pardoned. In his way to *Utica*, he was met by *L. Cæsar*, who threw himself at his feet, and begged for nothing more than that he would grant him his life. He obtained this favour, and it was extended likewise to *Cætina*, *C. Alcius*, *P. Atrius*, *L. Cella*, father and son; *M. Eppius*, *M. Aquinius*, to *Cato's* son, and the children of *Damasippus*. Being informed of *Cato's* death, *Cæsar* is reported to have broke out into this exclamation: *O Cato! I envy thee the glory of thy death, since thou hast envied me that of saving thy life.* On his entering the town, he summoned an assembly of the people, and thanked them for the affection they had shewn to his cause. At the same time he censured severely and enlarged upon the crime of the three hundred merchants, who had furnished *Scipio* and *Varus* with money; but concluded with telling them, that they might shew themselves without fear, as he was determined to grant them their lives, and content himself with exposing their effects to sale; and that he would give them notice when their goods were to be sold, and allow them the liberty of redeeming them upon payment of a certain fine. The three hundred who had served his enemies with zeal, and dreaded *Cæsar's* resentment, were very well pleased with these conditions, and begged that he would impose a certain sum in gross upon them all: And he accordingly

Hist de
Ecl. Afric.

Plut. in Cat.

B b 2

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“ler and easier: But, as nature had given
“*Cato* an incredible bravery, and he had
“confirmed this by a perpetual constancy,
“and had always remained immoveable in
“what he had once resolved and undertaken, it became him rather to die than see
“the face of the tyrant.” But is not this
a justification of the same desperate behaviour in every wrong-headed, obstinate, and perverse man?

The public good, in his own sense of it, required of *Cato*, I should think, to remain in life, and pursue the ruin of the tyrant. In his speech to the three hundred, after the battle of *Thapsus*, did he not tell them, “that, if they continued firm against *Cæsar*, “they would thereby avoid his contempt; “and that *Rome* had fallen lower, and “merged from yet greater dangers.” This was as true in regard to him as to them;

and, though they had not spirit enough to follow his counsel, he should, however, have done himself what he exhorted others to do. He might certainly have done good service to his party in *Spain*: And, after *Cæsar's* death, a great field of action would have opened to him.

Some authors have imputed *Cato's* death to his hatred to *Cæsar*: And indeed no persons in the world were more contrary in their humours and manners. The opposition of temper between two persons engaged in the same place, about the same affairs, very naturally gives rise to enmity; and this, in the present case, was increased by family injuries. *Cæsar's* intimacy with *Servilia*, *Cato's* sister, was once the talk of all *Rome*. *Cato* accordingly seems to have opposed *Cæsar* furiously in every thing, right or wrong: And there is no absurdity in

Y. R. 707.
Ber. Chr.

456 Conf.

1614583 l.
Hist de
Bell. Afric.

ingly amerced them in two hundred millions of sesterces^a, to be paid to the Republic at six different payments within the space of three years. *Juba* had fled with *Petreius* towards *Zama*, his place of residence, which he had strongly fortified in the beginning of the war; but the inhabitants, who were dissaffected towards him^a, could not be prevailed upon, either by threats or intreaties, to open their gates, or even to deliver to him his wives and children. They sent ambassadors to *Cæsar*, to signify to him this their intention, and to desire that he would prevent by a speedy succour any attempt the King might make upon their town. At the same time *Tisdra* was abandoned by *Considius*, and *Vergilius* surrendered *Thapsus*; and the same of his clemency brought over to *Cæsar*, on his march, all the *Numidian* officers that remained. *Juba*, seeing himself deserted on all sides, and that there was no longer any hope of safety, proposed to *Petreius* an engagement in which they should mutually kill each other. *Petreius* fell first, and the King immediately endeavoured to dispatch himself, but was obliged to have recourse to one of his slaves, on whom he prevailed to perform that last office. *P. Silius*, in the mean time, having defeated the army of *Saburra*, and slain the General, was marching through *Mauritania* to join *Cæsar*, and chanced to fall in with *Faustus* and *Afranius*, who had put themselves at the head of the party that had plundered *Utica*, and were making their way to *Spain*. This Commander, having notice of their approach, placed himself during the night in an ambuscade, and, attacking them upon their march by break of day, he either killed or made them all prisoners, except a few that escaped from the van. *Afranius* and *Faustus* were among the prisoners, with their wives and children: And our author says, that they were slain a few days after, together with *L. Cæsar*, in a mutiny of the soldiers. *Dio* and *Florus* report, that they were killed by *Cæsar's* order, or at his instigation; and *Suetonius* has observed, that this was the general belief. And perhaps they had no pretensions to his mercy. *L. Cæsar* had shewn himself his implacable enemy on all occasions, had treated several of his domestics with more than ordinary cruelty, and had ordered the beasts to be killed which the Conqueror had destined for his games in *Rome*: And *Afranius* and *Faustus* were taken in their flight to his enemies in *Spain*. But since *Cæsar* had laid it down to himself as a general law, not to put any citizen to death in cold blood,

in supposing that the last act of his life was directed by that principle, which so powerfully influenced him in other parts of his conduct. I do not say but that *Cato* died in character, but I think that his death is far from reflecting any lustre on his life.

^a *Appian* writes, that *Cæsar* put to death all he could find of the three hundred who had formed *Cato's* Senate. This author must have invented a number of facts and

circumstances of facts, which, certainly, no memoirs, how partial soever, could have transmitted to him.

* And they had very good reason, if, as *Hirtius* tells us, before he set out against *Cæsar*, he had raised a mighty pile of wood in the market-place, and declared a resolution, in case he did not conquer, to massacre all the citizens, and destroy their bodies and effects in one general conflagration.

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it is not probable that he made an exception to this rule in the case of these two and his relation *L. Caesar*. *Cicero* bestows this encomium on his clemency, “that the citizens which the Republic lost were carried off by the common chance of war, and not through any resentment of the conqueror”. To *Pompeia*, the wife of *Faustus*, and her children, he not only granted a pardon, but permitted them the free enjoyment of all their effects. Nor had *Scipio* better success in his flight: He had got together twelve galleys, with a design to make for the coast of *Spain*, but was obliged by stress of weather to put in at *Hippo*, where *Sitius*’s fleet chanced to be at that time. *Scipio*’s vessels were most of them sunk; and, when he saw that there was no hopes of escaping, he stabbed himself, and in his last moments behaved with magnanimity; for when one of *Sitius*’s soldiers, who had boarded his ship, enquired what was become of the General? He answered himself, *the General is safe*.

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.
45.
406 C. inf.

Florus, iv.
2.

From *Utica* *Caesar* marched to *Zama*, where he exposed to sale the goods of King *Juba*, confiscated the estates of the *Roman* citizens settled there, who had joined in the war against him, and converted the kingdom into a *Roman* province. *Sitius*, who had done him such signal service, was put in possession of *Cirta*, formerly the royal city of *Masiniſſa* and of *Syphax*; and which, from the name of its new inhabitants, was afterwards called *the colony of the Sitians*. When he returned to *Utica*, he, in the like manner, confiscated and sold the effects of all who had the rank of Centurions under *Petreius* and *Juba*; and he fined the several towns that had served his enemies in proportion to their revenue, but suffered none to be plundered by his soldiers. The only distinction he made between the *Romans* who readily submitted after the battle of *Pharsalia*, and those whose obstinacy forced him to conquer them a second time in *Africa*, was, that the first were immediately restored to all their former privileges, and the last remained in exile till after the *Spanish* war, when he granted a general pardon. *Dio* tells us, that he gave the same instance of his moderation after the battle of *Thapsus*, which had done him so much honour after that of *Pharsalia*, in burning all the papers of *Scipio* without reading them. *Salust*, the historian, was left to govern the new *Roman* province of *Numidia*, where he amassed great wealth, which enabled him, on his return to *Rome*, to purchase the famous *Sallustian* gardens in the city, with several villa’s in the country, in which he spent the remainder of his life, in a learned and splendid retreat from all public business¹.

CHAP.

¹ Quos amissimus cives, eos martis vis perculit, non ira victoria. *Cicero* pro Marcello.

² As this is the last time we shall have occasion to mention *Salust*, it may not be

improper to subjoin a few particulars concerning him. It appears by all his writings, as well as by the favour shewn him by *Caesar*, that he was of the popular party. In his early youth, as he tells us himself, he was

Bell. Cat.

C H A P. IX.

Cæsar returns to Rome ; the honours decreed him : His four triumphs ; his civil administration and clemency.

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.
455 Conf.
Hist. de
Bell. Afric.

CÆSAR left *Utica* on the 13th of *June*, having put an end to a war of great importance, and attended with extreme difficulty, in little more than five months. He took his way by *Sardinia*, from whence he sent part of his fleet and legions into *Spain*, under the command of *C. Didius*, his Admiral, and his Lieutenants *Q. Fabius*, and *Q. Pedius*, with orders to observe the motions of the sons of *Pompey*. After a short stay in that island, he put to sea on the 29th; but, meeting with foul weather in his passage, he did not get to *Rome* before the end of *July*.

Dis, l. xliii. The uncertain event of the *African* war had kept the Senate under some reserve ; but they now began to push their flattery beyond all bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honours to *Cæsar* than were ever given before to any mortal. It was decreed, that there should be feasts and rejoicings for forty days, to celebrate his late victory ;

Afon. in
Cic. Mil.

was carried away by ambition, and sought preferment. At what time he was made *Quæstor* is uncertain ; but he was *Tribune* of the people in 701, when *Pompey* was sole *Consul* ; and at first acted vigorously against *Mila*, though he afterwards became more tractable. In 703, he was turned out of the Senate by the Aristocratic *Censor* *Appian*, for his immoral life, and notorious debauchery ; and, if we believe the anonymous author of an invective against him, he left *Rome* to join *Cæsar*. As soon as the civil war broke out, he wrote an epistle to *Cæsar*, upon the regulation of the Commonwealth ; where he vents his spleen against *Pompey* and the faction of the Nobles, and was, in the year 704, named *Quæstor* a second time, and thus recovered his seat in the Senate. He seems to have written his second epistle to *Cæsar* in the year 706, while the Dictator was yet in *Asia*, who caused him to be named *Prætor* for the following year. *Cæsar* then employed him in the *African* war, and recompensed his services with the grant of the government of the province. In this government he is accused by *Dio* of having exercised the most flagrant oppressions ; and *Cæsar*, it is said by this author, gave him express orders to plunder the people, rather than to protect them. This

Dio, l. xlii.

testimony of *Dio* is supported by the authority of an old grammarian, and of the author of the abovementioned invective, who tell us, that, on his return to *Rome*, he divided his spoils with *Cæsar*, who screened him from all prosecution. The riches he had acquired enabled him to pass the remainder of his days in a learned retreat ; and it was then that he wrote the history of the conspiracy of *Cataline*, of the war against *Jugurtha*, of the attempts of *Lepidus*, and the war against *Sertorius* in *Spain* ; which last history he carried backwards twelve years to the commencement of the *Social* or *Marsic* war. In regard to the private life and character of this historian, it must be remarked, that, as he had reviled the vices of the Nobility with great vehemence, and had thereby created to himself many enemies, injurious aspersions would be thrown out against him. We are informed by *Suetonius*, that *Lenæus*, a freedman of *Pompey*, wrote a violent invective against him, because, in speaking of his patron *Pompey*, he had said, that, *with a modest exterior, he had a shameless soul* : *Oris probi, animo inverecondo fuisse*. *Eusebius* in *Chron.* says, he died in the year 718, four years before the rupture between *Antony* and *Octavius*.

that,

that, when he triumphed, his chariot should be drawn by four white horses, as those of *Jupiter* and of the Sun; and that, besides the ordinary number of *Lictors* belonging to his offices, he should be preceded by all those of his former dictatorships. He was created Dictator for ten years, and Inspector of Morals for three; his statue was placed in the Capitol opposite to that of *Jupiter*, with the globe of the earth under his feet, and with this inscription, *To Caesar the Demi-god*.

Ever since the commencement of the civil war, he had found no leisure for celebrating the triumphs, which he had so justly deserved. He thought therefore the present time the most convenient for this purpose; and, in one month, he enjoyed four triumphs, which were conducted with a magnificence answerable to the wealth of the empire he was master of. His first triumph was over the *Gauls*; the next over *Ptolemy* and *Egypt*; the third over *Pharnaces* and *Pontus*; and the fourth over King *Juba*. We are told that the apparatus of each of these triumphs (by which is meant probably the pedestals and frames for the statues, pictures, and other representations) was different; that *citron-wood* was made use of in the first, *tortoise-shell* in the second, *acanthus* in the third, and *ivory* in the fourth. In that over the *Gauls*, which was the most splendid of the four, were carried the *Rhine* and the *Rhone*, and the captive ocean represented in gold. *Dio* adds a most improbable circumstance, that a multitude of prisoners preceded his chariot, among whom was distinguished *Vercingetorix*, the unfortunate Chief of confederate *Gaul*, who had been reserved upwards of six years, to grace his Conqueror's march to the Capitol, and was afterwards thrown into a dungeon, and put to death with other captives. But *Caesar* never acted with this barbarity against his enemies, when in the actual pursuit of conquest; and much less would he now be guilty of it towards a nation from which he had lately received so many signal proofs of their attachment to his cause and person. The axle-tree of the triumphal chariot broke in the way, and he did not arrive at the Capitol till night, which he ascended by the light of lustres and flambeaux, carried by forty elephants ranged on the right and left: And the *Greek* historian, just now mentioned, tells us, that, notwithstanding the divine honours decreed him, he, in a very humble and supplicating posture, and upon his knees, climbed up the steps of the Capitol. In the triumph over *Egypt* was represented the river *Nile*, and the *Pharos* on fire; and the death of *Achillas* and *Potbinus* in two different pictures. *Dio* says that *Arsinoë*, *Cleopatra's* sister, appeared there as a captive, and was afterwards set at liberty. This circumstance, however, is to be found in no other author, and *Hirtius* has informed us, that *Caesar* banished her the kingdom of *Egypt* before he left *Alexandria*. The triumph over *Pharnaces* had nothing more remarkable than the inscription, *Veni, vidi, vici*, engraved in capitals on a tablet. In the fourth marched *Juba's* son, a child; who afterwards gained great reputation

Y. R. 707- by his learning, and was restored to the kingdom of *Mauritania*. *Appian* says, that the money carried in these processions as the fruits of his victories, amounted to sixty-five thousand talents, besides two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing together twenty thousand four hundred and fourteen *Roman* pounds.

These triumphs were followed by rewards to his soldiers, and largesses to the citizens: To the first, besides land and settlements according to their services, he gave each veteran twenty thousand sesterces, double of that sum to every Centurion, and four times as much to the Tribunes. One hundred and fifty thousand citizens received from his bounty each ten bushels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and four hundred sesterces in money; and, at the same time, the whole body of the people was treated with the greatest profusion at twenty-two thousand tables placed in the streets. To these expences *Cæsar* further added public spectacles of all sorts. For the *Circensian* games, the *Circus* was enlarged on each side, and a canal sunk round it: And several young men of the greatest families ran the races in chariots drawn, some by four, some by two horses, and some on a single horse. The *Trojan* game was acted by two companies of lesser and larger boys, children of the nobility. The hunting of wild beasts was represented for five days together; and at last a battle was fought by five hundred foot, twenty elephants, and thirty horse on each side; to make room for which the goals were taken away, and in their room two camps pitched opposite to one another. Wrestlers too performed for three days together in a *stadium* provided for the purpose in the field of *Mars*. A lake was sunk in the lesser *Clodius*, in which the people were entertained with the representation of *Egyptian* and *Tyrian* galleys of two, three, and four benches of oars, and a sea-fight. He also dedicated this year his temple to *Venus Geni-*

Appian relates, that in these triumphs were to be seen representations of all the memorable events of the Civil War; and portraits of all the *Romans* of distinction, who had lost their lives in it, *Pompey* only excepted; of *Metellus Scipio*, for example, falling on his own sword, and of *Cato* tearing out his bowels. But it is certain, that *Cæsar* imitated *Sylla* upon this occasion, and gave no offence by shewing the wounds of his country, and insulting over the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens: For *Cicero*, who in his eighth *Philippic* mentions the spectators concern when they saw the city of *Marsilia* carried in triumph, would not have omitted those other affecting circumstances. The soldiers, on festivals of this kind, were allowed the liberty, during the procession, of singing verses, which sometimes contain-

ed the victor's praises, but were much oftener satyrs on him. *Suetonius* tells us, that they now reproached their General with his debauchery, and revived the suspicion which he had formerly lain under during his stay at the Court of *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*; a suspicion which gave him great offence, but which he could never get clear of, notwithstanding his oath to the contrary. *Suet. in Cæs. xlix. 57.* *Pliny* says that, dissatisfied with the rewards bestowed on them, they reproached him with the bad food they had lived upon at *Dyrrhacium*. *Plin. xix. 8.* And *Dio* writes that they all told him with one voice, *If you act the honest part (by resigning your usurped power) you will be punished; but, if you continue to be unjust, you may continue to reign over us.* *Dio l. xliii.*

trix;

trix; opened his new Forum; and celebrated the funeral obsequies of his daughter *Julia*, *Pompey's* wife. Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.

Many *Roman* Knights, to make their court to the Dictator, and please the populace, debased themselves so far as to enter the lists of gladiators. *Furius Leptimus*, a man of a prætorian family, and *Q. Calpurnius*, who had been a Senator, fought a prize in the Forum. *Decimus Laberius*, a *Roman* Knight, acted a mimic piece of his own composition, in compliance with *Cæsar's* will; and, being immediately presented with five hundred thousand sesterces and a gold ring, he went from the stage, through the *orchestra*, into the seats assigned for the equestrian order*. 406 Conf.
Suet. in
Cæf. 39.
40361.

When these festivals and rejoicings were over, *Cæsar* turned his attention towards matters of state and the administration of justice. He filled up the vacancies in the Senate, advanced several Commoners to the dignity of Patricians, and enlarged the number of Prætors, Ædiles, Quæstors, and inferior magistrates, restoring such as had been disgraced by the Censors, or condemned for bribery in elections. He admitted to the offices of the Republic the sons of those who had been proscribed by *Sylla*. He introduced *Gauls* and other foreigners, who had enriched themselves in his service, into the Senate; and, on this account, he has been greatly censured*. *Dio* and *Macrobius* tell us, that he increased the number of Senators to *nine hundred*, whereas the House formerly did not consist of above six hundred: And such an augmentation, we may observe, is greatly recommended in a letter to *Cæsar*, attributed to *Sallust*, the historian, concerning the regulation of the State. But we have no mention of this matter in any of *Cicero's* letters, or in any authentic writing; nor of the augmentation of magistrates mentioned by *Suetonius*: Though the increase of the Senate, if true, implied that of the magistrates, that there might be Quæstors enough to fill up the

* *Laberius*, to get to his place, was obliged to pass over the benches of the Senators; and *Cicero*, as he came by him, said to him, *I would make room for you on our benches, if we were not already too much crowded*: meaning to ridicule *Laberius*, and at the same time to reflect on the number of new Senators. The Poet made him this smart answer: *You surprise me; for you were wont to sit on two stools at once*; a proverbial expression to signify a trimmer. It appears that the Knights were greatly disgusted to see one of their body upon the stage, and that *Laberius* had consented to appear there against his will. We are told, that, to make some amends, and to shew a spirit more suitable to his rank, he inserted some lines, which gave offence to *Cæsar*, and engaged him to award the prize to *Publius Syrus*, *La-*

berius's competitor: *Romans, we are losing our liberty. He, who is feared by many, has many to fear. Necessesse est multos timet, quem multi timeant.* *Macrobius* Sat. xi. 3.

* *Suetonius* c. lxxx. says that, on this occasion, the following advertisement was stuck up in different parts of the city: *Bonum factum. Ne quis Senatori novo curiam monstrare velit*: "This is to give notice, that persons are desired not to shew any of the new Senators the way to the Senate-house." And, according to *Macrobius*, the great increase of Senators occasioned a joke of *Cicero*; who, being applied to by one of his friends for his interest to get his son-in-law made a Senator in one of the municipal towns: "At *Rome*, said he, the thing is easy: At *Pompeii* it is more difficult."

Y. R. 707. annual vacancies of the Senate without any particular creation of Sena-
 Bef. Chr. tors. We are told, that from this time there were 14 Prætors, and 40
 45. Conf. Quæstors.

Suet. in
 Cæ. 41. The choice of the magistrates he so divided with the people, that, excepting only the competitors for the consulship, they chose one half of them, and he the other half: And his way was to recommend such as he had pitched upon, by billets dispersed through the several tribes to this effect: *Cæsar, the Dictator, to such a tribe: I recommend to you such and such persons, that, by the favour of your votes, they may attain to the respective honours they sue for.* We do not, however, find any division of magistracies between *Cæsar* and the people in *Cicero's* letters: It appears; on the contrary, that the Consuls, Prætors, Ædiles, Tribunes and Quæstors were all elected according to the usual forms.

Dio l. 43. He restrained the trial of causes to two ranks of Judges, those of the
 Suet. in
 Cæ. 41. Equestrian and Senatorian orders, laying aside the Commissioners of the Treasury, who had before made a third class.

Id. In the quality of Master of Manners, he surveyed the people, but
 not in the usual method or place. He made the *census* in the several streets by those called *Domini insularum*; and he reduced the number of those who received corn from the public, from three hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand. And, to prevent all riots for the future upon account of the survey, he ordered, that, every year, a choice should be made by lot, by the Prætor, in the room of such as died, out of those who had not been enrolled for the receipt of corn. He reduced the number of the poor citizens, by sending fourscore thousand into colonies beyond seas. He enacted, that no freeman of the city above twenty, and under forty, should be allowed to absent himself three years together from *Italy*; that no Senator's son should go into foreign parts, unless in the retinue of some Governor; and that those who had pasture ground should have no less than a third part of their shepherds free-born. He made all such as practised physic in *Rome*, and all masters of liberal arts, free of the city, in order to fix them in it, and invite others to the place. To many, who had shewed themselves zealous in his cause, he communicated the like favour: And we have a proof from one of *Cicero's* letters, that, in bestowing this privilege, he acted with discretion. For, having found that some of his friends had abused his confidence by exposing this privilege to sale, he made a general revocation of such grants, and examined anew the grounds upon which they had been given. He encouraged marriages at the same time, and decreed rewards to those who had a numerous offspring.

Suet. in
 Cæ. 41. He disappointed the expectation of many in his regulation concerning debts. Several of his followers were in hopes that these would be wholly cancelled; a thing, as we have seen, that was frequently moved for; but he ordered that the debtors should satisfy their creditors, deducting only

only what interest had been paid since the commencement of the civil war, by virtue of which order, *Suetonius* says, a fourth part of the debt was lost.

V. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.
45.
406 Conf.

He abolished all companies of artificers but such as were of ancient establishment: For the corporations of later institution had been chiefly erected by turbulent magistrates, such as *Clodius*, with a view to have in the city so many companies to vote, or regiments to fight, for them.

Suet. in
Cæs. 42.

Luxury being carried to great excess in dress, furniture, building, eating, and sepulchral monuments, he revived the sumptuary laws, and was very desirous to carry them into execution. He laid duties on the importation of foreign commodities; and the use of coaches, jewels, and scarlet cloth was allowed only to certain persons. We are told that he appointed Commissioners to inspect the markets, and seize upon all the victuals which were exposed to sale contrary to law; and that he sent officers into private houses, to take off the tables the prohibited rarities, when he heard of any prevarications in this particular. All this care, however, was to no purpose: Luxury still continued to prevail.

Ad Att.
xiii. 7.

He was indefatigable and very strict in the administration of justice*. He enforced the laws against crimes by more severe punishments: And, because the rich were easily induced to transgress, by reason of their being only punished with banishment, he stripped parricides or murderers of their whole estates, and other offenders of one half. He turned such as were convicted of bribery out of the Senate; and he dissolved the marriage of a Senator of prætorian rank, who had married a woman two days after her divorce from a former husband, though there was no suspicion of any former unlawful commerce betwixt them.

Suet. in
Cæs. 43.

One of the most considerable as well as most useful of his laws was, *that no Prætor should hold any province more than one year, or a Consul more than two.* This was a regulation that had been often wished for, as *Cicero* says, in the best times; and what one of the ablest Dictators of the old Republic had declared to be its chief security, *not to suffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration; but to limit them at least in time, if it was not convenient to limit them in power*†. *Cæsar* knew by experience that the prolongation of these extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling kingdoms, was the readiest way not only to inspire contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to subvert them. He secured by this law his own possession and power from the attempts of all future invaders; and, after him, it was the

Dio 43.
Phil. i. 8.

* Jus laboriosissimè ac severissimè dixit. Suet. 43.

† *Mamercus Æmilius*.—Maximam autem, ait, ejus custodiam esse, si magna imperia

diuturna non essent; et temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non posset. Liv. iv. 24.

Y. R. 707. most proper to secure the liberties of the State, by preventing any
 Def. Cnr. other man from doing what *Pompey* and he himself had done.

⁴⁶
 406 Cons. It was at this time also, that he set himself to reform the calendar; a work of general benefit to mankind. The *Roman* year, from the old institution of *Numa*, was *lunar*; borrowed from the *Greeks*; among whom it consisted of *three hundred and fifty-four days*. *Numa* added one more to them, to make the whole number odd, which was thought the most fortunate; and, to fill up the deficiency of his year to the measure of the *solar* course, inserted likewise, or *intercalated*, after the manner of the *Greeks*, an extraordinary month of twenty-two days, every second year, and twenty-three every fourth, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth day of *February*. If *Numa* had stuck to the lunar year of 354 days, by this intercalation his year would have been as regular as that of *Cæsar*, but, by adding his odd day, each year deviated from the *solar* one whole day too much: Which irregularity he might easily have corrected by striking out of the intercalary month eight days every eighth year. This, however, was not done, and there appears to have been a progression of all the months in the year, relatively to the seasons: And we find, that the Consuls, and other magistrates entered upon their offices in different ages of the Republic, in *January*, in *December*, in *October*, in *July*, and in *March*; though the commencement of their magistracies must have been always in the winter-season. *Numa* committed the care of these intercalations to the College of Priests; who, it is commonly asserted, partly by a negligent, partly by a superstitious, but chiefly by an arbitrary abuse of their power, used either to drop or to insert them, as it was found most convenient to themselves or their friends to make the current year longer or shorter. But, when the last intercalation was made in the year 701, *Pompey* being sole Consul, the first of *January* of the following year was very near the winter solstice, and therefore in its right place; and the great confusion, in the year 707, proceeded from the omission of the intercalary months during six successive years. *Cæsar* resolved to put an end to this disorder for the future, as well as for the present, by abolishing the source of it, the use of intercalations; and, instead of the *lunar*, to establish the *solar* year, adjusted to the exact measure of the sun's revolution in the *zodiac*, or to that period of time in which it returns to the point from which it set out: And as this, according to the astronomers of that age, was supposed to be *three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours*, so he divided the days into twelve artificial months, and to supply the deficiency of six hours, by which they fell short of the sun's complete course, he ordered a day to be intercalated every fourth year between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of *February*⁷. But,

⁷ This day was called *Bissexus* from its being a repetition or duplicate of the sixth of the calends of *March*, which fell always on the twenty-fourth; and hence our intercalary, or *Leap-year*, is still called *Bissextile*. See *Middl.* p. 170.

to make this year begin and end regularly, he was forced to insert in-
to the current year *two extraordinary months* between *November* and *De-*
cember; the one of thirty-three, the other of thirty-four days; besides
(add *Suetonius* and *Censorinus*) the ordinary intercalary month of twen-
ty-three days, which fell into it of course. But *Dio* is positive, that
he added no more than sixty-seven days: And, though his authority is
not decisive, yet as he seems to have examined this point, and there is no
probability of there having been any intercalation since the beginning
of the civil war, sixty-seven days were sufficient to replace the months
in their proper seasons; which *sixty-seven days* were lost, since 701, by
the omission of *three intercalations*. All this was effected by the care
and skill of *Sofigenes*, a celebrated astronomer of *Alexandria*, whom
Cæsar had brought to *Rome* for that purpose: And a new calendar was
formed upon it by *Flavius*, a Scribe, digested according to the order of
the *Roman* festivals, and the old manner of computing their days by
calends, *ides*, and *nones*; which was published and authorised by the
Dictator's edict not long after his return from *Africa*. This year there-
fore was the longest that *Rome* had ever known, consisting of *four-*
teen months, or *four hundred and twenty-two days*; and is called *the last*
of the confusion, because it introduced the *Julian* or *Solar* year, with the
commencement of the ensuing *January*; which continues in use to this
day in all Christian countries; without any other variation than that of
the old and new style.*

All the regulations mentioned above were not enacted merely by *Cæ-*
sar's dictatorial authority: They were confirmed either by *decrees of the*
Senate, or *orders of the People*, according to their nature. Indeed
grants to foreign Princes were often made in the name of the Senate,
though the affair had not been referred to the House; but this had
been practised before *Cæsar's* reign, and these jobs had been esteemed
the perquisites of the Consuls*.

The

* This difference of the *old and new style* was occasioned by a regulation made by Pope Gregory, A. D. 1582; for it having been observed, that the computation of the vernal equinox was fallen back 10 days from the time of the Council of *Nice*, when it was found to be on the 21st of *March*; according to which all the festivals of the Church were then solemnly settled; Pope Gregory, by the advice of astronomers, caused ten days to be entirely sunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of *October*.

* *Ep. Fam ix. 15. Middl. p. 152.* "While I am still at *Rome*, and attend the Forum, says *Cicero*, in a letter to *Papirius Pætus*, the Senate's decrees are all drawn at our

"friend's house; and, whenever it comes into his head, my name is set down as if present at drawing them; so that I hear from *Armenia* and *Syria* of decrees said to be made at my motion, of which I had never heard a syllable at home. Do not take me to be in jest, for I assure you, that I have received letters from Kings from the remotest parts of the earth, to thank me for giving them the title of King; when, so far from knowing that any such title had been decreed to them, I knew not even that there were any such men in being. What is then to be done? Why, as long as our *Master of Manners* continues here, I will follow your advice; but, as soon

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.
45.
406 Conf.

Pliny, Hist.
Nat. xviii.
25.

Macroh.
Sat. i. 3.
Dio, 227.

Y. R. 707. The Dictator distinguished himself also, during his stay at Rome, by the greatest acts of clemency and generosity to his most avowed enemies. *M. Marcellus*, who, when Consul, began the attack upon *Cæsar*, and prosecuted it for three years by his relations, whom he got successively into the first dignity of the State, retired, after the battle of *Pharsalia*, to *Mitylene*, where he lived in ease without making any advances to *Cæsar*, and it was with difficulty he consented that his friends should sue for his pardon. In an assembly of the Senate, *Piso*, *Cæsar's* father-in-law, undertook to broach the affair, and immediately *C. Marcellus*, brother to *Marcus*, threw himself at *Cæsar's* feet; upon which the whole Senate, rising from their seats, seconded the request. *Cæsar* complained of the moroseness of *Marcellus*, and made a parallel of his behaviour with that of others towards him, and particularly with that of *S. Sulpicius*, his colleague in the consulate; but presently declared, contrary to all their expectations, that, whatever offence he had received from the man, he could refuse nothing to the intercession of the Senate, though he knew that he had many enemies who had designs upon his life^b. And it was upon this occasion that *Cicero* delivered that ingenious and eloquent panegyric on *Cæsar*, in which he justifies the Dictator's conduct in the civil war, and professes a personal affection for him, and zeal for the preservation of his life, insomuch that he declares himself ready to put himself between a pointed dagger and his body^c. *Marcellus*, however, did not live to enjoy the

"soon as he is gone, will run away to join you over a plate of mushrooms." Was it not a great grievance that *Cæsar* should grant favours, without the privacy of the Senate, to men so insignificant that *Cicero* had never heard of them?

^b The whole history of this transaction is related by *Cicero*, in a letter to *Sulpicius*, *Ep. Fam. iv. 4. Mem. ix. 17.*

Guthrie, Vol. i. p. 167—171. *Mikil. p. 167.* "Now proceed I to your heavy charge and gloomy suspicions (says *Cicero* to *Cæsar*, in his speech for *Marcellus*) all which ought to be guarded against not more by you than by every Roman, especially by us whom you have preferred: And, though I hope they are groundless, yet never shall I endeavour, by my expressions, to extenuate them; for your circumspection is our safety; and, were I to err on any extreme, it should be that of too much caution, rather than too little prudence. But who can be such a madman? Is he of your friends? Who can be more so than they whom, contrary to their own expectations, you brought

from ruin! Is he of those who followed you to the field? Where is the wretch so frantic, as not to prefer, even to his own life, the life of the man, under whose command he has risen to all that ambition could wish! But, if your friends enter in to no conspiracy, may not your foes? Where are these to be found! For all, who formerly were so, either owed their death to their own stubbornness, or their life to your mercy. Thus no man who ever was your foe is now alive, or, if alive, he is now your determined friend.

"Yet, as the mind of man is so dark and so impenetrable, we ought to increase your distrust, and, at the same time, your circumspection. For, shew me the man so new to the affairs of life, such a novice in this State, so unheeding either his own or the common safety, as not to be sensible, that in your preservation his own is included, and upon your life depends the life of every Roman? For my part, when I meditate night and day on the accidents of life, the uncertain enjoyment

the benefit of his pardon. He had left *Mitylene* in the beginning of the following year, and was come as far as *Piræus* on his way towards *Rome* ;

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.
45.
406 Conf.

“ment of health, and the frailty to which
“nature is subjected ; I tremble, I grieve,
“that this State, which ought to be eter-
“nal, should exist in the breath of one mor-
“tal. But if, with human accidents and
“doubtful events depending on the natural
“constitution, treason and villainy shall co-
“operate, to me it appears, that a God,
“were he willing, must be unable to save
“this country.

“By you, alone, O *Cæsar* ! every thing,
“which you see overthrown and overturned
“by the unavoidable calamities of war, is
“to be replaced : Public justice must be
“restored, public credit must be retrieved ;
“the lusts of mankind suppressed, the race
“of mankind propagated, and every droop-
“ing branch of the constitution, that now
“hangs its head, is to be reared and sup-
“ported by the wholesome severity of laws.
“There is no denying that, in so fierce a
“civil war, amidst such a combustion of
“arms and opinions, in every event the
“State must receive a shock, by the beat-
“ing down some of her most graceful orna-
“ments and primest bulwarks. For the
“head of each party, in the storm of war,
“was forced on many measures which he
“would have disapproved of in the calm of
“peace. *You alone are the physician to bind
“up these bleeding wounds of your country, and
“every application from any other hand must
“prove ineffectual.*

“With reluctance, therefore, did I hear
“from your mouth that saying, which dis-
“covers at once the hero and the philoso-
“pher : *That you had lived long enough either
“for nature or for glory.* Enough, if you
“will, for nature ; nay, I will add for glory
“too : But surely not for the chief purpose
“of life, *your country* ! Give over, there-
“fore, I conjure you, that philosophical
“contempt of death. Do not be a sage at
“the expence of your country : For it has
“often reached my ears, that it is com-
“monly in your mouth, *that you have lived
“long enough for yourself.* True ! if I could
“suppose that you lived for yourself, and
“was born for yourself alone. But now
“*that your courage and conduct are connected
“with the safety of ROMANS, and the con-
“stitution of ROME ;* so far are you from

“having completed, that you have not yet
“laid the foundations of those great designs
“you meditate. Thus you limit your life,
“not by the good of your country, but the
“intentions of your equity : Yet even that
“is not enough for the purposes of glory ;
“which, wise as you are, you must own to
“be the ruling passion of your soul.

“*Shall I then, say you, leave behind me
“but a scanty portion of glory ?* Yes : to
“others it would be sufficient : But to *Cæ-
“sar* it is but scanty. For what, considered
“by itself is great, may prove but little
“when compared with the degrees to which
“it may be extended. If this was to be the
“end of your immortal acts, that, after
“conquering all your enemies, you should
“leave the Republic in the condition in
“which it is now ; consider, I beseech you,
“whether your divine virtue would not ex-
“cite an admiration of you rather than any
“real glory : For glory is the illustrious
“fame of many and great services either to
“our friends, our country, or to the whole
“race of mankind.

“This part, therefore, still remains ; there
“is one act more to be performed by you ;
“to establish the Republic again, that you
“may reap the benefit of it yourself in
“peace and prosperity. When you have
“paid this debt to your country, and ful-
“filled the ends of your nature by a satiety
“of living, you may then tell us, if you
“please, that *you have lived long enough* :
“Yet what is it, after all, that we can really
“call long, of which there is an end ? For,
“when that end is once come, all past plea-
“sure is to be reckoned as nothing, since
“no more of it is to be expected. Though
“your mind, I know, was never content
“with these narrow bounds of life which
“nature has assigned to us, but inflamed
“always with an ardent love of immor-
“tality.

“Nor indeed is this to be considered as
“your life, which is comprised in this bo-
“dy and breath ; but that, that, I say is
“your life, which is to flourish in the me-
“mory of all ages : Which posterity will
“cherish, and eternity itself propagate. It
“is to this that you must attend ; to this
“that you must form yourself : Which has
“many

Y. R. 707. *Rome*; where he was killed by *P. Magius Cilo*, his friend and companion; who, though he had been *Quæstor*, and was of a family which had borne some of the public offices, had attached himself to the fortunes of *Marcellus*, and followed him through the wars, and in his exile. After having given him two wounds, the one in his stomach, the other in his head near the ear, he stabbed himself with the same poniard. As soon as the news reached *Rome*, it raised a general consternation: And, from the suspicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were presently turned upon *Cæsar*, as if he were privately the contriver of it; and, from the wretched fate of so illustrious a citizen, every man began to think himself in danger. *Cicero* was greatly shocked at it, and seemed to consider it as the prelude of some greater evil to

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.

45.
4-6 Conf.

Middl. p.
134.

Il. p. 198.

" many things already to admire, yet wants
" something still, that it may praise in you.
" Posterity will be amazed to hear and read
" of your commands, provinces; the *Rhine*,
" the *Ocean*, the *Nile*; your innumerable
" battles, incredible victories, infinite mo-
" numents, splendid triumphs: But, un-
" less this city be established again by your
" wisdom and counsels, your name indeed
" will wander far and wide, yet will have
" no certain seat or place at last, where to
" fix itself. There will be also, among those
" who are yet unborn, the same controver-
" sy that has been among us; when some
" will extol your actions to the skies; others
" perhaps will find something defective in
" them; and that one thing above all, if
" you should not extinguish this flame of ci-
" vil war, by restoring liberty to your coun-
" try: For the one may be looked upon as
" the effect of fate, but the other is the cer-
" tain act of wisdom.

" Pay a reverence, therefore, to those
" Judges who will pass judgment upon you in
" ages to come; and with less partiality per-
" haps than we, since they will neither be bi-
" ased by affection or party, nor prejudiced
" by hatred or envy to you; and though this,
" as some falsely imagine, should then have
" no relation to you, yet it concerns you
" certainly, at the present, to act in such a
" manner, that no oblivion may ever ob-
" scure the lustre of your praises.

" Various were the inclinations of the
" citizens, and their opinions wholly di-
" vided: Nor did we differ only in senti-
" ments and wishes, but in arms also and
" camps: The merits of the cause were
" dubious, and the contention between two
" celebrated Leaders: Many doubted what

" was the best; many what was convenient;
" many what was decent; some also what
" was lawful: The Commonwealth, at
" length, got over this ruinous, this destruc-
" tive war: Victory favoured the man whose
" resentment was not inflamed by conquest,
" but softened by clemency; the man who
" did not condemn to exile, or death, the
" enemy against whom he was exasperated.
" Some quitted their arms; they were forced
" from others. That citizen is unjust and
" odious, who, when hostilities are laid
" aside in the field, retains them in his
" bosom; much more justifiable is he who
" lays down his life in the field of battle,
" and seals with his blood the cause he has
" embraced.

" But since all civil discord is now sub-
" dued by the arms, or extinguished by the
" clemency of the victor, let us all think
" and act with unanimity. It is, O *Cæsar*,
" only by your remaining safe and fixed in
" the same principles which you have here-
" tofore, but more particularly this day ex-
" pressed, that we can be preserved. There-
" fore all of us who wish the prosperity of our
" country, beg and intreat, that you would
" provide for your life and safety; and all of
" us, (I speak for others what I myself feel)
" as you suspect some reason to be cautious,
" promise not only to guard you by day, and
" watch you by night, but to form, with our
" own bodies and our own breasts, the wall of
" your defence."

Though all this was mere compliment in *Cicero*, it might have been spoken with great truth and sincerity; for certain it is, that at this time, no power less than that of a Dictator, as *Cæsar* was, could remedy the disorders of the State.

ensue,

ensue; and *Atticus*, signifying his concern upon it, advises him to take a more particular care of himself, as being the only *consular Senator* left, who stood exposed to any envy. But *Cæsar*'s friends soon cleared him of all suspicion; as indeed the fact itself did, when the circumstances came to be known, and fixed the whole guilt of it on the fury of *Magius*. It was *Cicero*'s conjecture that *Magius*, oppressed with debts, and apprehending some trouble on that score, at his return to *Rome*, had been urging *Marcellus*, who was his sponsor for some part of them, to furnish him with money to pay the whole; and, by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madness of killing his Patron. Others assign a different reason, as the rage of jealousy, and the impatience of seeing others more favoured by *Marcellus* than himself^a.

Soon after the affair of *Marcellus*, *Cicero* had another occasion of trying both his eloquence and interest with *Cæsar* in the cause of *Ligarius*; who was now in exile, on account of having been in arms against *Cæsar* in the *African* war, in which he had borne a considerable command. His two brothers, however, had been on *Cæsar*'s side; and, being recommended by *Pansa*, and warmly supported by *Cicero*, had almost prevailed for his pardon; when *Q. Tubero*, who had an old quarrel with him, being desirous to obstruct it, and knowing *Cæsar* to be particularly exasperated against all those, who, through an obstinate aversion to him, had renewed the war in *Africa*, accused him, in the usual forms, of an uncommon zeal and violence in prosecuting that war. *Cæsar* is said to have privately encouraged the prosecution, and ordered the cause to be tried in the *Forum*, where he sat upon it in person, strongly prepossessed against the criminal, and determined to lay hold of any plausible pretence of condemning him: But the force of *Cicero*'s eloquence, exerted with all his skill in a cause which he had much at heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and extorted a pardon from him against his will^b. This *Ligarius*, after his return, lived

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D. d.

in.

^a *S. Sulpicius*, who, in a letter to *Cicero*, gives the account above, tells him, that the *Athenians* refused to grant a place of burial for him within the city, saying, that it was forbidden by their religion, and had never been indulged to any man. He was therefore buried without the city in the *Academy*. *Middl. p. 172. Ep. Fam. iv. 12.*

^b The merit of this speech, says *Dr. Middleton*, is too well known to want to be enlarged upon: Those who read it will find no reason to charge *Cicero* with flattery: But the free spirit, which it breathes, in the face of that power to which it was suing for mercy, must give a great idea of the art of the Speaker, who could deliver such bold truths without offence; as well as of the generosity of

the Judge who heard them not only with patience, but approbation. *Middl. p. 173—175.*

“Observe, *Cæsar*, says he, with what fidelity I plead *Ligarius*'s cause, when I betray even my own by it. O that admirable clemency, worthy to be celebrated by every kind of praise, letters, monuments! *M. Cicero* defends a criminal before you, by proving him not to have been in those sentiments in which he owns himself to have been: Nor does he yet fear your secret thoughts, or, while he is pleading for another, what may occur to you about himself. See, I say, how little he is afraid of you. See with what a courage and gaiety of speaking your generosity

Y. R. 707.
Ref. Cl. r.
45.
406 Conf.

Ad. A. 1.
Lib. 10.

Val. Max.
ix. 11.

Ep. Fam.
vi. 14.

Plut. in
Cic.

Y. R. 707. in great confidence with *Brutus*, who found him a fit person to bear a
 Ref. Chr. part in the conspiracy against *Cæsar*; but, happening to be taken ill
 46. near the time of its execution, when *Brutus* in a visit to him began to la-
 406 Coml. ment, *that he was fallen sick in a very unlucky hour*; he, presently raising
 himself upon his elbow, and, taking *Brutus* by the hand, replied: Yet
 still, *Brutus*, if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourself, I am well.
 Nor did he disappoint *Brutus's* opinion of him, for we find him after-
 wards in the list of the conspirators.

Cicero composed, at this time, his panegyric upon *Cato*¹, which is
 lost: But, from the accounts given of the work by antiquity, it appears,
 that

“and wisdom inspire me. I will raise my
 “voice to such a pitch that the whole Ro-
 “man people may hear me. After the war
 “was not only begun, *Cæsar*, but, in a
 “great measure, finished, when I was driven
 “by no necessity, I went, by choice and
 “judgment, to join myself with those who
 “had taken arms against you. Before
 “whom do I say this? Why before him
 “who, though he knew it to be true, yet
 “restored me to the Republic, before he
 “had even seen me; who wrote to me from
 “*Egypt*, that I should be the same man that
 “I had always been; and, when he was the
 “only Emperor within the dominion of
 “*Rome*, suffered me to be the other; and
 “to hold my laurelled fasces, as long as I
 “thought them worth holding.—Do you
 “then, *Tabern*, call *Ligarius's* conduct wic-
 “ked? For what reason, since that cause
 “has never yet been called by that name?
 “Some indeed call it mistake, others fear;
 “those, who speak more severely, hope, am-
 “bition, hatred, obstinacy, or, at the worst,
 “rashness; but no man besides you has ever
 “called it wickedness. For my part, were I to
 “invent a proper and genuine name for our
 “calamity, I should take it for a kind of fa-
 “tality, that had possessed the unwary minds
 “of men; so that none can think it strange
 “that all human counsels were over-ruled
 “by a divine necessity. Call us then, if
 “you please, unhappy, *though we can ne-
 “ver be so under this Conqueror*; but I
 “speak not of us who survive, but of those
 “who fell: Let them be ambitious; let
 “them be angry; let them be obstinate;
 “but let not the guilt of crime, of fury, of
 “parricide, ever be charged on *Cn. Pompey*
 “and on many of those who died with him.
 “When did we ever hear any such thing
 “from you, *Cæsar*? Or what other view

“*had you in the war but to defend yourself from
 “injury?*—You considered it, from the first,
 “not as a war, but a secession; not an hos-
 “tile, but a civil dissension: Where both
 “sides wished well to the Republic; yet,
 “through a difference, partly of counsels,
 “partly of inclinations, deviated from the
 “common good: The dignity of the Lead-
 “ers was almost equal; though not, per-
 “haps, of those who followed them; the
 “cause was then dubious, since there was
 “something which one might approve on
 “either side; but now that must needs be
 “thought the best, which the Gods have
 “favoured; and, after the experience of
 “your clemency, who can be displeased
 “with that victory, in which no man fell
 “who was not actually in arms.”

It would have been difficult for *Cæsar* to
 have been angry with these bold truths.

¹ Dr. Middleton (p. 160) and Abbé Mon-
 gault imagine, that *Cicero* had been left a
 guardian to *Cato's* son, as he was also to
 young *Lucullus*, *Cato's* nephew. “This tes-
 “timony of *Cato's* friendship and judgment
 “of him, says the former of these writers,
 “might induce him the more readily to pay
 “this honour to his memory. It was a mat-
 “ter, however, of no small deliberation, in
 “what manner he ought to treat the subject:
 “His friends advised him not to be too ex-
 “plicit and particular in the detail of *Cato's*
 “praises, but to content himself with a ge-
 “neral encomium, for fear of irritating *Cæ-
 “sar*, by pushing the argument too far. In
 “a letter to *Atticus*, (xii. 4.) he calls this
 “an *Archimedean* problem; but I cannot but
 “upon any thing, says he, that those friends
 “of yours will read with pleasure, or even
 “with patience: Besides, if I should drop
 “the account of *CATO's* votes and speeches in
 “the Senate, and of his political conduct in
 “the

that he spared no pains to adorn it. *Brutus*, also, composed and published a piece on the same subject. *Cæsar*, far from expressing any resentment, affected to be pleased with them; yet declared that he would answer *Cicero's*; and *Hirtius*, in the mean while, drew up a little piece, in the form of a letter to *Cicero*, filled with objections to *Cato's* character, but with high compliments to *Cicero* himself; which *Cicero* took care to make public, and called it a specimen of what *Cæsar's* work was like to be. *Cæsar's* answer was not published till the next year, upon his return from *Spain*, after the defeat of *Pompey's* sons. It was a laboured invective; answering *Cicero's* book paragraph by paragraph, and accusing *Cato* with all the art and force of his rhetoric, *as if in a public trial before Judges*; yet with expressions of great respect towards *Cicero*; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared to *Pericles* and *Themistocles* of *Athens*: And in a letter upon it to *Balbus*, which was shewn by his order to *Cicero*, he said, *that, by the frequent reading of CICERO's Cato, he was grown more copious; but, after he had read BRUTUS's, thought himself more eloquent.*

Y. R. 707.
Bef. Chr.
45.
405 Conf.

Tac. An.
iv. 34.
Quint. iii.
7.
Plut. in
Cic.

Ad Att.
xiii. 46.

Brutus, about this time, took a resolution of putting away his wife *Claudia*, to marry *Porcia*, *Bibulus's* widow, and his uncle *Cato's* daughter; a step for which he was much censured; since *Claudia* had no stain upon her character; was nobly born; the sister of *Appius Claudius*; and nearly allied to *Pompey*; so that his mother *Servilia*, though *Cato's* sister, seems to have been averse to the divorce, and strongly in the interest of *Claudia* against her niece. *Cicero's* advice upon it was, that, if *Brutus* was resolved upon the thing, he should do it out of hand, as the best way to put an end to people's talking; by shewing that it was not done out of levity or complaisance to the times, but to take the daughter of *Cato*, whose name was now highly popular: Which *Brutus* soon after complied with, and made *Porcia* his wife. And *Cicero*, when he separated from *Terentia*, in the beginning of this year, had thoughts of marrying the daughter of *Pompey*. Nothing shews better how much they presumed on *Cæsar's* mildness. He married, however, *Publia*, a young woman with a great fortune, to whom he was Guardian, to satisfy, says *Plutarch*, his creditors with her money. This drew upon him a great deal of censure; and was certainly an act of the greatest injustice to *Terentia*, who had lived with him upwards of thirty years, and had made him the father of two children extremely dear to him.

Middl. p.
193.

D d 2

C H A P.

"the State, and give a slight commendation
"only of his constancy and gravity, even this
"will be more than they care to hear: But
"the man cannot be praised as he deserves,
"unless it be particularly explained, how he
"foretold all that has happened to us; how
"he took arms to prevent its happening; and
"parted with life rather than see it happen."

"These were the topics, which he resolved to display with all his force." And the Doctor thinks, that this work was a remarkable proof of his being no temporiser at this time. But, since *Cæsar* and his friends were so much pleased with the work, it is very evident that they did not find their condemnation in it. His orations for *Marcellus*,

las,

Y. R. 707
B.C. 67
45.
406 Cons.
is, for *Ligarius*, and afterwards for *Dei-*
mus, may be called, with as good reason,
remarkable proofs of his courage and veraci-
 ty, whereas they are extraordinary exam-
 ples of falsehoods and servile adulation. If
 we examine his private correspondence at
 this period, we shall find, that he acted a
 double part; making his court, on the one
 hand, to *Cæsar*, and passing his whole time
 with *Cæsar's* friends, of whom he was con-

tinually asking favours; while, on the other
 hand, he was perpetually complaining of
 the state of affairs, in the bitterest and most
 unreasonabie terms, to Republican, and to
Scipio then in exile.——The following
 letters accordingly will give the reader a
 most satisfactory account of his sentiments
 and way of life during *Cæsar's* administra-
 tion: And we shall accompany them with
 some remarks.

CICERO TO PAPIRIUS PRÆTUS.

Ep. Fam.
1. 16.
Mich. vii.
20.
 “YOUR letter afforded me a very agreeable instance of your friendship, in the
 “concern it expressed lest I should be uneasy at the report which had been brought me
 “hither by *messengers*.” [This man had brought an account from the army in *Africa*, that
 “some wicked crimes of *Cicero* had been reported to *Cæsar*, which had given him offence] “I
 “was indeed too sore perfectly sensible how much you was disturbed at this circumstance,
 “by your care in sending me duplicates of a former letter upon the same subject: And I
 “then returned such an answer as I thought would be sufficient to abate, at least, if
 “not entirely remove this your generous solicitude. But since I perceive, by your last
 “letter, how much this affair still dwells upon your mind; let me assure you, my dear
 “*Prætus*, that I have employed every artifice (for we must now, my friend, be armed with
 “cunning, as well as prudence) to procure the good graces of the persons you mention: And,
 “if I mistake not, my endeavours have not proved ineffectual. I receive indeed so many
 “marks of respect and esteem from those who are most in *Cæsar's* favour, that I cannot
 “but flatter myself they have a true regard for me. It must be confessed, at the same
 “time, that a pretended affection is not easily discernible from a real one, unless in sea-
 “sons of distress. For adversity is to friendship what fire is to gold; the only infal-
 “lible test to discover the genuine from the counterfeit: as, in all other circumstances,
 “they both bear the same common signatures. I have one strong reason, however, to
 “persuade me of their sincerity: as neither their situation, nor mine, can by any means
 “tempt them to dissemble with me. As to that person [*Cæsar*] in whom all power is
 “now centered, I am not sensible that I have any thing to fear: or nothing more,
 “at least, than what arises from that general precarious state in which all things must
 “stand where the fence of laws is broken down; and that it is impossible to pronounce
 “with assurance of any event, which depends wholly upon the will, not to say the ca-
 “price, of another. But this I can with confidence affirm, that I have not, in any single
 “instance, given him any just occasion to take offence: and, in the article you point out,
 “I have been particularly cautious. There was a time, it is true, when I thought it well
 “became me, by whom *Rome* itself was free, to speak my sentiments with freedom: But,
 “now that our liberties are no more, I deem it equally agreeable to my present situation
 “not to say any thing that may disgust either *Cæsar* or his favourites. But, were I to
 “suppress every rising railery, that might pique those at whom it is directed, I must re-
 “nounce, you know, all my reputation as a wit: And, in good earnest, it is a character
 “upon which I do not set so high a value as to be unwilling to resign, if it were in my
 “power. However, I am in no danger of suffering in *Cæsar's* opinion, by being repre-
 “sented as the author of any sarcasms to which I have no claim: As his judgment is
 “much too penetrating ever to be deceived by any imposition of this nature. I remem-
 “ber your brother *Servius*, whom I look upon to be one of the most learned Critics that
 “this age has produced, was so conversant in the writings of our Poets, and had ac-
 “quired such an excellent and judicious ear, that he could immediately distinguish the
 “numbers of *Plautus* from those of any other author. Thus *Cæsar*, I am told, when
 “he made his large collection of apothegms, constantly rejected any piece of wit that
 “was brought to him as mine, if it happened to be spurious: A distinction he is much
 “more able to make at present, as his particular friends pass almost every day of their
 “lives in my company. As our conversation generally turns upon a variety of subjects, I
 “frequently

“ frequently strike out thoughts which they look upon as not altogether void, perhaps, Y. R. 707.
 “ of spirit and ingenuity. Now these little sallies of pleasantry, together with the gene- Bef. Chr.
 “ ral occurrences of *Rome*, are commonly transmitted to *Cæsar*, in pursuance of his own 45.
 “ express directions: So that, if any thing of this kind is mentioned by others as coming 406 Conf.
 “ from me, he always disregards it. You see then, that the lines you quote, with so much
 “ propriety, from the tragedy of *Oenomaus*, contain a caution altogether unnecessary.
 “ For tell me, my friend, what jealousies can I possibly create? Or who will look with envy
 “ upon a man in my humble situation? But, granting I were in ever so enviable a state,
 “ yet, let me observe, that it is the opinion of those philosophers who alone seem to have
 “ understood the true nature of virtue, that a good man is answerable for nothing farther
 “ than his own innocence. Now, in this respect, I think myself doubly irreproachable:
 “ In the first place, as having recommended such public measures as were for the interest
 “ of the Commonwealth; and, in the next, when I found I was not sufficiently supported
 “ to render my counsels effectual, that I did not deem it advisable to contend farther by
 “ arms against a superior strength. Most certainly, therefore, I cannot justly be accused of
 “ having failed in the duty of a good citizen. The only part, therefore, that now re-
 “ mains for me, is to be cautious not to expose myself, by any indiscreet word or action,
 “ to the resentment of those in power: A part which I hold likewise to be agreeable to
 “ the character of true wisdom. . . . But to turn from the serious to the jocular part
 “ of your letter.—The strain of pleasantry you break into, immediately after having quoted
 “ the tragedy of *Oenomaus*, puts me in mind of the modern method of introducing, at
 “ the end of those graver dramatic pieces, the buffoon humour of our low mimes, instead
 “ of the more delicate burlesque of the old *Atellan* farces. Why else do you talk of your
 “ paltry polypusses, and your mouldy cheese? In pure good-nature, it is true, I for-
 “ merly submitted to sit down with you to such homely fare: but more refined company
 “ has improved me into a better taste: For *Hirtius* and *Dolabella*, let me tell you, are
 “ my Preceptors in the science of the table: As, in return, they are my disciples in that
 “ of the bar. But I suppose you have already heard, that they frequently declaim at my
 “ house, and I sup at theirs.”

To the same.

“ YOUR very agreeable letter found me wholly disengaged at my *Tusculan* villa. I Ep: Fam.
 “ retired hither during the absence of my pupils [*Hirtius* and *Dolabella*] whom I have ix. 18.
 “ sent to meet their victorious friend, in order to conciliate his good graces in my favour. Melm. viii.
 “ As *Dionysius*, the tyrant, after he had been expelled from *Syracuse*, opened a school, it 22.
 “ is said, at *Corinth*; in the same manner, being driven from my dominions in the Fo-
 “ rum, I have erected a sort of academy in my own house; and I perceive, by your let-
 “ ter, that you approve the scheme. I have many reasons for approving it too: And,
 “ principally, as it affords me, what is highly expedient in the present conjuncture, a
 “ means of establishing an interest with those in whose friendship I may find a protection.
 “ How far my intentions in this respect may be answered, I know not: I can only say,
 “ that I have hitherto had no reason to prefer the different measures which others of the
 “ same party with myself have pursued; unless, perhaps, it would have been more
 “ eligible not to have survived the ruin of our cause. It would so, I confess, had I
 “ died either in the camp, or in the field: But the former did not happen to be my
 “ fate; and, as to the latter, I was never engaged in any action. But, the inglo-
 “ rious manner in which *Pompey*, together with *Scipio*, *Afranius*, and your friend *Len-*
 “ *tulus*, severally lost their lives, will scarcely, I suppose, be thought a more desirable
 “ lot. As to *Cato's* death; it must be acknowledged to have been truly noble: And I
 “ can still follow his example, whenever I shall be so disposed: Let me only endea-
 “ vour, as in truth I do, not to be compelled to it by the same necessity: And this, indeed,
 “ is my first reason for engaging in my present scheme. My next is, that I find it an advan-
 “ tage not only to my health, which began to be impaired by the intermission of exercises
 “ of this kind, but also to my oratorical talents, if any I ever possessed; which would have
 “ totally lost their vigour, if I had not had recourse to this method of keeping them in
 “ play. The last benefit I shall mention (and the principal one, I dare say, in your esti-
 “ mation),

Y. R. 797. "mation" is, that it has introduced me to the demolishing a greater number of more delicious
 Ref. Chr. "peacocks, than you have had the devouring of paltry pigeons in all your life. The truth
 45. "of it is, whilst you are humbly sipping the meagre broths of the sneaking *Aterius*, I am
 406 Conf. "luxuriously regaling myself with the savoury soups of the magnificent *Hirtius*. If you have
 "any spirit then, fly hither, and learn, from our elegant bills of fare, how to refine
 "your own. . . . To encourage you to do so, you shall be honoured with a chair and
 "cushion next to mine, and sit the second great pedagogue in my celebrated school."

The following letter to his friend NIGIDIUS FIGULUS, who was then in exile, is in a more melancholy strain :

Ep. Fam. "THOUGH I have been long looking out for an occasion of writing to you, yet
 iv. 13. "I have not only been unable to meet with any particular subject for that purpose, but
 Melm. ix. "find myself utterly at a loss even to furnish out a common letter. The calamities of
 3. "our country have spoiled me for those jocular epistles, with which, in happier days, I
 "used to entertain my friends : As fortune has rendered me incapable of writing, or in
 "truth of thinking upon any subject of a cheerful nature. There remains another species
 "of letters of a grave and serious cast, peculiarly adapted to these miserable times. But
 "as a letter of this kind ought to contain either some promise of assisting you to surmount
 "your misfortunes, or some arguments to support you under them ; from these too I am
 "likewise excluded. Sunk, indeed, as I am into the same abject fortune as yourself ;
 "what assistance can I possibly offer you ? The truth is, I am obliged to have recourse
 "myself to the aid of others : And I have much more reason to lament *that I live upon these*
 "disgraceful terms, than to rejoice that I am still in being. I say not this from any extraor-
 "dinary injuries which I have suffered in my own person : As indeed there is nothing
 "which, in the present conjuncture, I could wish for myself, that *Cæsar* has not volun-
 "tarily offered me. Nevertheless the sorrows that oppress my heart are of so severe a nature,
 "that I think myself guilty of a crime in still continuing to live. For I live deprived of ma-
 "ny of my most intimate friends, whom death, or those public calamities which have
 "driven them from their country, have separated from me : As I have likewise lost, by
 "the same means, all those whose good-will I formerly conciliated, when, by your assist-
 "ance, I successfully stood forth in defence of the Republic. I have the unhappiness,
 "at the same time, to be placed in the midst of the general wreck and plunder of their
 "fortunes : And not only have the pain to hear, (but, what is far more affecting) am a
 "spectator of the dissipation of the estates which belonged to those illustrious associates,
 "who assisted me in extinguishing the flames of that dangerous conspiracy. In a word, I
 "have the mortification to find myself utterly divested of all credit, authority, and ho-
 "nours in that Republic, where I once flourished in the full possession of these glorious
 "distinctions. *Cæsar*, it is true, acts towards me with the utmost generosity : But his
 "generosity cannot restore what I have lost by the general violence and confusion of the
 "times. Thus, bereaved of those advantages to which I was habituated by genius, by
 "inclination, and by custom, I imagine the world is no less dissatisfied with me than I
 "am with myself. Formed indeed as I was by nature to be perpetually engaged in the
 "noblest and most important occupations, I am now deprived of every means, not only
 "of acting, but thinking to any public purpose. There was a time when my assistance
 "could have raised the obscure, and protected even the guilty : But now I cannot so
 "much as send a favourable promise to *Nigidius* ; to the virtuous and learned *Nigidius* ;
 "to the man who once flourished in the highest credit, and who was always my warmest
 "friend ! Thus you see that I am totally disqualified from writing letters to you of this
 "kind.

"The only subject, that remains to me then, is to endeavour to draw off your mind
 "from its inquietudes, by laying before you such arguments as may afford you a well-
 "grounded consolation. But, if ever any man was peculiarly qualified to employ the
 "strongest reasonings of this nature, either for his own use, or for that of others, most
 "undoubtedly it is yourself. Such, therefore, as may be drawn from the refined sources
 "of philosophy, I will not pretend to touch ; but shall leave them entirely to your own
 "suggestions. Whatever is worthy of a man of true wisdom and fortitude ; whatever is
 "agreeable

“agreeable to that character you have sustained in the world, and to those studies in Y. R. 707.
 “which you so early excelled; whatever, in short, is expected from a great and exalted Baf. Chr.
 “mind in the circumstances wherein you are placed, your own reflections will best supply. 45.
 “I will only take upon myself therefore to inform you of what I have been able to dis- 406 Conf.
 “cover from my being situated in *Rome*, and giving a particular attention to every occur-
 “rence that passes. I will venture then with confidence to assure you, that your present
 “troubles (perhaps too I might add, that those of the Republic itself) will not be of long
 “continuance. For, in the first place, *Cæsar* seems well-inclined to recall you from
 “exile: And, trust me, I speak this from no hasty conjecture. On the contrary, I ex-
 “amine his sentiments and disposition so much the more strictly, as I am less biassed in
 “his favour by any particular connexions. I am persuaded then that the single reason
 “for his delaying to restore you is, that he may, with a better grace, refuse the same fa-
 “vour to others, against whom he is more warmly incensed. I am sure, at least, that all
 “his most intimate friends and favourites both think and speak of you highly to your
 “advantage. In the next place, the populace, or rather, I should say, the whole com-
 “munity in general, are strongly in your interest. And, let me add, that the Republic
 “herself, whose power at present, it is true, is certainly inconsiderable, but who must ne-
 “cessarily, however, recover some degree of credit; the Republic herself, believe me, will
 “soon obtain your restoration from those who at this time hold her in subjection. In this
 “respect therefore I may venture even to promise you some assistance. With this view,
 “I shall closely attach myself to *Cæsar*’s favourites; who are all of them indeed extreme-
 “ly fond of me, and spend much of their time in my company: As I shall insinuate my-
 “self into an intimacy with *Cæsar*; to which *my own modesty* has hitherto proved the sin-
 “gle obstruction. In short, I shall pursue every probable means of this kind (and some-
 “too that I dare not commit to paper) in order to obtain your return. As to other ar-
 “ticles of assistance, I am sensible there are many who are perfectly well inclined to offer
 “you their services; but you may depend upon me as the first and forwardest in that
 “number.”

TO CURIUS.

“THERE was a time when I thought you made a very injudicious choice, by pre- Ep. Fam;
 “ferring a foreign country to your own. I imagined that *Rome* (while yet alas! it was vii. 28.
 “*Rome*) must be far more suitable, I will not only say than *Patrae*, but even than the no- Melmu in
 “blest city in the *Peloponnesus*, to a man of your amiable and elegant turn of mind. But 25.
 “now, on the contrary, I look upon your having retired into *Greece*, when our affairs
 “were well nigh desperate, as a strong proof of your great penetration: And I consider
 “your absence not only as a very judicious, but a very happy resolution. Yet, why do
 “I call it happy, when it is impossible that happiness should be the portion of any man
 “in these wretched times, who possesses the least degree of sensibility? However, that
 “desirable privilege, which you, who were at liberty to leave *Italy*, enjoy by travelling,
 “I have procured by another method: And I can, in some sort say, no less than your-
 “self, that I live

*Where nor the name, nor deeds accus’d, I bear,
 Of Pelops’ impious race—*

“For, as soon as my levee is over, (which is somewhat more frequented than formerly;
 “a Patriot being now looked upon as a sight of all others the most uncommon *) I shut
 “myself up in my library. And it is there, my friend, that I am employed in compo-
 “sitions which you will find, perhaps, to be animated with all that spirit, which you
 “once said so ill agreed with my dejection and despair; when you reproached me at your
 “house, for not acting up to the fortitude that appeared in my writings. I must confess, I

*. A true Patriot was a sight in all ages too uncommon, it must be owned, not to have been worth re-
 marking: But whether those who visited *Cicero*, in order to view so singular a curiosity, were disappointed
 or not, is a question, which does not require great sagacity to determine.

“could.

Y. R. 707. "could not at that time forbear lamenting the wretched fate of the Republic: To which
 Bef. Chr. "I was the more tenderly attached, as I had not only been distinguished with its honours,
 45. "but had greatly assisted it by my services. And even now that time (which wears out
 406 Conf. "the sorrows of the weakest minds) together with reason which ought to have the strongest
 "influence for that purpose have jointly contributed to compose my breath; yet I still la-
 "ment to see the Commonwealth thus fallen, without a hope of ever rising more! *There*
 "*is nothing, however, that can at present be justly imputed to him, in whom all power is now*
 "*reposed: unless, perhaps, it be that he has more than he ought.* And, as to what is past,
 "*our fate and our follies have had so large a share in all that has happened, that we cannot*
 "*complain with a good grace.* As little reason is there to hope that affairs will mend. I
 "cannot, therefore, but conclude my letter as I began it, with admiring your judgment,
 "if it were choice, or your fortune, if it were chance, which led you from this unpleasing
 "scene."

The ingenious author of the life of *Cicero*, after having presented to his reader a few
 extracts from the foregoing letters, has made the following observations: "It is certain
 "that there was not a man in the Republic, so particularly engaged, both by principle
 "and interest, to wish well to its liberty, or who had so much to lose by the subversion of
 "it, as he: For, as long as it was governed by civil methods, and stood upon the foun-
 "dation of its laws, he was undoubtedly *the first citizen in it*; had *the chief influence in*
 "*the Senate; the chief authority with the People*: And, as all his hopes and fortunes were
 "grounded on the peace of his country, so all his labours and studies were perpetually
 "applied to the promotion of it. It is no wonder, therefore, in the present situation
 "of the city, oppressed by arms and a tyrannical power, to find him so particularly im-
 "patient under *the common misery*, and expressing so keen a sense of *the diminution of his*
 "*dignity, and the disgrace of serving where he had been used to govern.* CÆSAR, on the
 "other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcilable to his
 "usurped dominion, yet out of friendship to the man, and a reverence for his character,
 "was determined to treat him with the greatest humanity; and, by all the marks of per-
 "sonal favour, to make his life not only tolerable, but easy to him: Yet all that he could
 "do had no other effect on *Cicero*, than to make him think and speak sometimes favou-
 "rably of the natural clemency of their master; and to entertain some hopes from it,
 "that he would be one day persuaded to restore the public liberty: But, exclusive of that
 "hope, he never mentions his government, but as a *real tyranny*, or his person in any
 "other style, than as *the oppressor of his country*."

Is it not amazing to hear Dr. *Mann* talk in this strain? Had *Cicero* been *used to go-
 vern Rome*? *Cicero* ever a slave to the Great, the perpetual panegyrist of the Triumvirs,
 and their tool to all the purposes of their ambition; who was no sooner abandoned by
 them, than he fell a sacrifice to the resentment of a young rake whom he had offended.
 "It is not wonderful that he should express so keen a sense of *the diminution of his dignity*,"
 Was there then more *arrogance* in his behaviour before the triumvirate, when, contrary to
 the views of the aristocracy, to ingratiate himself with *Pompey*, he defended the *Gabinian*
 and *Manilian* laws? After the triumvirate was formed, who was the promoter of *Cæsar's*
 power, but he? Of *Crassus*, that man whom he abhorred, but he? Who was the advo-
 cate of all the miscreants of the State, but he? *Cicero* all his life talked of *his dignity*,
 and could give a just definition of *true dignity*, when he pleased; but in his actions cer-
 tainly he never shewed any, if dignity consists in an *upright, open, generous behaviour*, and
 not in prating to a Senate or a mob, right or wrong. — "He was impatient under the com-
 "mon misery." But was really the State miserable under *Cæsar's* administration? Did he
 not restore order and peace in a distracted government? Did he not immediately set about
 making the most salutary laws? Was he not so intent upon their execution, as to be in-
 clined to delay his expedition into *Parthia*, to give them, by his presence in the city, a
 greater force? Did not the people, under his short dominion, taste all the sweets of li-
 berty but the name? And did not that empty name, under their own government, tole-
 rate all the outrageous barbarity and injustice of the most absolute tyranny? Were order
 and *justice* no public blessings, because they were the gift of *Cæsar*? Did not *Cicero* him-
 self enjoy the greater ease and liberty, and more power, by his interest with *Cæsar*, than
 he

he ever had in the Republic? And, when we view him in this tranquillity, opposed to Y. R. 707. the late tempestuous times he had been tossed in, was it gratitude in *Cicero* that he still talked of *Cæsar* as the oppressor of his country? Or, were the recovered sweets of life, which *Cicero* was now tasting, all imbibed, because the generosity of *Cæsar*, had no title to make them secure to him? If such indulgence were the effect of *tyranny*, what name should *Cicero* have given to that upright Republic that banished him? Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conf.

But was not *Cæsar* the immediate destroyer of the *Roman* liberty? Certainly he was not: "Had *Rome* at the time of the civil war, been mistress of herself, both *Pompey* and *Cæsar* must have equally obeyed her. Though her government was not legally changed, it was so visibly altered by time and accidents, that it had then as much the appearance of an elective monarchy as of a Republic, its ancient liberty having scarce any one privilege left, but that of voting by the sword, what should be the name of the man that was to destroy it.—Had not the Republic almost consumed itself for want of an uncontrollable Magistrate? And was it better that the whole had perished, than that an uncommissioned power should have presumed to save the remains of it? Was so unasked a favour an injury, when public violence was grown too strong for the old laws; had not necessity, when she had no laws, a right to form new ones for her own use? And what possible power, but that of *Cæsar*, could have assisted that necessity to make them? Though form and order be indispensable in the quiet execution of laws, yet there may be critical seasons or times of danger, when the breaking through them may be equally necessary, and which the *Roman* Republic, under their happiest settlement, thought it sometimes advisable to comply with; and in such cases made a temporary Dictator, to take care the Commonwealth came to no harm. Thus, by parity of reason, when *Pompey* had, by his intimidating army, made himself little less than such a Dictator, had not *Cæsar* just as good a right to displace him? So that, whatever title was wanting to *Cæsar*'s office, his office at least became necessary.—Admitting then that, out of the ruins of this self-subverted Republic, *Cæsar* had for some time designed to erect a monarchy, what more salutary expedient could, in their present distractions, be hoped for? Wherein was his usurpation a more public grievance, than in throwing water upon a house in flames? Would *Pompey* have held the imperial hand over them with more gentleness than *Cæsar*? This is the only material consideration, since without a Master *Rome* could not live. Now it is agreed on all sides, that *Pompey*'s victory would have been a cruel one; and so intent were his followers upon destruction and proscriptions, that *Cæsar*'s clemency struck them with amazement, and they could not believe their senses."

But should not *Cæsar* have restored the Commonwealth, as *Sylla* did? *Sylla*'s settlement was no restoration of the public liberty, or of the true democratic government; he changed the constitution of the State and made it aristocratic; which, we are told by politicians is the worst of governments. This aristocracy subsisted but a few years; *Pompey* by his conquests acquired so much wealth, glory, and power, that he became of course the Master of the Republic; till *Cæsar*, by his conquests, glory, and power, became his competitor: Part of the State chose to adhere to *Pompey*, another part sided with *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* had success, and shewed he deserved it by his moderation and clemency. To have relinquished the sovereign authority would have been to have acted as an enemy to his country, since, having it in his power to do universal good, he would have chosen to have thrown the State into the same confusions and convulsions out of which it had so luckily and so gently emerged. "And why should we suppose a soul so elevated as *Cæsar*'s could be ignorant of advantages to be derived from his greatness, or could think that the power of doing universal good could have a joy or glory superior to it?" Did not *Cicero* himself encourage him to keep his authority, and lay before him the strongest motives for this purpose, in his speech for *Marcellus*? And, if *Cæsar* had taken *Cicero* into his council, and flattered his vanity by giving him the appearance of a share in the administration, who can doubt but he would have had, in our Orator, a zealous panegyrist of all his actions, who, at the time that he made the complaints which have occasioned these reflections, writes thus to his friend *Anulus Cæcilius*, Fam. vi. 6. *Mdm.* ix. 34. "I shall now, indeed, be enabled to employ my zeal more effectually than heretofore, as I make great and daily advances in *CÆSAR*'s friendship; not to mention my interest also with his favourites, who distinguish me with the first rank in their affection." In the same letter

Y.R. 707. he raises the hopes of his friend, then in exile, by the consideration of *Cæsar's* magnanimous conduct: "I cannot but observe to you, that I have often occasion to admire the *justice and judgment of Cæsar*; who never speaks of *Pompey*, but in terms of the highest honour. Should it be said, that, whatever regard he may shew to his memory, he treated his person upon many occasions with great asperity: Let it be remembered, that these instances cannot reasonably be imputed to *Cæsar*, but were the natural consequences of war. But how favourably has he received many of us, and myself in particular, who were engaged in the same party? Has he not appointed *Cassius* to be his Lieutenant? Has he not given the government of *Gaul* to *Brutus*? and that of *Greece* to *Sulpicius*? In a word, highly incensed as he was against *Marcellus*, has he not in the most honourable manner restored him to his friends and to his country?" *Cicero* succeeded so well in his application to *Cæsar's* favour, that, the following year, when he had any thing to ask, he wrote directly to himself: And his letters do but ill support what *Dr. Middleton* says of his speech during *Cæsar's* administration.

C H A P. X.

Cæsar's war in Spain against Pompey's sons. The honours decreed him by the senate. His triumph, and those of his two Lieutenants Q. Fabius and Q. Pedius. Cicero's grief for the death of his daughter Tullia. His writings during his retreat at this time.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, Dictator III. Consul IV. sine Collega.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, Mag. Equit.

Y.R. 708. **I**N the end of the year *Cæsar* was called away in great haste into *Spain* to oppose the attempts of *Pompey's* sons. The city was left without Consuls or Prætors, under the government of *Lepidus*, General of the Horse, and six Prefects to administer justice. The Tribunes and the Ediles were the only Magistrates elected in the ordinary form.

After the defeat of *Afranius*, *Cæsar* appointed to the government of *Spain* *Q. Cassius Longinus*, who was Tribune with *Antony* when the civil war broke out, and fled with him to *Ravenna*. He had been Quæstor there under *Pompey*, and was well acquainted with the country: But his violence and avarice, during his quæstorship, had rendered him the object of the public hatred; and he had been wounded in an attempt made upon his life. Invested by *Cæsar* with sovereign authority, he applied himself wholly to gain the hearts of his soldiers by largesses and a relaxation of military discipline, hoping to find in his army a bulwark against the resentment of the people: And, at the same time, to satisfy the demands of his avarice, he committed all kinds of acts, both of injustice and cruelty. This behaviour brought him into contempt even with the ministers of his violence, and produced a second conspiracy, which broke out, when, pursuant to *Cæsar's* orders, he was setting out for *Mauritania*, in order to give King *Juba* employment at home, and hinder him from sending succours to *Pompey*, as he had already done.

The conspirators, who were all of *Italica*, a city founded by the elder *Scipio* in *Bætica*, set upon him in open day, and gave him several wounds;

wounds; but, none of them proving mortal, he had the satisfaction to revenge himself on them by tortures and death. The act of the conspirators was approved by a great part of the army, as well as of the people. Two of the legions, who had formerly served under *Varro*, *Pompey's* Lieutenant, soon shewed their disaffection by an open mutiny; and, their hatred to *Cassius* reviving their affection for *Pompey*, they declared for him, and engraved his name on their bucklers. Three legions continued faithful to *Longinus*, not through any regard for him, but purely on account of their attachment to *Cæsar*. The city of *Corduba*, where a great many *Romans* were settled, detested also *Longinus*, but were unwilling to abandon *Cæsar's* interest. This commotion might have proved fatal to *Cæsar*, had not the Quæstor *Marcellus Eserinus* united all *Longinus's* enemies under *Cæsar's* name and authority: Which was effected with more ease, as accounts came about this time of the victory at *Pharsalia*. *Longinus* on his side had called to his assistance *Bogud*, King of *Mauritania*, who was in *Cæsar's* alliance, and their two combined armies waged war for some time against *Marcellus*, till *Lepidus*, Proconsul in *nether Spain*, coming soon after into *Batica*, with a considerable force, *Marcellus* readily consented to his arbitration. *Longinus* was forced to do the same; and, a short time after being informed that *Trebonius*, his successor, was arrived in the province, he put immediately to sea with all his treasure, and was lost in a storm in the mouth of the *Iberus*. But, as popular fury does not easily subside, this calm was of but short duration. Many, conscious of their offence, were afraid of *Cæsar's* resentment, and were well pleased to hear that *Metellus Scipio* had assembled a powerful army in *Africa*. They sent Deputies to him to offer their service and demand his protection; and *Cn. Pompey* was sent on this occasion, as has been related above, after he had made a fruitless attempt upon the kingdom of *Bogud*. The disaffected legions did not stay for his arrival, but, hearing that he was landed in the *Balearian* islands, and was there detained by sickness, they openly declared against *Trebonius*, and put themselves under the conduct of *T. Scapula*, and *Q. Aponius*, two *Roman* Knights. As soon as young *Pompey* recovered his health, he joined his friends; and in a short time got together eleven legions, and drove *Trebonius* out of *Batica*. His brother *Sextus*, in conjunction with *Labienus* and *Varus*, brought him the remainder of *Scipio's* fleet, and his land army was greatly strengthened by the fugitives from *Africa*; so that he was able to act powerfully both by sea and land. *Cæsar*, immediately after the defeat of *Scipio* and *Juba*, had sent *Q. Fabius* and *Q. Pedius* with part of his *African* army, and *Didius* with his fleet, to act against the sons of *Pompey*. This Admiral had engaged with success the *Pompeian* fleet commanded by *Varus*, and forced it to take refuge in a port called by *Dio Crantia*, which is probably that of *Carteia*: But the Lieutenants could not make head

Y. R. 708.
 Def. Chr.
 44.
 407 Conf.

Dio, l. xliii.

Y. R. 708. against the enemy in the field; and *Cæsar's* presence was necessary to
 Bel. Chr. prevent the entire reduction of the province.

44-
 407 Conf.

Hirt. de
 Bell. Hsp.
 Dio, l. xlii.

Cæsar therefore, called upon by the inhabitants that remained faithful to him, and by his own Lieutenants, set out before the end of *November*, arrived at *Obulco*, near *Corduba*, in twenty-seven days, and surprised both his friends and enemies by his sudden appearance among them. *Cæ. Pompey* was at this time actually besieging *Ullæ*, the only town of *Bætica*, which held out against him. *Cæsar* found means to throw some succour into it, and marched himself to *Corduba*, where *Sextus Pompey* had locked himself up. *Sextus* called away his brother from *Ullæ* to his assistance; but *Cæsar*, by that motion, had only in view to bring about a general and decisive action. Finding, however, that the two *Pompey's* had taken a fixed resolution to keep upon the defensive, he turned off to *Ategua*, the strongest fortress possessed by his enemies: And, in the depth of winter, and in the neighbourhood of a powerful army, carried it the 19th of *February*, when it surrendered at discretion. The garrison had offered to capitulate sooner, and surrender upon terms; but *Cæsar* answered, haughtily, "that he was used to prescribe conditions, not to receive them:" And he treated them, it is probable, with severity; for they had been guilty of great cruelty in cutting the throats of a great number of the inhabitants, who were thought to be in his interest, and whose bodies were thrown over the walls during the siege. *Cæ. Pompey*, upon the news of the taking of *Ategua*, treated in the same manner, and for the same crime, seventy-four citizens of a neighbouring town. Acts of the greatest oppression and inhumanity were committed on both sides. The two armies, shifting continually their ground, in order to find opportunities to harass each other, advanced at length into the plains of *Munda*. There, on the 27th of *March*, as *Cæsar* was preparing to move his camp, he was informed, that the enemy had been drawn up in order of battle ever since midnight. *Pompey*, dreading the contempt and desertion of his followers, who were all eager for a battle, had resolved to fight; and had chosen for that purpose an advantageous post on an eminence, defended on one side by a morass, and near the city of *Munda*; which, in case of bad success, would secure his retreat. *Cæsar* drew out his troops in the plain, between the two camps, placing his tenth legion as usual in the right, and the third and fifth in the left, with the auxiliary troops and cavalry. There he waited a little, to draw the enemy down; but, seeing that they had no design to quit their post, he marched up to them, giving the word *Venus*. The word on *Pompey's* side was *Pietas*, in allusion to his intention of avenging that day his father's death. When *Cæsar's* troops came to the extremity of the plain, they halted a while, and *Cæsar* marked out to them how far they might advance with safety. This halt raised the spirit of the *Pompeians*, and encouraged them to advance a little way. At last the battle began, with a shout on both sides,

sides, and was obstinate. *Pompey* had not only the advantage of the ground, but the superiority in numbers; and his men were so circum-^{Y. R. 703.} stanced, as to be in a manner under a necessity of fighting desperately; ^{Bef. Chr.} being either soldiers, who had before served under *Afranius* and *Varro*, ^{44.} and had paid no regard to the pardon *Cæsar* had granted them, having ^{407 Conf.} rebelled against *Cassius*; or slaves set at liberty, who, if taken prisoners, had nothing to expect but an ignominious punishment. At first, victory seemed to declare against *Cæsar*: Not only his new-raised troops, but his veterans began to give ground; and, if we believe *Suetonius* and *Florus*, the day was so near being lost, that *Cæsar* was in suspense whether he should not kill himself. By all accounts, he gave himself incredible pains: Quitting his horse, he took up a buckler, and advanced before the first ranks, and within ten feet of the enemy^{*}, declaring, that he would not move from the spot. His example, and the imminent danger he was in roused the courage of his soldiers, who were ashamed to abandon such a General; and the tenth legion, that invincible troop, particularly distinguished itself. But what determined the victory on *Cæsar*'s side was the following circumstance: *Bogud*, King of *Mauritania*, who served in *Cæsar*'s army, undertook, during the action, to attack *Pompey*'s camp: And *Labienus*, perceiving his motion, detached five cohorts to intercept the Moors, and protect it. *Cæsar* immediately cried out aloud; *that the enemy was making off*: And this false opinion, spreading itself instantly among the two armies, increased the courage of the one, and terrified the other. *Cæsar*'s troops, especially the tenth legion, took this opportunity to press the enemy, whose ranks began to be in some confusion; and, after a vigorous contest, entirely broke and discomfited them. Thirty thousand were killed on *Pompey*'s side, among whom were *Labienus* and *Varus*, and three thousand Roman Knights. All the legionary eagles and most of the colours were taken, with the fasces carried before the General; and seventeen principal Officers were made prisoners. The conqueror lost a thousand of his bravest soldiers, and had five hundred wounded. This bloody battle, which was the last in the civil war, was fought the same day on which *Pompey* the Great had set out from *Brundisium* to go into *Greece*. *Cæsar* is reported to have said, "that, in his other battles, he fought ^{Plut. Ap-} "for victory, in this for his life." The Romans of the vanquished party ^{pian.} fled, some to the camp, some to the city of *Munda*, some to *Corduba*,

* Nullum unquam atrocius periculosius-
que a *Cæsare* initum prœlium, adeo ut plus-
quam dubio Marte. descend: ret equo, con-
sistensque ante recedentem suorum aciem,
increpita prius fortuna, quod se in eum ser-
vasset exitum, denunciaret militibus, vesti-
gio se non recessurum; proinde viderent
quem et quo loco imperatorem deserturi so-
rent. Verecundia magis quam virtute acies

restitutz sunt, a duce quam a milite fortius.
Vel. Patt. ii. 55. Itaque ablegato equo,
similis farenti, primam in aciem *Cæsar* pro-
currit. Ibi prensare fugientes, confirmare,
per totum denique agmen oculis, manibus,
clamore, volitare. Dicitur in illa perturba-
tione, et de extremis agitate secum, et ita
manifesto vultu fuisse, quasi occupare manu
mortem vellet. *Flor.* l. iv. c. 2.

and

Y. R. 683
B. C. 49
497 C. C. 49
Hist. de
Rom. Hist.
Lib. 1. 10.
 and others still farther. The camp was soon forced, but the city was in a condition to maintain a siege. *Cæsar* that very day invested it; and we are told that the soldiers heaped together the dead bodies of the enemy to serve them instead of a rampart, planting in them their javelins and darts by way of palisades, with the bucklers hanging upon them; and that, to strike the greater terror into the besieged, they fixed all around the heads of the deceased. *Cæsar* left *Fabius* to command the blockade, and marched immediately to *Corintha*, to invest *Sextus Pompey*, who was governor of the place. But *Sextus*, upon the first intelligence of the entire ruin of his party, after having distributed what money he had among his troops, left the town about nine at night, under a pretence of going to find out *Cæsar* to treat of an accommodation. *Scapula*, who had been the chief occasion of the revolt of the province, had escaped thither out of the battle, and took upon himself the command of the place. When he found, however, that he was besieged, he assembled all his followers; and, ordering a funeral pile to be raised, and a magnificent supper served up, he put on his richest dress, and distributed his plate and ready money among his domestics; and, having supped cheerfully, and anointed himself, he commanded one of his freedmen to dispatch him, and another to set fire to the pile. After his death, a division arose among the inhabitants, between those who favoured *Cæsar*, and those in the interest of *Pompey*, with such a clamour that it was heard in *Cæsar's* camp. During the contests, some companies, composed partly of fugitives, partly of slaves, made free by *Pompey*, surrendered themselves to *Cæsar*: But the thirteenth legion prepared to defend the place, and with that view possessed themselves of the walls and the towers in spite of all opposition. Upon this, the faction for *Cæsar* sent deputies to him for aid: And the thirteenth legion, irritated by this proceeding, and chusing rather to perish, than to fall into the hands of the conqueror, set fire to the city. At this instant *Cæsar's* troops making their way into the town, a battle ensued, in which the greatest part of the legionaries perished, and twelve thousand of the inhabitants. *Cæsar* now marched towards *Hispania*; but was met on the road by Deputies from the inhabitants, who sued for their pardon, which he immediately granted. At the same time he was assured that the citizens were able to defend the town with their own forces, and to preserve it in his interest; but he thought proper to send thither his Lieutenant *Caminius*, with some troops: And he himself encamped at a small distance. There was in the town a strong party of *Pompeians*, who, being displeased to see *Cæsar's* troops received within the walls, deputed secretly one *Philo*, a zealous partisan of *Pompey*, and well known in *Lusitania*, to beg assistance of *Cecilius Niger*, surnamed *the Barbarous*, who lay encamped not far off with a strong army of *Lusitanians*: And *Philo*, returning with a body of these towards night, got over the walls, surprised the centinels and garrison,
 shut

shut the gates, and undertook to defend the place. *Cæsar* did not think proper to press the siege, lest despair should prompt the *Lusitanians* to set fire to the town: On the contrary, he placed his guards in such a manner as to give them the hopes of making their escape, by sal-
 lying out in the night. They took the opportunity, as was foreseen, and in the sally set fire to the ships on the river *Bætis* (*Guadalquivir*;) and, while *Cæsar's* men were employed in extinguishing the flame, endeavoured to get off; but, being overtaken by the cavalry, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces. From *Hispalis*, *Cæsar* marched to *Astá*, which submitted, and thence went to *Gades*.

Y. R. 708.
 B. Chr.
 44.
 407 Conf.

During the siege of *Hispalis*, Deputies arrived from *Carteia*^b, with accounts of their having secured *Cn. Pompey*; the inhabitants hoping by this service to atone for their former offence, in shutting their gates against *Cæsar*. *Pompey*, after the battle of *Munda*, attended by a few horse and foot, had fled to that place, where his fleet lay, and which was about a hundred and seventy miles distant from *Corduba*. He was at first privately attended upon by those of his party, whom he secretly made acquainted with his arrival; but, seeing that great crouds assembled round him, and shewed some zeal for his service, he began to act more openly. But the faction which declared for him was inferior in point of strength and numbers to that which was in *Cæsar's* interest; and which, thinking to provide for their own safety and that of the place, had sent to him the above-mentioned Deputies. Animosit-
 ties within the city were carried to the greatest extremities; and *Pompey* himself, in a tumultuary action which happened, having received several wounds, did not think proper to stay in *Carteia*, but put to sea with thirty gallies. *Didius*, then at *Gades*, with *Cæsar's* fleet, hearing of what had passed, immediately sailed in pursuit of them; stationing at the same time some cavalry and infantry along the coast to prevent *Pompey's* retreat by land. *Pompey* had departed with so much precipitation, that he had not taken in a sufficient provision of water. This obliging him to stop in his way, *Didius* came up with him after four days sailing, and while the greatest part of the soldiers and mariners were employed ashore, he took some of his ships, and burnt the rest. The unfortunate and wounded General, attended by a few followers, fled, in this extremity, with what expedition he could, to a place of strength, which happened to be at no great distance, and where he hoped to conceal himself. Being discovered, however, by a *Lusitanian*, he was soon surrounded by the troops sent after him by *Didius*: And, unable to defend himself in this post, he fled to another which was more tenable, the approach to it being extremely difficult. *Didius's* troops, pursued him also to this retreat, and, after several fruitless at-

^b A sea-port town, in *Hispania Bætica*, which some geographers have placed at the mouth of the *Bætis*, but is commonly supposed to have been situated in the straits of *Gibraltar*.

Y. R. 703.
Bef. Chr.
44-
407 Conf.

tempts to storm it, determined to lay siege to it in form, and began to draw their lines, and to form a terrafs. *Pompey*, seeing that he would soon be blocked up, betook himself again to flight; and, in this escape, having been forsaken by his few attendants, he hid himself in a cave, where he was discovered, and put to death. His head was brought to *Cæsar*, on the 12th of April, as he was setting out from *Gades* to return to *Hispania*. This was the end of the elder *Pompey*; who, though he had shewed great abilities for command, was yet unregretted by many of his party, on account of his violent and cruel dispositions¹.

Didius, who had rendered *Cæsar* this service, did not live to receive his recompense. Proud of his success, and confident that all hostilities were over, he hauled some of his ships ashore to be refitted, and retired himself to a neighbouring fort; where he soon found himself invested by a strong body of *Lusitanians*, formed of several parties which had fled that way from *Munda*. He made daily sallies upon them to check their insolence; and this gave them an opportunity of projecting an ambuscade, in which they succeeded so well as to destroy him, with almost all his followers; a few only having escaped by swimming to the galleys at sea.

Munda was at last taken, after a siege of three weeks, and all *Bætica* submitted to the conqueror. The force of the *Pompeians* was now entirely broken. Even *Sextus Pompey*, the only remaining hope of his family and party, was reduced to the necessity of concealing himself in the mountains of *Celtiberia*². The success of *Cæsar* was complete; and, while

¹ " *Sextus Pompey*, says *Cicero* to *Atticus*,
" has withdrawn himself from *Carduba*
" into *hispania* : *Cæsar* is also fled,
" but I do not know whither, nor in truth
" do I care." In a letter to *Tarquatus*, a
" *Pompeian* in exile, he says, " the world is
" every day more and more persuaded, that,
" although there may be some little differ-
" ence in the cause of the contending par-
" ties, there will be scarce any in the con-
" sequence of their success. As to one of
" them indeed, we have already in some
" sort experienced his disposition; and, as
" to the other, we are all of us sufficiently
" sensible how much is to be dreaded from
" an incensed conqueror." *Ep. Fam.* vi. 4.
Melm. x. 16. " May I perish, says *Cassius*
" to *Cicero*, if I be not solicitous about the
" event of things in *Spain*; as I would
" much rather keep our old and cle-
" ment master, than try a new and cruel
" one. You know what a fool *Cæsar* is,
" and how he takes cruelty for a virtue : And
" yet he is sensible how much he has been

" the object of our ridicule. I fear there-
" fore he would be apt to treat us some-
" what roughly, and return our jokes with
" the point of his sword." He adds : " If
" you have any value for me then, you will
" not fail to let me know whatever will hap-
" pen. *Ab! my friend, how do I wish I*
" *were apprised, whether you read this with*
" *an easy or an anxious mind. For, by that*
" *single circumstance, I should be determined*
" *what measures are proper for me to pursue ;*
" *quam velim scire, utrum istâ sollicito*
" *animo, an soluto legas ! sciam enim eo-*
" *dem tempore, quid me facere oporteat.*"
Ep. Fam. xv. 19. *Melm.* x. 22. These
words seem to prove that he was then agi-
tating in his mind what he executed the
following year.

² *Cæsar* paid *Cicero* the compliment of
sending him an account of his success with
his own hand. At the same time young
Quintus Cicero, who made the campaign
along with *Cæsar*, thinking to please his
company, and to make his fortunes the bet-
ter

while he continued in *Spain* during the summer, he not only employed himself in providing for the future peace and settlement of the province¹, but found leisure to draw up his answer to *Cicero's Cato*.

During his absence there appeared a bold impostor, who began to make a great noise and figure in *Italy*, by assuming the name, and pretending to be the grandson of *Caius Marius*; and several of the colonies and municipal towns, particularly those where the veteran soldiers were settled, acknowledged him for their patron. He wrote a pathetic letter to *Cicero*, to justify his claim and descent, and to implore his protection against the enemies of his family; "conjuring him by their relation; by the poem which he had formerly written in praise of *Marius*; by the eloquence of *L. Crassus*, his mother's father, whom he had likewise celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cause." *Cicero* (who, if he had really been the son of *C. Marius*, would have been his distant relation, his grandfather having married *Marius's* aunt) answered him very gravely, "That he could not want a patron, when his kinsman *Cæsar*, so excellent and generous a man, was now master of all; yet, that he also should be ready to favour him." But *Cæsar*, at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, banished him out of *Italy*; since, instead of being what he pretended to be, he was found to be only a farrier, whose true name was *Herophilus*.

While *Cæsar* remained in *Spain*, *Antony* set forward from *Italy*, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at least on the road in his return towards *Rome*; but, when he had made about half the journey, he met with some dispatches, which obliged him to return back in all haste to *Rome*. This raised a new alarm in the city; and especially among the *Pompeians*, who were afraid that *Cæsar*, having now subdued all opposition, was resolved, after the example of former conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adversaries; and had sent *Antony* back as the properest instrument to execute some orders of that sort. *Cicero* himself had the same suspicion, and was much surprised at *Antony's* sudden return, till *Balbus* and *Oppius* eased him of his apprehensions, by sending him an account of the true reason of it: Which,

ter among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuse his uncle again in all places. *Cicero*, in his account of it to *Atticus*, says, "there is nothing new, but *Hirtius* has been quarrelling, in my defence, with our nephew *Quintus*, who takes all occasions of saying every thing bad of me, and especially at public feasts; and, when he has done with me, falls next upon his father: He is thought to say nothing so credible, as that *we are both irreconcilable to Cæsar*; that *Cæsar should trust neither of us*; and even beware of me. This would be terrible, did I not see that

Vol. IV.

"our King is persuaded that I have no spirit left. *Ad Att. xiii. 37.*

¹ *Dio* tells us, that he committed great extortions, plundered the very temples, and particularly that of *Hercules*, at *Gades*, whose treasures he applied to his own use. But it is not probable that the needy *Pompeians* left much to plunder, or that *Cæsar* would seize, when he did not want it, a treasure which his enemy had spared in his utmost distress. The same author relates, that the *States*, who had remained faithful to him, yet paid for the freedom of the city, and the privileges which he granted them.

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Y. R. 708.
Bef. Chr.
44.
407 Cont.

Mid. l. p.
198.

Ad Att.
xii. 49.

Val. Max.
ix. 15.

Mid. l. p.
211.

Y. R. 709
B. C. 41
107 C. J. S. contrary to expectation, gave no uneasiness to any body, but *Antony* himself. *Antony* had bought *Pompey's* houses in *Rome*, and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, at *Cæsar's* auction, soon after his return from *Egypt*; but, trusting to his interest with *Cæsar*, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them. *Cæsar*, however, had sent peremptory orders to *L. Plautius*, the *Prætor*, to require immediate payment of *Antony*, or to levy the money upon his sureties, according to the tenor of their bond. This was the cause of his quick return, to prevent that disgrace, and to find some means of complying with *Cæsar's* commands. *Cicero* tells us, in his invective against *Antony*, that it provoked him to such a degree, that, in the height of his resentment, he is said to have entered into a design of taking away *Cæsar's* life; of which *Cæsar* himself complained openly in the Senate.

Cæsar returned to *Rome* before the end of *August*, and seems to have passed the greatest part of the month of *September* at *Lavicanum*, his country-seat; where he made his will on the 13th, which he committed to the care of the eldest of the *Vestals*. During his residence in this place, every thing was prepared for a most splendid triumph for his victory over *Pompey's* sons, as over a foreign enemy; and it was celebrated on the 1st of *October*^a. It was followed by two public dinners with plenty of the most esteemed and costly wines of *Cibios* and *Falerium*. He now proclaimed a general amnesty, and it was probably on this occasion that a temple was built to *Clemency*, where his statue was placed near to that of the goddess, joining hands with her. He also divested himself of the consulship and conferred it upon *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *C. Trebonius* for the remaining months of the year. The Consul *Fabius* and *Q. Pedius*, who, in quality of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, had reduced some parts of *Spain*, were allowed also the honour of a triumph, though there had been no example of inferior officers partaking of the honours of the General under whose auspices they had served. The triumph of *Fabius* was celebrated on the 13th of *October*, and that of *Pedius* on

107 C. J. S. We are told that the people, instead of admiring and applauding this triumph, as he expected, were sullen and silent; considering it, as it really was, a triumph over themselves; purchased by the loss of their liberty and the destruction of the best and noblest families of the Republic: And that they had before given the same proof of their discontent at the *Circensian games*; where *Cæsar's* statue, by a decree of the Senate, was carried in procession along with those of the gods; for they gave none of their usual acclamations to their favourite deities as they passed, lest they should be thought to give them to *Cæsar*. *Atticus*

sent an account of this triumph to *Cicero*, who says in answer to him, "Your letter" "was agreeable, though the shew was so" "sad:—The people, however, behaved" "bravely, who would not clap even the god-" "dess *Victory*, for the sake of so bad a" "neighbour" But, if *Cæsar* committed any irregularity in this triumph over *Pompey's* sons and the *Spaniards*, he was engaged to it by the Senate, who voted, for the victory a supplication of fifty days, though the Conqueror had writ no public letter to *Rome* on his success: The triumph was the necessary consequence of the supplication.

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the 12th of December. But the magnificence of *Cæsar's* made these appear contemptible; for their models of the conquered towns, which were always a part of the shew, being made only of wood, whereas *Cæsar's* were of silver or ivory, *Chrysippus* merrily called them the cases only of *Cæsar's* towns.

The Senate now accumulated upon *Cæsar* all the titles that flattery could invent. He was declared *Imperator* or *Emperor* in a sense that conferred upon him the command of all the forces of the Republic; perpetual and sole Master of Manners, and with this office the management of all the revenues: He was styled the *Father* and *Deliverer* of his country, and a temple was raised to *Liberty*, because he had procured it to the *Roman* people. His person was declared sacred, like those of the *Tribunes*; and the month *Quintilis* was called *Julius*, because he was born in it. He was allowed the privilege of wearing constantly a crown of laurel, and on festival days the triumphal robe; of having a distinct seat in all public shews; a golden chair in the Senate-house and in the Forum; a statue in all the towns, and in all the temples of the city; two in the *Rostra*, one of which had a *civic* crown, because he was the *Saviour* of the people; and the other had an *obfidional* crown, because he was the *Saviour* of his country; one in the temple of *Quirinus* with this inscription, *To the invincible god*; and one in the *Capitol* with those of the ancient Kings. He was allowed to hang up the *opima spolia* in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, that no feature of *Romulus* should be wanting in him: And, in the *Circensian* games, his image in ivory was ordered to be carried in a chariot in the same manner as those of the gods. This was not all; he had a *pulvinar*, or bed of state in the temples, on which his image was laid; temples were erected to him; he was called *Jupiter Latialis*; and a new fraternity of *Luperci* was instituted to his honour, and called by his name; of which *Antony* was the head, and *Q. Cicero*, the son, one of the membersⁿ; an honour which none of the immortal gods enjoyed, besides *Mars* and his son *Quirinus*, the founders of the State. Many, however, of these pretended honours we only hear of in *Appian* and *Dio*; and I cannot but think that these *Greek* Historians, who were grown accustomed to the extravagant appellations given to the subsequent Emperors, imagined that they had also been bestowed on the first of them. The last of these writers has likewise informed us, that some of the Senators voted, that this god, this *Jupiter Latialis*, should take to himself as many wives as he pleased, and whom he pleased; and that the Tribune *Helvius Cinna* had actually prepared a law to this

ⁿ There had been hitherto but two fraternities of *Luperci*, called *Fabiani* and *Quintiliani*. The *Luperci Julii* were instituted the year before, after the *African* war. Vide *Ad d.t.* xii. 5. *Cicero* very much disap-

proved of his nephew's conduct, but the father was pleased with it: *Quintus pater quortum vel potius millesimum nihil sapit, qui letetur Luperci filio et Statio, ut cernat duplici dedecore cumulatam doctum.*

V. R. 706.
B. C. 45.
473 Cons.

effect. From this circumstance, so false and ridiculous, it may be gathered what degree of credit should be given to this historian. In the profusion of honours conferred on *Cæsar*, both his friends, it is said, and enemies eagerly concurred; the first out of zeal for his glory, and a spirit of adulation; the latter to load him with public envy, and bring him into contempt: And, indeed it appears, from a letter of *Antony* to *Octavius*, that *Cicero* used to boast, “that they had imposed upon *Cæsar*, and ruined him by this shew of respect for his person.”

On the last day of *December*, *Fabius* having died suddenly in the morning, *C. Cæminius Rebilus* was named by *Cæsar* to the vacancy at one in the afternoon; whose office was to continue only through the remaining part of that day*. *Cæsar* had had so many creatures and dependents who expected the honour of the consulship from him, as the reward of their services, that it was impossible to oblige them all in a regular way, so that he was forced to contrive the expedient of splitting it, as it were, into parcels; and conferring it for a few months, or weeks, or even days, as it happened to suit his convenience: And, as the thing itself was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; since the shortest gave the same privilege

Metell.
219.

* This wanton profanation of the sovereign dignity of the empire raised a general indignation in the city; and a consulate so ridiculous gave birth to much raillery and many jokes, which are transmitted to us by the ancients (*Macrob. Sat. ii. 3. Dio, p. 235.*); of which *Cicero*, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following specimen, in his account of the fact: “I no longer, says he in a letter to *Curius*, either advise or desire you to come home to us, but want to fly somewhere myself, where I may hear neither the name, nor the acts of these sons of *Pelops*. It is incredible how meanly I think of myself for being present at these transactions. You had surely an early foresight of what was coming on, when you ran away from this place; for, though it be vexatious to hear such things, yet that is more tolerable than to see them. It is well that you were not in the field, when, at seven in the morning, as they were proceeding to an election of *Quæstors*, the chair of *Q. Maximus*, whom they called Consul, was set in its place; but, his death being immediately proclaimed, it was removed; and *Cæsar*, though he had taken the auspices for an assembly of the *tribes*, changed it into an assembly of the *centuriæ*;

Ep. Fam.
vol. 30.

“*tribes*; and, at one in the afternoon, declared a new Consul, who was to govern till one the next morning. I would have you to know, therefore, that, *quibuscumque* *Cæminius* was Consul, nobody dined; and that there was no crime committed in his consulship, for he was so wonderfully vigilant that, through his whole administration, he never so much as slept. These things seem ridiculous to you, who are absent; but, were you to see them, you would hardly refrain from tears. What, if I should tell you the rest? for there are numberless facts of the same kind; which I could never have borne, if I had not taken refuge in the port of philosophy with our friend *Atticus*, the companion and partner of my studies.” *Suetonius* in *Cæs.* p. 80. tells us, that the people themselves would not acknowledge a three months Consul: For, when, upon *Fabius*’s entrance into the theatre, his officers, according to custom, proclaimed his presence, and ordered the people to make way for the Consul, the whole assembly cried out, *he is no Consul*. I cannot see what injury *Cæsar* either did the State, or particular persons, by making over to others an office, or the title of an office, which the Senate had named him to for his life.

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with the longest, and a man, once declared Consul, ever after enjoyed the rank and character of a *consular Senator*. Y. R. 708.
Bef. Chr.

He now granted a general pardon to all those who had borne arms against him; replaced the statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, which had been thrown down, and, disbanding his *Spanish* guard, threw himself intirely upon the affections of his citizens. And it was probably on this occasion that a temple to *New Concord*, mentioned by *Dio*, was built, in imitation of that of *Camillus*; and a festival for the restoration of peace and harmony in the Republic ordered to be celebrated every year. 44.
407 Conf.
Dio, l. 44.

Cicero's daughter, *Tullia*, died in the beginning of this year, in child-bed, to the inexpressible grief of her father. She was about two and thirty years old at the time of her death; and, by the few hints which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman. She was most affectionately and piously observant of her father; and, to the usual graces of her sex, having added the more solid accomplishments of knowledge and polite letters, was qualified to be the companion, as well as the delight, of his old age; and was justly esteemed not only as one of the *best*, but the most *learned*, of the *Roman Ladies*. It is not strange, therefore, that the loss of such a daughter, in the prime of her life, and in the most comfortless season of his own, should affect him with all that grief, which the greatest calamity could imprint on a temper *naturally timid and desponding*. His friends were very officious in making their compliments of condolence, and in administering arguments of comfort to him. Among the rest, *Cæsar* himself, in the hurry of his affairs in *Spain*, wrote him a letter on this occasion, dated from *Hispalis*, the last of *April*. Their remonstrances, however, had Middl. p.
180.

¶ The following letter of *S. Sulpicius* is thought to be a masterpiece of the consolatory kind; for which reason, and because *Sulpicius* has acted a considerable part in this history, we shall insert it here, to bring the reader more acquainted with the talents of this consular Senator, whom *Cicero* in his letters often treats with much contempt:

“ I was exceedingly concerned, as, indeed, I ought to be, to hear of the death of your daughter *Tullia*; which I looked upon as an affliction common to us both. If I had been with you, I would have made it my business to convince you, what a real share I take in your grief; though that kind of consolation is but wretched and lamentable, as it is to be performed by friends and relations, who are overwhelmed with grief, and cannot enter upon their task without tears, and seem to

“ want comfort rather themselves, than to be in a condition to administer it to others. I resolved, therefore, to write to you, in short, what occurred upon it to my own mind; not that I imagined, that the same things would not occur also to you, but that the force of your grief might possibly hinder your attention to them. What reason is there then to disturb yourself so immoderately on this melancholy occasion? Consider how fortune has already treated us; how it has deprived us of what ought to be as dear to us as our children; our country, credit, dignity, honours. After so miserable a loss as this, what addition can it possibly make to our grief, to suffer one misfortune more? Or how can a mind, after being exercised in such trials, not grow callous, and think every thing else of inferior value? “ lue?

Y. R. 43. had but little effect upon him; all the relief that he found was from
 E. C. 1. reading and writing; and he drew up at this time a treatise of consolation
 43. C. 1.

“lue? But is it for your daughter’s sake,
 “that you grieve? Yet, how often must
 “you necessarily reflect, as I myself fre-
 “quently do, that those cannot be said to be
 “hardly dealt with, whose lot it has been,
 “in these times, without suffering any af-
 “fliction, to exchange life for death. For
 “what is there in our present circumstances
 “that could give her any great invitation
 “to live? What business? What hopes?
 “What prospect of comfort before her?
 “Was it to pass her days in the married
 “state, with some young man of the first
 “quality? (for you, I know, on the ac-
 “count of your dignity, might have chosen
 “what son-in-law you pleased out of all our
 “youth, to whose fidelity you might safely
 “have trusted her) Was it then for the sake
 “of bearing children, whom she might
 “have had the pleasure to see flourishing
 “afterwards, in the enjoyment of their pa-
 “ternal fortunes, and rising, gradually, to
 “all the honours of the state, and using the
 “liberty to which they were born, in the
 “protection of their friends and clients?
 “But what is there of all this, which was
 “not taken away, before it was even given
 “to her? But it is an evil, you’ll say, to
 “lose our children.—It is so; yet, it is much
 “greater to suffer what we now endure. I
 “cannot help mentioning one thing, which
 “has given me no small comfort, and may
 “help also perhaps to mitigate your grief.
 “On my return from *Asia*, as I was sailing
 “from *Egina* towards *Megara*, I began to
 “contemplate the prospect of the countries
 “around me: *Egina* was behind, *Megara*
 “before me; *Prætor* on the right; *Cer-
 “rius* on the left; all which towns, once
 “famous and flourishing, now lie over-
 “turned, and buried in their ruins: Upon
 “this sight, I could not but think presently
 “within myself, alas! how do we poor
 “mortals fret and vex ourselves, if any of
 “our friends happen to die, or to be killed,
 “whose life is yet so short, when the car-
 “casses of so many noble cities lie here ex-
 “posed to me in one view? Why wilt thou
 “not then command thyself, *Servius*, and
 “remember, that thou art born a man?
 “Believe me, I was not a little confirmed
 “by this contemplation: Try the force of

“it, therefore, if you please, upon yourself;
 “and imagine the same prospect before
 “your own eyes. But to come nearer
 “home; when you consider how many of
 “our greatest men have perished lately at
 “once; what destruction has been made in
 “the empire; what havock in all the pro-
 “vinces; how can you be so much shocked
 “to be deprived of the fleeting breath of
 “one little woman? Who, if she had not
 “died at this time, must necessarily have
 “died a few years after, since that was the
 “condition of her being born. But recall
 “your mind from reflections of this kind
 “to the consideration of yourself, and think
 “rather on what becomes your character
 “and dignity: That your daughter lived
 “as long as life was worth enjoying, as
 “long as the Republic stood; had seen her
 “father Prætor, Consul, Augur; been
 “married to the noblest of our youth; had
 “tasted every good in life; and, when the
 “Republic fell, then quitted it: What
 “ground is there then, either for you, or
 “her, to complain of fortune on this ac-
 “count? In short, do not forget that you
 “are *Cicero*; one, who has been always
 “used to give advice and prescribe to o-
 “thers; nor imitate those poultry phy-
 “sicians, who pretend to cure other peo-
 “ple’s diseases, yet are not able to cure
 “their own; but suggest rather to yourself
 “the same lesson, which you would give in
 “the same case. There is no grief so great,
 “which length of time will not alleviate:
 “But it would be shameful in you to wait
 “for that time, and not to prevent it by your
 “wisdom; besides, if there be any sense in
 “the dead, such was her love and piety to
 “you, that she must be concerned to see
 “how much you afflict yourself. Give this
 “therefore to the deceased; give it to your
 “friends; give it to your country; that it
 “may have the benefit of your assistance and
 “advice, whenever there shall be occasion:
 “Lastly, since fortune has now made it ne-
 “cessary to us to accommodate ourselves to
 “our present situation, do not give any
 “one a handle to think, that you are not
 “so much bewailing your daughter, as the
 “state of the times, and the victory of cer-
 “tain persons. I am ashamed to write any
 “more,

tion for himself, from which he professes to have received his greatest comfort. The design of it was not only to relieve his own mind, but to consecrate the virtues and memory of *Tullia* to all posterity: Nor did his fondness for her stop here, but suggested the project of a more effectual consecration, by building a temple to her, and erecting her into a sort of a deity. In his letters to *Atticus*, we find the strongest expressions of his resolution and impatience to see this design executed. Yet, after all his zeal, or pretended eagerness and sollicitude about this temple, it was never actually built by him¹.

¹ In the leisure of the retired life which he led, after the death of *Tullia*, *Cicero* composed several works; his *Hortensius*; a treatise in the way of

Y. R. 708.
Bef. Chr.
44.
407 Cont.

“more, lest I should seem to distrust your
“prudence, and will add therefore but one
“thing farther, and conclude: We have
“sometimes seen you bear prosperity nobly,
“with great honour and applause to your-
“self; let us now see that you can bear ad-
“versity with the same moderation, and
“without thinking it a greater burthen than
“you ought to do; lest, in the number of
“all your other virtues, this one, at last, be
“thought to be wanting. As to myself,
“when I understand that your mind is
“grown more calm and composed, I will
“send you word how all things go on here,
“and what is the state of the province.
“Adieu.” *Ep. Fam. iv. 5. Middleton*,
183.

² *Abbe Morgault, ad Att. xii. 1. and Dr. Middleton, p. 190*, remark, that this fact seems to confirm what the author of the book of *Wisdom* observes on the origin of idolatry; that it was owing to the fond affection of parents, seeking to do honour to their deceased children. *The father*, says he, *oppressed with unexpected grief for the sudden death of his child, after making an image of him, began to worship him as a god, though he was but a dead man; and enjoined certain rites and mysteries to his servants and dependants.* (*Wisd. xiv. 15.*) But it was not *Cicero's* real thought, after all, to exalt his daughter into a deity; he knew it to be absurd, as he often declares, *to pay divine honours to dead mortals*; and tells us how their very publicans had decided that question in *Bæotia*: For, when the lands of the immortal gods were excepted out of their lease, by the law of the Censors, they denied that any one could be deemed an immortal god, who had been once a man; and so made the lands of *Amphiaraus* and *Trophonius* pay the same taxes

with the rest: (*De Nat. Deor. iii. 19.*) Yet, in a political view, he sometimes recommends the worship of those sons of men, whom their eminent services to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the most sensible, the doctrine of *the soul's immortality*: (*De leg. ii. 11.*) And, since a temple was the most ancient way of doing honour to the dead who deserved it, (*Plin. Hist. 27.*) he considered it as the most effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praise of *Tullia*; and was willing to take the benefit of the popular superstition, and follow the example of those ancients, who had polished and civilised human life by consecrating such patterns of virtue to the veneration of their fellow-citizens.

³ His extraordinary affliction, it may be here remarked, gave occasion to suspicions very dishonourable, which are thought to be hinted at in the 38th letter of the xiiith book to *Atticus*: “You say, that it is time
“to shew a little more strength of mind,
“and you tell me, that certain persons talk
“concerning me in more severe terms than ei-
“ther you or *Brutus* have informed me by
“your letters. If some people look upon
“my spirit to be broken, and my faculties
“impaired, let them know in what com-
“pany I employ my time, and they will be
“sensible that I cannot be blameable, since
“I have already so much recovered, as to
“bring my mind to such a composed state
“as to be able to write on difficult subjects:
“And that, if I have chosen them as an
“amusement to my grief, I am praise-
“worthy to have taken up with one so be-
“coming a man of letters.” The author of an invective against him, under the name of *Sallust*, openly accuses him of an ince-

tuons

Y. R. 708. of dialogue, in which he undertakes the defence of philosophy against
 Ed J. C. *Hortensius*, to whom he assigned the part of arraigning it: His *Acade-*
 44- mics, in four books, containing a particular account and defence of the
 45- philosophy of the Academy, which he addressed to *Varro*: His excel-
 lent treatise *de finibus*, or *of the chief good and ill of man*, in five books,
 which he addressed to *Brutus*, in return for a present of the same kind,
 which *Brutus* had sent him a little before, viz. *a treatise upon virtue*;
 and his *Tusculan disputations*, in five books also, upon as many different
 questions in philosophy, the most important and useful to the happiness
 of human life. The first teaches *how to contemn the terrors of death*,
and to look upon it as a blessing rather than an evil; the second, *to support*
pain and affliction with a manly fortitude; the third, *to appease all our*
complaints and uneasinesses under the accidents of life; the fourth, *to mode-*
rate all our passions; the fifth, *to evince the sufficiency of virtue to make*
men happy.

MIL. p.
 215.

After *Cæsar's* arrival, *Cicero* was persuaded by his friends to leave so-
 litude and the country, and to come to *Rome*; where he soon found an
 opportunity of employing his interest and eloquence in the service of
 King *Deiotarus*. This Prince had already been deprived by *Cæsar* of
 part of his dominions, for his adherence to *Pompey*; and was now in
 danger of losing the rest, from an accusation preferred against him by
 his grandson, of a design pretended to have been formed by him against
Cæsar's life, when *Cæsar* was entertained in his house, four years before,
 on his return from *Egypt*. The charge was groundless and ridiculous;
 but, under his present disgrace, any charge was sufficient to ruin him;

troas commerce with this beloved daugh-
 ter. And *Servius* tells us, that *Virgil* was
 thought to have glanced at him in this
 verse:

Hic ibalamus invasi nocte veniosque Hy-
menæos.

Dis, who betrays every-where the greatest
 rancour against our orator, has inserted the
 same charge against him, in a speech he has
 made for *Cicero*, in answer to his second
Philippic: But there is nothing in all *Ci-*
cero's letters, or in his behaviour in any
 part of his life, that gives the least credit to
 so malicious an aspersion.

* *Cicero* wrote also at this time a little
 piece, in the way of a funeral encomium, in
 praise of *Porcia*, the sister of *Cato*, and wife
 of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Cæsar's* mortal
 enemy. *Varro* and *Lollius* attempted the
 same subject; and *Cicero* desires *Atticus* to
 send him their compositions: But all the
 three are now lost: Though *Cicero* took the
 pains to revive and correct his, and sent
 copies of it afterwards to *Domitius*, the son,
 and *Brutus*, the nephew of that *Porcia*.

'It appears, likewise, that he was pressed
 at this period by *Atticus*, and his other
 friends, and even by *Brutus* himself, to
 draw up something to be addressed to *Cæ-*
sar; and it was certainly an undertaking
 suitable to his dignity and character. He
 drew up a letter accordingly, which was
 communicated to *Hirtius* and *Balbus*, for
 their judgment upon it, whether it was proper
 to be sent to *Cæsar*: But these, not think-
 ing it advisable to send it, unless some pas-
 sages were softened, *Cicero* was so much dis-
 gusted, that he dropped entirely the design.

"As for the letter to *Cæsar*, says he to *Atti-*
cus, I was always very willing that *Hir-*
tius and *Balbus* should first read it; for,
 "otherwise, I had both been wanting in ci-
 "vility to them, and, if I had happened
 "to give offence, exposed myself also to
 "danger. They have dealt ingenuously
 "and kindly with me, in not concealing
 "what they thought; but what pleases
 "me the most is, that by requiring so many
 "alterations, they give me an excuse for
 "not writing at all." *Ad Att. xii. 51.*

and

and *Cæsar's* countenancing it so far as to receive and hear it shewed a strong prejudice against the King; and that he wanted only a pretence for stripping him of all that remained to him. *Brutus* also interested himself very warmly in the same cause; and, when he went to meet *Cæsar*, on his road from *Spain*, made an oration to him at *Nicaa*, in favour of *Dejotarus*; which startled *Cæsar*, and gave him occasion to reflect on what he had never perceived before, *the invincible fierceness and vehemence of Brutus's temper*. The present trial was held in *Cæsar's* house; where *Cicero* so manifestly exposed the malice of the accuser and the innocence of the accused, that *Cæsar*, being determined not to acquit, yet ashamed to condemn him, chose the expedient of reserving his sentence to farther deliberation till he should go in person into the East, and inform himself of the whole affair upon the spot. *Cicero* says, "that *Dejotarus*, neither present nor absent, could ever obtain any favour or equity from *Cæsar*: And that, as often as he pleaded for him, which he was always ready to do, he could never persuade *Cæsar* to think any thing reasonable that he asked for him." He sent a copy of his oration to the King; and, at *Dolabella's* request, gave another likewise to him: Excusing it, as a trifling performance, and hardly worth transcribing; but *I had a mind*, says he, *to make a slight present to my old host and friend, of coarse stuff, indeed, yet such as his presents usually are to me.*

Some little time after this trial, *Cæsar*, to shew his confidence in *Cicero*, invited himself to spend a day with him at his house in the country, and chose the third day of the *Saturnalia* for his visit; a season always dedicated to mirth and feasting amongst friends and relations¹. *Cicero* gives *Atticus* the following account of the entertainment, and how the day passed between them. "O this guest, says he, whom I so much dreaded! Yet I had no reason to repent of him, for he was pleased with his reception. When he came the evening before, on the 18th, to my neighbour *Philippus*, the house was so crowded with soldiers, that there was scarce a room left empty for *Cæsar* to sup in: But *Barba Cassius* relieved me; for he assigned me a guard, and made the rest encamp in the field; so that my house was clear. On the 19th, he stayed at *Philippus's* till one in the afternoon; but saw nobody; was settling accounts, I guess, with *Balbus*; then took a walk on the shore; bathed after two; heard the verses on *Mamurra*², at which he

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" never

¹ This festival, after *Cæsar's* reformation of the calendar, began on the 17th of December, and lasted three days. *Macrobi. Saturn. i. 10.*

² *Mamurra* was a Roman Knight, and General of the Artillery to *Cæsar* in Gaul; where he raised an immense fortune, and is

said to have been the first man in Rome who incrustad his house with marble, and made all his pillars of solid marble. (*Plin. Hist. xxxvi. 6.*) He was severely lashed, says *Dr. Middleton*, together with *Cæsar* himself, for his excessive luxury, and more infamous vices, by *Catullus*, whose verses are still extant, and

V. R. 708.
Bef. Chr.
44.
407 Conf.

Ad Att.
xiv. 1.

Ep. Fam.
ix. 12.

Mi. Ill. p.
217.

Ad Att.
xiii. 52.

Y. R. 708. " never changed countenance ; was rubbed, anointed, sat down to table.
 Bef. Chr. " Having taken a vomit just before ⁴⁴, he eat and drank freely, and was
 457 Conf. " very chearful. The supper was good and well-served :

" But our discourse at table, as we eat,
 " For taste and seasoning still excell'd our meat.

" Besides *Cæsar's* table, his friends were plentifully provided for in three
 " other rooms ; nor was there any thing wanting to his freedmen of
 " lower rank and his slaves ; but the better sort were elegantly treated :
 " In a word, I acquitted myself like a man : Yet he is not a guest, to
 " whom one would say, at parting, Pray call upon me again as you
 " return : Once is enough. We had not a word on business, but many
 " on points of literature : In short, he was delighted with his entertain-

and the same, it has been thought, that *Cicero* refers to, as being first read to *Cæsar* at his house. *Middl.* p. 217. The verses of *Catullus* are as follow :

*Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati,
 Nisi impudicus, et vorax, Es bello ?
 Mamurram habere quod comata Gallia
 Habebant unctum et ultima Britannia :
 Cinæde Romule, hæc videbis et fratres,
 Es impudicus, et vorax, et alio.* Ep. 30.

*Palebræ convenit improbis Cinædis,
 Mamurra Patibique Cæsarique.* Ep. 58.

Suetonius, speaking of these verses, says, *Valerius Catullum, a quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata impressa non dissimulaverat, satisfaciendum, eadem die adhibuit cæna : Hospitiæque patris ejus, sicut consueverat, uti perseveravit.* In *Cæs.* 73. Now *Bayle*, art. *Catulle*, remarks very justly, that, if what *Suetonius* asserts be true, viz. that, if *Cæsar* continued to lodge at the house of *Catullus's* father, after his reconciliation with the son, these cannot be the verses read at *Cicero's* house : Because *Cæsar*, after this supper, never saw *Verona*, where *Catullus's* father lived : And we must conclude, that the offence given by *Catullus*, and his reconciliation, were before *Cæsar's* last journey to *Gaul* ; and the verses now read to him were by another hand.

The reader, perhaps, will not readily understand the time and manner of *Cæsar's* passing from *Philip's* house to *Cicero's* in this short account of it : But it must be remembered, that their villa's were adjoining to each other on the *Formian* coast near *Cajeta* ; so

that, when *Cæsar* came out of *Philip's* at one, he took a walk upon the shore for about an hour, and then entered into *Cicero's* ; where the bath was prepared for him, and, in bathing, he heard the verses on *Mamurra* ; not produced by *Cicero*, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by some of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his desire to see every thing that was published against him, as well as his easiness in slighting or forgiving it.

² The custom of taking a vomit both immediately before and after meals, which *Cicero* mentions *Cæsar* to have done on different occasions, (*Pro Dejot.* 7.) was very common with the *Romans*, and used by them as an instrument both of their luxury and of their health : *They vomit*, says *Seneca*, *that they may eat ; and eat, that they may vomit.* (*Conf. ad Helv.* 9.) By this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully ; and, by emptying themselves presently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus *Vitellius*, who was a famous glutton, is said to have preserved his life by constant vomits, while he destroyed all his companions, who did not use the same caution : (*Sueton.* 12. *Dio*, lxx. 734.) and the practice was thought so effectual for strengthening the constitution, that it was the constant regimen of all the *Athletæ*, or professed wrestlers, trained for the public shews, in order to make them more robust. So that *Cæsar's* vomiting before dinner was a sort of compliment to *Cicero*, as it intimated a resolution to pass the day chearfully, and to eat and drink freely with him. *Middl.* p. 217.

" ment,

" ment, and passed the day agreeably. He talked of spending one
 " day at *Puteoli*, another at *Baiæ*. Thus you see the manner of my re-
 " ceiving him; somewhat troublesome, indeed, but not uneasy to me.
 " I shall stay here a little longer, and then to *Tusculum*. As he passed
 " by *Dolabella's* villa, his troops marched close by his horse's side, on the
 " right and left; which was done nowhere else. This I had from *Nicias*."

Y. R. 708
 Bef. Chr.
 44.
 407 Cont.

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C H A P.

" It is certainly to be regretted that *Cicero* suppressed the letter which, as we just now observed, he had prepared to address to *Cæsar* on the state and regulation of public affairs. There remain, however, two epistles, which were written to *Cæsar* on the same subject, and which have been generally, and with good reason, ascribed to *Sallust*. These, as they contain many important truths, and throw a considerable light on the times of which we write; and as they discover to us the regulations which

an eminent genius and historian thought necessary to remove the disorders into which the *Roman* State had fallen, and are generally but little attended to; we shall beg leave to offer to the reader. That epistle, which is called the *second*, was certainly the *first*; and was written before the battle of *Pharsalia*: The other, called the *first*, was written after *Cæsar* had obtained that battle. It is for this reason that we have altered the order in which these pieces appear in the different editions of the *Roman* historian.

The first Epistle of SALLUST to C. JULIUS CÆSAR, concerning the Regulation of the Commonwealth.

" I AM not insensible how difficult and nice a task he undertakes, who ventures to offer advice to Princes and Governors; or to any one invested with high authority. The number of Counsellors with whom such persons are surrounded, and the great uncertainty of future contingencies, which the most cautious and penetrating politician cannot sufficiently guard against, are very discouraging considerations: And, what makes the office still more ungrateful, the worst-laid schemes will frequently have a more prosperous event than the most rational and prudent counsels. So capricious is the sway of fortune in the disposal of almost all human affairs!

" But, notwithstanding these discouragements, since my early inclinations led me to the study of state affairs, and as I have, with the utmost application, pursued that knowledge, not so much with a view to obtain employments, which I have often seen procured by means the most base and unworthy; but rather that I might thoroughly inform myself of the nature of our constitution civil and military; what is the true state of her strength with regard to her men, her arms, and her revenue: Therefore, though I may, perhaps, suffer in my reputation, and be thought too forward in the attempt, yet my regard to your dignity and fame has, after mature deliberation, prevailed with me above such apprehensions; and I am determined to run any hazard, where I have the least prospect of an accession to your glory. And be assured it was not without previous consideration, nor so much with a view to the circumstances of your fortune, that I took up this resolution, as because, among your other distinguished qualities, I have ever experienced in you this most admirable one, that the greatness of your soul is more conspicuous in adversity than prosperity.—But the same of your illustrious qualities is a subject I need not expatiate on: It is already so great, that sooner were men wearied in admiring and celebrating, than you in performing glorious actions. Nor was it out of any fond conceit of my own abilities, that I have presumed to lay before you my sentiments concerning the Commonwealth; but, as your thoughts have been hitherto taken up with another scene of business, with the toils of a camp, with battles, with triumphs, and military commands, I thought it not unreasonable to awake your attention to the regulation of civil affairs: For, if your only aim and intention be to repel the furious attack of your enemies upon your dignity, and defend the rights of the people against the Consul who
 " opposes

“ opposes them, these are views below the virtue of *Cæsar*. But, if you are still animated by
 “ the same spirit with which, from your first entrance into public life, you successfully opposed
 “ and overset the faction of the Nobility, and rescued the Roman people from the yoke of slavery;
 “ and with which you baffled, in your prætorship, though unarmed, all the attempts of your
 “ armed adversaries, and have since performed such great and glorious exploits, that even your
 “ enemies have nothing to object against you but your superior greatness: If the same virtuous
 “ spirit still possesses you, give your attention to the plan I shall propose for the regulation
 “ and government of the Commonwealth; which plan I am persuaded you will find to
 “ be proper and advisable, or, at least, to require but little alteration.

“ Now, since *Pompey*, either from a kind of infatuation, or blindly bent upon oppo-
 “ sing you, has been so rash and imprudent as to throw the whole power of the State into
 “ the hands of its enemies [the aristocracy] and has thus put all into confusion, it is in-
 “ cumbent upon you to restore the Commonwealth, and replace it upon its proper founda-
 “ tion. [by asserting the sovereignty of the people] The first step he took was *that of con-*
 “ *stituting in a few Senators an absolute authority in the direction of the revenue, the sumptuary*
 “ *laws, and judicial proceedings; whilst the people, in whom the sovereign power had before*
 “ *been lodged, were left in a state of subjection and slavery.* The judicial authority is, indeed,
 “ as formerly, nominally vested in the three orders of the Republic; but the real power is
 “ in the hands of the faction, who, with unbridled dominion, controul all things; who
 “ give to one man and take from another; dispose of every thing, as they please; who
 “ insinuate the virtuous and innocent, and raise none but their own creatures to posts of ho-
 “ nour: How notorious soever their crimes be, how flagitious soever their lives, and infa-
 “ mous soever their reputation, this scandalous insufficiency excludes them not from the
 “ magistracy; and, thus exalted, they seize, they plunder whatever they have an in-
 “ clination to: In short, their whole conduct is like that of a victorious army ravaging
 “ an enemy’s city: Lust and passion animate them; licentiousness is their only law. But,
 “ under these afflicting circumstances, it would, I own, be some alleviation to our mis-
 “ fortunes to see men of abilities in possession of arbitrary dominion acquired by bra-
 “ very; but, instead of that, we see a despicable faction of base, cowardly wretches, whose
 “ only strength and courage lie in the feeble efforts of words, masters of sovereign power,
 “ which fell into their hands by accident, and has been yielded to them by a base, perfidi-
 “ ous man [*Pompey*] and exercising that power with extreme arrogance and cruelty. For,
 “ in any of our former contests and civil wars, were ever so many and such illustrious fami-
 “ lies extirpated? Did ever any before pursue their conquests with such impetuous fury, such
 “ exorbitant unbridled licentiousness? Even *Sylla*, who thought the laws of war gave an
 “ unlimited license to the Conqueror, though he conceived that the terror of punishment
 “ added strength to his cause, yet was satisfied with a few instances of severity to his ene-
 “ mies, and chose to win others to his party by lenity and benevolence, rather than the
 “ dread of revenge. But such moderate resentment suits not the sanguinary temper
 “ of *Cato*, *Domitius*, and the rest of that faction. No less than forty Senators, together
 “ with numbers of young men of promising abilities, have, by their orders, been but-
 “ chered, like so many victims destined to slaughter; nor could the blood of all these mi-
 “ serable citizens glut the thirst of those most implacable tyrants. The doleful cries of
 “ helpless orphans, the weakness of aged parents, the groans of men and the lamentations
 “ of women, made not the least impression on their unrelenting hearts: So far from it,
 “ that they grew every day more and more inflamed, both in their words and actions;
 “ and, by injurious practices, degraded many from their employments, drove many into
 “ exile.” [*Pompey* was guilty of great partiality in his third consulship, and probably of
 “ cruelty, since *Tacitus*, speaking of his conduct at this time, says, *that, being chosen to*
 “ *correct the public enormities, his remedies proved more grievous to the State than its disorders.*
 “ *Appian*, in his censorship, acted in the same partial manner, and his authority was subservient
 “ to the views of the aristocracy. Among others of the contrary faction he degraded our
 “ author and turned him out of the Senate. Hence this description of the injustice and cru-
 “ elty of his enemies is, perhaps, full of resentment, and may be exaggerated] “ And there
 “ is no occasion to shew how they stand affected towards you. Base cowards as they are,
 “ they would yet gladly sacrifice their lives to procure your disgrace and ruin. Yes,—far
 “ less is the pleasure they taste in that sovereignty, which is unexpectedly fallen into their
 “ hands,

“ hands, than the anxiety they feel, when they view your exalted glory : for, to accom-
 “ plish your destruction, they chuse rather to run the hazard of slavery, and esteem it a
 “ more eligible situation, than to see you the happy instrument of raising the empire of
 “ Rome, great as it is, to the highest pitch of glory and dominion.

“ These considerations will convince you, how absolutely necessary it is to use the ut-
 “ most care and circumspection in forming your schemes for the establishment and secu-
 “ rity of the Commonwealth. What occurs to me I shall freely offer without any reserve :
 “ But, how far the methods I shall propose are just and practicable, I leave to the determi-
 “ nation of your own judgment.

“ By the primitive constitution of the Republic, as our histories inform us, the people
 “ were divided into two orders, *Patricians* and *Plebeians* : Originally the exercise of the
 “ supreme jurisdiction was lodged in the former ; but, as the latter was the stronger body,
 “ this superior force often excited them to withdraw to Mount *Aventine*, in defence of
 “ their liberties : The constant effect of which secession was, that the power of the *Patri-*
 “ cians was diminished, and the rights and privileges of the people augmented. But what
 “ contributed most to the security of their liberty was this, the laws had their due force,
 “ and the power of the magistrate was subservient to them. Nor was it then [during the
 “ perfect democracy settled by the *Licinian* laws] “ affluence of fortune, or an arrogant pas-
 “ sion for precedence, but the character of a regular life and gallant exploits, that distin-
 “ guished the nobility from the commonalty : Even men in the lowest station, whether oc-
 “ cupied in their farms at home, or serving in the wars, just provided with the neces-
 “ sary and decent supports of life, were amply satisfied themselves, and gave ample sa-
 “ tisfaction to the State. But when, being thrust out of possession of their lands by a gra-
 “ dual usurpation, they through indigence and idleness (having nothing to do) could no
 “ longer have any fixed abodes, then they began to covet the wealth of other men, and
 “ to put their own liberty and the Commonwealth to sale. Thus fell, by degrees, the an-
 “ cient power of the Roman people, who had before been Lords of the world, and given
 “ laws to all nations ; and they, who jointly exercised sovereign authority, have, each in-
 “ dividual separately, sold themselves to slavery and bondage.

“ Now a multitude, thus disposed, not only corrupt and degenerate in their manners,
 “ but also, by their different courses and pursuits, so alienated from each other, as to be
 “ incapable of any coalition and unanimity, are, I apprehend, very ill qualified to assume
 “ the government of the Commonwealth. But, if the number of citizens be augmented,
 “ such a regulation would rouse up a general ardour in support of the common liberty ;
 “ for then one part of the people will be animated to preserve the liberty they are admitted
 “ to ; and the other to shake off the yoke of slavery, which has hitherto disgraced them.
 “ These new enfranchised citizens, joined to some of the old ones, should, I think, be
 “ settled in our colonies ; by which means we shall not only be furnished with greater
 “ supplies for recruiting our armies, but the people, being then employed in useful oc-
 “ cupations, will no longer disturb and embroil the State.” [We have seen above, that
 “ this was one of the measures taken by *Cæsar* for the better settlement of the State.] “ I am
 “ not insensible, that, when you attempt the execution of this scheme, you will expose
 “ yourself to the fury and severe resentments of the nobility ; who will immediately take
 “ fire, grow angry, and exclaim, that the very foundation of the constitution is under-
 “ mined, that the ancient citizens are robbed of their privileges, and reduced to a state
 “ of slavery, and this free Republic converted into a regal government, when any single
 “ person assumes an arbitrary power of augmenting the number of citizens. I confess, In-
 “ deed, it is my settled opinion, that whoever attempts to render himself popular, at
 “ the expence of the Commonwealth, is guilty of a crime, the grievous effects of which
 “ will fall on his own head : yet, at the same time, I will venture to say, He who has not
 “ resolution enough to undertake such designs, as are at once beneficial to the public, as well as his
 “ own private interests, is justly chargeable with the imputation of indolence and pusillanimity.
 “ When *M. Livius Drusus* was Tribune of the people, it was his fixed purpose and reso-
 “ lution to exert his utmost endeavours in favour of the nobility ; nor did he, at first, ever
 “ enter upon any measures without their consent and authority. And yet those sons
 “ of faction, ever influenced by the maxims of treachery and falsehood, rather than fidelity
 “ and honour, no sooner considered what a number of men, should *Drusus* succeed, would
 “ owe the mighty obligation to one single person ; and, as it is reasonable to imagine,

“ when each reflected on his own base and perfidious heart, conceived, that *Drusus* would
 “ act in the same manner they were conscious they themselves should act in the same situ-
 “ ation; apprehending therefore, that his professions of such singular regard for their
 “ interest was only an artifice to raise himself to sovereignty, they opposed him with the
 “ utmost rigour, and frustrated all his designs in their favour. These observations will en-
 “ gage you to fortify yourself with the greatest attention and circumspection with all the
 “ support you can possibly procure.

“ To subdue a fair and open enemy is, to the brave and gallant man, no mighty difficul-
 “ ty: But, in contriving or in avoiding secret stratagems and latent perils, generous and
 “ noble souls are by no means adroit and expert. For your better security therefore, when
 “ you have augmented the number of citizens, as the power of the people will be restored,
 “ it is *your principal concern to cultivate good manners, and, by a firm coalition, unite the*
 “ *old and new citizens.* But the greatest service you can possibly do to your country, to
 “ your fellow-citizens, to yourself, and your posterity, is *to extinguish that extravagant*
 “ *passion for riches,* which is so prevalent amongst us; or, at least, *give such a check to it*
 “ *as the circumstances of the times will permit.* And, unless this be done, neither in the
 “ city nor in the camp, neither in the administration of public or private affairs, can any
 “ due order, any regular oeconomy, be expected. For, where the love of money once pre-
 “ vails, it proves always too powerful for discipline, and suppresses all good dispositions;
 “ nor is the firmest mind able to resist its efforts; but, sooner or later, falls a victim to
 “ this passion. Numerous are the instances that occur in history, what Princes, what States
 “ and Nations, have intirely owed, to the oppressive weight of their opulence, the loss of
 “ those mighty empires, which have been the glorious acquisitions of virtuous poverty.
 “ Nor is it at all surprising: For when an upright man beholds one of less merit more
 “ caressed and esteemed, upon no other recommendation but a superior fortune; at first,
 “ it has no other effect than to raise his indignation, and stagger him with perplexities:
 “ But, when he has still every day fresh experience that pomp and splendor triumph over
 “ genuine glory and honour; wealth and opulence over worth and merit; his mind is at
 “ last alienated; he deserts the cause of virtue, and flies to the tents of voluptuousness. It
 “ is doubtless the love of glory that stimulates and supports industry: Stripped of that at-
 “ tracting charm, virtue in herself appears to men with a very forbidding aspect, and under
 “ a very unamiable form. In short, wherever riches are in high esteem, there all worthy ac-
 “ complishments, there honour and probity, modesty and chastity, must lose all their regard,
 “ become neglected and despised. For, in the pursuit of virtue, men are confined to one
 “ road only; a road too surrounded with perils and difficulties: But, in quest of riches,
 “ great is the latitude they take, and every one pushes forward what way he pleases; and
 “ by any means, honourable or dishonourable, strives to obtain his end. Above all things,
 “ therefore, you must determine to crush this prevailing power of gold. And I am per-
 “ suaded, that no one hereafter will judge a man more or less qualified for judicial offices,
 “ or the administration of the Commonwealth, if you put the election of Consuls and
 “ Prætors upon such a footing, that real worth and merit, and not wealth and riches, must
 “ of necessity prevail in the choice.” [We have seen also that *Cæsar* had nothing so much
 at heart as the execution of his sumptuary laws.]

“ *As to the appointment of magistrates,* it will be the safest and most convenient method
 “ to invest that power in the people. If you confine it to a few, you approach too near a
 “ regal government: If you suffer the elections to be carried by bribery, that were base
 “ and dishonourable. It is my opinion, therefore, *that all of the first class of the people*
 “ *should be intitled to the privilege of standing candidates for judicial offices;* but I think it ad-
 “ visable that their number should be augmented. It is well known that neither the
 “ people of *Rhodes*, nor any other free State, were ever dissatisfied with the judgments of
 “ their courts: where rich or poor, just as it fell out, were promiscuously joined together
 “ in all consultations, even of the greatest, as well as the smallest importance. But, as to
 “ the election of magistrates, the law enacted by *C. Gracchus*, when Tribune of the people,
 “ is by no means to be despised: *That, out of the five classes, promiscuously, those centuries*
 “ *were to give their suffrages should be chosen by lot.* When the people are thus re-
 “ duced to an equality, and superiority of fortune no longer gives superior claim to dig-
 “ nity and honour, the only contention, that can then remain, will be, who shall surpass
 “ each

“ each other in virtue and merit. These remedies, which I have prescribed, will, I apprehend, prove a very easy and effectual cure for the evils attending riches. For our admiration, or desire of any objects, arises from the use and advantage we propose from them; it is from the hopes of *gain* that men are prompted to iniquitous courses: Take away that incitement, and you will find no man alive will be any longer a villain, when a villain can be no longer a gainer. But, whilst the temptation to riches remains, avarice, like a savage beast of the desert, is unsufferably outrageous and cruel: Which way soever she flies, she lays waste whole towns and countries; confounds all things, human and divine, without distinction: Nor walls nor armies are able to obstruct her imperious violence; she falls upon all in her way, robs all she meets, robs them of their reputation, their chastity, their children, parents, and country: All become the prey of this universal plunderer. And yet there is a remedy for this mighty evil: Take away all esteem and honour from riches, and virtue will instantly recover her vigour, and be able to triumph over the rage of this devouring pestilence.

“ But, though all men, whether friends or enemies, allow this to be true, yet, such is the factious spirit of the nobility, that you must expect violent opposition from that quarter. This is the grand obstruction you will meet with; if you can remove that, by guarding yourself against their dark deceit and base stratagems, all the rest of your way will be smooth and easy. Base stratagems I may justly call them, for, were they influenced by any virtuous principle, it would prompt them rather to emulate than envy the worthy. But as sloth and indolence, and dulness and invincible stupidity, press heavy upon them, the only efforts they can make are clamorous complaints and invidious reproaches against that high renown, which they look upon as a tacit reflection on their own infamous reputations. But what necessity is there to say any more about them? You want not to be informed of their characters. You are no stranger to *M. Bibulus*, the man who, by irresistible courage and great abilities, forced his way to the consular dignity! Yes—You must doubtless be sensible of this, because you know him to be a creature scarce endowed with the faculty of speech; who has, indeed, a heart disposed to any villainy, but not a head to contrive and execute it! What is there to be apprehended from such a man as this, a man to whom the very consulship, the highest office in the State, was the highest disgrace. And, as to *L. Domitius*, what magnanimity can there be in him, when every part of his body is defiled with some foul vice, some detestable crime or other; his tongue with falsehood and lyes, his hands with blood, his feet with ignominious flight; and his pollutions, in other respects, are so abominably shameful, that even the bare mention of them would be an unpardonable indecency? *Cato* is the only man amongst them who has any sort of merit: The dexterity of his parts, his eloquence, his artifice and penetration, are no contemptible qualifications: But they are no other than what may be acquired by *Grecian* discipline. The nobler qualifications, fortitude, vigilance, and unwearied industry, are not to be learned from the *Greeks*. For can a people, who had neither vigour nor spirit to defend the liberty of their own country, be qualified to instruct others in those arts and accomplishments, that are necessary for the support of empire? As to the rest of the faction, they are a set of noblemen so utterly insignificant, so excessively dull and senseless, that, like stupid statues, their names and titles are their only ornaments.—As for *L. Posthumus* and *Favonius*, they appear to me not unlike the additional lading, which is taken into a large ship, above the ordinary burden: If she arrives safe at her port, it may be of use; but had the mariners met with tempestuous weather, those goods would have been first thrown over-board, as they were of the least value.” [What *Sallust* says here of the nobles agrees very well with the character *Cicero* gives, in his letters to *Atticus*, of the *Honest* or the *Fishpondmen*; but the picture he draws of *Cato* is very unlike that which he has given us of the same man in his history of *Cataline's* conspiracy. There *Cato* is put upon an equality with *CÆSAR* in noble birth, eloquence, greatness of spirit and glory: And simplicity of life, regular conduct, and invincible strictness, are mentioned as his acknowledged virtues. He contended not, it is said, in wealth with the wealthy, nor with the factious in practices of faction; but in bravery he yielded not to the most courageous; nor in temperance to the most reserved; nor in purity of morals to the most innocent: He aimed not so much to appear, as to be a virtuous man; and, the less he courted renown, the more it followed him. *Sallust*, when he wrote

wrote the conspiracy of *Cataline*, had not, probably, been exasperated by persecutions, or had retired from all public business, and was perfectly at his ease: Whereas, in this epistle, his language is that of a lately provoked enemy. *Cicero ad Att. vii. 15.* speaks of *Favonius* and *Posthumus*, as vain weak men, of importance only in their own conceit: *Uni Favonio leges ab illis nobis imponi non placebat; sed is haud auditus in concilio.—Posthumus autem, de quo nominatim Senatus decrevit, ut statim in Siciliam iret, Fuffanoque succederet, negat se sine Catone iterum: Et suam in Senatu operam auctoritatemque magni aestimat.* This *Posthumus* is probably the same man whom *Cicero* mentions, in another letter to *Atticus*, ix. 2. as having joined *Cæsar* before *Pompey* left Italy: And this circumstance seems to prove that this epistle of *Sallust* was written upon the rupture between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and before the former was master of *Brundisium*.]

“ Having thus given you my judgment concerning the restitution of the plebeian power, and the reformation of their manners; I will now point out to you the steps which it will be adviseable to take, with regard to the Senate.

“ No sooner was my age and reason ripe for application, but I turned my thoughts to literature, rather than the exercise of arms and riding: And, as nature had given me greater strength of mind than body, I chose to inure the most able and vigorous part to labour and fatigue; and, in the pursuit of this course, the observations I have made, in my constant application to study, and the informations of men, as well as books, have thoroughly convinced me that all empires and states in the world have prospered and flourished, as long as they pursued wise and wholesome counsels: But, when partiality, fear, and voluptuousness corrupted those counsels, their strength soon began to decline: Then they lost their dominion, and, at last, their liberty.

“ I confess it is my settled opinion, that whoever is placed in an eminent station, and has a greater share of property in any State, is ever found to be most concerned for its security and preservation. As to others, they have but one motive to engage their attention, their liberty. But the man who, by virtue and bravery, has acquired riches, fame, and dignity, has those additional incitements. And therefore, whenever he sees any dangers threatening the State, the apprehension alarms his mind, rouses all his thoughts and cares, and excites his utmost pains and labour; his liberty, his glory, his property are at stake, and he will defend them. His vigilance is seen in all places, his activity in every quarter: For, the more flourishing his circumstances are, when the constitution is secure, the more anxious, the more resolute and vigorous, will be his endeavours, when he apprehends it to be in danger. These considerations convince me, that, in a constitution, where the people are to put in execution the determinations of the Senate, as the body does the dictates of the mind, prudence and policy are indispensable qualifications in the Fathers; sagacity and penetration talents unnecessary in the People.—Our ancestors, though oppressed with grievous wars, held out with unwearied industry, after infinite losses, and when their money was exhausted. Such was their magnanimity, that neither the formidable strength of their enemies, nor the emptiness of their treasury, nor any unprosperous events could subdue their invincible spirit. The acquisitions they made by virtue they did not part with but with life: And they owed their success, not so much to their courage in the field, as to the wisdom, the boldness, and the constancy of their counsels. For, in those happy days, all the members of the Commonwealth, firmly cemented together, acted as one man; had no other views but her welfare; entered into no cabals but against the public enemy; and every individual exerted his abilities both of mind and body, not to aggrandise himself, but his country. Far different are the practices which prevail in this age; for now a set of noblemen, enervated with indolence and sloth, who never faced an enemy in battle; unexperienced in war, unacquainted with military toils and hardships, trained up to faction only within the walls of the city; arrogantly usurp sovereign authority over all the nations upon earth: Whilst the Fathers, whose salutary counsels have hitherto preserved the State in all her difficulties, are driven, like the waves of the sea, this way or that, by arbitrary impulse; one day enact laws, the next repeal them, just as it suits the caprice, the resentments, and arrogance of these lordly oppressors; for that alone is allowed to be the rule to estimate public good or evil.

But

“ But if now, in your regulations, you restore to the Senators their common privileges and equal liberty, or contrive for them some secret method of giving their suffrages, then would the exorbitant power some of the nobility possess soon be diminished, and the Commonwealth would rise again and prosper. But, though an attempt to bring the interest and influence of the whole body upon a level may be thought impracticable, since some of them made their entrance into the world upon the bottom of anticipated honours and dignity, and a numerous train of clients; whereas the generality of others, Senators, not by descent but creation, cannot have, in all respects, equal influence and advantages: Yet they should, at least, be freed from any restraint of awe or terror in giving their suffrages. When every one can thus act, as it were, in obscurity, then the dread of any man's arrogant power will no longer force him to comply with measures prejudicial to his own interest and liberty. Liberty is a jewel of high estimation; the worthy and the unworthy, the coward and the brave, equally love and admire it. But, admired as it is, we often see men, alarmed by the dread of superior strength, tamely give up that inestimable treasure to the demands of a public robber. Weak and infatuated man! Liberty or bondage is the subject of contention; and, whilst the victory is yet uncertain, they receive the ignominious yoke; the worst lot that could have befallen them, had their resistance been unsuccessful.

“ Two expedients, therefore, I would propose to confirm the senatorial power; first to augment their number; and then to make it a rule, that each shall give his suffrage by tablets. By the one, every man, being screened under the protection of a veil, will not be intimidated from acting according to the dictates of his own mind. By the other, the additional numbers will be an additional service and security to the State. For such is our present situation, that our public deliberations are very ill attended: Some few are engaged in judicial offices; some are taken up with domestic concerns or the service of their friends; but the more general cause of their absence is, not so much any other avocation, as the intolerable arrogance of those lofty oppressors, who have usurped such exorbitant power, for now some of the ancient nobility, with a few of the new-created Senators, whom they have taken in as a farther support to the faction, censure, approve, and decree, by their own absolute authority; and act, in every instance, just as their own arbitrary will inclines them. But, if you augment the number of Senators, and oblige them to give their suffrages by tablets, then would those haughty rulers soon abate their arrogance, when they found they must submit to the determination of those very men, over whom they have exercised such rigorous, such despotic sway.

“ When you have examined these expedients, you may, perhaps, ask me, what number it is advisable to add to the senatorial order; and in what manner, and for what purposes, I would advise the distribution of them into their several parts and distinct offices: And, as I have proposed the committing the judicial proceedings to the first class of the people, in what form they should be distributed, and what shall be the number of each different division? It would not be difficult to draw up a particular plan; but I thought it advisable, first, to propose a general scheme, and to have your approbation of that, before I proceeded farther. If you think my expedients just and true in general, you will find the rest very easy and obvious. I will not deny, that I have a strong ambition to see the justness and propriety of these regulations confirmed by their happy consequences: For, from your success and prosperity, I shall expect to derive some share of glory and reputation to myself. But yet far greater is my desire, much more ardent my passion, to see the Commonwealth restored, whatever expedients are used; with as much expedition as it can possibly be effected. Liberty is a happiness I prefer infinitely above the highest acquisitions of fame and glory: And let me intreat, let me beseech and exhort you, now that you have raised yourself to the highest military renown, and gloriously triumphed over the warlike nation of the Gauls, not to suffer the mighty Roman empire, hitherto invincible, to perish and decay, or be dissolved by civil wars or inveterate discord. Should such a calamity happen through your fault, be assured, *Cæsar*, that, neither day nor night, will you be free from pungent remorse; the sense of such a corroding guilt will ever disturb your rest, and your afflicted mind will be incessantly racked with madness and despair. For I look upon it as an uncontrollable truth, that the Deity constantly inspects the actions of all the human race;

“ nor will the virtues or vices of any one pass unregarded ; but, agreeably to the different nature of them, they will be followed by a different retribution. These may not, indeed, be the immediate effects, but they are the constant expectation of every man, arising from the consciousness of his actions.

“ Imagine now that the Geniuses of *Rome*, attended by your ancestors, were to accost you at this important crisis : You would hear them delivering their sentiments in the following strain : Remember, *CÆSAR*, that it is from us you derive your descent, from a race of virtuous and valiant heroes. We gave thee existence in this flourishing city, to be the support of our dignity, a strength to our establishment, and a terror to our adversaries. And, when from us you received your life, you received, with it, all the acquisitions, which were the fruits of our infinite toils and perils, a country the most powerful and extensive, a place and family the most illustrious in that country ; in all which, we took care to add many excellent accomplishments, joined to an affluent fortune, acquired with honour ; in short, all the felicities that adorn a settled peace, all the rewards that crown a successful war. Think not that, in return for these extensive obligations, we require from thee any undertaking inconsistent with virtue and probity. No—what we expect at thy hands is THE RESTORATION OF FAL-LING LIBERTY. Accomplish THIS, and every corner of the universe will instantly be filled with the applause of such a virtuous achievement. What ! though you have already given many illustrious proofs of great abilities, both in your civil and military capacity, yet in this, *CÆSAR*, thou art not singular ; there are many brave, magnanimous spirits, who have arrived to the same degree of glory. But, if you would surpass all others, arise now and rescue, from the brink of ruin, this most renowned, this mighty Empire. Then, indeed, wilt thou rise to matchless greatness, and shine in unrivalled lustre ! But should a different fate attend this State, should it perish through the malignity of the distemper that afflicts it ; who sees not that universal wars, desolation, and slaughter will attend her fall ? But if you feel a generous ardour to do the most acceptable service to us and to your country, assert the liberty of the Commonwealth, and save the sinking State : Then will succeeding ages view thee exalted above all the human race, and, even after death, with singular felicity, gathering fresh laurels of praise. For it sometimes happens that the clouds of adverse fortune cast a shade on living grandeur, and oftentimes the blasts of envy check its growth. But, when the hero yields to fate, malice and detraction expiring with him, his merit becomes more and more conspicuous, and daily rises to higher degrees of fame and glory.

“ Thus, *Cæsar*, I have presented you with a brief plan of such regulations as, I apprehend, will contribute most to the public good, and your own interest. But, whatever scheme you think proper to pursue, I beseech the immortal gods that it may have a prosperous event, and that both you and your country may reap the fruits of your successful endeavours.”

The second Epistle of SALLUST to C. JULIUS CÆSAR, concerning the Regulation of the Commonwealth.

“ I T heretofore prevailed, as an established truth, that kingdoms and empires, and whatever other objects men eagerly pursue, were only the gifts of fortune ; since they were often capriciously bestowed upon the undeserving, and never enjoyed by any, without a sensible diminution and decay. But experience has convinced us that *Appian* the poet was not mistaken when he said, that every man is the architect of his own fortune. In you, especially, *Cæsar*, is this maxim verified ; in you, who have so far surpassed all others, that sooner were men wretched in celebrating your glorious actions, than you in performing them. But still, as in the finished works of architecture, so in the acquisitions of heroic virtue, the utmost attention is required ; if they are neglected, their beauty will soon be impaired ; or, for want of care to support them, the noblest structures may fall to ruin. For it is not without reluctance that any man submits to the sovereign authority of another ; and, however just and mild he may be in the exercise of such power, still we are apt to be under apprehensions of oppression from him whose situation enables him to oppress when he pleases. Nor are such apprehensions without foundation ; for those who get the reins of government into their hands are, in

“ their conduct, generally influenced by an absurd maxim, *that, the more base and degenerate the people are, the more secure is the power of the Sovereign.* But far different ought to be your measures, *Cæsar*; and, as you yourself are virtuous and brave, who are to give laws, it is highly expedient to make the people so, who are to receive them. For *the worst of men are always found most impatient under the restraints of government.*

“ Indeed, when I consider, that the exercise of your power, in the course of the war, has been more gentle than that of others in the times of peace; when I see your victorious troops demanding the gratification of plundering the conquered; and when I consider, that the conquered are your fellow-citizens; I must confess that these difficulties, which you have to encounter in settling your conquests are greater than any, before you, have met with. But out of these difficulties you must resolve to extricate yourself, and settle the Commonwealth upon a firm establishment for the future; an undertaking to be effected, not so much by the force of arms, or by triumphs over enemies, as by a method much more noble as well as difficult; by the wholesome institutions of laws, and the sanctions of discipline and peace. An affair, therefore, of such high importance, calls upon all, not only those of eminent abilities, but also those who are less distinguished, to communicate their sentiments, and offer the best advice in their power: For it is my opinion, *that the future happiness or misery of Rome entirely depends upon the methods you take in settling your victories.*

“ That this great end may be more easily and effectually accomplished, I beg your attention to a few things, which occur to my thoughts upon this occasion.

“ You have been engaged, illustrious General, in a war against an eminent adversary, a man of immense wealth and boundless ambition; but more distinguished by his fortune than any prudence and sagacity in his conduct. Amongst his adherents, some few followed his arms, whose enmity to you had no other foundation, than the injustice they had done you: Others were drawn to his party by the tie of affinity, or some personal obligation. Not one of them had any share in his power; for, could he have submitted to a participation of dominion, the whole world would not have felt the shock of a devouring war. The rest of his party, the vast multitudes of the common people, that were in his camp, were drawn thither, not so much by their own judgment, as by the prevailing example of others, whom they looked upon as more discerning than themselves.” [The evidence of these truths we have already seen in the course of this history.] “ In this juncture, a set of wretches, whose infamous luxury had left nothing unpolluted, encouraged by malicious reports, with the hopes of seizing the Commonwealth, came over to your camp; and there, without any reserve, threatened death and rapine, and all the miseries of unrestrained licentiousness, to those who engaged in neither party. But many of them, when they found you would neither cancel their debts, nor suffer your fellow-citizens to be treated as public enemies, withdrew from your camp. Some few of them, indeed, still remained, imagining they should enjoy greater ease and security there, than they could in the city: So terrible an apprehension had they of the power and rage of creditors. It is almost incredible what numbers, and what men of high rank and distinction went over to *Pompey* also upon the very same motives; and, during the whole course of the war, adhered to him, as a sacred and inviolable sanctuary to people under such difficulties and distresses.

“ Now, as the success of your arms has made you the arbitrator of war and peace; that you may put such an end to the one, as may be a demonstration of your regard to your fellow-citizens, and make the other as honourable and lasting as possible; consider well what are the most advisable steps for the regulation of your own conduct; since it is on you only that this affair intirely depends. It is my opinion, that the rigid exercise of power tends rather to render it vexatious and uneasy, than firm and lasting; nor is it possible for any man to make himself an object of dread to the many, but, at the same time, a reciprocal dread of the many must recoil upon himself. And to be in such a situation is to be eternally involved in a state of warfare on all sides perilous: For, to whatever quarter you betake yourself, no security is to be found, surrounded as you are with continual dangers, and alarmed with terrible apprehensions. Very different is the situation of those, whose power is tempered with mildness, and moderated by humanity and benevolence! Every thing around them appears fair, flourishing, and happy; and the very enemies of the nation shew them more favour and esteem than

“ those of a contrary character meet with from their own citizens. And can any one say,
 “ that I am prompted to give this advice by a partial regard to the conquered party, or
 “ a sinister view to detract from the glory of your triumphs? No doubt I deserve this
 “ censure, for declaring that such treatment as foreign nations, nations naturally our foes,
 “ have met with from us, and our ancestors, ought not to be denied to our fellow-citizens,
 “ and that we *Romans* should not, like savage barbarians, insist upon the retaliation of blood
 “ and slaughter.

“ Have they then forgot the reproaches they lately cast upon *Pompey*, and upon *Sylla's*
 “ cruel use of victory? How *Domitius*, *Carbo*, and *Brutus*, with several others, were
 “ slain; that they fell not, when under arms in the field; not in the heat of battle, by
 “ the common calamity of war; but, after that was over, even when they were suppli-
 “ cating mercy, they were most inhumanly murdered by *Pompey*. Have they forgot how
 “ the people of *Rome* were, like so many cattle, butchered in the field of *Mars*? Bloody
 “ and inhuman has been the use other conquerors, before you, have made of their vic-
 “ tories! Dreadful were the scenes of private slaughters, unexpected massacres, women
 “ flying into the bosoms of their children, and children into the bosoms of their parents,
 “ and, in all quarters, our habitations plundered and demolished! The very men who
 “ acted this bloody part would now persuade you to pursue the same measures: As if the
 “ only motive of the war had been, whether you or *Pompey* should have an arbitrary power
 “ of oppressing mankind; as if you had not restored the Commonwealth, but seized it
 “ as a prey of your successful arms; and as if the flower of our army, and the choicest
 “ of our veteran troops, took up arms against brethren and parents, and some even against
 “ their own offspring, from this motive only, that the most abandoned of men might,
 “ from the calamities of others, procure means to indulge their insatiable appetites, or
 “ that their enormous lives might reflect dishonour on the worthy men engaged in the
 “ same cause, and so stain the glory of their conquests. I venture to speak thus, because
 “ I am persuaded you are no stranger to the conduct of every individual amongst them, and
 “ how far they observed the rules of moderation, even when the event of the war was un-
 “ certain; and how some of them gave such a loose to debauchery and licentious festivity,
 “ in the very field of battle, as men of their years could not have indulged themselves in,
 “ without a blemish to their reputation, even in time of peace and tranquillity.

“ I see no occasion to say any more of the disposition of military affairs.

“ As to the establishing of peace, since that is the great point you and your friends
 “ have in view; consider, in the first place, I beseech you, the nature of the affair now
 “ under deliberation: For thus, by distinctly separating the arguments on both sides, you
 “ will, of course, open a way to right measures. I own, when I reflect with myself,
 “ that whatever had a beginning has naturally a determined period, I am persuaded, that,
 “ whenever the fatal destruction of *Rome's* empire approaches, it can only happen when
 “ her citizens are harassed with intestine wars: In that critical juncture, when their
 “ strength is worn out and their spirits exhausted, they will fall a prey to some foreign
 “ Prince or State. But, were it possible to preserve harmony amongst ourselves, the whole
 “ world, all the nations of the earth in confederacy, would not be able to diminish or
 “ shake this mighty empire. Therefore, to secure all the advantages of unanimity, and to
 “ remove and prevent all the mischiefs of dissensions and divisions, is the great point
 “ that requires your perpetual attention. The best way to effect this is to give a check
 “ to the fashionable vices of licentious profuseness and rapine; not by reinforcing those
 “ obsolete laws, which the depravity of the times has rendered contemptible; but by ob-
 “ liging every man to live within the bounds of his fortune. For now a prevailing custom
 “ has taught the *Roman* youth to look upon it as a laudable and gallant behaviour to
 “ squander away, not only their own, but other mens fortunes; and to deny themselves,
 “ or their dependents, no sort of gratification whatsoever. This they call manly conduct,
 “ this, true greatness of soul; whilst modesty passes for stupidity; and moderation, as the
 “ quality of an abject, inactive spirit. Possessed with such notions, when once engaged
 “ in a profligate course, they run on with unbridled fury; and no sooner do their old sup-
 “ plies fail them, but they fall with impetuous violence upon our allies, sometimes upon
 “ our fellow-citizens, disturb the order and tranquillity of government, and, by any means
 “ whatsoever, would raise a new fortune to repair the ruins of the old one.

“ Since,

“ Since, therefore, this is the present situation of our affairs, it seems to me absolutely
 “ necessary to crush the power of the usurers, that every man may take upon him the ma-
 “ nagement of his own affairs. To effect this, the only true and natural method would
 “ be to oblige the magistrates, in their judicial proceedings, to promote rather the inte-
 “ rest of the people in general, than to favour the narrow interest of the creditors, and
 “ to establish their glory and reputation upon their endeavours to add strength to the Com-
 “ monwealth, and not on such measures as tend to diminish it.

“ I am very sensible what disgust the first advances in this reformation will give, to
 “ those especially, who, after victory, expected rather greater latitude to their licentious
 “ inclinations, than any stricter discipline and restraints. But, if you regard more the
 “ true interest of the Commonwealth, than the loose desires of these men, you will pre-
 “ vent their outrageous intentions, and settle both them and us, and all our allies, in a
 “ firm state of peace and tranquillity. But, if the youth are permitted to go on in their
 “ present pursuits, then will *Cæsar*’s exalted glory soon fall to the ground; and *Rome* it-
 “ self will fall with *Cæsar*. Give me leave to add, that, it is, with a view of procuring
 “ peace, that men of sense and understanding enter into war; and, under all the toils
 “ and hardships attending it, they are supported by the prospect of future tranquillity. If
 “ this great end be not effectually accomplished, what does it avail, whether you con-
 “ quer, or are conquered?

“ Wherefore, in the name of the immortal gods, take upon you the care and protection
 “ of the Commonwealth, and bravely push through all difficulties, with your wonted vi-
 “ gour and resolution. For either you, *Cæsar*, can heal the wounded State, or it will
 “ be in vain for any other to attempt the cure. And what is that we now require at your
 “ hands? You are not called to bloody executions, to cruel and rigorous proceedings;
 “ methods which would sooner depopulate the State, than correct its manners; but only
 “ to give a check to the base practices and licentious debauchery of the *Roman* youth.
 “ This, this only, is the true notion of clemency; to prevent such vices as deserve the
 “ punishment of expulsion; to put a stop to extravagant follies, and the pursuits of false
 “ pleasures; and to establish union and harmony in the State.

“ I must confess here, I am sensible, that the greatness of this important undertaking
 “ raises doubts and fears in other men; but to me it gives the strongest assurances of suc-
 “ cess: For matters of *small* moment are below the notice of so *exalted* a genius. *Great*
 “ indeed is the task, and *great* will be the reward, if you accomplish it!

“ Now one grand point, which demands your attention, is, that the People, whose
 “ minds are at present corrupted with gifts of corn, and other public largesses, apply
 “ themselves to their respective occupations. Such an application would divert their
 “ thoughts from giving any disturbance to the government: The youth also should be
 “ taught to turn their pursuits from riotous expence, and the thirst of riches, to a course
 “ of industry and the study of virtue. And this great end you will accomplish, by put-
 “ ting an effectual stop to the use which men now make of money; and stripping that fruit-
 “ ful source of evils of the esteem it has gained in the world. For, whenever I have ex-
 “ amined by what steps illustrious heroes rose to the height of renown; by what means any
 “ people enlarged their conquests, and to what causes the ruin of mighty Kingdoms and
 “ States was to be ascribed; in either case I always discovered the same good or evil cause,
 “ constantly producing the same good or evil effects: And that the successful were always
 “ such as held riches in contempt; the unsuccessful such as coveted and admired them.
 “ Nor, indeed, is there any possible method to rise to glory and immortal fame, but by sub-
 “ duing the thirst of riches and sensual pleasures, and giving a free scope to the exercise of
 “ the mind; not fondly soothing and gratifying the demands of unreasonable and corrupt
 “ inclinations; but by inuring it to labour and patience, to wholesome discipline and vi-
 “ liant exploits. A man may raise a pompous palace in the town, or villa in the country;
 “ he may furnish them with magnificent hangings and statues, with other expensive orna-
 “ ments, and thus make every thing in them conspicuous, but himself; yes, from the
 “ richness of such decorations, he is so far from deriving any honour or glory, that he
 “ himself casts a blemish upon their lustre. And, as for such as are so abandoned, that they
 “ pass not a day without twice overcharging their stomachs, not a night without disho-
 “ nouring their bed with polluted embraces; when once the mind, designed by nature to
 “ govern

“ govern and controul, is thus become a slave to degenerate passions, in vain will they at-
 “ tempt to rouse her up to exercise, when her vigour is decayed, and her faculties im-
 “ paired. Men of this character, having neither spirit nor abilities, must unavoidably
 “ confound and destroy themselves and every scheme they engage in. Now these and all
 “ other evils which afflict the State, together with the high value and esteem that is set up-
 “ on riches, would be effectually cured, if neither the offices of magistracy, nor any other
 “ things, which are the objects of mens eager-pursuits, can hereafter be obtained by the
 “ influence of money. *Proper care should, at the same time, be taken, that Italy and the*
 “ *provinces be put in a more secure situation; an affair which requires no great penetration*
 “ *to accomplish.* The same remedy will answer, where the evil is the same; for there too,
 “ as well as in the city, the public ravagers have plundered and seized every thing they
 “ met with, forsaking their own habitations, and, in violation of all justice and equity,
 “ possessing those of other people. It is no less necessary to put a stop to that *unjustifiable*
 “ *partiality*, which has hitherto prevailed in our army, *where some of the people have been*
 “ *forced to bear the fatigue of war for thirty years, whilst others have been entirely excused*
 “ *from the service.* It is likewise my opinion, *that the corn, which has hitherto been us-*
 “ *ing the reward of the warlike and inactive, should be sent to our municipal towns and co-*
 “ *lonies, and there distributed to the soldiers, when they return home after their discharge from*
 “ *service.*

“ I have now, as briefly as the case would admit, laid before you such regulations as
 “ appear to me most conducive to the good of the Commonwealth, as well as your own
 “ reputation and glory: And, I apprehend, it will not be improper for me to add a word
 “ or two in relation to this my undertaking. There is scarce any man who does not be-
 “ lieve himself furnished with all the faculties that make up a true and distinguishing judg-
 “ ment; or, at least, endeavours to make the world believe so: but, certainly, all men
 “ in general have so violent a propensity to blast and condemn the performances of others,
 “ that the faculties of speech are too slow, to utter the quick suggestions of their hearts,
 “ That I have laid myself open to such men is a consideration, that does not, in the least,
 “ afflict me. Had I been silent on such an occasion, I should have been less able to have
 “ borne the reflection. For, whether you pursue the methods I have pointed out, or
 “ others occur, which may be thought more advisable, still I have given the best advice
 “ I was capable of, and contributed my utmost assistance towards the regulation of the
 “ Commonwealth.

I have nothing more to do, but to follow you with my earnest wishes, that whatever
 “ measures you pursue may be attended with approbation, and crowned with success by
 “ the immortal gods.”

C H A P. XI.

*CÆSAR'S grand designs for the good of the Roman Empire. His death
and character.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, Dictator II.

Consul V. with

M. ANTONIUS.

Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr.

+3.
408 Cons.

Midd. p.
211.

ON the opening of the new year, *Cæsar* entered into his fifth con-
 sulship, in partnership with *M. Antony*: He had promised it all
 along to *Dolabella*, but, contrary to expectation, took it at last to himself.
 This

* There were sixteen Prætors this year, *Lucius* and *Cassius*, and six Ediles. Besides the
 the most distinguished of whom were *Brutus* two curule and the two plebeian Ediles,
Cæsar

This was contrived by *Antony*, who, jealous of *Dolabella*, as a rival in *Cæ-*^{Y. R. 709.}
far's favour, had been suggesting somewhat to his disadvantage, and ^{Bef. Chi.}
labouring to create a diffidence of him in *Cæsar*; which seems to have ^{43.}
been the ground of what is mentioned above, *Cæsar's* guarding himself ^{408 Conf.}
so particularly, when he passed by his villa. *Dolabella* was sensibly
touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the Senate,
where, not daring to vent his spleen on *Cæsar*, he entertained the as-^{Philip. ii.}
sembly with a severe speech against *Antony*: Which drew on many warm ^{32.}
and angry words between them; till *Cæsar*, to end the dispute, pro-
mised to resign the consulship to *Dolabella*, before he went to the *Par-*
thian war. But *Antony* protested, that, by his authority as Augur, he
would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted^a; and
declared, without any scruple, that the ground of his quarrel with *Do-*
labella was, for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife
Antonia, the daughter of his uncle^b; though that was thought to be a
calumny, contrived to colour his divorce with her, and his late marriage
with *Fulvia* the widow of *P. Clodius*.

Cæsar, says *Plutarch*, being born for great achievements, and pas-^{Plut. in}
sionately fond of glory, his continual success was no inducement to him ^{Cæs.}
to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but became a spur to animate him to
greater enterprises. He grew insensible to present glory, that he might
seek fresh honour; and, becoming, in a manner, his own rival, he was
ambitious by new enterprises and exploits to efface the splendor of his
former ones. He had always entertained the thoughts of avenging the
death of *Crassus*, his friend and partner in power; and no sooner had
he put an end to the *African* war, than he openly declared his intention

Cæsar had instituted two more, called *Cere-*
cales, who were to have the inspection of
corn and all kinds of grain for the provision
of the city.

^a This proves, by the way, that *Cæsar*
kept up the usual forms in the election of
magistrates.

^b *Cicero* relates, as an aggravating cir-
cumstance, that *Antony* made this disho-
nourable declaration in the presence of his
uncle and father-in-law *Antonius*: *Omni-*
bus eum [C. Antonium patrem Antoniae
uxoris tuæ] contumeliis onerasti, quem pa-
tris loco, si ulla pietas in te esset, colere de-
bebas; filiam ejus, uxorem tuam, ejecisti,
alia conditione quasita et ante perspecta:
[*Cicero* insinuates, that he was already in
good terms with *Fulvia*, and had deter-
mined to marry her] *Non est satis: Probri-*
infundasti pudicissimam fæminam: Quid est,
quod addi possit? contentus eo non fuisti. Fre-
quentissimo Senatu kalendis Jan. sedente Patruo,

hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere
ausus es, quod ab eo foreris? Et uxori tuæ stu-
prum oblatum esse comperisses. Quis interpre-
tari potest, impudentiorne, qui in Senatu: an
improbior, qui in Dolabellam: An impurior,
qui Patruo audiente: An crudelior, qui in il-
lam miseram, tam spurcè tam impiè dixeris?
Phil. ii. 38. *Dio*, in a speech, which he
has composed for *Cicero* against *Calenus*,
makes his orator reproach *Antony* with his
unkind behaviour to *C. Antonius*, whom he
neither recalled from banishment during
Cæsar's administration, nor after his death.
Thus the genuine *Cicero* and the persona-
ted *Cicero* contradict one another. Many
observations of the same kind may be made,
which evidently prove, that the long invec-
tives which we find in the *Greek* historian
are either the production of his own ima-
gination, or copied from very inaccurate
memoirs.

V. R. 729.
Bef. Chr.
43.
4c 5 Conf.
 to retrieve the honour of the Empire, and made preparations for this expedition, which the people greatly approved of. After his return from *Spain*, he sent his legions before him into *Macedonia*, intending, before he led them into the East, to chastise the *Daci*, who had made inroads upon the *Roman* territory; and, after he had vanquished the *Parthians*, he proposed to go by *Hyrcania* to the borders of the *Caspian* sea, to pass Mount *Caucasus*, and return, through *Scythia*, *Germany*, and *Gaul*, into *Italy*, extending and securing on all sides, in his progress, the frontiers of the *Roman* empire. As this expedition could not be executed in less than two or three years, he appointed Consuls and other magistrates for the two following, lest, in his absence, the elections for these offices might raise disturbances in the city. *A. Hirtius* and *C. Vibius Pansa* were elected Consuls for the next, and *D. Brutus* and *Munacius Plancus* for the following year.

The necessary preparations for so grand an enterprise did not divert his attention from the works of peace: Various designs, all uncommonly great, employed his thoughts. He laid the foundations of two magnificent edifices for the ornament of the city; a temple to *Venus*, which, for grandeur, would have exceeded every thing in the world of that kind; and a theatre of immense extent; both which were afterwards completed by *Augustus*. He undertook to rebuild and repair several towns in *Italy*, to drain the *Pemphine* marshes, which render, to this day, the air of that part of *Italy* very unwholesome; to discharge the lake *Fucinus*; to dig a new bed for the *Tiber* from *Rome* to the sea, in order to facilitate the navigation of that river; to form a port at *Ostia*, capable of receiving the first-rate ships; to make a causeway over the *Appenine* mountains from the *Adriatic* sea to *Rome*; to rebuild *Corinth* and *Carthage*, whither he had transported colonies of *Roman* citizens, a project also perfected by *Augustus*; to cut through the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, to save the seamen the trouble and danger of navigating round the *Peloponnesus*; and to take an exact geographical map of the whole *Roman* empire, with all its roads, and the distances of the towns. He also employed the learned *Varro* to collect a library of all the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, which he intended for the use of the public, and which was placed by *Augustus* in the temple of *Apollo* on Mount *Palatine*. In fine, he formed the design of abridging the collection of *Roman* laws, and, out of that immense and extravagant bulk into which they had swelled, to draw together in a small compass the best and most necessary.

Thus was *Cæsar* continually looking round him from his dictatorial chair, how best to acquit himself of his duty, and to sustain the dignity of his office; filling up the greatest posts of trust and honour with men of eminence, courage, and capacity; relying entirely, without any guards, upon the affections of the people, when a dire conspiracy was formed against his life, which deprived mankind of the benefit of such universal benevolence, and was as fatal to those who engaged in it.

We are told by the ancient historians, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*, who have evidently taken their accounts from *Pompeian* memoirs, that *Cæsar*'s usual prudence intirely failed him at once; and, as if the height to which he was mounted had turned his head and made him giddy, he ran mad after the appellation of *King*; and, when he was actually possessed, in quality of *Dictator*, *Emperor*, and *Master of Manners*, of all the power of the Empire, was not still content without a title, which could add nothing to him but envy and popular odium. The proofs of this heavy charge lie in the following facts: On the 26th of *January*, returning with the pomp of an *ovation*, decreed him by the Senate, from Mount *Albanus*, where he had celebrated the *Ferie Latine*, amidst the acclamations of the people, he was saluted *King* by some in the throng, and, at the same time, a royal diadem with a crown of laurel was fixed upon one of his statues. The multitude, says *Plutarch*, was silent, and seemed abashed, and *Cæsar* was forced to answer, *My name is Cæsar, not King*: And it was remarked that he passed on with an air of sullenness and dissatisfaction, as one disappointed of his expectations. *Epidius Marullus* and *Cæsetius Flavus*, two Tribunes of the People, ordered the diadem to be taken down, and committed to prison the man who had put it round the head of the statue, declaring that they would also punish those who had dared to style him *King*; for that *Cæsar* refused and abhorred that title. *Cæsar*, says *Suetonius*, was much concerned that the mention of his advancement to the royal dignity had been made with so little success, or, as he pretended, that he had been thus deprived by the Tribunes of the honour of refusing it: He accused them before the Senate of a design to raise a sedition against him, by persuading the city, that he really affected to be a *King*; but, when the Senate was going to pass the severest sentence against them, he was content with deposing them from their magistracy, and expelling them from the Senate. From that day, adds *Suetonius*, he was never able to wipe away the scandal of affecting the name of *King*.

Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr.
43.
408 Cons.

Dio, 44.

But the Dictator's intentions are supposed to have been clearly manifested by *Antony*'s bold attempt a few days after, on the 15th of *February*, when the festival of the *Lupercalia* was celebrated. *Cæsar*, in his triumphal robe, being seated upon his golden chair in the *Rostra*, to see the diversion of the running, *Antony*, then Consul, in the midst of the sport, at the head of the *Luperci*, made him the offer of a royal diadem, and essayed several times to put it upon his head. *Cæsar* as often rejected it, and at last sent it away to the Capitol, proclaiming, that *Jupiter* was the only *King of the Romans*: And *Antony* had it entered into the public acts, "that, by the command of the People, as Consul,

Is not this a strange inference? *Cæsar* charges the two Tribunes with a design of making him odious, and raising a sedition, by persuading the city, that he really affect-

ed the royal title: The Senate condemns the Tribunes as guilty of this crime: Therefore *Cæsar* most certainly affected the royal title.

VOL. IV.

I i

he

Y. R. 709. " he had offered the name of King to *Cæsar*, perpetual Dictator, and
 Ref. Chr. " that *Cæsar* would not accept of it."

^{43.}
 408 Cœl. Notwithstanding so public and solemn a refusal of the royal diadem,
 ————— *Cæsar* is supposed to have still prosecuted the scheme of getting him-
 self called *King*, and to have had recourse to the ministers of religion,
 in order to gain his end. A prophecy was found in the *Sibylline* books,
 warning the *Romans*, " that the *Parthians* could never be conquered but
 " by a King:" And it was whispered, that *L. Cotta*, one of the Guar-
 dians of these books, was appointed to lay the oracle before the Senate,
 and to propose that, since their most mortal enemies could not be van-
 quished but by a King, *Cæsar* should have that title conferred upon
 him. But this was no more than a rumour, according to *Cicero*, *Suetonius*,
 and *Dio*°. It is hard to believe that *Cæsar* either laid so much
 stress.

* *Cæsar*, it is said, was angry with the
 Tribunes *Marullus* and *Flavius* for depriving
 him of the honour of refusing the crown: If
 so, and if we must believe that the offering
 of the crown on the festival of the *Lupercalia*
 was not a mere frolic of *Antony's*, but a
 thing concerted between him and *Cæsar*;
 then I do not see what absurdity there is in
 supposing, that *Cæsar* took this means to
 retrieve his honour, and make a public and
 solemn declaration, that he did not affect the
 kingly title, in contradiction to the in-
 vidious rumours spread by his enemies.

Middl. p.
 225.

* Dr. *Middleton* gives us this rumour for
 certain fact, and tells us, that *Cæsar's* im-
 patience to be a *King* accelerated his fate,
 and pushed on the nobles, who had conspired
 against his life, to the immediate execution of
 their plot; that they might save themselves
 the shame of being forced to concur in an
 act which they heartily detested: And the
 two *Bruni's*, in particular, the honour of
 whose house was founded in the extirpation
 of kingly government, could not but consider
 it as a personal infamy, and a disgrace to
 their very name to suffer the restoration of
 it.—Now, to my apprehension, there is in
 these facts and rumours no proof of *Cæsar's*
 having affected the royal title. It is quite
 improbable in itself, and it is not to be ad-
 mitted, but upon the strongest evidence,
 that so great a man as *Cæsar* should lay so
 much stress upon a title; which, so far,
 it is owned, from being an honour to him,
 seemed rather a diminution of his dignity:
 And I cannot but approve of our late Poet
 Laureat's reasoning on this accusation: " It
 " has never been proved, that the offering
 " the crown to *CÆSAR* was a previously con-

"certed expedient between him and *Antony* to
 "feel the pulse of the People: To shorten the
 "question then, let us suppose all this to
 "be fact, and see what will come out of it;
 "not more than this, sure, that *Cæsar* had
 "a mind to be King, provided it could be
 "with the consent of the People; but, when he
 "found it was disagreeable to them, he troubled
 "himself no farther about it. And why ought
 "we not, with equal reason, to believe,
 "that, in *Cæsar's* refusing the crown, he
 "was as much governed by his affection to
 "the People, as by his fear of them? If
 "we allow then that *Cæsar* would not have
 "been displeased, had the People called
 "upon him to be King, it is as much as
 "we can, in conscience, charge him with.
 "But, if it is insisted, that he had set his
 "heart upon the title, it will be taking too
 "much from the intrepidity of *CÆSAR* to sup-
 "pose he would not, at any hazard, have gra-
 "tified his ambition. When he had once
 "made himself master of the *Roman* world,
 "could there be any great difficulty in his
 "giving what name he pleased to his office?
 "It is not easy, therefore, to conceive, that
 "the solid sense of *Cæsar* could be very
 "anxious about a title, which neither the
 "want, nor the acquisition of, could lessen
 "the glory, or add to the honour of his
 "station. The power of it he was secure
 "of, and no title could enlarge it. But take
 "the power from the regal title, and it will
 "signify no more than the word King in a
 "dictionary. And, tho' a great deal of stress
 "has been laid upon this point, as the most
 "unpardonable mark of *Cæsar's* ambition,
 "I cannot see why his desire, or his indiffe-
 "rence to be a King, gives him a jot more
 "or

Cibber, p.
 215.

stress upon an empty, odious title, or that *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and their associates were excited by these facts to conspire against his life. Other motives will account more naturally for the conspiracy: Those of the *Pompeian* faction, who engaged in this conspiracy, were under the influence of an animosity which *Caesar's* clemency could not disarm; those of his own party who entered into it were guided by an insatiable avarice, which no rewards could satisfy; the hopes of plunder, by throwing the State again into confusion, had weight with many; and, in relation in particular to *Cassius* and *Brutus*, the loss of liberty was less afflicting to them, than that they must depend upon a *Superior* for preferment; a grievance which *Caesar* could not soften by laying them under the greatest obligations. *Cassius*, it is thought, was the first contriver of the design¹, and imparted his thoughts to some of his friends before he communicated them to *Brutus*; but, upon their telling him that it was of the greatest importance to have a man of *Brutus's* reputation and credit² at the head of the enterprise, and that they would

Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr.

43.
408 Conf.

Sen. de Ira,
iii. 30.

I i 2

not

“or less to answer for: For, if his bringing order into so distracted a State will not excuse his making himself perpetual Dictator, his being made a King could not have been at all a better or worse reason for destroying him.”

¹ *C. Cassius* was descended from one of the most ancient and honourable families of the Republic. He is said to have shewn a remarkable instance, when a boy, of his high spirit and love of liberty; for he gave *Sylla's* son *Faustus* a box on the ear for bragging, among his school-fellows, of his father's greatness and absolute power; and when *Pompey* called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared, in his presence, that, if *Faustus* should dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow. In his later years he was converted from *Stoicism* to be a follower of *Epicurus*; maintaining, that the pleasure, which his master recommended, was to be found only in the habitual practice of justice and virtue. While he professed himself, therefore, an *Epicurean*, he lived like a *Stoic*; was moderate in pleasures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He married *Tertia*, the sister of *Brutus*, with whom he was strictly united in friendship and politics. We have seen his gallant behaviour against the *Parthians* after *Craesus's* death, and his conduct in the civil war. The ancient historians give him the character of a brave, witty, and learned man; but passionate,

fierce, and cruel: And they have assigned very frivolous reasons of disgust, as the motives of his killing *Caesar*: that *Caesar* took a number of lions from him, which he had provided for a public show; that he would not give him the consulship; that he gave *Brutus* the more honourable praetorship in preference to him. Middl. p. 229.

² *M. Junius Brutus* pretended to derive his name and descent in a direct line from that first Consul *L. Brutus*, who expelled *Tarquin*, and gave freedom to the Roman people; and *Atticus* paid him the compliment to draw up his genealogy. But *Dionysius of Helicarnassus*, and other writers, do not allow him this illustrious original; because, for upwards of two hundred years, the Roman history mentions none but a Plebeian of that name, who was one of the first Tribunes of the people; and, when afterwards the *Brutus's* were raised to the first dignities of the State, they were looked upon as a new race of people. However, at the time we are speaking of, as this family had enjoyed, for two centuries, the first honours and posts of the State, it is no wonder that the opinion favourable to the pretension of *Brutus* prevailed. He was now one-and-forty years old, being born in the consulship of *L. Cornelius Cinna* III. and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, A. U. 668; Which fully confutes, as Dr. *Middleton* observes, the vulgar story of his being commonly believed to be *Caesar's* son: Since he was but fifteen years

Y. R. 709. not otherwise engage in it, he immediately made him privy to it. *Brutus* entered into it readily; and we are told, that he was spurred on by several billets and inscriptions, reproaching him with his inaction. In one left upon his prætorian tribunal, was written, *You are asleep, Brutus, you are no true Brutus*. Upon the pedestal of the statue of the elder *Brutus* were found the following words: *Would thou couldst come to life again!* and under the statue of *Cæsar*: *Brutus, for having expelled the Kings, was made the first Consul; and this man, for having expelled the Consuls, is now become our King.*⁴³ *Cassius* and *Brutus* admitted to the number of sixty accomplices; the chief of whom were *Trebonius*, *Decimus Brutus*, *Q. Ligarius*, *Servius Galba*, *C.* and *P. Servilius Casca*, *Tillius Cimber*, and *Mimucius Basilus*. *Plutarch*, among many other improbable circumstances, relates, that the conspirators had thoughts of letting *Antony* into the secret, who was upon very good terms with several of them; but that *Trebonius* opposed it, telling them that he had sound-
ed *Antony* at *Narbonne*, when *Cæsar* was on his return from the *Spanish* war, and that he very well understood his meaning, but did not seem inclined to engage with him; though he was sure he had inviolably kept his secret^b. The same author adds, that though *Brutus* did not think it safe to trust *Cicero* with the design of the conspiracy, on account of his want of resolution, he yet mentioned it to his wife *Porcia*ⁱ.

Suet. in
Cæsar

The

years younger than *Cæsar* himself: whose familiarity with his mother *Servilia* cannot be supposed to have commenced till many years after *Brutus* was born; or not till *Cæsar* had lost his first wife *Cornelia*, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whose funeral oration he made when he was *Quæstor*, and consequently *thirty years old*. *Brutus*, having lost his father when very young, was trained, with great care, by his uncle *Cato*, in all the studies of polite letters, especially of eloquence and philosophy. He had excellent parts and equal industry, and acquired an early fame at the bar, where he pleaded several causes of great importance, and was esteemed the most eloquent and learned of all the young nobles. His manner of speaking was correct, elegant, and judicious, yet wanting that force and copiousness which are required in a consummate orator. But philosophy was his favourite study; in which, though he professed himself of the more moderate sect of the *old Academy*, yet, from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the severity of the *Stoic*. Whether he was a man of so much mildness, such strict probity, and consummate virtue,

as *Plutarch* pretends, his actions must evince. His credit, at this time, was due to his birth, his alliances, his talents, perhaps too his riches, which he increased with great application and industry. See Vol. III. n. 568.

^b *Cicero*, *Phil.* ii. 14, affirms, that *Antony* assented to *Trebonius*'s proposal.—*Si interfici Cæsarem voluisse crimen est, vide, quæso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob ejus consilii societatem cum interficeretur Cæsar tum se à Trebonio vidimus servocari. Ego autem (vide quam tecum agam non inimicè) quod bene cogitasti aliquando, laudo: Quod non indicasti, gratias ago: Quod non fecisti, ignosco.*

ⁱ *Plutarch* tells a very pretty tale upon this occasion, and we find it also in *Dio*. *Brutus*, having undertaken the management of so hazardous an enterprise, on which depended the liberty of *Rome*, and the fortunes of many virtuous and noble families, was so far master of himself as to preserve an air of serenity during the day and in public; but, when he retired to his family, and during the night, he could not maintain the same shew of inward peace and tran-

The Conspirators had debated whether they should kill him in the *Campus Martius*, in the eyes of all the people, while he was taking their votes, at the election of the magistrates; or in the *Via Sacra*, or at the entrance of the Theatre, or in the Senate-house; and at length they determined on the last place, as the most proper, and fixed on the *ides of March* as the time when they would execute their design. They did not doubt but that the Senate would applaud the act when done, and even assist, if there was occasion, in doing it^k; and there was a circumstance which particularly encouraged them, that it happened to be *Pompey's* Senate-house, in which their attempt was to be made; and where *Cæsar* would consequently fall at the feet of *Pompey's* statue, as a sacrifice to the manes of that *Aristocratic* Chief. They took it also for granted that the People would be generally on their side; yet, for their greater security, *D. Brutus* gave orders to arm his gladiators that morning, as if for some public shew; that they might be ready, on the first notice, to secure the avenues of the Senate, and defend them from any sudden violence; and *Pompey's* theatre, which adjoined to the Senate-house, being the properest place for the exercise of the gladiators, would cover all suspicion that might arise from them. The only deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was, whether they should not kill *Antony* also and *Lepidus*, together with *Cæsar*; especially *Antony*, who was Consul, and the more likely to create fresh

Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr.
43.
408 Conf.

tranquillity; and *Portia* (his new wife, who had robbed *Claudia* of his heart) could easily perceive, that his breast laboured with some great design, some agonising care, which he endeavoured to conceal. As she loved him tenderly, she was desirous to share with him his care and trouble; but, before she ventured to put any question to him, she resolved to make a very extraordinary trial of her own constancy. She took a small knife, and, having sent her women out of the room, thrust it into her thigh. The wound bled copiously, and the violent pain was quickly succeeded by a fever. *Brutus* was in the utmost consternation, and knew not what to think. Then *Portia*, in the extremity of her sufferings, thus addressed him: "*Brutus*, I am *Cato's* daughter, and was given you not merely to share your bed and table as a mistress, but to partake of your good or ill fortune. Your behaviour to me hitherto has been irreproachable. But how can I serve you, or in what manner can I prove my sense of your goodness, unless in assisting you to support a latent uneasiness, which disturbs your rest? Why then am I denied your

" confidence? Women, indeed, have no
" great reputation for secrecy: But a good
" education and suitable company have
" great influence on the dispositions and
" tempers, even of women: And who has
" a better right to make a merit of these
" advantages, than *Cato's* daughter and
" *Brutus's* wife? However, I rely not on
" any pre-conceived opinion of my resolution, but have, by experiment, convinced
" myself that pain cannot subdue my courage."
She then pointed to the wound she had given herself, and declared, that she had no other motive for putting herself to that torture, than to make a trial of her constancy. *Brutus*, transported with admiration, lifted his hands to heaven, and implored the immortal gods to crown his enterprise with success, that he might live to be a husband worthy of such a wife: And immediately let her into the whole secret of the conspiracy.

* If the conspirators thought so, then *Cæsar* had not filled up the Senate with a very great number of *Gauls* and other *Barbarians*.

danger

Plut. in
Cæf.
App. ii.
499. 502.
Dio, 247.
248.

Y. R. 709 danger to the Commonwealth. *Cassius*, with a majority of the compa-
 B. C. 43 ny, was warmly for killing them; but the two *Brutus's* as warmly op-
 433 C. C. posed and finally over-ruled it: They alledged, that to shed more
 blood than was necessary would disgrace their cause, and draw upon
 them an imputation of cruelty¹; and of acting, not as patriots, but as
 partisans of *Pompey*; not so much to free the city, as to revenge them-
 selves upon their enemies, and get the dominion of it into their own
 hands. But what weighed with them most was a vain persuasion that
Antony would be tractable, and easily reconciled, as soon as the deed
 was over.

As these intrigues could not be conducted so secretly as not to give some
 cause of suspicion, *Cæsar*, if we believe *Plutarch*, received information
 of the nightly meetings of the Conspirators; and one day, when he was
 cautioned to be upon his guard against *Antony* and *Dolabella*, he answer-
 ed, *It is not those plump, jelly, curled fellows that I am afraid of; it is of*
the pale, meagre ones: Under which description he glanced at *Cassius* and
Brutus. *Brutus*, in particular, adds the same historian, appeared for-
 midable to him, on account of his courage, severity, and natural im-
 petuosity: But, when he reflected on his *probity* and *honour*, his appre-
 hensions disappeared; and, when he was advised not to trust him too
 far, *What*, said he, clapping his hand to his breast, *do you think that*
Brutus will not stay till this debilitated carcase has finished its career! *Cæ-*
sar had resolved to trust to fortune, and was often heard to say that he
 had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it; that he
 had lived long enough, and that, by his death, the Empire would be a
 greater loser than himself. The very night before his assassination, be-
 ing at supper in *Lepidus's* house, he maintained, that the most eligible
 death was that which was least expected.

Suet. 81.
 Plut. in
 Cæf.

In the morning of the fatal day, we are told, that *Cæsar*, finding himself
 indisposed, was inclined to put off the assembly; to which he is said by *Sue-*
tonius and *Plutarch* to have been likewise moved by many prodigies that
 had lately happened, and a dream that his wife *Calpurnia* had that very
 night, in which she saw him stabbed in her bosom²: but *D. Brutus*, by
 rallying

¹ *Cicero* often laments, in his letters, this
fatal mistake, Ep. Fam. x. 28. Melm. xiii.
 7. "Would to heaven you had invited me
 "to that noble feast, which you made on
 "the *ides of Mar. b*: No remnants, most
 "affordedly, should have been left behind.
 "Whereas the part you unluckily spared
 "gives us so much perplexity, that we find
 "something to regret even in the godlike
 "service which you and your illustrious asso-
 "ciates have lately rendered to the Repub-
 "lic To say the truth, when I reflect that
 "it is owing to the favour of so worthy a

man as yourself, that *Antony* now lives to
 "be our general bane; I am sometimes in-
 "clined to be a little angry with you for
 "taking him aside, when *Cæsar* fell."

² *Suetonius's* account of the prodigies is
 as follows, c. 81. "*Cæsar* had warning
 "given him of his approaching fate by se-
 "veral plain prodigies. A few months be-
 "fore, when some of the colony which he
 "had seated at *Capua* were pulling down
 "some old sepulchres, and were the busier
 "in that work, because they found some
 "vessels of antique workmanship, a table
 "of

rallying those fears as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alledging that his absence would be interpreted as an affront to the assembly, drew him out against his will to meet his destined fate.

Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr.
43.
408 Cons.

M. Brutus and *Cassius* appeared according to custom in the Forum, sitting in their prætorian tribunals to hear and determine causes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they sat with the same calmness, as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of *Cæsar's* coming out to the Senate called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act. *Plutarch*, who never fails to give us every circumstance, that can make his relation more interesting, whether it be founded on good authority or not, tells us, that, when *Cæsar* came out of his house, a slave endeavoured to get near and speak to him; but, not having been able to pierce the crowd that attended him, he went into the house and desired *Calpurnia* to secure him till *Cæsar's* return, because he had something to communicate to him of the greatest importance. In the way to the Senate-house, *Artemidorus*, a Greek phi-

Plut. iii.
C. 1.

“ of brass was discovered in a monument
“ wherein *Capys*, the founder of *Capua*, was
“ said to be buried, with an inscription in
“ Greek words and letters, to this effect:
“ *That, whenever the bones of Capys came to*
“ *be uncovered, a descendant from Iulus would*
“ *be slain by the hands of his relations, and his*
“ *death revenged by dreadful devastations*
“ *throughout all Italy.* And this account,
“ lest any one should think it an idle story,
“ comes from *Cornelius Balbus*, an intimate
“ friend of *CÆSAR*.” [An excellent reason
why it should not be a forgery to raise the
spirits of the veterans, and justify, in the
eyes of the lower sort, the vengeance of *Cæsar's*
death.] “ A few days before his death
“ some horses, which, upon his passing the
“ *Rubicon*, he had consecrated and turned
“ loose to graze without any keeper, would
“ take no food, and wept plentifully.—The
“ Soothsayer *Spurinna* warned him, as he
“ was sacrificing, to look to himself, other-
“ wise some mischief would befall him be-
“ fore the *ides of March* were over.—The
“ day before the said *ides*, birds of several
“ kinds, from a neighbouring grove, pur-
“ suing a wren, that flew into *Lompey's* Se-
“ nate-house, with a sprig of laurel in his
“ bill, tore it there to pieces.—The night
“ before the day of his being slain, he
“ dreamed that he was got above the clouds
“ and shaking hands with *Jupiter*: And his
“ wife *Calpurnia* fancied in her sleep that
“ the top of the house was coming down,
“ and her husband stabbed in her bosom;

“ and immediately the chamber-doors flew
“ open.”

Cicero, de Div. l. i. § 2. l. ii. 16, relates one of the most remarkable prodigies said to have happened at this time: “ that, as
“ *Cæsar* was sacrificing, a little before his
“ death, with great pomp and splendor, in
“ his triumphal robes and golden chair, the
“ victim, which was a fat ox, was found to
“ be without a heart: And, when *Cæsar*
“ seemed to be shocked at it, *Spurinna*, the
“ Haruspex, admonished him to beware;
“ lest, through a failure of counsel, his life
“ should be cut off, since the heart was the
“ seat and source of them both. The next
“ day he sacrificed again, in hopes to find
“ the entrails more propitious: But the liver
“ of the bullock appeared to want its head,
“ which was reckoned also among the dire-
“ ful omens.” These facts, which are ri-
dicated by *Cicero*, were probably invented
after *Cæsar's* death. If they really happen-
ed, they were contrived by *Cæsar's* friends,
and the heart and head of the liver convey-
ed away by some artifice, to give them a
better pretence of enforcing their admoni-
tions, and putting *Cæsar* upon his guard
against dangers which they really appre-
hended, from quite different reasons than
the pretended denunciations of the gods.
Suetonius writes, that on this, or a like oc-
casion, *Cæsar's* answer was, *that the entrails*
should be more favourable when he pleased, and
that it ought not to be looked upon as an ill-
omen, if a beast wanted a heart.

osopher;

Y. R. 705
Bef. Chr.
453
Cass. 453

Philosopher, put into his hands a paper containing a circumstantial account of the whole plot, and said to him : *Read this, and lose no time, for it concerns you much.* This man, who assisted several of *Brutus's* friends in the prosecution of their studies, had made several discoveries ; but *Cæsar*, surrounded as he was by soldiers could not read the contents, and entered the Senate house with the paper in his hand. Many circumstances gave the Conspirators great alarms, and put their fortitude to the test. An acquaintance of *Cassia* came up to him and said, *You thought to be very secret, but Brutus has acquainted me of the whole affair.* Just as *Cassia* was going to make a reply which would have discovered all, the other added : *What then, my Friend, are you of a sudden grown rich enough to stand for the Edileship !* *Cassia* shuddered at the danger he had escaped. *M. Brutus* himself had a most violent shock : Word was brought him that his dearly beloved *Porcia* was at the point of death : For, as the moment of her husband's hazardous enterprise drew near, she was seized with a deadly panic. *Brutus*, however, shewed himself a true descendant of that hero who sacrificed his own children to the liberty of his country, and the same spirit over-ruled now in him every other affection. In fine, *Cæsar* arrives ; and, as he came out of his litter, *Popilius Lenas*, a Senator, made up to him and talked with him with much earnestness, and the Dictator seemed to give much attention to what he delivered. This *Popilius*, a little time before, had been with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and said to them, *I wish your design may succeed, and I advise you not to defer it ; for there are several private accounts of it.* The Conspirators did not doubt, therefore, but that they were discovered and betrayed. An universal consternation reigned among our intrepid assassins ; they looked at each other, and agreed by signs not to wait till they were seized, but to stab themselves in order to avoid the ignominy of a public execution ; and already *Cassius* and some others had laid their hands to their poniards ; when *Brutus*, observing that the gesture and attitude of *Popilius* was rather that of a suppliant than an accuser, perceived his error, and, by the serenity of his countenance, made the others understand that they had nothing to fear. At length *Popilius* kissed the Dictator's hand and withdrew.

Plot, in
Cæsar

Cæsar went forward, and a number of the Conspirators surrounded and conducted him to the Curule chair: Whilst two of them, *Decimus* and *Trebonius*, stopped *Antony* at the door of the Senate-house. As soon as he had taken his place, *Tillius Cimber*, who was to begin the attack upon his person, advanced nearer than the rest, as if he had some favour to request of him ; and, laying hold of his gown, drew it over his shoulders, which was the sign agreed upon. *This*, said *Cæsar*, *is plain violence :* And he had scarcely pronounced these words, when he was wounded a little below the throat by one of the *Cassia's*. He seized the assassin's arm and ran it through with his style for writing ; and, endeavouring to rush forward, was stopped by another wound, which was afterwards

afterwards judged to be the only mortal one he received. Finding him-
self surrounded on all sides with drawn daggers at him, he wrapped up
his head in his toga, and spread it also before over his legs, that he
might fall the more decently; and so received three and twenty wounds,
fetching a groan only on receiving the first, without uttering so much
as one word ^a.

Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr.
43.
408 Conf.

Thus fell *Cæsar*, in the 56th year of his age: A man, who, considered
as a Statesman and a Captain, may justly challenge the first place in the
registers of mankind. He was formed to excel in peace as well as in
war; was provident in council, fearless in action, and executed what
he had once resolved on with an amazing celerity. With the greatest
nobleness of birth, of person, and of countenance^o, he joined every
great quality that can exalt human nature, and give a man the ascen-
dant in society. He was open, sincere, great and magnanimous in all
his behaviour; faithful to his friends, and zealous to promote their in-
terests^p; generous and liberal even to profusion to his dependents; and
was distinguished for the most singular humanity and clemency
in the midst of the greatest provocations and examples of cruelty
and revenge^q. He was magnificent, polite, and, in respect of

^a *Plutarch* says, that upon receiving the first wound, he turned upon *Casca* in a fury, saying, *Wretch, what are your designs?* And that, notwithstanding his loss of blood, and the many daggers pointed at him, he raged amongst them like a lion: But, when *M. Brutus* came upon him, he said in *Greek*: *What, art thou one of them too, thou, my son BRUTUS.*

^o He is said to have been tall, of a fair complexion, round-limbed, pretty full-faced, with eyes black and lively; and very healthful, except, that, towards the end of his life, he was subject to sudden swoonings, and to be frightened in his sleep. He was also surprised twice with the falling sickness in the midst of business: In the care of his person, he was so very nice, that he had not only the hair of his head cut, but likewise had the hair in the other parts of his body taken up by the roots; and he is also said to have been very particular in his dress; for he used the *latus clavus* with fringes about his hands, and loosely girded about him with an effeminate air. *Suet.* 45. See also *Vol. III. p. 301.*

^p *Suetonius*, 71, 72, gives us the following instances of his attachment and zeal for his friends and clients.—When he was but a young man, he defended the cause of *Ma-*

sutha, a noble youth, against King *Hiempsal*, with so much keenness, that in the course of the pleading he seized *Juba*, the King's son, by the beard; and, upon his client's being declared tributary to *Hiempsal*, he immediately took him by force from those who were leading him away, and kept him concealed in his house for a long time; and, when he went, at the expiration of his prætorship, for *Spain*, he carried him off with him in his litter, amidst the confusion produced by those who were taking leave of him. When he came to have the whole power of the Commonwealth in his hands, he advanced some of his friends, though of very mean extraction, to the highest posts in the government; and, when he was reflected upon for it, openly declared, *that, had he been assisted by robbers and cut-throats, in the defence of his honour, he would have made them the same requital.*

^q He could not find it in his heart to do any harm to *Cornelius Phagita*, who had trepanned him in the night, with a design to carry him to *Sylla*; and out of whose hands he did not escape, without much difficulty, and a great bribe. *Philemon*, his Secretary, who had promised his enemies to poison him, he caused to be put to death, but without torture. *Suet.* 74.

Y. R. 709 natural endowments, learning, and eloquence, scarce inferior to
 Bel Chr. any man^r. He was a most munificent patron of wit and learn-
 43. ing, wheresoever he found them; and, from his love for those ta-
 4-8 Conf. lents, would easily pardon such as had employed them against him^r.

In.

* His orations were admired for two qualities, which are seldom found together, *strength and elegance*. *Cicero* ranks him among the greatest orators that *Rome* ever bred; and *Quintilian*, X. 1, says, *that he spoke with the same force with which he fought; and, if he had devoted himself to the law, would have been the only man capable of rivaling Cicero*.—His Commentaries, in *Cicero's* judgment, are plain, neat, and beautiful; and he adds, *in thus preparing his materials for such as should write his history, he may perhaps have encouraged some inferior genius to undertake it, who might think to ornament it more; but has discouraged all men of sense from meddling with it*. Nor was he master only of the politer arts, but conversant also with the most abstruse and critical parts of learning; and, among other books which he published, he addressed two books to *Cicero*, *On the analogy of language*, or the art of speaking and writing correctly. *Pliny* also, and *Juvy* sometimes employed his leisure; and *Suetonius* mentions a poem of his, called *Iter*, or, *the Journey*, which he wrote on his way to the *Spanish* war.

* Though *C. Memmius* had published some very abusive speeches against him, and he had answered them with equal sharpness, yet he afterwards assisted him with his vote and interest, when he stood for the consulship. When *C. Calvus*, who had written some scandalous epigrams upon him, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation by the intercession of friends, *he wrote the first letter*; and when *Carullus*, for a like offence, came to beg his pardon, *he invited him to supper*. He also bore, with great moderation, a libel of *Asius Cavinus* against him. This man, whose genius and eloquence are much extolled, was still in exile in the year 707; and, to make amends for the invective he published against *Cæsar*, he employed himself in drawing up a work in which he mentioned him with honour; and, while his friends were earnestly soliciting his pardon, he sent to *Cicero* his performance, begging him to interest himself particularly in his cause. (*Ad Fam.* vi. 7. *Melm.* ix. 30.) “Your judicious observa-
 tion, says he, has enabled you to pene-

trate into the recesses of *Cæsar's* heart; and you are acquainted with all the most probable methods of prevailing with him: So that each successful step that shall be made in this affair, from its commencement to its conclusion, must proceed altogether from you. I am sensible likewise that you have great interest with *Cæsar*, and still greater with all his favourites. I doubt not then of your effecting my restoration, if you will exert yourself for that purpose.—With regard to the book my son will deliver to you, I intreat you either not to suffer it to be published, or to correct it in such a manner, that it may not appear to my disadvantage.” *Cicero's* answer is much to *Cæsar's* honour: (*Ad Fam.* vi. 5. *Melm.* ix. 32.) — “I have read your performance, and still continue to read it, with much attention; as I shall preserve it with the greatest fidelity. Your affairs, indeed, of every kind, are my principal concern; and I have the pleasure to see them every day appear with a more and more favourable aspect. You have many friends, who contribute their good offices for this purpose; of whose zeal your son, I am persuaded, has already acquainted you, as well as of his own hopes, that their endeavours will prove effectual. In regard to what may be collected from appearances, I do not pretend to discern more than, I am persuaded, you see yourself: But, as you may reflect upon them, perhaps, with greater discomposure of mind, I think it proper to give you my sentiments concerning them. Believe me then, it is impossible, from the nature and circumstances of public affairs, that either you, or your companions in adversity, should long remain under your present misfortunes: Yes, my friend, it is impossible that so severe an injury should continue to oppress the honest advocates of so good a cause. But my hopes are particularly strong with respect to yourself: Not merely in consideration of your rank and virtues, (for these you possess in common with many others) but particularly from your singular learning and genius. The
 “max,

In all the military qualifications he had no superior; and no General ever acquired to such a degree the esteem and affection of his soldiers. In riding, in throwing the javelin, and in every exercise, he possessed a singular dexterity; and he was able to endure fatigue beyond all credibility. He used to march commonly at the head of his troops, bare-headed, both in foul and fair weather; and to swim over the rivers which obstructed his way. In his expeditions he was daring, but cautious; and never marched an army without using every possible precautions against surprises. He was never discouraged from any enterprise, nor retarded in the prosecution of it, by ill omens: He engaged in battle, not only after previous deliberation, but often on a sudden, when opportunities offered, after a march, or in stormy weather, when nobody could imagine he would move: And on all occasions he behaved with the greatest intrepidity and resolution; insomuch, that the serenity of his countenance was, often, in the most imminent dangers, the chief support of the courage of his troops. Just and impartial to his officers and soldiers, he treated them with an equal severity and indulgence; when the enemy was near, exacting the strictest discipline; but, on other occasions, excusing them from all duty, and leaving them to revel at pleasure. His soldiers, he used to boast, did not fight the worse for being perfumed. In his speeches to them, he called them always *Comrades*; and he ornamented their arms with gold and silver, that they might make the finer appearance, and be the more tenacious of them in battle. He loved them to that degree, that, when he heard of the disaster of his troops under *Titurius Sabinus*, he neither cut his hair nor shaved his beard, till he had revenged it upon the enemy; by which means he inspired them with a mutual affection for his person, and an invincible bravery. They never mutinied during the whole course of the *Gallic* war; and, when they were guilty of it during the *civil* war, we have seen how quickly he brought them back to their duty, by his authority. In his civil capacity he was directed by great and extensive views: The acts of his consulship, which the Aristocracy so vigorously opposed, were all wise and tending to the public good: And, when he was master of the Empire in quality of Perpetual Dictator, he discovered in all his undertakings the most general benevolence.

When we contemplate the virtues of this great man, and think of the great designs he had formed, it is impossible not to regret his death; and when we call to mind, that, of those who were the leaders in the conspiracy against him, some had been indebted to him for their lives,

“man, in whose power we all of us are,
“holds these shining qualities in much esteem:
“And, I am well assured, you would not have
“remained even a single moment in your present
“situation, if he had not imagined him-
“self wounded by those talents he admires.

“His resentment, however, seems daily
“cooling; and it has been intimated to
“me, by some of his most particular friends,
“that you will undoubtedly find advantage
“in the high opinion he has conceived of
“your abilities.”

K k 2

and

Y. R. 7:9. and others had been loaded by him with honours; we cannot but
 Eccl. Chr. charge them with the basest ingratitude for having killed their be-
 43. nefactor. But *Cicero* was of a different opinion: He said, "*That the*
 403 Cor. "*public was the more indebted to them on these accounts; and that, as to the*
 Mod. 2. "*kindness of giving them their lives, it was the kindness only of a robber,*
 272. "*who had first done them the greater wrong: That, if there had been any*
 "*stain of ingratitude in the act, they could never have acquired so much*
 "*glory by it; and though he wondered indeed at some of them for doing it,*
 "*rather than ever imagined, that they would have done it; yet he admired*
 "*them so much the more, for being regardless of favours, that they might*
 Ad Ant. "*show their regard to their country.*" And he tells his friend *Atticus*,
 14. "*that he was present at the death of Caesar in the Senate; where he had*
 "*the pleasure to see the tyrant perish as he deserved.*"

These sentiments have been well combated by a judicious author; and I cannot do better than transcribe what he has said upon the occasion:

Chibet, p. "Who can see *Caesar* fall with this *Ciceronian* stain upon him? Had
 219. "this expression come from the mouth of a malignant *Cassius*, little had
 "it surprised us; but from the mild morality of a *Cicero*, that *Cicero*
 "too, who, when under his protection, had looked on him in so differ-
 "ent a view; when, not only his eloquence, but his excellent poetry
 "had been inspired with the praises of this very tyrant whom now he
 "vilifies and depreciates. In this light, I say, it calls for farther expof-
 "tulation. Whence then these jarring sentiments? Was *Cicero* or
 "*Caesar* altered, that the one could give, or the other merit, such diffe-
 "rent terms of praise or censure? Could that *Caesar* deserve to perish as a
 "tyrant, whom *Cicero* had allowed to have taken up arms with no other
 "view than to defend himself from injuries? or could such an insult from
 "*Cicero* be due to the ashes of a man, whose clemency he had so lately
 "tasted, and so gratefully had celebrated? If *Cicero* then was a flatterer
 "when he offered these praises to *Caesar*, why are we not equally to dis-
 "believe him, when he blackens or loads him with invectives? *Caesar*,
 "with all his imputed tyranny, is, in every part but power, so unlike
 "the hideous wretch we call a tyrant, that the name finds no reception
 "among the visible virtues it here injuriously breaks in upon. Every
 "act and motion of him so rejects the infamy, that he seems a *Genius*
 "rather formed to lead a ruined people into happiness, than to drive them
 "into slavery.

"Were we to look upon *Caesar* as a fierce usurper, who, with an un-
 "warrantable violence, had seized upon the public liberty, and had torn
 "to pieces the happiness and quiet of a well-settled government, then,
 "indeed, might the pleasure *Cicero* conceived in seeing him perish be
 "allowed to flow from the laudable passion of a Patriot. But, as history
 "has not set *Caesar* in quite so detestable a light, nor yet the injured
 "liberty

“ liberty of *Rome* in so clear a one, why may we not look with a com-
 “ plaining eye upon this Patriot *pleasure* of *Cicero*?—

Y. R. 709.
 Buf. Chr.

“ Was *Cæsar* an enemy to his country, because he was Dictator;
 “ and, upon the ground of his ambition, shall we justify the Conspira-
 “ tors, and pronounce that he deserved the fate which befel him? His

43.
 408 Conf.
 Cibber, p.
 222.

“ ambition might have gone beyond the ambition of others, who
 “ were visible candidates for the tyranny complained of; yet the public,
 “ at least, were, or might have been, gainers in their preference of so
 “ meritorious a master, who, though his *will* gave laws to the *Roman*
 “ world, yet his laws were no reproach to his *will*. Nor could even the
 “ Conspirators say they would have governed better than *Cæsar* did, when,
 “ out of themselves, he had chosen the principal magistrates. What
 “ then did *Cæsar* take from them that was so dear to them, unless it
 “ were the liberty of so frequently breaking those wholesome laws which their
 “ wiser ancestors had made for their security? All the real hardships they
 “ suffered from him was the loss of that little care they took to see them
 “ obeyed; and could the redress of this grievance be a new grievance?
 “ When particular men grew too big for the old laws, was it not rather
 “ a remedy than a disease, that *Cæsar*, by giving new laws, grew too
 “ strong for the stoutest of these Republican tyrants? If their own ad-
 “ ministration could have kept them within bounds, they had not
 “ wanted a *Cæsar* to repair the fences they had broke through: In this
 “ then *Cæsar* less deserved to be called the wolf than the shepherd.

“ The crime complained of in *Cæsar* is not of the same kind of treason as
 “ that of a subject, who seizes on the throne of his lawful Prince, and then
 “ steps into it himself. No, *Cæsar*” [supposing him an usurper for hav-
 “ ing accepted, from the Senate and people, of the dictatorship] “ usurped
 “ only upon usurpers, upon a corrupted government, under which the *Roman*
 “ liberty had long groaned, even before the *Triumvirate* had insulted it; for,
 “ in the diffused tyranny of many, *Cæsar*, at worst, made but one in
 “ scarce less than a hundred; and, when those licentious rulers were re-
 “ duced to three, (of which it is true *Cæsar*, in his own defence,
 “ still thought fit to make one, and found at last he had no other way
 “ to be intirely safe, than by being the only one) he had just as good a
 “ right to take the reins of government from the other two, as the united
 “ three had to take them from hundreds.—

Id. p. 244.

“ But, alas! to the lawless and the tumultuous, so dear had been the
 “ headstrong liberty of confounding, so sweet were the acquisitions of
 “ party violence and prevalent corruption, that the dull dreaming peace
 “ and surfeiting plenty, which *Cæsar* had restored to them (because
 “ *Cæsar*, it seems, had no right to bestow them) were to pass rather for
 “ injuries than blessings, and equally deserving an exemplary revenge
 “ or punishment. Admitting now we were to receive all this as unde-
 “ niable reason, and that *Cæsar*, with all his benefits and great qualities,
 “ was still a grievance, because he was thought, or called so; yet, where
 “ still

Id. p. 223.

Y. R. 705. " *shall we find those honest, injured Romans, who had this absolute and un-*
 Bel. Cæ. " *questionable right to complain that he had either offered violence to*
 4. 8 Cens. " *their virtue or their innocence? Was it the uncorrupted magistrates, the*
 ——— " *Senate, or the people, or the collective body of them all, that inspired these*
 " *Patriot conspirators to revenge the general injury? It could not, sure,*
 " *be the legal government; that had long, long before, been torn to pie-*
 " *ces by a succession of civil broils and factions, of which the usurpa-*
 " *tions of Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Crassus, and a train of such pious*
 " *menders of the state, had been too flagrant instances.—Had he in-*
 " *jured the people? Neither; he had asserted and recovered their*
 " *rights, and had charmed them with his magnanimity, for which they*
 " *loved, and therefore more willingly obeyed him.—But might not*
 " *these services be purely political? Were they not all outside; with*
 " *no other view in his heart, than first to make fools, and then slaves of*
 " *them? But why this insinuation? why this presumptuous imputation*
 " *upon a just action? or why so hard a restraint upon virtue, that she*
 " *is never to act when any incidental benefit to the agent, beyond the*
 " *merit of the deed, may be joined to it? Must the public too be*
 " *sufferers, because a private account may be found in relieving*
 Cæsar, p. " *them? This may be an argument with those who will suffer none*
 224. " *to do good to the public but themselves, and that in their own way*
 " *too. But the laws of virtue are more favourable; they tolerate all*
 " *actions of public spirit, nor suffer them to be discountenanced, though*
 " *sure that such an imputation were to lie upon the duty or the merit*
 " *of them. Hard were the fate of Cæsar, if suggestions might invalidate*
 " *his virtue! No, suggestions shall not so much as cast a shade over the Con-*
 " *spirators; their private passions, their blind revenge, their ingratitude*
 " *and their envy, need not the weak assistance of insinuated guilt to piece and*
 " *patch out a complaint against them. The case of Cæsar and of his as-*
 " *sassins can never be decided, if any evidence less than fact is admitted*
 " *on either side.—Let us hear, then, what the Senate has to complain of.*
 " *What, all silent! Has Cæsar made it up with them too? Is he to be*
 " *acquitted by a volenti non fit injuria? Have they with open eyes com-*
 " *pounded with his tyranny, and made the empire of the world his pur-*
 " *chase? This indeed were a most enormous corruption! Sure they*
 " *could not but impeach him for it! No, they rather chose to load him*
 " *with honours and unlimited power, found their liberties safer in his*
 " *lap than in their own unruly hands, styled him Imperator, with the*
 " *higher distinction of Father of his Country. Such was their resent-*
 " *ment, such their grievances, and such their remedy. Was then this*
 " *mighty work of their own hands, this monument of power, erected*
 " *only to testify and commemorate, or to redress and heal their calami-*
 " *ties? For healed they certainly were, till, from the fresh wounds of Cæsar,*
 " *broke forth a worse calamity, a fatal civil war, that never ended till Roman*
 " *Liberty was no more. Where then shall we find these yet undiscovered*
 " *suffer-*

“ ferings from *Cæsar*, unless in the dark, vindictive bosoms of the Conspi- Y. R. 709.
 “ rators? There, indeed, we ought to suppose them more grievously ty- Bef. Chr.
 “ rannical, because so dreadful, so vaunted, a vengeance resented them. 43.
 “ And yet it has never been known, that their particular complaints were 408 Conf.
 “ distinguished by any greater hardship than what was offered in com-
 “ mon to the rest of the quieted *Roman* people.

“ Were we to give up all that is asked of us, that *Cæsar*, to the eyes
 “ of *Brutus* and his associates, appeared a tyrant; even in that view
 “ can we justify the assassins? Have laws, either divine or human, or- Cæber, p.
 “ dained *assassination* to be the punishment of any crime whatsoever? 231.
 “ Were the Conspirators to be at once the judges and the executioners?
 “ Nor do we find that any public act had deputed them to be the public
 “ avengers: The greatest of them were but *self-commissioned*, and in that,
 “ at best, but a sort of secret usurpers of the public authority.

“ And yet so farther unfortunate is their cause, that of all people these Id p. 226.
 “ were less qualified for so high an office than (from the highest to the lowest)
 “ were the most offended Romans. For, though obligations and favours
 “ so lately accepted from him could not make them grateful, they might,
 “ at least, have made them merciful to *Cæsar*. But, alas! so it was;
 “ the provinces he had assigned to some, and the greatest posts of dig-
 “ nity to others, had availed him nothing. The arrogant presumption of
 “ being generous, just, and gentle to his foes and fellow-citizens, was, to
 “ their jealous honour, such a stinging provocation, such a triumph of smiling
 “ pride and insolence, as could never be forgiven or got over, but by the de-
 “ termined death of the distributor. What a Tyrant! What Patriots?
 “ Were not this enough to make our judgment sicken, when so bold, so weak;
 “ so wicked a cause is before us? But let us not too hastily give sentence.
 “ Perhaps, the warmer advocates for liberty, the Patriot abhorers of
 “ *Cæsar*, may think it a narrowness of mind in us to suppose his plau-
 “ sible acts of benevolence and bounty ought to have excited a sense of
 “ gratitude in the uncorrupted spirit of a *Roman*; and that it is more a
 “ call for our admiration, than our reproach, that these valiant cham-
 “ pions of the public rather chose to plunge their daggers in his heart;
 “ in scorn of his obligations, than to be meanly merciful at the price of
 “ their honour. And yet, methinks, the heroic spirit of these Patriots
 “ had not been less brave or noble, had it previously refused these bribes of
 “ *Cæsar*; the scorn should have preceded the acceptance, but the pride was
 “ debased that came after it. Then, too, with a better grace, they might
 “ have drawn their daggers, not upon their acknowledged benefactor;
 “ but their enemy avowed.

“ But however, though we cannot easily get over this weakness of Id. p. 227.
 “ thinking them ungrateful, yet if we are still so just as to allow this
 “ animated enterprise, or this glorious vengeance, (if we must call it so)
 “ the utmost merit it can lay claim to, if we consciously confess (for
 “ sure they can ask no more of us) that to sacrifice our private interests
 “ is.

Y. R. 109. " *to the public good is the highest merit that human virtue can aspire to. Yet*
 Brut. Clu. " *let the public good the declared motive of the Conspirators) be at least*
 408 Clu. " *as visible to us as the sacrificed interest; let us be sure we are within*
 " *sight of the one, and not blinded by the other: First, let us be mo-*
 " *rally convinced that the death of Cæsar could be the cure of all the pub-*
 " *lic complaints; that it was as infallible, as it was the only one to*
 " *which the redress of this injured liberty was limited: For, if the Re-*
 " *public was in no wise relieved by it, how unskilful or how inhuman*
 " *must have been the application of so violent a remedy? What then*
 " *shall we call it but a more desperate act of tyranny than ever Cæsar, in*
 " *all his course of ambition, committed?*

Clu. 409. " *If, indeed, BRUTUS could have eradicated or subdued the whole ROMAN*
 " *ambition, or have turned faction into virtue, then, perhaps, liberty might*
 " *have arose from this particular sacrifice; but, from so unprofitable an*
 " *expedient to expect the cure of a national contagion, by putting only one in-*
 " *ferred person to death; how wild! how vain! how invisible the hope!*
 " *And, though we ought not to judge of attempts by their success or*
 " *failure, yet, when the hope of success has so ill a foundation, what*
 " *but an imaginary castle could be built upon it? Nay, the very people,*
 " *whose cause these Conspirators pretended to assert, chose rather, by*
 " *their compassionate clamours for vengeance on the murderers of Cæ-*
 " *sar, to suspend their liberty, than to enjoy it by a base and cruel con-*
 " *nivance at their escape. Strong, very strong, must have been the Re-*
 " *publican grievances, when they rather chose to be settled slaves their*
 " *own way, than to feel, (as they had done) in so many violent magis-*
 " *trates, so many galling, griping, grinding masters. A provocation*
 " *which, in later governments, has shewn us, that revenge may be*
 " *sometimes sweeter than liberty.*

" *To proceed then, let it be clear to us that under the cause of Liberty*
 " *were concealed no private passions, no stimulating pride, no lurking envy,*
 " *that moulded this conspiracy to the dreadful form it came out in: For, as*
 " *history set a mark of more than suspicion on their principal, as Cassius*
 " *was more known to have hated the person than the tyranny of Cæ-*
 " *sar, it will add but very little to the honour of their cause to say his*
 " *accomplices were imposed upon, or that the artful management of this*
 " *turbulent spirit had made it a darling point of glory to break through*
 " *their bonds, both of private and of public gratitude, in clearing their*
 " *way to the heart of Cæsar. However pompous the pretence might*
 " *be, it will be hard to prove, that it had either conscience, honour,*
 " *or the most distant hope of honest, lusty Liberty to build upon.*

Clu. p. 409. " *But now we are to stand a stronger opposition; the honour and in-*
 " *tegrity of a Brutus now rises to disarm our mercy for Cæsar, and to*
 " *vindicate his death. If Brutus thought no ties, not even the love that*
 " *Cæsar bore him, were of equal value to the cause of Liberty; if Brutus*
 " *chose to make his friend and benefactor fall a victim to the public justice;*
 " *if*

“if such a man of so immaculate a character was of this Patriot-party, Y.R. 709.
“shall not the sanction of so great a name hang immortal praises on their Bef. Chr.
“memory? 43.
408 Cons.

“Such, indeed, have been the encomiums which the learned have
“sometimes heaped upon him, and which even the friends of *Cæsar*
“have not totally refused him.”—But, how far we are to be led by the
authority of *Brutus*, how far he deserves these high encomiums, the
following history will shew. Hitherto he has certainly made no figure
as a man of honour and virtue.

C H A P. XII.

The general consternation of the Senate, Consul, and People, upon the death of Cæsar. The treaty between Antony and the Conspirators. Antony's artful management. The Conspirators are obliged to leave Rome. Antony gathers an army about him, and disposes of every thing according to his pleasure. Sextus Pompey makes his peace by the mediation of Lepidus, and is declared Admiral of the Republic. Octavius appears upon the stage, is thwarted by Antony in every thing, raises an army to make good his claim, courts the Senate and Antony's enemies, whom he protects. Antony sets out from Rome to take possession of Cisalpine Gaul, and besieges D. Brutus in Mutina. He is followed by young Octavius, who, at Cicero's motion, is authorised by the Senate to raise troops, and make war against Antony.

THE Conspirators had no sooner finished their work, than *Brutus*, Middl. p.
lifting up his bloody dagger, congratulated the Senate, and Ci- 244.
cero in particular, on the recovery of their liberty, and essayed to
Vol. IV. L 1 make

* Middl. p. 244. “This gave *Antony* a
“pretence to charge him afterwards in pub-
“lic with being privy to the conspiracy, and
“the principal adviser of it: But it is cer-
“tain that he was not at all acquainted with
“it: For, though he had the strictest friend-
“ship with the chief actors, and they the
“greatest confidence in him, yet his age,
“character, and dignity rendered him whol-
“ly unfit to bear a part in an attempt of
“that nature; and to embark himself in
“an affair so desperate, with a number of
“men, who, excepting a few of their Lead-
“ers, were all either too young to be trusted,
“or too obscure even to be known by him.
“He could have been of little or no service
“to them in the execution of the act, yet of
“much greater in justifying it afterwards to

“the city, for having had no share in it, nor
“any personal interest to make his authority
“suspected. These were the true reasons,
“without doubt, why *Brutus* and *Cassius* did
“not impart the design to him. Had it been
“from any other motive, as some writers
“have suggested; or had it admitted any
“interpretation injurious to his honour; he
“must have been often reproached with it
“by *Antony* and his other adversaries of
“those times, who were so studious to in-
“vent and propagate every calumny that
“could depress his credit.” [Surely *Cicero*
was known for a coward, and *Plutarch* is in
the right to say this was a good reason not to
make him privy to the design.] “I can-
“not, however, entirely acquit him of be-
“ing in some degree accessory to the death
of

Y.R. 709
Ref. Chr.
43-
Conf.
Phil. ii. 12.
Pitt. in
Cæf.
Apolon,
503.
Lio, p. 250.
Plut. in
Cæf. et
Brut.

make a speech to them upon the occasion; but the Senators, seized with astonishment at so daring an attempt, after they had been mute spectators of the deed, rushed out of the Senate-house, and *Cicero* with them; as if they were all afraid of the same fate. *Antony*, who had indeed some reason to be apprehensive, took refuge in a neighbouring house; and, throwing off all the marks of his consular dignity, stole away to his own, where he strongly barricaded himself. The Conspirators, disappointed by the timid behaviour of the Senators, addressed themselves to the People, and, marching out in a body, with a *cap*, the sign of liberty, carried before them on a spear, proceeded in a calm and orderly manner through the Forum, where, in the first heat of joy, several of the young nobility, who had borne no part in the conspiracy, joined themselves to the company with swords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners in the act; but they afterwards paid dear for that vanity, and were involved in the ruin it drew upon all the rest. *Brutus* designed to have spoken to the people from the *Rostra*; but, perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to speeches; being uncertain too what turn the popular humour might take, and knowing there were great numbers of *Cæsar's* old soldiers in the city, who had been summoned from all parts to attend him to the *Partbian* war; he thought proper, with his accomplices, to take refuge in the *Capitol*, which he seized on by the assistance of *Decimus's* gladiators, on pretence of returning thanks to *Jupiter*. The dead body of *Cæsar* was left in the Senate-house, where, after it had been viewed by those

“ of *Cæsar*; for it is evident, from several
“ of his letters, that he had an expecta-
“ tion of such an attempt, and from what
“ quarter it would come; and not only ex-
“ pected, but wished it: He prophesied ve-
“ ry early, that *Cæsar's* reign could not last
“ six months, but must necessarily fall, either
“ by violence or of itself; and hoped to live to
“ see it. *Ad Att. x. 8.* “ He knew the dis-
“ affection of the greatest and best of the ci-
“ ty: Which they expressed with great free-
“ dom in their letters, and with much more
“ we may imagine in their private conver-
“ sation: He knew the fierce and haughty
“ spirit of *Brutus* and *Cicero*, and their im-
“ patience of a master; and cultivated a
“ strict correspondence with them both at
“ this time, as if for the opportunity of ex-
“ citing them to some act of vigour. On
“ the news that *Atticus* sent him, of *Cæ-*
“ *sar's* image being placed in the temple of
“ *Quirinus*, adjoining to that of the goddess
“ *Salus*, I had rather, says he, have him the
“ comrade of *Romulus*, than of the goddess of
“ *Safety*, *ad Att. xii. 12.* referring to *Ro-*
“ *mulus's* fate of being killed by the Sena-

tors. In another letter (*ad Att. xiii. 40.*)
“ it seems to be intimated, that *Atticus* and
“ he had been contriving, or talking at least
“ together, how *Brutus* might be spirited
“ up to some attempt of that kind, by set-
“ ting before him the fame and glory of his
“ ancestors: Does *Brutus* then tell us, says
“ he, that *Cæsar* brings with him glad ti-
“ dings to brave men? Where will he find
“ them, unless he hangs himself? But how se-
“ curely is he now intrenched on all sides?
“ What use then of your fine invention; the
“ picture of old *Brutus* and *Albala*, with the
“ verses under, which I saw in your gallery?
“ Yet what, after all, can be do? One can-
“ not help observing, likewise, in his pieces
“ addressed about this time to *Brutus*, how
“ artfully he falls into a lamentation of the
“ times, and of the particular unhappiness
“ of *Brutus* himself in being deprived by
“ them of all the hopes and use of his great
“ talents; putting him in mind at the same
“ time of his double descent from ancestors
“ who had acquired immortal glory by deli-
“ vering Rome from servitude.” See the con-
clusion of his treatise on famous Orators.

who

who had the curiosity and courage to venture in, it was put into a litter by three of his slaves, and carried to his house, one arm dangling out of the window. The Conspirators, being secure in the Capitol from any immediate violence, summoned the people thither in the afternoon; and *Brutus*, in a speech to them which he had before prepared, justified his conduct, explained the motives of it, and, in a pathetic manner, exhorted them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, and to maintain the liberty now offered to them against all the abettors of the late tyranny.

When the Senators saw that all was calm, several of them ventured up to the Capitol in the evening, and *Cicero* among the rest; who tells us that his advice was, "that *Brutus* and *Cassius*, as Prætors, should call the Senate into the Capitol, and proceed to some vigorous decrees for the security of the public tranquillity:" But *Brutus* and his accomplices were for proceeding calmly, and with all due respect to the authority of the Consul; and, having conceived hopes of *Antony*, proposed sending a deputation to him, to exhort him to measures of peace. *Antony*, who had no thoughts of peace, but whose business it was by dissimulation to gain time, professed a sincere inclination to it, and seemed to have no other desire than to see the Republic settled again on its old basis; and he pretended that he had brought *Lepidus* into the same measures. *Lepidus* was at this time in the suburbs of *Rome* at the head of a legion, ready to depart for the government of *Spain*, which together with a part of *Gaul*, had been assigned him by *Cæsar*. In the night, therefore, after *Cæsar*'s death, he brought his troops into the field of *Mars*, and, sensible of his superiority, began to think of making

¹ This is looked upon as a false step, and *Cicero*, in his second *Philippic*, c. 35, and in his letters to *Atticus*, xiv. 10, says he remonstrated against it, nor could be prevailed with to bear a part in it: He says, he told them plainly, "that there could be no safe treaty with him; that, as long as he was afraid of them, he would promise every thing; but, when his fears were over, he would be like himself, and perform nothing: So that, while the other consular Senators were going backwards and forwards in this office of mediation, he stuck to his point, and staid with the rest in the Capitol, and did not see *Antony* for the two first days." But it must be considered, 1. That, were it possible to bring things about by peaceable measures, that way undoubtedly was the best. 2. That *Antony* and *Lepidus* had really more strength in their hands than the Senate, and, if provoked to exert it, might very easily destroy them all, or force them to fly out of the city.

3. That, among the other Senators, *Dolabella*, who claimed the consulship, went up also to the Capitol, and there appeared very zealous for a reconciliation. 4. It was not possible to foresee the events that followed, and *Brutus* and his friends had particular reasons to entertain a better opinion of *Antony*. Dr. *Middleton* tells us, p. 254. "*Cæsar* had used him roughly on several occasions, and they knew his resentment of it, and that he had been engaged by *Trebonius*, on *Cæsar*'s last return from *Spain*, in a design against his life: And, though he did not perform that engagement, yet they thought it an obligation, as well as a proof of his continuing in the same mind that he had not discovered it: Which was the reason for their sparing him when *Cæsar* was killed, and of *Trebonius*'s taking him aside, on pretence of business, lest his behaviour on that occasion might provoke them to kill him too."

L 1 2

him-

Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr.
43.
408 Cons.

Ad Am.
xiv. 10.

Y. R. 709- himself master of the city, and taking immediate revenge on the Con-
 B. f. C. h. spirators: And *Dio* says, that by break of day he harangued the people
 43. against them. What *Lepidus* proposed might easily have been put in
 408 Conf. execution, but *Antony* diverted him from that design, and managed him
 agreeably to his own views. His authority and forces he made use of to
 harraß and terrify the opposite party till he had driven the Conspirators
 out of the city: And, when he had served his purposes with him at home,
 he contrived to send him to his government to keep the provinces and
 Commanders abroad in due subjection to them; and that, by being
 stationed with his army in *Gaul*, he might be ready for any event which
 should require his help in *Italy*. *Antony*, to render their union the
 firmer, and at the same time to humour his vanity, gave his daughter
 in marriage to *Lepidus's* son, and assisted him to seize the *Higb-priest-*
hood, vacant by *Cæsar's* death, without regard to the ordinary forms of
 election.

N. idd. p. The next day passed in mutual assurances from both sides of their dis-
 255. position to concord and amity: And *Plutarch* says, that *Brutus* and *Cas-*
fius ventured down into the Forum, and were heard with silence and
 respect from the Rostra: But that *L. Cornelius Cinna*, one of the Prætors,
 beginning to speak and accuse *Cæsar*, they broke out into such a sud-
 den rage that the Conspirators thought fit to withdraw again into the
 Capitol: Where *Brutus*, expecting to be besieged, dismissed the most
 eminent of those who had followed him thither, not thinking it just that
 those, who were not partakers of the deed, should share in the danger.
 P. in Antony summoned the Senate on the third day to adjust the conditions
 B. in of the agreement with the Conspirators, and confirm them by some so-
 l. in act. *Antony*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero* are said to have made studied ora-
 tions much to the satisfaction of the house. *Cicero* moved the assembly
 in the first place, after the example of *Athens*, to decree a general am-
 nesty, or act of oblivion for all that was passed, to which they unani-
 mously agreed. *Antony* seemed to be all goodness, talked of nothing
 but of healing measures; and, for a proof of his sincerity, moved,
 " that the Conspirators should be invited to take part in their delibera-
 " tions, and sent his son as an hostage for their safety:" Upon which
 they all came down from the Capitol: And *Brutus* supped with *Lepidus*;
Cassius with *Antony*.

There were several things however very artfully proposed and carried
 by *Antony* on pretence of public concord, of which he made after-
 wards a most pernicious use; particularly a decree for the confirmation of
 all *Cæsar's* acts; which proposition was supported by all those who either
 were actually in office, or were named to be magistrates of the follow-
 ing years. But this motion was suspected by many, who opposed it for
 P. in some time, calling upon *Antony* to explain it, and to specify how far it
 B. in was to extend: He assured them, that no other acts were meant than
 what were known to every body, and entered publicly on *Cæsar's* regis-
 ter:

ter : They asked, if any persons were to be restored from exile ? He said, only one, and no more ; Whether any immunities were granted to cities or countries ? He answered, none ; and consented that it should pass with a restriction, proposed by *Servius Sulpicius*, that no grant, which was to take place after the *Ides of March*, should be ratified. This was generally thought so reasonable, and *Antony's* seeming candour made such an impression, that those who saw the mischief of it durst not venture to oppose it : Especially, as there was a precedent for it in the case of *Sylla* ; and as it was supposed to relate chiefly to the veteran soldiers, whom it was not possible to oblige, or keep in good humour, without confirming the privileges and possessions which *Cæsar* had granted to them. In favour of the Conspirators, it was added, *that this was enacted for the sake of the public tranquillity*. In fine, it was resolved that *Cæsar's* funeral should be solemnized at the public expence. All this had been agreed to before by *Brutus* : Though *Cassius* had opposed the last article, and *Atticus* had warned his friends of the dangerous consequences of it, maintaining that all was lost, if the tyrant received those honours. *Dolabella*, whom *Cæsar*, upon his intended expedition to *Parthia*, had designed and nominated to the consulship, now seized the ensigns of that office ; and, though *Antony* had protested against that designation, and resolved to obstruct its effect, he now quietly received him, and acknowledged him as his colleague.

Y. R. - 69.
Ref. Chr.
41.
408 Conf.

Ad Att.
xiv. 10. &
xiv.

The day following *Antony* received the thanks of the Senate for his prudent and peaceable behaviour ; and some historians tell us, that the greatest provinces of the Empire were decreed to the Conspirators ; to *Brutus*, *Macedonia* ; to *Cassius*, *Syria* ; to *Trebonius*, *Asia* ; to *Tullius Cimber*, *Bitynia* ; and that *D. Brutus* was confirmed in the government of *Cisalpine Gaul*. This would have been putting into the hands of the Conspirators the chief forces of the Empire ; and, if so, it is hard to imagine that *Antony* had at this time any view of raising a civil war. But *Syria* and *Macedonia* were not decreed to *Cassius* and *Brutus* till *Antony* was declared a public enemy.

App. B.
Ch. l. iii.

This calm was but of short duration ; for, *Cæsar's* will being opened at the house of *Antony*, it was found that *Cæsar* made his sister's grand-children his heirs ; young *Octavius* for the three quarters of his estate, and *Q. Pedius*, with *L. Pinarius*, for the remaining quarter. In the conclusion he adopted *Octavius*. Several of the Conspirators were named tutors to his son, in case he had one ; and, in failure of his first heirs, *D. Brutus* was named to the succession of his estate. He bequeathed his gardens near the *Tiber* to the public, and three hundred sesterces to every *Roman* citizen ; which greatly contributed to awaken the people's affection towards him. They declared, that a man so generous, and who had given such proofs of his tenderness to his fellow-citizens, could not be a tyrant ; and the favourable sentiments they entertained of him manifested themselves soon after at his funeral.

A lit.

Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr.
408 Conf.

A little temple, all glittering with gold, was built in the form of that dedicated to *Venus the Mother*, before the *Rostra*; and in this temple his body was placed, on an ivory bed, covered with a gold and purple cloth. At his head rose a trophy, upon which hung the robe in which he was killed. At the same time, in the *Campus Martius*, near the sepulchre of *Julia*, was raised a pile for the burning of his body, whither all those who in great numbers had brought perfumes to burn with it were directed to carry them. When all was ready, *Antony* mounted the *Rostra*, and ordered a herald to read the several decrees of the Senate, which declared *Cæsar's* person sacred, and accumulated all human and divine honours upon him: He then commanded him to read the oath that all the Senators had taken, not only not to attempt any thing against his life, but to defend it at the expence of their own; and he added a few words suited to the occasion*. When he had done speaking, the body was carried down from the bed of state into the Forum by the magistrates, and those who had borne offices under the deceased. The people, moved at the sight of this melancholy spectacle, and inflamed by verses adapted to raise compassion, which were industriously spread among them, would not suffer the body to be carried further, or to the field of *Mars*; but would have it burnt, some in *Pompey's* Senate-house, where he had been killed; others in the temple of *Jupiter*. In this tumult, two armed men came up to the body, and set fire to what covered it. The mob upon this immediately pulled up the seats of the judges, the counters of the bankers and shopkeepers, and gathered all the wood they could lay their hands on. The musicians threw into the fire the cloaths they had prepared for the ceremony; the veteran soldiers their arms; the women their ornaments; and the flame became so violent, according to *Appian*, that the house of *L. Bellicus* was intirely consumed. From the funeral, the mob ran with firebrands to set fire to the houses of the Conspirators, who had great difficulty to prevent them, notwithstanding the preparations they had made against such an attack. *Helvius Cinna*, one of the Tribunes, and a particular friend to *Cæsar*, was torn in pieces by the rabble, being mistaken, unluckily, for the Prætor *L. Cornelius Cinna*, who had extolled the act of killing *Cæsar*, in a speech from the *Rostra*; and, fixing his head upon a pike, they carried it about the town. This so alarmed all those who had any similitude of name with any of the Conspirators,

Suet. in
Cæf. 84.
85.

Val. Max.
ix. 9.
Plut. Cæf.
et Brut.
Dio, p.
867.

* *Dio* has given us a long oration of his own composition, and *Appian* writes, that *Antony* not only unfolded before the people *Cæsar's* garment, pierced by the daggers of the Conspirators, and stained with his blood; but also shewed a waxen image, with all the wounds marked upon it, which, in order to excite compassion, and spirit them up to revenge, he twirled about before them in re-

lating his hero's assassination. But, though it must be allowed that *Antony* did make a short funeral oration, yet it does not seem probable that he acted the part which *Appian* and *Dio* make him act. Suet. in Cæf. l. 44. *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus*, reflects upon him in no other respect, than for his calling *Cæsar*, *clarissimum virum*.

that

that *Caius Casca* thought fit, by a public advertisement, to signify the distinction of his *person* and *principles* from *Publius Casca*, who gave the first blow to *Cæsar* ^{Y. R. 709.}.

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43.

408 Conf.

This

“ We are not to imagine, however, as
“ it is commonly believed, that these vio-
“ lences were owing to the general indig-
“ nation of the citizens against the murder-
“ ers of *Cæsar*; excited either by the spec-
“ tacle of his body, or the eloquence of *An-
“ ton*, who made the funeral oration; for
“ it is certain that *Cæsar*, through his whole
“ reign, could never draw from the people
“ any public signification of their favour;
“ but, on the contrary, was constantly mor-
“ tified by the perpetual demonstrations of
“ their hatred and disaffection to him. The
“ case was the same after his death: The
“ memory of his tyranny was odious,
“ and *Brutus* and *Cassius* the real favourites
“ of the city; as appeared on all occasions,
“ wherever their free and genuine sense
“ could be declared, in the public *shows* and
“ *theatres*; which *Cicero* frequently appeals
“ to as a proper encouragement to all ho-
“ nest men to act with spirit and vigour in
“ the defence of their common liberty.
“ What happened therefore at the funeral
“ was the effect of artifice and faction; the
“ work of a mercenary rabble; the greatest
“ part slaves and strangers, lured and pre-
“ pared for violence, against a party un-
“ armed, and pursuing pacific counsels, and
“ placing all their trust and security in the
“ justice of their cause. *Cicero* calls it a
“ conspiracy of *Cæsar*'s freedmen, who
“ were the chief managers of the tumult;
“ in which the *Jews* seem to have borne a
“ considerable part; who, out of hatred
“ to *Pompey* for his affront to their city
“ and temple, were zealously attached to
“ *Cæsar*; and, above all other foreigners in
“ *Rome*, distinguished themselves by the ex-
“ pressions of their grief for his death; so
“ as to spend whole nights at his monu-
“ ment.” *Middl p. 256.*

The whole subsequent history is a con-
futation of what is here asserted. *Brutus*
and *Cassius* were the favourites of a
part of the Nobility, but could have no ad-
mirers among the people; though indeed
all considerate men were desirous of peace
upon any terms. *Appian, Bell. Civ. l. iii.*
expressly contradicts what *Cicero* says of the
popular favour shewn at *Brutus*'s plays:
He relates, that, when some bribed to that pur-

*pose, cried out, that Brutus and Cassius should
be recalled, there was such an uproar among
the people, that the plays ceased till such time as
those who demanded their return were silent.*
And indeed this was the proper occasion for
the people to shew their favour; and, had
they shewn it with any unanimity, *Brutus*'s
return would have been a consequence of it.
Cicero's account to *Atticus* of the *Cæsarians*
is as follows: “ *Hirtius* warmly loves the
“ man whom *Brutus* stabbed; he, and all
“ the rest, are perpetually lamenting the
“ miserable end of so great a man; and de-
“ claring that the Republic is ruined by it.
“ They say that all his acts will be made
“ void, as soon as the people's fears are o-
“ ver; and that clemency was his ruin;
“ since, if it had not been for that, he
“ could not have perished in such a manner.”
Ad Att. xiv. 22. And this is a proper
place to present the reader with an excellent
letter of a very worthy man, of *Maius* to
Cicero. Ep. Fam. xi. 28.

“ YOUR letter gave me great plea-
“ sure, by letting me see that you retain
“ still that favourable opinion of me, which
“ I had always hoped and wished; and,
“ though I had never indeed any doubt of
“ it, yet, for the high value that I set upon
“ it, I was very solicitous that it should re-
“ main always inviolable. I was conscious
“ to myself, that I had done nothing which
“ could reasonably give offence to any ho-
“ nest man; and did not imagine therefore
“ that a person of your great and excellent
“ accomplishments could be induced to take
“ any without reason, especially against one
“ who had always professed, and still con-
“ tinued to profess, a sincere good-will to
“ you. Since all this then stands just as I
“ wish it, I will now give an answer to those
“ accusations, from which you, agreeably to
“ your character, out of your singular good-
“ nefs and friendship, have so often defen-
“ ded me. I am no stranger to what has
“ been said of me by certain persons since
“ *Cæsar*'s death: They call it a crime in
“ me, that I am concerned for the loss of
“ an intimate friend, and sorry that the man
“ whom I loved met with so unhappy a
“ fate: They say, that our country ought
“ to be preferred to any friendship, as if
“ they

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This was a clear warning to the Conspirators, how little reason they had to expect any safety in the city, without a guard for their defence.

M. Bru-

“ they had really made it evident, that his
 “ death was of service to the Republic;
 “ but I will not deal craftily: I own my-
 “ self not to be arrived at that degree of
 “ wisdom; nor did I yet follow *Cæsar* in
 “ our late dissensions, but my friend;
 “ whom, though displeased with the thing,
 “ I could not desert; for I never approved
 “ the civil war, or the cause of it; but
 “ took all possible pains to stifle it in its
 “ birth. Upon the victory therefore of a
 “ familiar friend, I was not eager either to
 “ advance, or to enrich myself; an advan-
 “ tage which others who had less interest
 “ with him than I abused to great excess.
 “ Nay, my circumstances were even hurt by
 “ *Cæsar*’s law, to whose kindness the greatest
 “ part of those who now rejoice at his
 “ death, owed their very continuance in the
 “ city. I solicited the pardon of the van-
 “ quished with the same zeal as if it had
 “ been for myself. Is it possible therefore
 “ for me, who laboured to procure the
 “ safety of all, not to be concerned for the
 “ death of him, from whom I used to pro-
 “ cure it? Especially when the very same
 “ men, who were the cause of making him
 “ odious, were the authors also of destroy-
 “ ing him. But I shall have cause, they
 “ say, to repent, for daring to condemn
 “ their act. Unheard of insolence! that it
 “ should be allowed to some to glory in a
 “ wicked action, yet not to others, even to
 “ grieve at it without punishment. But
 “ this was always free, even to slaves, to
 “ fear, rejoice, and grieve by their own
 “ will, not that of another; which yet these
 “ men, who call themselves the authors of
 “ liberty, are endeavouring to extort from
 “ us by the force of terror. But they may
 “ spare their threats; for no danger shall
 “ terrify me from performing my duty and
 “ the offices of humanity; since it was al-
 “ ways my opinion, that an honest death
 “ was never to be avoided, often even to be
 “ sought. But why are they angry with
 “ me, for wishing only that they may repent
 “ of their act? I wish that all the world
 “ may regret *Cæsar*’s death. But I ought,
 “ they say, as a member of civil society, to
 “ wish the good and safety of the Republic.
 “ If my past life and future hopes do not at-

“ ready prove that I wish it, without my
 “ saying so, I will not pretend to evince it
 “ by argument. I beg of you therefore in
 “ the strongest terms to attend to facts rather
 “ than to words; and if you think it the most
 “ useful to one in my circumstances, that
 “ what is right should take place; never
 “ imagine that I can have any union or
 “ commerce with ill-designing men. I
 “ acted the same part in my youth, where
 “ to mistake would have been pardonable;
 “ shall I then undo it all again, and re-
 “ nounce my principles in my declining
 “ age? No, it is my resolution to do no-
 “ thing that can give any offence; except
 “ it be when I lament the cruel fate of a
 “ dear friend and illustrious man. If I
 “ were in different sentiments, I would
 “ never disown what I was doing; lest I
 “ should be thought not only wicked for
 “ pursuing what was wrong, but false and
 “ cowardly for dissembling it. But I un-
 “ dertook the care of the shows, which
 “ young *Cæsar* exhibited for the victory of
 “ his uncle: This was an affair of private,
 “ not of public duty; it was what I ought
 “ to have performed to the memory and
 “ honour of my dead friend; and what I
 “ could not therefore deny to a youth of the
 “ greatest hopes, and so highly worthy of
 “ *Cæsar*. But I go often also to the Con-
 “ sul *Autury*’s to pay my compliments; yet
 “ you will find those very men go oftener
 “ to ask and receive favours, who reflect
 “ upon me for it, as disaffected to my coun-
 “ try. But, what arrogance is this? When
 “ *Cæsar* never hindered me from visiting
 “ whom I would; even those whom he did
 “ not care for; that they who have depri-
 “ ved me of him should attempt by their ca-
 “ vils to debar me from placing my esteem
 “ where I think proper. But I am not a-
 “ fraid, that either the modesty of my life
 “ should not be sufficient to confute all false
 “ reports of me for the future, or that they,
 “ who do not love me for my constancy to
 “ *Cæsar*, would not chuse to have their
 “ friends resemble me, rather than them-
 “ selves. For my own part, if I could have
 “ my wish, I would spend the remainder of
 “ my days in quiet at *Rhodes*; but, if any
 “ accident prevent me, will live in such a
 “ man-

M. Brutus and *Cassius* retired immediately to *Lanuvium*, fifteen miles from *Rome*: *D. Brutus*, *Trebonius*, and others, staid behind some time longer, and demanded a guard for themselves and their accomplices. But *Antony* inform'd them by *Hirtius*, that the soldiers and the populace were so enraged, that he did not think it possible for any of them to be safe. He also assured *Hirtius* that he could not consent to let *Decimus* take possession of the province to which he was nominated. *Antony* was sensible that, if the Conspirators had a firm footing in *Italy*, and gained any increase of power, it would be impossible for him and his party to maintain their ground against the nobles. His aim was therefore to amuse them, and neither suffer them to remain in the city, nor drive them to desperate measures, till he had collected a sufficient force to crush them. *Decimus*, in the desponding humour he was in, thought that under the present difficulties the most prudent step he could take for the common interest, was to request an *honorary legation* for each of the Conspirators, in order to give some decent colour to their leaving *Rome*. *Hirtius* accordingly promised to obtain this for them; but, in case he succeeded, it was thought, that it would not be long 'ere they should be declared public enemies, and sentenced to banishment. *Decimus* advised, therefore, his Confederates, as the most prudent step in the present conjuncture, to submit to fortune, and retire to *Rhodes*, or to some other secure part of the world, where they might adjust their measures to public circumstances, and wait at least to see how far the news of *Cæsar's* death would have influence to strengthen the several parties of *Sextus Pompey*, who was in arms in *Spain*; or of *Cæcilius Bassus*, who was raising commotions in *Asia*. He took courage, however, and went and put himself in possession of his province of *Cisalpine Gaul* without the leave of the Consul. *Trebonius*, in the mean time, stole away privately to *Asia*, and *Tillius Cimber* to *Bitthynia*; and, soon after this dispersion of some of the Chiefs of the conspiracy, *Cicero* with several other Senators retired from *Rome*.

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Cic. Fam.
xii. 5.

Melm. xii.

5.

Ibid.

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M m

Antony,

"manner at *Rome*, as always to desire, that
"what is right may prevail. I am greatly
"obliged to our friend *Trebatius*, for giving
"me this assurance of your sincere and
"friendly regard for me, and for making
"it my duty to respect and observe a man
"whom I had esteemed always before with
"inclination. Take care of your health,
"and preserve me in your affection."

* *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, was in *Rome* when *Cæsar* was killed, and was lodged in his house: She had intended to accompany him into the East, in order to preserve her influence over him, which was very great. But, being terrified by the accident of his

death, and the disorders which followed it, she presently left the city. However, before her departure, she laboured to get her son by *Cæsar* acknowledged as such at *Rome*, and declared the heir of her kingdom; as he was the year following by *Antony* and *Octavius*. She had a conference upon this subject with *Cicero* in *Cæsar's* gardens, where the haughtiness of her behaviour gave him no small offence. Knowing his taste and character, she made him the promise of some present very agreeable; and thus obliged him the more by not performing it: He does not tell us what it was; but, from the hints, which he drops, it seems to have been

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Antony, as soon as the Conspirators were gone, resumed his mask, and, as if the late violences had been accidental only, and the sudden transport of a vile mob, professed the same moderation as before, and affected to speak with the greatest respect of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. He readily procured for them a decree to absolve them from the laws, which forbid the *Prætors* to be absent from the city above ten days: And, by several other seasonable acts, proposed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing so much at heart as the public concord. Among other decrees, he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himself, “to abolish for ever the name and office of a *Dictator*: This seemed to be a sure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an universal satisfaction to the Senate, who passed it, as it were, by acclamation, without even putting it to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the house for it to *Antony*.

About the same time the mob, headed by the impostor *Marius* (who was now returned to *Rome*) and the freedmen of *Cæsar*, had erected an altar in the Forum on the spot where his body was burnt; with a pillar of *Namidian* marble twenty feet high, inscribed, *To the Father of his country*.

been statues and curiosities from *Egypt* for the ornament of his library. When therefore she was obliged to apply to him by her ministers for his assistance in her affair, he refused to be concerned. “The flight of the Queen, says he, gives me no pain. . . . I should be glad to hear what further news there is of her, and her young *Cæsar*. . . . I hate the Queen: Her agent *Armanius*, the witness and sponsor of her promises to me, knows that I have reason: They were things only proper for a man of letters, and suitable to my character; so that I should not scruple to proclaim them from the *Rostra*. Her other agent *Sara* is not only a rascal, but has been rude to me. I never saw him at my house but once, and, when I asked him civilly, what commands he had for me, he said that he came to look for *Atticus*. As to the pride of the Queen, when I saw her in the gardens, I can never think of it without resentment: I will have nothing, therefore, to do with them: They take me to have neither spirit, nor even feeling left.” *Ad Att. xiv. 8. 20. xv. 15. Mital. p. 262.*

It was during his retirement at this time, that he composed his treatise, *on the nature of the gods*, addressed to *Brutus*; his discourse on *divination*, or the *foreknowledge and prediction of future events*; and the *several ways*

by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to man; those on the advantages of *old-age*, on *friendship*, and on *fate*; and it was at this time, probably, that he finished his translation of *Plato's* famous dialogue, called *Timæus*, on the nature and origin of the universe. He was employing himself also upon a work of a different sort, which had been long upon his hands, a history of his own times, or rather of his own conduct: Full of free and severe reflections on those who had abused their power to the oppression of the Republic, especially *Crassus* and *Cæsar*. This he calls his *anecdote*; a work not to be published, but to be shewn only to a few friends, in the manner of *Theopompus*, an historian famed for his severe and invective style. *Atticus* was urging him to put the last hand to it, and continue it down through *Cæsar's* government: But he chose to reserve this last part for a distinct history, in which he designed to vindicate, at large, the justice of killing a tyrant. *Dio* says, that he delivered this book, sealed up, to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it, till after his death: But, from this time, he never saw his son, and left the piece, probably unfinished; though some copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator *Asconius* has quoted several particulars. *Middl. p. 291.*

Here

Here they performed daily sacrifices, and the humour of worshipping at this new altar spread so fast among the meaner sort and the slaves, as to endanger the peace and safety of the city. But *Antony* had their Chief committed to prison, where he was strangled without any form of law: And his body in an ignominious manner was dragged through the streets. By this measure, *Antony* gained fresh credit with the Conspirators; insomuch that *Brutus*, together with *Cassius* and other friends, had a *personal conference* with him about this time, which passed to mutual satisfaction. By these arts he hoped to amuse the Conspirators, and induce them to lay aside all vigorous counsels; and thus prevent them from furnishing themselves with troops and money, which would put them in a condition to act offensively^a.

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Bef. Chr.
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Philip. i. 2.

Antony, having thus put his affairs into the best train that he could, and appointed the 1st of *June* for a meeting of the Senate, in order to deliberate on the State of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progress through *Italy*, for the sake of visiting the quarters of the veteran soldiers, and engaging them to his service by all sorts of bribes and promises. The government of the city, in his absence, devolved to *Dolabella*, whose conduct gave great satisfaction to the Senate. The death of *Marius* had not put a stop to the mode of sacrificing at *Cæsar's* column: The multitudes which continued to flock to the place, fired with a kind of enthusiastic rage, ran furious about the streets, committing all sorts of outrage and violence against the supposed friends of liberty. This was open rebellion, and called for a remedy; which *Dolabella* effectually applied by demolishing the pillar and altar, paving the area they stood upon, and seizing the authors of the disorders; whom he proceeded against with great severity, causing such of them as were free to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock, and the slaves to be crucified. This, we are told by *Cicero*, gave an universal joy to the city: The whole body of the people attended the Consul to his house; and in the theatres gave him the usual testimony of their thanks by the loudest acclamations^b.

M m 2

Antony,

^a *Ad Att. xiv. 16.* With the same view he wrote an artful letter to *Cicero* to desire his consent to the restoration of *S. Clodius*, the chief agent of *P. Clodius*, who had been several years in banishment for outrages committed in the city; chiefly against *Cicero* himself, on whose account he was condemned. *Antony*, by his marriage with *Fulvia*, the widow of *P. Clodius*, became the protector of all that family, and the tutor of young *Publius*, her son; which gave him a decent pretence of interesting himself in this affair. *Middl. p. 260.*

^b In a letter on this occasion to *Atticus*, *Cicero* says, "O my admirable *Dolabella*! "I now call him mine; for, believe me, I "had some doubt of him before. The fact "affords matter of great speculation: To "throw them down the rock; to crucify; de- "molish the pillar; pave the area; in short, "it is heroic. He has extinguished all ap- "pearance of that regret for *Cæsar*, which "was spreading every day so fast, that I "began to apprehend some danger to our "tyrant-killers: But I now agree with you "and conceive better hopes." *Ad Att. xiv. 15.*

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Vell. Pat.
L. 62.
Ad. Att.
xiv. 10. et
xv. 1.

Antony, in his progress through *Italy*, having drawn great numbers of the veterans towards *Rome* to be ready for any purpose his affairs should require, found himself above controul, and began immediately to act with less reserve. *Brutus* and *Cassius* continued still near *Lanuvium*, being yet irresolute what measures they should take: They kept themselves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer, and waiting particularly to see what humour the Consuls would be in at the next meeting of the Senate, with regard to themselves and the Republic; and, since they were driven from the discharge of their Prætorship, they contrived to put the people in mind of them, from time to time, by their edicts, in which they made the strongest professions of their pacific disposition; declared that their conduct should give no handle for a civil war; and that they would submit to a perpetuation, if it would contribute in any manner to the public concord; being contented with the consciousness of their act, as the greatest honour which they could enjoy. Their present design was to come to *Rome* on the 1st of *June*, and to take their places in the Senate, if it should be thought advisable; or to present themselves at least in the *Rostre* and try the affections of the people, for whom *Brutus* was preparing a speech. But now the conduct of *Antony* began to open *Brutus's* eyes, and convince him of the mistake of his pacific measures; and he thought it time, therefore, in concert with *Cassius*, to require an explicit account of the Consul's intentions, and expostulate with him gently in the following letter:

BRUTUS and *CASSIUS*, Prætors, to *M. ANTONIUS*, Consul.

Ep. Fam.
ix. 2.
Midd. p.
288.

"IF we were not persuaded of your sincerity and good-will to us,
"we should not have written this to you; which, out of the kind dis-
"position that you bear to us, you will take without doubt in good part.
"We are informed that a great multitude of veteran soldiers is already
"come to *Rome*, and a much greater expected there on the 1st of *June*.
"If we could harbour any suspicion or fear of you, we should be un-
"like ourselves: Yet, surely, after we had put ourselves into your power
"and, by your advice, dismissed the friends, whom we had about us,
"from the great towns, and that not only by public edict, but by pri-
"vate letters, we deserve to be made acquainted with your designs;
"especially in an affair which relates to ourselves. We beg of you,
"therefore, to let us know what your intentions are with regard to us.
"Do you think we can be safe in such a crowd of veterans? who have

"O the brave act of *Delabella*! What a
"prospect does it give us? I never cease
"praising and exhorting him—Our *Brutus*,
"I dare say, might now walk safely through
"the Forum, with a crown of gold upon
"his head: For who dare molest him, when
"the rack or the cross is to be their fate? And
"when the very lowest of the people give
"such proofs of their applause and appro-
"bation?" *Ad Att.* xiv. 16. See also his
"letter to *Delabella*, *Ep. Fam.* ix. 14. which
"is in the highest strain of compliment.

"thoughts,

“ thoughts, we hear, even of rebuilding the altar; which no man can
 “ desire or approve who wishes our safety and honour. That we had no
 “ other view from the first but peace, nor sought any thing else but the
 “ public liberty, the event shews. Nobody can deceive us but you,
 “ which is not certainly agreeable to your virtue and integrity: But no
 “ man else has it in his power to deceive us. We trusted and shall
 “ trust to you alone. Our friends are under the greatest apprehensions
 “ for us: For, though they are persuaded of your integrity, yet they
 “ reflect that a multitude of veterans may sooner be pushed to any vio-
 “ lence by others, than restrained by you. We desire an explicit an-
 “ swer to all particulars: For it is silly and trifling to tell us, that the
 “ veterans are called together, because you intend to move the Senate in
 “ their favour in *June*: For who do you think will hinder it, when it
 “ is certain that we shall not? Nobody ought to think us too fond of
 “ life: When nothing can happen to us, but with the ruin and confu-
 “ sion of all things.”

The assembly on the 1st of *June* was composed intirely of those who were either devoted to *Antony*, or quite indifferent how affairs should turn. *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, the Consuls elect, did not appear, and *Cicero* also absented himself. He had moved towards *Rome* in the end of *May*; but, having received an account that the town was filled with veterans, who talked desperately against those who did not favour them; that *Antony* came thither, attended by a strong body of them; that all his views were bent on war, and that he designed to transfer the province of *Gaul* from *Decimus Brutus* to himself by a vote of the People; he determined not to venture to the Senate, but withdrew again from the city. The major part of the Senate followed his example, and fled out of the city for fear of some violence, leaving the Consuls, with a few of their creatures, to make what decrees they pleased. *Antony* represented, that his life was in danger on account of the several decrees he had passed and executed in favour of the Republic, and demanded a guard; which was no sooner granted him, than he enlisted the veterans he had brought to *Rome*, and, instead of a moderate guard, formed to himself a little army of six thousand old soldiers. The day following he obtained a decree which had been proposed before and deferred till the 1st of *June*, to give the cognisance and execution of the acts of *Caesar* to the Consuls. This decree put every thing into his hands; for, being master both of *Caesar*'s papers, and of his Secretary *Faberius*, by whose hand they were written, he had an opportunity of forging and inserting, at pleasure, whatever he found of use to him; which he practised without any reserve or management, recalling from banishment the exiles, and selling publicly, for money, whatever immunities were desired by countries, cities, Princes, or private men, on pretence that they had been granted by *Caesar*, and entered into his books. The imposture was so gross in some instances, that he made *Caesar* mention things which had happened
 since

Y. R. 709. since his death. He granted the freedom of the city to all *Sicily*, pre-
 B. Chr. tending that *Cæsar* had published a law to this effect in an assembly of
 45. the people, though nobody had ever heard of it: He freed the rich
 408 Conf. towns of the island of *Crete*, and enacted that, after *Brutus's* proconsul-
 ship, it should become a province: He restored to King *Deiotarus* all
 his dominions, though every body knew that *Cæsar* hated no man so
 much as *Deiotarus*; but the bargain was made in *Fulvia's* apartments
 25, 725 L. for the sum of ten millions of sesterces by the King's agents at *Rome*.
Antony, immediately after *Cæsar's* death, by seizing upon the ready mo-
 ney he had left, and which *Calpurnia* delivered up to him, had present-
 ly amassed an infinite sum: For though, at the time of *Cæsar's* death,
 32, 916 L. he owed, as *Cicero* told him, forty millions of sesterces^c; yet, within
 less than a fortnight after, he had paid the whole debt. But he soon
 made himself master of a much larger sum, by seizing on the public
 treasury, which *Cæsar* had deposited, for the occasions of the govern-
 5, 651, 037 L. ment, in the temple of *Opis*, amounting to seven hundred millions of ses-
 terces, or above five millions and an half of our money. The use he
 Arb. made of it was to purchase soldiers, and he was now in a condition to
 outbid any competitor: But the first purchase, which he made with it,
 was of his colleague *Dolabella*, who had been long oppressed with the load
 of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promise of a
 farther share in the plunder of the Empire, he drew intirely from *Cicero*
 and the party of the nobles into his own measures. This was an ac-
 quisition worth any price to him; the general inclination both of the
 city and country, we are told, being clearly against him. The town of
Puteoli, one of the most considerable in *Italy*, had lately chosen the two
Brutus's and *Cassius* for their patrons, and there wanted nothing but a
 Leader, it is said, to arm the whole Empire against him. *Dolabella*
 seemed to be that very person, till bribed, as *Cicero* says, by the force
 of money, *he not only deserted, but overturned, the Republic.*

On the 5th of *June* commissions were granted severally to *Brutus* and
 Middle. p. *Cassius* to buy up corn in *Asia* and *Sicily*. The situation of these Lead-
 295. ers of the Republican party, was, at this time, very disagreeable; they
 were stripped of the power of their offices, suffered a kind of exile,
 and even depended upon *Antony* for their safety. Their friends, there-
 fore, at *Rome* had been soliciting the Senate for some extraordinary em-
 ployment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight,
 and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the
 first magistracies of the Republic. This was the ground of the com-
 mission just mentioned to buy corn; which seemed, however, to be be-
 low their character, and contrived as an affront to them by *Antony*, who
 affected still to speak of them always with respect. But their friends
 thought any thing better for them than to sit still in *Italy*; where their
 persons were exposed to danger from the veteran soldiers, who were all

^c Tu autem quadringentis HS. quod idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam moderante kalendas Aprilis debere defuisti. *Phil.* ii. 37.

now in motion : And that this employment would be a security to them for the present, and afford an opportunity of providing for their future safety, by enabling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a design of seizing some provinces abroad and arming themselves in defence of their party ; which was what their enemies were most afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious.

On the 26th of June, Brutus and Cassius held a select Council of their friends, at Antium, to which Cicero was particularly invited. There were present, among others, Favonius, Servilia, Porcia, Brutus's wife, and his sister Tertulla, the wife of Cassius. Cicero, being asked his opinion, advised, " that Brutus should go to Asia, and undertake the affair of the corn : That the only thing to be done at present was to provide for their safety : That their safety was a certain benefit to the Republic. . . . Here Cassius interrupted him, and, with great fierceness in his looks, protested that he would not go to Sicily, nor accept, as a favour, what was intended as an affront ; but would go to Achaia, — Brutus said, that he would go to Rome, if Cicero thought it proper for him—but Cicero declared it impossible for him to be safe there ;— but, supposing, says he, I could be safe : Why then, says Cicero, I should advise it by all means, as the best thing you could do, and better than any province.—After much discourse and complaining for the loss of opportunities, for which Cassius laid all the blame on D. Brutus, Cicero said, that, though that was true, it was in vain to talk of what was passed ; and, as the case then stood, he saw nothing left but to follow his advice,—to which, at last, they all seemed to agree, especially when Servilia^d undertook, by her mediation, to get the affair of the corn left out of their commission ; and Brutus consented that the plays and shews, with which he was to entertain the city shortly as Prætor, should be given by proxy in his absence." Cicero took his leave, pleased with nothing, he says, but the consciousness of having done his duty : For, as to the rest, he gave all for lost ; found the vessel not only broken, but shattered to pieces ; and neither prudence, reason, nor design in what they were doing : So that, if he had any doubt before, he had none now, but longed to get abroad as soon as possible.

There was now great expectation of the shews and plays which Brutus, as Prætor of the city, was going to exhibit, according to annual custom,

^d Servilia, though sister to Cato, had been one of Cæsar's mistresses : In the civil war he gave her several rich farms out of his Pompeian confiscations ; and, according to Suetonius in Cæs. c. 60, bought a single jewel for her at the price of about 50,000 l. She was a woman of spirit and intrigue, in great credit with the Cæsarean party, and at this very time possessed the estate and villa of Pontius Aquila, one of the Conspirators. Cicero reckons it among the solecisms of the time, that the mother of the tyrant-killer should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices ; (ad Att. xiv. 21.) yet she had such a share in all the counsels of Brutus, that it made Cicero the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not trust : When he is influenced so much, says he, by his mother's advice, or, at least, her intrigues, why should I interpose myself ? Ad Att. xv. 10. Middl. p. 297.

Y. R. 709 in honour of *Apollo*, on the 3d of *July*; and all people were attentive
 Bcf. Chr. and impatient to see in what manner they would be received. The
 408 Conf⁴³ success of them answered all the hopes of *Brutus* and his friends; for
 they were received with great applause by all ranks, though *Antony's*
 brother-in-law *Caius*, as the next *Prætor* in office, presided at them.
 One of the plays was *Tereus*, a tragedy of *Accius*; which, having many
 strokes in it on the characters and acts of tyrants, was infinitely clapped
 by the people. This gave great pleasure to *Brutus*, who remained about
 a month longer in *Italy*, making preparations for his voyage.

Sextus Pompeius about this time made proposals towards an accommo-
 dation. After the battle of *Munda*, he had been obliged to fly from
Corduba, and hide himself in the mountains of *Celtiberia*: Here he re-
 mained some time in disguise; but *Cæsar* had no sooner left *Spain*, than,
 gathering together a number of his scattered soldiers, he dared to appear
 again in arms, and made war successfully against two of *Cæsar's* Lieute-
 nants, *Carinas* and *Pollio*. Upon the news of *Cæsar's* assassination,
 numbers flocked to him, and he saw himself again at the head of se-
 ven legions, with which he appeared in open campaign, and stormed
 some towns. The sum of his demands was, that all who had the com-
 mand of armies should dismiss them. This proposal was contained in
 the letter which he addressed to the Consuls; but to *Libo*, his father-in-
 law, to whom he inclosed this public letter, he signified at the same time
 that, unless his father's estate and house at *Rome* were restored to him,
 he would agree to nothing. This overture from *Pompey* was procured
 chiefly by the management of *Lepidus*; who, having the province of
Spain assigned to him, where *Pompey* was very strong, had no mind to
 be engaged in a war at such a distance from *Rome*, and drawn off from
 attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in *Italy*: For
 which purpose, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a
 treaty and honourable terms to *Pompey*; and that, on condition of lay-
 ing down his arms, and quitting the province, he should be restored to
 all his estates and honours, and have the command of the whole naval
 power of *Rome*, in the same manner as his father had it before him:
 All which was proposed and recommended to the Senate by *Antony* him-
 self; where, to preserve a due respect to *Cæsar's* acts, by which *Pom-*
pey's estates had been confiscated, it was decreed, "that the same sum,
 "for which they had been sold, should be given him by the public, to
 "enable him to purchase them again." This amounted to seven hun-
 dred millions of sesterces, above five millions and an half of our money,
 exclusive of his jewels, plate, and furniture; which, being wholly em-
 bezzled, he was content to lose. On these terms, ratified by the autho-
 rity of the Senate, *Pompey* actually quitted *Spain*, and came to *Marseilles*;
 where, in his quality of Admiral, he made naval preparations, with
 which he soon after seized upon *Sicily*. The project was wisely con-
 ceited by *Lepidus* and *Antony*; for, while it carried a shew of moderation
 and

and disposition to peace, it disarmed a desperate enemy, who was in condition to give great obstruction to their designs, and diversion to their arms, at a time when the necessity of their interests required their presence and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power in the heart and center of the Empire.

A little before this time, a new actor, the young *Octavius*, left by his uncle *Cæsar*, the heir of his name and estate, appeared upon the stage, who, though hitherto unnoticed, soon made a distinguished figure upon it, and became the object of general attention. He had attended *Cæsar* in the *Spanish* war; after which he was sent to *Apollonia*, a celebrated academy or school of learning in *Macedonia*, there to wait for him in his way to the *Partbian* war, in which he was to serve in quality of Master of the Horse. As soon as the news of his uncle's death was spread in those parts, all the officers of the troops quartered there made him a tender of their services. *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* were of opinion that he would do right to accept of them; and, in all appearance, if he had followed their advice, all the veterans would have repaired to him, and, in the confused and unsettled state of things in *Italy*, he would easily have made himself master of *Rome*, and forced *Antony* to join him. But he thought this too rash an undertaking, before he had sounded the dispositions of the citizens and soldiers. The sole pretension, therefore, that he avowed at present, was to assert his right to the succession of his uncle's estate, and to claim the possession of it. This was thought an attempt by many too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, not 19 years complete; for the aristocratical party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest, with the inheritance of the estate, he should grasp at the power of his uncle; and *Antony* still more, who had destined that succession to himself, and even seized the effects, lest, by the advantage of that wealth, *Octavius* might be in a condition to make head against him. His mother *Atia*, therefore, and her husband *Philip*, out of concern for his safety, pressed him, by letters, to suspend his claim for a while, and not assume an invidious name, before he could see what turn the public affairs would take. But, on the other side, there were many about him constantly pushing him on to throw himself upon the affections of the city and the army, before his enemies had made themselves too strong for him. The remonstrances of these last had weight with him; and, incited by his natural ambition, he resolved without delay to pass over into *Italy*. On his landing at *Brundisium*, he was received by the soldiers with great demonstrations of attachment to his cause; and the veterans settled in *Italy* came from all parts to meet him, complaining of *Antony's* indolence in revenging the death of his great friend and benefactor. He crossed the country to join his mother and father-in-law, who were at *Cuma*; where *Cicero* also was at this time, as well as *Balbus*, *Hirtius*, and *Pansa*. On the 18th of *April*, he arrived at *Naples*; whither *Balbus* went the next morning to

Y. R. 709. receive him, and returned the same day to *Cicero*, near *Cuma*, having
 Bef. Chr. conducted *Octavius* to the adjoining villa of his father-in-law *Philip*.
 45. *Hirtius* and *Pansa* presented him to *Cicero*, to whom he made the
 468 Conf. strongest assurances, *that he would be governed implicitly by his advice*.
 His domestics gave him the name of *Cæsar*; for the young man was de-
 termined to risk all his hopes on the credit of this name; but *Philip*
 continued to call him *Octavius*, and so did *Cicero*: Who, speaking of
 him to *Atticus*, says, "*Octavius* is still with us, and treats me with the
 "greatest respect and friendship . . . it is not possible for him to make a
 "good citizen, there are so many about him who threaten the death of our
 "friends: they declare, that what they have done can never be forgiven."
 On his arrival near *Rome*, he was met by crowds of his father's and his
 own friends, and conducted by them in pomp into the city. Before he
 dismissed them, he desired that they would attend him the next morning
 into the Forum; and he then went to *C. Antonius*, who, in *Brutus's* ab-
 sence, executed the functions of *Prætor Urbanus*, claimed in a legal manner
 his father's succession, and had his claim entered into the public register.
 Appian. From the *Prætor's* tribunal, he went to *Pompey's* gardens, where the Consul
Antony resided. After the first compliments, *Octavius* having demanded
 of the Consul to be put in possession of the money and other effects
Cæsar had left, in order to be able to discharge the legacies of the will:
Antony gave him but a very short audience, telling him, *that he was*
young, and did not know what he was about; that the title he assumed of
heir and executor to Cæsar's will was a burden too great for his shoulders. The
 Suet. Oct. Consul took likewise all possible means to prevent *Octavius* from getting
 12. his adoption confirmed by the people in an assembly of the *Curie*, as
 the law required. He also opposed the young man in another scheme,
 that of getting into the tribuneship in the place of *Helvius Cinna*,
 killed by the mob at *Cæsar's* funeral.

Octavius, seeing that *Antony* openly declared against him, made his
 court to the people; and, being produced into the *Rostra* by one of the
 Tribunes, made a speech to them; which he seconded by what was
 like to please the inferior part of the city much better, a promise of not
 only paying them what *Cæsar* had bequeathed them by his will, but of
 adding to it, and treating them with public shews and plays in honour
 of *Cæsar's* victories. He courted also the Senate, who shewed him on
 their part the more regard in proportion as *Antony* became more and
 more formidable: "*Octavius*, says *Cicero* in a letter to *Atticus*, I per-
 ceive, has parts and spirit, and seems to be affected, as we could wish,
 towards our heroes; but how far we may trust his age, name, suc-
 cession, education, is a matter of great deliberation. His father-in-
 law, who came to see me at *Astura*, thinks, not at all. He must be
 cherished, however, if but for nothing else, yet to keep him at a dis-
 tance from *Antony*. *Marcellus* acts nobly, if he instils into him a
 good disposition towards our friends. He seemed to be much influ-
 enced

“ enced by him, but to have no confidence in *Pansa* and *Hirtius* : His Y. R. 709
 “ natural disposition is good, if it does but hold.” Bef. Chi.

On the 20th of *July*, just after the shews given by *Brutus*, came on 43.
 those in honour of *Venus Mater*, and in memory of *Cæsar*’s victories ; 408 Conf.
 which *Octavius* undertook at his own expence, as those who had
 been charged with the management of them durst not venture to exhi-
 bit them after his death. In these shews *Octavius* brought out the Suet. Aug
 golden chair, which, among the other honours decreed to *Cæsar* when 10.
 living, was ordered to be placed in the theatres and *Circus*’s on all so- Dio, 44.
 lemn occasions ; but the Tribunes ordered the chair to be taken away *. 243.
 To answer the immense expence of these games, and others, in which
 he soon engaged, he was obliged to sell not only the succession of his
 father, but his own estate, and even that of his mother and *Philip*, his
 father-in-law, who, seeing now that his claim created to him no danger,
 entered earnestly into his views.

The turn affairs had taken made *Cicero* resolve to prosecute what he Midell. p.
 had long been projecting, his voyage into *Greece*, to spend a few months 294.
 with his son at *Athens*. He despaired of any good from the pre-
 sent Consuls, and intended to see *Rome* no more, till their successors en-
 tered into office ; in whose administration he began to place all his
 hopes. He wrote therefore to *Dolabella* to procure him the grant of
 an honorary lieutenantcy ; and, lest *Antony*, an angry man, as he calls him, Ad Att.
 should think himself slighted, he wrote to him too on the same subject. xv. 8. 11.
Dolabella immediately named him for one of his own Lieutenants,
 which answered his purpose still better ; for, without obliging him to
 any service, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to
 go where he pleased ; so that he readily accepted it, and prepared for
 his journey. He provided three little yachts or gallies to transport Midell. p.
 himself and his attendants ; but, as there was a report of legions arri- 309.
 ving daily from abroad, and of pirates also at sea, he thought it would Ad Att.
 be safer to sail in company with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who had drawn xvi. 14.
 together a fleet of considerable force, which now lay upon the coast. He
 gave several hints of his design to *Brutus*, who received it more coldly
 than he expected ; and seemed uncertain and irresolute about the time
 of his going. He resolved therefore to embark without farther delay,
 though in some perplexity to the last, about the expediency of the
 voyage, and jealous of its being censured, as a desertion of his country ;
 but *Atticus* kept up his spirits, by assuring him constantly in his letters, Ad Att.

* There appeared, during these games, a
 comet near the great bear for seven days to-
 gether. It rose about an hour before sun-
 set, and was very bright. The people ima-
 gined that the appearance of this star was to
 inform us, that *Cæsar*’s soul was received in-
 to the number of the immortal Gods. For

which reason, a star was placed over the
 head of the statue, which *Octavius* consecra-
 ted soon after in the Forum. The star be-
 came afterwards the distinguishing attribute
 of *Cæsar* in all the monuments erected to his
 honour, and we find it upon many of his
 medals.

Y. R. 709. that it was generally approved of at *Rome*, provided that he kept his word
 Ecl. Chr. of returning by the first of the new year. He sailed slowly from *Pom-*
 43 Conf *peii* along the western coast of *Italy* towards *Rhegium*, going ashore every
 night to lodge with some friend or client. He was at *Velia*, on the
 coast of *Lucania*, on the 19th of *July*¹. From *Rhegium*, or rather *Leu-*
copetra, a promontory near it, he passed over to *Syracuse*, on the 1st
 of *August*, and set sail the next morning towards *Greece*, but was driven
 back by contrary winds to *Leucopetra*; and, after a second attempt, with
 no better success, was forced to wait for the opportunity of a fair wind.
 Ad Att. Here the principal inhabitants of the country came to pay him their com-
 xvi. 7. pliments; some of them fresh from *Rome*, who brought the news of an
 Philip. 1. unexpected turn of affairs there towards a general pacification: "That
 " *Antony* seemed disposed to desist from his pretensions to *Gaul*, submit to
 " the authority of the Senate, and make up matters with *Brutus* and
 " *Cassius*, who had written circular letters to all the principal Senators,
 " to beg their attendance in the Senate on the 1st of *September*; and that
 " *Cicero's* absence was particularly regretted, and even blamed at such
 " a crisis." This agreeable account of things made him presently drop
 all thoughts of pursuing his voyage; in which he was confirmed like-
 wise by letters from *Atticus*; who, contrary to his former advice, pressed
 him now, in strong and pathetic terms, to come back again to *Rome*.
 He returned therefore by the same course which he had before taken,
 and came back to *Velia*, on the 17th of *August*. *Brutus* lay within three
 miles of it with his fleet; and, hearing of his arrival, came immediately
 on foot to salute him: "He declared himself exceedingly pleased with
 " *Cicero's* return; owned that he had never approved, though he had
 " not dissuaded the voyage; thinking it indecent to give advice to a
 " man of his experience; but now told him plainly, that he had escaped
 " too great imputations on his character; the one, of too hasty a des-
 " pair and desertion of the common cause; the other, of the vanity of
 " going to see the *Olympic* games. This last, as *Cicero* says, would have

¹ This was the native place of *Trebatius*; whence he wrote a kind letter to him, dated the 19th of *July*, advising him by no means to sell that family estate, as he then designed, situated so healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people who intirely loved him. *Ep. Fam.* vii. 20. At this place he began his *treatise of Topics*, or the art of finding arguments on any question. It was an abstract of *Aristotle's* piece on the same subject; which *Trebatius* happening once to meet with in *Cicero's* Tusculan library, had begged of him to explain. He drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed be-

fore he came to *Rhegium*, whence he sent it to *Trebatius*, with a letter, dated the 27th. In the same voyage, happening to be looking over his treatise on the *Academic philosophy*, he observed the preface of the third book to be the same that he had prefixed to his book *on glory*, which he had lately sent to *Atticus*. It was his custom, it seems, to prepare at leisure a number of different proems adapted to the general view of his studies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he should afterwards publish; so that by mistake he had used this preface twice; he composed therefore a new one on ship-board for the piece *on glory*. *Ad Att.* xvi. 6. *Middl.* p. 310.

" been

“ been shameful for him in any state of the Republic, but in the pre-
 “ sent unpardonable; and professes himself therefore greatly obliged to
 “ the winds for preserving him from such an infamy, and, like good
 “ citizens, blowing him back to the service of his country.”

Y. R. 709.
 Bef. Chr.
 43.
 408 Conf.

Brutus informed him likewise of what had passed in the Senate on the 1st of August, and how *Piso* had signalized himself by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in favour of the public liberty, in which nobody had the courage to second him: He produced also *Antony's* edict, and their answer to it, which pleased *Cicero* exceedingly; but, on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he found no such reason for it as his first intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at *Rome*, where he arrived on the last of the month.

The Senate met the next morning, to which *Cicero* was particularly summoned by *Antony*, but excused himself by a civil message, as being too much indisposed by the fatigue of his journey. *Antony* took this as an affront, and, in a great rage, openly threatened in the Senate to order his house to be pulled down about his ears². The business of the day was to decree some new and extraordinary honours to the memory of *Cæsar*, with a religious supplication to him as to a divinity³. *Cicero* was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an opposition would not only be fruitless, but dangerous; and for that reason staid away. *Antony*, on the other hand, was desirous to have him there, fancying that he

Middl. p.
 315.

² *Plutarch* in *Cic.* says, “ that *Antony* sent soldiers with orders either to bring him, or set his house on fire; but, being dissuaded from this violence by the interposition of the house, he was satisfied to make *Cicero* lose his pledge.” The Consuls had in former times obliged the Senators to lodge certain pledges in their hands, which they were to lose, if they refused obedience to their orders. But *Cicero* had given no pledge to *Antony*, nor was it now the custom; and, though in his first *Philippic* he exclaims against the injurious treatment he now met with from *Antony*, he must be considered as complaining only of a passionate threat.

³ *Cicero*, *Phil.* i. expresses himself in this manner on the subject of this religious supplication: “ Do you imagine, Conscrip-
 “ Fathers, though I had been forced to at-
 “ tend the house, that I should have given
 “ my vote for decreeing that parental obse-
 “ quies should be mixed with public thank-
 “ givings; that religious rites, inexpressible,
 “ should be introduced among us: That
 “ supplications should be ordered to the

“ dead? I will not say to whom. Had he
 “ been a *Lucius Brutus*, who, with his own
 “ hand, freed his country from regal slav-
 “ ery, and, through a succession of almost
 “ 500 years, transmitted a representative
 “ capable of being fired with the same noble
 “ sentiments, and performing a like glorious
 “ exploit; never should I have been brought
 “ to consent to the decree: Shall the dead
 “ be joined in the worship due to the im-
 “ mortal Gods, and the man who no where
 “ has a monument of parental obsequies,
 “ be honoured with the rites of public sup-
 “ plication! This opinion, Conscrip-
 “ turs, I should have delivered, that I
 “ might have been able easily to vindicate
 “ myself to the *Roman* people, in case that
 “ any heavy blow had fallen upon them
 “ through war, through pestilence, or fa-
 “ mine; part of these indeed we already
 “ feel, and more I am afraid now threaten
 “ us. But the immortal Gods, I hope,
 “ will pardon the people of *Rome*, who do
 “ not approve of this decree, and the Se-
 “ nate, who were compelled to grant it.”

would

Y. R. 709. would either be frightened into a compliance, which would lessen him
 Bef. Cnr. with his own party ; or, by opposing what was intended, make himself
 43. odious to the soldiery. The decree passed without any contradiction.
 58 Conf.

The Senate met again the next day, when *Antony* thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to *Cicero* ; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches, which were afterwards called *his Philippics*. He opened it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage and sudden return ; of his interview with *Brutus*, and his regret at leaving him. He then declared that “ he came “ to second *Piso* ; and, in case of any accidents, of which many seemed “ to surround him, to leave that day’s speech as a monument of his perpetual fidelity to his country.” After complaining of *Antony*’s injurious treatment of him the day before, and condemning the decree to which they were forced to give their consent, he returned thanks to *Piso* for what he had said in that place the month before ; wished that he had been present to second him ; and reproved the other Consuls for betraying their dignity by deserting him. As to public affairs, he dwelt much on *Antony*’s abuse of their decree to confirm *Cæsar*’s acts, and the plundering the temple of *Opis* of those sums, which might have been of great service to the State. He shewed also the unreasonableness of two laws, which *Antony* had proposed : The one to form a third order of Judges to consist of military men : And the other by which those convicted either of riotous or treasonable practices should be at liberty to appeal to the People. He then exhorted the two Consuls to follow the true path to glory, telling them, “ that to be dear to our citizens, to deserve well “ of our country, to be praised, respected, beloved, was truly glorious : “ To be feared and hated always invidious, detestable, weak, and tottering : That *Cæsar*’s fate was a warning to them how much better it “ was to be loved than to be feared : That no man could live happy who “ held life on such terms, that it might be taken from him not only with “ impunity, but with praise.”

Antony was greatly enraged at this speech, and summoned another meeting of the Senate, for the 19th, where he again required *Cicero*’s attendance ; but *Cicero* did not think proper to obey the summons. The Consul made a bitter invective against him, which he had been preparing ever since the last meeting, and in which he charged him with every thing his resentment could suggest : But chiefly insisted on his being not only privy to the murder of *Cæsar*, but the contriver of it, as well as the author of every step which the Conspirators had since taken. *Cicero* assures us, that his intention was to inflame the soldiers to some violence, whom he had placed for that purpose about the avenues of the temple of Concord, where the Senate met, and within hearing even of their debates. This determined him immediately to retire from *Rome*, and its neighbourhood, to his furthest villa’s near *Naples*, where he composed his *second Philippic*, by way of reply to *Antony*,
 not

not delivered in the Senate, as the tenor of it seems to imply, but ^{Y. R. 709.} finished in the country, nor intended to be published, till things were ^{Bef. Chr.} actually come to extremity. The oration is a most bitter invective on ^{43.} *Antony's* whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, ⁴⁰⁸ violence, rapine, heightened with all the colours of wit and eloquence. ^{Conf.}

Brutus and *Cassius*, during these transactions, at last, clearly seeing ^{Middl. p.} that *Antony* meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were grow- ^{321.} ing daily more and more desperate, left *Italy*: And they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following letter in common to *Antony*:

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors, to ANTONY, Consul.

“ IF you are in good health, it is a pleasure to us. We have read
 “ your letter, exactly of a piece with your edict, abusive, threatening,
 “ wholly unworthy to be sent from you to us. For our part, *Antony*,
 “ we have never done you any injury; nor imagined that you would
 “ think it strange that Prætors and men of our rank should require any
 “ thing, by edict, of a Consul. But, if you are angry that we have
 “ presumed to do it, give us leave to be concerned that you would not
 “ indulge that privilege at least to *Brutus* and *Cassius*: For, as to our
 “ raising troops, exacting contributions, soliciting armies, sending ex-
 “ presses beyond sea; since you deny that you ever complained of
 “ it, we believe you; and take it as a proof of your good intention:
 “ We do not, indeed, own any such practices; yet think it strange,
 “ when you objected nothing of that kind, that you could not contain
 “ yourself from reproaching us with the death of *Cæsar*. Consider with
 “ yourself, whether it is to be endured, that, for the sake of the pub-
 “ lic quiet and liberty, Prætors cannot depart from their rights by E-
 “ dict, but the Consul must threaten them with arms. Do not think
 “ to frighten us with such threats: It is not agreeable to our character
 “ to be moved by any danger: Nor must *Antony* pretend to command
 “ those by whose means he now lives free. If there were other reasons
 “ to dispose us to raise a civil war, your letter would have no effect to
 “ hinder it: For threats can have no influence on those who are free.
 “ But you know very well that it is not possible for us to be driven to
 “ any thing against our will; and for that reason, perhaps, you threaten,
 “ that, whatever we do, it may seem to be the effect of fear. These
 “ then are our sentiments: We wish to see you live with honour and
 “ splendor in a free Republic; have no desire to quarrel with you;
 “ yet value our liberty more than your friendship. It is your business
 “ to consider again and again what you attempt, and what you can main-
 “ tain; and to reflect, not how long *Cæsar* lived, but how short a time
 “ he reigned: We pray the Gods that your counsels may be salutary
 “ both to the Republic and to yourself; if not, wish, at least, that
 “ they

Y. R. 709. "they may hurt you as little as may consist with the safety and dignity
 Ref. Chr. "of the Republic. August the 4th."

43.
 408 Conf.

Middl. p.
 213

The two Prætors were to succeed of course to the government of some province at the expiration of their office. *Cæsar* had intended *Macedonia* for *Brutus*, and *Syria* for *Cassius*: But as these were two of the most important commands of the Empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time when their enemies were taking measures to destroy them; so *Antony* contrived to get two other provinces of an inferior kind decreed to them, *Crete* to *Brutus*, and *Cyrene* to *Cassius*; and, by a law of the people, procured *Macedonia* and *Syria* to be conferred upon himself and his colleague *Dolabella*; in consequence of which, he sent his brother *Caius* in all haste, to possess himself of the first, and *Dolabella* to secure the second, before their rivals could be in a condition to seize them by force, of which they were greatly apprehensive; taking it for granted that this was the project which *Brutus* and *Cassius* were now meditating. *Cassius* had acquired a great reputation in the East by his conduct in the *Parthian* war, and *Brutus* was highly honoured in *Greece* for his reputation of virtue and love of philosophy: They resolved therefore to slight the petty provinces which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerful ones that *Cæsar* had promised them: And with that view had provided the fleets above-mentioned, to transport themselves to those countries, which they had destined for the scene of action; *Brutus* to *Macedonia*, *Cassius* to *Syria*; where we shall soon have occasion to give a farther account of their success.

Fp. Fam.
 xii. 2.
 Melm. xii.
 24.

The desperate state of the party of the Conspirators, at this time, cannot be better represented than by giving the reader a letter of *Cicero* to *Cassius*: "It gives me great pleasure to find that my late speech [his first Philippic] "has received your approbation. If I could more frequently enforce the same sentiments, the liberties of the Republic "might easily be recovered. But that far more desperate and detestable scoundrel [*Antony*] than he at whose death you said, *the worst of all villains is expired*, is watching for a pretence to begin his murderous purposes: And his single view in charging me with having "advised the killing of *Cæsar* is merely to excite the veteran soldiers "against my life. But this is a danger which I am not afraid to hazard, "since he gives me a share with you in the honour of that glorious deed. Hence it is, however, that neither *Piso*, who first ventured to "inveigh against the measures of *Antony*; nor myself, who made a "speech afterwards to the same purpose, about a month afterwards; "nor *P. Servilius*, who followed my example, can any of us appear "with safety in the Senate. For this inhuman gladiator has evidently "a design upon our lives, and he hoped to have rendered me the first "victim of his cruel vengeance. With this sanguinary view he entered
 " the

“ the Senate on the 19th of *September*, having several days before re-
 “ tired to the villa of *Metellus*, in order to prepare an inflammatory
 “ speech against me. But who shall reconcile the silent meditations of
 “ eloquence with the noisy revels of lewdness and debauchery? Ac-
 “ cordingly, it was the opinion of all his audience, that he could not
 “ so properly be said to have delivered a speech, as to have discharged,
 “ with his usual indecency, the horrid fumes of his scandalous intem-
 “ perance.

“ You are persuaded, you tell me, that my credit and eloquence will be
 “ able to produce some good effect. And some indeed it has produced,
 “ considering the sad situation of our affairs. It has rendered the people
 “ sensible that there are three persons of *consular* rank, who, because
 “ they are in the interest of the Republic, and have spoken their senti-
 “ ments in the Senate with freedom, cannot attend that assembly with-
 “ out the danger of being assassinated. And this is all the good you are
 “ to expect from my oratory. A certain relation of yours ^b is so capti-
 “ vated with his new alliance, that he no longer concerns himself in the
 “ success of your games; but, on the contrary, is mortified at those
 “ peals of applause with which your brother ^c was distinguished. Ano-
 “ ther of your family has been softened by some grants, which it is pre-
 “ tended that *Cæsar* had designed to confer upon him. This, howe-
 “ ver, might be borne with patience: But is it not utterly beyond all
 “ endurance, that there should be a man, who dares openly to avow that
 “ he supports the measures of that scoundrel *Antony*, with the hopes
 “ that his son will be chosen Consul, when you and *Brutus* are intitled to
 “ be Candidates for that office? As to our friend *L. Cella*, a fatal des-
 “ pair (for so he terms it himself) has almost intirely driven him from
 “ the Senate. *L. Cæsar*, that firm and excellent patriot, is prevented
 “ from coming thither by his ill state of health: And *S. Sulpicius*, who
 “ is a true friend to the cause of liberty, and whose authority might be
 “ of infinite service in the present conjuncture, is unhappily absent from
 “ *Rome*. After having mentioned these, I must take the liberty to say,
 “ that I cannot add any others, excepting the Consuls elect, who may
 “ be justly deemed as well-wishers to the Republic. The truth is, these
 “ are the only persons upon whose advice and authority the Com-
 “ monwealth can depend. And small, indeed, would their number
 “ be, even in the best of times: How unequal then must their strength
 “ be found, to combat against the worst? All our hopes, therefore,
 “ rest intirely upon you and *Brutus*; I mean, if you have not withdrawn
 “ from us with a view only to your own preservation: For, if that should
 “ be the case, we have nothing, alas! to hope neither from *Brutus* nor
 “ from you. But if, on the contrary, you are forming some glorious

^b *Lepidus* is supposed to be the person here meant. He was related to *Cassius* by his own marriage, and had lately married his son to *Antony's* daughter. *Melm.*

^c He conducted the games which *Cassius* gave as Prætor.

Y. R. 709. "enterprise, worthy of your exalted characters; I doubt not but the
 Ref. Chr. " Republic, by your assistance, will soon recover her liberties; and I
 401 Conf. " have only to wish, that I may not be destroyed ere that happy day
 ——— " shall arrive. In the mean time, my best services neither are, nor shall
 " be wanting to your family: And, whether they should apply to me
 " for that purpose, or not, I shall never fail to give them proofs of my
 " friendship towards you. Farewell."

Antony kept no longer any measures with the Republican party: He declared himself more and more openly every day against the Conspirators, and, to ingratiate himself with the veteran soldiers, threatened them in his edicts, and discovered an intention to revenge the death of *Cæsar*. After the decree of a religious supplication to *Cæsar*, and parental obsequies above-mentioned, he erected a statue in the *Rostra*, and inscribed it, *To the most worthy Parent of his country*. These acts were so many public and solemn declarations, that the Conspirators were not only murderers, but parricides. All the hopes, therefore, of the Republicans were now grounded in the quarrel between *Antony* and *Octavius*. The latter, perceiving there was nothing to be done for him in the city against a Consul armed with supreme power both civil and military, formed a design against *Antony's* life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized with poniards in *Antony's* house, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The story was supposed by many to be forged by *Antony*, to justify his treatment of *Octavius*, and his depriving him of the estate of his uncle: But the greatest part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact, and *Cicero* says, that all men of sense both believed and applauded it. These two Chiefs of the *Cæsareans* now made open preparations for war. *Antony* left *Rome* in the beginning of *October*, in order to meet and engage in his service four legions from *Macedonia*, which had been sent thither by *Cæsar* on their way to *Parthia*, and were now, by his orders, returning to *Italy*. *Octavius*, on his side, sent also some of his adherents, with money, to engage them to prefer his service to *Antony's*, while he himself went into *Campania*, to solicit the veterans distributed in the colonies about *Capua*. Those of *Calatia* and *Casilinum* immediately joined him, to the number of 1000, to each of whom he distributed 500 denarii: These were afterwards called *Evocati*. *Antony* was not so well received at *Brundisium*, where he arrived the 8th of *October*: For the soldiers, discontented with his behaviour towards the Conspirators, received him without any signs of joy, and followed him in silence to his tribunal, to hear what he had to say for himself. He began by reproaching them with their ingratitude, in not being sensible of their obligations to him, who, instead of sending them upon an expedition to *Parthia*, brought them into *Italy*; but when he came to the point, and offered them only 100 denarii, whilst *Octavius* gave five times as much to those who followed him, they all left his tribunal. This affront put him

him into such a rage, that, calling together the Centurions, whom he suspected to be the authors of their disaffection, he ordered them to be massacred in his own lodgings, while he and his wife *Fulvia* stood calmly looking on. *Octavius*'s emissaries greatly profited by this mad behaviour, and spread among the soldiers billets in which they compared the usage they had met with from *Cæsar*, and what they might expect from his son and heir, with this treatment of *Antony*. All he could do by his promises and threats was to engage the legion of the *Alaudæ** to follow him: The other three, without taking his money or giving him any mark of affection, took their route along the *Adriatic* coast, without declaring yet for any side.

Antony staid in those parts till the end of *October*. *Octavius*, on his side, was very active in soliciting the veterans in all the colonies, and was equally pressing to gain the Republicans over to his interest, and particularly *Cicero*, by whose influence he hoped to gain the others, offering to be their head against *Antony*. He wrote, therefore, letter after letter to *Cicero*¹ to assure him of his good dispositions, and to ask his

O O 2

advice,

* This legion was raised by *J. Cæsar* and composed of the natives of *Gaul* armed and disciplined after the *Roman* manner, to which he gave the freedom of *Rome*. He called it by a *Gallic* name *Alaudæ*; which signifies a kind of lark or little bird with a tuft or crest rising upon its head: In imitation of which this legion wore a crest of feathers on the helmet; from which origin the word was adopted into the *Latin* tongue. *Antony*, out of compliment to these troops, and to assure himself of their fidelity, had lately made a *judiciary law*, by which he erected a third class of Judges, to be drawn from the officers of this legion, and added to the other two of *Senators* and *Knights*; for which *Cicero* often reproaches him as a most infamous prostitution of the dignity of the Republic. *Philipp.* i. 8. *Middl.* p. 325.

¹ "I had two letters the same day from *Octavius*; he presses me to come immediately to *Rome*; is resolved, he says, to do nothing without the Senate.—I tell him that there can be no Senate till the 1st of *January*, which I take to be true. He adds also: *Nor without my advice*. In a word, he urges: I hang back: I cannot trust his age; do not know his real intentions; will do nothing without *Pansa*; am afraid that *Antony* may prove too strong for him; and therefore unwilling to stir from the sea; yet would not have any thing vigorous done with-

out me. *Varro* does not like the conduct of the boy, but I do. He has firm troops, and may join with *D. Brutus*: What he does he does openly; musters his troops at *Capua*; pays them; we shall have a war, I see, instantly." *Ad Att.* xvi. 9.

"I have letters every day from *Octavius*, to undertake his affairs; to come to him at *Capua*; to save the State a second time: He resolves to come directly to *Rome*.

"Urg'd to the fight, 'tis shameful to refuse, Whilst fear yet prompts the safer part to chuse." *Hem.* II. vii.

"He has hitherto acted, and acts still with vigour, and will come to *Rome* with a great force. Yet he is but a boy: He thinks the Senate may be called immediately: But who will come? or, if they do, who, in this uncertainty of affairs, will declare against *Antony*? He will be a good guard to us on the 1st of *January*; or it may come, perhaps, to blows before. The great towns favour the boy strangely—They flock to him from all parts, and exhort him to proceed: Could you ever have thought it?" *Ibid.* 11. They were not therefore so much in the interest of the Conspirators, as *Cicero* sometimes affirms.

In the hurry of all these politics, he was prosecuting his studies still with his usual application; and, besides the *second Philippic* already mentioned, now finished his book of *Offices*,

Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr.43.
408 Conf.Philipp. ii.
et v.

A. P. 7.

651.

Y. R. 723. advice, whether he should advance to *Rome*, before *Antony*'s return, with
 B. C. 43. 3000 veterans, or keep the post of *Cepus* and oppose his progress there;
 408. Cons. or go to the *Macedonian* legions, who were marching along the *Adri-*
 ——— *atic* sea, and who, he hoped, were in his interest. *Cicero* advised him
 to march to *Rome*, where he was likely to have the lower people on his
 side. He did so, and, being produced in the *Rejira* by the Tribune *Ca-*
natius, made a speech against *Antony*, declaring that he came to deliver
 the Republic from his oppression: He nevertheless let drop some ex-
 pressions which greatly startled the Republicans: For, stretching out his
 hand to *Cæsar*'s statue, he made use of this oath: *So may I arrive at the*
honour of my father. He did not think proper to wait *Antony*'s return,
 but left the city to join the rest of his soldiers.

Antony, in his way back to *Rome*, marched with colours displayed,
 and raised contributions in all the great towns: He entered the city at
 the head of his legion, and posted it about his own house, giving the
 word of command, and obliging them to do duty as in a camp. He
 published at the same time several fierce and threatening edicts, in
 which he gave *Octavius* the name of *Spartacus*; reproached him with the
 ignobleness of his birth; charged *Cicero* with being the author of all his
 councils; abused young *Quintus* as a perfidious wretch, who had offered
 to kill both his father and uncle; tormented three of the Tribunes, under
 pain of death, to appear in the Senate; *Q. Cassius*, the brother of the
 Conspirator, *Carfulenus*, and *Caninius*. In this humour he summoned
 the Senate on the 24th of *November*, with severe threats to those who
 should absent themselves; yet he himself neglected to come, and ad-
 journed it by edict till the 28th. But, while all people were in expec-
 tation of some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly,
 which he had prepared, *to declare young Cæsar a public enemy*; he hap-
 pened to receive the news that two of the legions from *Brundisium*, the
 fourth, and that called *the Martial*, had actually declared for *Octavius*,
 and had posted themselves at *Alba* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. This
 shocked him so much, that, instead of prosecuting what he had pro-
 jected, he only huddled over what nobody opposed, the decree of a
 supplication to *Lepidus*; and the same evening, after he had distributed
 to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the several provinces of the
 Empire, which few or none of them durst accept from so precarious a
 title, he changed the habit of the Consul for that of a General, and
 left the city with precipitation, to put himself at the head of his army,
 and possess himself by force of *Cisalpine Gaul*, assigned to him by a pre-
 tended law of the People, against the will of the Senate.

On the news of his retreat, *Cicero* presently quitted his books and the
 country, and set out towards *Rome*. He seemed to be called by the

Offices, or *the Duties of man*, for the use of his son. He now also drew up, as it is thought, his *Stoical Paradoxes* or an illustration of the peculiar doctrines of that sect, from the examples and characters of their own countrymen, which he addressed to *Brutus*. Middl. p. 327.

voice

voice of the Republic, to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a Consul, and scarce a single Prætor in the city, nor any troops from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the 9th of *December*, and immediately conferred with *Pansa* (for *Hirtius* lay very ill) about the measures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the consulship. Before his leaving the country, *Oppius* had been with him to press him again to undertake the affairs of *Octavius* and the protection of his troops: But his answer was, "that he could not consent to it, unless he were first assured, that *Octavius* would not only be no enemy, but even a friend to *Brutus*; that he could be of no service to *Octavius* till the 1st of *January*, and there would be an opportunity before that time of trying *Octavius's* disposition in the case of *Cæsa*, who had been named by *Cæsar* to the tribunate, and was to enter upon it on the 10th of *December*: For, if *Octavius* did not oppose or disturb his admission, that would be a proof of his good intentions." *Oppius* undertook for all this on the part of *Octavius*, and *Octavius* himself confirmed it, and suffered *Cæsa*, who gave the first blow to *Cæsar*, to enter quietly into his office. The Tribunes, in the mean time, in the absence of the superior magistrates, called a meeting of the Senate on the 19th. *Cicero* had resolved not to appear there any more till he should be supported by the new Consuls; but happening to receive, the day before, the edict of *D. Brutus*, by which he prohibited *Antony* the entrance of his province, and declared that he would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in its duty to the Senate, he thought it necessary for the public service and the present encouragement of *Brutus*, to procure, as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favour: He went, therefore, to the Senate very early, which, being known to the other Senators, presently drew together a full house, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of the public affairs.

The Senate being assembled, the Tribunes acquainted them, that the business of that meeting was to provide a guard for the security of the new Consuls, and the protection of the Senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking *the whole State of the Republic* into consideration. Upon this *Cicero* opened the debate, and represented to them "the danger of their present condition, "and the necessity of speedy and resolute councils against an enemy, "who lost no time in attempting their ruin. That they had been ruined "indeed before, had it not been for the courage and virtue of young "Cæsar, who, contrary to all expectation, and without being even desired to do what no man thought possible for him to do, had, by "his private authority and expence, raised a strong army of veterans, "and baffled the designs of *Antony*: That if *Antony* had succeeded at "Brundisium, and prevailed with the legions to follow him, he would "have filled the city at his return with blood and slaughter: That it

" was.

Y. R. 709.
Bel. Clu.
43.
408 Cor. f.

Ad Ant.
xvi. 15

Y. R. 709 " was their part to authorise and confirm what *Cæsar* had done, and to
 Ref. Chr. " impower him to do more, by employing his troops in the farther service
 43. " of the State; and to make a special provision also for the two legions
 408 Conf. " which declared for him against *Antony*. As to *D. Brutus*, who had pro-
 " mised by edict to preserve *Gaul* in the obedience of the Senate, that he
 " was a citizen born for the good of the Republic; the imitator of his
 " ancestors; nay, had even exceeded their merit: That it was necessary
 " therefore to confirm by public authority what *Brutus* had done by
 " private, in preserving the province of *Gaul*, the flower of *Italy*, and
 " the bulwark of the empire. Then, after largely inveighing against
 " *Antony's* character, and enumerating particularly all his cruelties and
 " violences, he exhorts them, in a pathetic manner, to act with cou-
 " rage in the defence of the Republic, or die bravely in the attempt:
 " That now was the time either to recover their liberty, or to live for
 " ever slaves: That if the fatal day was come, and *Rome* was destined
 " to perish, it would be a shame for them, the Governors of the world,
 " not to fall with as much courage as gladiators were used to do, and
 " die with dignity rather than live with disgrace. He puts them in mind
 " of the many advantages which they had towards encouraging their
 " hopes and resolution: The body of the people alert and eager in the
 " cause; young *Cæsar* in the guard of the city; *Brutus* of *Gaul*; two
 " Consuls of the greatest prudence, virtue, concord between themselves;
 " who had been meditating nothing else, for many months past, but the
 " public tranquillity: To all which he promises his own attention and
 " vigilance both day and night for their safety. On the whole, there-
 " fore, he gives his vote and opinion that the new Consuls *C. Pansa* and
 " *A. Hirtius* should take care that the Senate may meet with security on
 " the 1st of *January*: That *D. Brutus*, Emperor and Consul elect, had
 " merited greatly of the Republic, by defending the authority and the
 " liberty of the Senate and People of *Rome*: That his army, the towns
 " and colonies of his province, should be publicly thanked and praised
 " for their fidelity to him: That it should be decreed of the last conse-
 " quence to the Republic, that *D. Brutus* and *L. Plancus* (who com-
 " manded the farther *Gaul*) Emperor and Consul elect, as well as all
 " others, who had the command of provinces, should keep them in their
 " duty to the Senate, till successors were appointed by the Senate: And
 " since, by the pains, virtue, and conduct of young *Cæsar*, and the as-
 " sistance of the veteran soldiers who followed him, the Republic had
 " been delivered, and was still defended from the greatest dangers; and
 " since the *Martial* and fourth legions, under that excellent citizen and
 " Quæstor *Egnatuleius*, had voluntarily declared for the authority of the
 " Senate, and the liberty of the people; that the Senate should take
 " special care that due honours and thanks be paid to them for their
 " eminent services: And that the new Consuls, on their entrance into
 " office, should make it their first business to see all this executed in
 " proper

“ proper form.” To all this the House unanimously agreed, and ordered Y. R. 709.
Bef. Chr. a decree to be drawn conformably to his opinion.

From the Senate he passed directly to the Forum, and, in a speech 43.
408 Conf. to the people, gave an account of what had passed. Those speeches, which stand the *third* and *fourth* in the order of his *Philippics*, were extremely well received by the Senate and People; speaking afterwards Philipp. vi. of the latter of them to the same People, he says: *If that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped sufficient fruit from it, when you all, with one mind and voice, cried out, that I had twice saved the Republic.* As he had now broken all measures with *Antony*, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation, so he published, probably, about this time, his second *Philippic*, which had hitherto been communicated only to a few friends.

The short remainder of this turbulent year was spent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new Consuls and the defence of the State: And the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, from the certain accounts that were brought to *Rome* that *Antony* was actually besieging *Mutina*, into which *Brutus*, unable to oppose him in the field, had thrown himself with all his forces, as the strongest town of his province, and the best provided to sustain a siege. Young *Cæsar*, in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the Senate, but with the advice of *Cicero*, by which he pretended to govern himself in every step, marched out of *Rome* at the head of his troops, and followed *Antony* into the province; in order to observe his motions, and take all occasions of distressing him; as well as to encourage *Brutus* to defend himself with vigour till the Consuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

C H A P. XIII.

The Senate sends an embassy to Antony with peremptory orders to raise the siege of Mutina, and Hirtius marches at the head of an army to join Octavius. Antony refuses to comply with the orders of the Senate, and his proposals are reciprocally rejected: It is voted that there is a tumult: That Antony is an adversary, and that the town shall take the Sagum. M. Brutus's success in Macedonia. Trebonius surprised and killed by Dolabella in Asia, who is voted a public enemy by the Senate. Cassius makes himself master of Syria and all the forces in the East. Lepidus exhorts the Senate to pacific measures; and Antony endeavours to draw off the Consuls and Octavius from the interest of Cicero and his party without effect. Two successive battles in which Antony is defeated, and both Consuls lose their lives.

A. HIRTIUS,
C. VIBIUS PANSA, } Consuls.

THE

V. R. 12.
 125. 126.
 42.
 409. Cons.

THE two Consuls were no sooner inaugurated, than the Senate assembled to consider of the present state of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been resolved upon at their last meeting, and to contrive some farther means for the security of the public tranquillity. They both spoke with great spirit and firmness, offering themselves as leaders, in asserting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the assembly to courage and resolution in the defence of so good a cause², and, when they had done, they called upon *Q. Lælius Calenus*, to deliver his sentiments the first. He had been Consul four years before, and was father-in-law to *Pansa*, which, by custom, was a sufficient ground for paying him that compliment. *Calenus's* opinion was, *that, before they proceeded to acts of hostility, they should send an embassy to Antony, to admonish him to desist from his attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the authority of the Senate.* *Piso* and several others were of the same mind, alledging it to be unjust and cruel to condemn a man, till they had first heard what he had to say for himself.

Phil. v. 1,
 2, 3.

But *Cicero*, in a speech which makes his fifth *Philippic*, opposed this motion with great warmth, “not only as vain and foolish, but dangerous and pernicious: He declared it dishonourable to treat with any one who was in arms against his country, until he laid them down, and sued for peace, in which case no man would be more moderate or equitable than himself: That they had in effect proclaimed him an enemy already, and had nothing left but to confirm it by decree. That, whatever was the purpose of their embassy or message, it would signify nothing; if, to beg him to be quiet, he would despise it; if, to command him, he would not obey it.—That, without any possible good, it would be a certain damage; would necessarily create delay, and obstruction to the operations of the war; check the zeal of the army, damp the spirits of the people, whom they now saw so brisk and eager in the cause. That his opinion therefore was to make no farther mention of an embassy, but to enter instantly into action; that there should be a cessation of all civil business; a public tumult proclaimed; the shops shut up; and that, instead of their usual gown, they should all put on the *Sagum*, or habit of war; and that levies of soldiers should be made in *Rome*, and through *Italy*, without any exception of privilege or dismissal from service.—That the very fame of this vigour would restrain the madness of *Antony*, and let the world see that the case was not, as he pretended, *a struggle only of contending parties, but a real war against the Commonwealth.*—That the whole Republic should be committed to the Consuls, to take care that it received no detriment; and that pardon should be offered to those of *Antony's* army, who should return to their duty

² Ut oratio consulum animum meum crexit, spemque attulit non modo salutis conferenda verum etiam dignitatis pristinae recuperandae. *Phil. v. 1.*

“ before

“before the 1st of February.”—The Consuls favoured the opinion of *Cæ-
lenus*, but did not suffer the question to be put to the vote, seeing a
clear majority on the side of *Cicero* *. The debate, being continued till
night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the same
warmth for three days successively. The firmness of *Antony*’s friends,
and the reasonableness of the proposal, prevailed at last for an embassy;
and three Consular Senators were nominated to it, *S. Sulpitius*, *L. Pijus*,
and *L. Philippus*. But their commission was strictly limited, and drawn
up by *Cicero* himself; giving them no power to treat with *Antony*, but
only to carry to him the peremptory commands of the Senate to quit
the siege of *Mutina*, and to desist from all hostilities in *Gaul*. They had
instructions likewise, after the delivery of their message, to speak with
D. Brutus in *Mutina*, and signify to him and his army, that the Senate
and people had a grateful sense of their services, which would one day
be a great honour to them. The unusual length of these debates
greatly raised the curiosity of the city, and drew the whole body of the
people into the Forum, to expect the issue; where they called upon
Cicero, with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deli-
rations. He went therefore directly from the Senate into the Rostra,
being produced by *Aspuleius*, the Tribune, and pronounced his *sixth Phi-
lippic*. His seventh he pronounced in the Senate, during the embassy, to
lay open the intrigues of *Calenus*, who was endeavouring to obviate
the offence which might be given by *Antony*’s refusal to comply
with what was enjoined; contriving specious answers for him, and re-
presenting them as a reasonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes
to cool the ardour of the city for the prosecution of the war. He kept
a constant correspondence with *Antony*, and took care to publish such of
his letters as were proper to depress the hopes and courage of his adver-
saries, and keep up the spirits of his friends.

The Consuls in the mean while were taking care that the expectation
of the effect of the embassy should not supersede their preparations for
war; and agreed between themselves, that one of them should march
immediately to *Gaul* with the troops which were already provided, and
the other stay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on
with great success both in the city and the country: For *Cicero* tells us,
that all the capital towns of *Italy* were vying with each other in volun-
tary contributions of money and soldiers; and in decrees of infamy and
disgrace to those who refused to list themselves into the public service.
The first part fell by lot to *Hirtius*; who, though but lately recovered
from a dangerous disorder, marched without loss of time at the
head of a brave army; and particularly of the two legions, the *Marjial*
and the *fourth*, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the
whole, and now put themselves under the command and auspices of the
Consul: And this seems to prove that there was a good understanding

* *Aspin* says, that *Solvius*, one of the Tribunes, interposed his negative.

Y. R. 710. between *Hirtius* and *Octavius*; and that the last could rely upon the
 B. C. Chr. Consul^a. With these, in conjunction with *Octavius*, he hoped to ob-
 42. 4-9 Conf. struct all the designs of *Antony*, and prevent his gaining any advantage
 — against *Decimus*, till *Pansa* could join them; which would make them
 superior in force, and enable them to give him battle, with good assu-
 rance of victory. He contented himself, in the mean while, with dis-
 possessing *Antony* of some of his posts, and distressing him, by straitening
 his quarters and opportunities of forage; in which he had some success,
 as he signified in a letter to his colleague *Pansa*, which was communica-
 ted to the Senate: “I have possessed myself, says he, of *Claterna*, and
 “driven out *Antony*’s garrison; his horse were routed in the action,
 and some of them slain.”

Phomp. m. 2. The ambassadors returned about the beginning of *February*, having
 332. been retarded, somewhat longer than they intended, by the death of *S. Sulpicius*. They reported to the Senate, that *Antony* refused to perform any part of what was required, and would not suffer them to speak with *Brutus*, but continued to batter the town with great fury in their presence: And they laid before the assembly some conditions of his own, which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him^b. The purport of them was, “that the Senate should as-
 “sign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other
 “grants which he and *Dolabella* had made in their consulship; that all
 “his decrees from *Cæsar*’s books and papers should stand firm; that
 “no account should be demanded of the money taken from the temple
 “of *Opis*; nor any inquiry made into the conduct of the seven Com-
 “missioners created to divide the lands to the veteran soldiers; and that
 “his judiciary law should not be repealed: On these terms he offered
 “to give up *Cisalpine Gaul*, provided that he might have the greater
 “*Gaul* in exchange for five years, with an army of six legions, to be
 “completed out of the troops of *D. Brutus*.” This report contri-
 buted greatly towards bringing the house into *Cicero*’s sentiments;
 but, contrary to expectation, he found *Calpurnius*’s party still strong enough
 to give him much trouble, and even to carry some points against him,

^a *Cicero*, in one of his letters to *Brutus*, says that the conduct of *Octavius* was truer to the interest of the state than that of *Hirtius*’s; which only proves that *Octavius* was a better dissembler.

^b *Appian* tells us, that the Commissioners, ashamed to have brought *Antony* so insolent a command, delivered it into his hands without saying a word. That *Antony* at sight of it fell into a rage, and uttered many violent threats against the Senate, and *Cicero* in particular; telling the deputies that it amazed him that *Cæsar*, who had done such mighty services to the *Roman Empire*,

should be esteemed a tyrant, and that men should not have the same opinion of *Cicero*, who, having been made a prisoner of war and pardoned, now sided with the murderers of his merciful conqueror; favouring *Decimus*, whom he a little before detested; and supporting in the government of *Gaul* the man named by the pretended tyrant against the Consul named by the people; that he had consented to the amnesty for the sake of *two men*, whom he respected; but that he would annul that indemnity, with which they were not content.

all tending to soften the rigour of his motions, and to give them a favourable turn towards *Antony*. He moved the Senate to decree that *a war or rebellion was actually commenced*; they carried it for *a tumult*: He urged them to *declare Antony an enemy*; they carried it for the softer term of an *adversary*: He proposed, that all persons should be prohibited from going to *Antony*; they excepted *Varius Cotyla*, one of his Lieutenants, who was then in the Senate, taking notes of every thing that passed. In these votes *Paſſa* himself and all the *Consular Senators* concurred; even *L. Caesar*, who, though a true friend to liberty, yet, being *Antony's* uncle, thought himself obliged by decency to vote on the milder side. But *Cicero*, in his turn, easily threw out, what was warmly pressed on the other side, *the proposal of a second embassy*; and carried likewise the main question, of requiring the citizens to change their ordinary gown for the *sagum, or habit of war*; by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. *Cicero*, though all *Consular Senators* were excused on these occasions from changing their habit, put it on immediately. In a letter to *Cassius*, he gives the following short account of the state of things at this time. “We have excellent Consuls, but most shameful Consuls: A brave Senate, but the lower they are in dignity, the braver: Nothing firmer and better than the people, and all *Italy* universally: But nothing more detestable and infamous than our ambassadors *Philip* and *Piso*; who, when sent only to carry the orders of the Senate to *Antony*, none of which he would comply with, brought back of their own accord intolerable demands from him; wherefore all the world now flock about me, and I am grown popular in a salutary cause.” The Senate met again the next day to draw into form and perfect what had been resolved in the preceding debate, and *Cicero* took the occasion to expostulate with them for their lenity the day before, which is the subject of his *8th Philippic*. The ninth was pronounced the day following, the Senate being assembled to deliberate on the proper honours to be decreed to the memory of *Sulpicius*, who died upon the embassy: *Cicero*, after speaking largely in his praise, advised to pay him all the honours which had ever been paid to any who had lost their lives in the service of their country; *a public funeral, sepulchre, and statue*. The statue was objected to by *Servilius*, but *Cicero* carried it; and we are told by a writer of the *third century*, that it remained to his time in the *Rostra of Augustus* ^P.

Y. R. 710.

Bel. Chr.

42.

409 Conf.

Phil. xii. 7.

Philip. viii.

1, 10.

Ep. Fam.

xii. 4.

Belin. xiii.

6.

Pomponius

de origine

juris.

The Senate had heard nothing of *Brutus* and *Cassius* from the time of their leaving *Italy*, till *Brutus* now sent public letters to the *Consuls*, giving a particular account of his success against *Antony's* brother *Caius*, in securing *Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece*, with all the several armies in those countries, to the interests of the Republic. *Brutus*, when he left *Italy*, sailed directly for *Athens*; where he spent some time in concerting

^P He was esteemed the ablest lawyer in *Rome*, and left behind him near a hundred and eighty books on nice and difficult questions of the law. Digest. l. i. tit. 2. parag. 43.

V. R. 710. measures how to accomplish this design^a. Here he gathered about
 Def. Chr. him all the young Nobility and Gentry of *Rome*, who on account of
 422. their education had been sent to this celebrated school of learning; and
 405. Conf. among the rest *M. Cicero*, whom he made one of his Lieutenants, tho' he was but twenty years old, and of whom he gives in his public and private letters a very great character^b. Many of *Pompey's* soldiers, who had fought at *Pharsalia*, and were dispersed in the country, readily joined a General who defended the same cause. A legion commanded by *L. Piso*, one of *C. Antony's* Lieutenants, surrendered itself to young *Cicero*. Some stragglers of *Delabella's* army, and two separate bodies of his horse in their march through *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*, deserted their leaders, and came over to him; but what chiefly strengthened him was the accession of *Q. Hortensius*, the Proconsul of *Macedonia*; who, instead of keeping the province for *Antony's* brother, delivered it up to *Brutus*, together with the command of all the troops. These forces were soon considerably augmented by three legions, under the command of *Vatinius*, who had been sent by *Cæsar* into *Illyricum* to suppress some commotions there. But the people of the country, upon the news of *Cæsar's* death, attacked him, and forced him to retire to *Dyrrhachium*. During these transactions, *C. Antonius* arrived at *Apollonia*, with seven cohorts, and set out immediately to secure the troops under *Vatinius*, but *Brutus* got there before him; and *Vatinius*, knowing the troops to be well affected to his enemy, opened the gates, and delivered them up to him. *Brutus's*^c letters informed the Consuls of this success, and he promised soon to give a good account of *Antony* himself.

VL. ill. p. 164. *Pansa* no sooner received the letters, than he summoned the Senate to acquaint them with the contents. After they were read, the Consul

^a *D. c.* l. 47, tells us, that he and *Cassius* were received at *Athens* with all imaginable honours, and that the *Athenians* erected statues to them, which they placed near those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, who had formerly delivered their state from tyranny.

^b He took also into his service young *Hirax*, whose father, though no more than a freedman and a collector of taxes by profession, gave him an equal education with the Senators children: He served in the rank of military Tribune.

^c *Brutus C. Antonio fratri M. Antonii in Macedonia, Vatinioque circa Dyrrhachium violentes legiones extorserat; sed Antonium bello laceraverat; Vatinium dignatione obruerat; cum & Brutus cui libet ducum præferendus videretur, et Vatinius nulli nomini non esset postferendus. Vel. Pat. ii. 69.* This is the last time we hear any thing of *Vatinius*: He died probably soon after. The severe censure of *Paterculus* is grounded

probably on the abuse contained in *Cicero's* invective against him, where he says, *no one could look upon him without a sigh, or speak of him without execration; that he was the dread of his neighbours, the disgrace of his kindred, and the utter abhorrence of the public in general.* At least his behaviour both in the city and the field shew him to have been a man of spirit and parts; and perhaps his moral character was not so bad as the orator has painted it: The same *Cicero*, in a letter to *Vatinius*, *Fam. v. 11*, writes in the following strain:

“I am by no means surprised to find
 “that you are sensible of my services; on
 “the contrary, I perfectly well know, and
 “you have upon all occasions declared,
 “that no man ever possessed a more grate-
 “ful heart . . . and there is no employ-
 “ment in which I can be engaged upon
 “your account, that I shall not think both
 “easy and *honourable*.”

spoke

spoke largely in the praises of Brutus; extolled his conduct and services; and moved that public honours and thanks should be decreed to him: And then, according to his custom, called upon his father-in-law Calpurnius to declare his sentiments the first, who, in a premeditated speech delivered from writing, acknowledged “Brutus’s letters to be well and properly drawn; but, since what he had done was done without any commission and public authority, that he should be required to deliver up his forces to the orders of the Senate, or the proper Governors of the provinces.” Cicero spoke next, and pronounced his tenth Philippic, which is an expostulation with Calpurnius, on account of his enmity to the Brutus’s, and a panegyric upon the whole conduct of M. Brutus, which he concluded by proposing the following decree: “Whereas, by the pains, counsel, industry, and virtue of Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, in the utmost distress of the Republic, the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, with all their legions, armies, horse, are now in the power of the Consuls, Senate, and People of Rome; that Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, has acted therein well, and for the good of the Republic; agreeably to his character, the dignity of his ancestors, and to his usual manner of serving the Commonwealth; and that his conduct is, and ever will be, acceptable to the Senate and People of Rome. That Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, be ordered to protect, guard, and defend the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and all Greece, and command that army which he himself has raised: That, whatever money he wants for military service, he may use and take it from any part of the public revenues where it can be best raised; or borrow it where he thinks proper; and impose contributions of grain and forage; and take care to draw all his troops as near Italy as possible. And whereas it appears, by the letter of Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, that the public service has been greatly advanced by the endeavours and virtue of Q. Hortensius, Proconsul; and that he concerted all his measures with Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, to the great benefit of the Commonwealth; that Q. Hortensius, Proconsul, has acted therein rightly, regularly, and for the public good: And it is the will of the Senate, that Q. Hortensius, Proconsul, with his Quæstors, Proquæstors, and Lieutenants, hold the province of Macedonia, till a successor be appointed by the Senate.”

It appears that M. Brutus had been lately adopted by his mother’s brother, Q. Servilius Cæpio, whose name, according to custom, he now assumed, with the possession of his uncle’s estate.

Cicero sent this speech to Brutus, with that also which he made on the 1st of January; of which Brutus says in answer to him, “I have read your two orations: You expect now, without doubt, that I should praise them: I am at a loss what to praise

the most in them, your courage, or your abilities: I allow you now in earnest to call them *Philippics*, as you intimated jokingly in a former letter.” Thus the name of *Philippics*, which seems to have been thrown out at first in gaiety and jest only, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became at last the fixed and standing title of these orations; which yet, for several ages, were called indifferently either *Philippics*, or *Antonians*. Middl. p. 369.

Though

Y. R. 710.
Bef. Cl.
42.
409 Conf.

Y. R. 11. 1. 1. Though *Brutus* intimates nothing in his public letters but what was
 B. C. 43. prosperous and encouraging, yet, in his private accounts to *Cicero*, he
 4. 1. 1. signified a great want of *money and recruits*; and begged to be supplied
 — with both from *Italy*, especially with recruits; either by a vote of the
 Senate, or, if that could not be had, by some secret management, with-
 out the privity of *Pansa*; to which *Cicero* answered, “ You tell me that
 A. B. C. “ you want two necessary things, recruits and money: It is difficult to
 “ help you. I know no other way of raising money, which can be of use
 “ to you, but what the Senate has decreed of borrowing from the cities.
 “ As to recruits, I do not see what can be done: For *Pansa* is so far from
 “ granting any share of his army or recruits to you, that *he is even uneasy*
 “ to see so many volunteers going over to you: His reason, I take it, is, that
 “ he thinks no forces too great for the demands of our affairs in *Italy*:
 “ For, as to what many suspect *that he has no mind to see you strong*, I
 “ have no suspicion of it.”

1. 1. 1. p. But there came news of a different kind, about the same time, to
 1. 1. 1. *Rome*, of *Dolabella's* successful exploits in *Asia*. He left the city, as it is
 said above, before the expiration of his consulship, to possess himself of
Syria, which had been allotted to him by *Antony's* management: And,
 taking his way through *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to gather what money and
 troops he could raise in those countries, he passed over into *Asia*, in
 hopes of inducing that province to abandon *Trebonius* and declare for
 him: Having sent his emissaries, therefore, before him to prepare for
 his reception, he arrived before *Smyrna*, where *Trebonius* resided, with-
 out any shew of hostility, or forces sufficient to give any great alarm,
 pretending to desire nothing more than a free passage through the coun-
 try to his own province. *Trebonius* refused to admit him into the town;
 but consented to supply him with refreshments without the gates;
 where many civilities passed between them, with great professions on
Dolabella's part of amity and friendship to *Trebonius*, who promised, in
 his turn, that, if *Dolabella* would depart quietly from *Smyrna*, he should
 be received into *Ephesus*, in order to pass forward towards *Syria*. To this
Dolabella seemingly agreed; and, finding it impracticable to take *Smyrna*
 by open force, contrived to surprise it by stratagem: Embracing there-
 fore *Trebonius's* offer, he set forward towards *Ephesus*; but, after he had
 marched several miles, and *Trebonius's* men, who were sent after to ob-
 serve him, were retired; he turned back instantly in the night, and, ar-
 riving again at *Smyrna* before day, found it, as he expected, negligently
 guarded, and without any apprehension of an assault; so that his soldiers
 possessed themselves of it without opposition, and seized *Trebonius* him-
 self in his bed before he knew any thing of his danger. *Dolabella* treated
 him with the utmost cruelty; kept him two days under torture, to ex-
 tort a discovery of all the money in his custody; then ordered his head
 to be cut off, and carried about on a spear; and his body to be dragged
 about the streets and thrown into the sea. This was the first blood
 that

that was spilt on account of *Cæsar's* death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal Conspirators, and the only one who was of consular rank. It had been projected, without doubt, in concert with *Antony*, to make the revenge of *Cæsar's* death the avowed cause of their arms, in order to draw the veterans to their side, or make them unwilling at least to act against them: And it gave a clear warning to *Brutus* and his associates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a sad presage, to all honest men, of the cruel effects and merciless fury of the impending war.

On the news of *Trebonius's* death, the Senate was summoned by the Consul, where *Dolabella* was unanimously declared a public enemy, and his estate confiscated. *Calenus* himself first proposed the vote, and said, that, if any thing more severe could be thought of, he would be for it. But he moved another question which greatly perplexed *Cicero*, about the choice of a General to manage the new war against *Dolabella*. Two opinions were proposed; the one that *P. Servilius* should be sent with an extraordinary commission; the other, that the two Consuls should jointly prosecute the war, with the provinces of *Syria* and *Asia* allotted to them. This was very agreeable to *Pansa*, and pushed therefore not only by his friends, but by all *Antony's* party, who fancied that it would take off the attention of the Consuls from the war of *Italy*; give *Dolabella* time to strengthen himself in *Asia*; raise a coldness between the Consuls and *Cicero*, if he ventured to oppose it; and, above all, put a public affront upon *Cassius*; who, by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that commission. The debate continued through the first day without coming to any issue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean time *Cassius's* mother-in-law, *Servilia*, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with *Cicero* to drop the opposition, for fear of alienating *Pansa*, but in vain; for he resolved at all hazards to defend the honour of *Cassius*, and, when the debate was renewed the next morning, exerted all his interest and eloquence to procure a decree in his favour, which is the purport of the *eleventh Philippic*. From the Senate he went directly to the Forum, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the interests of *Cassius*: Hither *Pansa* followed him, and, to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the citizens, that what *Cicero* contended for was against the will and advice of *Cassius's* nearest friends and relations: And in the end the Consul prevailed*. But *Cassius* was at that time master of *Syria*, and at the head

Y. R. 710.
B. C. 42.
409 Cons.

Middl p.
375.

Ep. Fam.
of xii. 7 & 14.

* The statue of *Minerva*, which *Cicero*, upon his going into exile, had dedicated in the Capitol, by the name of the Guardian of the city, was, about the end of the last year, thrown down and shattered to pieces by a tempest of thunder and lightning. This the later writers take notice of as ominous

and portending the fall of *Cicero* himself: Though neither *Cicero* nor any of that time made any such reflection upon it. The Senate, however, out of respect to him, passed a decree in a full House, on the 18th of March, that the statue should be repaired and restored to its place. Ep. Fam. xii. 15. So that

Y. R. 713. of eight legions, with which he soon put an end to *Dolabella's* triumphs.
 Bel. Chr. 42.

439 Conf. Syria, after the *Alexandrian* war, had been left by *Cæsar* in the hands of *Sextus Cæsar*, a young man of his family, with one legion. The youth having lost the affection of his soldiers, who probably had served under *Pompey*, *Cæcilius Bassus*, a Roman Knight (who as we have before mentioned, hid himself at *Tyre* after the battle of *Pharjalia*) undertook to dispossess him of his government. Having gathered a small force in the place of his retirement, he openly attacked *S. Cæsar*, during the *African* war; and, meeting with a repulse, he had recourse to intrigues, in which he succeeded so well, that *Sextus* was murdered by his own men, who, at the same time, took *Bassus* for their Chief, and put him in possession of the province. *Bassus* applied himself immediately to fortify *Apamea*, a very strong city, and there formed his arsenal. *Cæsar* sent against him *Antistius Vetus*, who besieged him in his fortress, but was obliged by the *Parthians* to retire. *Statius Murcus*, who had the government of Syria after his prætorship, with three legions, did not find himself strong enough to reduce *Bassus*, and called to his assistance *M. Marcius Crispus*, Governor of *Bithynia*, with three more legions, who jointly laid siege to *Apamea*. Things were in this situation when *Cassius* landed in those parts. *Lentulus Spintber*, Quæstor to *Trebonius*, supplied him with some men and money: And the two Governors readily yielded to him the six legions under their command. *Bassus* was forced to follow their example, and open the gates of *Apamea*, his soldiers having sent a deputation to *Cassius* with a tender of their services. This success, so great and unexpected, was soon followed by another piece of good fortune. *Dolabella* had sent his Lieutenant, *Aulus Allienus*, into *Egypt*, to demand the assistance of *Cleopatra*, who then was sole Sovereign; having lately destroyed the last of the *Ptolemys*, her brother and husband, by poison. The Queen sent immediately a fleet to his assistance, and *Allienus* conducted by land four legions. *Cassius*, having notice of their march, went and met him in *Judea*, and obliged him to give up all his troops. Thus *Cassius* was master of a strong army, consisting of eleven legions, before the 7th of *March*, the date of a letter to *Cicero*, giving an account of this success.

Ep. Fam.
 xii. 11.

M. J. L. p.
 383.

D. Brutus was reduced by this time to such straits in *Mutina*, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that, if he fell into *Antony's* hands, he would be treated no better than *Trebonius*. The mention, therefore, of a pacification being revived in the Senate, and recommended by *Pansa* himself, upon an intimation given by *Antony's* friends that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason, *Cicero*, out of a concern for *Brutus's* safety, consented to a decree for a second

that it was now made, by public authority, safety of the Republic had been the constant what he himself had designed it to be, a object of his counsels. *M. J. L.* 383.
 standing monument to posterity, that the

embassy,

embassy, to be executed by himself and *Servilius*, and three other consular Senators: But, finding upon recollection, that there appeared no symptoms of any change in *Antony*, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a false step, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great use to *Antony*, as it would retard the attempts of relieving *Mutina*, and give an opportunity to *Ventidius* to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with three legions. At the next meeting of the Senate he retracted his opinion, and declared against the late decree, as dangerous and insidious; and in a warm and pathetic speech (which is his *twelfth Philippic*) pressed them so strongly to repeal it, that the thing was wholly dropped; and *Pansa*, about the end of the month, marched towards *Gaul*, at the head of his new-raised army, in order to join *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, and, without farther delay, to attempt a decisive battle with *Antony* for the delivery of *D. Brutus*.

Antony, at the same time, while he was perplexing the counsels of the Senate by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring also by his letters to shake the resolution of *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, and draw them off from the cause, which they were now supporting; but their answers seem to have been short and firm; referring him constantly to the authority of the Senate: Yet, as things were now drawing towards a crisis, he made one effort more upon them; and, in the following expostulatory letter, reproached them, with great freedom, for deserting their true interest, and suffering themselves to be duped and persuaded by *Cicero* to revive the *Pompeian* cause, and establish a power, which, in the end, would destroy them.

ANTONIUS TO HIRTIUS and CÆSAR.

“UPON the news of *Trebonius*’s death, I was equally affected both with joy and with grief. It was matter of real joy to me to see a villain suffer the vengeance due to the ashes of the most illustrious of men; and that, within the circle of the current year, the divine providence has displayed itself, by the punishment of parricide, inflicted already on some, and ready to fall upon the rest. But, on the other hand, it is a subject of just grief to me, that *Dolabella* should be declared an enemy, because he has killed a murderer; and that the son of a buffoon should be dearer to the people of *Rome*, than *Cæsar*, the Father of his country: But the cruellest reflection of all is, that you, *Hirtius*, covered with *Cæsar*’s favours, and left by him in a condition which you yourself wonder at; and you too, young man, who owe every thing to his name, are doing all which is in your power, that *Dolabella* may be thought justly condemned; that this wretch be delivered from the siege, and *Cassius* and *Brutus* be invested with all

Y. R. 710. " power. You look upon the present state of things, as people did up-
 Bef. Chr. " on the past; call *Pompey's* camp the Senate; have made the vanquish-
 42. " ed *Cicero* your Captain; are strengthening *Macedonia* with armies;
 409 Conf. " have given *Africa* to *Varus*, twice a prisoner; have sent *Cassius* into
 " *Syria*; suffered *Casca* to act as Tribune; suppressed the revenues of
 " the *Julian Luperci*; abolished the colonies of veterans, established by
 " law, and the decree of the Senate; promise to restore to the people
 " of *Marseilles* what was taken from them by right of war; forget that
 " a *Pompeian* was made incapable of any dignity by *Hirtius's* law; have
 " supplied *Brutus* with *Apuleius's* money; applauded the putting to
 " death *Poetus* and *Menedemus*, *Cæsar's* friends, whom he made free of
 " the city; took no notice of *Treopompus*, when, stripped and banished
 " by *Trebonius*, he fled to *Alexandria*: You see *Ser. Galba* in your camp,
 " armed with the same poniard with which he stabbed *Cæsar*; have in-
 " listed my soldiers and other veterans, on pretence of destroying those
 " who killed *Cæsar*, and then employ them, before they know what
 " they are doing, against their Quæstor, or their General, or their com-
 " rades.—What have you not done, which *Pompey* himself, were he
 " alive, or his son, if he could, would not do? In short, you deny, that
 " any peace can be made, unless I set *Brutus* at liberty, or supply him
 " with provisions: Can this please those veterans who have not yet de-
 " clared themselves? For, as to your part, you have sold yourselves to
 " the flatteries and poisoned honours of the Senate. But you come, you
 " say, to preserve the troops which are besieged. I am not against their
 " being saved, or going wherever you please, if they will but leave him
 " to perish, who has deserved it. You write me word that the men-
 " tion of concord has been revived in the Senate, and five consular am-
 " bassadors appointed: It is hard to believe that those who have driven
 " me to this extremity, when I offered the fairest conditions, and was
 " willing to remit some part of them, should do any thing with mode-
 " ration or humanity: Nor is it probable, that the same men, who voted
 " *Dolabella* an enemy for a most laudable act, can ever forgive me, who
 " am in the same sentiments with him. Wherefore it is your business to
 " reflect, which of the two is the more eligible, or more useful to our
 " common interest, to revenge the death of *Trebonius*, or of *Cæsar*: And
 " which the more equitable; for us to act against each other, that the
 " *Pompeian* cause, so often defeated, may recover itself; or to join our
 " forces, lest we become at last the sport of our enemies, who, which
 " of us soever may happen to fall, are sure to be the gainers. But
 " fortune has hitherto prevented that spectacle; unwilling to see two
 " armies, like members of the same body, fighting against each other;
 " and *Cicero*, all the while, like a Master of Gladiators, matching us
 " and ordering the combat: Who is so far happy as to have caught you
 " with the same bait with which he brags to have caught *Cæsar*. For
 " my part, I am resolved to suffer no affront either to myself or my
 " friends;

“ friends ; nor to desert the party which *Pompey* hated ; nor to see the
 “ veterans driven out of their possessions, and dragged one by one to
 “ the rack ; nor to break my word with *Dolabella* ; nor to violate my
 “ league with *Lepidus*, a most religious man : Nor to betray *Plancus*,
 “ the partner of all my counsels. If the immortal gods support me, as
 “ I hope they will, in the pursuit of so good a cause, I shall live with
 “ pleasure ; but, if any other fate expects me, I taste a joy, however,
 “ before-hand, in the sure foresight of your punishment : For, if the
 “ *Pompeians* are so insolent when conquered, how much more they will
 “ be so when Conquerors, it will be your lot to feel. In a word, this
 “ is the sum of my resolution : I can forgive the injuries of my friends,
 “ if they themselves are disposed either to forget them, or prepared,
 “ in conjunction with me, to revenge the death of *Cæsar* : I cannot be-
 “ lieve that any ambassadors will come ; when they do, I shall know
 “ what they have to demand.” *Hirtius* and *Cæsar*, instead of answering
 this letter, sent it directly to *Cicero* at *Rome*, to make what use of it he
 thought fit with the Senate or the People.

In this interval *Lepidus* wrote a public letter to the Senate, to exhort
 them to pacific measures, and to save the effusion of civil blood, by
 contriving some way of reconciling *Antony* and his friends to the service
 of his country ; without giving the least intimation of his thanks for the
 public honours which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at
 all agreeable to the Senate, and confirmed their former jealousy of his
 disaffection to the Republic, and good understanding with *Antony*. They
 agreed, however, to a vote proposed by *Servilius*, “ that *Lepidus* should
 “ be thanked for his love of peace, and care of the citizens ; yet should
 “ be desired not to trouble himself any farther about it, but to leave
 “ that affair to them ; who thought that there could be no peace, unless
 “ *Antony* should lay down his arms and sue for it.” This letter gave *Anto-*
ny’s friends a fresh handle to renew their instances for a treaty, for the
 sake of obliging *Lepidus*, who had it in his power, they said to force them
 to it. *Cicero* pronounced, on this occasion, his *thirteenth Philippic*, to
 confute their arguments ; and, in the course of it, read to the House
Antony’s letter to *Hirtius* and *Cæsar*, paragraph by paragraph, making all
 along, with great wit and spirit, his own comment and remarks upon it.

C. Antony, whom we mentioned above to have retreated, with seven
 cohorts, to *Apollonia*, not daring to wait for *Brutus’s* arrival, who was now
 advancing towards him, marched out to *Butbrotum* to seek his fortune
 elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote : But, being overtaken
 and attacked on his march by a part of *Brutus’s* army, he lost three of
 his cohorts in the action ; and, in a second engagement with another
 body of troops which young *Cicero* commanded, was entirely routed
 and taken prisoner ; which made *Brutus* absolute master of the country
 without opposition. He treated his prisoner with great lenity, and
 seemed much disposed to give him his liberty ; which he would have

Y. R. 710. done, if he had not met with the strongest opposition from *Cicero* and
 Bef. Cnr. the Senate¹.

⁴²
 409 Conf.

The siege of *Mutina* had lasted now four months; and it was invested so closely by *Antony*, and he had posted himself so advantageously, that no succours could be thrown into it. *Brutus*, though reduced to the utmost straits, defended it still with the greatest resolution². Upon the approach of *Pansa's* army, *Antony* privately drew out some of his best troops, with a design to surprise him on the road before their union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a letter to *Cicero* from

¹ He not only wrote to the Senate about it himself, but permitted *Antony* to write too, and with the style of Proconsul; which surprised and shocked all his friends at *Rome*; and especially *Cicero*, who expostulates with him for it in the following letter:

"ON the 13th of *April*, says he, your messenger *Pilus* brought us two letters, one in your name, the other in *Antony's*, and gave them to *Servilius*, the Tribune: He to *Corneilius*, the Praetor. They were read in the Senate. *Antony* Proconsul, raised as much wonder as if it had been *Dolabella* Emperor, from whom also there came an express; but nobody, like your *Pilus*, was so hardy to produce the letters, or deliver them to the magistrates. Your letter was read; short indeed, but extremely mild towards *Antony*: The Senate was amazed at it. For my part, I did not know how to act. Should I affirm it to be forged?—What if you should own it? Should I admit it to be genuine? That was not for your honour. I chose, therefore, to be silent that day. On the next, when the affair had made some noise, and *Pilus's* carriage had given offence, I began the debate, and said much of Proconsul *Antony*. *Sextius* performed his part, and observed to me afterwards in private, what danger his son and mine would be liable to, if they had really taken up arms against a Proconsul. You know the man; he did justice to the cause. Others also spoke; but our friend *Laberius* took notice that your seal was not put to the letter; nor any date added; nor had you written about it, as usual, to your friends; from which he maintained the letter to be forged; and, in short, convinced the House of it. It is now your part, *Brutus*, to consider the whole state

and nature of the war: You are delighted; I perceive, with lenity; and think at the best way of proceeding: This, indeed, is generally right; but the proper place of clemency is in cases and seasons very different from the present: For what are we doing now, *Brutus*? We see a needy and desperate crew threatening the very temples of the gods; and that the war must necessarily decide, whether we are to live, or not. Who is it then whom we are sparing, or what is it that we mean? Are we consulting the safety of those who, if they get the better, are sure not to leave the least remains of us? For what difference is there between *Dolabella* and any one of the three *Antony's*? If we spare any of these, we have been too severe to *Dolabella*. It was owing chiefly to my advice and authority that the Senate and People are in this way of thinking, though the thing itself indeed also obliged them to it: If you do not approve this policy, I shall defend your opinion, but cannot depart from my own: The world expects from you nothing either remiss or cruel: It is easy to moderate the matter, by severity to the Leaders, generosity to the soldiers."

² The old writers have recorded some stratagems, which are said to have been put in practice on this occasion: "How *Hirtius* provided men skilled in diving, with letters written on lead, to pass into the town under the river which runs through it, till *Antony* obstructed that passage by nets and traps placed under water: Which gave occasion to another contrivance of sending their intelligence backwards and forwards by pigeons. *Front. de Stratagem.* l. iii. 13. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. x. 37. *Dio*, p. 323c."

See.

Ser. Galba ^a, one of the Conspirators against *Cæsar*, who bore a principal part and command in it. Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr.

“ ON the 15th of *April*, the day on which *Pansa* was to arrive in 42.
409 Cons.
“ *Hirtius*’s camp, (in whose company I was, for I went an hundred
“ miles to meet him and hasten his march) *Antony* drew out two of his Ep. Fam.
x. 30.
“ legions, the *second* and *thirty-fifth*; and two prætorian cohorts; the
“ one his own, the other *Silanus*’s ^b, with part of the *Evocati*; and came
“ forward towards us, imagining that we had nothing but four legions
“ of new levies. But, in the night, to secure our march to the camp,
“ *Hirtius* had sent us the *Martial* legion, which I used to command,
“ and two prætorian cohorts. As soon as *Antony*’s horse appeared in
“ fight, neither the *Martial* legion, nor the prætorian cohorts, could be
“ restrained from attacking them; so that, when we could not hold
“ them in, we were obliged to follow them against our wills. *Antony*
“ kept his forces within *Castel-franco*; [*Ad forum Gallorum*, a small village
on the *Æmilian* way between *Modena* and *Bologna*] “ and, being unwilling to have it known, that he had his legions with him, shewed only his horse and light-armed foot. When *Pansa* saw the *Martial* legion running forward against his orders, he commanded two of the new-raised legions to follow him. As soon as we got through the straits of the morass and the woods, we drew up the twelve cohorts [the ten of the *Martial* legion, and the two prætorian] “ in order of battle. The other two legions were not yet come up. *Antony* immediately brought all his troops out of the village, ranged likewise in order of battle, and without delay engaged us. At first they fought so briskly on both sides, that nothing could possibly be fiercer: Tho’ the right wing, in which I was, with eight cohorts of the *Martial* legion, put *Antony*’s thirty-fifth legion to flight, at the first onset, and pursued it above five hundred paces from the place where the action began: Wherefore, observing the enemy’s horse attempting to surround our wing, I began to retreat, and ordered the light-armed troops to make head against the *Moorish* horse, and prevent their coming upon us behind. In the mean while I perceived myself in the midst of *Antony*’s men, and *Antony* himself but a little way behind me. Upon which, with my shield thrown over my shoulder, I pushed on my horse with all speed towards the new legion that was coming towards us from the camp: And, whilst *Antony*’s men were pursuing me, and ours, by mistake, throwing javelins at me, I was preserved. I know not how, by being presently known to our soldiers. *Cæsar*’s

^a He had been one of *Cæsar*’s Lieutenants in *Gaul*; but, not being favoured by him in his pursuit of the consulship, he joined in the conspiracy with *Brutus* and *Cassius*. He was great grandfather to the Emperor *Galba*.

^b He was military Tribune in the army of *Lepidus*, and, by the connivance, if not by the express orders of that General, had conducted a body of troops to the assistance of *Antony*. . . . *Dio*, xvi. 336. . . .

“ prætorian

Y. R. 710. " prætorian cohort sustained the fight a long time on the *Æmilian* road :
 Bef. Chr. " But our left wing, which was the weaker, consisting of two cohorts
 42. " of the *Martial* legion, and the prætorian of *Hirtius*, began to give
 409 Conf. " ground ; being surrounded by *Antony's* horse, in which he is very
 " strong. When all our ranks had made good their retreat, I retreated
 " myself the last, to our camp. *Antony*, as the Conqueror, fancied that
 " he could take it ; but, upon trial, lost many of his men in the at-
 " tempt, without being able to do us any hurt. *Hirtius*, in the mean
 " time, hearing of the engagement, marched out with twenty veteran
 " cohorts, and, meeting *Antony* on his return, intirely routed and put to
 " flight his whole army, in the very same place where they had fought
 " before. About ten at night, *Antony* regained his camp at *Mutina*
 " with all his horse. *Hirtius* retired to that camp, which *Pansa* had
 " quitted in the morning, and where he left the two legions, which
 " *Antony* attacked : Thus *Antony* has lost the greater part of his veteran
 " troops, yet not without some loss of our prætorian cohorts and the
 " *Martial* legion : We took two of *Antony's* eagles, and sixty standards ;
 " and have gained a considerable advantage." Besides this letter from
Galba, there came letters also severally from the two Consuls and *Osta-*
rius ; confirming the other account with the addition of some farther
 Philipp. particulars : " That *Pansa*, fighting bravely at the head of his troops,
 xiv. 9, 10. " had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to
 " *Bononia* : That *Hirtius* had scarce lost a single man : And that, to ani-
 " mate the soldiers the better, he took up the eagle of the *fourth* legion,
 " and carried it forward himself : That *Cæsar* was left to the guard of
 " their camp ; where he was likewise attacked by another body of the
 " enemy, whom he repulsed with great loss." *Antony* reproached *Osta-*
 Suet. in rius afterwards with running away from this engagement in such a
 Aug. x. fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his
 horse or General's habit : But the account just mentioned was given by
Cicero, from letters, that were read to the Senate, in which *Hirtius* de-
 clared him to have acted with the greatest courage.

The news reached *Rome* on the 20th of *April* : The day following the Senate was summoned by *Cornutus*, the Prætor, to deliberate on the letters of the Consuls and *Octavius*. *Servilius's* opinion was, " that the city
 " should now quit the *Sagum* ; and that a public thanksgiving should be
 " decreed jointly to the honour of the Consuls and *Octavius*." *Cicero* de-
 clared strongly against quitting the *Sagum*, till *D. Brutus* was quite deli-
 vered from the siege : And, having shewed how well the three Generals
 deserved the title of Emperor, he decreed a thanksgiving of fifty days in
 the name of the three jointly. He then proposed that a monument should
 be raised to those who, in the defence of their country, had been killed
 in battle ; that the former assurances made to the legions of the full and
 punctual payment of all which had been promised to them, as soon as the
 war should be over, should be renewed ; and for those, in the mean
 time,

time, who had lost their lives for their country, that the same rewards which would have been given them, if they had lived, should be given immediately to their parents, children, wives, and brothers^c.

Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr.
42.
709 Conf.
Middl. P.
427.

Antony, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himself close within his camp, and resolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act only on the defensive; except by harrassing the enemy with his horse, in which he was far superior. He still hoped to make himself master of *Mutina*, which was reduced to extremity; and, by the strength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it; and, after two or three days spent in finding the most likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they made their attack with such vigour, that *Antony*, rather than suffer the town to be snatched

^c The greatest part of this *fourteenth Philippic*, and last oration of *Cicero*, is a panegyric upon himself: He tells us, that, when the news of *Antony's* defeat was known, the people of *Rome* carried him into the Capitol in a kind of triumph. "For that, after all," he says, is a just and real triumph, when, by the general voice of the city, a public testimony is given to those who have deserved well of the Commonwealth. For, if in the common joy of the whole city they congratulated me singly, it is a great declaration of their judgment; if they thanked me, still greater; if both, nothing can be imagined more glorious." He then observes, "that he was forced to say so much of himself against his will, by the strange envy and injuries which he had lately suffered;—that the insolence of the factions, as they all knew, had raised a report and suspicion upon him of his aiming at a tyranny; that he had formed a design to make himself master of the city, and declare himself Dictator, and would appear publicly with the fasces within a day or two: Though his whole life had been spent in defending the Republic from tyranny; as if he who had destroyed *Cataline*, for that very crime, was of a sudden become a *Cataline* himself. That, if the report had found credit in the city, their design was by a sudden assault upon his person, as upon a tyrant, to have taken away his life:—That the thing itself was manifest, and the whole affair should be laid open in proper time:—That he had said all this not to purge himself to them, to whom he should be sorry to want an apology, but to admo-

nish certain persons of jejune and narrow minds to look upon the virtue of excellent citizens as the object of their imitation, not of their envy; since the Republic was a wide field, where the course of glory was open to many; that, if any man contested with him the first place in the government, he acted foolishly, if he meant to do it by opposing vice to virtue: That, as the race was gained by running the fastest, so virtue was only to be conquered by a superior virtue:—That they could never get the better of him by bad votes, by good ones perhaps they might; and he himself should be glad of it.—That the people of *Rome* were perpetually inquiring, how men of their rank voted and acted; and formed their judgment of them accordingly.—That they all remembered, how, in *December* last, he was the author of the first step towards recovering their liberty: How, from the 1st of *January*, he had been continually watching over the safety of the Commonwealth: How his house and his ears were open day and night to the advice and informations of all who came to him, &c." And, in a letter to *Brutus*, he says, "that he reaped on the day he was carried to the Capitol the full fruit of all his toils, if there be any fruit in true and solid glory." Could any body help laughing when they heard *Cicero* vindicate himself seriously from aiming at tyranny, and his friend *Apuleius*, the Tribune, make a speech to the people to confute this report? Was there a man in *Rome* who was not sensible that he had no strength of his own, but was a mere tool in the hands of another?

out

Y. R. 710. out of his hands, chose to draw out his legions, and come to a general
 Ref. Chr. battle. The fight was bloody and obstinate; and *Antony's* men, though
 42. obliged to give ground, bravely disputed every inch of it, till *D. Brutus*,
 409 Conf. taking the opportunity, at the same time, to sally out of the town, at the
 head of his garrison, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory.
Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced his way into
Antony's camp; but, when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortu-
 nately killed near the General's tent: *Pontius Aquila*, one of the Con-
 spirators, was killed likewise in the same place: But *Octavius*, who fol-
 lowed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession
 of the camp, with the intire defeat and destruction of *Antony's* best
 troops; while *Antony* himself, with all his horse, fled with great preci-
 pitation towards the *Alps*. The Consul *Pansa* died the day following of
 his wounds at *Bononia* *.

C H A P.

* *Dr. Middleton*, p. 429, gives the follow-
 ing character of the two Consuls: *Hirtius*
 was a man of letters and politeness; inti-
 mately intrusted with *Cæsar's* counsels and
 employed to write his acts: But, as he was
 the proper creature of *Cæsar*, and strongly
 infected with party, so his views were all
 bent on supporting the power that had
 raised him, and serving his patron, not the
 public. In the beginning, therefore, of the
 civil war, when he was Tribune of the
 people, he published a law, to exclude all,
 who were in arms with *Pompey*, from any
 employment or office in the State: Which made
 him particularly obnoxious to the *Pampeians*,
 who considered him as their most in-
 veterate enemy. *Pansa*, whose father had
 been proscribed by *Sylla*, was attached with
 equal zeal to *Cæsar*, as to the head and re-
 vivier of the *Marian* cause: and served him
 in all his wars with singular affection and
 fidelity. He was a grave, sincere, and wor-
 thy man; and, being naturally more mo-
 derate and benevolent than *Hirtius*, was
 touched with the ruin of his country, and
 the miseries of the oppressed *Pampeians*; ma-
 ny of whom he relieved by his humanity,
 and restored by his interest to the city and
 their estates. This made him very popular,
 and gained him the esteem of all the honest;
 so that *Cæsar*, in defending his *Epicurians*
 to *Cicero*, alledges *Pansa*, as an example of
 those genuine *Epicureans*, who placed their
 pleasure, or chief good, in virtuous acts.
 Before their entrance into the consulship, *Q.*
Cicero gave a most wretched account of them
 "both, as of a lewd, luxuriose pair; not

"fit to be trusted with the command of a
 "paltry town, much less of the empire;
 "and says, that, if they were not removed
 "from the helm, the Republic would cer-
 "tainly be lost; since *Antony* would easily
 "draw them into a partnership of his crimes;
 "for, when he served with them in *Gaul*, he
 "had seen incredible instances of their ef-
 "feminacy and debauchery in the face even
 "of the enemy." But we must charge a
 great part of this character to the perversi-
 ness and envy of *Quintus*: For, whatever
 they had been before, they were certainly
 good Consuls; and out of their affection to
Cicero, and regard to his authority, govern-
 ed themselves generally, in all great affairs,
 by his maxims. They were persuaded that
 the design of revenging *Cæsar's* death would
 throw the Republic again into convulsions,
 and flowed from no other motive, than the
 ambition of possessing *Cæsar's* place; and
 resolved, therefore, to quell by open force,
 all attempts against the public peace. From
 their long adherence to *Cæsar*, they retained
 indeed some prejudices in favour of that
 party; and were loth to proceed to extre-
 mities till pacific measures were found inef-
 fectual. This gave *Cicero* some reason to
 blame, but never to distrust them; to com-
 plain of their phlegm and want of vigour,
 as detrimental to the common cause; yet,
 while they were generally suspected by o-
 thers, he always thought them sincere, tho'
 they did not, in all cases, act up to his wish-
 es. The event confirmed his judgment of
 them: For they both not only exposed but
 lost their lives with the greatest courage in
 the

defence of the Republic; and *showed themselves to be the very men which Cicero had constantly affirmed them to be*; and, though he imputes some little blame to *Hirtius*, yet of *Pansa* he declares, *that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last*.

N. B. Several medals were struck by the Senate on the occasion of this victory; particularly one in honour of *Pansa*, exhibiting

the head of the *goddess of Liberty*, crowned with laurel, and the inscription *Libertatis*; and, on the reverse, *Rome* sitting upon the spoils of enemies, holding a spear in her right hand, and a dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and *Victory* flying towards her to crown her with laurel; and the inscription, C. PANSA C. F. C. N. See *Morel. Fam. Rom.*

C H A P. XIV.

The Senate decrees honours to the two deceased Consuls, and to D. BRUTUS and OCTAVIUS. ANTONY is not pursued; OCTAVIUS wanting the will, and D. BRUTUS the means of following him. He is received by LEPIDUS, who writes to the Senate to justify his behaviour: On the other side, D. BRUTUS joins PLANCUS, Governor of farther GAUL. LEPIDUS is declared, by the influence of Cicero, an enemy to the State. OCTAVIUS treats secretly with ANTONY and LEPIDUS, and demands the consulship by a deputation of his officers. CICERO appears no more upon the Stage of action: His correspondence with the several Generals abroad.

THE death of the two Consuls placed *Octavius* at once above con-
troul, by leaving him the master of both their armies; especially
of all the veterans; who were disaffected to *D. Brutus*; and it fell out
so lucky and so apposite to all *Octavius's* views, as to give birth to a gene-
ral persuasion that they had received foul play, and were both of them
killed by his contrivance; For he was observed to be the first man who
took up *Hirtius's* body in the camp; where some imagined him to
have been killed by his own soldiers; and *Pansa's* physician, *Glyco*, was
actually thrown into prison by *Torquatus*, *Pansa's* Quæstor, upon a sus-
picion of having poisoned his wounds. But the chief ground of that no-
tion seems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the event with the
interests of *Octavius*: For *M. Brutus* thought it incredible, and, in the
most pressing manner, begged of *Cicero* to procure *Glyco's* enlargement,
and protect him from any harm; as being a worthy, modest man, in-
capable of such a villainy, and who, of all others, suffered the greatest
loss by *Pansa's* death.

At *Rome*, the general rejoicings stifled all present attention to the loss
of their Consuls; and *Antony's* friends were so dejected for some time,

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that

* They were not regretted by *Brutus's* friends, who had all along entertained a very bad opinion of them; and *Cicero* himself, confident of the good dispositions of his pu-

pil *Octavius*, was not much concerned at first for their loss: These things appear by the following letters:

CICERO

Y. R. 710. that they gave *Cicero* no more opposition in the Senate : Where he poured
 Ref. Chr. ed out all imaginable honours on the deceased *Hirtius*, *Pansa*, and
 43. *Aquila* ;
 409 C. 26.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. " WHILE I was writing this, our affairs were supposed to be reduced to the last ex-
 Ep. viii. tremity : For all our letters and messages brought us sad accounts of our *Brutus* *.
 M. Ed. " They did not, however, very much disturb me. For I could not by any means distrust
 p. 51. " the armies and the Leaders, who are now acting for us : *Nor was I of the same opinion*
 " *with the majority of our friends, for I did not condemn the fidelity of the Consuls, which was*
 " *vehemently suspected.* I blamed their want of prudence and celerity in some cases, where,
 " if they had exerted themselves, we should long ago have recovered the Republic. For
 " you are not ignorant of what moment it is, in public affairs, to seize the proper times
 " of acting ; and what a difference it makes, whether the same thing be decreed, under-
 " taken, or transacted, sooner or later. If all the vigorous decrees, that have been made
 " since the beginning of this disturbance, had either been carried into effect on the day
 " when I proposed them, and not been put off from day to day ; or if, from the time
 " when they began to be put in execution, they had not still been delayed and postponed,
 " we should have seen an end of the war before now. I have acquitted myself, *Brutus*,
 " to the Republic in all points, as that man ought to do, who, by the judgment of the
 " Senate and people, is placed in that rank of authority in which I now am ; and not
 " merely in those things, which alone are to be required from man ; fidelity, vigilance, and
 " love of my country ; for these are duties from which nobody ought to be excused ; but
 " I take it to be the part of him, who acts as one of the Leaders in state affairs, to insure
 " *even the prudence of his measures to the Public* : And, for my part, since I have assumed
 " so much to myself, as to take the steerage of the Republic into my hands, I should not
 " *think myself less culpable if I should draw the Senate into any thing impetuously, than if I*
 " *had drawn them into it treacherously.* I know that a punctual account is sent you of all
 " things that are done or going forward among us. But what I would have you informed
 " of particularly by me is this : That my mind is wholly intent on the war ; nor cares
 " to attend to any other object, unless when the immediate service of the city may have
 " called it by accident to something else. But the greatest part of my attention is fixed
 " upon you and *Cassius*. Wherefore prepare yourself, *Brutus*, in such a manner, as to
 " be persuaded, that, if at this very time our affairs be crowned with success, it is you
 " who must set the Republic right ; or, if any ill fortune has befallen us, it is you who must
 " recover it."

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. " OUR affairs seemed to have taken a more favourable turn. An account, I know,
 Ep. ix. is sent you of all that has been done. The Consuls answered the character which I of-
 M. Ed. ten gave you of them in my letters. But young *Cæsar* has shown a wonderful disposition
 p. 54. to virtue. I wish that I may be able to bind and govern him still, in this height of honour
 " and favour, as easily as I have hitherto done. It is now, indeed, become more difficult ;
 " yet I do not despair of it. For the young man is persuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe
 " our safety to his power : And, in truth, if he had not kept off *Antony* from the city, all
 " had been lost. Nay, within three or four days before this most happy event, the city,
 " struck with a kind of panic, was all running away at once, with their wives and chil-
 " dren, to you ; till, being made easy again on the 20th of April, they began to wish, that
 " you would rather come hither to them, than they go to you. On which day I reaped
 " the full fruit of all my great pains and constant watchings, if there be any fruit at all
 " from true and solid glory. For the whole multitude, which our city contains, flocked on
 " that day to my house ; whence I was carried by them first to the Capitol ; then placed in the

* D. Brutus.

" Rostra,

Aquila; decreed an ovation to *Cæsar*^f; and added a number of days to their thanksgiving, in honour of *D. Brutus*; whose deliverance happening to fall upon his birth-day, he decreed likewise, that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the *Festi* or *public calendars*, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. *Antony's* adherents were also declared enemies^g: In which number *Servilius* himself, *Cicero's* great antagonist, included *Ventidius*; and moved to give *Cassius* the command of the war against *Dolabella*; to whom *Cicero* joined *Brutus*, in case they should find it useful to the Republic.

The Commanders abroad, who had been all greatly courted by *Cicero*, and had returned him civil answers, were so struck with *Antony's* defeat, that they redoubled their assurances to him of their firmness and zeal for the common cause^h. But we shall soon see them all fall off, excepting *Cornificius*, and side with the rebel *Antony*.

R r 2

The

“*Rostra, with the loudest acclamations and applause. There is nothing of vanity in me; nor indeed ought there to be: Yet the consent of all orders, their thanks and gratulations, really move me; since it is truly noble to become popular by the preservation of the people. But I would have you hear of these things rather from others. I desire you to send me a punctual account of all your affairs and designs; and to take care particularly, that your generosity may not seem to be carried to a degree of remissness. The Senate is of opinion, and the Roman People of the same, that no enemies were ever more worthy of the last punishment, than those citizens, who have taken up arms against their country in the present war: On whom, indeed, I am taking a proper revenge, and pursuing in all my votes, with the approbation of all honest men. It is your part to determine what you ought to judge of this affair. My opinion of it is, that the case of the three Antony's is one and the same. We have lost two Consuls; good ones, it is true; but barely good. Her-tius fell in the very midst of victory, after he had beaten the enemy, a few days before, in a great battle. For Pansa was forced to fly, being disabled by the wounds he had received. Brutus is now pursuing the remains of the enemy, and Cæsar also: But all are adjudged enemies, who have espoused the party of M. Antony. Most people, therefore, interpret that decree of the Senate to extend also to your prisoners; whether taken in flight, or by surrender. I moved, indeed, for nothing more severe, though I was speaking upon C. Antonius by name; because I had resolved with myself, that the Senate ought to take their information of the case from you. April 22d.*”

It is hard to believe, that it was the pure love of his country, unmixed with the low passions of fear and hatred, which engaged *Cicero*, contrary to all prudence and humanity, as well as the judgment of *Brutus*, to grant no quarter to *Antony's* adherents, and transform a civil contest into an inexorable war.

^f The decree of an ovation to *Octavius* was blamed by *Brutus* and his friends; yet seems, says Dr. Middleton, p. 434, “to have been wisely and artfully designed: For, while it carried an appearance of honour, it would regularly have stripped him of his power, if he had made use of it; since his commission was to expire of course, and his army be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the city: But the confusion of the times made laws and customs of little effect with those who had the power to dispense with them.” If so, there was no wisdom or cunning in *Cicero's* contrivance: And, if *Cicero* did believe that *Octavius* would disband his veterans to enjoy the honour decreed him, he must have possessed no great share of penetration.

^g *Atticus*, at this time, when *Antony* was deserted by almost all his friends, as a man utterly ruined, had the generosity to perform the most friendly offices to *Fulvia*, *Antony's* wife, and her children: Which behaviour met with its due recompence soon after.

^h *Lepidus*, who had suffered *Silanus*, a military Tribune in his army, to carry succours to *Antony* at *Mutina*, and, after *Antony's* defeat, sent *Culeo* with a body of men, under the

pre-

Y. R. 710.
Bef. Ch.
42.
407 Conf.

Y. R. 710. The Conquerors at *Mutina* were very much censured for giving *Antony* leisure to escape : But *Octavius*, from the beginning, had no thoughts of
 Def. Chr. 42.
 409 Conf.

pretence of guarding the passes of the *Alps*; but most probably with secret instructions to favour *Antony's* march over these mountains, since he did not obstruct it, but, on the contrary, joined *Antony*; wrote, nevertheless, the following letter to *Cicero* :

M. LEPIDUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. " HAVING received advice that *Antony* was advancing with his troops towards my
 x. 34. province, and had sent before him a detachment of his cavalry, under the command of
 Melm. xiv. his brother *Lucius*; I moved with my army from the confluence of the *Rhone* and the
 29. " *Arar*," [the *Saône*, which falls into the *Rhone* at *Lyons*] " in order to oppose their pas-
 " sage. I continued my march without halting, till I arrived at *Forum Varenii* : [Le Luc
 " in *Provence*] " and am now encamped somewhat beyond that town, on the river *Ar-
 " gentus*," [Argens] " opposite to *Antony*. *Ventidius* has joined him with his three le-
 " gions, and has formed his camp a little above mine. *Antony*, before this conjunction,
 " had the second legion intire, together with a considerable number of men, though in-
 " deed wholly unarmed, who escaped from the general slaughter of his other legions.
 " He is extremely strong in cavalry; for, as none of those troops suffered in the late action,
 " he has no less than . . . horse." [The number is omitted in all the ancient manu-
 " scripts.] " Great numbers of his soldiers, both horse and foot, are continually deserting
 " to my camp; so that his troops diminish every day. Both *Silanus* and *Culeo* have left
 " his army, and are returned to mine. But, notwithstanding I was greatly offended by their
 " going to *Antony*, contrary to my inclination; yet, in regard to the connexions that subsist be-
 " tween us, and in compliance with my usual clemency, I have thought proper to pardon them.
 " However, I do not, upon any occasion, employ their services; nor, indeed, suffer
 " them to remain in the camp.

" As to what concerns my conduct in this war, you may depend upon it I shall not be
 " wanting in my duty either to the Senate or the Republic: And, whatever farther mea-
 " sures I shall take to this end, I shall not fail to communicate them to you. The friend-
 " ship that subsists between us has, upon all occasions, been inviolably preserved on both
 " sides; and we have mutually vied in our best good-offices to each other. But I doubt
 " not that, since this great and sudden commotion has been raised in the Commonwealth,
 " some false and injurious reports have been spread of me by my enemies, which, in the
 " zeal of your heart for the interest of the Republic, have given you much uneasiness.
 " I have the satisfaction, however, to be informed, by my agents at *Rome*, that you are
 " by no means disposed easily to credit these idle rumours: For which I think myself, as
 " I justly ought, extremely obliged to you. I am so, likewise, for the former instances
 " of your friendship, in promoting my public honours: The grateful remembrance of
 " which, be assured, is indelibly impressed upon my heart. Let me conjure you, my dear
 " *Cicero*, if you are sensible that my public conduct has, upon all occasions, been worthy
 " of the name I bear, to be persuaded that I shall continue to act with equal, or, if pos-
 " sible, even with superior zeal. Let me hope too, that, the greater the favours are which
 " you have conferred upon me, the more you will think yourself engaged to support my
 " credit and character. Farewell. From my camp at *Pons Argentarius*, May 22d."

Correspon- *Asinius Pollio*, the Governor of *sarther Spain*, had strictly kept within the bounds of
 dence be- his province: Before the news of *Antony's* defeat, he had written the two following letters
 tween Pol- to *Cicero*:
 io and Ci-
 cero.

ASINIUS POLLIO to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. " YOU must not wonder that you have heard nothing from me in relation to public af-
 x. 31. fairs, since the breaking out of the war. Our couriers have always found it difficult to
 Melm. xiii. pass unmolested through the forest of *Cajula*," [a city anciently of great note; at pre-
 11. sent

of pursuing him: He had already gained what he aimed at; had re-duced *Antony's* power so low, and raised his own so high, as to be in a condition

Y. R. 710.
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42.
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sent it is only a small village called *Cazorla*, in the province of *New Castile*:] "but it is now more than ever infested with robbers. These banditti, however, are by no means the principal obstruction to our intercourse with *Rome*: As the mails are perpetually searched and detained by the soldiers that are posted for that purpose, by both parties, in every quarter of the country. Accordingly, if I had not received letters by a ship which lately arrived in this river," [the *Betis* or *Guadalquivir*] "I should have been utterly ignorant of what has been lately transacted in your part of the world. But, now that a communication by sea is thus opened between us, I shall frequently, and with great pleasure, embrace the opportunity of corresponding with you.

"Believe me, there is no danger of my being influenced by the persuasions of the person you mention." [*Antony*, or perhaps *Lepidus*.] As much as the world abhors him, he is far from being detested to that degree which I know he deserves: And I have so strong an aversion to the man, that I would, upon no consideration, bear a part in any measures wherein he is concerned. Inclined both by my temper and my studies to be the friend of tranquillity and freedom, I frequently and bitterly lamented our late unhappy civil wars. But, as the formidable enemies which I had among both parties rendered it altogether unsafe for me to remain neuter, so I would not take up arms on that side where I knew I should be perpetually exposed to the insidious arts of my capital adversary." [Perhaps *Cato*; as *Pelios* had early distinguished himself by a public impeachment of that eminent man. See *Dial. de Caus. corrupt. Eloquent.* 34.] But, though my inclinations were not with the party I joined, my spirit, however, would not suffer me to stand undistinguished among them: In consequence of which I was forward to engage in all the dangers of the cause I espoused. With respect to *Cæsar* himself, I will confess that I loved him with the highest and most inviolable affection: As indeed I had reason. For, notwithstanding his acquaintance with me commenced so late as when he was in the height of his power, yet he admitted me into the same share of his friendship, as if I had been in the number of those with whom he had lived in the longest intimacy. Nevertheless, as often as I was at liberty to follow my own sentiments, I endeavoured that my conduct should be such as every honest man must approve: And, whenever I was obliged to execute the orders I received, it was in a manner that evidently discovered how much my actions were at variance with my heart. The unjust odium, however, that I incurred by these unavoidable compliances, might well teach me the true value of liberty, and how wretched a condition it is to live under the government of a despotic power. If any attempts, therefore, are carrying on to reduce us a second time under the dominion of a single person, whoever that single person may be, I declare myself his irreconcilable enemy. The truth is, there is no danger so great that I would not cheerfully hazard for the support of our common liberties. But the Consuls have not thought proper to signify to me either by any decree of the Senate, or by their private letters, in what manner I should act in the present conjuncture. I have received, indeed only one letter from *Pansa* since the *ides of March*, by which he advised me to allure the Senate, that I was ready to employ the forces under my command in any service they should require. But this would have been a very imprudent declaration, at a time when *Lepidus* had professed in his public speeches, as well as in the letters he wrote to all his friends, that he concurred in *ANTONY's* measures." [It does not appear that *Lepidus* was so explicit] "For could I possibly, without the consent of the former, find means to subvert my troops in their march through his provinces? But, granting that I could have surmounted this difficulty, I must have conquered another and a still greater; as nothing less than a pair of wings could have rendered it practicable for me to have crossed the *Alps*, whilst every pass was guarded by the troops of *Lepidus*. Add to this, that I could by no means convey my dispatches to *Rome*: As the couriers were not only exposed, in a thousand different places, to the danger of being plundered, but were detained likewise, by the express orders of *Lepidus*. It is well known,

"however,

V. R. 710. condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the Em-
 Eccl. Chr. pire; of which he seems to have formed the plan from this moment.
 42. Whereas,
 acc. Cor. 2

"however, that I publicly declared at *Corduba*, that it was my resolution not to resign this
 "province into any other hands than these which the Senate should appoint: Not to mention how
 "frequently I withstood all the applications that were made me for parting with the thirtieth
 "legion." [Very singular proofs these of his zeal for what Cicero called the Republic.]
 "I could not, indeed, have given it up without depriving myself of a very considerable
 "strength for the defence of the Republic: As there are no troops in the whole world
 "that are animated with a braver or more martial spirit than those of which this legion is
 "composed. Upon the whole, I hope you will do me the justice to believe, in the first
 "place, that I am extremely desirous of preserving the public tranquillity; as there is no-
 "thing I more sincerely wish than the safety of all my fellow-citizens: And in the second
 "place, that I am determined to vindicate my own and my country's cause.

"It gives me greater satisfaction than you can well imagine, that you admit my friend
 "into a share of your intimacy. Shall I own, nevertheless, that I cannot think of him
 "as the companion of your walks, and as bearing a part in the pleasantries of your con-
 "versation, without feeling some emotions of envy? This is a privilege, believe me,
 "which I infinitely value: As you shall most assuredly experience by my devoting the
 "whole of my time to your company, if ever we should live to see peace restored to the
 "Republic.

"I am much surprised that you did not mention in your letter, whether it would be
 "most satisfactory to the Senate that I should remain in this province, or march into *Ita-*
 "ly. If I were to consider only my own ease and safety, I should certainly continue here:
 "but as, in the present conjuncture, the Republic has more occasion for legions than for
 "provinces, (especially as the loss of the latter may with great ease be recovered) I have
 "determined to move towards *Italy* with my troops. For the rest, I refer you to the let-
 "ter I have written to *Pansa*: A copy of which I herewith transmit to you. Farewell."
Corduba, March the 16th. There must be an error in this date; or in the body of the
 letter, where *Pollio* writes, that he had received but one letter from *Pansa*, since the 15th,
 or the ides of *March*: It was probably written about six weeks after, or in the end of
May.

ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam.

x. 31.

Meim. xv.

7.

"I should be
 "glad the Senate would determine in what manner they would have me act. I am at the
 "head of three brave legions, one of which *Antony* took great pains to draw over to his
 "interest, at the commencement of the war. For this purpose, he caused it to be signi-
 "fied to them, that, the very first day they should enter into his camp, every soldier should
 "receive *five hundred denarii*;" [about 16 l.] "besides which, he also assured them, that,
 "if he obtained the victory, they should receive an equal share of the spoils with his own
 "troops: A reward which all the world knows would have been without end or measure.
 "These promises made a deep impression upon them: And it was with great difficulty I
 "kept them from deserting. I should not, indeed, have been able to have effected this,
 "if I had not cantoned them in distant quarters: As some of the cohorts, notwithstand-
 "ing they were thus separated, had the insolence to mutiny. *Antony* also endeavoured to
 "gain the rest of the legions by immense offers. Nor was *Lepidus* less importunate with
 "me to send him the thirtieth legion; which he solicited both by his own letters, and
 "by those which he caused *Antony* to write. The Senate will do me the justice therefore
 "to believe, as no advantages could tempt me to sell my troops, nor any dangers, which
 "I had reason to apprehend, if *Antony* and *Lepidus* should prove Conquerors, could pre-
 "vail with me to diminish their number, that I was thus tenacious of my army for no
 "other purpose but to employ it in the service of the Republic. And let the readiness,
 "with which I have obeyed all the orders I received from the Senate, be a proof that I
 "would have complied in the same manner with every other they should have thought
 "proper

Whereas, if *Antony* had been wholly destroyed, together with the Con-
suls, the Republican party would have probably been too strong for
him

Y. R. 710.

Bef. Chr.

42.

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“ proper to have sent me. I have preserved the tranquillity of this province; I have
“ maintained my authority over the army; and have never once moved beyond the li-
“ mits of my own jurisdiction. I must add likewise, that I have never employed any sol-
“ dier, either of my own troops, or those of my auxiliaries, in carrying any dispatches
“ whatsoever: And I have constantly punished such of my cavalry whom I have found at
“ any time attempting to desert. I shall think these cares sufficiently rewarded, in seeing
“ the peace and security of the public restored. But, if the majority of the Senate and
“ the Commonwealth, indeed, in general, had known me for what I am, I should have
“ been able to have rendered them much more important service.” *Corduba, June the 8th.*

The same Commander wrote the following letter, after receiving the news of *Antony's*
defeat.

ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO.

“ IT is owing to *Lepidus*, who detained my couriers above a week, that I did not re-
“ ceive earlier advice of the several actions near *Mutina*: Though indeed I should be glad
“ to have been the last that was informed of this *unhappy news*, if it were utterly out of
“ my power to be of any assistance in redressing its consequences. I wish the Senate had
“ ordered me into *Italy*, when they sent for *Plancus* and *Lepidus*: For, if I had been pre-
“ sent, the Republic would not have received this *cruel wound*. And though some, per-
“ haps, may rejoice in this event, from the great number of principal officers and vete-
“ ran soldiers of the *Cæsarean* party, who have perished; yet they will, undoubtedly, find
“ reason to lament it, when they shall be sensible of the terrible desolation it has brought
“ upon their country. For, if what is related concerning the number of the slain be in
“ any degree true, the flower and strength of our armies is intirely cut off.

“ I was well aware of the great advantage it would have proved to the Republic, if I
“ could have joined *Lepidus*: As I should have been able, and especially with the assist-
“ ance of *Plancus*, to have dissipated those doubts which occasioned his delay in declaring
“ for the Senate. But the letters which I received from him being written (as you will
“ perceive by the copies I herewith transmit) in the same spirit with those speeches, which
“ it is said, he made to his army at *Narbo*; I found it necessary to act with some sort of
“ artifice towards him, if I hoped to obtain leave to march my troops through his pro-
“ vince. I was apprehensive, likewise, if an engagement should happen before I could
“ execute my designs, that the known friendship I had with *Antony* (though not superior,
“ indeed, to that which *Plancus* entertained for him) would give my enemies an occasion of
“ misrepresenting my intentions. For these reasons I dispatched two couriers from *Gades* in
“ the month of *April*, by two different ships, with letters, not only to you and to *Octa-*
“ *avius*, but to the Consuls also, requesting to be informed in what manner my services
“ might most avail to the Republic. But, if I am right in my calculation, these ships did
“ not fail till the very day on which the battle was fought between *Pansa* and *Antony*:
“ As that was the soonest, I think, since the winter, that these seas were navigable. To
“ these reasons for not marching. I must add, that I had so little apprehension of this civil war,
“ that I settled the winter-quarters of my troops in the very remotest parts of *Lusitania*.
“ Both armies, it should seem, were as eager to come to an action, as if their greatest fears on
“ each side were, lest some less destructive expedient might be found of composing our disturbances.”
[This is a severe censure of *Cicero's* management, and the style of the letter in general
could not be agreeable to him.] “ However, if circumstances required so much precipita-
“ tion, I must do *Hirtius* the justice to acknowledge, that he conducted himself with all
“ the skill and courage of a consummate General.

“ I am informed, by my letters from that part of *Gaul* which is under the command of
“ *Lepidus*, that *Pansa's* whole army is cut to pieces, and that he himself is since dead of
“ his wounds. They add, that the *Martial* legion is intirely destroyed, and that *Lucius*
“ *Fabatus*, *Caius Peducaeus*, and *Decimus Carjulenus* are among the number of the slain.

“ My

Y. R. 712. him and *Lepidus*, who, though Master of a good army, was certainly
 Bef. Chr. a weak General: When he was pressed, therefore, to pursue *Antony*,
 42. he
 409 Conl.

" My intelligence farther assures me, that, in the subsequent attack by *Hirtius*, both he
 " and *Antony* lost all their legions: That the *fourth* legion, after having taken *Antony's*
 " camp, was engaged and defeated by the *first*, with terrible slaughter: That *Hirtius*,
 " together with *Pontius Aquila*, and, as it is reported, *Octavius* likewise, were killed in the
 " action. [This gives some colour to *Antony's* reproach, that *Octavius* fled from, and dis-
 " appeared for three days after the battle.] " If this should prove true, which the gods
 " forbid, I shall be very greatly concerned. My advices farther import, that *Antony* has,
 " with great disgrace, abandoned the siege of *Mutina*: However, that he has . . . com-
 " plete regiments of horse still remaining, together with one which belongs to *Pullius*
 " *Baginrus*, as also a considerable number of disarmed soldiers. That *Ventidius* has joined
 " him with the *seventh*, the *eighth*, and the *ninth* legions; and that *Antony* is determined,
 " if there should be no hopes of gaining *Lepidus*, to have recourse to the last expedient, and
 " arm not only the Provincials, but even the slaves. In fine, that *Lucius Antonius*, after
 " having plundered the city of *Parma*, has posted himself upon the *Alps*. If these seve-
 " ral particulars are true, there is no time to be lost. And every man who wishes that
 " the Republic, or even the name of the *Roman* people, may subsist, should immediately,
 " without waiting for the express orders of the Senate, contribute his utmost assistance to
 " extinguish these dreadful flames. I hear that *D. Brutus* is at the head of only seventeen
 " cohorts, together with two incomplete legions of new-raised troop, which had been
 " levied by *Antony*. I doubt not, however, that the remains of the forces commanded by
 " *Hirtius* will join him. I hope so, at least; as there is little, I think, to be expected
 " from any new recruits that may be raised; especially since nothing can be more dan-
 " gerous than to give *Antony* time to recover strength.

" My next letters from *Italy* will determine the plan of my operations: And as the
 " corn is now cut down, and partly carried in, I shall be more at liberty to execute them
 " without obstruction from the season of the year. In the mean time, let me assure you,
 " that I will neither desert nor survive the Republic. It is a misfortune, however, that
 " my distance from the scene of action is so great, and the roads so infested, that it is
 " often six weeks, and sometimes more, ere I can be informed of any event that has hap-
 " pened. Farewell."

This letter is without a date, but appears to have been written in the end of *June*, or
 the beginning of *July*.

Correspondence be- L. Munatius Plancus, who had been Prætor during the *Spanish* war, was now Governor
 tween Plancus and Cicer- of farther *Gaul*, and had the command of three legions: Upon the death of *Cæsar*, Cicer-
 onus. 5, 6, 7.) and *Plancus*, who was to succeed to the consulate the year following, together
 with *D. Brutus*, thought it for his interest to declare in favour of the public Council of the
 State, which he saw supported by his Colleague elect, by the two Consuls, and *Octavius*.
 He had hesitated long before he declared himself.

PLANCUS, Consul Elect, to the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes, the
 Senate, and the Commons of *Rome*.

Ep. Fam. 2. 3. " BEFORE I make any professions with respect to my future conduct, I deem it ne-
 Alcim. xiii. cessary to justify myself to those who may think that I have held the Republic too long in
 17. " suspense concerning my designs. For I would by no means have it imagined that I am
 " atoning for my past behaviour, when, in fact, I am only seizing the first favourable
 " opportunity of publicly declaring a resolution, which I have long formed. I was in no
 " sort ignorant, however, that, at a time of such general and alarming confusions, a less
 " deliberate discovery of my intentions would have proved most to my own private advan-
 " tage: As I was sensible that several of my fellow-citizens had been distinguished with
 " great

he contrived still to delay it, till it was too late; thinking he was more usefully employed in securing to his interests the troops of the
 VOL. IV. S f Consuls, ^{Y. R. 710.} ^{Bef. Chr.} ^{42.} ^{409 Conf.}

“ great honours, by a more hasty explication of their purposes. But as fortune has
 “ placed me in such a situation that I could not be earlier in testifying mine, without pre-
 “ judicing that cause, which I could better serve by concealing them; I was willing to
 “ suffer for a season in the good opinion of the world, as I preferred the interest of the
 “ Public to that of my own reputation. That this was the genuine motive of my pro-
 “ ceedings can not reasonably, I trust, be questioned. For can it be supposed, that a
 “ man in my prosperous circumstances, and of my well-known course of life, whose utmost
 “ hopes too were upon the very point of being crowned, could be capable either of meanly
 “ submitting to the destructive ambition of another, or impiously cherishing any dan-
 “ gerous schemes of his own? But it required some time, as well as much pains and ex-
 “ pence, to render myself able to perform those assurances I purposed to give to the Re-
 “ public, and to every friend of her cause; that I might not approach with mere empty
 “ professions to the assistance of my country, but with the power of performing an effec-
 “ tual service. To this end, as the army under my command had been strongly and
 “ frequently solicited to revolt, it was necessary to persuade them, that a moderate re-
 “ ward, conferred by the general voice of the Commonwealth, was far preferable to an
 “ infinitely greater, from any single hand. My next labour was to convince those many
 “ cities, which had been gained the last year by largesses and other donations, that these
 “ were obligations of no validity, and that they should endeavour to obtain the same be-
 “ nefactions from a better and more honourable quarter. I had still the farther task, to
 “ prevail with those who commanded in the neighbouring provinces to join with the
 “ more numerous party, in a general association for the defence of our common liberties,
 “ rather than unite with the smaller number, in hopes of dividing the spoils of a victory,
 “ that must prove fatal to the whole world. Add to this, that I was obliged to augment
 “ my own troops and those of my auxiliaries; that I might have nothing to fear, when-
 “ ever I should think proper, contrary to the inclination of some about me, openly to avow
 “ the cause it was my resolution to defend. Now I shall never be ashamed to acknow-
 “ ledge, that, in order to bring these several schemes to bear, I submitted, tho’ very un-
 “ willingly, indeed, to the mortification of *dissembling* the intentions I really had, and of
 “ *counterfeiting* those which I certainly had not: *As the fate of my colleague* [D. Brutus] *had*
 “ *taught me how dangerous it is for a man, who means well to his country, to divulge his resolu-*
 “ *tions, ere he is sufficiently prepared to carry them into execution.*” [To what particular circum-
 “ stance of Decimus’s conduct Plancus alludes, history does not discover: Perhaps he indiscreet-
 “ ly threatened, in his consulate, to annul Antony’s acts, which imprudent declaration of his
 “ sentiments engaged Antony to dispossess him of the important province of *Cisalpine Gaul*.]
 “ For this reason it was that I directed my brave and worthy Lieutenant, C. Furnius, to
 “ represent to you, more fully than I thought prudent to explain in my dispatches, those
 “ measures which seemed necessary both for the preservation of this province, and of the
 “ Republic in general; as being the more concealed method of conveying my sentiments
 “ to you upon that subject, as well as the safer with respect to myself.

“ It appears then, that I have long been secretly attentive to the defence of the Com-
 “ monwealth. But, now that, by the bounty of the gods, I am in every respect better
 “ prepared for that purpose, I desire to give the world not only reason to hope well of
 “ my intentions, but clear and undoubted proofs of their sincerity.

“ I have five legions in readiness to march; all of them zealously attached to the Re-
 “ public, and disposed by my liberalities to pay an intire obedience to my orders. The
 “ same disposition appears in every city throughout this province: As they earnestly vie
 “ with each other in giving me the strongest marks of their duty. Accordingly they have
 “ furnished me with as considerable a body of auxiliary forces both horse and foot, as
 “ they could possibly have raised for the support of their own national liberties. As for
 “ myself, I am ready either to remain here, in order to protect this province, or to march
 “ wheresoever else the Republic shall demand my services. I will offer you another al-
 “ ternative;

Y. R. 710
 Bef. Chr.
 43.
 459 Conf.

Consuls, and watching the motions of the Senate : And, besides, most of the officers and soldiers in his army were attached to *Antony*. D.
Brutus

"ternative; and either resign my troops and government into any hands that shall be appointed, or draw upon myself the whole weight of the war: If, by this means, I may be able to establish the tranquillity of my country, or even retard those calamities with which it is threatened.

"If, at the time I am making these declarations, our public disturbances should happily be composed, I shall rejoice in an event so advantageous to the Commonwealth, notwithstanding the honour I shall lose by being too late in the tender of my services."

[This passage sufficiently discovers, says *M. Melmoth*, the true motive of *Plancus's* present declarations: As they appear evidently to have flowed from some reason he had to believe, that the contest between *Antony* and the Senate was likely to be adjusted in an amicable manner.] "But, on the contrary, if I am early enough in my offers to bear a full part in all the dangers of the war, let me recommend it to every man of justice and candour to vindicate me against the malevolence of those, whom envy may prompt to asperse my character.

"In my own particular, I desire no greater reward for my services, than the satisfaction of having contributed to the security of the Republic. But I think myself bound to recommend those brave and worthy men to your especial favour, who, partly in compliance with my persuasions, but much more in confidence of your good faith, would not suffer themselves to be prevailed upon by all the applications that have been made, both to their hopes and their fears, to depart from their duty to the Commonwealth."

This letter, which bears no date, appears to have been written in the beginning of *March*: *Cicero's* answer to it, *Ep. Fam.* x. 10. *Melmoth*. xiii. 18, is dated *March* the 30th. In a subsequent letter, received at *Rome* the 7th of *April*, which is lost, he sent the Senate a more satisfactory account of his designs, and acquainted them that he had begun his march towards *Italy*, which afforded *Cicero* an occasion to move, that honours should be decreed him: The following very instructive letter is an account of the debates of the Senate on that occasion.

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam.
 x. 12.
Melmoth xiii.

"IT is principally for the sake of my country, that I ought to rejoice in the very powerful succours with which you have strengthened the Republic, at a juncture when it is well-nigh reduced to the last extremity. I protest, however, by all my hopes of congratulating you on the victorious deliverance of the Commonwealth, that a considerable part of the joy which I feel, upon this occasion, arises from the share I take in your glory. Great, indeed, is the reputation you have already acquired; and great, I am persuaded, are the honours that will hereafter be paid to you: For, assure yourself, nothing could make a stronger impression upon the Senate than your late letter to that assembly. It did so, both with respect to those very important services, which it brought us an account you had performed, and with regard to that strength of sentiment and expression with which it was drawn up. It contained nothing, however, which was in the least unexpected to myself: As I was not only perfectly well acquainted with your heart, and had not forgotten the promises you had given me in your letters; but as I had received from *Farnius* a full information of all your designs. They appeared, however, to the Senate, much beyond what they had allowed themselves to hope: Not that they ever entertained the least doubt of your disposition, but because they were by no means sufficiently apprised either of what you were in a condition to effect, or whither you purposed to march. It was with infinite pleasure, therefore, that I read the letter, which *M. Variscus* delivered to me on your part. I received it, on the 7th of this month in the morning, amidst a large circle of very worthy citizens, who were attending in order to conduct me from my house: And I immediately gave them a share in my joy. Whilst we were mutually congratulating each other upon this happy occurrence,

“rence, *Munatius* [*Plancus's* brother] came to pay me his usual morning-visit; to whom
 “I likewise communicated your letter. It was the first notice he had received of an ex-
 “press being arrived from you: As *Varisidius*, in pursuance of your directions, did not
 “deliver any of his dispatches till he had first waited upon me. A short time, however,
 “after *Munatius* had left me, he returned, with your letter to himself, together also with
 “that which you wrote to the Senate. We thought proper to carry the latter immedi-
 “ately to *Cornutus*, who, as *Prætor of the city*, supplies the office of the *Consuls*, in their
 “absence, agreeably, you know, to an ancient and established custom. The Senate was in-
 “stantly summoned: And the expectation, that was raised by the general report of an ex-
 “press being arrived from you, brought together a very full assembly. As soon as your
 “letter was read, it was objected that *Cornutus* had not taken the auspices in a proper
 “manner: And this scruple was confirmed by the general sentiment of our college [of *Augurs*.]
 “In consequence of this, the Senate was adjourned to the following day: When I had a warm
 “contest with *Servilius*, who strenuously opposed the passing of any decree to your ho-
 “nour. For this purpose, he had the interest [with *Cornutus*] to procure his own motion
 “to be first proposed to the Senate: Which being rejected, however, by a great majo-
 “rity, mine was next taken into consideration. But, when the Senate had unanimously
 “agreed to it, *P. Titius* [one of the *Tribunes*] at the instigation of *Servilius*, interposed
 “his negative. The farther deliberation, therefore, upon this affair was postponed to
 “the next day: When *Servilius* came, prepared to support an opposition, which in some
 “sort might be considered as injurious to the honour even of *Jupiter* himself, as it was
 “in the Capitol that the Senate, upon this occasion, was assembled. I leave it to your
 “other friends to inform you, in what manner I mortified *Servilius*, and with how much
 “warmth I exposed the contemptible interposition of *Titius*. But this I will myself as-
 “sure you, that the Senate could not possibly act with greater dignity and spirit, or shew
 “a stronger disposition to advance your honours, than it discovered upon this occasion.
 “Nor are you less in favour with the whole city in general: As, indeed, all orders and
 “degrees of men amongst us remarkably concur in the same common zeal for the delive-
 “rance of the Republic. Persevere then, my friend, in the glorious course upon which
 “you have entered: And let nothing less than immortal fame be the object of your well-
 “directed ambition. Despise the false splendor of all those empty honours that are
 “short, transitory, and perishable. True glory is founded upon virtue alone: Which is
 “never so illustriously distinguished, as when it displays itself by important services to
 “our country. You have at this time a most favourable opportunity for that purpose:
 “Which, as you have already embraced, let it not slip out of your hands till you shall
 “have employed it to full advantage; lest it be said, that you are more obliged to the
 “Republic than the Republic is obliged to you. As for my own part, you will always
 “find me ready to contribute to the advancement, as well as to the support of your digni-
 “ties: As, indeed, it is what I owe, not only to our friendship, but to the Common-
 “wealth, which is far dearer to me than life itself. Farewell.” *April* the 11th.

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

“I passed the *Rhone*, Ep. Fam.
 “with my whole army, on the 27th of *April*: And immediately ordered a detachment of x. 9.
 “a thousand horse [or rather three thousand horse, as they are numbered in a subsequent Melm. xiv.
 “letter] “to advance before me from *Vienna*, by a shorter road, and by long marches. If
 “I meet with no obstructions on the part of *Lepidus*, the Republic will have reason to be
 “satisfied with my diligence and expedition: But, if he should attempt to intercept my
 “passage, I must take my measures as circumstances shall require. Of this, however, I
 “will now assure you, that the army I am conducting is highly respectable, whether
 “considered with regard to the nature, the number, or the fidelity of my troops. I will
 “only add, that I desire your friendship upon no other terms, than as you are sure I shall
 “always give you the warmest returns of mine.”

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam. x. 14. "HOW pleasing was the letter I received from you two days before our victory at
Melm. xiv. 4. "Mutina: Wherein you gave me an account of the state of your troops, of your zeal for
"the Republic, and of the expedition with which you were advancing to the relief of
"Sextus. But, notwithstanding the enemy was defeated before you could join our ar-
"my, the hopes, nevertheless, of the Commonwealth are still fixed intirely upon you: As
"the principal Leaders of these infamous Rebels have escaped, it is said, from the field of
"battle. You will remember, therefore, *that to exterminate the remains of this party will be
"as great as less acceptable to the Senate, than if you had given them the first repulse.*
"I am waiting, as well as many others, with great impatience, for the return of your
"couriers. I hope that our late success will now induce even *Lepidus* himself to act in con-
"cert with you for the defence of the common cause. I intreat you, my dear *Plancus*,
"to employ your utmost endeavours for this important purpose; that every spark of
"this horrid war may be utterly and for ever extinguished. If you should be able to ef-
"fect this, you will render a most godlike service to your country, and, at the same time,
"procure immortal honour to yourself. Farewell." *May the 5th.*
Cicero, after *Antony's* defeat at *Mutina*, obtained of the Senate the honours in favour of
Plancus, which *Sextus* and the Tribune *Tullius* had opposed before with success.

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 11. "I GIVE you a thousand and a thousand thanks for your late favours, which, as
Melm. xiv. 7. "long as I live, I shall always most gratefully acknowledge; more than this I dare not
"venture to promise. For I fear it will never be in my power to acquit such uncommon
"obligations: Unless you should think, (what your letter endeavours, indeed, with much
"serious eloquence, to persuade me, that to remember them is to return them. You could
"not have acted with a more affectionate zeal, if the dignities of your own son had been
"in question; and I am perfectly sensible of the high honours that were decreed to me
"in consequence of your first motion for that purpose. I am sensible too, that all your
"subsequent votes, in my behalf, were intirely conformable to the circumstances of the
"times, and the opinion of my friends; as I am informed, likewise, of the advantageous
"colours, in which you are perpetually representing me, as well as of the frequent con-
"tests you sustain with my injurious detractors. It is incumbent upon me, therefore, in
"the first place, to endeavour to convince the Republic, that I am worthy of the praises
"you bestow upon me; and, in the next place, to render you sensible, that I gratefully
"bear your friendship in remembrance. I will only add, under this article, that I desire
"you to protect me in the honours I have thus procured by your influence: But I desire
"it no otherwise than as my actions shall prove that I am the man you wish to find me.
"As soon as I had passed the *Rhene*, I detached a body of three thousand horse, un-
"der the conduct of my brother, with orders to advance towards *Mutina*; to which
"place I intended to follow them with the rest of my army. But, on my march thither,
"I received advice that an action had happened, and that the siege was raised. *Antony*,
"I find, has no other resource left, but to return into these parts, with the remains of
"his broken forces. His only hopes, indeed, are, that he may be able either to gain
"*Lepidus*, or his army: In which there are some troops no less disaffected to the Republic,
"than those which served under *Antony* himself. I thought proper, therefore to recall my
"cavalry, and to halt in the country of the *Allobroges*, that I might be ready to act as
"circumstances shall require. If *Antony* should retire into this country, destitute of
"men, I make no doubt, notwithstanding he should be received by the army of *Lepi-*
"*das*, to be able to give a good account of him with my present forces. Should he even
"appear at the head of some troops, and should *the tenth veteran legion* revolt, which, to-
"gether with the rest, was, by my means, prevailed upon to engage in the service of the
"Republic; yet I shall endeavour, by acting on the defensive, to prevent him from gain-
"ing any advantage over us: Which I hope to effect, till a reinforcement from *Italy* shall
"enable me to exterminate this desperate crew. I will venture, at least, to assure you,
"my

Brutus was, from the first apprehensive of his change¹, and, why he himself was not able to pursue his enemy so soon as he wished, he gives the following reasons in a letter to *Cicero*.

Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr.
42.
409 C. nf.

D. BRUTUS

“ my dear *Cicero*, neither zeal nor vigilance shall be wanting on my part for that purpose.
“ It is my sincere wish, indeed, that the Senate may have no farther fears : But, if any
“ should still remain, no man will enter into their cause with greater warmth and spirit,
“ nor be willing to suffer more in the support of it, than myself.

“ I am endeavouring to engage *Lepidus* to join with me in the same views : And I have
“ promised him, if he will act with a regard to the interest of the Republic, that I shall,
“ upon all occasions, yield him an entire deference. I have employed my brother, together
“ with *Furnus* and *Laelius*, to negotiate this association between us, and no private
“ injury done to myself shall ever prevent me from concurring with my greatest enemy,
“ whenever it may be necessary for the defence of the Commonwealth. But, notwith-
“ standing these overtures should prove unsuccessful, I shall still persevere with the same
“ zeal (and perhaps with more glory in my endeavours to give satisfaction to the Se-
“ nate.”

¹ D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

“ YOU are sensible how great a loss the Republic has sustained, by the death of *Pan-* Correspondence be-
“ *sa*. It behoves you, therefore, to exert all your credit and address to prevent our ene- tween D.
“ mies from entertaining any reasonable hope of recovering their strength, now that we Brutus and
“ have lost both our Consuls. I am preparing to pursue *Antony* immediately : And, I trust, Cicero.
“ shall be able to render it impossible either for *Antony* to continue in *Italy*, or for *Venti-* Ep. Fam.
“ *dus* to escape out of it — I make it my first and principal request, that you would xi. 9.
“ send to *Lepidus*, in order, if possible, to prevent that light and inconstant man from re- Mclm. xiv.
“ newing the war, by joining *Antony*; as to *Pollio*, I suppose you see very clearly the mea- 3.
“ sures he will pursue !” [that he will act in concert with *Lepidus*.] “ They are both at
“ the head of very numerous and warlike legions. I do not mention this as imagining
“ you are not equally attentive to this important point; but from a firm persuasion that
“ *LEPIDUS*, however dubious it may, perhaps, appear to the Senate, will never act of him-
“ self in the manner he ought. Let me intreat you, likewise, to confirm *Plancus* in his pre-
“ sent resolutions : Who, I should hope, when he sees *Antony* driven out of *Italy*, will not
“ be wanting in his assistance to the Republic. If the latter should have crossed the *Alps*,
“ I purpose to post a proper number of forces to guard the passes of those mountains :
“ And you may depend upon my giving you regular notice of all my motions.” From
my camp at *Regium* [Reggio between *Moldena* and *Parma*] April the 29th.

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

“ I LOOK upon the obligations I have received from you, as nothing inferior even I am.
“ to those which I have conferred upon the Republic : But I am not capable, you are well xi. 10.
“ assured, of making you so ill a return as I have experienced from some of my un- Mclm. xiv.
“ grateful countrymen. It might, perhaps, in the present conjuncture, be thought to 6.
“ have somewhat of the air of flattery to say, that your single applause outweighs, in my
“ esteem, their whole united approbation. It is certain, however, that you view my
“ actions by the faithful light of dispassionate truth and reason : Whereas they, on the
“ contrary, look upon them through the darkest clouds of envy and malevolence. But
“ I am little concerned how much soever they may oppose my honours, provided they do
“ not obstruct me in my services to the Republic : the very dangerous situation of which let
“ me now point out to you, in as few words as possible.
“ In the first place, you are sensible, what great disturbances the death of the Consuls
“ may create in *Rome* : As it may give occasion to all the dangerous practices that ambition will
“ suggest to those who are desirous of succeeding to their office. This is all that prudence will
“ advise.”

Y. R. 713.
Bel. Chr.

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

42.
409 Cons.

Ep. Fam.
II. 13.
Mém. xiv.
17.

" IF you will look back into my former letters, you cannot be at a loss to discover the reasons that prevented me from pursuing *Antony*, imme-

" allow me to say in a letter; and all, indeed, that is necessary to be said to a man of your penetration. [No, *Cicero*, the Prophet, had not this penetration, or wilfully shut his eyes.]—" As to *Antony*, notwithstanding he made his escape from the field of battle with but a very few troops, and those too entirely disarmed; yet, by setting open the prisons, and by pressing all sorts of men that fell in his way, he has collected no contemptible number of forces. These have, likewise been considerably augmented by the accession of the veteran and other troops of *Ventidius*: he, after a very difficult march, over the *Apennine* mountains, has found means to join *Antony* in the fens of *Sabazia*. [Between the *Alps* and the *Apennines* on the coast of *Genoa*] The only possible scheme which the latter can pursue is either to have recourse to *Lepidus*, if that General should be disposed to receive him; or to post him self on the *Alps* and *Apennines*, in order to make depredations with his cavalry (in which he is exceedingly strong) on the neighbouring country; or to march into *Etruria*. [Tuscany] " where we have no army to oppose him. Had *CÆSAR*, however, possessed the *Apennine* mountains, agreeably to my advice, I should have driven *Antony* into such difficulties, that, perhaps, without striking a single blow, I should have been able to have wasted his whole army by famine. But the misfortune is, that *Cæsar* will neither be governed by me, nor will his army be governed by him: Both which are very unhappy circumstances for our cause. His then being the sad state of public affairs, can I be solicitous, as I said above, what opposition I may meet with in respect to my own personal honours? The particulars I have here mentioned are of so very delicate a nature, that I know not how you will be able to touch upon them in the Senate: Or, if you should, I fear it will be to no purpose.—In the mean time, I am in no condition to subsist my troops any longer. When I first took up arms for the deliverance of the Commonwealth, I had above four hundred thousand sesteria, [about 322,000 l. sterl.] in ready money: But, at present, I have not only mortgaged every part of my estate, but have borrowed all I could possibly raise on the credit of my friends. I leave you to judge, therefore, with what difficulty I now maintain seven legions at my own expence. The truth is, I should not be equal to so great a charge, were I possessed of all *Varro's* immense treasures.—As soon as I shall receive any certain information of *Antony's* motions, I will give you notice." From my camp at *Tortona* [Tortona, about 30 miles from *Genoa*,] May the 5th.

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam.
II. 11.
Mém. xiv.
8.

" " I gave you an account, in my last, of the posture of our affairs: Since which I have received intelligence, that *Antony* is on his march towards *Lepidus*. Among some papers of *Antony*, which are fallen into my hands, I found a list of the several persons, whom he intended to employ as mediators in his behalf with *Pollio*, *Lepidus*, and *Plancus*: So that he has not yet, it seems, given up all hopes of gaining the latter. Nevertheless, I did not hesitate to send an immediate express to *Plancus*, with advice of *Antony's* march. I expect within few days to receive ambassadors from the *Allobroges*, and all the other districts of this province; and I doubt not of dismissing them strongly confirmed in their allegiance to the Republic. You will be attentive, on your part, I dare say, to promote all such necessary measures at *Rome* as shall be agreeable to your sentiments, and to the interest of the Commonwealth. I am equally persuaded that you will prevent, if it be possible to prevent, the malevolent schemes of my enemies. But, if you should not succeed in these generous endeavours, you will, at least, have the satisfaction to find, that no indignities they can throw upon me are capable

“ immediately after the battle of *Mutina*. The truth, my dear *Cicero*,
 “ is, that I was not only unprovided both with cavalry and baggage-
 “ horses, Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr.
42.
409 Conf.

“ capable of deterring me from my purposes. From my camp on the frontiers of the
 “ *Statiellenses*,” [A territory in *Liguria*, the principal town of which was *Aquæ Statiellorum*, now called *Aqui*, in the district of *Montferrat*.] May the 5th.

CICERO to D. BRUTUS, Consul Elect.

“ THE message you commissioned *Galba* and *Volumnius* to deliver to the Senate suf-
 “ ficiently intimates the nature of those fears and suspicions, which you imagine we have
 “ reason to entertain. But I must confess that the apprehensions you would thus infuse
 “ into us seem by no means worthy of that glorious victory you have obtained over the
 “ enemies of the Commonwealth. Believe me, my dear *Brutus*, both the Senate, and
 “ the Generals that support its cause, are animated with an undaunted resolution: We
 “ were sorry, therefore, that you, whom we esteem the bravest Captain that ever the Re-
 “ public employed, should think us capable of any timidity. Is it possible, indeed, af-
 “ ter having confidently reposed our hopes on your courage and conduct, when you were
 “ invested by *Antony* in all the fulness of his strength and power, that any of us should
 “ harbour the least fear, now that the siege is raised, and the enemy’s army entirely over-
 “ thrown. Nor have we any thing, surely, to apprehend from *Lepidus*. For who can
 “ imagine him so utterly void of all rational conduct, as to have professed himself an ad-
 “ vocate for peace, when we were engaged in a most necessary and important war; and
 “ yet to take up arms, the moment that peace is restored? You are far too sagacious, I
 “ doubt not, to entertain such a thought.” [For the honour of *Cicero*’s sagacity, we must
 “ suppose that he is not in earnest.] “ Nevertheless, the fears you have renewed amongst us,
 “ at a time, when every temple throughout *Rome* is resounding with our thanksgivings
 “ for your deliverance, has cast a very considerable damp upon our joy. May the fact
 “ prove then, what indeed I am inclined to believe, as well as hope, that *Antony* is com-
 “ pletely vanquished. But, should he happen to recover some degree of strength, he
 “ will most assuredly find, that neither the Senate is destitute of wisdom, nor the People
 “ of courage: I will add too, nor the Republic of a General, so long as you shall be
 “ alive to lead forth her armies.” May the 19th. Ep. Fam.
xi. 18.
Melm. xiv.
11.

CICERO to D. BRUTUS, Consul Elect.

“ IT is with infinite satisfaction, my dear *Brutus*, that I find you approve my conduct in
 “ the Senate, with respect both to the *Decemvirs*,” [They were probably the ten per-
 “ sons whom the Senate, in the first transports of joy for their supposed complete victory
 “ over *Antony*, had appointed to inquire into his conduct during his late consulship] “ and
 “ to the honours decreed to our young man. Yet, after all, what have my labours
 “ availed? Believe me, my friend, and you know I am not apt to boast, the Senate was
 “ the grand engine of my power: But all those springs, which I used so successfully to
 “ manage, have utterly lost their force, and I can no longer direct its motions. The truth
 “ of it is, the news of your glorious sally with the garrison of *Mutina*, of *Antony*’s flight,
 “ and of his army being intirely cut to pieces, had inspired such confident hopes of a
 “ complete victory, that the disappointment has cast a general damp upon the spirit I
 “ had raised against our enemies: And all my ardent invectives seem at last to have proved
 “ just as insignificant as if I had been combating with my own shadow. But to the
 “ purpose of your letter.—Those, who are acquainted with the dispositions of the *fourth*
 “ and *Martial* legions, assure me, they will never be prevailed on to serve under you.
 “ As to the supply of money, which you desire, some measures may, and most assuredly shall,
 “ be taken, in order to raise it.—I am wholly in your sentiments, with regard to the calling
 “ *Brutus* out of *Greece*, and retaining *Cæsar* here for the protection of *Italy*. I agree
 “ with you, likewise, my dear *Brutus*, that you have enemies: And, though I find it,
 “ indeed,

Y. R. 715. " horses, but, not having, at that time, had an interview with *Cæsar*,
 Bel. Chr. " I could not depend upon his assistance : And I was wholly ignorant
 42.
 459 Conf. " likewise, that *Hirtius* was killed, This will account for my not ha-
 ————— " ving pursued *Antony* on the day of the engagement. The day fol-
 " lowing I received an express from *Pansa* to attend him at *Bononia* :
 " But, in my way thither, being informed of his death, I immediately
 " returned

" indeed, no very difficult matter to sustain their attacks, yet still, however, they some-
 " what embarrass my schemes in your favour.—The legions from *Africa* are daily ex-
 " pected. In the mean time, the world is greatly astonished to find that the war is broke
 " out again in your province. Nothing, in truth, ever happened so unexpectedly : As
 " we had promised ourselves, from the account of the victory, which was brought to us
 " on your birth-day, that the peace of the Republic was established for many genera-
 " tions. But, now, all our fears are revived, with as much strength as ever.—You men-
 " tioned, in your letter, dated the 15th of *May*, [it is lost] " that you was just informed,
 " by an express from *Plancus*, that *Lepidus* had refused to receive *Antony*. Should this prove
 " to be fact, our business will be so much the easier ; if not, we shall have a very difficult
 " struggle to maintain ; and it depends upon you to ease me of my great apprehensions
 " for the event. As for my own part, I have exhausted all my powers, and am utterly
 " incapable of doing more than I have already performed. It is far otherwise, however,
 " with my friend : And I not only wish, but expect, to see you the greatest and most dis-
 " tinguished of *Romans*. Farewell."

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS, Consul Elect.

Ep. Fam. " I AM indebted to you for your short letter by *Flaccus Volumnius*, as well as for two
 xi. 12. " others more full ; one of which was brought by the courier of *T. Vibius*, as the other
 Milm. xiv. " was forwarded to me by *Lepus* : And all of them came to my hands on the same day.
 16. " I find, by your own account, as well as by that which *Gracius* has given me, that the
 " war, so far from being extinguished, seems to be breaking out again with greater vio-
 " lence. You are sensible, if *Antony* should gain any strength, that all your illustrious
 " services to the Republic will be utterly frustrated. The first accounts we received here,
 " and which, indeed, were universally credited, represented him as having run away in
 " great consternation ; attended only with a few frightened and disarmed soldiers. But if
 " the truth, after all, should be, what *Gracius* assures me, that *ANTONY* is in fact so strong,
 " as to render it unsafe to give him battle ; he does not seem so much to have fled from *Mutina*,
 " as to have changed the face of war. This unexpected news has given all *Rome* another
 " countenance. And a general air of disappointment appears in every face. There are even
 " some among us who complain of your not having immediately pursued *ANTONY*, as they
 " imagine, if not he had been hit, that he must inevitably have been destroyed. But it is
 " usual with the people in all governments, and especially in ours, to be particularly dis-
 " posed to abuse their liberty, by licentious reflections on those to whom they are in-
 " debted for the enjoyment of it. However, one should be careful not to give them any just
 " cause for their censures." [The letter copied above, in the body of the history, is the
 " answer to this unreasonable, unseasonable, and ungenerous reflection.]—" To say all in one
 " word, whoever destroys *ANTONY* will have the glory of terminating the war : A HINT
 " WHICH I HAD RATHER LEAVE TO YOUR OWN REFLECTIONS, THAN ENTER MY-
 " SELF INTO A MORE OPEN EXPLANATION. Farewell." [In a letter to *Plancus*, Ep.
 Fam. x. 13 Milm. xiv. 5. we find the same hint. " Let me only intreat you to finish the
 " work, which others have so happily begun ; remembering, that whoever shall destroy
 " *Antony* will have the whole honour of concluding this war. It is thus that *Homer* gives
 " the glory, not to *Ajax* or *Achilles*, but to *Ulysses* alone, of having exterminated *Trojans*."
 [His meaning could hardly be mistaken, that any stratagem would be fair and honourable,
 which should for ever remove *ANTONY* out of their way. See *McKnight*, Vol. III. p. 260.]

“ returned back to join my *little corps*. I may justly call them so, in-
 “ deed, as my forces are greatly diminished, and in a very bad condi-
 “ tion, from the great hardships they suffered during the siege. It was
 “ by these means that *Antony* got two days advance of me: And, as
 “ he marched in disorder, he could retire much faster than it was in my
 “ power to pursue. He increased his forces likewise, by pressing the
 “ inhabitants, and throwing open the prisons, in every town through
 “ which he passed: And in this manner he continued his march, till he
 “ arrived in the *Fens of Sabata*. This is a place with which I must
 “ bring you acquainted. It is situated between the *Alps* and the *Apen-*
 “ *nines*, and the roads that lie about it are scarce practicable. When I
 “ had reached within thirty miles of *Antony*, I was informed that he had
 “ been joined by *Ventidius*, and had made a speech at the head of their
 “ combined troops, to persuade them to follow him over the *Alps*; as-
 “ suring them *that LEPIDUS had agreed to support him*. Nevertheless,
 “ not only his own soldiers, which, indeed, are a very inconsiderable
 “ number, but those likewise of *Ventidius*, wholly and unanimously
 “ declared, that they were determined either to conquer, or perish in
 “ *Italy*: And, at the same time, desired they might be conducted to
 “ *Pollentia*². *Antony* found it in vain to oppose them: However, he
 “ deferred his march till the ensuing day. As soon as I received this
 “ intelligence, I detached five cohorts to *Pollentia*: And am now fol-
 “ lowing them with the remainder of my troops. This detachment
 “ threw themselves into that city an hour before *Trebellius* arrived with
 “ his cavalry: A circumstance which gives me great satisfaction, as it
 “ is a point, I think, upon which our whole success depends. When
 “ the enemy found their designs were thus frustrated, they conceived
 “ hopes of crossing the *Alps* into *Gaul*: As they supposed the four le-
 “ gions commanded by *Plancus* would not be able to withstand their
 “ united forces; and that an army from *Italy* could not overtake them
 “ soon enough to prevent their passage. However, the *Allobroges*, to-
 “ gether with my detachment, have hitherto been sufficient to prevent
 “ their design: Which, I trust, they will find still more difficult to ef-
 “ fect, when I shall come up with the rest of my forces. But, should
 “ they happen, in the mean time, to pass the *Isara* [*Isere*], I shall exert
 “ my utmost endeavours that this circumstance may not be attended
 “ with any ill consequences to the Commonwealth.

“ Let it raise the spirits and hopes of the Senate, to observe, that
 “ *Plancus* and myself, together with our respective armies, act in per-
 “ fect concert with each other, and are ready to hazard every danger in
 “ support of the common cause. However, whilst you thus confident-
 “ ly rely on our zeal and diligence, you will remit nothing, I hope, of

² Some remains of this city still subsist, under the name of *Polenzo*. It is situated at the confluence of the *Stura* and the *Tanaro*, in *Piedmont*.

Y. R. 710. " your own ; but employ your utmost care to send us a reinforcement,
 Ref. Chr. " as well as every other necessary supply, that may render us in a con-
 42. dition to defend your liberties against those who have infamously
 409 Conf. " conspired their ruin. One cannot, indeed, but look upon these our
 " enemies with so much the greater indignation, as they have acted
 " with the vilest hypocrisy ; and suddenly turned those troops against
 " their country, which they long pretended to have raised for its de-
 " fence."

Middl. p. This authentic account from *D. Brutus* confutes two facts, which are
 439. delivered by *Appian*, and generally received by all the modern histo-
 L. iii. p. rians ; first, that *Octavius*, after the victory, refused to have any con-
 573. ference with *D. Brutus* ; and that *Brutus*, for that reason, forbade him
 to enter his province, or to pursue *Antony* : Secondly, that *Pansa*, in
 his last moments, sent for *Octavius* and advised him to an union with *An-
 tony* against the Senate. Both the stories seem to have been forged af-
 terwards to save *Octavius's* honour, and give a better colour to that
 sudden change of measures, which, from this hour, he was determined
 to pursue ^a.

D. Brutus complains, in all his letters, of his want of money and the
 sad condition of his army, which was not contemptible for the number,
 but for the kind of his troops ; being, for the most part, new-raised,
 bare, and needy of all things. He desired, therefore, a present sup-
 ply of money, and some veteran legions, especially the *fourth* and *Mar-
 tial*, which continued still with *Octavius*. This was readily decreed to
 him by the Senate, at the motion of *Drusus* and *Paulus*, *Lepidus's* bro-
 ther ; but the legions refused to serve under him. He had also desired
Cicero to write to *Lepidus* not to receive *Antony*, though he was sure, he
 says, that *LEPIDUS* would never do any thing that was right : And wishes,
 likewise, that *Cicero* would confirm *Plancus* ; since, by some of *Antony's*
 papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived that *Antony* had not lost
 all hopes of him ; and thought himself sure of *Lepidus* and *Pollio*. Of
 which he gave *Plancus* immediate notice, and signified, that he was
 coming forward with all expedition to join with him.

Plancus,

^a There is an original medal still remaining, that gives no small confirmation to this
 notion ; and was struck probably at *Rome*, either by *Pansa* himself, upon his marching
 out towards *Arminia* ; or by the Senate, soon after *Pansa's* death ; in testimony of the strict
 union that subsisted between him and *D. Brutus Albinus*. For, on the one side, there is
 the head of a *Silenus*, as it is called, or rather of *Pan*, which is frequent on *Pansa's* coins,
 with the inscription also of his name, C. PANSA : And, on the other, ALBINUS. BRUTI.
 F. with two right hands joined, holding a caduceus, as an emblem of the strictest amity and
 concord. See *Fam. Vibia.* in *Vaisset.* or *Morel.*

PLANCUS,

*Plancus*ⁱ, as may be seen in his correspondence with *Cicero* above, had begun a negociation with *Lepidus*, to unite their forces against *Antony*:

Y. R. 710.

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PLANCUS TO CICERO.

Continuation of the correspondence between *Plancus* and *Cicero*.

"SOME occurrences have arisen since I closed my former letter, of which I think it may import the Republic that you should be apprised. As both the Commonwealth and myself, I hope, have reaped advantage from my assiduity in the affair I am going to mention. I solicited *Lepidus*, by repeated expresses, to lay aside all animosities between us, and amicably unite with me in concerting measures for the succour of the Republic; conjuring him to prefer the interest of his family and his country to that of a contemtable and desperate rebel; and assuring him, that, if he did so, he might entirely command me upon all occasions. Accordingly, by the intervention of *LATERENSIS*, I have succeeded in my negociation, and *LEPIDUS* has given me his honour, that, if he cannot prevent *ANTONY* from entering his province, he will most certainly lead his army against him. He requests, likewise, that I should join him with my forces; and the rather, as *Antony* is extremely strong in cavalry, whereas that of *Lepidus* is very considerable: And, out of these few, ten of his best men have lately deserted to my camp. As soon as I received this express, I lost no time to forward and assist the good intentions of *Lepidus*. I clearly saw, indeed, the advantage that would arise from my joining him: As my horse would be of service in pursuing and destroying *Antony's* cavalry, and as the presence of my troops in general would be a restraint upon the disaffected part of those under his command. To this end, having spent a day in throwing a bridge across the *Isara* [*Isere*], a very considerable river that bounds the territories of the *Allobroges*, I passed it, with my whole army, on the 12th of May. But, having received advice that *L. Antonius* [*Antony's* brother] "was advancing towards us with a body of horse and foot, and that he was actually arrived at *Forum Julii* [*Frejus*]; I ordered, on the 14th, a detachment of four thousand horse to meet him under the command of my brother: Whom I purpose to follow, by long marches, with four light-armed legions, and the remainder of my cavalry. And, should that fortune, which presides over the Republic, prove in any degree favourable to my arms, I shall soon put an end at once both to our own fears, and to the hopes of these insolent rebels. But if the infamous *Antony*, apprised of our approach, should retire towards *Italy*; it will be the business of *Brutus* to intercept his march: And *Brutus*, I am persuaded, will not be wanting either in courage and conduct for that purpose. Nevertheless, I shall, in that case, send my brother with a detachment of horse to harass *Antony* in his retreat, and to protect *Italy* from his depredations."

Ep. Fam.

x. 15.

Melm. xiv.

9.

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

"*ANTONY* arrived at *Forum Julii* [*Frejus*] with the van of his army on the 15th of May: And *Ventidius* is only two days march behind him. *Lepidus* writes me word, that he proposes to wait for me at *Forum Voconis* [*Le Luc*] where he is at present encamped; a place about four-and-twenty miles distant from *Forum Julii*: If he and fortune do not deceive my expectations, the Senate may depend upon my speedily terminating this business to their full satisfaction.—I mentioned to you, in a former letter, that the great fatigues which my brother had undergone by his continual marches had extremely impaired his constitution. However, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered to get abroad, he considered his health as an acquisition which he had gained as much for the service of the Republic, as for himself; and was the first, therefore, to engage in every hazardous expedition. But I have recommended it to him, and indeed insisted that he should return to *Rome*, as he would be much more likely to wear himself away by continuing in the camp, than be able to give me any assistance. Besides, I imagined, now that the Republic was most unhappily deprived of both the Consuls, that the presence of so worthy a magistrate would be absolutely necessary at *Rome*. But, if any

Ep. Fam.

x. 17.

Melm. xiv.

12.

of

Y. R. 710. It was managed on *Plancus's* side by *Furnius*; on *Lepidus's* by *Laterensis*, one of his Lieutenants, a true friend to the Senate and zealous to engage
 E. 5. 42. 407 C. J. f.

" of you should think otherwise, let me be censured for my imprudent advice, but let
 " not my brother be condemned as failing in his duty. — *Lepidus*, agreeably to my re-
 " quest, has delivered *Apella* into my hands, as an hostage for the faithful execution of
 " his engagements to co-operate with me in the defence of the Commonwealth. *L. Gel-*
 " *lius* has given me proofs of his zeal: As he has acted also in the affair of the three bro-
 " thers to the satisfaction of *Sex. Gavianus*. I have lately employed the latter in some
 " negotiations between *Lepidus* and myself: And I have found him firmly attached to
 " the interest of the Republic. It is with great pleasure I give this testimony in his fa-
 " vour: A tribute which I shall always be ready to pay, wherever it is deserved. — Take
 " care of your health, and allow me the same share of your heart, which you most as-
 " suredly possess of mine. I recommend my dignities likewise to your protection; and
 " hope, if I can plead any merit, you will continue your good offices to me with the
 " same singular affection you have hitherto discovered "

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam. " NOTHING, my dear *Plancus*, could be more glorious to yourself, nor more ac-
 x. 16. ceptable to the Senate, than the letter you lately addressed to that assembly: I will add
 Melm. xiv. 15. too, nothing could be more opportune than the particular juncture in which it was de-
 livered. *Cornutus* received it in the presence of a very full house, just as he had com-
 municated to us a cold and irresolute letter from *Lepidus*. Yours was read immediately
 afterwards: And it was heard with the loudest acclamations of applause. It was highly
 pleasing, indeed, to the Senate, not only from the importance of its contents, and those
 zealous services to the Republic, of which it gave us an account, but from that strength
 and elegance of expression with which it was animated. The Senate was extremely
 urgent that it might be immediately taken into consideration: But *Cornutus* thought
 proper to decline their request. However, the whole assembly, expressing great indig-
 nation at his refusal, the question was put by five of the Tribunes of the people. When
Servilius was called upon for his opinion, he moved that the debate might be adjourned.
 What my sentiments were (and I was supported in them by the unanimous concurrence
 of the whole house) you will see by the decree that passed upon this occasion." [Both
Plancus's letter to the Senate, and the decree upon it, are lost.]

" I am sensible that your superior judgment is abundantly sufficient to direct you in all
 " emergencies; yet I cannot forbear advising you not to wait for the sanction of the Senate,
 " in so critical a conjuncture as the present, and which undoubtedly must often demand
 " immediate action. Be a Senate, my friend, to yourself; and, without any other authority,
 " scruple not to pursue such measures as the interest of the Republic shall require. In one word,
 " let your actions anticipate our expectations, and give us the pleasure of hearing that
 " you have executed some glorious exploit, ere we are so much as apprised that you even
 " had it in your intention. I will venture to assure you, that the Senate will most certain-
 " ly approve both of your zeal and your judgment, in whatever you shall thus under-
 " take." [It appears that *Cicero*, notwithstanding his great influence, could not procure
 any particular commission for *Plancus*.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam. " YOU have been apprised, no doubt, by *Levius* and *Nerva*, as well as by the letter
 x. 18. they delivered to you on my part, of the design I was meditating when they left me:
 Mich. xiv. 10. As, indeed, they have constantly borne a share in all my councils and measures of every
 kind. It has happened, however, to me, what happens not unfrequently, I suppose,
 to every man who is tender of his reputation, and desirous of approving his conduct
 to the friends of his country: I have given up a safer scheme, as being liable, per-
 haps,

engage his General to its interests ; and *Lepidus* himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of his sincerity ; so that *Plancus* was marching

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“ haps, to some ill-natured exceptions, in exchange for a more dangerous one that may
“ better evince my zeal. I am to inform you then, that, after the departure of my
“ Lieutenants, I received two letters from *Lepidus*, intreating me to join him. These
“ were seconded by the much stronger sollicitations of *Laerensis*: Who earnestly repre-
“ sented to me (what, indeed, I am also apprehensive of myself) that there is great rea-
“ son to fear a mutiny among the disaffected troops under the conduct of *Lepidus*. I de-
“ termined immediately, therefore, to march to his assistance, and take an equal share in
“ the dangers with which he was threatened. I was sensible, at the same time, that to
“ wait on the banks of the *Isara* till *Brutus* should pass that river with his army, and to
“ meet the enemy in conjunction with my colleague, whose forces, as well as their Gene-
“ ral, would act in perfect harmony with me and my troops, would be much the most
“ cautious measure with respect to my own personal security. But I reflected, that, if
“ any misfortune should attend *Lepidus*, it would be wholly imputed to me ; and I should
“ be condemned, either as obstinately suffering my resentment to prevent me from giving
“ succour to my enemy in the cause of the Republic ; or of timidly avoiding to take part in
“ the danger of a most just and necessary war ; as my presence therefore might be a means
“ of protecting *Lepidus*, and of bringing his army into a better disposition, I resolved to
“ expose myself to all hazards, rather than appear to act with too much circumspection.
“ But never was any man more anxious in an affair for which he was in no sort answer-
“ able, than I am in the present: For, though I should have no manner of doubt if the
“ army of *Lepidus* were not concerned, yet, under that circumstance, I am full of appre-
“ hensions for the event. Had it been my fortune to have met *Antony* before my junction
“ with *Lepidus*, I am sure he would not have been able to have kept the field against me even
“ a single hour. Such is the confidence I have in my own troops, and so heartily do I despise
“ his broken forces, as well as those of that paultry muleteer, the contemptible *Ventidius*.
“ But, as the case is now circumstanced, I dread to think what might be the consequence,
“ should any ill humours lie concealed in the army of *Lepidus*: As they may possibly
“ break out in all their malignity, before they can be remedied, or even discovered. It
“ is certain, however, that *Lepidus*, together with the well-affected part of his army,
“ would be exposed to great danger, if we should not act in conjunction: Besides, that
“ our infamous enemies would gain a very considerable advantage, should they draw off
“ any of his forces. If my presence, therefore, should prove a means of preventing these
“ evils, I shall think myself much indebted to my courage and good fortune, for engaging
“ me to make the experiment. With this design I moved with my army from the banks of
“ the *Isara* on the 21st of May ; having first erected a fort at each end of the bridge,
“ which I had thrown over that river, and placed a strong party to defend it ; that, when
“ *Brutus* shall arrive, he may have nothing to retard his passage. I have only to add, that
“ I hope to join *Lepidus* within eight days from the date of this letter.”

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

“ I SHOULD be ashamed that this letter is so little consistent with my former, if Ep. Fam.
“ it arose from any instability of my own. But it is much otherwise, and I have steadily
“ pursued every means in my power to engage *Lepidus* to act in concert with me for the
“ defence of the Republic ; as imagining it would render you less apprehensive of my
“ success against our wretched enemies. To this end, I not only complied with all the
“ conditions he proposed, but even engaged for more than he demanded: And I had so
“ much confidence in the sincerity of his intentions, that I ventured to assure you, no
“ longer than two days ago, that he would zealously co-operate with me in carrying on
“ the war upon one common plan. I depended indeed upon the promises he had given me
“ under his own hand, together with the assurances I had likewise received from *Laerensis*,
“ who was at that time in my camp, and who earnestly conjured me to forget all resent-
“ ments

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ing forward in great haste to join with him. But *Lepidus* was acting all the while a treacherous part, being determined to support *Antony*; and, though

ments against *Lepidus*, and to rely upon his good faith. But *Lepidus* has now put it out of my power to entertain these favourable hopes of him any longer: However, I have taken, and shall continue to take, all necessary precautions that the Republic may not be prejudiced by my too easy credulity. I am to inform you then, that, after I had used the utmost expedition, agreeably to his own earnest request, to transport my army over the *Isara*, and, for that purpose had, in the space of a single day, thrown a bridge over that river; I received a counter-express from him, requiring me to advance no farther; as he should have no occasion, he said, for my assistance. Nevertheless, I will own to you, I was so imprudent as to proceed in my march; believing that the true reason of his thus changing his mind arose from an unwillingness to have a partner with him in his glory. I imagined that, without depriving him of any share of that honour, which he seemed so desirous to monopolise, I might post myself at some convenient distance, in order to be ready to support him with my troops, in case he should be pressed by the enemy: An event, which, in the simplicity of my heart, I thought not improbable. In the mean time, I received a letter from the excellent *Latrensis*, which was conceived in terms full of despair. He complained that he had been greatly deceived, and assured me that neither *Lepidus*, nor his army, were to be trusted. He expressly cautioned me, at the same time, to be upon my guard against their artifices; adding, that he had faithfully discharged the engagements he had entered into on his part, and hoped I would act with the same fidelity to the Republic on mine. I have sent a copy of this letter to *Titus*, and purpose to transmit the originals of all the rest, relating to this affair, by the hands of *Lucius Cispinus*, who was privy to the whole transaction. I shall insert in this packet the letters of *Lepidus*, to which I did not give any credit, as well as those to which I did.—I must not forget to add, that, when *Lepidus* bargained his soldiers, these mighty best fellows were exceedingly clamorous for peace. They protested, that, after the loss of both the Consuls; after the loss the Republic had suffered of so many brave men, and after so many more, all *ANTONY*'s adherents, had been declared enemies of the Commonwealth, and their estates confiscated; they were determined not to draw their swords any more either on the one side or the other. They were prompted to behave thus mutinously, not only by the intolent suggestions of their own hearts, but by the encouragement also of their officers, particularly *Canidius*, *Rufrenus*, and others, whose names the Senate shall be acquainted with at a proper season. *Lepidus* was so far from punishing this sedition, that he did not take even a single step to restrain it. I thought, therefore, that it would be the highest temerity to expose my own faithful troops, together with my auxiliaries, which are commanded by some of the most considerable Chiefs of *Gaul*, and in effect too my whole province, to their combined armies. I considered, if I should thus lose my life, and involve the Republic in my own destruction, I should fail, not only without honour, but without pity. In consequence of these reflections, I have determined to march my forces back again, that our wretched enemies may not have so great an advantage as my advancing any farther might possibly give them. I shall endeavour to post my army so advantageously as to cover the province under my command from being insulted, even supposing the troops of *Lepidus* should actually revolt. In short, it shall be my care to preserve every thing in its present situation till the Senate shall send an army hither, and vindicate the liberties of the Republic with the same success in this part of the world, as attended their arms before the walls of *Mutina*. In the mean time, be assured, that no man will act with more fervent zeal than myself in all the various occurrences of the war: And I shall most readily either encounter the enemy in the field, or sustain the hardships of a siege, or even lay down my life itself, as any of these circumstances shall prove necessary for the service of the Senate. Let me exhort you then, my dear *Cicero*, to exert your utmost endeavours to send a speedy reinforcement to me, ere *Antony* shall have increased the number of his forces, or our own shall be intirely dispirited. For, if dispatch be given to this

2 “ affair,

though he kept him at a distance for some time, and seemed to be constrained at last, by his own soldiers, to receive him, yet that was only

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“ affair, these infamous banditti will undoubtedly be extirpated, and the Republic remain in full possession of her late victory. Take care of your health, and continue your friendship to me.

“ P. S. I know not whether it may be necessary to make any excuse for the absence of my brother, who was prevented from attending me in this expedition by a slow fever, occasioned by the great fatigues he has lately undergone; as no man has shewn more zeal or courage in the cause of the Republic, he will undoubtedly return to the duties of his post, the very first moment his health shall permit.—I recommend my honours to your protection: Though I must confess, at the same time, that all my desires ought to be satisfied, since I enjoy the privilege of your friendship, and the satisfaction of seeing you invested with the high credit and authority I have ever wished you. I will leave it therefore entirely to yourself both when and in what manner I shall experience the effect of your good offices: And will only request you to suffer me to succeed Hirtius in your affection, as I certainly do in the respect and esteem he bore you.”

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

“ I SHALL never regret to undergo the greatest dangers in the cause of my country, Ep. Fam. provided, my dear Cicero, that whatever happens to myself, *I may not justly be accused* x. 23. of temerity. But I should not scruple to confess, *that I had been guilty of an imprudence*, Melm. xv. if I had ever acted in reliance upon the sincerity of LEPIDUS. Too easy a disposition to give credit to fair pretences cannot so properly be called a fault as an error: But an error into which the noblest minds are generally the most liable to fall. *It was not, however, from a mistake of this nature that I had well nigh been deceived; for the character of LEPIDUS I perfectly well knew.* [He here contradicts all he says in the beginning of the foregoing letter.] “ It was entirely owing to a certain sensibility of what my detractors might say: a quality, I will freely acknowledge, particularly prejudicial in the affair of war. I was apprehensive, if I remained in my camp, that those, who are inclined to misconstrue my actions, might represent me as the occasion of the war being protracted, by obstinately indulging my resentment against Lepidus: And, therefore, I advanced almost within sight of him and Antony. I encamped, indeed, at no greater distance from them than forty miles, that I might be able, as circumstances should require, either speedily to join the army of Lepidus, or safely to retreat with my own. In marking out my camp, I chose a spot of ground that gave me the advantage of having a large river in my front, which would take up some time in passing, and that lay contiguous likewise to the country of the *Vocantii*: Who, I was sure, would favour my retreat. When Lepidus found himself disappointed of what he so much wished, and that there was no hopes of my approaching nearer;” [Had not Lepidus sent him word not to come forward, and was it not against advice that Plancus advanced so near?] “ he immediately threw off the mask, and, on the 29th of May, joined Antony. The combined armies moved the same day, in order to invest my camp: And they had actually advanced within twenty miles before I received advice of their junction. However, I struck my tents with so much expedition, that, by the favour of the gods, I had the happiness to escape them. My retreat was conducted with so much good order, that no part of my baggage, nor even a single man, was either left behind or intercepted by these incensed villains. On the 4th of this month I repassed the *Isara*, with my whole army: After which I broke down the bridge I had thrown across that river. I took this precaution, that my troops might have time to refresh themselves, as well as to give my colleague [D. Brutus] an opportunity of coming up to me: Which I imagine he will be able to effect in three days from the date of this letter.

“ I must always acknowledge the zeal and fidelity *Laterensis* has shewn to the Republic, in his negotiations between Lepidus and myself: But, it is certain, that his great partiality

“ towards

Y. R. 710. to save appearances, till he could do it with advantage and security to
 B. f. Chr. them both: His view in treating with *Plancus* was probably to amuse
 42. and
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“ towards *Lepidus* prevented him from discerning the dangers into which I have been led.
 “ However, as soon as he discovered how grossly he had been imposed upon, he attempted
 “ to turn that sword against his own breast, which, with much more justice, had been
 “ plunged in the heart of *Lepidus*. But he was prevented from completing his purpose:
 “ And it is said, (tho’ I by no means mention it as a certainty) that the wound he has given
 “ himself is not mortal.—My escape from these traitors has proved an extreme mortification
 “ to them: As they marched to attack me with the same unrelenting fury, which infli-
 “ gates them against their country. Some late circumstances particularly contributed to
 “ inflame their resentment. I had frequently and warmly urged *LEPIDUS* to extinguish this
 “ civil war: I had disapproved of the conferences that were held with the enemy: I had re-
 “ fused to see the *Legates* whom *ANTONY* deputed to me under the passports of *LEPIDUS*:
 “ And had intercepted *CATIUS VESTINUS*, whom the former had sent express to the latter.
 “ But it is with pleasure I reflect, that, the more earnestly they wished to get me into their
 “ hands, the more they suffer in the disappointment.

“ Continue, my dear *Cicero*, to employ the same vigorous efforts you have hitherto ex-
 “ erted, that we, who are in arms for the defence of the Republic, may have suitable ho-
 “ nours paid to our services. In the mean time, I wish that *CÆSAR* would join us with
 “ those brave troops he commands; or, if his affairs will not permit him; that, at least,
 “ they might be sent under the conduct of some other General: For most certainly his
 “ own personal interest is at stake. The whole force of the disaffected party is united
 “ against our country: And shall we not put forth our utmost strength in its defence? As
 “ for what concerns myself, I will venture to assure you, that, if you at *Rome* are not want-
 “ ing on your parts, I will abundantly perform every thing that can be expected on
 “ mine.—The obligations I am continually receiving from your hands, endear you to
 “ me every day more and more; at the same time that they animate me to act in such a
 “ manner as not to forfeit, in any degree, your esteem and affection.—I will only add
 “ my wishes, that I were able in person to give you such proofs of my gratitude as might
 “ afford you greater reason to rejoice in the good offices you have conferred upon me.
 “ *Calais*, [*Gravelle*] on the frontiers of the *Allobroges*, *June the 6th*.” [There is in the col-
 “ lection of *Cicero*’s letters but one more from *Plancus*, dated the 28th of July, which shall
 be laid before the reader in its proper place.]

Continua-
 tion of the
 correspond-
 ence be-
 tween D.
Brutus and
Cicero.

Ep. Fam.
 xi. 19.
 Melm. xiv.
 18.

D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

“ I WISH you would peruse the letter I have addressed to the Senate, and make
 “ what alterations you shall judge proper. You will find by it, that I am under an ab-
 “ solute necessity of thus applying to them. Whilst I imagined I should be joined by the
 “ fourth and *Martial* legions, agreeably to the decree of the Senate, which passed for that
 “ purpose, on the motion of *PAULUS*,” [*LEPIDUS*’s brother] and *DRUSUS*, [very probably
Cicero’s complaisance for *Octavius* did not permit him to move the house on so delicate a
 point] “ I was less solicitous about the rest: But now that I have only some new-raised
 “ legions, and those too extremely ill accounted, I cannot but be apprehensive, upon your
 “ accounts as well as upon my own.” *Vercellæ* [*Verelli*] in the duchy of *Milan*,
May the 21st.

D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam.
 xi. 20.
 Melm. xiv.
 23.
 “ FRIENDSHIP and gratitude make me feel, upon your account, what I never
 “ felt upon my own; and I will confess, that I am not without fear in regard to a story,
 “ which has been propagated concerning you. I thought it by no means a matter to be
 “ despised, when I had only heard of it, as I frequently did, from common report: But it
 “ has been lately mentioned to me by *Segulius*. This man tells me, (though what he says
 “ indeed is generally of a piece with the rest of his character) that, paying a visit at
 “ *CÆSAR*’s,

and draw him so near to them, that, when he and *Antony* were actually joined, they might force him into the same measures, without his being

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Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chi.
41.
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“*CÆSAR*’s, where you were much the subject of the conversation, *CÆSAR* complained, (and it was the only charge, it seems, he brought against you) of an ambiguous expression which you made use of concerning him.” [*laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum*: That the young man should be praised, ornamented, and advanced to the dignities of the state, or taken off.] “I suspect the whole to be a mere fiction of *Segulius*; or, at least, that it was he himself who reported these words to *Cæsar*. *Segulius* endeavoured, at the same time, to persuade me, that you are in great danger of falling a victim to the resentment of the veteran soldiers, who speak of you, he pretends, with much indignation. The principal cause, it seems, of their displeasure, is, that both *CÆSAR* and myself are left out of the commission for dividing the lands among the soldiers, and that every thing is disposed of just as you and your friends at *ROME* think proper.

“Notwithstanding I was on my march, when I received this account, yet I thought it would not be advisable to pass the *Alps* till I had informed you how affairs stand. I am well persuaded, nevertheless, that, with respect to yourself, these reports and menaces of the veterans aim at nothing farther, than, by alarming your fears, and incensing young *Cæsar* against you, to obtain for themselves a more considerable proportion of the rewards decreed by the Senate. But I do not intend, by saying this, to dissuade you from standing upon your guard: As nothing, be assured, is more valuable to me than your life. Let me only caution you, not to suffer your fears to run you into greater dangers than those you would avoid. However, I would advise you to obviate the clamours of these veterans as far as you reasonably may; and to comply with their desires both in regard to the *Decemvirs*, and to the distribution of their rewards. As to those forfeited estates which belonged to the veterans who served under *Antony*, I should be glad, if you think proper, that *Cæsar* and myself be nominated to assign them to the troops. But, in reference to the pecuniary donative, which they have been also promised, it will be proper to act with more deliberation, and as the state of the public finances shall require: To which end it may be signified to them, that the Senate will take these their claims into consideration. As to those other four legions, to whom the Senate has also decreed an allotment of lands, I imagine that the estates in *Campania*, together with those which were formerly seized by *Sylla*, will be sufficient for the purpose. I should think too that the best method of division would be, either to parcel out those lands, in equal shares, to the several legions, or to determine their respective proportions by lot. But, when I thus give you my opinion, it is by no means as pretending to superior judgment, but merely from the affection of my heart towards you, and from my sincere desire that the public tranquillity may be preserved: Which, I am very sensible, if any accident should happen to you, cannot possibly be maintained.

“I do not purpose to march out of *Italy*, unless I should find it greatly expedient. Meanwhile, I am employed in disciplining my troops, and furnishing them with arms: And I hope to appear with no contemptible body of forces, upon any emergency that shall again call me into the field. But *Cæsar* has not, however, sent back the legion to me which served in *Pansa*’s army.

“I request your immediate answer to this letter: And, if you should have any thing of importance to communicate to me, which requires particular secrecy, I desire you would convey it by one of your own domestics.” *Eporodia*, [*Interu*], May the 24th.

D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

“ALL things here go on well,” [He had probably received some favourable intelligence concerning *Lepidus*’s behaviour] “and it shall be my endeavour to render them still better. *Lepidus* seems to be favourably disposed towards me: And, indeed, we have reason to divest ourselves of all our fears, and to act with undaunted freedom in defence of the Commonwealth. But, had our affairs a far less promising aspect, yet it might justly animate and augment that courage, which I know always resides in your breast,

“10

was within forty miles of him, to stay where he was, till he should come up to him : But *Plancus*, suspecting nothing, thought it better still to march

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“ salute ; especially as the world is no less sensible than I am of the singular share I enjoy
“ of your affection.—I agree entirely with your opinion concerning the four legions ; as also
“ that *both you and Cæsar should have the distribution of these estates you mention.* This is an
“ office on which some of my colleagues had cast a very wishful eye ; however, I have dis-
“ appointed their longing, by referring it wholly for you and Cæsar. In the mean time, if
“ any occurrence should arise that requires particular secrecy, I shall observe your direc-
“ tions, and communicate it to you by one of my own domestics.” *June the 4th.*

CICERO to D. BRUTUS.

“ TO tell you the truth, I was once inclined to be somewhat angry at the shortness of Ep. Fam.
“ your letters : but I am now so well reconciled to your concise manner, that I condemn xi. 24.
“ my own as downright loquacity, and shall make your epistles the models of mine. Melm. xv.
“ How short, yet how expressive are you when you tell me, *that all things go well with* 6.
“ *you, and that you shall endeavour to render them still better ; that Lepidus seems favourably*
“ *disposed ; and that we have every thing to expect from our three armies.* Were I ever so
“ full of fears, these significant sentences would banish them all.” [Indeed these general
expressions were very unsatisfactory, and this polite letter is full of reproach] “ But I
“ exert the spirit you recommend ; and indeed, if at the time when you were closely
“ blocked up in *Blutina*, my hopes nevertheless were fixed entirely upon you ; how much
“ higher think you must they be raised now ?—I should be glad, my dear *Brutus*, to
“ resign to you my post of *observation*, if I might do so without incurring the censure of
“ deserting it. As to what you mentioned of continuing in *Italy* till you should hear
“ from me, I do not disapprove of it, if the motions of the enemy should not call you
“ elsewhere ; as there are many points upon the carpet at Rome, which may render it prudent for
“ you not to remove to a farther distance. But, at all events, if your presence here may
“ prove a means of terminating the war, it is undoubtedly the first and principal scheme
“ you should have in view.—The Senate has decreed the first money that could be raised
“ for the payment of your troops. . . . *Servius* is extremely your friend ; and you may
“ always depend upon me.” *June the 8th.*

CICERO to D. BRUTUS.

“ THOUGH I always receive your letters with the highest satisfaction, yet I am Ep. Fam.
“ much better pleased that you employed your colleague *Plancus* to make an excuse to xi. 13.
“ me, than if you had interrupted your very important occupation by writing yourself. Melm. xv.
“ He has executed your commission very fully ; and nothing can render your character 10.
“ more truly amiable to me, than the account he gives of your zeal and diligence.—
“ The junction of your forces with these of *Plancus*, and the harmony with which you act to-
“ gether, as appears by your common letter to the Senate, was agreeable both to that assembly and
“ to the people in general. What remains then, my dear *Brutus*, but to conjure you to perse-
“ vere in the same unanimity, and to endeavour, I will not say to excel others, but what
“ is far worthier of your ambition) to rise above yourself. I need add no more ; espe-
“ cially as I am writing to one, whose epistolary conciseness I purpose to imitate.—I wait
“ with impatience for your next dispatches, as I imagine they will bring us such ac-
“ counts as are agreeable to our wishes.”

This letter is without a date, but appears to have been written about the beginning of *June*.

CICERO to D. BRUTUS.

“ I WAS expecting every day to hear from you, when our friend *Lupus* gave me no- Ep. Fam.
“ tice that he was just setting out to you, if I had any thing to write. But though I xi. 25.
“ have nothing worth communicating, more than what you are furnished with by the Melm. xv.
“ public journals ; and that you are no friend, I am told, to letters of mere empty form ; 15.
“ yet I cannot forbear following your example, and sending you two or three short

V. R. 110. march on; till *Laterensis*, perceiving how matters were going, wrote
 R. 4. 1. 1. him word, in all haste, that neither *Lepidus*, nor his army, were to be
 42. trusted; and that he himself was deserted; exhorting *Planius* to look to
 429. Conf. himself, lest he should be drawn into a snare; and to perform his duty
 to the Republic; for that he had discharged his faith, by giving him
 D. 2. p. this warning. *Laterensis*, after sending this intelligence, laid violent
 314. hands upon himself, and, though he was interrupted in the act, yet
 died soon after of his wounds.

Lepidus and *Antony* joined camps on the 29th of May, and the same day marched forwards towards *Planius*, who was come within twenty miles of *Lepidus's* camp; but, upon the first information from *Laterensis* of what was transacting, he retreated in all haste, repassed the *Isara*, and broke down his bridge upon it, that he might have leisure to draw all his forces together, and join them with those of his colleague, *D. Brutus*, whom he expected in three days. *Lepidus*, the day after his union with *Antony*, wrote the following letter to the Senate:

LEPIDUS, Emperor and High-Priest, to the SENATE and PEOPLE
 of ROME.

Pr. 1. 2. 1. "HEAVEN and Earth will bear me witness, Conscrip Fathers,
 2. 35. "that there is nothing I have at all times more sincerely desired, than
 P. 1. 1. 1. "the preservation of our common liberties: And I should soon have
 21. "convinced you of this truth, if fortune had not forced me to renounce
 "those measures I purposed to pursue. My whole army, indeed, ex-
 "pressed their usual tenderness towards their fellow-countrymen, by a
 "mutinous opposition to my designs: And, to own the truth, they ab-
 "solutely compelled me not to refuse my protection to such a multi-
 "tude of Roman citizens. I conjure you then, Conscrip Fathers, to judge
 "of this affair, not by the suggestions of private resentment, but by the in-
 "terest of the Commonwealth: Nor let it be imputed as a crime to me and
 "words. Be assured then, that all our hopes rest upon you and your colleague. As to
 "M. Brutus, I am not able to give you any certain account of him: I can only say,
 "that, in pursuance of your advice, I endeavour to persuade him, in all my letters, to come over
 "into Italy, and to take a part in this general war. I much wish he were now here: As
 "his presence would render me less apprehensive of the consequences of these intestine commotions,
 "which prevail in Rome; and which are by no means, indeed, inconsiderable." [The
 disturbances here alluded to were not only those occasioned by *Antony* and *Lepidus's* nu-
 merous friends, but also those occasioned by *Octavius's* measures to obtain the consulate.]
 "But I forget that I promised to imitate your Laconic brevity, and am running into a se-
 "cond page. Farewell then, and may success attend your arms." June the 18th. [This
 letter closes the correspondence between *D. Brutus* and *Cicero*. After the month of June,
 the communication between *Cicero* and the Commanders in Gaul was very difficult, and
Cicero became more cautious, after *Octavius* had manifested his ambitious views.

We have, in the Collection of *Cicero's* Familiar Letters, several, which passed between him and *Corellianus*, Governor of *Africa*; but as they contain little more than recommenda-
 tions of particular persons, and are not very instructive in the history of the times, we shall
 only refer to them for the few facts they contain, as occasion offers.

“ my army, *that, amidst our civil dissensions, we yielded to the dictates* Y. R. 710.
 “ of compassion and humanity. Be assured, that, by acting with an Bef. Chr.
 “ equal regard to the safety and honour of all parties, *you will best con-* 47.
 “ *sult both your own and your country’s advantage.* From my camp at 409 Cor. 6.
 “ *Pons Argenteus [upon the Argents,] May the 30th.*”

D. Brutus, on the other hand, joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him, for some time, with great concord, and the affection of the whole province on their side; which being signified in their common letters to Rome, the Senate so far depended upon their fidelity, that, after several debates, they took the desperate resolution of voting Lepidus an enemy, on the 30th of June, and demolished the gilt statue, which they had lately erected to him, reserving still a liberty, to him and his adherents, of returning to their duty by the 1st of September. Cicero was the great promoter of this impolitic and cruel decree. He was not, however, easy in his mind; and his anxiety is very apparent in the following letter to C. Cassius written just after the decree, and which is the last of their correspondence. “ Your relation and my friend, the *worthy*
 “ LEPIDUS, together with all his adherents, were, by an unanimous decree Ep. Fam.
 “ of the Senate, which passed on the 30th of June, declared public ene- 21. 10.
 “ mies to their country: But at the same time a full pardon was offered Me'm. xv.
 “ to such as shall return to their allegiance before the 1st of September. 16.
 “ The Senate acts with great spirit:” [He might have said fury:] But
 “ it is the expectation of being supported by your army, that chiefly
 “ animates them in their vigorous measures. *I fear, indeed, we shall*
 “ *have occasion for all your assistance, as the war is now become extremely for-*
 “ *midable by the villainy of Lepidus.*

“ The accounts that daily arrive, concerning Dolabella, are altogether
 “ agreeable to our wishes: But, at present, they are nothing more than
 “ mere rumours. However, your letter addressed to the Senate, dated from
 “ the camp on the 9th of May, has raised a general persuasion in Rome,
 “ that he is actually defeated. Accordingly, it is imagined, that you
 “ are now upon your march into Italy, with a view, on the one hand,
 “ of succouring us with your troops, if any of those accidents, so com-
 “ mon in war, should have rendered our arms unsuccessful; or, on the
 “ other hand, of assisting us with your counsels and authority, in case
 “ we should have proved victorious. You may be assured, in the mean
 “ while, that no endeavours of mine shall be wanting to procure the
 “ forces under your command all possible honours. However, I must
 “ wait a proper season for this purpose, when it shall be known how
 “ far they have availed, or are likely to avail, the Republic. At pre-
 “ sent we have only heard of their endeavours in the cause of liberty:
 “ And glorious, it must be acknowledged, their endeavours have been.
 “ But still some positive services are expected: And these expectations,
 “ I dare be confident, either already are, or soon will be, perfectly an-
 “ swered.

T. R. 10. "swered. No man, indeed, possesses a more patriot or heroic spirit
 Bel. Car. "than yourself; and it is for this reason that we wish to see you in *Italy*,
 409 Conf. "as soon as possible. The truth is, if you and *Brutus* were here, we
 "should look upon the Republic as restored.

"If *Lepidus* had not received *Antony*, weak and defenceless as he
 "was, when he fled after the battle of *Mutina*, we should have obtained
 "a complete victory. This infamous step, therefore, has rendered him
 "far more odious in *Rome*, than even *Antony* himself ever was. For
 "Antony raised a war at a time when the Republic was in the utmost
 "ferment: Whereas *Lepidus* has kindled the flames in the midst of
 "peace and victory. We have the Consuls elect to lead our armies
 "against him: But, though we greatly depend upon their courage and
 "conduct, still, however, the uncertain event of war leaves us much
 "to fear. Be assured, therefore, that our principal reliance is upon you
 "and *Brutus*, whom we hope soon to see in *Italy*; and *Brutus*, indeed,
 "we expect every day. Should we have defeated our enemies, as I hope
 "we shall, before your arrival, the authority, nevertheless, of two such
 "illustrious citizens, will be of infinite service in raising up the Repub-
 "lic, and fixing it upon some tolerable basis. All our business, in-
 "deed, will by no means be over, notwithstanding we should be deli-
 "vered from the infamous designs of our enemies: As there are many
 "other disorders of a different kind, which it will be still necessary to redress."
 [He glances at the enormous pretensions of *Octavius* and his veterans.]

Midd. p.
 452.

Lepidus's wife was *M. Brutus's* sister, by whom he had sons, whose
 fortunes were necessarily ruined by the decree, which confiscated the fa-
 ther's estate: For which reason, *Servilia*, their grandmother, and *Cas-*
sius's wife, their aunt, solicited *Cicero* very earnestly, either that the de-
 cree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it:
 But *Cicero* did not think he could consent to oblige them: For, since
 the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course; and he
 gave *Brutus* a particular account of the case in the following letter:

Ep. ad
 Br. 1.
 M. All. Ed.
 xv. i. p. 116.

"Though I was just going to write to you by *Messala Corvinus*, yet I
 "would not let our friend *Vetus* come without a letter. The Republic,
 "Brutus, is now in the utmost danger, and, after we had conquered,
 "we are forced again to fight, by the perfidy and madness of *M. Lepi-*
 "dus, on which occasion, when, for the care, with which I have charged
 "myself, of the Republic, I had many things to make me uneasy, yet
 "nothing vexed me more, than that I could not yield to the prayers of your
 "mother and sister; for I imagined that I should easily satisfy you, on
 "which I lay the greatest stress. For *Lepidus's* case could not, by any
 "means, be distinguished from *Antony's*; nay, in all people's judg-
 "ment, was even worse; since, after he had received the highest ho-
 "nours from the Senate, and, but a few days before, had sent an ex-
 "cellent letter to them; on a sudden, he not only received the broken
 "remains of our enemies, but now wages a most cruel war against us

“ by land and sea; the event of which is wholly uncertain. When we
 “ are desired, therefore, to extend mercy to his children, not a word is
 “ said, why, if their father should conquer, (which the gods forbid) Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr.
42.
409 Conf.
 “ we are not to expect the last punishment from him. I am not igno-
 “ rant how hard it is that children should suffer for the crimes of their
 “ parents: But it was wisely contrived by the laws, that the love of
 “ their children should make parents more affectionate to their coun-
 “ try. Wherefore, it is *Lepidus* who is cruel to his children, not he
 “ who adjudges *Lepidus* an enemy: For if, laying down his arms, he
 “ were to be condemned only of violence, in which no defence could be
 “ made for him, his children would suffer the same calamity by the
 “ confiscation of his estate. Yet what your mother and sister are now
 “ solliciting against, in favour of the children, the very same and much
 “ worse *Lepidus*, *Antony*, and our other enemies, are at this very mo-
 “ ment threatening to us all. Wherefore our greatest hope is in you
 “ and your army: It is of the utmost consequence both to the Re-
 “ public in general, and to your honour and glory in particular, that,
 “ as I wrote to you before, you come as soon as possible into *Italy*: For
 “ the Republic is in great want, not only of your forces, but of your
 “ counsels. I served *Vetus* with pleasure, as you desired me, for his
 “ singular benevolence and duty to you: I found him extremely zealous
 “ and affectionate both to you and the Republic: I shall see my son, I
 “ hope, very soon; for I depend on his coming with you quickly into
 “ *Italy*.”

Brutus, who, in general, disapproved of *Cicero*’s violent and merciless
 proceedings, was particularly shocked at the projected decree against
Lepidus, and, being informed by his mother and sister of *Cicero*’s fierce-
 ness, he sent him the following letter, which is worded with great ener-
 gy, to make an impression upon him: “ Other people’s fears oblige
 “ me to entertain some apprehensions, myself, on *Lepidus*’s account: Ep. ad
Brut. xiii.
M d l. l. d.
xviii. p.
122.
 “ If he should withdraw himself from us (which will prove, I hope, a
 “ rash and injurious suspicion of him) I beg and beseech you, *Cicero*,
 “ conjuring you by our friendship and your affection to me, to forget
 “ that my sister’s children are *Lepidus*’s sons, and to consider me in the
 “ place of their father. If I obtain this of you, you will not scruple,
 “ I am sure, to do whatever you can for them. Other people live dif-
 “ ferently with their relations: But I can never do enough for my sis-
 “ ter’s children to satisfy either my inclination or my duty. But what
 “ is there in which honest men can oblige me (if in reality I have de-
 “ served to be obliged in any thing) or in which I can be of service to
 “ my mother, sister, and the boys; if their uncle *Brutus* has not as
 “ much weight with you, and the Senate, to protect, as their father
 “ *Lepidus*, to hurt them? *I feel so much uneasiness and indignation, that I*
 “ *neither can nor ought to write more fully to you: For, if, in a case so im-*
 “ *portant and so necessary, there could be any occasion for words to excite and*
 “ *confirm*

M. R. 10. "confuse you, there is no hope that you will do what I wish, and what is pro-
 per. Do not expect therefore any long prayers from me: Consider
 only what I am; and that I ought to obtain it; either from *Cicero*,
 a man the most intimately united with me; or, without regard to
 our private friendship, from a consular Senator of such eminence:
 Pray send me word, as soon as you can, what you resolve to do.
 "July the 1st." *Cicero*, perceiving from this letter, what he had no
 reason of before, how great a friend *Brutus* laid on procuring this favour
 for his nephews, prevailed with the Senate to suspend the execution of
 their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more settled^k.

Lepidas and *Antony* were no longer joined, than a correspondence was
 set on foot between them and *Octavius*; who, from the death of the
 Consuls, shewed but little regard to the authority of *Cicero*, or the Se-
 nate; and wanted only an occasion of breaking with them. He saw that
 he had no share in their affection; that it was all engrossed by *Brutus* and
Cassius and their adherents: That these Commanders had raised formi-
 dable forces, and were masters of all the eastern provinces, which they
 now held legally in virtue of a decree of the Senate: That *Sextus Pom-*
pey was the authorised Admiral of the Republic; that the Senate
 meant nothing more by the decrees in his favour, than to make use of
 him as a tool to destroy *Antony*, and that they would readily concur af-
 ter that in his own destruction: They had been so impolitic as to slight
 him, by leaving him out of the number of Commissioners named for
 the distribution of rewards to the soldiers; and even to put some pub-
 lic affronts upon him, pretending to dispose of his soldiers without his
 consent, and to treat with them without his privacy: His good friend
Cicero, in the gaiety of his heart, after the defeat of *Antony*, and in an-
 swer to *Brutus's* friends, who reproached him with accumulating extra-
 ordinary honours upon *Octavius*, had spoken of the young man in am-
 biguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of *advancing* or
taking him off; this at least was reported of him, and the report was cre-
 dited. *Octavius* however waited a while to see what became of *Antony*;
 till, finding him received and supported by *Lepidas*, he began to think

^k "The great solicitude, says Dr. Mid-
 dleton, p. 124, in a note upon this letter,
 which *Brutus* peevishly expresses on the
 account of his nephews, and his demand to
 have the laws suspended in their favour, at
 a time of such confusion, when the liberty
 of Rome was at stake, seems to be much out
 of character; for, if *Lepidas* had returned
 to his duty, of which *Brutus* professes
 some hopes, the case of the children would
 be set right of course; or, upon the con-
 clusion of the war, which side soever
 got the better, their fortunes would ne-
 cessarily have been repaired, either by

their father or their uncle." But where was
 the propriety of making the law in the pre-
 sent conjuncture, to declare enemies of the
 state such powerful men, and half the forces
 of the Republic, who were suing for peace;
 to plunge the Commonwealth into a most
 dangerous and inexpiable war, in which all
 their present dependence was upon the son
 of the tyrant, and veteran troops, who had
 already shewn their unfavourable inclina-
 tions; and who, according to Dr. Middle-
 ton, were actually treating with *Lepidas*
 and *Antony*?

it his best scheme to enter into the league with them ; and to concur, V. R. 710. Bcf. Chr. 48. in what seemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the design of re-
 venging the death of his uncle. Instead, therefore, of prosecuting the 409 Conf. war any farther, he was persuaded by his friends to make a demand of
 the consulship, though he was not above *twenty years old*. Most of the Plut. in Cic. ancient writers say that *Cicero* was duped upon this occasion, and drawn
 in by *Octavius* to favour his pretensions to the consulship, by the hopes
 of being made his colleague, and governing him in this office. But
 whether *Cicero* encouraged and favoured *Octavius* underhand, or no ; it
 appears that neither he nor any other magistrate would undertake to
 propose him. The demand of it, therefore, was made by a deputation Suet. in Oct. 26. App. l. iii. p. 585. Dio, l. xlv. p. 319. of his officers ; and, when the Senate received it more coldly than they
 expected, *Cornelius*, a Centurion, throwing back his robe, and shewing
 them his sword, boldly declared, *that, if they would not make him Consul,*
that should. But *Octavius* himself soon put an end to their scruples by
 marching with his legions in a hostile manner to the city. The Prætors
 placed a guard in different parts of it, and seized upon the *Janiculum* App. ibid. Dio, ibid. 310. with the rest of the troops and two legions, which were lately come by
 the Senate's order from *Africa*. But *Octavius* met with no opposition,
 and the legions on the *Janiculum* went over to him.

The reader who is desirous to form a true notion of the characters of
Brutus and *Cicero*, and of their politics, cannot but be pleased to find
 here the following interesting letters :

M. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

“ HOW great a joy it gave me to hear of the success of our *Brutus*, Ad Brut. Ep. iv. Nid. Fdlin. Ep. xi. p. 71. [Decimus] and the Consuls,” [he does not condescend to name
Octavius] “ it is easier for you to imagine than me to express. I am
 “ pleased, and rejoice on several accounts, but particularly on this ;
 “ that *Brutus*'s sally was not only salutary to himself, but of the greatest
 “ service towards completing the victory.” [He expresses no concern
 for the death of the Consuls, whose intentions he had always suspected]
 “ As to what you write, *that the case of the three Antonys is one and the*
 “ *same, and that it is my part to determine what I ought to judge of it :* I
 “ lay down no other rule to myself, but this ; that it is the right of the
 “ Senate, and people of *Rome*, to pass judgment on those citizens
 “ who have been taken fighting against us. But I am to blame, you
 “ will say, for giving the title of citizens to those who bear an hostile
 “ disposition to the Republic. Yes, I do it with the greatest justice :
 “ For where the Senate has not yet decreed, nor the Roman people
 “ commanded any thing, there I neither arrogantly take upon myself to
 “ prejudge, nor to impose my will as a law. Nor have I changed my
 “ mind with regard to that person ; from whom, when I was under no
 “ necessity of killing him, I neither took away any thing cruelly, nor re-

V. R. 115. "mitted any thing idly, but kept him in my power as long as the war
 b. f. Car. "continued¹. *I take it to be much the more decent part, and what the*
 409 Cens. "*Republic would more easily allow to us, not to persecute the fortunes of the*
 " *miserable, than to heap infinite honours on the powerful, which tend to in-*
 " *flame their ambition and arrogance.* In respect to which, Cicero, thou
 " best and bravest of men, and of all most justly dear to me, both upon
 " my own and the public account you seem to trust too much to your
 " hopes; and, as soon as any one happens to have done what is right,
 " immediately to grant and give up every thing to him. As if a mind,
 " corrupted by extravagant concessions, could not be drawn to abuse
 " them to ill purposes. Such is your humanity, you will not take it ill
 " to be admonished; especially where the public safety is at stake.
 " You will go on however to act, as you shall judge for the best; and so
 " too will I, whenever you will instruct me. Now is the time, Cicero;
 " now the time for us to act so, that we may not rejoice in vain for An-
 " tony's ruin; nor, by our method of extirpating the first evil, give occa-
 " sion to another still worse to sprout up. Nothing bad can now hap-
 " pen to us, either through our inadvertency or permission, without
 " some fault in us all; but especially in you; whose authority the Se-
 " nate and people of Rome not only suffer, but desire to see as great as
 " can possibly be allowed to any single man in a free State: Which it
 " is your business to maintain, by recommending not only *honest*, but
 " *prudent* measures. Nor is any other prudence required from you for
 " the time to come, but a moderation in conferring honours. All other
 " virtues are so eminent in you, that you may be compared with any of
 " the ancients. This one part, which flows from a grateful and gene-
 " rous mind, requires a more cautious and temperate generosity. For
 " the Senate ought to grant nothing to any man, that may either be an
 " example, or a support to the disaffected. *I am in pain therefore about*
 " *the consulship: Lest this Cæsar of yours should think himself raised higher*
 " *already by your decrees, than it would be, from his present height, to be*
 " *advanced still to a Consul.*" [This was penned on the 15th of May, af-
 ter the first account of Antony's defeat.] "For if Antony took the en-
 " signs of royalty, left to him by another, for an occasion of making
 " himself our King; in what disposition, think you, will he be, who by
 " the authority, not of the tyrant, whom we have killed, but of the Se-
 " nate itself, imagines himself encouraged to pretend to what power so-
 " ever he pleases? Wherefore I shall then at last applaud your felicity
 " and prudent foresight, when I begin to know for certain, that Cæsar
 " will be content with the extraordinary honours which he has hitherto
 " received. *Will you make me answerable then, you will say, for another*

¹ By Antony's defeat and flight out of Italy, Brutus seems to have thought the war at an end, and was meditating therefore either to dismiss his prisoner Antonius, or to send him to Rome, that his case might be determined by the Senate. *Mid.!* p. 78.

“man’s fault? Yes, surely, as far as it might have been foreseen and pre-
“vented. I wish that you could look into the fears which I conceive
“in my breast about him.—After I had written this letter, we heard
“that you were made Consul. If ever I see that day, I shall then
“begin to form to myself the true figure of a Republic, subsisting again
“upon its own strength: Your son is in good health, and is sent before
“me into *Macedonia*, with the horse. *May the 15th.* From my camp.”

Y. R. 715.
Bet. Chr.
42.
409 Conf.

Cicero appears no more upon the stage. He retired probably to one of his country-houses, where he had time to reflect and meditate upon his unsuccessful management of the public affairs. It had from the beginning been such as did not please *Brutus*: Who thought that he might have proceeded with less violence against *Antony*, who was not of a cruel nature; and he disapproved of the fierce decree against *Lepidus*. These measures threw him entirely upon *Octavius*, whom he servilely courted and raised to that power, which now effectually put an end to the hopes of restoring any form of a Commonwealth. In many instances *Brutus* freely intimated to *Cicero* his disapprobation of his conduct; but, when things were carried beyond redress, he was very reserved upon that head, and studiously avoided to take any notice of his acts; which clearly implied, that there was something in them that displeased him. *Atticus* therefore, as a common friend, was employed to sound him, and to learn the cause of his secret disgust, which produced this answer from *Brutus*, one of the most precious pieces which antiquity has transmitted to us:

BRUTUS TO ATTICUS.

“YOU write me word, that *Cicero* wonders why I never take any
“notice of his acts. Since you require it then, and extort it from me,
“I will tell you what I think of them. That *Cicero* has done every
“thing with the best intention, I certainly know; for what can I pos-
“sibly be more assured of, than of his disposition towards the Repub-
“lic? Yet some things he seems to have done; what shall I say? im-
“prudently? Of a man of all others the most prudent! or ambitiously?
“Of one, who, FOR THE SAKE OF THE REPUBLIC, has not scrupled to
“make the powerful *Antony* his enemy! I am at a loss what to write, ex-
“cept this one thing; that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy have
“been encouraged, rather than repressed by *Cicero*; and that he carries his
“indulgence of him so far, as not to abstain even from opprobrious language,
“and such as reflects doubly upon himself: Since he has taken away the life
“of more than one,” [*Lentulus*, *Cetbegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinus*, *Ceparius*, *Ca-*
tiline’s accomplices, were put to death in an illegal manner] “and must
“first confess himself to be an assassin, before he can reproach *Casca* with
X x 2 “ what

Ad Brut.
Ep. 17.
Middl. Ep.
15, p. 95.

Y. R. 710. " *what he objects to him ; and treat Casca, as Bestia once treated him* ".
 Bef. Conf. " Or because we are not boasting every moment of the *ides of March*,
 42. " as he is of *his nones of December*, what better pretext can he have for
 409 Conf. " censuring our most laudable act, than *Bestia* and *Clodius* had for in-
 " veighing against his consulship ? Our *Cicero* brags that he in his gown
 " has sustained the war against *Antony*. But of what service is that to
 " me, if the succession to *Antony's* place be claimed as the reward of op-
 " pressing *Antony* ? And if the avenger of that evil has been the au-
 " thor of another, which is likely to be more firmly grounded, and to
 " take a deeper root, if we suffer it ? As if all that he is doing came
 " from one, *not afraid of a master* ; no, *but of having Antony for that*
 " *master*. But, for my part, I cannot think myself obliged to a man,
 " who, as long as he does not serve an angry lord, has no quarrel with
 " servitude itself ; nay, decrees triumphs, and pay, and every kind of
 " honour to him. It is a shame for any one to desire such a condition
 " of life as he has now taken upon himself. Is this the part of a Con-
 " sular ? This, of *Cicero* ? Since you would not suffer me to be silent,
 " you will read what must necessarily make you uneasy : For I feel
 " within myself what an uneasiness it gives me to write it. Nor am I
 " ignorant what your sentiments are with regard to the Republic ;
 " which, though desperate, you think possible still to be retrieved.
 " Nor, in truth, *Atticus*, do I blame you. For your years, your princi-
 " ples, your children, make you averse to action : Which I perceived
 " also from the account of our friend *Flavius* ". But to return to *Ci-*
cero.

" *Manatius* professes himself unable to
 " conceive how *Cicero* should ever call *Casca*
 " a murderer ; yet cannot collect any thing
 " left from *Brutus's* words. But the thing
 " is impossible, and inconsistent with every
 " word that *Cicero* had been saying, and
 " every act that he had been doing from the
 " time of *Cæsar's* death : And, in relation
 " particularly to *Casca*, he had refused to
 " enter into any measures with *Octavius*,
 " but upon the express condition of his suf-
 " fering *Casca* to take quiet possession of the
 " *suburbs* : It is certain therefore that
 " *Brutus* had either been misinformed, or was
 " charging *Cicero* with the consequential
 " reasoning of *me* saying which was never in-
 " tended by him ; in advising *Casca*, per-
 " haps, to manage *Octavius*, in the height
 " of his power, with more temper and
 " moderation, lest he should otherwise be
 " provoked to consider him as an assassin,
 " and treat him as such : For an intimation
 " of that kind would have been sufficient to
 " the fierce spirit of *Brutus*, for taking it as

" a direct condemnation of *Casca's* act of
 " stabbing *Cæsar*, to which *Cicero* had al-
 " ways given the highest applause." *Middl.*
Life of Cicero, Vol. II. p. 488. Unluckily,
 there are too many instances of these incon-
 sistencies both in *Cicero's* words and deeds.
Octavius's circumstances were changed ; he
 was no longer in the dependence of *Cicero*
 and his Senate, and began to declare him-
 self openly against his father's murderers :
 This was sufficient to engage *Cicero* to
 change his stile, at least in the presence of
Octavius and his adherents.

" This is explained by a story related by
Cornelius Nepos, that a scheme having been
 projected for raising a fund of money for the
 support of *Brutus*, and his forces, by a vo-
 luntary contribution of the Roman Knights,
Flavius proposed the affair to *Atticus*, as
Brutus's particular friend, and one of the
 richest of that order, desiring that he would
 undertake the management, and put him-
 self at the head of it. But *Atticus* answered,
 that *Brutus* was welcome to make what use he
 pleased

cero. What difference is there between him and *Salvidienus*? [one of *Y.R.* 710.
Octavius's most zealous followers] "or what more would *Salvidienus* *Bef. Chr.*
"himself decree to *Octavius*?" He is afraid still, you will say, of the re- ^{42.}
"mains of the civil war. But can any one be so afraid of a routed *409 Conf.*
"enemy, as to think neither the power of one, who is at the head of a
"conquering army, nor the rashness of a boy, at all to be feared? Or
"does he do all this, because he thinks that every thing ought freely to
"be given up to him, on the account of his great power? Oh the
"strange folly of fear! *to be so cautious of shunning what we are afraid*
"*of, that, instead of avoiding it, as we might perhaps have done, we for-*
"*wardly invite and draw it upon ourselves.* We have too great a dread
"of death, and of exile, and of poverty. These *Cicero* looks upon as
"the chief ills of life; and as long as he can find people who will
"grant him what he desires; who will respect and applaud him; he
"has no objection to slavery, provided it be an honourable one; if any
"thing can be honourable, in a state of the most wretched and abject
"contumely. Let *Octavius* then call him *father*; refer all things to
"him, praise, thank him: Yet it will be seen at last, that his words are
"contrary to his acts. For what is so opposite to the common sense of
"mankind, as to hold any one in the place of a *father*, who cannot be
"ranked in the number even of freemen? And yet all that this excel-
"lent man is aiming at, all that he is doing, tends only to this, *that*
"*Octavius may be kind to him.* I can no longer set any value on those
"arts, of which I know *Cicero* to be so great a master: For of what use
"to him are all the fine things that he has written with such eloquence,
"for the liberty of his country, or on dignity, death, exile, poverty?
"How much better does *Philippus* seem to understand these subjects,
"who was more reserved in his concessions to a son-in-law, than *Cicero*
"to a stranger? Let him forbear then in his boastings to insult even
"our miseries. For what is it to us, that *Antony* is vanquished, if his
"fall has made room only for another to possess his place? Though
"your letters even still speak dubiously of him. Let *Cicero* then live
"on, since he can submit to it, suppliant and obnoxious; if he has no
"regard, either to his years, or his honours, or the acts of his past life.
"As for me, I will wage war with the thing itself: That is, with ty-

pleased of his fortunes, as far as they would go; but that, for his part, he would not have any conference or meeting with any person whatsoever, on any such occasion. Middleton's note on this letter, p. 106.

• When *Octavius* marched with his army against *Antony*, *Cicero*, as we have seen above, moved the Senate to decree him the legal command of that army, as *Proprætor*; and that he should carry on the war in conjunction with the two Consuls; and should have a seat in the Senate, with the rank of

a *Prætor*. After the first batt'e of *Mutina*, they decreed to him likewise, at *Cicero*'s motion, a *thanksgiving* of fifty days, with the title of *Imperator*, in common with the Consuls; and, after the second battle and the death of the Consuls, they decreed to him the *less triumph*, or an *ovation*: Indeed, it was not possible to do more for him: A triumph over the late Consul and the Roman legions! after it had been deemed a crime in *Cæsar* to have triumphed over the revolted Spaniards headed by the sons of *Pompey*!

RAN.Y.

Y. R. 719
 Bet. Cic.
 42
 Conf

“ranny, with extraordinary commands, with dominion, and every power
 “that seeks to advance itself above the laws : Nor shall any condition
 “of servitude, how advantageous soever, divert me from it ; though
 “*Antony*, as you write, be an honest man, which was never my opinion
 “of him. But, as to a Master, our ancestors would never endure one,
 “though it were even a parent. If I did not love you as much as *Ci-*
 “*cero* persuades himself, that he is beloved by *Octavius*, I would not have
 “written this to you. It grieves me to reflect, how much you are now
 “disgusted ; you who love all your friends so warmly, and, above all,
 “*Cicero*. But, assure yourself, that I have abated nothing of my par-
 “ticular affection, though a great deal of my judgment of him. For
 “it cannot possibly be otherwise, but that every man’s opinion of
 “things must be agreeable to the light in which they appear to him.”

There is no probability that *Atticus* shewed the foregoing letter to *Cicero* ; but as *Brutus*, in his letters to *Cicero* himself, frequently intimated his dissatisfaction and dislike of *Cicero*’s management, *Cicero* took occasion, in the following letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of *Cæsar*’s death, in order to shew the reasonableness and necessity of each step : And the ingenious author of *Cicero*’s life thinks that it is a complete apology, and shews that *Cicero*’s conduct was in all respects uniform, great, and glorious ; never deviating from the grand point which he had in view, the liberty of his country : Whatever *BRUTUS*, or any one else, may have said.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

Ad Brut.
 xv.
 MICH. Ed.
 xxi p. 145.

“YOU have *Messala* with you. How is it possible therefore for me
 “to explain, by letter, though ever so accurately drawn, the present state
 “of our public transactions, more precisely than he ; who both knows
 “them all more perfectly, and can describe and relate them to you
 “more elegantly than any man ? For do not imagine, *Brutus*, (though
 “there is no occasion for me to write what you know already your-
 “self, but that I cannot pass over in silence such an excellence of all
 “good qualities) do not imagine, I say, that, for probity, constancy,
 “care, and zeal for the Republic, there is any one equal to him ; so
 “that eloquence, in which he wonderfully excels, scarce finds a place
 “amongst his other praises : Since, even in that, his wisdom shines the
 “most eminent, by his having formed himself, with so much judgment
 “and art, to the truest manner of speaking. Yet his industry all the
 “while is so remarkable ; and he spends so much of his time in study,
 “that he seems to owe but little to his parts, which are still the great-
 “est. But I am carried too far by my love for him : For it is not the
 “purpose of this epistle to praise *Messala* ; especially to *Brutus*, to whom
 “his virtue is not less known than to myself ; and these very studies,
 “which

“ which I am praising, still more known : Whom, when I could not
 “ take leave of without regret, I comforted myself with reflecting, that,
 “ by going away to you, as it were to my second self, he both discharged
 “ his duty, and pursued the surest path to glory. But so much for that.

Y. R. 710.
 Bcf. Chr.
 42.
 409 Conf.

“ I come now, after a long interval, to consider a certain letter of yours^p,
 “ wherein, while you allow me to have done well in many things, you
 “ find fault with me for one; *that, in conferring honours, I have been too*
 “ *free and even prodigal.* You charge me with this : Other people, pro-
 “ bably, with *being too severe in punishing*; or you yourself, perhaps, with
 “ both. If so, I desire that my judgment on each may be fully known to
 “ you. Not that I mean to justify myself only by *Selen’s* maxim, the wisest
 “ of the seven, and the only Legislator of them all; who used to say,
 “ that *the public weal was comprised in two things; rewards and punish-*
 “ *ments*; in which, however, as in every thing else, there is a certain
 “ medium and temperament to be observed. But it is not my design,
 “ at this time, to discuss so great a subject; yet I think it not impro-
 “ per to lay open the motives of my opinions and votes in the Senate, from
 “ the beginning of this war.

“ After the death of *Cæsar*, and those your memorable *ides of March*,
 “ you cannot forget, *Brutus*, what I declared to have been omitted
 “ by you^q; and what a tempest I foresaw hanging over the Republic.
 “ You had freed us from a great plague; wiped off a great stain from
 “ the *Roman* people; acquired to yourselves divine glory : Yet all the
 “ equipage of kingly power was left still to *Lepidus* and *Antony* : The one
 “ inconstant, the other vicious; both of them afraid of peace, and ene-
 “ mies to the public quiet. While these were wishing to raise fresh dis-
 “ turbances in the State, we had no troops about us, which we could op-
 “ pose to them : For the whole city was eager and unanimous in asserting
 “ its liberty. I was then thought too violent; whilst you, perhaps more
 “ wisely, withdrew yourselves from that city, which you had delivered;
 “ and refused the help of all *Italy*, that offered to arm itself in your
 “ cause^r. Wherefore, when I saw the city in the hands of *Rebels*; and
 “ oppressed by the arms of *Antony*; and that neither you nor *Cassius*
 “ could be safe in it; I thought it time for me to quit it too. For a
 “ city overpowered by Traitors, without the means of relieving itself,

^p The letter, here referred to, seems to be the 11th, and is cited above in the text: It is dated *May the 15th*, whereas this was written about *the end of July*, after an interval of above two months.

^q The omission here signified, and frequently complained of by *Cicero*, in his letters to *Brutus* and the other Conspirators, was that of *not killing Antony*. The mild *Cicero* would have been glad to have seen *Le-*

pidus killed also, and the whole crew of the wicked *Cæsareans*.

^r If the city had been so eager and unanimous in asserting its liberty, and all *Italy* was ready to arm itself: It is indeed quite inconceivable how the Conspirators should have been so weak as to fly first to the *Capitol*, then out of *Rome*, and lastly out of *Italy*.

Y. R. 10. " is a wretched spectacle *. Yet my mind, always the same, and ever
 Br. 1. 12. " fixed on the love of my country, could not bear the thought of leaving
 42. " it in its distress. In the midst, therefore, of my voyage to *Greece*,
 43 Conf. " and in the very season of the *Etesian* winds, when an uncommon
 " South wind, as if displeased with my resolution, had driven me back
 " to *Italy*, I found you at *Velia*, and was greatly concerned at it. For
 " you were retreating, *Brutus*; were retreating, I say; since your *Stoics*
 " will not allow their wise man to fly. As soon as I came to *Rome*, I
 " exposed myself to the wickedness and rage of *Antony*: Whom, when
 " I had exasperated against me, I began to enter into measures, in the
 " very spirit of the *Brutus's* (for such are peculiar to your blood) for
 " the delivery of the Republic. I shall omit the long recital of what
 " followed, since it relates to myself; and observe only, that this young
 " *Cæsar*, by whom, if we are willing to confess the truth, we subsist at
 " this day, flowed from the source of my counsels. I decreed him no
 " honours, *Brutus*, but what were due; none but what were necessary.
 " For when we first began to recover any liberty, while the divine vir-
 " tue of *D. Brutus* had not yet shewn itself so far that we could know
 " its real force; and our whole defence was in the boy, who had repel-
 " led *Antony* from our necks; what honour was not really due to him?
 " Though I gave him nothing still but the praise of words; and that
 " even moderate. I decreed him, indeed, a *legal command*" [as *Propræ-*
 " tor, with the rank of *Prætor* in the *Senate*;] " which, though it seemed
 " honourable to one of his age, was yet necessary to one who had an
 " army: For what is an army without such a command? *Philippus* de-
 " creed him a statue; *Servius* the privilege of suing for offices before
 " the legal time; which time was shortened afterwards by *Servilius*.
 " Nothing was then thought too much. But men are apt, I know not
 " how, to be more liberal in fear, than grateful in success. When *D.*
 " *Brutus* was delivered from the siege; a day of all others the most
 " joyous to the city, and which happened also to be his birth-day; I
 " decreed that his name should be ascribed for ever to that day in the
 " public *calendars*. In which I followed the example of our ancestors,
 " who paid the same honours to a woman, *Larentia*†; at whose altar
 " you Priests perform sacred rites in the *Velabrum*. By giving this to
 " *D. Brutus*, my design was, to fix in the *calendars* a perpetual memo-

* After all, these Rebels and Traitors were the acknowledged magistrates, and formed the legal administration: And *Cicero* took a commission of Lieutenant from one of the principal Rebels, his dear *Delabella*.

† The old writers give various accounts of the history of this *Larentia*, and of the origin of the rites, which were annually performed to her. The common tradition is, that she was *Romulus's* nurse, and left some

considerable lands at her death to the people of *Rome*; and that *Fomulus*, out of piety to her memory, appointed a yearly festival and sacrifice to be celebrated at her sepulchre. *Aul. Gell.* vi. 7. *Macrob. Sat.* i. 10. The *Velabrum* was a street or square in old *Rome*, where the *Forum Boarium*, and the Temple of *Janus* stood. *Marlian. Rom. topogr.* l. iv. c. 4. *Middl. note on this letter, p. 161.*

“ rial of a most acceptable victory. But I perceived, on that day, that
 “ there was more malevolence than gratitude in many of the Senate.
 “ During these same days, I poured out honours, (since you will have
 “ it so) on the deceased *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, and *Aquila* also: And who
 “ can find fault with it, but those, who, when fear is once over, forget
 “ their past danger? But, besides the grateful remembrance of past ser-
 “ vices, there was a view in it that reached to posterity: For I was de-
 “ sirous that there should remain an eternal monument of the public
 “ hatred to our most cruel enemies. There is one thing, I doubt,
 “ which does not please you; for it does not please your people here;
 “ who, though excellent men, have but little experience in public af-
 “ fairs; *that I decreed an ovation to Caesar*: But, for my part, though I
 “ may, perhaps, be mistaken: *Nor am I yet one of those who are the most*
 “ *pleased always with what is their own;*” [This is the character *Cicero*
 gives of *Brutus* in many of his letters to *Atticus*:] “ I cannot but think
 “ that I have advised nothing more prudent, during this war. Why it
 “ is so is not proper to be explained, lest I be thought to have been
 “ more provident in it than grateful. But even this is too much. Let
 “ us pass, therefore, to other things. I decreed honours to *D. Bru-*
 “ *tus*; decreed them to *Plancus*. They must be men of great souls,
 “ who are attracted by glory: But the Senate also is certainly wise, in
 “ trying every art that is honest, by which any one can be engaged to
 “ the service of the Republic. But I am blamed in the case of *Lepi-*
 “ *dus*, to whom, after I had raised a statue in the *Rostra*, I presently
 “ threw it down again. My view was to reclaim him by that honour
 “ from desperate measures; but the madness of an inconstant man got
 “ the better of my prudence: Nor was there yet so much harm in erect-
 “ ing, as good in demolishing that statue.

“ But I have said enough concerning *honours*, and must say a word
 “ or two about *punishments*: For I have often observed, from your let-
 “ ters; that you are fond of acquiring a reputation of clemency, by
 “ your treatment of those whom you have conquered in war. I can
 “ imagine nothing to be done by you but what is wisely done: But to
 “ omit the punishment of wickedness, which we call pardoning, though
 “ it may be tolerable in other cases, I take to be pernicious in this war.
 “ For, of all the civil wars that have been in my memory, there was not
 “ one, in which, what side soever got the better, there would not have
 “ remained some form of a Commonwealth: Yet in this, what sort of
 “ a Republic we are like to have, if we conquer, I would not easily
 “ affirm; but, if we are conquered, we are sure to have none. My
 “ votes, therefore, were severe against *Antony*; severe against *Lepidus*;
 “ not from any spirit of revenge; but to deter wicked citizens, at the
 “ present, from making war against their country; and to leave an ex-
 “ ample to posterity, that none hereafter might be disposed to imitate
 “ such rashness. Yet this very vote was not more mine, than it was

Y. R. 710.
 Bef. Chr.
 42.
 409 Conf.

Y. R. 110. " every body's: in which, there seems, I own, to be something cruel,
 Ref. Chr. " that the punishment should reach to children, who have done nothing
 421. " to deserve it: But the constitution is both ancient, and of all cities:
 409 Cons. " *Themistocles's* children were reduced to want: And, since the same pu-
 " nishment falls upon citizens, condemned of public crimes. how was
 " it possible for us to be more gentle towards enemies? But what reason
 " can that man have to complain of me, who, if he had conquered, must
 " needs confess, that he would have treated me even with greater se-
 " verity?

" You have now the grounds of my opinions, as far as they relate
 " to the case of *rewards* and *punishments*: For, as to other points, you
 " have heard, I suppose, what my sentiments and votes have been.
 " But the mention of these is not so necessary: What I am going to
 " mention, *Brutus*, is greatly so: That you come with your army to
 " *Italy*, as soon as possible. There is the utmost expectation of you.
 " Whenever you set foot in *Italy*, all the world will run to you. For
 " whether it be our lot to conquer, (as we had already done, if *Lepi-*
 " *dus* had not been desirous to overturn all, and perish himself with his
 " friends) there will be a great want of your authority, in order to settle
 " some state of a city amongst us: Or, if there be any danger or
 " struggle still behind, our greatest hope is in your authority, as well
 " as in the strength of your army. But hasten to us, for God's sake:
 " For you know how much depends on opportunity; how much on dis-
 " patch. What diligence I shall use in the care of your sister's children
 " you will be informed, I hope, by the letters of your mother and sis-
 " ter: In whose cause I have more regard to your will, which is ever
 " most dear to me, than, as some think, to my own constancy. But
 " it is my desire both to be, and to appear, constant in nothing so much
 " as in loving you."

MILL. p.
473.

When *Cicero* saw the public affairs taking a turn quite contrary to his hopes, and that *Octavius*, especially by his demand of the consulship, as well as by every other step, seemed to be entering into measures to oppress the Republic, and to revenge his uncle's death; he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him, by letters, to a reconciliation with *Brutus*, and the observance of that *amnesty*, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. *Atticus*, imagining that *Brutus* would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what *Cicero* had written upon that subject. But, instead of pleasing, it provoked *Brutus* only the more; and he signified his mind upon it both to *Cicero* and *Atticus*, in such a style, says Dr. *Middleton*, as confirms what *Cicero* had long before observed, and more than once declared to him, that *his letters were generally churlish, unmannerly, and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what,*

Ad Att.
vi. 1. 3.

nor

nor to whom he was writing. That to *Cicero* has been transmitted to us, and is as follows :

BRUTUS TO CICERO.

Y. R. 715.
B. C. 43.
409 Conf.

“ I HAVE read a part of your letter, which you sent to *Octavius*,
“ transmitted to me by *Atticus*. Your zeal and concern for my safety
“ gave me no new pleasure : For it is not only common, but our daily
“ news, to hear something which you have said or done with your usual
“ fidelity, in the support of my honour and dignity. Yet that same
“ part of your letter affected me with the most sensible grief which my
“ mind could possibly receive. For you compliment him so highly for
“ his services to the Republic, and in a strain so suppliant and abject,
“ that—What shall I say?—I am ashamed of the wretched state to
“ which we are reduced—yet it must be said,—you recommend my
“ safety to him ; to which what death is not preferable ? And plainly
“ shew, that our servitude is not yet abolished, but our Master only
“ changed. Recollect your words, and deny them, if you dare, to
“ be the prayers of a slave to his King. *There is one thing*, you say,
“ *which is required and expected from him, that he will allow those citizens*
“ *to live in safety, of whom all honest men, and the People of Rome, think*
“ *well.* But what, if he will not allow it ? Shall we be the less safe for
“ that ? It is better not to be safe, than to be made safe by him. For
“ my part, I can never think all the gods so averse to the safety of the
“ Roman people, that *Octavius* must be intreated for the life of any one
“ citizen ; I will not say for the deliverers of the world. It is a pleasure
“ to talk thus magnificently ; and it becomes me surely to those who
“ know not either what to fear for any one, or what to ask of any one.
“ Can you, *Cicero*, allow *Octavius* to have this power, and be still a
“ friend to him ? Or, if you have any value for me, would you wish
“ to see me at *Rome*, when I must first be recommended to the boy,
“ that he would permit me to be there ? What reason have you to thank
“ him, if you think it necessary to beg of him, that he would grant and
“ suffer us to live in safety ? Or is it to be reckoned a kindness, that
“ he chuses to see himself, rather than *Antony*, in the condition to have
“ such petitions addressed to him. One may supplicate, indeed, the
“ *successor*, but never the *avenger* of another’s tyranny ; that those who
“ have deserved well of the Republic may be safe. It was this weak-
“ ness and despair, not more blameable, indeed, in you than in all,
“ which first pushed on *Cæsar* to the ambition of reigning ; and after
“ his death determined *Antony* to attempt to seize his place ; and has
“ raised this boy so high, that you judge it necessary to address your
“ prayers to him, for the preservation of men of our rank ; and that
“ we can be saved only by the mercy of one, scarce yet a man ; and by
“ no other means. But, if we had remembered ourselves to be Ro-
“ mans, these most infamous men would not be more daring to grasp

Ad Brut.
xvi.
M. III. P. 1.
xxiii. p. 164.

Y. R. 10. " at dominion, than we to repel it: Nor would *Antony* be more encour-
 B. f. C. 2. " raged by *Cæsar's* reign, than deterred by his fate. How can you, a
 42. " Consular, and the avenger of so many treasons, (by suppressing which,
 405 Cens " you have but postponed our ruin, I fear, for a little time) reflect on
 " what you have done, and yet approve these things; or bear them so
 " tamely, as to seem at least to approve them? For what particular
 " hatred had you to *Antony*? No other, but because he assumed all
 " this to himself; that our lives should be begged of him; our safety
 " be precarious, from whom he had received his liberty; and the Re-
 " public depend upon his will and pleasure. You thought it necessary
 " to take up arms to prevent him from tyrannising over us: But was it
 " your intent, that, by preventing him, we might sue to another, who
 " would suffer himself to be advanced into his place; or that the Re-
 " public might be free and mistress of itself? As if our quarrel was
 " not, perhaps, to slavery, but to the conditions of it. But we might
 " have had, not only an easy master in *Antony*, if we would have been
 " content with that fortune, but whatever share with him we pleased
 " of favours and honours. For what could he deny to those whose
 " patience, he saw, was the best support of his government? But no-
 " thing was of such value to us, that we would sell our faith and liber-
 " ty for it. Would not the very boy, whom the name of *Cæsar* seems
 " to incite against the destroyers of *Cæsar*, think it worth any price, if
 " there was room to traffick with him, to be enabled, by our help, to
 " maintain all that power, which he now enjoys? Since we have a mind
 " to live, and to be rich, and to be Consulars? But then *Cæsar* must
 " have perished in vain. For what reason had we to rejoice at his death,
 " if after it we were still to continue slaves? Let other people be as
 " indolent as they please; but, as for me, may the gods and goddesses
 " deprive me sooner of every thing, than the resolution of not allowing
 " to the heir of him, whom I killed, what I did not allow to the man
 " himself; nor would suffer even in my father, were he living; *to*
 " *have more power than the laws and the Senate.* How can you imagine
 " that the rest of you can ever be free under him, without whose leave
 " there is no place for us in that city? Or how is it possible for you,
 " after all, to obtain what you ask? You beg, *that he would allow us*
 " *to be safe.* Shall we then receive safety, think you, when we have
 " received life from him? But how can we receive it, if we first part
 " with our honour and our liberty? Do you fancy, that to live at
 " *Rome* is to be safe? It is the thing, and not the place, which must
 " secure that to me: For I was never safe while *Cæsar* lived, till I had
 " resolved with myself upon that attempt: Nor can I in any place live
 " in exile, as long as I hate slavery and insults above all other evils.
 " Is not this to fall back again into the same state of darkness; when
 " he who has taken upon him the name of the tyrant (though in the
 " cities of *Greece*, when the tyrants are destroyed, their children also
 " perish

“ perish with them) must be intreated, that the avengers of tyranny
 “ may be safe? Can I ever wish to see that city, or think it a city,
 “ which has not the power even to accept liberty, when offered, and
 “ even forced upon it; but has more dread of the name of their late
 “ King, in the person of a boy, than confidence in itself; though it
 “ has seen that very King taken off in the utmost height of power, by
 “ the virtue of a few? Do not recommend me, therefore, any more to
 “ your *Cæsar*: Nor yourself indeed, if you will hearken to me. You
 “ set a very high value on the few years which remain to you at that
 “ age, if for the sake of them you can supplicate that boy. But take
 “ care, after all, lest what you have done, and are doing, so laudably
 “ against *Antony*, instead of being applauded, as the effect of a great
 “ mind, *be not charged to the account of your fear*. For if you are pleased
 “ with *Octavius* so, as to petition him for our safety, you will be thought,
 “ *not to have disliked a Master, but to have wanted a more friendly one*.
 “ As to your praising him, for the things that he has hitherto done, I
 “ entirely approve it; for they deserve to be praised, provided that he
 “ undertook them to repel other men’s power, not to advance his own.
 “ But when you adjudge him, not only to have this power, but that
 “ you yourself ought to submit to it so far, as to intreat him, that he
 “ would not destroy us; you pay him too great a recompence: For
 “ you ascribe that very thing to him, which the Republic seemed to
 “ enjoy through him: Nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, that,
 “ if *Octavius* be worthy of any honours, because he wages war with *An-*
 “ *tony*; that those, who extirpated the very evil, of which these are but
 “ the relics, can never be sufficiently requited by the *Roman* people;
 “ though they were to heap upon them every thing that they could be-
 “ stow. But see how much stronger people’s fears are than their me-
 “ mories, because *Antony* still lives and is in arms. As to *Cæsar*, all
 “ that could and ought to be done is past, and cannot be recalled. Is
 “ *Octavius* then a person of so great importance that the people of
 “ *Rome* are to expect from him what he will determine upon us? Or
 “ are we of so little that any single man is to be intreated for our safety?
 “ As for me, may I never return to you, if I ever either supplicate any
 “ man, or do not restrain those who are disposed to do it, from suppli-
 “ cating for themselves: Or I will remove to a distance from all such,
 “ who can be slaves, and fancy myself at *Rome*, wherever I can live
 “ free; and shall pity you, whose fond desire of life neither age nor
 “ honours, nor the example of other men’s virtue, can moderate. For
 “ my part, I shall ever think myself happy as long as I can please my-
 “ self with the persuasion, that my piety has been fully requited. For
 “ what can be happier than for a man, conscious of virtuous acts, and
 “ content with liberty, to despise all human affairs? Yet I will never
 “ yield to those who are fond of yielding, or be conquered by those
 “ who are willing to be conquered themselves; but will first try and at-
 “ tempt

Y. R. 710.
 Bef. C. 11.
 42.
 409 Conf.

Y. R. - 10. "tempt every thing, nor ever desist from dragging our city out of
 Bel. Cnr "slavery. If such fortune attends me, as I ought to have; we shall
 42. "all rejoice: If not, I shall rejoice myself. For how can this life be
 407 Co i "spent better, than in thoughts and acts which tend to make my coun-
 "trymen free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not to desert the cause
 "through weariness or diffidence. In repelling present evils, have your
 "eye always on the future, lest they insinuate themselves before you
 "are aware. Consider, that the fortitude and the courage, with which
 "you delivered the Republic, when Consul, and now again, when
 "Consular, are nothing without constancy and equability. The case
 "of tried virtue, I own, is harder than of untried: We require fer-
 "vices from it as debts; and, if any thing disappoints us, we blame
 "with resentment, as if we had been deceived by it. Wherefore, for
 "Cicero to withstand Antony, though it be a part highly commendable,
 "yet, because such a Consul seemed, of course, to promise us such a
 "Consular, nobody wonders at it. But if the same Cicero, in the case
 "of others, should waver at last in that resolution, which he exerted
 "with such firmness and greatness of mind against Antony, he would
 "deprive himself, not only of the hopes of future glory, but forfeit
 "even that which is past: For nothing is great in itself but what flows
 "from the result of our judgment: Nor does it become any man, more
 "than you, to love the Republic, and to be the patron of liberty; on
 "the account either of your natural talents, or your former acts, or
 "the wishes and expectations of all men. Octavius, therefore, must
 "not be intreated to suffer us to live in safety. Do you rather rouse your-
 "self so far as to think that city, in which you have acted the noblest
 "part, free and flourishing, as long as there are leaders still to the
 "people, to resist the designs of traitors."

M. Crevier, speaking of this letter of Brutus, says, *that we see in it with admiration the great superiority that virtue alone gives one man over another of the most distinguished talents, the greatest dignities, and the most advanced age.* Dr. Middleton's judgment is very different: "If we com-
 Mill. p. 427. "pare, says he, these two letters, we shall perceive, in Cicero's, an ex-
 "tensive view and true judgment of things, tempered with the greatest
 "politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to dis-
 "gust, where he thought it necessary even to blame. In Brutus's, a
 "churlish and morose arrogance, claiming infinite honours to himself,
 "yet allowing none to any body else; insolently chiding and dictating
 "to one, as much superior to him in wisdom, as he was in years; the
 "whole turning upon that romantic maxim of the Stoics, enforced with-
 "out any regard to times and circumstances: *That a wise man has a suf-
 "ficiency of all things within himself.* There are, indeed, many noble
 "sentiments in it, worthy of old Rome, which Cicero, in a proper sea-
 "son, would have recommended as warmly as he; yet they were not
 "principles

“ principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical ; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in *Brutus*, because he himself did not always practise what he professed ; but was too apt to forget both the *Stoic* and the *Roman*.” But it must be considered, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* were at this time at the head of two formidable armies, and masters of all the eastern world, while the Chiefs in the west were making war upon one another : In these circumstances, *Brutus* did not doubt but he would be able to vindicate his *ides of March* ; and his letter is certainly written with a spirit agreeable to the character of a tyrant-killer, authorised and armed to defend the liberty of his country. No words can express sufficiently the meanness and folly of good *Cicero*’s prayer in such a conjuncture ; and there is no one in *Brutus*’s case but would have conceived the greatest indignation upon the occasion, without being a *Stoic*, or a *Roman*. As to *Cicero*’s letter, in which we are told, *there is an extensive view, and true judgment of things*, there is not one argument in it to justify *Cicero*’s violent and outrageous behaviour towards *Antony*, and afterwards towards *Lepidus* ; which threw him entirely upon *Octavius* ; nor any one reason given which could induce *Brutus* to hope that he could lead *Octavius* to the defence of liberty ; and the measures he took to lead him to it were such as to make the most sanguine friends to the cause despair of his ever bringing it about.

CHAP. XV.

OCTAVIUS is chosen Consul, with Pedius, his coheir to Cæsar. POLLIO and PLANCUS join ANTONY and LEPIDUS. D. Brutus is killed in his flight. The conspirators are impeached in form, and condemned at Rome. The law against DOLABELLA is repealed: His end. OCTAVIUS joins ANTONY and LEPIDUS, and settles with them the plan of a triple league. They enter Rome; are chosen reformers of the State, under the name of TRIUMVIRI, for five years. They publish an edict of proscription. The death of CICERO.

OCTAVIUS was chosen Consul in the legal form by an assembly of the people, with *Q. Pedius*†, his kinsman, and coheir in part of his uncle’s estate, in the month of *Sextilis* ; which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honours, was called afterwards from his own surname *Augustus*‡.

Appian

† They were substituted in the place of the deceased Consuls, *Hirtius* and *Pansa* ; and, in their room, were afterwards substituted *P. Ventidius* and *C. Carinnas*.

‡ He entered upon his consulship, not on the 22d of September, the day before his birth-

day, as *Velleius Paterculus* places it ; but on the 19th of August, as *Liv.* l. lvi. p. 590, puts it: From which date many reckoned the beginning of his reign. He died ; 6 years after, on the same day, a circumstance to which the people gave great attention ;

Y. R. 710. Appian and Dio tell us, that his first care was to get his adoption by
 Bel. Cal. Julius Caesar confirmed in the most solemn manner by a law of the peo-
 42 ple; and that he took henceforth the name of *Caius Julius Cæsar Octa-*
 409 Cor. *vianus*; but he had certainly taken this name from the beginning, in
 App. l. iii. virtue of his uncle's will, and afterwards of a decree of the Senate.
 P. 321. He secured, on entering on his magistracy, the public money which he
 found in *Rome*, and divided it among his soldiers.

About this time *Pollio*, who was averse to the violent proceedings of *Cicero's* Senate, came to the assistance of *Antony* and *Lepidus* with two of his best legions. This accession made the army of the rebels much superior to that of *Plancus* and *D. Brutus*; who, since their junction, had kept upon the defensive, not thinking themselves strong enough to force their way into *Italy*. The consent of these Generals, and the unexpected turn of *Antony's* affairs, staggered the fidelity of *Plancus*, whom we shall find hereafter to have had a weak and servile mind, and the low talents of a courtier, rather than those of a *Roman* General; and he not only deserted his colleague *D. Brutus*, but endeavoured to betray him to his enemies*, which was done with the consent and approbation of *Octavianus*, with whom *Plancus* kept a correspondence by letters, and by the mediation of his Lieutenant *Furnius*, who was dispatched to him about the end of *July*†. *D. Brutus* thus abandoned, and left to shift for him-
 self,

quod id in dies accepti imperii princeps et vitæ supremæ fuit. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 9. As he seized upon the consulate against the will of the Senate, so we shall soon see him lay it down without their consent; and from this moment neither Senate nor people ever recovered so much as the appearance of liberty. He was at this time, according to *Livy*, l. 119, *unwitten* years old, that is, he was in his *thirtieth* year, as *Suetonius* in *Oct. 20*, *Eutropius*, l. vii. *Plutarch* in *Brutus*, unanimously affirm, and the last cites *Augustus's* Memoirs.

* *Plancus* deinde *dubia*, id est, *sua fide*, diu quam esset partium secum luctatus, ac sibi difficile consentiens, et nunc adjutor *Bruti* designati Consulis, Collegæ sui, Senatûsque, se litteris vendicans, mox ejusdem proditor: *Asinius* autem *Pollio* firmus propositus, et *Julianis* partibus fidus, *Pompeianis* adversus; uterque exercitus tradidit *Antonio*. *D. Brutus* desertus primo a *Planco*, post insidiis ejusdem petitus.—*Vel. Pat.* ii. 63, 64.

† The following letter is the last of *Plancus's* correspondence with *Cicero*, and bears the lowest date of any in the collection of *Cicero's* familiar letters.

PLANCUS, Consul elect, to CICERO.

Fp. Fam. " I CANNOT forbear to express, upon every occasion, the sentiments I entertain
 x. 24. " of your repeated favours: Though, at the same time, it is with some reserve that I in-
 Nelm. xv. " dulge myself in this satisfaction. The great intimacy indeed, which you allow me to
 18. " enjoy with you, renders all formal acknowledgments of this kind unnecessary: Nor
 " would I make so cheap a return to the many important obligations I owe to you, as that
 " of mere empty professions. I had much rather reserve the proofs of my gratitude to
 " some future opportunity of testifying it in person: And, if I live, I will convince
 " you by the assiduity of my good offices, and by every instance of respect and esteem,
 " that you have not a friend, nor even a relation, who is so warmly attached to you as
 " myself. In the mean time, I am at a loss to determine, whether the daily pleasure, or
 " the

self, with a needy and mutinous army; eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies; had no other way to save himself, than by flying

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“ the lasting honour I shall derive from your affectionate regard, will be greatest ———
 “ I find the interest of my troops has been a part of your care. It was not with any in-
 “ tention of advancing my own power, that I was desirous they should be distinguished by
 “ the Senate: As I am conscious of having no views, but what regard the welfare of the
 “ Republic. My reasons were, in the first place, because I thought they deserved to be
 “ rewarded; and, in the next place, because I was desirous they might upon all occasions
 “ be still more attached to the Commonwealth. I hoped likewise by this means so
 “ strongly to fortify them against all solicitations, that I might be answerable for their
 “ continuing to act with the same unshaken fidelity, which they have hitherto preserved.
 “ ———I have kept entirely upon the defensive; and, though I am well apprised with
 “ how much just impatience the public wishes for a decisive action, yet I persuade myself
 “ that the Senate will approve my conduct. If any misfortune indeed should attend our
 “ armies in this part of the world, the Republic would not very soon be in a condition
 “ to oppose any sudden incursion of these rapacious traitors. As to the state of our forces,
 “ I imagine you already know that those under my command consist of three veteran le-
 “ gions, together with one new raised regiment: Which last, however, is composed of far
 “ the best disciplined troops I ever saw of this sort. *Brutus [Decimus]* on the other side is at
 “ the head of ten legions; one of which is veteran; another has been upon the establish-
 “ ment about two years; and all the rest are lately raised. Thus, you see, tho’ our army
 “ is very numerous, it is not extremely strong. The Republic indeed has but too often
 “ had occasion to be convinced, how little is to be expected from raw and unexperienced
 “ forces. However, if we had been joined, either by the *African* legions, which are com-
 “ posed wholly of veteran troops, or by *Cæsar’s*, we should without hesitation have hazar-
 “ ded a general engagement. As the troops of the latter were somewhat nearer than the
 “ former, *I frequently pressed Cæsar by letters to advance; and he accordingly promised to join*
 “ *us with all expedition.* But other views, I perceive, have diverted him from these in-
 “ tentions. Nevertheless, I have dispatched my Lieutenant *Furnius* with another letter to
 “ him, if happily it may any thing avail. You are sensible, my dear *Cicero*, that I take
 “ an equal part with you in the affection you bear to *Octavius*. He has a right to my
 “ friendship; not only from that intimacy which I enjoyed with his uncle, but in regard
 “ also to his own disposition; which, as far as I could ever discover, is regulated by prin-
 “ ciples of great moderation and humanity. It would ill indeed become that distin-
 “ guished amity, which subsisted between *Julius Cæsar* and myself, not to look upon *Oc-*
 “ *tavius* with all the tenderness which is due to the son of my friend; after he has been
 “ adopted as such by *Cæsar’s* will, and *that adoption approved by the Senate.* What I am
 “ going to say therefore is more the dictates of concern than resentment: But it must be
 “ acknowledged, that *if ANTONY still lives, if he has been joined by LEPIDUS, if their*
 “ *armies are by no means contemptible: In a word, all their hopes and all their attempts are*
 “ *singly owing to CÆSAR.* Not to look farther back than to his promise of joining me:
 “ Had he fulfilled the assurances he gave me for that purpose, the war would by this time
 “ either have been totally at an end, or driven into *Spain*; where the enemy could not
 “ have carried it on without great disadvantage, as that province is utterly averse to them.
 “ I am at a loss to conceive, therefore, *with what view*, or by whose advice, *Cæsar* was
 “ diverted from a measure so greatly to his interest and his honour, in order to turn his
 “ pursuits towards a consulship of a few months duration; much to the terror at the same
 “ time of the Republic, and with pretensions too, exceedingly ridiculous. The remon-
 “ strances of his friends might be extremely serviceable upon this occasion, both to him-
 “ self and to the Commonwealth. But none of them, I am persuaded, would have so
 “ much influence over him as yours; as there is no man who is so much obliged to you,
 “ except myself: For I shall ever acknowledge that the favours I have received from you
 “ are great and innumerable. I have given instructions to *Furnius* to solicit *Cæsar* upon
 “ this subject: And, if I should have that authority with him which I am sure I ought, he
 “ will

Y. R. 710. flying to his name-fake in *Macedonia*: But the distance was so great,
 Bef. Chr. 42. and the country so guarded, that he was often forced to change his road,
 409 Conf. for fear of being taken; till, having dismissed all his attendants, and ha-
 ving wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed
 himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and host, whom he had
 formerly obliged; where, either through treachery, or accident, he
 Vell. Pat. ii. 64. was surprised by *Antony's* soldiers, who immediately killed him, and re-
 App. l. iii. turned with his head to their General².
 p. 588.

Octavius, on his side, vested with the sovereign authority, kept no
 Appian, iii. 586. measures with the party of the Conspirators. The decree against *Dola-*
 bella, whose death was not yet known in *Rome*, was revoked; and a
 Liv. l. xxi. law was published, by the Consul *Pedius*, to bring to trial and justice all
 Vell. Pat. ii. 69. those who had been concerned, either in advising, or effecting *Cæsar's*
 Suet. in death: In consequence of which all the Conspirators were presently im-
 Mer. 3. peached in form by different accusers: *L. Cornificius* was the accuser of
 Phil. in *Brutus*, and the famous *M. Agrippa* of *Cassius*: And, as none of them
 Brut. appeared to their citations, they were all condemned of course, and, by
 Dio, xlv. a second law, *interdicted from fire and water*. *Sextus Pompey*, also, though
 322. he had borne no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irre-

“ will hereafter thank me for my advice. In the mean time, we have a very difficult part
 “ to sustain here: As, on the one hand, we do not think ourselves altogether strong
 “ enough to hazard an engagement: And, on the other, must take care not to expose
 “ the Republic to greater dangers by declining one. However, if *Cæsar* should comply
 “ with the dictates of his interest and his honour; or if the *African* legions should spe-
 “ dily join us; you may depend upon having nothing to fear from this quarter.—Let me
 “ intreat you to continue your friendship to me, and to be assured that I am intirely yours.
 “ From my camp, July the 28th.”

Plancus was, at this time, the occasional founder of the town of *Lyon*, by settling, at
 the confluence of the *Saone* and the *Rhone*, the inhabitants of *Vienne*, who were driven
 out of their possessions by the *Allobroges*, during these dissensions of the *Roman* Generals.
 Though *Vienne* returned soon again under the *Roman* power, yet this new colony still sub-
 sisted, and, by the advantages of its situation, became more flourishing than its mother
 city.

² Several of the old writers have reproached his memory with a shameful cowardice in
 the manner of his suffering death: *Quid? D. BRUTUS exiguum et infelix momentum vite quan-
 to dedecore emit! Nam à FURIO, quem ad eum occidendam ANTONIUS miserat, comprehensus,
 non solum cervicem gladio subtraxit; verum etiam constantius eum præbere admonitus, ipsis his
 verbis juravit: ITA UT VIVAM, DABO. O fati cunctationem ærumnosam!* Val. Max. l.
 ix. c. 13. Senec. Ep. 82. Dio, l. 46. Dr. Middleton rejects this account, and thinks
 such cowardice unworthy of the man who killed *CÆSAR* and commanded armies, and altoge-
 ther inconsistent with the character of his former life: As if he could be looked upon in any
 other light, than as a monster of ingratitude, perfidy, and cruelty; qualities with which
 cowardice suits admirably well. *DECIMUS BRUTUS desertus primò a PLANCO, post infi-
 diis ejusdem petitus, paulatim relinquentem eum exercitum, fugiens, in hospitii cujusdam nobilis viri,
 nomine Camellii, domo ab iis quos miserat ANTONIUS jugulatus est; JUSTISSIMASQUE OP-
 TIME DE SE MERITO VIRO CÆSARI POENAS DEDIT: CUJUS CUM PRIMUS ONNIUM
 AMICORUM FUISSET, INTERFECTOR FUIT, ET FORTUNÆ, EX QUÀ FRUCTUM TU-
 LERAT, INVIDIAM IN AUTHOREM RELEGABAT; CENSEBATQUE ÆQUUM, QUÆ
 ACCEPERAT A CÆSARE, RETINERE; CÆSAREM, QUI ILLA DEDERAT, PERIRE.*
 Vell. Pat. ii. 64.

concileable

conciliable enemy to the *Cæsarean* cause. And now *Octavius* distributed to the citizens the legacies, which his uncle had left them by his will. Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr. 42.
409 Conf.

Soon after these proceedings, the news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *D. Brutus*. *Minutius Bætilus*, another of *Cæsar's* assassins, was murdered, about this time, by his slaves, enraged at his barbarous treatment of them. App. iii.
588.
Orof. vi.
18.

The news also of *Dolabella's* defeat and death was not known in *Rome* till after *Pedius's* law *. *Dolabella*, after his success against *Trebonius*, having pillaged the province of *Asia* of its money, and of all things useful for war, marched forward to execute his grand design upon *Syria*; for which he had been making all this preparation: But *Cassius* was beforehand with him, and, having got possession of that country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. *Dolabella*, however, made his way with some success through *Cilicia*, and came before *Antioch* in *Syria*, but was denied admittance into it; and, after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to *Laodicea*, which had before invited, and now opened its gates to him. Here *Cassius* came up with him, and presently invested the place, where, after he had destroyed *Dolabella's* fleet in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea as well as by land, till *Dolabella*, seeing no way to escape, and the town unable to hold out any longer, put an end to his own life, by the assistance of one of his slaves, to prevent his falling alive into *Cassius's* hands, and suffering the same treatment he had shewn to *Trebonius*: But *Cassius* generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his Lieutenant *Octavius*, who killed himself also with him. Middl. p.
443.
App. l. iv.
625.
Dio, xlvii.
Ep. Fam.
xii. 13 15.

The people of *Laodicea*, if we believe *Dio*, were only fined in a sum of money; but *Appian* says, that *Cassius* committed great extortions and cruelties, and reduced the town to the utmost misery. The same author relates, that the town of *Tarsus*, which had also favoured *Dolabella*, was fined 1500 talents, [290,625 l.] and that, in order to raise this sum, the magistrates were obliged to sell not only the ornaments of their city, but also some of their citizens for slaves.

Octavius had no sooner settled the affairs of the city, and subdued the Senate to his mind, than he marched back towards *Gaul*, to meet *Antony* and *Lepidus*; who had already passed the *Alps*, and brought their armies into *Italy*, in order to have a personal interview with him; which had been privately concerted for settling the terms of a triple league, Middl. p.
488.
Liv. 120.
Flor. iv. 6.
Plut. Cic.
& Brut.
App. iv.
589.
Dio, xlvii.

* Dr. *Middleton* is certainly mistaken, when he says, "Not long after the battle of *Modena*, the news of *Dolabella's* defeat and death, from *Asia*, brought a fresh occasion of joy to *Cicero* and his friends at *Rome*:" It appears, by a letter to *C. Cassius*, written after the 30th of *June*, and co-

piated above in the text, as also by another of *Cassius*, the *Quæstor*, to *Cicero*, dated from *Cyprus*, *June* the 13th, [Ep. Fam. xii. 13.] that *Dolabella* was not yet destroyed: And in none of *Cicero's* letters is his death mentioned.

Y. R. 710. and dividing the power and provinces of the Empire among themselves.
 Ref. Chr. The place appointed for the interview was a small island about two miles
 42. from *Benonia*, formed by the river *Rhenus*, which runs near to that city:
 429 Conf.

Here they met, not without jealousy and suspicion of danger from each other; being all three attended by their choicest troops, each with five legions, disposed in separate camps within sight of the island. *Lepidus* entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to see that the place was clear and free from treachery; and, when he had given the signal agreed upon, *Antony* and *Octavius* advanced from the opposite banks of the river, and passed into the island by bridges, which they left guarded on each side by three hundred of their own men. It is reported that their first care, instead of embracing, was to search one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their cloaths; and, when that ceremony was over, *Octavius* took his seat betwixt the other two, in the most honourable place, on account of his being Consul. They spent three days in close conference to adjust the plan of their accommodation; the substance of which was: "That the
 " three should be invested jointly with the supreme power, for the term
 " of five years, with the title of *Triumvirs for settling the State of the Re-*
 " *public*; that they should act in all cases by common consent; nomi-
 " nate the Magistrates and Governors both at home and abroad; and
 " determine all affairs relating to the Public, by their sole will and plea-
 " sure: That *Octavius* should have, for his peculiar province, *Africa*,
 " with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other islands of the *Mediterranean*; *Le-*
 " *pidus*, *Spain*, with the *Narbonese Gaul*; *Antony*, the other *two Gauls*,
 " on both sides of the *Alps*: And that *Octavius* should resign the con-
 " sulship to *Ventidius* for the remainder of the year: That *Antony* and
 " *Octavius* should prosecute the war against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, each of
 " them at the head of twenty legions; and *Lepidus*, with three legions,
 " be left to guard the city: And, at the end of the war, that eighteen
 " cities or colonies, the best and richest of *Italy*, together with their lands
 " and districts, should be taken from their owners, and assigned to the
 " perpetual possession of the soldiers, as a reward of their faithful ser-
 " vices." These conditions were published to their several armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their Chiefs; which, at the desire of the soldiers, was ratified likewise by a marriage, agreed to be consummated between *Octavius* and *Clodia*, the daughter of *Antony's* wife *Fulvia*, by her first husband, *P. Clodius*.

The last thing that they adjusted was the list of a proscription, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the historians tell us, occasioned much difficulty and warm contests amongst them, till each of them, in his turn, consented to sacrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and resentment of his colleagues. The whole list is said to have consisted of *three hundred Senators and two thousand Knights*.
 They

They reserved the publication of it till their arrival at *Rome*, excepting only a few of the most obnoxious, the heads of the Republican party, about seventeen in all; the chief of whom was *Cicero*. These they marked out for immediate destruction, and sent their emissaries away directly, to surprise and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: Four of the number were presently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the rest hunted out by the soldiers in private houses and temples; which presently filled the city with an universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy. So that the Consul *Pedius* was forced to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds and appease the fears of the people, and, as soon as it was light, published the names of *the Seventeen*, who were principally sought for, with an assurance of safety and indemnity to all others: But he himself was so shocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that he died *the day following*.

The Triumvirs soon arrived, and made their entry on three several days: *Octavius* the first, then *Lepidus*, and last of all *Antony*; each attended with a prætorian cohort and one legion. *P. Titius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, immediately proposed a law, for the constituting of three Sovereign Magistrates, Reformers of the Republic, for five years, *M. Antonius*, *Lepidus*, and *Octavius*, who took possession of their office on the *27th of November*. Then they gave out their edict of proscription, and retaliated, upon the nobles and aristocratic faction, the cruelties of *Sylla*: This edict *Appian* pretends to give us, but it is a most sorry piece, and drawn up very probably by himself. *Cicero* was at his *Tusculan* villa with his brother and nephew, when he first received the news of the proscription, and of their being included in it. Notwithstanding the prophetic spirit, with which he is commonly supposed to have been endowed, he did not, probably, foresee this dire event ^b.

Undoubtedly

^b After *Antony's* defeat, imagining all danger to be over on that side, he had sent *M. Brutus* in pursuit of *Dolabella*, and it was decreed by the Senate, that the war against this Rebel should be carried on jointly by *Brutus* and *Cassius*. But, before *Dolabella* was destroyed, he was very importunate in his letters to engage them to bring their armies immediately into *Italy*, and comply with a vote of the Senate, which he had moved for, after the junction of *Lepidus* and *Antony*, by the advice of *D. Brutus*:

CICERO to M. BRUTUS.

“WE have yet had no letters from you, nor so much as any report, to inform us, that, Ad Brut.
“in pursuance of the vote of the Senate, you were bringing your army into *Italy*: Which Ep. x.
“that you would do, and with all speed, the Republic earnestly desired of you. For our Middl. Ed.
“intestine evil gains ground upon us every day; nor do we find more trouble from our enemies 19. p. 127.
“abroad, than from those at home: Who were troublesome, indeed, from the beginning of the
“war, but more easily kept under.” [The partisans of *Antony* and *Lepidus*.] For the Senate
“was then in higher spirits, roused not only by my votes, but exhortations. *Pansa* at
“the head of it was sufficiently brisk and vigorous against all the rest of that class; but,
“above all, against his father-in-law: [*Calenus*] who, during his consulship, wanted
“neither

Y. R. 710. Undoubtedly he depended, for his own and his family's safety, on the
 B. 1. Chr. power of *Octavius*, who had given him the strongest assurances of his
 42. protection.
 409 Conf.

"neither courage from the beginning, nor fidelity to the last. The war was so managed
 "at *Mutina*, that you could find no fault with *Cæsar*, though some with *Hirtius*. The
 "fortune of this war, if compared with a prosperous State, is uncertain; if with an ad-
 "verse one, good. The Republic was victorious; *Antony's* forces routed; he himself
 "driven out of *Italy* by *Decimus*. But so many blunders ensued, that the victory slipped,
 "as it were, out of our hands: For our Generals did not think fit to pursue the frightened,
 "disarmed, disabled Rebels:" [His pupil *Octavius* would not, and *Decimus* could not]
 "and an opportunity was given to *Lepidus*, to make us feel the effects of his levity; tho'
 "felt by us, indeed, often before, but now to our greater mischief. The armies of *Brutus*
 "and *Plancus* are good, but raw:" [*Plancus* had four legions, three of which were vete-
 "ran; *Decimus*, of ten, had but one veteran:] "The *Gallie* auxiliaries faithful and nu-
 "merous. But, as to *Cæsar*, who has been governed hitherto by my advice, and is in-
 "deed of an excellent disposition, and wonderful constancy, some people, by most wicked let-
 "ters, messages, and fallacious accounts of things, have pushed him to an assured hope
 "of the consulship. Which, as soon as I perceived, I never ceased admonishing him in his
 "absence, nor reproaching his friends here present, who seemed to encourage his ambi-
 "tion: Nor did I scruple to lay open the source of those traitorous counsels in the Se-
 "nate; nor do I ever remember the Senate or the Magistrates to have behaved better on
 "any occasion. For it never happened before, in voting an extraordinary honour to a
 "powerful, or rather most powerful man, (since power is now measured by force and
 "arms) that no Tribune, nor any other Magistrate, nor so much as a private Senator
 "would move for it*. Yet, in the midst of all this firmness and virtue, the city is still
 "alarmed: For we are insulted, *Brutus*, both by the licentiousness of the soldiers, and
 "the insolence of the Generals. Every one demands to have as much power in the State
 "as he has force to extort it: No reason, no moderation, no law, no custom, no duty, is at
 "all regarded; no judgment or opinion of the citizens; no reverence for posterity." [Had
 "not this been the State of *Rome*, even as far back as from the time of the *Gracchi*?] I had
 "foreseen all this long beforehand, and was flying out of *Italy*, at the time when the same of
 "your edicts called me back again. But you, *Brutus*, gave me fresh courage at *Velia*:
 "For, tho' it grieved me to think that I was going to that city, from which you, who had
 "given liberty to it, was forced to fly, (which had happened also formerly to me, in a
 "case of similar danger, but of more unhappy issue) I yet went on and came to *Rome*;
 "and,

* Dr. Middleton, p. 456, thinks that this letter evidently proves, that *Cicero* never favoured *Octavius's* pretensions to the consulship, but was, of all men, the most averse to his design, and the most active in dissuading him from pursuing it. Mr. Melmoth, (Vol. iii. p. 382.) on the other side, is of opinion, that it does not discredit the evidence of *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dio*. "There seems, says he, to be the strongest reason to question either the authenticity, or the veracity, of this letter: Because it is most certain, from one of *Cicero's* *Philippics*, that he actually did favour the earliest possible promotion of *Octavius* to the consulate. *Quid est enim, P. C. says he, cur cum (Octavius) non QUAMPRIMUM AMPLISSIMOS HONORES capere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiorum etatem ad consulatum constituamus, adolescentie temeritatem verebatur. C. Cæsar in eunte etate docuit, ab excellenti, eximique virtute, progressum etatis expectari non oportere: In hoc spes libertatis posita est; ab hoc accepta jam salus, hinc summi honores et exquiruntur et parati sunt.* *Philipp.* v. 17, 18. Could *Cicero* after this, without being guilty of the wildest and weakest inconsistency, admonish *Octavius* by letter against his designs upon the consulship; reproach those to their face who encouraged him in that ambitious view; and lay open the source of those traitorous counsels in the Senate: When he had himself, in the speech and in the passage above cited, said every thing that his wit and his eloquence could suggest, in favour of *Octavius's* premature advancement to the consular office? . . . In farther confirmation of that historical evidence, for which I am contending, it may be observed, that *Plutarch* cites the authority of *Octavius* himself for what he affirms concerning the private agreement between *Octavius* and *Cicero*, in regard to the consulate. And it is probable he took this piece of secret history from those Memoirs, which *Octavius* wrote of his own life, as it is certain that both *Plutarch* and *Appian* made great use of them in compiling their histories."

protection. And the old historians tell us, that *Octavius* did not give up *Cicero* to the revenge of his colleagues, without the greatest reluctance, and

Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr.
42.
409 Conf.

“and, without the support of any guard, shook the power of *Antony*; and, by my advice
“and authority, secured to us the troops of *Cæsar*, which the occasion offered, against his
“traiterous arms. In whom, if he continues in the same disposition and deference to my ad-
“vice, we are likely to have a sufficient guard.” [It must be owned that the behaviour
of this docile pupil, since the raising of the siege of *Mutina*, does much honour to the
tutor.] “But if the counsels of the disaffected should have more influence with him than
“mine; or if the imbecillity of his age should not be able to sustain the weight of the
“affairs, which he has now upon his hands; all our hopes are in you. For which rea-
“son, fly to us, I beseech you; and perfect your work of freeing the Republic, which you
“have freed rather, as yet, by your virtue and greatness of mind, than in fact and re-
“ality. All the world will run to you. Exhort *Cassius* by letter to do the same. There
“is no hope of liberty any where but in the strength of your camps. We have both the
“Generals, and the armies in the West, wholly firm to us: I have some confidence also, that
“these troops of the young man are still firm: But there are so many at work to pervert
“them, that I am sometimes afraid lest they make an impression on him.” [What! was he not
already perverted, when, in contempt of the laws and the Senate, he demanded the
consulship by a deputation of his officers, and marched his army towards *Rome*.] “You
“see the whole state of the Republic, as it stood at the time when I was sending away
“this letter. I wish that things may henceforward take a better turn: But if it should fall
“out otherwise (which omen the gods avert!) I shall lament the fate of the Republic,
“which ought to be immortal: But what a poor share of life is left at these years for me?”

Vell. Pat.
ii. 66.
Plut. in
Ant.
Suet. in
Aug. 27.

In a letter that soon followed the foregoing, he writes: “I beg of you, my *Brutus*, with
“the greatest earnestness, that you would not dismiss my son; but bring him hither along
“with you. This you must do instantly, if you have any regard for the Republic, for
“which you was born. For the war is renewed upon us by the great treachery of *Lepi-*
“*dus*: And, as for *Cæsar*’s army, which was the best, it is not only of no service to us,
“but obliges us even to call for yours. Whenever you shall set foot in *Italy*, there will not
“be a single citizen, whom we can truly call by that name, who will not presently be in
“your camp. We have *D. Brutus*, indeed, happily united with *Plancus*: But you are
“not ignorant, how uncertain the minds of men infected with party, as well as the events
“of battles, are.” [Of the Generals of the West, who were all firm in the last letter, *Pol-*
“*lio* seems in this to be given up, and *Plancus* is now suspected.] “Nay, should we con-
“quer, as I hope we shall, there will be a great want of your advice and authority, to
“settle all our affairs. Help us, therefore, for God’s sake, and that as soon as possible:
“And assure yourself that you did not do a greater service to your country on THE IDES OF
“MARCH, when you delivered your fellow-citizens from slavery, than you will do by coming
“to us quickly. JULY THE 12th.”

Middl. Ed.
10. p. 139.

But, after all these repeated entreaties and remonstrances of *Cicero*, neither *Brutus*, nor
Cassius, seem to have entertained the least thought of coming with their armies to *Italy*.
Cassius, indeed, by being more remote, and having *Dolabella* to oppose, could not come
so readily, and was not so much expected as *Brutus*, who, before the battle of *Mutina*,
had drawn all his legions to the sea-coast, and kept them at *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhacium*,
waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark for *Italy*, if any accident had
made his assistance necessary; for which *Cicero* highly commends him. But, upon the
news of *Antony*’s defeat, taking all the danger to be over (as well as *Cicero* and his Se-
nate;) he (with their approbation) marched directly away to the remotest parts of *Greece*
and *Macedonia*, to oppose the attempts of *Dolabella** (who sent about that time five co-
horts

Middl. F.
466.
Ad Brut. ii.
Ad Brut. ii.

* “ON the 27th of April, when we were debating on the means of prosecuting the war against
those who are adjudged to be enemies, *Servilius* moved, that *Ventidius* also should be included in
that number; and that *Cassius* should pursue *Dolabella*: To whom, when I had assented, I made
“ this

Y. R. 710. and after a struggle of two days to preserve him. It was the design of
 Ref. Chr. the triumvirate to keep their resolution a secret, if possible, to the mo-
 42.
 409 Conf. ment

horts as far as the *Thracian Chersonesus* upon the *Hellspont*;) and from that time seem-
 ed deaf to the call of the Senate, and to all *Cicero's* letters. His conduct, however,
 seems to have been extremely prudent. He was sensible that his arrival with an armed
 force would startle the veterans and all the *Cæsarean* party, and drive them into one camp:
 And he might well suspect the fidelity of his troops, and that they were not sufficiently
 confirmed and attached to him, to be trusted in the field against the veterans in *Italy*;
 whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might very probably
 induce them to desert, and betray their Commanders. We find that, even while the Con-
 suls lived, *Brutus* was cautious of letting them know at *Rome*, how prosperously *Cassius's*
 affairs went on in *Syria*, for fear of giving umbrage to their enemies; and the following
 letter shews us that *Cicero's* scheme, of bringing *Brutus* into *Italy*, was not approved of
 by his relations and friends in *Rome*. I lay it before the reader also upon other accounts:

CICERO to M. BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. "AFTER I had often exhorted you by letters to come, as soon as possible, to the
 Ep. xviii. relief of the Republic, and bring your army into *Italy*; and never imagined that your
 Middl. Ed. own people had any scruples about it; I was desired, by that most prudent and dili-
 Ep. xxiii. gent woman, your mother, all whose thoughts and cares are employed on you, that I
 P. 181. would come to her on the 24th of July; which I did, as I ought, without delay.
 "When I came I found *Casca*, *Labes*, and *Scaptius* with her. She presently entered into
 "the affair, and asked my opinion, whether we should send for you to *Italy*; and whe-
 "ther I thought it best for you to come, or to continue abroad. I declared what I took
 "to be most for your honour and reputation, that, without loss of time, you should bring
 "present help to the tottering and declining State. For what mischief may we not ex-
 "pect from that war, where the conquering armies refused to pursue a flying enemy?
 "Where a General unhurt, unprovoked, possessed of the highest honours, and the greatest
 "fortunes; with a wife and children, and near relation to you; has declared war against
 "the Commonwealth? I may add, where, in so great a concord of the Senate and the
 "people, there resides still so much disorder within the walls? But the greatest grief,
 "which I feel, while I am now writing, is to reflect, that, when the Republic had taken
 "my word for a youth, or rather a boy, I shall hardly have it in my power to make good
 "what I promised for him. For it is a thing of much greater delicacy and moment to
 "engage

"this farther motion: That you also, if you thought it of use and benefit to the Republic, should carry
 "on the war against *Dolabella*; but, if you could not do it with convenience to the public affairs,
 "or did not think it for the public service, that you should keep your army in the same quarters where
 "you now are. The Senate could not decree any thing more honourable to you, than that it should
 "be left to you to determine what was the most conducive to the service of the Republic. My opinion
 "of the matter is this: That, if *Dolabella* has any troops, any camp, any place, where he can make
 "a stand, it concerns your character and dignity to pursue him. As to our *Cassius's* forces, we know
 "nothing at all about them: For we have neither received any letters from him, nor any intelligence
 "that we could depend upon as certain. You are very sensible of what importance it is, that *Dolabella*
 "should be destroyed: Not only that he may suffer the punishment due to his treason, but that
 "the Chiefs of the Rebels may not have a place to resort to, in their flight from *Mutina*. That this
 "was my opinion even before, you may recollect from my former letters: Though at that time our
 "only refuge was in your camp, and our hopes of safety in your army. Wherefore now, when we
 "are delivered, as I hope, from all danger, we ought to be more intent on the ruin of *Dolabella*."

Ad Brut. v. "I highly applaud your resolution, of not removing your army from *Asolonia* and
 "Dyrhachium, before you had heard of *Antony's* flight, *Brutus's* eruption, and the victory of the Ro-
 "man people. As to what you write, therefore, that you have since resolved to lead your army into
 "the *Chersonese*, nor to suffer the Empire of *Rome* to be insulted by a most wicked enemy; you do
 "what is agreeable to your dignity and the public service." Ad Brut. ii.

ment of execution ; in order to surprise those whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. Some of *Cicero's* friends, perhaps by the contrivance of *Octavius*, found means, however, to give him early notice of it; upon which he immediately set forward with his brother and nephew, towards *Astura*, the nearest villa which he had upon the sea, with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But *Quintus*, being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to *Rome*, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. The diligence of *Antony's* emissaries eluded all their caution. The son was found out first; who is said to have been more solicitous for the preservation of his father, than to provide for his own safety. Upon his refusal

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“engage one's self for another's sentiments and principles, especially in affairs of importance, than for money: For money may be paid, and the loss itself is tolerable: But how can you pay what you are engaged for to the Republic, unless he, for whom you stand engaged, will suffer it to be paid? *Yet I am still in hopes to hold him, tho' many are plucking him away from me.*” [What can *Cicero* mean here, unless it is, that he hopes to engage *Octavius's* mercy for *Brutus* and *Cassius*?] “For his disposition seems good, tho' his age is flexible; and many are always at hand to corrupt him; who, by throwing in his way the splendor of false honour, think themselves sure of dazzling his good sense and understanding. Wherefore, to all my other labours, this new one is added, of setting all engines at work to hold fast the young man, lest I incur the imputation of rashness. Though what rashness is it after all? For in reality, I bound him, for whom I was engaged, more strongly than myself. Nor has the Republic as yet any cause to repent, that I was his sponsor: Since he has been hitherto the more firm and constant in acting for us, as well from his own temper, as for the sake of my promise. The greatest difficulty in the Republic, if I mistake not, is the want of money: For honest men grow every day more and more averse to the name of tribute*; and what was gathered from the hundredth penny, [a tax of one per cent. paid by the month,] where the rich are shamefully rated, is all spent in rewarding the two legions.” [Though they refused to obey a decree of the Senate ordering them to serve under *D. Brutus*.] “There is an infinite expence upon us to support the armies, which now defend us; and also yours; for our *Cassius* seems likely to come sufficiently provided. But I long to talk over this, and many things, with you in person; and that quickly. As to your sister's children, I did not wait, *Brutus*, for your writing to me: The times themselves, since the war will be drawn into length, reserve the whole affair to you.” [Such was *Cicero's* foresight, notwithstanding the many proofs of *Octavius's* disaffection to what was called the cause of the Republic:] “But, from the first, when I could not foresee the continuance of the war, I pleaded the cause of the children in the Senate, in a manner which you have been informed of, I guess, by your mother's letters: Nor can there be any case where I will not both say and do, even at the hazard of my life, whatever I think agreeable either to your inclination, or to your interest. *The 26th of July.*”

* This tribute seems to have been a sort of capitation-tax, proportioned to each man's substance; and had been wholly disused in *Rome*, ever since the conquest of *Macedonia* by *P. Æmilius*; which produced a revenue sufficient to ease the Republic ever after from that burden, till the present necessity obliged them to renew it. *Plin. H. Nat.* xxxiii. 3. “From the aversion, says *Dr. Middleton*, which even the honest are here said to have shewn to the renewal of it, one cannot but reflect on the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected the Republic in this age, and hastened its ruin.” But what disgusted these honest was, probably, to see their money employed in recompensing veteran soldiers, traitors to the cause of the Republic, and rebels to the Senate; which nothing but *Cicero's* excessive complaisance for *Octavius*, or the dread of him, could make him approve.

Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr.
49.
409 Conf.

Y. R. 712. fusal to discover where his father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the
 Ref. Chr. soldiers; till the father, to rescue his son from torture, came out of his
 42. hiding place, and voluntarily surrendered himself, making no other re-
 429 Conf. quest to his executioners, than that they would dispatch him the first of
 Plut. Cic. the two. The son urged the same petition, to spare him the misery of
 App. 601. being the spectator of his father's murder; so that the assassins, to satis-
 Dio, p. 333. fy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at
 the same time. *Cicero*, in the mean while, found a vessel ready for him
 M-HH p. at *Assur*, in which he presently embarked: But, the winds being cross
 495. and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed
 about twelve leagues along the coast, he landed at *Circæum*, and spent a
 night near that place in great anxiety and irresolution. The question
 was, what course he should steer; and whether he should fly to *Brutus*,
 or to *Cassius*, or to *S. Pompeius*; but, after all his deliberations, none of
 them pleased him so much as the expedient of dying*. According
 to *Plutarch*, he had some thoughts of returning to the city, and kil-
 ling himself in *Cæsar's* house, in order to leave the guilt and curse of
 his blood upon *Cæsar's* perfidy and ingratitude: But the importunity of
 his servants prevailed with him to sail forward to *Cajeta*; where he went
 again on shore, to repose himself in his *Formian* villa, about a mile from
 the coast; weary of life and the sea; and declaring that he would die
 in that country, which he had so often saved^d. Here he slept soundly
 Plut. Cic. for several hours; tho', as most writers tell us, "a great number of crows
 " were fluttering all the while and making a strange noise about his win-
 " dows, as if to rouse and warn him of his approaching fate; and that
 " one of them made its way into the chamber, and pulled away his very
 " bed-cloaths; till his slaves, admonished by this prodigy, and ashamed
 " to see brute creatures more sollicitous for his safety than themselves,
 " forced him into a litter, or portable chair, and carried him away to-
 " wards the ship, through the private ways and walks of his woods; ha-
 " ving just heard, that soldiers were already come into the country in
 " quest of him and were then not far from the villa." As soon as they were
 gone, the soldiers arrived at the house; and, perceiving him to be fled, pur-
 sued immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in the wood. Their
 leader was one *Popilius Lænas*, a Tribune, or Colonel of the army, whom
Cicero had formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause. As soon
 Liv. fragm. as the soldiers appeared, the servants prepared themselves to fight, be-
 ing resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own.
 But *Cicero* commanded them to set him down, and make no resistance:
 Then, looking upon his executioners with a presence of mind and firmness,

* Crematius Cordus ait, Ciceroni cum cogitasset, utrumne Brutum, an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. *Senec. Suasor. vi.*

^d Tædium tandem eum et fugæ et vitæ

cepit: regressusque ad superiorem villam, quæ paulo plus mille passibus à mari abest; moriar, inquit, in patria sæpe servata. Liv. fragm. apud *Senec. Suasor. i.*

which

which almost daunted them, and, thrusting his neck as forwardly as he could out of the litter, he bad them do their work, and take what they wanted: Upon which they presently cut off his head and both his hands, and returned with them in all haste and great joy towards *Rome*, as the most agreeable present which they could possibly carry to *Antony*. *Popilius* charged himself with the conveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head, which had saved his own. He found *Antony* in the Forum, surrounded with guards and crowds of people; but upon shewing, from a distance, the spoils, which he had brought, he was rewarded upon the spot with the honour of a crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling. *Antony* ordered the head to be fixed upon the *Rostra* between the two hands; a sad spectacle to the city: It drew tears from every eye to see those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the *Roman* people, so lamentably exposed to the scorn of sycophants and traitors. *The deaths of the rest*, says an historian of that age, *caused only a private and particular sorrow; but Cicero's an universal one.* Yet it must be owned, *that he had so much the less reason to complain of his fate, as it is certain that he suffered nothing more than he would have inflicted, had fortune put ANTONY in his power:* And that he had brought this ruin upon himself and his friends by his rash and cruel counsels. *Brutus*, who immediately revenged his death upon *C. Antonius*, the Triumvir's brother, is reported, upon receiving of the news, to have said, *that he was more ashamed of the cause of it than afflicted at the loss.* He was killed on the 7th of *December*, about ten days from the settlement of the triumvirate, after he had lived *sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days*.*

A a a 2

Antony,

* *Middl. p. 499.* "The odium of *Cicero's* death, fell chiefly on *Antony*, yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on *Augustus*; which explains the reason of that silence, which is observed about him, by the writers of that age; and why his name is not so much as mentioned either by *Horace* or *Virgil*. . . . *Livy*, though he seems to extenuate the crime of *Cicero's* murder, yet, after a high encomium of his VIRTUE*, declares, that to praise him as he deserved required the eloquence of *Cicero* himself. . . . In the succeeding generation, as the particular envy to *Cicero* subsided, by the death of those whom private interests and personal quarrels had engaged to hate him while living, and defame him when dead, so his name and memory began to shine out in its proper lustre: And, in the reign even of *Tiberius*, when an eminent statesman and historian, *Cremutius Cordus*, was condemned to

* The fragment of *Livy* is as follows: *Vixit tres et sexaginta annos, ut, si vis abisset, ne immatura quidem mors videri possit. Ingenium et operibus, et premiis operum felix: Ipse fortune diu prospera: Et in longo tenore felicitatis, magnis interim ictus vulneribus, Exilio, ruinâ partium pro quibus steterat, et morte, exitu tam tristi atque acerbo, omnium adversorum nihil, ut vire dignum erat, tulit, præter mortem: Quæ verè æstimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod à victore inimico nil crudelius passus erat, quam quod ejusdem fortunæ compos ipse fecisset. Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia senserit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, et in cujus laudes persequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit.* Ap. *Senec. Suasor. vii.* Here, I should think, there is no high encomium of his virtue.

Y. R. 710.
Bel. Chr.
42.
409 Cons.

Antony, satiated with *Cicero's* blood, declared the proscription at an end, in regard to himself. He granted his mother, *Julia*, the life of her brother, *L. Caesar*; to his friend, *Calenus*, that of the learned *Varro*; and wrote with his own hand to *Atticus*, who had concealed himself, with his friend, *Q. Gallius Canus*, that both he and his friend were safe, and, by his orders, both blotted out of the list of the proscribed.

"to die for praising *Brutus*, yet *Paterculus*
"could not forbear breaking out into the
"following warm expostulation with *Antony*, on the subject of *Cicero's* death:
"Thou hast done nothing, *Antony*; hast done
"nothing, I say, by setting a price on that di-
"vine and illustrious head, and, by a detest-
"table reward, procuring the death of so
"great a Consul and Preserver of the Repub-
"lic. Thou hast snatched from *CICERO* a
"troublesome being; a declining age; a life
"more miserable, under thy dominion, than
"death itself; but, so far from diminishing
"the glory of his deeds and sayings, thou hast
"increased it. He lives and will live in the
"memory of all ages; and as long as this sys-
"tem of nature, whether by chance or provi-
"dence, or what way soever formed, (which
"be alone of all the Romans comprehended in his
"mind, and illustrated with his eloquence)
"shall remain intire, it will draw the praises
"of *CICERO* along with it; and all poste-
"rity will admire his writings against thee,
"and curse thy act against him." [Undoubt-
edly, this historian greatly paid his court to
the reigning family, in charging *Antony*
with the whole odium of the proscription.]
"From this period, all the Roman writers,
"whether poets or historians, seem to vie
"with each other in celebrating the praises
"of *Cicero*, as the parent of Roman wit and
"eloquence"; who had done more honour
"to his country, by his writings, than all
"their conquerors by their arms, and extended
"the bounds of their learning beyond those of
"their empire. So that their very imperi-
"ors, near three centuries after his death,
"began to reverence him in the trials of their
"inferior deities: A rank which he would
"have preserved to this day, if he had hap-
"pened to live in papal Rome; where he
"could not have failed, as *Erasmus* says, from
"the innocence of his life, of obtaining the
"honour and title of a Saint." This asser-
tion his ingenious and zealous panegyrist
proves, at length, from *Cicero's* writings,
which contain certainly the noblest princi-

ples of morality, and an eloquent exposition
of all the duties of man. But his moral cha-
racter must be shewn from his practice, from
his actions, and the motives of his actions,
not from theory and lessons of morality:
And these actions, with their springs, having
been laid before the reader in the forego-
ing pages, we shall leave him to pronounce
concerning it.

If these facts are true, and *Antony* was
not of a cruel disposition, as we are told by
Plutarch, how can we then give credit to
the most inhuman facts related of him by
this same *Plutarch* and other authors? We
are told, that, in all this scene of misery, he
gave himself up to all the excesses of debau-
chery imaginable, that his house was filled
with buffoons and players, and that he squan-
dered away, amongst the vilest of mankind,
the price of the blood of the most illustrious
citizens. *Nonius*, it is said, was put to
death, because he would not part with a
fine opal; the famous *Verres*, because he
would not give up two *Corinthian* vases:
One *Fidustius* was wantonly killed, because
he had been proscribed by *Sylla*: *Atilius*, a
boy, very rich, had the toga virili put on
him, and was immediately proscribed:
Fulvia was suffered to plunder and destroy
whom she pleased: A head of a Senator,
called, by *Valerius Maximus*, *Cajetius Ru-
sus*, being brought to *Antony*, when at ta-
ble, he examined it with attention, then
told the bearers, I know him not: This is an
affair of my wife's. This man had refused
to let his house to *Fulvia*, and, lest Rome
should mistake the cause of his death, his
head, it is said, was fixed upon the house,
and not in the Forum. These facts are al-
together incredible, as well as her behaviour
towards *Cicero's* head, which, some historians
tell us, was sent to her by *Antony*, before he
fixed it upon the rostra; and that this fair
Lady placed it upon her knees, loaded it
with garlands, put it upon it, opened the
mouth and pulled out the tongue, which she
perforated a thousand times with her bodkin.

• Our panegyrist adds: And as the most illustrious of their patriots.

Lepidus,

Lepidus, on his side, suffered his brother, *L. Paulus*, to escape, who went to *Brutus's* camp, and, after the battle of *Philippi*, might have returned to *Rome*, but chose to pass the remainder of his days at *Mile-tum*: And *Messala*, though in *Brutus's* camp, was declared free from all prosecution by proclamation, in which it was said: *As the relations of Messala have certified to us, that he was not in Rome at the time that CÆSAR was killed, we erase his name out of the list of the proscribed.* As to *Octavius*, *Suetonius* tells us, that, though he opposed the proscription at first, yet he shewed himself more cruel and bloody in urging it afterwards, than either of the other two; and relates, upon the authority of one *Junius Saturninus*, that, after the proscription was over, when *Lepidus* made an apology to the Senate for their proceedings, and gave hopes of a more gentle administration for the future, young *Cæsar*, on his side, declared, that he should set no bounds to the proscription but his pleasure, and still reserved to himself the liberty of punishing such as were guilty. But these accounts, though adopted by all modern authors, are not supported by any authentic or probable facts².

Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr.
42.
409 Conf.

The greatest number of the proscribed found means to escape, and they fled either into *Macedonia* to *Brutus*, or into *Africa* to *Cornificius*, or to young *Pompey*, who, having been appointed Commander-general of the seas by the Senate, had, under this title, assembled a considerable force, and made himself master of the greatest part of *Sicily*: And who, at this time, stationed small vessels all along the coast, to carry the proscribed from the cruelty of the Triumvirs.

The Triumvirs, having taken vengeance of their enemies in *Rome* and *Italy*, began now to think of levying the money necessary to carry on the war against *Brutus* and *Cassius*: And they are accused of having put in practice every method of extortion, and of having seized upon the treasures deposited in the hands of the Vestal Virgins; yet, the sums

² He is accused of having proscribed *C. Toranius*, formerly his tutor and his father's colleague in the ædileship. We hear, however, of no other instance of his cruelty at this time. But, before the triumvirate, *Suetonius* indeed, *Aug.* 27, lays an atrocious act to his charge: He says, that *Q. Gallius*, Prætor of the city, when he came to wait upon him, had unfortunately under his robe a double tablet (*duplices tabulas*), a sort of pocket-book, which *Octavius* judged to be a poniard; upon which suspicion, not venturing to make search, lest it should be found to be something else, he ordered him to be carried off by his guards and put to the torture, as if he had been a slave: And, because the Prætor would not own that he had a design to kill him, *Octavius* pulled out his eyes with his own hands, and ordered

him to be executed. However, *Suetonius* has informed us that *Octavius* did not own the fact, and in his Memoirs told a quite different story: That *Gallius* desired a private conference with him, with a view of murdering him; for which reason he put him in prison, but afterwards banished him the city; and that he perished either in a storm at sea, or by the hands of robbers. Such is the evidence of *Octavius's* singular cruelty. *Plutarch* moralises at length upon the unnatural bargain made by the Triumvirs, when *Antony* consented to give up his uncle, and *Lepidus*, his brother, to the vengeance of young *Cæsar*, in exchange for *Cicero*. If that was the case, why did not this cruel monster, *Octavius*, insist upon the execution of this part of the treaty, after his friend had fallen the victim of it?

amassed

Y. R. 110. amassed not being sufficient, they devised a new tax never known before. This singular expedient was a tax upon women. They drew up a list of 1400 Ladies of *Rome*, mothers, daughters or relations of their enemies: These alliances were far enough fetched, for riches alone were sufficient to make them guilty in this case. These were ordered to make a declaration of their estates, in order to be taxed as should be thought proper. *Appian* tells us that the Ladies assembled on this occasion, and went in a body to the female relations of the Triumvirs; and that they were well received by *Octavia*, sister to young *Cæsar*; and by *Julia*, *Antony's* mother; but were not admitted by the haughty *Fulvia*, his wife. And that, upon this, they went to the Forum, and, both people and soldiers making way for them, they advanced to the tribunal of the Triumvirs, where *Hortensia*, the daughter of the famous Orator, made a speech, in the name of all the rest, to this effect:

Echard, B. " My Lords, these unhappy Ladies, whom you see here imploring
in ch. 4. " your justice and bounty, would never have presumed to appear in this
Appian. " place, had they not first made use of all possible means, which either
" their native modesty might allow, or their best understandings could
" inform them of. Though our appearing here may seem contrary to
" the rules of decency prescribed to our sex, which we have hitherto
" most strictly observed, yet the loss of our fathers, our children, of
" our brothers and our husbands, is sufficient to excuse us; nay, and
" to vindicate us too, when their unhappy deaths are made a pretence
" for our further misfortunes. You pretend you have been affronted,
" but what have the women done that they must be impoverished?
" If they are as blameable as the men, why don't you proscribe them
" too? Certainly none of our sex have ever declared you your country's
" enemies: We have neither plundered your goods, nor suborned your
" soldiers: We have raised no troops against you, nor opposed those ho-
" nours and offices to which you pretend. We presume not to govern
" the Republic, nor is it our ambition which has drawn the present mi-
" series and misfortunes on our heads; empire, dignities, and ho-
" nours were never designed for our sex. We, alas! have done nothing
" to affront you, nothing to offend you, nor any thing to move you to
" this severe treatment of us. But you tell us that you have a war to
" support. And when have mankind been free from war? And yet
" have women ever been taxed on that account? The universal consent
" of nations has confirmed an exception in their favour, which nature
" herself has granted us. Formerly, indeed, the *Roman* women, in the
" extreme exigency of the Republic, when in danger of becoming a
" prey to the *Carthaginians*, contributed towards the expences of the
" State, but they did it voluntarily: That which they gave was not
" levied upon their estates, dowries, and houses; they only appro-
" priated to it the ornaments of their persons: Nor were they subject
" to any estimation, or informations of accusers. What is then the dan-
" ger

“ger which you apprehend at present? Do the *Gauls* or *Parthians* invade *Italy*? In that case you will find us no less generous than our mothers; but think not that we will contribute our estates to maintain civil wars, and enable you to destroy one another. Such a demand was never made either by *Cæsar* or *Pompey*, in their wars; nor by *Marius* and *Cinna*, during their cruelties; no, not by *Sylla* himself, who first set up tyranny in *Rome*: Yet, after all, you adorn yourselves with the glorious title of Reformers of the State^b.” This discourse appeared so bold and dangerous to the Triumvirs, that they immediately sent their Lictors to cause the Ladies to retire; but, perceiving that the multitude began to cry out against such violence, they promised to re-consider the affair, and afterwards drew up another list of 400 women, instead of 1400; but, to make good the sum they wanted, they taxed all the citizens and foreigners, without distinction, who were worth one hundred thousand drachmas, or upwards of 3200 pounds sterling.

Y. R. 710.
Bef. Chr.
42.
409 Conf.

During all this confusion, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* obtained a decree for a triumph on account of some inconsiderable success in *Gaul*; and, while the city was in the greatest consternation, they calmly issued out proclamations for public rejoicings. *Plancus* triumphed the 29th of *December*, and *Lepidus* on the 31st. The soldiers sung in the procession this line, *De Germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant Consules*: signifying very properly that their triumph was rather over their *germani*, or brothers, than over the *Gauls*.

Octavius resigned, as had been agreed, the consular fasces, before the end of the year, in favour of *Ventidius*, who had *C. Corinnas* for his colleague, in the room of *Pedius*. They enjoyed them only a part of the month of *December*, and they were transferred for the following year to *Lepidus* and *Plancus*.

In order to gratify the ambition of more of their friends, the Triumvirs not only named one of the ædiles to the vacant prætorship of *Ventidius*, but made all the other Prætors resign five days before the expiration of their office, that others might be named in their places, and enjoy the title and rank of antient Prætors. In fine, they appointed magistrates for several years; by which means they confirmed their power, by putting, for a long time, all the magistracies in the hands of those who were attached to them and interested in the support of their government. On the 1st of *January*, the Triumvirs solemnly swore to observe the acts of *Cæsar*, and made all the magistrates take the same oath.

^b Hortensia, Q. Hortensii filia, cum ordo matronarum gravi tributo à triumviris esset oneratus, nec quisquam virorum patrocinium eis accommodare auderet; causam feminarum apud Triumviros constanter et

feliciter regit. Repræsentata enim patris facundia impetravit, ut major pars imperatæ pecuniæ his remitteretur. *Val. Max.* L. viii. c. 3.

T H E

Roman History.

E L E V E N T H B O O K.

From the Establishment of the SECOND TRIUMVIRATE
to the Settlement of the Empire on OCTAVIUS.

C H A P. I.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS reduce the Lycians and Rhodians, and march their armies into Macedonia. ANTONY and OCTAVIUS carry over their legions into the same province. The first battle of Philippi, and the death of CASSIUS. The second battle of Philippi, and the death of BRUTUS. The TRIUMVIRS make a new division of the Empire.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II. } Consuls.
L. MUNACIUS PLANCUS, }

Y. R. 711.
Bef. Chr.
41.
410 Conf.

BRUTUS and Cassius were now masters of all the Eastern provinces, where they had made great exactions, and raised an army of 19 legions and 20,000 horse: And the latter was preparing for an expedition into Egypt against Cleopatra, when he was recalled by Brutus, upon the news that Antony and Octavius had joined their forces. Cassius, therefore, leaving Syria to his brother's son with one single legion, marched into lesser Asia, and met Brutus at Smyrna, where they consulted about the conduct of the war. Brutus moved to have the armies pass into Greece and Macedonia immediately, and there wait for Octavius and Antony; but to Cassius it appeared the wiser measure to reduce the Rhodians and Lycians; who had refused to pay any contributions, and were powerful at sea. It seemed to him of the most dangerous consequence to leave such considerable enemies behind them; and

and this expedition, accordingly, was entered upon without delay, and in a short time, completed. The *Rhodians* were severely plundered by *Cassius*, and scarce any thing, beside their lives, was left them; but the unfortunate *Lycians*, who had to do with the mild and humane philosopher, *Brutus*, fared much worse. *Xanthus*, their capital town, was burnt to the ground, and all the inhabitants destroyed. Those who surrendered at discretion he deprived of all their public and private money. After these military operations¹, the two Commanders met again at *Sardis*, and were there proclaimed *Emperors* by their two armies², and soon passed over into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*; whither the *Triumvirs* had sent two Lieutenants, *Decidius Saxa* and *Norbanus*, with eight legions, while they themselves made a fruitless attempt to drive *Sextus* out of *Sicily*: For they foresaw he would be a thorn in their side, and, in concert with the fleets commanded by *Murcus* and *Domitius*, interrupt their communication with *Italy* and the other transmarine provinces.

Y. R. 711.
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¹ *Plutarch* tells us that the destruction of the inhabitants of *Xanthus* happened against the will and earnest endeavours of *Brutus*, and was entirely owing to an unaccountable fury and frenzy with which they were seized, which made them set fire to their own houses and destroy one another: But the contrary is owned in the following letter of *Brutus* to the *Rhodians*: *Xanthicus, cum à nobis defecissent, extremo supplicio afficimus. Nam usque ad parvulos omnibus caesis, eorum urbem igne & ferro diruimus. Patarenſibus, quia fidi nobis extiterant, tributa relaxavimus ac liberos & sui juris esse concessimus. Atque pro restauratione eorum, quæ demolita erant, quinquaginta talenta dono dedimus. Liceat & vobis consulere ac videre, utrum vos pro hostibus quemadmodum Xanthiis, an pro amicis cœu Patareni, haberi velitis.* And this letter *Plutarch* himself has cited, but in fewer words: *Xanthii beneficium meum despicientes, desperationis suæ habuerunt patrum sepulchrum. Patarenſes qui se in fidem meam contulerunt, nusquam desiderant in administrandis rebus suis libertatem. Itaque licet vobis quoque vel Patarenſium judicium vel fortunam legere Xanthiorum. Velleius Paterculus* tells us, that *Cassius* behaved with greater moderation than *Brutus*: *Dum ea in Italia geruntur, acri ac prosperrimo bello Cassius Rhodum, rem immanis operis, ceperat; Brutus Lycios devicerat. . . . cum per omnia repugnans naturæ suæ Cassius, etiam Brutî clementiam vinceret.* Vell. Pat. ii. 69.

² Here it was that *Brutus* is reported to have seen a ghost in his tent. He ever em-

ployed, says *Plutarch*, the greatest part of the night in dispatching of affairs and reading; and one night, being thus employed, when there was a general silence in the camp, and especially about his tent, of a sudden he heard an unusual noise at the door, which opened at the same time. *Brutus*, casting his eye towards the place, perceived the frightful picture of a hideous spectre, of a proportion much more than natural, which presented itself before him: He had, notwithstanding, the courage to speak to it, demanding, *Art thou a god, or art thou a man, and for what reason comest thou hither? I am,* replied the spirit, *thy evil genius, and thou shalt see me again near Philippi.* *Brutus* answered, *Well, I will see thee:* And immediately it disappeared. He presently called up his slaves, who all told him, that they had neither seen nor heard any thing. He continued walking all the rest of the night, and, early in the morning, went to give an account of what had happened to *Cassius*, who, being an *Epicurean*, told him, that all this proceeded from the weakness of his senses, and the strength of his imagination at that time. However, continued he, let us not believe that there are any such spirits, that have either voice, human shape, or power over us; though I could wish there were, that we might not only rely upon the greatness of our forces, but likewise upon the assistance of those immortal beings, who could not but be favourable to a cause so just and sacred as ours is. *Plutarch* tells us, that the same spirit appeared again before the battle of *Philippi*.

Y. R. 711. *Decidius* and *Norbanus* marched their troops through *Epirus* and *Ma-*
 Bel. Chr. *cedonia* beyond *Philippi*, and encamped at the entry of a narrow pass
 411 Conf. formed by two mountains, being the only commodious way from the
 ————— *Chersonesus* of *Thrace* into *Macedonia*: They had then behind them *Phi-*
lippi, and upon the right, towards the sea, *Neapolis*, a sea-port town
 situated over-against the island of *Thasos*: And here they intended to
 wait the arrival of their Generals. *Brutus* and *Cassius* would have found
 it difficult to force the passage, if *Rhescupolis*, a *Thracian* Chieftain in
 their camp, had not led them over the mountains by a particular way,
 which had been judged impracticable by the enemy. *Bibulus*, son-in-
 law to *Brutus*, commanded the detachment, and took with him provi-
 sions and water for three days; and, after incredible fatigues, when
 the soldiers began to murmur, and to suspect *Rhescupolis* of treachery,
 at last, on the fourth day, they had a view of the plain and the river,
 and, upon this sight, they raised a shout of joy, which gave notice of
 their approach to the two Lieutenants, who otherwise would have been
 surrounded unawares. *Saxa* and *Norbanus* immediately retired to *Am-*
phipolis, which they fortified with great dispatch. *Brutus* and *Cassius*
 marched on beyond *Philippi*, and encamped upon a rising ground not far
 from the town: Behind them was the sea, which furnished them with
 all kinds of provisions: The island of *Thasos* which was at twelve miles
 distance served them for a general magazine; and, at the distance of nine
 miles, was the town of *Neapolis*, which afforded them a secure port for
 their fleet. *Antony* soon came up with them: For, upon the first news of
 the retreat of his Lieutenants, fearing lest he should lose *Amphipolis*, he
 had made forced marches and arrived sooner than he was expected. He
 had the satisfaction to find not only his Lieutenants masters of *Amphi-*
polis, but the town well-fortified. He there deposited all his baggage,
 leaving a legion to defend it: While, with the rest of his troops, he
 advanced, and, following the example, which *Cæsar* had shewn him in
 all his wars, of approaching as near as possible to an enemy, he en-
 camped at only a mile's distance. Here he was joined a few days after
 by *Octavius*. Their combined armies consisted of nineteen legions, com-
 posed chiefly of *Cæsar's* old soldiers, and not only complete as to their
 number, but augmented by a great many supernumeraries. Thus their
 infantry amounted to one hundred thousand men, but their cavalry,
 consisting only of thirteen thousand, was less numerous than that of the
 enemy. They were much streightened for provisions, having only *Ma-*
cedonia and *Thessaly* open to them; *Sextus Pompey* cutting off from them
 all communication with *Africa*, and *Murcus* and *Domitius* with *Italy*.
 This made *Antony* extremely desirous of coming to a battle; but *Cassius*,
 being sensible of his motive, refused to engage him, and restrained the
 impatience of his sanguine colleague. At last *Antony*, with great labour
 and industry, made a way through a large fen, and raised some forts op-
 posite to the enemy's camp. *Cassius*, on his side, formed lines and
 threw

threw up works against him: And in this situation, says *Appian*, the forwardness of the two armies, who were near to each other, drew on a general action, though much against *Cassius's* will, who declared, *that he was forced, in the same manner that Pompey had been, to expose the liberty of the Roman people to the hazard of a battle.* A different story is related by *Plutarch*. He tells us, that *Cassius*, overcome by the importunity of his colleague and the rest of his officers, unwillingly consented to give battle. According to the same historian, *Cassius*, before the general engagement, asked *Brutus's* opinion concerning what they ought to do, if they should happen to be unsuccessful, and *Brutus* answered: *That he had formerly, in his writings, condemned the death of Cato, and maintained that such a manner of avoiding disgrace was an insult upon the gods, and unworthy of a man of courage; but that he had now changed his opinion, and was resolved to lay down that life, which he had already sacrificed to his country on the ides of March, and to change it for a happier one, if fortune proved his enemy. We may then venture to engage the enemy,* replied *Cassius*, embracing him; *for either we will be Conquerors ourselves, or have no cause to fear those who are so.*

The forces of the Triumvirs were commanded by *Antony* alone; *Octavius* not being recovered of the illness with which he had been seized before he left *Italy*: And, both armies being drawn up, *Brutus's* men attacked those of *Octavius* with little order, but with so much fury, that, at the first onset, they overthrew all that opposed them, and, pressing forward with great slaughter, they entered the very camp of *Octavius*, who had just before retired to that of his colleague. *Antony* was, on his side, very hotly engaged with *Cassius*, but, in a short time, found means to open a passage through the lines, and, charging *Cassius's* troops upon the flank, totally routed them; then, pursuing the victory, he soon became master of his camp. *Cassius*, having laboured in vain to rally his soldiers, retired to a hill not far off, expecting the event of the battle on his partner's side. Whence, descrying a body of cavalry making towards him, he sent *Titinius* to discover whether they were friends or enemies. *Titinius* was received with great joy into the ranks, and, instead of riding back directly, marched on with the body of horse towards his General, who, not doubting but that *Brutus* had been routed, and that his friend *Titinius* was taken prisoner, cried out, *Alas! to preserve the remainder of a miserable life, I have ruined my best friend!* And instantly, retiring into his tent, killed himself. *Titinius* arrived soon after with the cavalry, all rejoicing: But their joy was suddenly dashed; and *Titinius*, accusing himself of being the cause of so terrible a misfortune by his imprudence, in great despair, slew himself upon the body of his friend.

Brutus was very sensible of his loss by the death of his companion, whom he called the last of the *Romans*, and caused his body to be privately removed to the island of *Thasos*, lest the sight of it should make

N. P. 711
E. f. Ch.
21.
415 Conf.
Plut. in
Brut.

a bad impression on the minds of the soldiers; and though, according to the report of *Messala*, his party had lost but 8000 men, while the enemy had lost 16,000, yet he kept for twenty days within his intrenchments, refusing to accept the battle which *Antony* offered him. We are told he hoped to starve his enemies, who were now in extreme want of provisions, and whose fleet had been lately totally defeated; a circumstance *Brutus* was ignorant of several days after it was known in *Antony's* camp; which intimates that few or none deserted from the *Triumvirs* to him. And *Plutarch*, who is so lavish in his praises, relates, that he was obliged to put to death all the slaves he had made prisoners in the late battle, and dismiss the rest, lest they should debauch his army: And that he found it necessary also to promise his soldiers a donative of 2000 drachma's a man, together with the plunder of *Thessalonica* and *Lacedæmon*, two of the wealthiest cities in those parts, in order to raise their courage. At last, several of his officers having left his camp to join his enemies, the fear of a general desertion determined him to put all to the decision of a second battle. We are told, that the eagerness of the soldiers was such on both sides, that they betook themselves immediately to their swords, fighting with great fury, till, after much bloodshed, *Brutus's* party was borne down by main force, and intirely defeated. *Brutus* himself fled to a neighbouring hill¹, and there remained all night. When, in the morning, he saw all was lost, he cried out in the words of an ancient poet, *O unhappy Virtue, I follow thee as a solid good, but thou art only a mere notion, a vain empty name, or, at best, a slave of fortune.* Yet shortly after he told some of his friends, *that he looked upon himself as much happier than any of his Conquerors, since he should enjoy that reputation which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injustice could never deserve.* Then, going aside with a particular friend, called *Strato*, he with great earnestness begged of him to do him the last office of a friend; and, seeing him very unwilling to perform so hard a duty, he called for a slave: *Ab then*, cried *Strato*, *it shall never be said, that the great Brutus stood in need of a slave for want of a friend:* So, turning away his head, he presented the point of his sword to *Brutus*, who threw himself upon it and immediately expired.

¹ *Plutarch* tells us, that he ran a great risk of being taken; that, being pursued closely by a troop of *Tbracians*, *Lucilius*, a friend of his, delivered himself up to them, telling them, that he was *Brutus*: Upon which he was immediately conducted to *Antony*. When, in his presence, he owned, that, to save his General, he had deceived the soldiers; and was ready to atone, by his sufferings, for the offence. The *Tbracians* were filled with indignation. *Be not troubled*, said *Antony*, *at the mistake; you have taken a*

much better prize. You wanted to take an enemy, and you have brought me a friend. I take all the gods to witness, that I should have been very much perplexed how to behave to Brutus. But men, such as Lucilius, I love much better to have for my friends than my enemies. *Plutarch*, according to his custom, in order to lengthen out this last scene of *Brutus's* life, and make it more interesting, has collected a great many particularities too minute to find a place in this general history.

Thus

Thus fell these two famous champions for liberty, called the *last of the Romans*: Deserted at once by fortune with the same precipitation, with which she had given them the command of half the Empire. *Cassius*, who professed the *Epicurean* philosophy, left behind him no reputation for virtue; and it was every one's opinion that he hated the tyrant more than tyranny, and had interested and private views in the assassination of *Cæsar*. *Brutus* was, by his birth, his alliances, his connections, his riches, the head of the young nobility: And he was revered in his life and after his death, for the gravity of his manners, his extensive learning, his eloquence, his capacity; but, if we attend to facts, we shall find his glory greatly sullied by many instances of avarice, of pride, and of cruelty, which are even reported by his panegyrists, *Cicero* and *Plutarch*. A very ingenious and celebrated writer thinks that these two Generals killed themselves with a haste not to be vindicated; and that it is impossible to read this period of their lives without pitying the Republic which was so abandoned. When one considers, however, how very indifferent the provinces were in all these quarrels; how heartily they detested the Generals whom they had been forced to supply with money; and that the soldiers were all engaged to them against their will, or allured by immense liberalities, and greater promises; it is plain that their defeat was irreparable, and that they had no other place to fly to but *Sicily*, which was still held by young *Pompey*, whither the *Triumvirs* would have followed them with all their forces.

All such as had any share in *Cæsar's* death slew themselves with their own hands, but the rest rallying, to the number of 14,000, under the conduct of *Messala* and *Bibulus*, sent deputies to the *Triumvirs* for an honourable composition, which the two Generals readily granted. *M. Cicero*, with some other persons of distinction, escaped to the island of *Thasos*, where they went on board a squadron commanded by *Cassius* of *Parma*, which sailed to the *Ionian* sea, and joined the fleets of *Statius Murcus* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus*. The first of these Commanders declared his resolution to conduct his fleet to *Sextus Pompey*, which he soon executed: But *Domitius* chose to act an independent part.

The *Triumvirs* employed themselves for some days after their victory in punishing their enemies. *Antony* sacrificed *Hortensius* to the manes of his brother *Caius*, and put to death also some others: *Cato's* son, *Varro*, and *Lucullus* are mentioned by *Paterculus*. *Livius Drusus*, the father of that *Livia*, who was afterwards married to *Octavius*, killed himself in his tent; and *Quintilius Varus*, adorned with all the marks of those honours he had borne, caused himself to be slain by one of his freedmen. *Suetonius* tells us that *Octavius*, who had but a small share in the victory, behaved with great cruelty and insolence to the vanquished, that he sent the head of *Brutus* to be thrown at the pedestal of *Cæsar's* statue in *Rome*, and treated the most illustrious *Romans* with barbarity and abusive language. To one, who humbly begged the favour

Y. R. 711.
Esf. Chr.
41.
410 Conf.

Montesquieu,
Grandeur
des Romains.

Vell. Pat.

killed 71.

Suet. in
Aug. 13.

of

Y. R. 711. of a burial, he answered, *that what he requested would soon be at the disposal of the birds of prey.* A father and a son, who sued for their lives, ^{Bef. Chr. 41.} were ordered by him to cast lots which of them should live, or to determine it betwixt them by the sword; but the father, refusing to accept of such a favour, delivered himself up to the executioner, and the son stabbed himself. His cruelty, it is said, was so excessive, that, when the prisoners were produced before him, loaded with chains, all of them, and particularly *M. Favonius*, reproached him with it, while they saluted *Antony* with respect by the title of *Imperator* ^a.

The two Generals, having satiated their revenge, made a new division of the provinces of the Empire, by which the feeble *Lepidus* was spoiled of all, excepting the province of *Africa*, properly so called. *Octavius* got *Spain* and *Numidia*: *Antony* all *Transalpine Gaul*, with that part of *Africa* which *Cornificius* possessed. *Cisalpine Gaul* was incorporated into *Italy*, which they all pretended to defend by their arms, and to which, as their common country, they had a right to return with their legions. At the same time *Antony* undertook to go into the Eastern provinces to raise money for the soldiers rewards: And *Octavius* took upon him to lead the old troops into *Italy*, and put them in possession of the lands that were promised them. *Antony's* commission assured him immense wealth, and was the more brilliant of the two; but that of *Octavius* gave him all power in *Italy*, and secured to him the affection of the veterans, who were to receive from him the long-wished for recompence of their services.

^a Nothing shews more plainly how little we can depend upon the truth of these particularities related by the old historians, than the account they have given us of the death of *Portia*. They say that this Lady, upon the news of her husband's unhappy fate, resolved not to survive him; and that, by the care of her relations and friends, all instruments of death being removed out of her way, she destroyed herself by swallowing burning coals. Now it is almost certain she died of a lingering disease before the battle of *Philippi*. For *Plutarch* himself

mentions a letter of *Brutus* extant in his days, of the authenticity of which, indeed, he entertained some doubt, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her in her last sickness. Certain, however, it is, as *Dr. Middleton* observes, that, in a letter to *Atticus*, he speaks of *Portia's* indisposition, and that there is a letter of condolence to him from *Cicero*, which can hardly be applied to any other occasion but that of her death. See *Ep. ix. ad Brut.*

CH A P. II.

ANTONY's progress through Greece and Asia. CLEOPATRA's magnificence. She obtains of ANTONY all her requests, and is followed by him into Egypt. OCTAVIUS's behaviour in Italy: He is crossed in his operations by Fulvia and L. Antonius, who raise a civil commotion: He forces L. Antonius to surrender himself at discretion in Perusium, and his enemies to leave Italy.

ANTONY

ANTONY first visited *Greece*, where he frequented the conferences of the philosophers; was initiated into the mysteries at *Athens*; made great presents to that and other cities; courted the *Græcians* in every manner, and was repaid with the most refined flattery. Then, leaving *Censorinus* to command in that country, he passed over into *Asia*, with all his troops, consisting of eight legions. There all the Princes of the East, who acknowledged the *Roman* power, came to make their court to him, and the fairest Princesses strove to gain his favour, either by the charms of their beauty, or the magnificence of their presents. This croud of Sovereigns, which daily waited in his antichamber with their praises and submissions, did most agreeably soothe his voluptuous and ambitious temper. He pardoned all those of *Brutus's* party, who here surrendered to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the Conspirators; and *Quintus*, who was charged with having betrayed *Dolabella* to *Cassius* in *Laodicea*. But then he took away the estates of several wealthy citizens to enrich his flatterers and buffoons; and, assembling the deputies of all the subjects and allies of the *Romans* in those parts, in a formal speech he insisted upon his necessities and their duties, and squeezed out of the inhabitants almost all the money that had been left them by *Brutus* and *Cassius*. After having raised two hundred thousand talents, an immense sum, he demanded still new contributions; and all this money was presently spent in the most extravagant luxury, and vainest prodigalities, so that the country was, at the same time, a theatre of mirth and misery. *Strabo* attests, that a player was charged with gathering the tribute of four cities; and *Plutarch* relates, that a cook, who pleased his taste, was recompensed with the house and goods of a rich citizen of *Magnesia*. In his progress through the country, he frequently gave extraordinary demonstrations of generosity; particularly to the towns which had suffered for their attachment to *Dolabella*, and the *Cæsarean* cause. He made himself sovereign Judge of the differences between the Kings of those countries, as in *Cappadocia* between *Ariarathes* and *Syſenes*, for whom the beauty of his mother, *Glaphyra*, was so powerful an advocate, as to carry the crown from his competitor.

But, among all those Sovereigns of the East, who depended upon *Antony*, *Cleopatra* was the most distinguished. She had sent troops to the assistance of *Dolabella*, as has been related above, under the conduct of *Allienus*, who had been obliged to give them up to *Cassius*: And she had also sent a fleet to the assistance of the Triumvirs which a storm disabled, but she might have done more for the cause; and *Serapion*, her Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, had fought for *Cassius*: *Antony*, therefore, when he was at *Tarsus*, cited her to his tribunal. She made no difficulty to obey his summons; and, conscious of her power over men of *Antony's* character, she set out with an assurance of making a conquest of him. Never did any Princess appear in a manner so singular and magnificent. Arrived at the mouth of the river *Cydus*, she embarked in a vessel,

Y. R. 711.
Bef. Ch.,

41.

410 Conf.

Plut. in

Anton.

Appian, p.
673.

37598400 L.

Y. R. 711. vessel, whose stern was of gold, the sails of purple silk, and whose oars,
 Euf. Car. covered with plates of silver, gently kept time to a concert of music.
 412 Cor. The Queen was laid under a canopy of rich cloth of gold, adorned like
 ——— *Venus* rising out of the sea, with lovely children about her, like *Cupids*,
 fanning her; and her women were dressed like *Nereids*, leaning negligently on the sides and shrouds of the vessel. The sweets of the perfumes that were burning reached the banks of the river, which were covered with an infinite number of people. *Antony*, who was mounted on a throne, to make a shew of majesty, found himself deserted by all his attendants: All ran to see such an extraordinary sight. He sent to desire her to land and sup with him: but she desired his company first; a request which he thought himself bound in civility to comply with. He was extremely surprised at the neatness and magnificence of the entertainment, with the ingenious disposition of the lights and many other peculiar contrivances*. The next day, he, in his turn, would treat her, and endeavoured to surpass her in sumptuousness, but he soon perceived he was far short of it; whereupon he turned all into mirth and raillery, which she joined with, and carried on with all the delicacy and dexterity imaginable; till, at last, taking a more serious turn in her discourses, she told him, *that she came not thither to clear herself, but to be recompensed for the great services she had done to him and Octavius, in assisting Delabella; in commanding a fleet in person against Cassius and his Commanders, with many other things, which she related with that artifice, that wit and inimitable grace, that Antony could no longer defend his heart; but, from that moment, entertained a passion for her which was the cause of all the future misfortunes of his life.* The first use she made of her power was to obtain an order for taking her sister *Arfinoë* out of the temple of *Diana* at *Epbefus*, and putting her to death: Another for seizing *Scrapion* in the temple of *Hercules* at *Tyre*, by whose execution she satisfied her vengeance, and justified herself towards *Antony* for the succours sent to *Cassius*: A third to seize, in the island of *Aradus*, an impostor, who pretended to be that *Ptolemy*, *Cleopatra's* brother, who had been vanquished by *Cæsar*, and, according to the common report, had been drowned in the *Nile*. After having, in this manner, secured her power, she set out for *Egypt*.

* An ancient writer, quoted by *Athenæus*, iv. 11, has informed us, that she repeated several times these entertainments, and always in a new taste and with new ornaments; giving to *Antony* each time all the equipage and furniture of the feast, the vessels of gold adorned with precious stones, and the tapestry and cloths of gold with which the walls and floor were covered. His friends also, it is said, who were entertained at twelve different tables, divided the couches

on which they had supped, and the vessels of gold in which they had been served: And, when they retired, she made presents, to the most distinguished, of litters with men to carry them; or of horses richly harnessed; and to all, young *Ethiopian* slaves to carry torches before them. The same author relates, that, at the third entertainment, the floor of the hall was strewed with roses a cubit deep.

Antony entertained no longer any thoughts of marching against the *Parthians*. After a rapid progress through *Syria*, in which he hastily decided the affairs referred to him; and a fruitless attempt to surprise and plunder the town of *Palmyra*; he sent his forces into winter-quarters under the command of *Decidius Saxa*, and flew after *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*: Where he spent the whole following year in all the ease and softness to which his vicious temper prompted him, and in all the delights and pleasures which that luxurious nation could furnish.

While *Antony* remained thus idle in *Egypt*, *Octavius* was busy about settling the affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the lands for satisfying the veterans. This he found very difficult, and not a little dangerous, on account of the general odium it brought upon him; for it was absolutely necessary either to give up the several towns allotted for their recompence, or to satisfy his soldiers with a proportionable quantity of money, which the exhausted treasury could not furnish. Almost all the inhabitants of these towns came in great multitudes to *Rome*; vast numbers of women with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence drew every one's compassion, daily filled the temples and public places with their lamentations: And the people of *Rome* talked very freely and boldly upon this account. These complaints and murmurings *Octavius* bore with all the discretion imaginable; he first borrowed what money he could; but, finding that not sufficient, he at last broke through all difficulties, and began to give his soldiers places and lands for their inheritance, as he first designed. This he was forced to by the insolence of the soldiery, who were very sensible of the obligations and regard due to them from the *Triumvirs*. *Appian* has recorded two instances of their haughty behaviour, which shew how little authority *Octavius* possessed over them. One of the common soldiers, having had the assurance to seat himself, in the theatre, with the Knights, *Octavius* ordered him to be taken away, because he perceived that the people were offended at it: This the soldiers resented, and, after the play, gathered about their General, and loudly called for their comrade, suspecting that he had been punished with death or imprisonment. The soldier soon appeared, and then they would have it that he had been just released from prison; which he denying, he was treated by them with contempt and indignation as a liar and a traitor to his companions. At another time, when *Octavius* had appointed them a meeting in the field of *Mars*, for a division of lands, they all assembled before it was light, and began to murmur at their General's tardiness in making his appearance: And a Centurion, who reprov'd them for it, was affronted, pursued, and killed by them, and his body placed in *Octavius's* way. *Octavius*, informed of their behaviour, went nevertheless to the field, and, seeing the body of the Centurion, turned unconcernedly from it: And, as if it had been the crime of some particular man, and an offence against themselves, he exhorted them, for the future, to spare one another, and

Y. R. 711. made his intended division. These two examples, says *Appian*, among
 Ref. Chr. many others, shew how difficult it is to govern the spirit of the soldiers,
 41. when the Generals are not commissioned to the command of their armies
 410 Conf. by lawful authority, and troops are levied, not for the service of their
 country, but for the interest of private men, who are obliged to soothe
 them and depend more on the power of their largesses than on the fide-
 lity of their adherents or the authority of the laws.

L. ANTONIUS
 P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISauricus II. } Consuls.

Y. R. 712. L. *Antonius**, brother to the Triumvir, was now Consul with P. Ser-
 Ref. Chr. vilus *Isauricus* II. *Cicero* every-where represents *Lucius* as a vain, weak
 420 man; and *Dio* tells us, that he was entirely governed by *Fulvia*, *Antony's*
 411 Conf. wife, who possessed all authority in *Rome*. This imperious Lady was
 greatly grieved to see her husband deliver himself up first to *Glaphyra*,
 wife to *Archelaus*, Grand Pontiff of *Comana*; and afterwards to *Cleopatra*;
 and resolved, by any means, to bring him home, which she believed
 nothing but a war could effect*. Many plausible pretexts were made
 use of by her to produce a breach between *Antony* and *Octavius*, and
 these she easily found in the present unsettled and troublesome times.
Octavius, upon the first marks of her ill-will, sent her daughter back
 to her, assuring her, at the same time, that she was a virgin. In con-
 cert with L. *Antonius*, she laboured to unite the citizens, who had been
 turned out of their possessions, and the soldiers, against *Octavius*: They
 received, therefore, on one hand, the complaints of the oppressed and
 promised them *Antony's* protection: And, on the other, they publicly
 declared, that the confiscated goods of the proscribed, and the money
 raised by *Antony* in the Eastern provinces, were sufficient to pay off the
 rewards due to the soldiers. They inveighed also against the triumviral
 power, and gave it out that *Antony* was ready to restore the ancient go-
 vernment; and their conduct seems to have been extremely well calcu-
 lated to gain the affections of the people. They began by demanding
 of *Octavius* to divide the charge of establishing the veterans in the colo-

Vel. Pat.
 74

* He triumphed the first of *January* for
 some trifling exploits in the *Alps*. *Velleius*
Paterculus says of him: *Vitium fratris sui*
conferri, sed virtutum, quae interdum in illis
erant, expers. L. ii. c. 74.

E. xi 22.

† In an epigram of *Octavius* against *Ful-*
via, preserved by *Martial*, she is accused
 of having solicited the young *Triumvir*, in
 order to avenge herself of the infidelity of
Antony; a very improbable charge which
 the *Abbé de St. Real* insists much upon, as
 well as several other authors. “*Octave,*
says this writer, “qui n’aimoit que par po-
litique, & dont on a dit qu’il n’eut ja-

“mais d’autres amours, que celles que son
 “intérêt ou son ambition lui inspirerent,”
 [Certainly neither his interest nor ambition
 were concerned in his strong and lasting at-
 tachment for *Livia*]. “ne voulut point e-
 “couffer dans sa naissance une guerre formi-
 “dable, qu’il auroit pu terminer en paroif-
 “sant moins cruel a une jeune & belle per-
 “sonne. Confid. sur Antoine.” I don’t
 know whether *Fulvia* was a *belle personne*,
 but certainly the widow of *Clodius*, who died
 above twelve years before, and whose daugh-
 ter was actually married to *Octavius*, could
 not be a very *jeune personne*.

nies,

nies, so that he might regulate whatever concerned his own soldiers, and they what concerned those of *Antony*. *Octavius* alledged, in opposition to this, the authority of the convention made with his colleague; whereby it was stipulated that the direction of this whole affair should be left entirely to him. The young Triumvir found himself in very difficult circumstances. He had incurred the odium of all *Italy*; he had the coasts to defend against the fleets of *Pompey* and *Domitius*; and it was incumbent on him to procure corn for the people and soldiers, which was now very scarce, as almost all the passages by sea were stopped up by his enemies, and the produce of the land was consumed by the return of so many legions into *Italy*. Disorders were committed every day in the city, so that all trading was ruined and most of the shops shut up: *Ventidius*, *Pollio*, *Calenus*, *Plancus*, and others, commanded several small armies in different parts of the country; *Lucius Antony* himself had raised a considerable force: And *M. Antony* was in great favour with the soldiers, who much esteemed him for his bravery, and loved him for his generosity. *Octavius* resolved, therefore, if possible, to avoid a rupture, and seems to have consented to the demands of *Fulvia* and *L. Antonius*. The latter, taking *Antony's* children with him, went a progress through the southern part of *Italy*: But, upon a quick motion of *Octavius's* cavalry to the coast of the *Bruttii*, in order to hinder *Pompey* from landing there, he fled precipitately to *Antony's* colonies, and put himself and his nephews under their protection; accusing *Octavius* of infidelity towards his colleague. *Octavius*, on the contrary, sent to acquaint them, that there was no shadow of change in the friendship betwixt him and *Antony*, but that *Lucius* sought a pretence to make them arm against each other, because he was an enemy to the triumvirate, in the maintenance of whose power the soldiery were concerned, if they would not be driven from their colonies; and that, as for his horse, they were still in the country of the *Bruttii*, executing his orders. In consequence of this misunderstanding, the *Antonian* officers held a congress at *Tbeanum*; where they prescribed the following terms of peace to *Octavius* and to *L. Antony*: “That the Triumvirs should not disturb the Consuls in the government of the Commonwealth; that they should give lands only to those who had served at *Philippi*; that the money arising from the estates already forfeited, and the prices of those yet to be exposed to sale, should be equally divided between the veterans in *Antony's* colonies, and the other triumviral troops in *Italy*; that neither party should make any new levies of men; but that two of the *Antonian* legions should be employed by *Octavius*, in the expedition against *Pompey*; that *Salvidienus* might pass the *Alps* and go into *Spain*, to take the command of the legions in that province, without being impeded by *Asinius Pollio*; and that *Lucius*, satisfied with these conditions, should dismiss his guards, and follow the functions of his office in a peaceful manner.” These articles were agreed upon; but none of them were

Y. R. 712. carried into execution, except that *Salvidienus* cleared the passage of the
 Bef. Chr. Alps, and joined the army in *Spain*. *Lucius*, pretending that his life
 42. was in danger, retired to the fortress of *Præneste*; *Fulvia* fled to *Lepi-*
 411 Conf. dus, putting herself and her children under his protection; and both
 sent messengers to *Antony* with letters to give him the alarm, and bring
 him into *Italy*.

In this extremity of affairs, *Octavius*, dreading that *Pompey* might take advantage of the dispute between him and *Fulvia*, sent a deputation of his officers to *Præneste*, to endeavour, if possible, to bring about a reconciliation. These invited *Lucius* to their meeting: But he was hindered from complying with their request by *Manius Rufus*, *Antony's* agent, who was influenced by *Fulvia*. After a short consultation, *Manius* answered them in the following terms: "That, while *Antony* was busy in raising money among strangers, *Octavius* by his cringing and flexibility secured to himself all the militia, and all the strong places in *Italy*: That he had taken away from *Antony* *Netter Gaul*, by enfranchising it and incorporating it into *Italy*: That, instead of eighteen towns designed for the reward of the veterans, he had granted them almost the whole country: That, instead of twenty-eight legions that were to be provided for, he was planting four-and-thirty legions in *Italy*: that he had taken money out of the temples, which had never been done before, whatever famine had been in the city; and that, on pretence of a war with *Pompey*, but indeed to gain over to himself the soldiery, and to employ them against *Antony*: that he had sold the goods of the proscribed at such low rates, that it was rather giving than selling them: And that, if he really desired peace, he ought first to give an account of what he had done, and should do nothing, for the future, but what should be resolved upon by common deliberation." This was proposing to take every thing out of the hands of *Octavius*; who, seeing *Antony's* party bent upon war, made his preparations with the greatest diligence. Two legions that were quartered in the city of *Antona*, informed of this beginning of a civil commotion, sent deputies to *Rome*, to entreat *Octavius* to consent to an accommodation. *Octavius* answered, that he had no design against *Antony*, but that *Lucius* would make war upon him. This gave occasion to another negotiation with *Lucius*, who was engaged by these deputies, in conjunction with several of *Antony's* officers, to consent to meet *Octavius* at *Gabii*, a town which lay at an equal distance from *Rome* and *Præneste*: But, a party of *Octavius's* cavalry having insulted a detachment which *L. Antonius* had sent to reconnoitre the road, *Lucius* retreated to his fortress, and neither entreaties nor menaces could prevail upon him to come to the place of meeting. Manifestoes were published on both sides, and an open war declared. *Manius* published letters from *Antony*, by which he approved of his brother's proceedings, and required of his officers and soldiers to support him.

Octavius,

Octavius, who, besides his own proper army, had most of the dismissed veterans on his side, and whose troops acted with the greatest celerity and concert, was an over-match for *Lucius*. The Consul had for him the good wishes of the city and country, because he had shewed a regard for the complaints of those who had been turned out of their estates, and had declared against the continuation of the triumviral authority, and many towns throughout *Italy* declared for him. *Rome* itself, though guarded by two legions under the command of *Lepidus*, joyfully received him, as soon as *Octavius* left it to go into *Umbria*: But he had but six legions of new-raised troops under his own command, and a precarious authority over the Lieutenants, who commanded *Antony's* legions, quartered in the distant parts of *Italy*. Hearing that *Salvidienus* was upon his march with a numerous army from *Gaul*, in order to join *Octavius*, and was followed in the rear by *Asinius Pollio* and *Ventidius*, two of his brother's Lieutenants, he marched to meet him, with a view of hemming him in between his army and those of his friends: But he soon found himself surrounded on all sides: For *Agrippa* marched after him into *Insubria*, and hindered his retreat: And *Salvidienus* guarded the passages with such care, that he prevented his joining *Pollio* and *Ventidius*. Not daring, in these circumstances, to venture a battle, he retired to *Perusia*; a strong town in *Umbria*, hoping that the Commanders in his interest would find means to come up with him. But *Ventidius* and *Pollio* did not exert themselves, and *Octavius*, bringing up all the remainder of his troops, effectually blockaded him. *Fulvia* was at *Præneste* with a number of Senators and Knights; where, according to *Dio*, she governed with an absolute authority, presiding in council and haranguing the soldiers with a sword by her side: She there raised a new army, which she put under the command of *Plancus*, and was very pressing in her solicitations to procure the junction of the several Commanders: But, whether they disapproved of this unseasonable war, or saw it was impossible to disengage *Lucius Antonius*, *Ventidius* retired to *Ravenna*, *Pollio* to *Ariminum*, *Plancus* to *Spoletum*, and the other Commanders, after some motions, remained quiet, and waited the event. *Lucius* defended the town with great bravery, and made several bold and desperate sallies, but with no proportionable success; till, finding his soldiers reduced to the utmost miseries of famine, he at last came out in person, and, giving himself up into *Octavius's* hands, with great earnestness interceded for his poor soldiers, and begged that his punishment might atone for their crimes. *Appian* who gives him a fair character, as a lover of the public welfare and an enemy to the power of the triumvirate, makes him speak to his army and to *Octavius* in a very spirited strain. The young Triumvir received him very honourably and with much generosity; and all *Lucius's* soldiers were pardoned, at the desire of *Octavius's* own men: The town was destined to be plundered, but one of the inhabitants set fire to his house before he stabbed himself, and the flames, being

Y. R. 712.
Bef. Chr.
40.
411 Conf.

Perugia.

Y. R. 713
Bef. Chr.
411 Conf. ing spread by the wind, consumed the whole city. *Ventidius*, and the other Lieutenants of *Antony*, made towards the sea-coast. *Calenus*, who commanded several legions in the *Alps*, dying at this time, his son surrendered them to *Octavius*: *Fulvia* fled to *Greece* with *Plancus*: *Julia*, *Antony's* mother, with several of her son's principal friends, and, among the rest, with *Tiberius Nero*, husband to *Livia*, and father of the Emperor *Tiberius*, sailed for *Sicily*, and received from *Pompey* ships to conduct them where they thought proper. Thus ended this dangerous war; and *Octavius* returned to *Rome*, where he entered in his triumphal robes, and crowned with laurel¹. *L. Antonius* was sent by *Octavius* into *Spain* with the honourable title of Proconsul, but without any real power; and he probably died there soon after, for there is no more mention of him in history.

C H A P. III.

ANTONY carries over his troops into Italy, and is joined in his passage by *Domitius*, with his fleet. *Sextus Pompey*, courted by *Octavius*, offers his assistance to *Antony*. The differences of the two *Triumvirs* are composed by their common friends, and *Antony* marries *Octavia*. An agreement is made with *Pompey*. A new division is made of the Empire. *Ventidius's* exploits against the *Parthians*.

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS II. } Consuls.
C. ASINIUS POLLIO. }

Y. R. 713.
Bef. Chr.
412 Conf. *ANTONY* was still immersed in pleasure at *Alexandria*, when he received the account of his brother's defeat, and the ruin of his party in *Italy*; and that *Octavius* had made himself master of both *Gauls*, and had got all the legions into his hands that were quartered in those parts. About the same time he received advice that the *Par-*

¹ *Suetonius*, in *Aug.* 15, writes that, "after the taking of *Perusia*, *Octavius* put many of the prisoners to death, answering all that offered to beg pardon, or excuse themselves, briefly—*death was the word*." Some authors add, says the same historian, "that three hundred of the equestrian and senatorian order, culled out of the rest, were slaughtered like victims, at an altar raised to *Julius Caesar* on the *ides of March*: And others have affirmed, that he entered upon this war, on purpose to engage his secret enemies, and such whose fear more than affection for

him kept them quiet, to declare themselves now that they had an opportunity of doing it with *Lucius Antony* at their head; and that, by the defeat of them, and the confiscation of their estates, he might be enabled to make good his promises to the veteran soldiers."

Appian writes, that he only put to death the Senators of *Perusia*, with a few of his most inveterate enemies; and that he was constrained to this step by his soldiers. *Paterculus* also has said the same thing: *In Perusinos magis ira militum, quam voluntate servitum ducis*. Lib. ii. p. 74.

thians,

tbians, commanded by *Pacorus*, their King's son, and *Labiennus*^{*}, had made themselves masters of *Syria* and *Judea*, had sacked *Jerusalem*, and carried away *Hircanus*, the High-priest, and *Herod's* brother, prisoners. These disagreeable and disgraceful tidings roused him from his lethargy : He immediately gathered together two hundred ships, and a considerable army which he had ready in those parts. His design was to march immediately against the *Parthians*; but the pressing letters he received from his wife *Fulvia*, and his friends, obliged him to turn towards *Italy*. He went from *Alexandria* to *Tyre*, from whence passing by the isles of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, he arrived at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*. He much blamed her and his brother *Lucius* for occasioning the late disorders, and here he understood that *Octavius* had lately married *Scribonia*, the sister of *Libo*, *Pompey's* father-in-law, a Lady much more advanced in years than himself; and in which alliance he could have no other view than to gain over *Pompey* to his party for the sake of his shipping, of which he was almost destitute. *Antony* advanced therefore towards *Italy*, leaving *Fulvia* sick at *Sicyon*; which neglect and scorn finished what his infidelity had begun, and she died there soon after of grief. In these circumstances, it was a satisfaction to *Antony* to see himself courted by *Pompey*: This Commander, instead of closing with *Octavius*, chose to treat with *Antony*, and sent *Libo* to him under the pretence of conducting to him *Julia*, his mother. *Antony* acted with great discretion, and answered, that, if he was obliged to make war against *Octavius*, he would willingly accept of *Pompey's* proposal; and, if, on the contrary, their differences should be amicably determined, he would take care to reconcile him with his colleague. *Domitius Aben-*
barbus joined him in his passage over the *Ionian* sea; and, after having kept an independent fleet since the battle of *Philippi*, surrendered to him with all his ships and forces. With this reinforcement he appeared before *Brundisium*, where he was refused admittance, under the pretence that he brought with him *Domitius*, who was an enemy to *Cæsar*. *Antony*, upon this, blocked up the place, and sent to *Pompey* in *Sicily* to engage him to invade *Sardinia* and *Italy*. *Octavius* marched directly to *Brundisium*, where the old soldiers being unwilling to fight against *Antony*, the army endeavoured by all methods to reconcile the two competitors; and this was at length brought about by the management and interposition of *Cocceius Nerva*, *Pollio*, and *Mæcenæ*. In consequence of this agreement all offences and affronts were to be mutually forgiven, and a marriage was proposed between *Antony* and *Octavius's* half-sister *Octavia*, the widow of *Marcellus*, a Lady of great beauty and of extraordinary virtues and accomplishments. Though *Cleopatra* had so large a share in *Antony's* heart, yet he could not without baseness refuse a Lady of *Octavia's* rank and admirable qualities; and, to avoid all present incon-

Y.R. 713.
Bef. Chr.
39.
412 Conf.

Flor. lib.
iv. c. 9.
Plut. in
Anton.

^{*} This *Labiennus* was the son of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæsar's* Lieutenant in Gaul.

Y. R. 713. veniencies, he married her. *Manius*, *Antony's* agent in *Italy*, and *Salvi-*
 Ref. Chr. *dienus*, *Octavius's* chief Lieutenant, were the victims of this reconcilia-
 39. tion. The first was put to death by *Antony's* order, as the chief author
 412 Conf. of the *Perusian* war. The second was accused before the Senate by *Oct-*
 ——— *avius* of treasonable practices, and sentenced to die; which sentence he
 executed upon himself. The historians tell us, that *Salvidienus* offered
 his services to *Antony*, during the siege of *Brundisium*; and that *Antony*,
 upon his reconciliation, informed *Octavius* of the treachery of his Lieu-
 tenant. A new division of the Roman Empire was made upon this
 renewal of peace and amity, by which *Cedropolis*, a town of *Illyricum*,
 was made the boundary of their dominions: All from that place west-
 ward being to obey *Octavius*, and all eastward *Antony*; *Africa* was left
 to *Lepidus*.

After this division, *Antony* immediately dispatched *Ventidius* into *Asia*
 against the *Parthians*. But the troubles at home seemed much greater
 to both *Antony* and *Octavius*, who were now entertained with the sad and
 lamentable complaints of poor people, ready to starve for want of provi-
 sions; which *Pompey* hindered from coming either from the east or
 west by means of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, which he had in his
 power; and from *Africa* by his navy, which was then very powerful.
Octavius, on account of some former affronts, would not be brought to
 any accommodation with *Pompey*, notwithstanding the continual cries
 and prayers of the multitude, whose rage and fury came at last to that
 height, that he was nigh being stoned by them, and *Antony* too by com-
 ing to his assistance. At last, both *Triumvirs* and *Pompey* were so far
 persuaded as to come to an interview upon two bridges built upon
 stakes driven into the sea, a little off the promontory of *Misenum*; the
 two *Triumvirs* accompanied by their troops drawn up upon the shore,
 and *Pompey* by a numerous fleet; but, the latter demanding large privi-
 leges for the proscribed persons, and to be admitted into the power
 and place of *Lepidus*, the treaty was ineffectual. Yet the pressing ne-
 cessities and frequent mutinies of the people brought them together a
 second time, where, amongst other articles, it was concluded that *Pom-*
pey should retain all the islands he was then in possession of, and also *Pelopon-*
nesus; that he should be made *Augur*, and have the privilege of demanding the
 consulship in his absence, and of discharging that office by any of his friends;
 that he should leave the sea open, and pay the people what corn was due from
Sicily; that those who had taken refuge with him, out of fear, should be restored
 to their possessions and privileges, and lose only their moveables; that the pro-
 scribed persons, except such as were guilty of *Cæsar's* death, should have all
 liberty to return and receive a fourth part of their estates; and that he him-
 self should receive seventy millions of sesterces. This treaty was signed by the
 Generals, and was then sent to *Rome* to be kept by the *Vestals*. Thus
 a peace was concluded to the great joy and satisfaction of all the peo-
 ple. The three Chiefs thought of treating each other on this occasion;
 and

Appian.

66104 Ib.
 11.11.

Vol. P. 2.
 2. 77.

and it fell by lot to *Pompey* to give the first entertainment. He received them accordingly on board his ship: And, while they were at supper, *Menas*, his Admiral, whispered him in the ear: "Allow me to cut the cables, and you are Master of the world." *Pompey*, after a moment's reflexion, answered, "You should have done it without consulting me; *Pompey* cannot perjure himself." The two guests heard nothing of what was said, and the entertainment was concluded with as much gaiety as it had begun. *Antony* and *Octavius* treated *Pompey* in their turns; and these rejoicings seemed to speak the sincerity of their union.

Y. R. 713.
Bef. Chr.
39.
412 Conf.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS,
C. CALVISIUS SABINUS, } Consuls.

The noise of civil discord now ceased for a-while; and *Octavius* and *Antony* were welcomed to *Rome* with the loudest acclamations. The other Chief sailed back to his islands. Before they separated, they named, it is said, the Consuls for the four following years; *Antony* and *Libo* for the first, *Octavius* and *Pompey* for the second, *Domitius* and *Sossius* for the third, and *Antony* and *Octavius* for the fourth. This nomination, however, did not take place.

Y. R. 714.
Bef. Chr.
38.
413 Conf.

The stay which *OCTAVIUS* and *ANTONY* made at *Rome* was not long. *Octavius*, to keep his soldiers in action, sent a detachment of them into *Illyricum*, and led the rest into *Gaul*, where there were some disturbances; and *Antony* departed for the East, to carry on the war against the *Parthians*. This war his Lieutenant *Ventidius* had managed with great success, having overthrown *Labienus* and *Barzapharnes* in two engagements, in which these two Generals perished. *Antony*, being informed in his way of these particulars, stopped at *Atbens*, where he passed the winter, and gave himself over to his pleasures and diversions in the company of *Octavia*, with whom he is said to have been in love at this time. He quitted, during his residence there, all the ensigns of authority, and affected to live like a private person. He neglected business altogether, and divided his time between love, philosophy, and entertainments.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER,
C. NORBANUS FLACCUS, } Consuls.

Antony, in the beginning of this year, thought of resuming the General. A jealousy perhaps of the honour acquired by his Lieutenant

Y. R. 715.
Bef. Chr.
37.
414 Conf.

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D d d

had

* The two Consuls of this year, *Calvinus* and *Pollio*, laid down their office before the end of their nominal magistracy, in favour of *L. Cornelius Balbus*, a friend of *Octavius*; and of *P. Canidius Crassus*, one of *Antony's* Officers, whom we shall soon see at the head of his land-army. *Pollio*, when divested of the consulship, was sent to make war against the *Parthians*, a people of *Illyria*, who had shewn a strong attachment to *Bru-*

sus.

Y. R. 715. had seized him at this time; and he left *Athens* to gather those laurels
 Bef. Cnr. which properly belonged to him. But, before he arrived at the army,
 37. 414 Conf. *Ventidius* had put an end to the war by a complete victory which he had
 gained over *Pacorus*. This brave Prince perished in the battle, and all
 his men were destroyed, excepting those who found protection in *Samosatis*,
 the capital town of *Commagena*, where *Antiochus* reigned. *Ventidius*,
 who was afraid of offending *Antony*, did not pursue all the advantages
 of this victory. In the prosecution, however, of the war, he laid
 siege to *Samosatis*, which he would have taken in a short time, if *Antony*
 had not sent express orders to him to wait his arrival. As the justice,
 generosity, and bravery of the young *Parthian* Prince had endeared all
 the *Syrians* to his person, and there was no hopes of bringing back to
 their duty several towns and Princes in those parts, while they thought
 him alive, *Ventidius* caused his head to be carried about the province,
 and thus completely revenged upon the *Parthians* the cruelty and in-
 dignity they were guilty of, in regard to *Crassus* and his brave and ge-
 nerous sons. When *Antony* arrived, he took upon him the command of
 the siege of *Samosatis*, but his behaviour in the conduct of it procured
 him no honour. The town was bravely defended, and *Antiochus* at last
 purchased of him a peace for three hundred talents, though he had of-
 fered *Ventidius* a thousand before his arrival. After this exploit, away
 he flew to his dear *Octavia* at *Athens*. He was decreed a triumph in
 Rome for the victories of *Ventidius*; and this brave General was likewise
 admitted to the same honour. The triumph decreed to *Antony* was ne-
 ver exhibited; but *Ventidius* celebrated his, this same year, on the 28th
 of *December*, with great pomp; and the circumstance of his having
 been formerly led in triumph, in his infancy, added to the public joy,
 and to the glory of this distinction.

58, 125 L.
 Act.

C H A P. IV.

The renewal of the war between the TRIUMVIRS and SEXTUS POMPEY. OCTAVIUS's preparations. His bad success in several naval engagements. He at last destroys SEXTUS's fleet, and obliges him to quit Sicily. He dispossesses LEPIDUS of his army and the triumviral power, and applies himself to gain the affections of all orders of men.

THE peace which had been concluded between *Pompey* and the
 Triumvirs was not of long continuance. *Antony*, who by the ar-
 ticles of it was obliged to quit *Peloponnesus*, would not do it till *Pompey*
 had

tas. He took the town of *Salona*, and per-
 formed other exploits, which entitled him to
 a triumph. His colleague *Calpurnius* obtained
 the same honour for some success against
 the *Cerritani* in *Spain*. During their con-
 sulate, *Herod* was made King of the *Jews*

by a decree of the Senate, and old *Dejotarus*,
 that good ally of the Aristocrats, died, leaving behind him, among other me-
 morable deeds, that of having murdered all
 his children, but the one whom he destined
 for his heir.

had satisfied him for such monies as were due to him from the inhabitants. *Pompey* would by no means hearken to this, but immediately began, contrary to his engagements, to augment his forces. He also secretly authorised the pirates to seize the provisions destined for *Italy*, which renewed the former grievances and miseries, and made the people complain, *that the only change in their situation was, that they had four tyrants instead of three.* *Menas*, one of *Pompey's* freedmen, in whom he had hitherto placed the greatest confidence, had opposed the peace, and now excited him to a rupture: Yet, soon after, upon a suspicion of a change in his master's affections, he revolted to *Octavius*, and delivered up to him *Sardinia* and *Corfica* with three legions and sixty galleys. *Sextus* demanded him back, and, upon receiving a refusal, he sent a squadron to pillage the coast of *Campania*. *Octavius*, on his side, took the treaty of *Misenum* out of the hands of the Vestals, alledging, that, by this hostility it was broke, and summoned *Antony* and *Lepidus* to come to his assistance. But, neither of them making haste to comply, he was obliged to act by himself; and he soon gathered two numerous fleets; one composed mostly of the vessels of *Menas*, and commanded by *Calvisius Sabinus*; another built and equipped on the *Adriatic* coast, under the conduct of *L. Cornificius*. These two fleets were to attack *Sicily* on two sides, and cause a diversion of the forces of the enemy, while his legions passed from *Reggio* into the island. But *Sextus*, who was in readiness for a vigorous defence, sent a squadron under the conduct of *Mene-crates* against *Calvisius*, and destroyed most of his ships near *Cuma*; and he waited himself, at *Messana*, the approach of the other fleet. This also was beat back by *Pompey*, and, when lying at anchor, was almost entirely destroyed. *Octavius*, who was on board of it, got on shore with much difficulty, and, having saved what men and vessels he could, contented himself, for the present, in distributing his land-forces along the coast, till he could get together another fleet.

Octavius was married this year to *Livia*, so famous for having engaged his constant affection during his whole life. She had lately returned to *Rome* with her husband *Tiberius Nero*, under the security of the peace of *Misenum*; and, by her refined and dexterous wit more than her beauty, she made such a deep impression on his heart, that, in order to procure her, he broke through all the rules of decency. *Scribonia* was divorced from him, the very day she was brought to bed of the famous *Julia*; and *Tiberius Nero* was constrained to yield up to him his wife, though she was six months gone with child. The scruple arising from this circumstance was removed by the college of Augurs. The question was put to them, "Whether a woman, with child by her husband, could be lawfully married to another man before child-birth?" They said, "that, since there could be no doubt to whom the child belonged, *Livia* was free to marry, though pregnant, the law forbidding it only,

Y. R. 715. "when that was uncertain." The Lady was delivered three months afterwards of *Drusus*, whom *Octavius* immediately sent to *Tiberius* ¹.

^{37.}
414 Conf. The five years of the triumvirate were now almost expired; and the Triumvirs prolonged their power for five years more, without regarding the suffrages either of the Senate or people.

M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA, } Consuls.
L. CANIDIUS GALLUS, }

Y. R. 716. *Canidius* was a creature of *Antony's*; and *Agrippa* was a faithful servant of *Octavius*; a man of low birth, but who had great talents for war and for a Court. He had lately brought back to their duty the rebellious ^{36.}
415 Conf. *Gauls*, and in this expedition had passed the *Rhine*. *Octavius* with the consulship had procured him a decree for a triumph: But he rejected this distinction as unbecoming, at a time when his General had been unsuccessful. The whole year of their consulship was spent in making preparations against *Pompey*. *Agrippa* was charged with the care of building a new fleet and exercising the rowers and seamen; and he acquitted himself of this double employment with great zeal and capacity, overlooking the carpenters, and presiding over the exercises, in which twenty thousand slaves were instructed. He executed also another noble work, the *Julian* port, formed by the junction of the lakes *Lucrinus* and *Avernus* with the sea; in which the greatest fleets might be received, and find sufficient shelter from the winds and tides. The lake *Lucrinus*, situated between *Misenum* and *Puteoli*, was separated from the sea by an old causey a mile in length, and of a sufficient breadth to allow a waggon to pass. *Agrippa* repaired and raised this causey, which, being weakened in several places, was frequently overflowed. He cut two openings in it to allow a passage for ships; and, from the bottom of the lake *Lucrinus*, he drew a canal to the lake *Avernus*, which last properly formed the port, and afforded a secure retreat to vessels. It is reported, that, in order to correct the bad quality of the air, which was supposed to be infectious and pestilential, *Agrippa* cut down the forests which grew on the borders of the *Avernus*, and thus, by giving a free circulation to the air, made it a healthful and pleasant situation. It was here he assembled all the new

Serv. in
Virg. Æn.
iii. 442.

¹ *Sueton.* in *Galba*, c. 1. *Livia* olim post *Augusti* statim nuptias *Vejentanum* saum reviventi, pratervolans aquila, Gallinam albam, ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demisit in gremium: cumque nutriti alitem pangique ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum soboles provenit, ut hodie quoque ea villa *ad Gallinas* vocetur; tale vero *Laurum*, ut triumphaturi *Cæsares* inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mos triumphantibus alias confestim eodem loco pangere:—*Plinius* xv. 30. *Livia* *Drusillæ*, quæ postea *Augusta* matrimonii nomen accepit, cum pacta esset illi *Cæsari*, Gallinam con-

spicui candoris sedenti aquila ex alto abjecit in gremium illæsam: intrepideque miranti accessit miraculum, quoniam teneret rostro laureum ramum onustum suis baccis. Conservari alitem & sobolem jussere *Aruspices* ramumque eum feri ac rite custodiri. Quod factum est in villa *Cæsarum* fluvio *Tiberi* imposita, juxta nonum lapidem *Flaminia* via, quæ ob id vocatur, *ad Gallinas*: Mireque silva provenit. Ex ea triumphans postea *Cæsar* laurum in manu tenuit, coronamque capite gessit: Ac deinde imperatores *Cæsares* cuncti. *Dio* eadem habet libro iv. 8vo. p. 389.

vessels

vessels built in the several ports of *Italy*, and exercised the rowers and sailors ".

L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA, }
M. COCCEIUS NERVA, } Consuls.

Y. R. 716.
Bef. Chr.
36.
415 Conf.

Antony, in the beginning of this year, appeared before *Brundisium*, with a fleet of 300 sail; and pretended that he came to assist *Octavius* in the war against *Pompey*: But *Octavius*, having now gathered a very powerful force at sea, could willingly have dispensed with his colleague's civility. *Plutarch* says, that he came rather as an enemy than a friend; and the new disgusts that arose between them, at this time, seem to favour his opinion. *Antony*, it has been said, was not willing that *Octavius* should have all the honour and profit of the conquest of *Sicily*, and was desirous to exchange a part of his fleet, which was a great expence to him, for a land-army, which he wanted in order to push the war against the *Parthians*. But, whatever were the causes of their discontent, certain it is that they began to consider each other as rivals, and shewed openly their dissatisfaction. *Antony* was refused admittance into the port of *Brundisium*, and therefore landed at *Tarentum*, where *Octavia*, who accompanied him, obtained his leave to go to her brother, and clear up all misunderstandings. *Octavius* received her with the courtesy suitable to the great affection he had for her, but was yet so backward in answering her requests, that she publicly addressed herself to his two great friends, *Agrippa* and *Mecenas*: "All mankind, said she, have their eyes fixed upon me, and congratulate me for partaking of the grandeur of two powerful Generals. I am the wife of the one, and the sister of the other. But, if an ill destiny should lead them to war with each other, I shall be miserable without redress; I shall be reduced to the fatal necessity of losing a husband or a brother." Her entreaties had, at length, so much weight that *Octavius* consented to meet *Antony* between *Tarentum* and *Metapontum*. From the place chosen for their interview, it appeared that the young Triumvir intended to have a small river between him and his colleague. But *Antony*, who did not want generosity, when he saw *Octavius* approach, leaped into a boat, that he might cross over to him. This

Y. R. 717.
Bef. Chr.
35.
416 Conf.
Plut. in
Ant.

" "An memorem portus, Lucrinoque
" addita claustra?
" Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æ-
" quor,
" Julia quæ ponto longa sonat unda refluxo,
" Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus A-
" veris?" *Virg. Georg. ii. 161.*

———— Sive receptus
Terrâ Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet
Regis opus." *Hor. Art. Poet. v. 63.*

This noble and royal work does not seem to have been of any lasting use. *Strabo*, who

wrote under the Emperor *Tiberius*, takes very little notice of it; and, in the history of later ages, it is seldom mentioned. The face of these places was entirely changed in 1538, by an earthquake, which in one night raised a great part of the bottom of the lake *Lucrinus*, and the adjacent fields, into a mountain five hundred feet high, called now *Monte Nuovo*, which is covered particularly on one side with the scoriz of melted metal, and has a hollow in its summit, which is near a mile and a half in circumference.

Octavius

Y. R. 117. *Octavius* perceived, and, imitating the example, they met in the middle of the stream, and there disputed, who should go over to the other. ³⁵ *Octavius* prevailed, as he declared that he had an intention to go to *Tarentum* to see his sister. They soon agreed between themselves and against *Sextus*. *Antony* lent *Octavius* 120 vessels, and received from him twenty thousand legionary soldiers: And, in consideration of ten light ships of war, *Octavia* obtained, for her husband, a thousand chosen men, who were to serve him as a guard. They also, that they might confirm their negotiations, projected a double marriage; the one of *Antyllus*, the eldest son of *Antony*, with *Julia*, daughter to *Octavius*, who was not three years old; and the other of *Antonia*, the daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*, who was still younger, with the son of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*; which last took place, and began the alliance between the family of *Domitius* and *Cæsar*. Having thus adjusted their differences, they took leave of each other: *Antony* returned into the East with his new legions, leaving *Octavia* in *Italy*: And *Octavius*, on his side, strengthened with such a considerable navy, applied himself entirely to the war against *Sextus* *.

Octavius determined to invade *Sicily* from three several quarters: *Lepidus* was to make a descent from *Africa*; *Statilius Taurus* from *Tarentum*, with the ships left by *Antony*; and he himself, with his new-built fleet from the *Julian* port: And the three armies set out, by agreement, on the first of *July*†. But, on the third day after they had set sail, a violent tempest arose, and rendered useless, at least for a time, these formidable preparations. *Lepidus* alone landed his men in *Sicily*, on the coast of *Lilybaeum*. *Taurus* was forced back to *Tarentum*; and *Octavius's* squadron, having no port near to put in at, suffered greatly. *Sextus*, who, on this occasion, sacrificed solemnly to *Neptune*, took for his colour the sea-green, instead of the purple; and *Octavius*, on his side, declared he would conquer in spite of *Neptune*. *Lepidus* was able to keep footing in *Sicily*, for he had sailed with a thousand vessels of burden and seventy gallies, which carried over twelve legions, five thousand *Numidian* horse, and all things necessary for their subsistence.

* *Appian* tells us, that, before he began any military operations, he purified his new fleet by the religious ceremony of a *lusitania*, which was performed after the following manner: Altars were erected in the sea a little off the shore, and the ships, with all their respective crews, in a profound silence, were ranked in order before them: The Priests sacrificed, standing in the water; then placed the victims in a pinnace, with which they rowed thrice round the fleet, followed by other boats in which were all the principal Commanders; all offering

prayers, that, if the fleet was threatened with any misfortune, it might fall upon the victims. The victims were divided into two parts, and one half of them was thrown into the sea, the other half burnt upon the altars, whilst all the multitude made their prayers.

† According to *Dio*, l. xlix. p. 392, in the beginning of spring.—We shall follow *Appian* in the account of this war, his relation being as authentic and more consistent than any other.

Pompey

Pompey hoped that, after so many losses, *Octavius* would lie quiet; but when he heard that he had refitted his fleet, and was preparing to invade *Sicily* again, that very summer; he sent the perfidious *Menas*, who had already abandoned the party of *Octavius*, and had returned to his old master, to observe the motions of his enemy. *Menas*, ill satisfied with the reception he had met with from *Pompey*, who had trusted him with no other command than that of the seven ships which he had brought back with him, and which he commanded in the present expedition, resolved once more to change sides. To this purpose, imagining, that, whatever happened, it would be for his advantage to do some brave and valiant action, he distributed all the money he had among his companions, and, sailing directly towards *Octavius's* fleet, he fell unexpectedly upon the guard-ships: Then, going off, and falling on again, he carried away sometimes two of them, and sometimes three: He picked up also in the very ports several ships laden with corn, and sunk and burnt those he could not carry off, and filled the coast with terror. He grew so bold that he even came to an anchor in a bay upon the coast, where he lay, as if he had been fast in the ouze, till his enemies, running down from the mountains as to an assured prey, he gently rowed off, deriding them, to the grief and astonishment of the whole army. After he had thus made known his importance to *Cæsar*, he thought of giving a favourable impression of himself by performing an act of generosity; and he dismissed without ransom a Senator called *Rebilus*, who was among the prisoners he had taken. He then raised a report amongst his people, that they should soon have a fugitive of consequence, *Vinidius Marcellus*, an intimate friend of *Octavius*, whose affection he had found means to engage. Deceived by this pretext, his soldiers permitted him to have a conference with *Vinidius*, in one of the neighbouring islands; and he told *Vinidius* that, when he left *Cæsar's* party, he had been forced to it by the injuries he daily received from *Calvisius*, at that time Admiral; but that, since *Agrippa* had now the command of the navy, he was ready to return to *Cæsar's* service, provided *Vinidius* would bring him a safe conduct from *Messala*, who, in *Agrippa's* absence, commanded on the coast. He also promised, by some signal service, to repair his fault. *Messala* sent the safe conduct, and *Menas* came over to *Octavius*, who permitted the officers of his ships to go where they pleased, and pardoned *Menas*; but gave him no command and had a strict watch kept over him².

When the fleet was in readiness, *Octavius* came to *Vibo*, where he gave orders to *Messala* to pass over into *Sicily*, with two legions, in order to join *Lepidus's* army, and to land in the gulph of *Taurominium*: He sent three likewise to *Stylida*, which is the very extremity of the streight, to wait a fair opportunity; and commanded *Taurus* to cruise with

² This perfidious wretch, if we can believe *Horace*, lived afterwards in great opulence, and served in the capacity of a military Tribune. See *Epod iv.*

his

Y. R. 717. his fleet from *Tarentum* to *Sylaceum*, which lies opposite to *Taurrominium*.
 Bel. Car. Pompey, on his side, placed good garrisons in all the places of the coast,
 416 35. where any forces could land; and kept his fleet at *Messana* ready to sail
 — upon the first order. While these preparations were going forward, *Lepidus*, having sent for the remainder of his forces, which consisted of four legions, *Papias*, one of Pompey's Lieutenants, met them in the open sea, and sunk and burnt several of the vessels in which they had embarked, forcing the rest to return to *Africa*. Two of the legions were cut off, and those of them, who thought to save themselves by swimming to the coast of *Sicily*, were there massacred by the order of *Titienus Gallus*, another of Pompey's Lieutenants. *Papias*, after this success, returned to Pompey; and the two legions, who recovered *Africa*, found means to cross over to *Lepidus*.

Cæsar himself passed, with his main fleet, from *Vibo* to *Strongyle*, one of the *Æolian* or *Vulcanian* islands; and, seeing several camps on the coasts of *Sicily* on that side, he supposed Pompey was there in person; and therefore, leaving *Agrippa* in that station, he returned to *Vibo*, and immediately joined *Messala*, with a design to lay hold of the opportunity of Pompey's absence to surprise *Taurrominium*, and to fall upon *Sicily* on both sides at once. *Agrippa* sailed from *Strongyle* to *Hiera*, another island, which lay nearest to the coast of *Sicily*; and determined the next day to make an attack upon *Myle*, and a fleet of forty sail, which lay there under the command of *Demochares*. Pompey, apprised of his intention, sent from *Messana* forty more ships to *Demochares*, under the command of *Apollonphanes*, another of his freedmen, who was followed by *Papias*, with seventy others. *Agrippa*, before day, weighed anchor with half his ships, designing only to fight with *Papias*, with whom, by his intelligence, he expected to meet; but, when he saw *Apollonphanes*'s fleet followed by another of seventy sail, he sent presently to give notice to *Octavius* that Pompey was at *Myle*, with the greatest part of his naval force; and, placing himself in the middle of his great ships, sent to the rest at *Hiera* to join him without delay. The ships of the two Admirals, *Papias* and *Agrippa*, magnificently equipped with towers on poop and prow, began the fight, and gave the signals to the others, who instantly charged with great violence, some stem and stem, others standing off to gain their enemy's broadside, and fall on with greater force. Great was the noise made by the ships shocking against each other, and greater the shouts of the men.

Pompey's ships were middle-sized, light and easy to manage, and of course more active than those of the enemy, and, by their swiftness, fit to take all advantages in boarding; *Octavius*'s, being greater and more heavy, were of consequence less nimble, but, by their superior strength, they gave the shock with more violence, and were abler to receive it. *Octavius* had the best soldiers, and Pompey the most skilful mariners. These charged not right forwards upon *Cæsar*'s great ships, but, sheering by them,

them, sometimes broke a whole line of oars, sometimes carried away their rudders, and sometimes suddenly bringing about, they attacked them with their beak-heads. But, when *Octavius's* ships could reach any of these light-timbered vessels, they pressed upon them so furiously, that they either staved them or bored them through and through; and, if they came at any time to fight board and board, the *Cæsarean* soldiers, from their great ships, miserably knocked their enemies down with missile arms thrown from aloft; and, casting in their grappling-hooks, easily stopped them; so that, the service being too hard to be borne, the *Pompeians* had no other way to save themselves, but by leaping into the sea, where skiffs, appointed for that purpose, took them up. Mean while, *Agrippa*, whose main design was upon *Papias's* ship, gave him so cruel a shock in the bow, that he opened all his keel, and those in the forecastle presently fell, and, the water entering, all the lower bank of rowers were drowned; the rest upon planks saved themselves by swimming. *Papias* himself was received into the next ship, and renewed the fight.

Y. R. 717.
Bef. Chr.
35.
416 Conf.

When *Pompey*, who from the top of a mountain was spectator of the fight, saw that his people never came near any of the enemy's ships without great loss of men, and that the rest of *Agrippa's* fleet was sailing from *Hiera* to his assistance; he made a signal for his men to retreat, which they did at first, gradually, still fighting with great bravery: But, being closely pressed upon, they all, at last, fairly fled, and took refuge in the mouths of several rivers, where *Agrippa's* pilots advised him not to hazard his heavy vessels on account of the flats. He came, therefore, to an anchor in sight of them in the open sea, as if he designed to attack them in the night; but, his officers admonishing him not to overharrass the soldiers, or be too confident in the present calmness of the sea, he retreated towards the evening; and *Pompey's* ships got into the harbour. *Agrippa* lost in this battle but five vessels, and *Pompey* thirty. The latter, nevertheless, commended his men for having so well defended themselves against ships so superior in height and strength, nor were his rewards less than if they had been victorious. He also gave them hopes, that, by fighting in the streights, they would have better success, as their light ships would better stem the current; and he promised withal to add somewhat to the height of them.

At the same time this brave Commander gave himself no rest; judging rightly that *Octavius* was gone to *Taurus's* camp to execute his design upon *Taurominium*, he set sail for *Messana*, leaving at *Mylæ* a part of his ships, to make *Agrippa* believe he was still there. *Agrippa*, on the other side, having given a little repose to his men, sailed towards *Tyndaris*, which had promised to surrender. The inhabitants were willing to receive him, but the garrison defended the place so valiantly that they drove him from it; yet some other towns, revolting to him, received his garrisons, and towards night he returned to his fleet. *Oct-*

Y. R. 417 *Octavius*, on his side, being well assured that *Pompey* was gone from *Messana* to *Mylæ* to meet *Agrippa*, came from *Scylaceum* to *Leucopetra*, from
Bef. Chr. 35
416 Conf. whence he proposed to pass by night to *Taurominium*; but, having information there of *Agrippa's* victory, he thought there was no longer any reason to conceal his embarkation, and determined to sail in broad day-light, not suspecting that *Pompey* would remove far from *Agrippa*. Day then beginning to appear, he took a view of the sea from the mountains as far as his sight could reach, and, spying none of the enemy's ships, he went on board, loading the ships with all the soldiers he could put into them; leaving the rest with *Messala* till the ships returned to fetch them. Being come near to *Taurominium*, he summoned the place to surrender; but, the garrison refusing, he passed on beyond the river *Onobala*, and the temple of *Venus*, and landed near *Archigetes*, where, having offered prayers to the Gods, he encamped. He was beginning the circumvallation of his camp, when *Pompey* was descried coming with a great fleet, to the astonishment of all the army, who thought that he had been quite ruined by *Agrippa*. Along the shore likewise came horsemen, striving in swiftness to out-pass the fleet; and in several parts were seen great bodies of foot. *Cæsar's* people, seeing themselves thus surrounded, were utterly dismayed. *Octavius* himself was in the greatest anxiety, because it was now impossible for *Messala* to join him. The horrid first fell among *Octavius's* men still employed in their trenches: And, if the fleet and foot had come on at the same time, *Pompey* would probably have gained an important victory; but, being ignorant of the terror his enemies were in, and not inclining to come to battle in the evening, he ordered the fleet to retreat to the promontory of *Laccyna*, and the foot, who durst not lodge near *Octavius's* camp, to the town of *Phanissa*. The night following, the *Cæsarians* fortified their camp. They consisted of three legions, five hundred horsemen without horses, about a thousand light-armed foot, and two thousand veteran volunteers, besides the sea-forces. *Cæsar*, not doubting but *Pompey* would attack his camp, left the defence of it to *Cornificius*, whom he ordered to defend himself to the last extremity; and he embarked himself before day-light to return to *Italy* for fresh succours. *Pompey*, however, did not think it adviseable to attack his camp, but fell upon his fleet with the utmost violence. The fight lasted till night. Many of *Octavius's* ships were taken, and the rest, a small number excepted, were either sunk or burnt. A few of his sailors who could swim escaped to *Cornificius's* camp, who sent his light-armed foot to receive them. *Octavius*, rowed a great way in the night in a small galley; but, being hotly pursued, he was obliged to get into a small boat, that he might not draw the attention of the *Pompeian* Captains; and, at length, by good fortune, he reached the port of *Abala*, where he landed with only one attendant; spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed with grief on account of his defeat. He was thence conveyed to *Messala's* camp, which was not far distant. As soon as he got thither, he

dispatched a brigantine to *Cornificius*, to let him know that he would soon come to his relief; and the same night he went to *Stylida*, where *Carinas* was with three legions: and, being ready to put to sea, he gave him orders to pass over directly to *Lipara*, and there wait for him; and he wrote likewise to *Agrippa*, that, considering the danger *Cornificius* was in, he should with all speed send to him *Laronius* with the best of his forces. At the same time *Mecenas* was sent to *Rome*, to take cognizance of some disturbances there, and put a stop to them: And this he effected by his prudence and severity.

V. R. 717.
Ecl. Clu.
35.
416 Conf.
Lipari, the
chief of the
Æolian
islands,
which has
seven good
havens.

Cornificius, being much streightened for want of provisions, drew out his legions to provoke the enemy to fight: But *Pompey* would not hazard the fortune of a battle against troops who had nothing but their arms to trust to, and whom he hoped to reduce by famine. It was therefore necessary that *Cornificius* should abandon his camp: And, having placed those who had escaped from the sea-fight, and who were without arms in the midst of the legions, he began to march towards *Myle*. In this desperate undertaking his troops were not less obstructed by the mountains and difficult ways they had to pass, than by the enemy's cavalry and light-armed foot. *Appian* tells us that, on the fourth day, they came upon a burnt soil, which the *Sicilians* call the *Torrent of fire*, and which reaches from Mount *Ætna* to the sea. Here the army suffered greatly, not only from an uncommon heat, but from a suffocating dust and thirst: And the enemy was also the more troublesome, as these inconveniencies did not permit *Cornificius* to halt a moment in order to repel them. When they drew near to the streights at the end of this burning ground, they found their enemies in possession of them, and were forced to carry them sword in hand; but when they saw before them other streights, which were likewise guarded by fresh troops, they lost heart, and made a stop, being quite spent with thirst, heat, and fatigue; yet, encouraged by their Chief, who assured them there was a fountain close by, they renewed the fight, and drove the enemy before them, not without very considerable loss: But other enemies were still masters of the fountain, so that now they gave themselves over to grief and despair. In this extremity, *Laronius* appeared at some distance with three legions, which *Agrippa*, according to *Octavius's* orders, had sent to their relief. The enemy, imagining that *Agrippa's* whole convoy was at hand, deserted the fountain; and the soldiers of *Cornificius* ran to it with the utmost precipitation, and, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of their officers, they drank so excessively that some of them died upon the spot. In this manner did *Cornificius* make good his retreat. *Octavius*, who had brought him into such distress, loaded him and his troops with praises and rewards; and *Cornificius*, it is said, was so proud of his success, that, when he went to *Rome*, he never supped abroad, but he returned mounted upon an elephant, in commemoration of this dangerous expedition.

Dio, l. x'ix.
p. 356.

Y. R. 717. The taking of *Tyndaris*, which was effected by *Agrippa*, laid the island
 Bef. Chr. open to *Octavius*, who immediately transported into it twenty-one le-
 15. gions, twenty thousand horse, and five thousand light-armed troops.
 416 C. C. Then *Lepidus*, who hitherto had kept near *Lilibæum*, advanced into the
 country; and the two Triumviri united their forces before the walls of
Messana.

Pompey, seeing himself overpowered at land, and his affairs in a de-
 clining posture, and fearing, in consequence of that, the desertion of his
 officers and soldiers, was desirous to decide the quarrel by a general
 battle; and challenged *Octavius* to a sea-fight with three hundred ships
 on a side. *Octavius* did not think it proper to refuse the challenge^a; and,
 the day being agreed upon, the two fleets met in good order be-
 tween *Myle* and *Naulocus*. *Agrippa* commanded the fleet of *Octavius*;
 and *Demochares* and *Apollonbanes* that of *Pompey*. The battle was fierce,
 and the victory for a long time doubtful. At last *Agrippa* prevailed,
 and chiefly by means of the grappling-iron which he had prepared. It
 was a strong shaft, five cubits long, bound about with iron, with a ring
 of the same metal in each end. In the one was the hook of iron; in
 the other, small ropes were made fast, which were commanded by a
 windlass in the ship. When an enemy's vessel therefore approached to
 do mischief, the iron hook was forcibly darted against it from a machine.
 If it stuck, the windlass instantly played, and before the iron shod shaft,
 or the ropes could be cut, the vessel attacked was drawn close to the
 other and boarded. Of the 300 *Pompeian* ships, but 17 escaped.
 This great victory was purchased with the loss only of three ships, ac-
 cording to *Dio*. *Demochares*, seeing his ship in the power of the enemy,
 killed himself; *Apollonbanes*, *Pompey's* other Admiral, who could have
 made off, delivered himself up.

l. xlix. p.
398.

The land army, commanded by *Titius*, surrendered, upon this de-
 feat, to *Octavius*; and this defection made *Pompey* determine immediately
 to leave the island. Having therefore put on board his 17 ships all
 that he had that was valuable, he sailed for *Asia*, hoping to find protection
 from *Antony*. in requital of that which he had given to his mother *Julia*, and
 many of his friends. But before he set out he sent for *Plennius*, one of
 his Lieutenants, who had under his command eight legions. *Plennius*
 obeyed his orders; but, not arriving till *Pompey* was gone, he threw
 himself into *Messana*; which was soon besieged in form by the armies of
 the two Triumvirs; the one commanded by *Agrippa*, the other by *Le-
 pidus*. *Plennius*, seeing it was madness to make any resistance, sent De-

^a *Dio*, l. xlix. p. 397, tells us, that *Octa-
 vius*, though he was sensible that *Pompey*
 would be soon in very great distress, con-
 sulted to give battle on the account of the
 uneasiness *Lepidus* gave him; who, pre-
 tending to an equality of command, and
 not having been treated by his colleague

with the respect he thought due to him, had
 opened a negotiation with *Pompey*. If so,
 he had a very good reason to accept of
Pompey's challenge; for at sea *Lepidus* would
 have no share in the battle, and nothing
 was to be feared from his ill humour.

puties to the two Generals to treat of a capitulation: *Agrippa* desired that the affair should be deferred till the next day, when *Octavius* would be present; but *Lepidus* received them upon terms, and, to get the army of *Plennius* into his own possession, gave them an equal share in the plunder of the city, which was that very night sacked by both armies. This weak man, finding himself now at the head of an army of two and twenty legions, conceived hopes, and laid a design of seizing upon *Sicily*^b: He grounded his right to it upon his first landing in the island, and having taken more cities than his colleague: Wherefore he gave command to his garrisons not to receive any troops, but his own; and seized upon all the passages. *Octavius*, on his arrival the next day, sent some of his friends to *Lepidus*, to make his complaint of these proceedings, and to represent to him, that he was not invited into the island to conquer it for himself, but to give assistance as an ally in a war already begun. *Lepidus* answered by a reciprocal complaint, that *Octavius* and *Antony* had deprived him unjustly of his part of the Empire, and that he was ready to give up both *Africa* and *Sicily*, if they would restore him his share. *Octavius*, incensed at this answer, went himself to reproach him with his ingratitude and folly; and they parted after mutual threats, and from that instant they kept each of them a stricter guard; and *Octavius* ordered his ships to anchor at a distance from the port, pretending that *Lepidus* had a design to burn them. Their rupture was now open and declared; and the foundation seemed to be laid of a new civil war; but *Octavius*, who entertained no high opinion of his rival, thought it only necessary to employ art to ruin him. The soldiers of *Lepidus* were disgusted with him for having allowed the legions of *Pompey* a share in the plunder of *Messana*, and they despised him as a General: And *Octavius*, well informed of their sentiments, sent underhand his agents to gain them over to his interest. Having, by means of these, sounded their officers, and found them in the temper he wished, he suddenly appeared before the trenches of his colleague's camp with a strong body of cavalry; and, leaving behind the greatest part of these, he entered it with a few attendants, and, proceeding through it, he took all he met to witness his good dispositions, and that he was forced to make war against his will^c. A great many of *Lepidus's* soldiers saluted him Emperor, and *Pompey's* troops, who did not think themselves secure till

^b *Lepidus* inflatus amplius xx legionum numero, in id furoris processerat, ut inutilis in alienâ victoriâ comes, quam diu moratus erat, dissidendo in consiliis Cæsaris, et semper diversa iis, quæ aliis placebant, dicendo; totam victoriam ut suam interpretabatur, audebatque denunciare Cæsari, excederet Sicilia. Vell. Pat. ii. 80.

^c *Velleius Paterculus* says, that *Octavius* carried off with him the standard of a le-

gion, and was followed by the whole army of *Lepidus*.

Dio says nothing of this negotiation, and tells us that *Octavius*, having appeared in *Lepidus's* camp with a design of debauching his soldiers, was disappointed in his hopes, and obliged to withdraw speedily to his troops; and that then he drew out his whole army, and surrounded *Lepidus's* camp; which motion determined the officers and soldiers to desert their General.

Y. R. -17 their pardon was ratified by him, testified their inclination to go over to
 B. C. 41 him. *Lepidus*, informed of the tumult, advanced with some troops to
 4 6 Conf. check it, and, charging those who accompanied *Octavius*, one of them
 ——— was killed, and *Octavius* himself received an arrow in his corslet. In-
 stantly he withdrew to his body of horse; and, being derided in his
 flight by the guard of one of the forts of *Lepidus's* camp, he instantly at-
 tacked it and carried it by force. This example intimidated the Com-
 manders of the other forts, which flanked the camp of *Lepidus*, or at
 least served them for a pretence; and all of them at that time, or during
 the night, surrendered to *Octavius*; some of them on a simple summons,
 and others after having suffered a slight attack. *Lepidus* threatened and
 soothed them by turns, but to no purpose. His cavalry were the last to
 forsake him, but, to make amends for their delay, they sent to *Octa-
 vius* to ask, whether they should bring *Lepidus* dead or alive. *Lepidus*,
 seeing himself entirely abandoned, put on the habit of a suppliant, and
 went to throw himself at *Cæsar's* feet. The young Triumvir rose up to
 receive him, and would not suffer him to fall on his knees before him;
 but, having reduced him to the state of a private man, he banished
 him to *Circium*, where he remained without any power or dignity.

Thus fell *Lepidus*, one of the heads of the triumvirate. Ancient
 writers have represented him^d as a vain, weak man, whom a fortuitous
 concurrence of circumstances had raised to supreme power, without any of
 the qualities which are necessary to support the weight of it: Yet the se-
 veral employments which he bore under *Cæsar*, that of Governor of the
 city, of Consul, and of Master of the Horse, shew that he was not
 judged by him to be without capacity. His behaviour after *Cæsar's*
 death was more spirited than *Antony's*: He seized upon the High-Priest-
 hood, and would instantly have revenged his friend's death, if he had
 not been restrained by the Consul. His union with *Antony*, after his
 defeat at *Mutina*, and the coalition formed by him of the *Cæsarean*
 Chiefs, was well concerted, and gave his party the superiority, at the
 same time that it procured for himself a share in the Empire of the
 world. Indeed, in the station of Triumvir, he behaved weakly, and
 was the jest of his colleagues, whose interest with the soldiers, and qua-
 lifications for command, were much superior to his; but in this last
 scene he appeared the most despicable of men; and, if his life was
 granted him, it is obvious that the contempt of his weakness was alone
 his security.

Appian.

Octavius reaped the whole advantage of the ruin of *Sextus* and *Lepidus*:
 He seized upon *Sicily* and *Africa* as his property; and saw himself Master
 of all the Western world; at the head of an army of five-and-forty legions,
 twenty-five thousand horse, and thirty-seven thousand light-armed troops;
 and of a fleet consisting of six hundred sail. But, in this height of

^d Vir omnium vanissimus, nec ullâ virtute tam longam fortunæ indulgentiam me-
 ritus. *Vell.* xi. 80.

power,

power, he was soon made sensible of his dependence upon the soldiery, and warned very opportunely to gain the affection of his subjects by his prudent conduct and moderation. Before he left *Sicily*, notwithstanding the recompences he bestowed upon his soldiers, and his promises of much greater, his own proper troops mutinied and demanded their immediate discharge, with the same reward they had received after the battle of *Philippi*. *Octavius* repeated his promises of rewarding them honourably and equally with those who were now serving under *Antony*, and at the same time represented to them, with some threats, the fault they committed against the laws of war, and against the oath they had taken. Seeing his remonstrances had no effect, but that they grew more insolent, he forbore threatening, and told them that he would discharge them as soon as *Antony* returned, assuring them he would no more employ them in civil wars, which, by the favour of the gods, were extinct; but that he would lead them against foreign nations, from whom they would all return rich: To which they told him plainly, that they would serve no longer, unless he presently gave them those rewards and honours which their past labours deserved. He answered, that, as to honours, they should be rewarded with them immediately; for, besides the crowns he had already distributed, he had others to bestow among every legion, and to the Centurions and Tribunes he would give robes of purple, with the rank of Senators in the towns where they were born. He was interrupted here by one of the Tribunes, who, raising his voice, cried out, that crowns and robes of purple were only fit to amuse children, but that soldiers expected more substantial things, money and lands. *Octavius* perceiving that the whole assembly applauded this insolent speech, he in a rage went down from his tribunal, and left the Tribune to glory in his prowess, and receive the congratulation of the soldiers. The audacious Tribune, however, disappeared that night, and was no more heard of. This accident made them more circumspect, and no particular officer or soldier dared to distinguish himself; but they assembled in troops, and persisted in their demands.

Octavius, seeing that all his endeavours to pacify them were vain, dismissed those, who had served at *Mutina* and *Philippi*, to the number of twenty thousand; and, lest they should nourish a spirit of sedition in the island, he shipped them off immediately. As soon as they were gone, he assembled his army, and took them for witnesses of the perjury of the others, whom he called deserters, because they had forced a discharge from him; and he declared that he never would take them back to his service again. He then praised their fidelity for remaining with him, and, having told them, that they might soon hope for repose and settlements, he distributed to each of them five hundred drachmas, which he raised by a tax upon the *Sicilians*. About 161,

Matters being thus quieted in *Sicily*, *Octavius* sent back to *Antony* the ships he had borrowed from him, and returned to *Rome* to receive the honours,

Y. P. 717
Bef C. 11.
35.
416 C. m.

Y. 71-
Bef. Chr.
35
410 Conf. honours, which the Senate, in consequence of his success, had decreed to him. The whole body of the Senators, with garlands of flowers upon their heads, as a sign of joy and congratulation, went a great way out of the city to meet him, and he entered it with the modest pomp of an ovation, on the ides of *November*. Besides receiving this honour, he consented that an annual festival should be instituted in memory of his victory; and that a gilded statue should be set up to him in the Forum, in a triumphal habit, having its pedestal adorned with the prows of vessels, and bearing this inscription: *To Caesar, for having restored peace to Rome, a long time disturbed both by sea and land.*

Near ten
thousand
pounds.

It was now the chief concern of *Octavius* to gain the esteem and love of the people. He publicly burnt all *Pompey's* papers, and all those that might be monuments of their divisions, signifying to all the world, that he was willing to forget what was past. In the distribution of lands which he had to make to his veterans, he conducted himself with the strictest equity; the funds appropriated to them belonging either to the Republic, or being fairly purchased from private persons or corporations. The colony of *Capua*, being very thinly inhabited, and possessing, on that account, in common, a large extent of ground which never belonged to any particular proprietor; he there established a part of his veterans; and, to satisfy the colony, he gave them, in the island of *Crete*, funds of a greater produce, and which brought them in twelve hundred thousand sesterces a year; and he also added a great and useful ornament to the town of *Capua* itself by making an aqueduct to supply them with water. *Rome* and all *Italy* being, at this time, greatly infested by thieves and robbers, who had formed themselves into companies, and were become very formidable, he gave it in charge to *Sabinus* to put a stop to this evil, and the whole race of them were destroyed in one year. It was now also that he began those great edifices, for the ornament of *Rome*, which have illustrated his reign. In fine, he gave them hopes, that he would soon lay down, with the consent of his colleague, his *triumviral* authority, and restore the Commonwealth: And the Senate, to engage him to keep his word, offered to create him perpetual Tribune; a magistracy, which, while it rendered his person sacred and inviolable, would have deprived him of all command in the army: But this proposal he neither accepted nor rejected.

CHAP. V.

ANTONY's behaviour in the East: His inglorious expedition against the Parthians. SEXTUS POMPEY's behaviour in Asia, and his death.

W H I L E

WHILE *Octavius* was thus increasing his power, and gaining the affections and esteem of the soldiers and people, *Antony* was wasting his best troops in an inglorious war, and gathering nothing but contempt and the public hatred by the most extravagant behaviour. He had no sooner left *Italy* and lost sight of *Octavia*, than his love for *Cleopatra*, which had lain quiet in his breast so long, gathered strength again, and, upon his approach to *Syria*, he immediately sent *Fonteius Capito* to conduct her to him. She soon arrived, and, as if he meant to make her a reparation for his past coolness, he granted her all her ambitious demands. He added to her kingdom *Phœnicia*, a part of *Judea*, and a part of *Arabia-Felix*. All these countries were possessed by several petty Princes, under the protection of the *Romans*; and some of these she engaged *Antony* to put to death, as being in the interest of the *Parthians*. He also yielded up to her the rights of the Republic over the island of *Cyprus* and the town of *Cyrene* on the *Libyan* coast, both which had formerly belonged to the crown of *Egypt*. He did not, however, forget his grand project against the *Parthians*, and employed this whole year in making preparations for war. His Lieutenants, in his absence, *Sosius* in *Syria**, and *Canidius Gallus*, towards the *Caspian* sea, had prepared his way, and gained great reputation to his arms.

The crown of *Parthia* was now possessed by *Pbraates*†. His father *Orodes*, after bewailing the death of his beloved son *Pacorus*, had made choice of him to succeed him, as the eldest of his thirty sons. This young Prince was no sooner declared heir to the crown, than he strangled his father, and put to death all his brothers. Even the eldest of his own sons was sacrificed to his jealousy. Many of the *Parthian* nobility, alarmed at such monstrous cruelty, fled into the neighbouring states; and *Moneses*, one of the most illustrious and powerful of them, deserted to the *Romans*. *Antony* was at this time in *Italy* at too great a distance to take advantage of these disturbances; and *Sosius*, who commanded in *Syria*, had learnt, from the example of *Ventidius*, not to court a glory which might surpass that of his General. But *Antony*, upon his return

* The chief exploit of this Commander was the taking of *Jerusalem*, in conjunction with *Herod*, after a siege of five months. Most of the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of either age or sex, not so much by the *Roman* soldiers, whom so long and obstinate a defence had greatly incensed, as by the merciless dispositions of the *Jews*, under *Herod's* command, who, prompted by the rage of party, gave no quarter to their unfortunate countrymen. *Antigonus*, the author of this war, which had now lasted a year, gave himself up into the hands of *Sosius*, who sent him in chains to *Antioch*, where he was soon after, through

Herod's intrigues, tried for his life, beaten with rods, and beheaded. Such was the end of the last Prince of the *Ajmonian* line, which had possessed the high-priesthood, together with the sovereign power, for upwards of one hundred and twenty years.

† *Strabo*, l. xi p. 360, tells us, that the history of this war was written by one *Adelphius*, who commanded a body of troops in this expedition: And it may be observed, that several learned men have thought that this *Adelphius* is *Dellius*, who was an historian, and accompanied *Antony* into *Armenia*, in 720, and was sent twice to negotiate with *Artabazus*. Dio, l. xlix.

Y. R. 717. into Syria, gave *Monefes* the most honourable reception, and, calling to
 Bof. Chr. mind the manner *Themistocles* had been treated by the *Perian* Monarch²,
 416 Conf. 35. he made over to him three towns, *Larissa*, *Arctufsa*, and *Hierapolis*, for
 his maintenance, and even promised him the throne of *Parthia*; hoping
 to profit greatly in his expedition, by the interest and capacity of that
 nobleman. *Fbraates*, however, being sensible how much such a man
 had it in his power to hurt him, sent him such assurances of his favour,
 and made him such promises, that he again returned to his Sovereign.
Antony did not think proper to stop him, as he had in view to amuse
 the *Parthian* Monarch by the hopes of peace; and, with *Monefes*, he
 sent Ambassadors to begin a negotiation, demanding nothing more than
 the restitution of the colours and prisoners taken from *Crassus*. But he
 did not wait for an answer, and, taking leave of *Cleopatra*, he advanced
 towards *Armenia*, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of
 his troops³.

Artabazes,

² *Artaxerxes* is reported to have given three towns to *Themistocles*, one for his bread, one for his wine and a third for his meat.

³ *Lic* says, that he would willingly have taken a shorter way into *Parthia* over the *Euphrates*, but that he found all the passages well guarded. Concerning those passages there are some curious lines in the celebrated performance of the President *Montesquieu*: "*Tr. jan*, says he, accomplished *Caesar's* project of invading the *Parthians*, and was very successful in his wars with that mighty people: Any Monarch but himself would have sunk under the weight of such an enterprise, where danger was always present, and from whence the necessary source of his supplies was at a vast distance; in a word, where he could not be sure victory itself would save him from destruction. The difficulty consisted in the situation of the two empires, and the military discipline of both nations. If he directed his march through *Armenia* towards the sources of the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, he was sure to be incommoded with a mountainous and impracticable country, through which no convoy of provision could pass, so that the army would be quite destroyed before they could penetrate into *Media*" [Why then is *Crassus* so much blamed by all the historians for not taking this road, and why is *Antony* in the present expedition only censured for setting out so late and leaving behind him his engines?] "On the other, if he should strike out a lower track towards

"the South, through *Nisibis*, he would find himself bewildered in a ghastly desert that separated the two empires; and, if he proceeded still lower, and marched thro' *Mesopotamia*, he was then to cross a large country that was either uncultivated or laid under water; and, as the *Tygris* and *Euphrates* flowed from North to South, he could not gain a passage into the country without quitting these rivers, which, if he did, he must inevitably perish. — As to the manner practised by the two nations in making war, the strength of the *Romans* consisted in their infantry, which was the most firm and best disciplined body of soldiers in the world. The *Parthians*, on the contrary, had no infantry, but then their horse were admirable, and always combated at such a distance as placed them out of the reach of the *Roman* army, and the javelin was seldom launched far enough to wound them. Their own weapons consisted of a bow and many formidable shafts, and they rather besieged an army than gave it battle; they were pursued to no purpose in their flight, for that was the same to them as an engagement. They carried off all the inhabitants of the country, and only left garrisons in their fortified places, and, when these were taken, the conquerors were obliged to destroy them—the *Parthians*, likewise, set fire to all the country that lay round the *Roman* army, and did not leave them the least blade of herbage. In a word, they managed their wars in a manner

Artabazes, King of *Armenia*, the son of *Tigranes*, was then in alliance with the *Romans*, and in war with another *Artabazes*, King of the *Atropatenian Medes*¹, an ally of *Pbraates*. *Antony* came, therefore, as it were, to succour the King of *Armenia*, but his real intention was well known. His forces, when reviewed, consisted of sixty thousand legionaries, ten thousand *Spanish* and *Gallic* horse, and thirty thousand auxiliary light-armed troops²; to which *Artabazes* was to add six thousand horse and seven thousand foot. As his army, by taking a great circuit, had made a march of a thousand miles, and summer was very much advanced before he got to the borders of *Media*, he was advised to take up his winter quarters in *Armenia*, and not begin the campaign till the next spring; but, being confident that nothing could resist the impression of so great an army, and being desirous to get back to *Cleopatra*, he passed the *Araxes* to go and lay siege to *Praaspa*³, the capital of *Atropatenia*, where the King's wives and children were; and, to march the more expeditiously, he left behind him on the borders of *Media* all his machines of war, under the guard of two legions commanded by *Oppius Statianus*. The allied Kings of *Parthia* and *Media* marched towards the besieged, but, understanding that *Antony* had left his machines behind, they immediately turned off towards the place where *Oppius* was incamped, and, surprising him, cut his two legions in pieces, and broke or burnt all the machines. *Oppius* himself was killed, and, of the whole army, *Polemon*, alone, King of *Pontus*, escaped, having bribed the *Parthians*, by the hopes of a great ransom. This disaster quite discouraged *Antony's* allies, and *Artabazes*, King of *Armenia*, who had been the principal cause of the war, giving over all the hopes he had conceived of the *Romans*, marched home with all his troops. The victorious *Parthians* soon appeared before *Praaspa*, and, having thrown succours into the town, insolently upbraided and threatened the *Romans*. *Antony*, apprehending, if he suffered these insults, and left his troops in inaction, that his men would soon be disheartened, resolved to endeavour to bring about a general action; and, with this view, drew out of his lines ten legions, three prætorian cohorts, and all his cavalry, as for a general forage, hoping that the enemy would follow him and give him an opportunity of engaging with them. After one day's march, the *Parthians*

Y. R. 717.
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415 Conf.

“manner very like that which is now practised on the same frontiers.” But, if the *Parthians* were invincible for all these reasons, how did *Trajan* conquer them?

¹ *Media* was distinguished into *Great Media*, and the *Atropatenian*. The first, whose capital was *Ecbatana*, was under the dominion of the *Parthian* Monarch. *Media Atropatenia* was a province of the old kingdom of the *Medes*, and took its name from *Atropatros*, who had preserved it from the *Mace-*

donian yoke. *Atropatros*, in acknowledgment of his good service, was elected King: And the succession was continued down in his posterity till the time of *Strabo*.

² *Velleius* says thirteen legions. *Florus*, l. iv. c. 10. and *Justin*, xlii. 5, sixteen; and *Livy*, *Epit.* l. xxx, eighteen legions, and sixteen thousand horse.

³ It is probably the town called *Vera* by *Strabo*.

Y. R. 71. appeared, ranged in the form of a crescent, near the road he was to
 B. C. 41. pass. *Antony*, to deceive his enemies, and induce them to keep their
 4:6 Conf. post, caused his tents to be struck, as if he designed to continue his
 march, and not to engage. He then ordered his men to file off, di-
 recting the cavalry to charge, as soon as the legions were near enough to
 support them. The cavalry executed his orders punctually, and closed
 so suddenly with the enemy, that they could make no use of their arrows :
 But they kept their ground till the *Roman* infantry, coming on with great
 shouts, and striking their shields, forced them to retire. *Antony* hoped that
 this battle would end the war, or, at least, make a considerable progress
 towards his intended conquest ; but, after having pursued the enemy for
 six miles with his infantry, and sent his cavalry after them thrice as far, he
 found that he had not killed above an hundred of them, and had taken
 only fifty prisoners. This success was but a small compensation for the
 loss he had sustained of his two legions and artillery, and he became
 very sensible of the disadvantages with which he made a war against an
 enemy who could not be forced to an engagement.

The next day *Antony* having prepared to return to *Praespa*, the *Par-*
thians appeared again ; at first in a small body ; but, their numbers in-
 creased gradually ; and, at last, their whole army being assembled, they
 harassed his troops during their march by brisk and frequent attacks, and
 it was with great trouble and danger that he regained his camp. During
 his absence the besieged had made a successful sally and broke down a
 part of the mound, which had been raised with great labour. *Antony*,
 irritated at this bad success, decimated the cohorts, who had been upon
 service, and gave them barley instead of wheat. The war now became
 troublesome to both parties, and each feared more grievous conse-
 quences. For *Antony*, surrounded on all sides, could send no troops
 abroad in quest of forage, without the loss of many of his people ; and
Phraates knew well it would be very difficult to engage his men to keep
 the field in the winter-season. Wherefore this Monarch made use of the
 following artifice to get rid of his enemy. By his order, the Com-
 manders of the *Parthians*, instead of acting with their usual vigour against
 the *Romans* in their forages, affected a gentle behaviour, and, while
 they allowed them to get provisions, took the opportunity to extol their
 valour, and to blame *Antony* for not making peace with their Monarch,
 and sparing the lives of so many gallant men, whom famine and cold
 would soon destroy, though they had no enemy to fight with. This
 being several times reported to *Antony*, he caused inquiry to be made,
 whether the *Parthians* had been commissioned to hold these discourses
 with his men ; and, being assured that they were, he determined to send
 some of his friends to the King ; and, to save his honour in some mea-
 sure, he charged them still to demand the restitution of the *Roman* colours
 and prisoners. The King, according to *Dio*, received the Ambassadors
 seated upon a golden chair, and holding in his hand a bow, the string
 of

of which he frequently drew. He rejected, as impertinent, the proposition of restoring the prisoners and colours, and broke out into many reproaches against the *Romans*, which indeed they well deserved; but what told them that peace and a safe retreat should be granted them, on condition they would speedily depart. *Antony* was obliged to be content with what was granted him; and he determined to leave the country: But grief and shame would not permit him to speak to the soldiers himself; and he commissioned *Domitius Abencbarbus* to harangue them in his name. His soldiers were sensible of the reasons of his silence, and were thence engaged to obey him with the greater zeal. As he was preparing to return by the same way that he came, through the naked deserts, a certain *Mardian*^m, of whose courage and fidelity the *Romans* had trial in the fight for the defence of the engines, and who was well acquainted with the *Parthian* manners, came to him and advised him to take his march by the foot of the mountains which lay on the right hand, and not to expose his army, loaden with arms, in vast plains, where they would be perpetually harrassed by the attacks of an innumerable cavalry. He discovered to him the secret intentions of *Phraates*, who had no other design in treating with him but to seize a favourable opportunity of attacking his forces; and concluded with offering himself to be the guide of his march. *Antony* followed his advice, but told him that he must consent to be bound till he conducted the army safe into *Armenia*ⁿ. The army marched two days without any alarm, but, on the third, when *Antony* thought of nothing less than the *Parthians*, and the soldiers, upon the assurance of the peace, were in the greatest security, the *Mardian*, espying the bank of a river newly broken, and the way by which they were to pass overflowed, he judged the *Parthians* had done it to stop the march of the *Romans*; and, shewing it to *Antony*, he advised him to prepare to receive the enemy. The *Roman* General presently marshalled his army, leaving between the ranks intervals for the archers and slingers to make their discharges. At the same time the *Parthians* appeared, not doubting but they would easily surround the *Romans*, and entirely destroy them: But the light-

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^m *Florus*, l. iv. 10. and *Paterc.* l. ii. 82, write, that he who gave this wholesome advice to *Antony* was one of the *Roman* prisoners, who served then in the *Parthian* camp, and who, out of love for his countrymen, rode up to *Antony's* trenches in the night, and gave this warning to the officer upon guard in Latin. They do not say whether he staid with *Antony*: *Unus ex clade Crassianâ Parthico habitu castis adequita: Et, salute latinè datâ, quum fidem ipso fecisset, quid immineret edocuit: Jam adfuturum cum omnibus copiis regem: Irent retro peterentque montes: Sic quoque hostem fortasse non desere.*

Flor. Captivi cujusdam Romani consilio ac fide servatus, qui clade Crassiani exercitus captus, cum fortunam non animum mutasset, accessit nocte ad stationem Romanam, pradixitque ne destinatum iter peterent, sed diverso, sylvestrique pervaderent. *Vell. Pat.*

ⁿ *Liso* observes that *Antony* was really deceived by this guide, and that he turned off from his best road to take a very difficult one, where it was easy for the *Parthians* to annoy him. But in this opinion he is unsupported by the authority of any other writer.

Y. R. 717
Bef. Chr.
415³⁵ Conf.

armed foot charged them so briskly that they were forced to retreat ; yet they several times returned and renewed the skirmish, till the *Gallic* horse marched against them in a body, and treated them so roughly that they disappeared for that day. This assault taught the *Roman* General how to receive them on the like occasions. He made the army march in order of battle in four fronts, lining not only the rear, but likewise the flanks with archers and slingers, and giving orders to the horse to be ready to repulse the enemy, if they drew near, but not to pursue them. This method was effectual ; the *Parthians* followed them four days, and were constantly beat off with loss ; which made them resolve to give over the pursuit, making the ground of their departure to be the approaching winter. But, unluckily, the day before they were to march back, *Flavius Gallus*, one of *Antony's* bravest officers, requested a greater number of the light-armed foot for defence of the rear-guard, and some part of the cavalry from the wings, promising to achieve something considerable. Having obtained his desire, he set himself, contrary to orders, to chase back a body of the enemy who came forward to skirmish. The Commanders of the rear-guard sent in vain to warn him of the danger he ran of being surrounded and cut off from the rest of the army. He was deaf to their admonitions, and, eagerly pushing forward, found himself beset on all sides, and galled by showers of arrows. He was then forced to send for aid ; and the Colonels of the legions in the rear-guard and *Canidius*, who commanded there, instead of marching with all their force to rescue him, sent only a few cohorts to support him, and these were followed by a few more ; a method which, if it had been continued, would have occasioned the rout of the whole army. *Antony* himself was obliged to bring on speedily the whole van-guard : And this put an effectual stop to the attack of the enemy. The *Romans* lost no less than three thousand men in this engagement, and five thousand were brought off wounded : *Gallus* himself was pierced with four arrows and died soon after. *Antony* behaved on this occasion as a worthy General : He visited the wounded, and gave them unfeigned proofs of his affection ; and they in return made light of their misfortune, begging him to take care of his own life, and declaring that their wounds were all healed, while they saw him well.

The *Parthians*, who had before despaired of ruining the *Roman* army, were so encouraged by this unexpected success, that, contrary to their custom, they remained on horseback all the night, near the *Roman* camp, in expectation of plundering it the next morning ; not doubting but the *Romans* would abandon their baggage, as an impediment in their flight. But they were greatly disappointed when they saw the camp struck, every thing carried off, and the army marching in the best order : And more so when, coming on fiercely, they found a greater alacrity and ardour in the *Roman* soldiers to repel them than they had hitherto

thereto experienced. They continued, however, their pursuit; and one day, as they galled the *Romans* with their arrows, the legionaries facing about, and receiving the light-armed troops into the ranks, set their knees to the ground, and, with their bucklers, formed a tortoise, upon which the *Parthian* arrows slid off, without doing any execution. The *Parthians*, not doubting but the *Romans* had taken that posture through weariness, came on to attack them with their pikes; but the legionaries, rising all at once, and giving a dreadful shout, flew upon them, mowed down the foremost ranks, and put the rest to flight. The *Romans* had the same operation to repeat for some days afterwards, which of course greatly retarded their march.

The army was now also greatly afflicted with famine; for the soldiers, employed constantly in fighting with the enemy, could not range about for provisions. The scarcity was so great, that a bushel of wheat was sold for fifty drachmas, and barley-bread for its weight in silver. The soldiers were therefore forced to live upon fruits; and we are told that they unluckily fell upon an herb which proved fatal to numbers of them. Those who eat of it lost their understanding and memory, and fell to turning and removing all the stones they met with, as if employed in some serious work; and at last died by the vomiting of pure bile. Wine, it was thought, was the only cure for this disorder, but there was none left in the camp: And, on this occasion, *Dio* says that many of the *Roman* soldiers deserted to the enemy, and that many more would have followed the example, if the *Parthians* had not barbarously, and in sight of the *Roman* army, pierced with their arrows all those who had trusted to them. *Antony*, seeing so many of his men falling off, and the *Parthians* still at his heels, often cried out, *Oh the ten thousand!* admiring those ten thousand, who, under the command of *Xenophon*, marched a much longer way, making their retreat from the plains of *Babylon* to the sea, and having to do with a much more powerful enemy.

The *Parthians*, seeing that it was impossible for them to stop the march of the *Romans* in the road they so steadily pursued, had again recourse to artifice. They began to take all opportunities of discoursing with their enemies, and, unbending their bows, they drew near to those who went in quest of forage; telling them, that they were satisfied with the revenge they had taken, and were now upon their return home; and indeed for two days they were followed only by a few *Medes*, who did not offer to molest them, but appeared to have no other view than to protect some villages in the country. *Antony*, tired with so long a march in so difficult a road, was much inclined to take an easier one through a plain which now presented itself, where he was told he would meet with every commodity; but a relation of *Meneses*, by name *Mithridates*, came to the camp, and desired to speak with one who could talk either the *Parthian* or *Syrian* language. *Alexander*, of the city of *Antiach*, a man whom the General could put his confidence in, was sent to the

Par-

Y. R. 717.
bcf Chr.

35.
416 Con.

Plut. Flor.
iv. 10.

Front. l. ii.
Stratag. c.
iii.

Dio, xlix.
p. 409.

Y. R. 717. *Partien*; who told him that *Moses*, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received from the Roman General, had sent him to give the army warning to be still upon their guard, and to continue their way along the mountains, where they would only encounter with the inconvenience of the want of water for one day; whereas, if they should cross the plain, the whole *Partbian* army being posted in ambush between the hills beyond it, *Antony* might meet probably with the fate of *Crassus*. The *Partbian*, after this kind warning, instantly departed. *Antony* sent for the *Mardian* guide to have his opinion: The *Mardian* told him, that, though there were no enemies in the plains, yet it would be difficult to find their way in a desert, and that he would meet with several difficult passes. Orders were therefore given to the soldiers to furnish themselves with water; and, because vessels were wanting, the soldiers filled their head-pieces, and some skins which they sewed together. They then set out, though it was night; and they marched 30 miles without stopping. The *Partbians*, upon the first intelligence of this motion, had also, contrary to their custom, set out in the night; and the next morning, by break of day, they were up with the rear-guard. The *Romans*, fatigued and dispirited for want of sleep, were greatly disheartened at so unexpected an event; however, they bravely defended themselves, and continued marching till they came to a river, the waters of which the *Mardian* guide forbade them to drink: But many of them paid no regard to his remonstrances, nor to the intreaties of their General; and the waters, though clear and cool, were yet brackish and venomous, and ulcerated their bowels as soon as they were swallowed, and provoked an intolerable thirst. A few hours march brought them however to another river, the waters of which they might drink in as great a quantity as they pleased, and in perfect safety. Here *Antony* designing to give his men some repose, as the soldiers were pitching their tents, *Mitbridates* came again, called for *Alexander*, and sent him to tell his General to march on with all speed till he had passed the next river, which was the boundary the *Partbians* had set for their pursuit, and beyond which they would not go. *Antony* sent the generous *Partbian* a present of several vessels of gold, and, following his instructions, continued the march that whole day without the least alarm: But the night was very tumultuous in the camp. Some of the soldiers agreed together to kill such as they suspected to have money, and rob them: And they plundered the baggage, and seized even on the military chest and their General's equipage, whose inlaid tables and cups set with jewels they broke in pieces and divided among them. The bustle and confusion was so great, that *Antony* could not imagine any thing less, than that the enemy had broken into the camp, and was ransacking the baggage. He sent for his freedman *Rhamnus* to run him through with his sword, as soon as he should command it; and to cut off his head, lest he should fall into the power of the enemy, or be known

known when he was dead. While he and his friends were in this con-
 sternation, an account was brought him, that all the tumult proceeded
 from the avarice of the soldiers, who had plundered one another : And the
 guide at the same time assured him, that the river, which was to be the
 end of their toils, was now very near. About break of day, the tumult
 being over, and every one having fallen into his rank, the rear-guard
 felt again the *Parthian* arrow. The light-armed foot were therefore
 presently ordered out against the enemy, and the legionaries formed the
 tortoise. The *Parthians*, seeing them prepared to receive them, durst
 not approach, and the army moved on. The van-guard soon came to
 the banks of the wished-for river : And, at the sight of it, the *Par-*
thians unbent their bows, praised the valour and conduct of the *Ro-*
mans ; and one of them, we are told, raising his voice, cried to them :
Farewell, Romans, retreat now without fear : It is with good reason that
 fame has published your glory, and that nations acknowledge you to be their
 conquerors ; seeing that you have escaped the arrows of the Parthians.*

Y. R. 717.
 Bef. Chr.
 35.
 416 Con.

The *Romans* passed without molestation ; and, after resting them-
 selves at leisure on the other bank, set forth on their march, not con-
 fiding too much on the words of the *Parthians* ; and, in six days after
 their last fight, they arrived on the banks of the *Araxes*, where they
 expected to meet again with the enemy in crossing a river which was
 both deep and rapid, but none appeared ; and the army, having passed
 over into *Armenia*, felt the same joy as if they had gained a port after
 a violent storm. The soldiers devoutly fell down prostrate and wor-
 shipped the land, and, rising up, embraced and wept over one ano-
 ther. Here many of them were less able to bear the plenty of every
 thing, than the hardships they had lately undergone : For, by over-
 charging their stomachs after faring so ill, numbers of them died of
 various disorders.

Antony, upon a review of his army, found that he had lost in this ex-
 pedition, twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse^p, of which
 more than the one half died of sickness. After raising the siege of
Præaspæ, he had marched three hundred miles in one and twenty days,
 during which time, he had fought eighteen times with the *Parthians*
 with advantage : But these victories were to no purpose ; for, not be-
 ing able to pursue the enemy after he had routed them, they remained
 imperfect ; which makes the historians reflect on the prejudice he re-
 ceived from the retreat of *Artabazes*, the *Armenian* King, whose troops
 were armed after the manner of the *Parthians*, and accustomed to fight
 with them. The *Parthians*, so many times overcome, could never
 have rallied, if these troops had been with him to pursue the enemy.

* *Idē* & bene valete, Romani, meritò vos victores gentium fama loquitur, qui Partho-
 rum tela fugistis. Flor. iv. 10.

^p *Vell. Pat.* says, the fourth part of his soldiers, a third of the servants of the army,
 and all his baggage.

Y. R. 718. All *Antony's* Captains, sensible of the injury done them by the *Armenian*, were desirous that *Antony* should punish his perfidy ; but, in the
 Bef. Chr. present condition of his army, he thought it more expedient to dissem-
 34- ble, and defer his vengeance till another time. The properest method
 417 Con. would have been to have taken up his winter quarters in *Armenia*, hav-
 ing no call any where else ; and he would have been at hand to take
 his revenge also upon the *Partians* ; but he had nothing so much in
 his thoughts as the meeting with *Cleopatra*. He led therefore his
 army through ice and snow in the winter season into *Syria*, and lost in
 so painful a march eight thousand more of his men^a. But the slow-
 ness with which they proceeded kept not pace with the eagerness of his
 desires ; and, as soon as he could with any decency, he left them, and
 went on before to a fortress called *Leucome*, upon the sea-coast, between
Berytus and *Sidon*. There waiting for the Queen of *Egypt*, he gave
 himself up to the excesses of eating and drinking ; and would fre-
 quently, in the middle of a feast, start from table, and run to the sea-
 side, to see whether he could not discover the vessels which were to
 convey to him his *Cleopatra*. At last she arrived, and brought with
 her cloaths and money for his troops. Though *Antony* had so little
 reason to be vain of his *Partian* expedition, he yet wrote to *Rome* in
 the style of a conqueror, disguising his losses, and magnifying his ad-
 vantages ; for which he well deserved the reproaches which the flatter-
 ers of *Augustus* charged him with, for calling his flight a victory, and
 representing himself as a conqueror for having escaped out of the
 hands of the enemy^b. However, though they were well informed at
Rome of the truth, the *Roman* vanity was concerned in supporting their
 General's accounts, and the Senate passed a decree of thanksgiving for
 so happy and glorious a success. *Antony* soon removed with *Cleopatra*
 to *Alexandria*.

Plut. Ant.
 Liv. Epit.
 132.

L. CORNIFICIUS, } Consuls.
 SEXTUS POMPEIUS,

Y. R. 718. *Antony* was no sooner arrived at *Alexandria*, than he received a mes-
 Bef. Chr. sage from *Sextus Pompey*, who had been obliged to quit *Sicily*, about the
 34- time that *Antony* was forced to leave *Partbia*. The first land he made
 417 Con.

^a It is probably this additional loss which makes *Florus* say that *Antony* brought back to *Syria* but one third of his legions. *Dio*, xlix. 410, says that *Antony* not only made no reproaches to the *Armenian* king, but courted him in order to get money and provisions from him ; and that, his troops not being able to continue their march in so cold a season, many of them were permitted to take up their winter quarters in *Armenia*. *Antony*, he adds, obtained this favour of the

King by his fair promises ; and his real intention was in the spring to lead them back into *Partbia*.

^b Hanc *Antonius* fugam suam, quia vivus exierat, victoriam vocabat. Vell. Pat. ii. 82. Incredibili mentis recordia, ferocior aliquanto factus est, quasi vicisset qui evaserat. *Florus* iv. 10.

^c *Sextus Pompeius*, this year's Consul, was descended of a distant branch of the *Pompeian* family.

with the 17 vessels remaining of his powerful fleet, was the promontory of *Lacinium*, in the southern part of *Italy*, near *Crotona*, where he is said to have acted the pirate, and to have taken out of the temple of *Juno Lacinia* offerings of inestimable value. From thence he sailed successively to the islands of *Corcyra*, *Céphalenia*, and *Lesbos*; and his first design was to pass the winter in this last at *Mitylene*, and wait for *Antony's* return. But there, hearing by common report that *Antony* was defeated, he began to entertain hopes of recovering the power he had lost, and of succeeding *Antony* in the dominion of the East, if he was dead; or of dividing the provinces with him, if he returned in disgrace. The example of *Labienus*, who, with a name much less respected, had overrun all *Asia*, greatly heightened these hopes. He therefore took again the military robe and ensigns of command, refitted his little navy, exercised his rowers, and insisted into his service all the vagabonds that presented themselves; and a great number of his own soldiers, who were destitute of all resource, came flocking to him. The necessity he was under of defending himself against *Octavius*, and the desire of assisting *Antony*, were the pretences of his conduct. His deputies attended upon *Antony*, as soon as he was returned to *Alexandria*: And, at the same time, he privately dispatched others towards the Princes of *Thrace* and *Pontus*, and even to the King of *Parthia*, being resolved to retire to the Court of one of these Princes, in case *Antony's* answer was not favourable. *Antony*, who saw through his designs, had already given orders to *M. Titius*, who commanded in those parts, to oppose him with all his forces, at land and sea, if he pretended to make any armament; but to conduct him honourably to *Alexandria*, if he submitted in a peaceable manner. He therefore made no other answer to *Sextus's* deputies, than that the orders he had given *Titius* would soon discover what were the real sentiments of him who sent them. While they were earnestly pleading for their master, *Pompey's* envoys to the *Parthian* King were taken by *Antony's* officers, and brought to *Alexandria*. *Sextus's* deputies were greatly disturbed at this unfortunate incident, yet they offered to excuse him by observing that it was not surprising that a young man, reduced to the last extremity, and who had no security of *Antony's* favour, should seek a safe retreat where he could find it: But that, had he been well assured of *Antony's* kindness towards him, he would certainly have had recourse to no one else.

Pompey, in the mean time, had passed over into *Asia*, where *Furnius*, seeing him behave in a peaceable manner, and having no orders from *Antony*, gave him no trouble: But when *Pompey* began to raise troops, and act the independent chief, *Furnius* immediately invited *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood, and *Amyntas*, King of the *Galatians*, to come to his assistance. It was soon found that *Pompey* had laid a scheme for making *Domitius* his prisoner,

Y. R. 718. soner, and had corrupted one of his domestics, who was to deliver him
 Bcf. Chr. up. This domestic of *Demitius* was discovered, and put to death by the
 34- sentence of a Council of war, and *Sextus*, on his side, revenged himself
 417 Con. on *Theodorus*, one of his freedmen, whom alone he had made privy to
 this plot, and whom he therefore suspected to have revealed it. This
 design not succeeding, he lost all hopes of deceiving *Furnius*, but he
 seized upon the town of *Lampsacus*, and, by bribes, engaged the citizens
 to declare for him; so that, seeing himself two hundred horse and
 three legions strong, he went and assaulted *Cyzicus* by sea and land,
 but was both ways repulsed by *Antony's* troops in the town, assisted by
 the gladiators kept there for the entertainment of the public. He
 therefore returned to a place called the *port of the Achæans*, to provide
 himself in corn; whither *Furnius* followed him, without offering to
 fight; and, encamping always as near him as he could with a nume-
 rous cavalry, he hindered him from foraging the country, or besieging
 towns. *Pompey*, however, had the boldness to assault his camp in
 front with one part of his forces, while the rest, taking a compass,
 were ordered to fall on behind; and, while *Furnius* brought all his men
 to the open attack, his camp was forced by those who attacked it on
 the opposite side, and the whole army put to the rout. All *Furnius's*
 men fled through the plains of *Scammanaria*, and, not being able to run
 very fast, because the ground was moistened by the rain, there was
 made a great slaughter of them: Those who saved themselves escaped
 into places of security, being too weak to make a stand, till such time
 as new recruits were come from *Mysia*, *Propontis*, and other places.
 This victory gained him great reputation, and the country people,
 ruined with taxes, willingly joined him; and with their assistance he
 took *Nicea*, *Chalcedon*, and some other less important places. But still,
 wanting horse, he was often distressed in going to gather in corn and
 forage: Wherefore, upon intelligence that a body of *Italian* horse were
 coming to *Antony*, which *Octavia*, who wintered at *Athens*, sent him,
 he dispatched some of his agents to corrupt them: But these sub-
 orners were seized by the commander of this body of horse, who dis-
 tributed the money among his troopers.

In the beginning of spring, there arrived at *Proconesus* the seventy
 ships returned by *Octavius* to *Antony*, and, a little after, *Titius* brought
 thither from *Syria* sixty ships more, with a considerable army. *Pom-
 pey* was sensible that his ships cou'd serve him no longer; he therefore
 burnt them, and incorporated his rowers and sailors into his land-
 forces. But it was now madness to make any resistance either at land
 or sea; and, having disgusted his friends by his obstinacy, he saw him-
 self abandoned by *Cassius of Parma*, *Nasidius*, *Saturninus*, *Thermus*,
Antistius, and all the most considerable of his father's friends. *Fan-
 nius*, for whom he had the greatest value, and *Lilo*, his father-in-law,
 left him also; and, making their own composition, submitted to *An-
 tony*.

Antony. Being thus deserted, he advanced through the midland of *Bitby-*
nia, with a design, it was thought, of getting into *Armenia*. *Furnius*,
Titius, and *Amyntas*, who had now joined their forces, having notice
that to this intent he had quitted his camp by night, followed him,
and made such haste, that they overtook him before night, and en-
camped separately round him, without intrenching themselves; be-
cause it was late, and their men were tired with their march. *Pompey*,
seeing them in this posture, drew out three thousand men, and char-
ged them in the dark so briskly, that, after killing great numbers of
them, he forced most of the rest to betake themselves to flight half
naked: So that, if he had fallen on with all his forces, or had but gi-
ven them chace, he might have completed his victory; but he reaped
no other fruit from so fair an opportunity, but the being enabled for a
time to continue his march.

The enemy, having rallied, followed close at his heels, and very
forely harrassed him; so that, being reduced by want of provisions,
he desired a conference with *Furnius*, who had been his father's friend,
and who was, by his dignity and merit, the most considerable of the
three Commanders; and to that purpose went to the bank of a river
that ran between them. He told him, that, having sent deputies to
Antony, and having in the mean time no provisions, and no friends who
could furnish him with any, he had been forced to do what he had
done: "But, for your part, *Furnius*, added he, if it be by *Antony's* or-
ders you make war upon me, he is ill advised, not foreseeing a war
over his own head; but, if it be of your own motion, I beseech you
to expect the return of my deputies, or, if you chuse it rather, I shall
put myself into your hands, (for in you I can confide) provided
you promise me, upon your honour, to deliver me in safety to *Antony*." To which *Furnius* answered, "that, if he had any intention
of submitting to *Antony*, he ought in person to have gone to him at
first, or have staid for his answer at *Mitylene*. But *Pompey*," continued
he, "you designed war, and have done all that you could to
kindle one; for why should you deny things which we certainly
know? Yet, if you now repent, consider that there are three of us
here who command for *Antony*, and do not create any jealousy among
us, but deliver yourself up to *Titius*, who only has a commission con-
cerning you. You may require of him the same security you do of
me; for his orders are, if you obstinately hold out, to kill you; but,
if you submit, to send you honourably to *Antony*." *Pompey's* pride
would not allow him to deliver himself up to a man of low extraction,
who owed him the greatest obligations for having preserved his life,
and, by the treaty of *Misenum*, restored him to his country, and who
yet had accepted the commission of making war upon him. He had
also probably good reason to suspect *Titius's* honour, or even *Antony's*
intentions, who had commissioned such a person to conduct him to

Alex-

V. R. 712.
Bef. Chr.
34.
417 Conf.

Y. R. 718. *Alexandria*. He therefore offered himself once more to *Furnius*, and
 Bef. Chr. begged him to receive him; and, when that could not be obtained, he
 417³⁴ Conf. desired that, at least, he might yield himself into *Amyntas's* hands.
 But, *Furnius* telling him that *Amyntas* would not do an action which
 would prove injurious to *Titius*, who had *Antony's* commission for this
 purpose, the conference ended. *Antony's* Lieutenants did not doubt
 but that *Pompey*, the next morning, would be forced, by the want of
 provisions, to yield himself to *Titius*; but, as soon as it was night, he
 caused fires to be kindled, and gave orders to the trumpets to sound at
 every watch of the night, according to custom; and he himself, with-
 out any noise, went out of his camp with the flower of his forces, with-
 out making any one privy to his design, which was to return to the
 sea, and burn *Titius's* fleet. And this, in all probability, he would
 have effected, if *Scarrus* had not deserted to the enemy, and given them
 an account of his march, and the way he took. *Amyntas* presently fol-
 lowed him, with 1500 horse, and soon overtook the fugitive, who
 had no cavalry with him. As soon as he appeared, all *Pompey's* men
 forsook him; and this unfortunate Commander was forced to surren-
 der. As soon as *Antony* knew that he was taken, he sent an order, it
 was said, to have him killed; but, afterwards relenting, sent a counter
 order, which was carried with such expedition, that it arrived first; so
 Appian, p. 747. that, the order which condemned *Sextus* coming to hand last, *Titius* con-
 strued it, or chose to construe it, as the last resolution of *Antony*, and
 put it in execution. It was also reported, according to *Appian*, that
Plancus, Governor of *Syria*, who had *Antony's* seal, gave the order;
 apprehending that *Pompey* might raise some new disturbance between
Octavius and *Antony*, or even between *Antony* and the Queen of *Egypt*,
 who is said to have had a very great regard for the name of *Pompey*.
 But all this only proves that *Antony* was ashamed of the deed, and was
 glad by these rumours to throw the odium of it upon others. The
 people of *Rome* entertained such a detestation of *Titius's* ingratitude,
 that, when he returned to the city, and was celebrating games in *Pom-
 pey's* theatre, he was loaded with imprecations, and driven from the
Circus. Thus died *Sextus Pompeius*, in the fortieth year of his age, af-
 ter a life of perpetual warfare and danger. He owed entirely to the
 reputation of his father both his honours and misfortunes. He had
 more courage than prudence, and more ambition than art and good
 conduct. Chief of robbers, and afterwards of pirates: Rullic and
 impolite in his speech and behaviour, and, governed by his slaves and
 freedmen¹, he furnished ample subject of reproach to the writers, who
 wanted to make their court to the Triumvirs. What enabled him to

¹ Hic adolescens erat studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, comitacione celer, fide patri dissimillimus, libertorum suorum libertus, servorumque ser-
 va; speciosis invidens, ut pareret humillimis. Vell. Pat. 73.

hold out so long against *Octavius* was the desperate fortune of his followers, who were all fugitives, or men devoted to death by proscriptions, who had no resource but in their valour. The greatest blot in his life is the murder of *Statius Murcus*, who, after the battle of *Philippi*, joined him with a very considerable fleet, and whom he is said to have sacrificed to the jealousy of *Menas* and *Mencrates*, his freedmen and Admirals^a.

Octavius, on the death of *Pompey*, celebrated horse-races and other games in *Rome*, and caused the same honour to be decreed to *Antony*, which he had received himself after the conquest of *Sicily*. According to *Dio*, he placed his chariot before the *Rostra* in the *Forum*, and his statue in the temple of *Concord*, and he was allowed to feast there with his wife and family. *Antony* spent the year at *Alexandria* with *Cleopatra*, who was continually importuning him to add new territories to her dominions. According to *Josephus*, she demanded all *Arabia* and *Judæa*, and would have engaged him to kill *Malchus* and *Herod*, the Kings of these two countries. And *Antony*, though he did not consent to all she requested, was yet so profuse of his grants to her, that he shocked the *Roman* people, who loudly expressed their dissatisfaction with his conduct. This year *Octavius*, to keep his troops in exercise, sent them, under the command of his Lieutenants, into *Illyricum*, against the *Dalmatii*, the *Japodes*, the *Pannonii*, and other barbarous nations of those parts: And, that he might refute the suspicions entertained concerning his valour, he himself, it is said, appeared sometimes at the head of his army, and behaved very gallantly, having been twice wounded, and often in danger of his life. This war continued till he found it necessary to break with his colleague, and commence hostilities with him.

^a Statium autem Murcum, qui adventu suo classisque celeberrimæ vires ejus duplicaverat, infimulatum falsis criminationibus, quia talem virum collegam officii Menas & Mencrates fastidierunt, Pompeius in Siciliâ interfecerat. *Vell. Pat. 77.*

CHAP. VI.

ANTONY makes himself Master of Armenia, and puts the King in chains. His alliance with the King of the Medes. His extravagant deportment at Alexandria. He refuses to receive OCTAVIA, and orders her back to Rome. AGRIPPA's Edileship.

M. ANTONIUS II. } Consuls.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO, }

ANTONY was no sooner returned with his forces into *Syria*, than the two Monarchs of the *Medes* and *Parthians*, whom he had attacked, fell out about the division of the *Roman* spoils, and the King of the *Medes* suspected *Pbraates* of having a design upon his kingdom. He, therefore,

Y. R. 19. therefore, by the mediation of *Polemon*, King of *Cilicia*, and a part of
 B. Ch. *Pontus*, entered into a negociation with *Antony* and made him an offer of
 415 Conf all his forces against the *Parthians*. *Polemon*, who followed *Antony* to
 ——— *Alexandria*, easily determined him to accept of the proffered alliance, as
 it would furnish him with a fair opportunity, not only of repairing his
 disgrace by the destruction of the *Parthian* empire, but of revenging
 himself of the perfidious *Armenian*. Having, therefore, made his pre-
 parations, he set out from *Alexandria* in the beginning of the spring of
 the present year, and marched his army directly towards *Armenia**, and,
 not thinking it unlawful or dishonourable to use perfidy against the per-
 fidious, he sent ambassadors to *Artabazes* with an offer of his friendship
 and his alliance by the marriage of his son with a daughter of the *Ar-
 menian*, inviting him to come and join him. The King, conscious of
 his guilt, and who had entered at that time into a negociation with *Oc-
 tavius*, put no confidence in *Antony's* false caresses. He excused himself
 as well as he could, and was determined to avoid, if possible, putting him-
 self in the hands of one whom he had so grievously offended. But *An-
 tony*, by advancing toward *Artaxata*, the capital of *Armenia*, with all his
 forces, gave a weight to his invitation by the terror of his arms: And
 Dio, liz. p. *Artabazes* thought proper to go to the *Roman* camp. *Antony* had him in-
 415- stantly arrested, pretending that his view was no other, than to oblige
 him to lend him his treasures, which were kept in several fortresses,
 which the Commanders would never give up, unless it was to purchase
 the liberty of their King. *Artabazes* consented to be carried round to
 all these castles, and gave his orders to the several Commanders con-
 formable to *Antony's* desire: But none of them obeyed; and the Gran-
 dees, seeing their Monarch in the power of the *Romans*, proclaimed his
 eldest son, *Artaxias*, King in his stead. Upon this *Antony*, quitting the
 mask, put, without any ceremony, the Monarch in chains; but they
 were of silver, to shew his great respect for the dignity of King. Thus
 Dio, ibid. a war was declared, but it was not of long duration. *Artaxias*, being en-
 Jos. l. i. B. tirely defeated in the first battle, fled into *Parthia*, leaving the king-
 c. 13. dom and all his family in the power of *Antony*. Such was the origin of
 Ant. l. xv. the troubles which shook, for a long time, *Armenia*, successively in-
 c. 5. vaded by two powerful empires, betwixt which it was situated, without
 Tacit. An. xi 3.

* *Cleopatra* accompanied him according
 to *Josephus*, l. xv. c. 5, as far as the *Euphrates*, whence, passing through *Apamea*
 and *Damascus*, she visited *Judea*, where she
 was magnificently received by *Herod*, to
 whom she farmed out the part of *Arabia* and
 of the country of *Jericho*, which had been
 lately given her. The same author adds,
 that she made him an offer of her person
 through incontinence, or with an insidious
 view to ruin him. The cautious and cir-
 cumspect politician, however, did not list-

ten to her solicitations, and entertained
 some thoughts of making away with her,
 for the ill services she had done him with
Antony; but, his friends being all against
 such an attempt, he got rid of her as soon as
 he could, loading her with presents, and
 conducting her with great respect as far as
Pelusium. Yet was he so apprehensive of her
 malice, that he immediately strongly forti-
 fied the castle of *Messada*, and stored it with
 arms for 12,000 men, as a place of refuge
 in case of need.

remain-

remaining fixed under the power of either. *Antony* thought he had reaped glory enough for one year by the conquest of *Armenia*, where, having left troops sufficient to preserve it, and confirmed his alliance with the *Median* monarch, he returned to *Alexandria*. There he entered in a triumphal car with his captives and spoils, and made an homage of them to *Cleopatra*. *Artabazes* and all his family, bound in chains of gold, were brought before the Queen, seated on a throne of gold, under an alcove of silver, surrounded by all her Court and a multitude of people. *Antony's* intention was, that his prisoners should prostrate themselves before her, and implore her mercy as their Sovereign: But *Artabazes*, though in this deplorable condition, remembered that he was the son of the great King *Tigranes*, and refused either to kneel to her, or give her the title of Queen; which behaviour cost him his liberty, and afterwards his life. He was sent to prison, and, after the battle of *Actium*, orders were given to put him to death. Nothing in all *Antony's* conduct gave greater offence at *Rome* than his triumph at *Alexandria*. It seemed intolerable, that a *Roman* General should impart such a peculiar honour to a foreign nation, and that *Rome* should be deprived of the glory of insulting over vanquished Kings, which, for so many years, she had enjoyed.

Y. R. 719.
Bef. Chr.
33.
418 Conf.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS II. } Consuls.
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS,

Antony, still taken up with the chimerical project of conquering *Parthia*, left *Alexandria* in the beginning of this year, and went as far as *Armenia*, but he did not pass the *Araxes*. There he was met by the *Median* Monarch, and they made a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive: The *Median* was to furnish him with forces against *Octavius*, in case of a rupture between him and *Antony*; and *Antony* was to furnish his ally with forces against the *Parthian*. The *Roman* General transferred to the *Median* a part of *Armenia*; and received of him the ensigns taken two years before, when *Statianus* was killed and the engines destroyed; together with *Jotape*, his daughter, then very young, who was to be married to *Alexander*, his eldest son by *Cleopatra*, whom he had already declared King of *Armenia*: Yet we are told that he disposed of the lesser *Armenia* to *Polemon*, who had negotiated the alliance between him and the *Median* Monarch.

Y. R. 720.
Bef. Chr.
32.
419 Conf.
Dio, lib.
xlix. 417,
418.

Octavia had resided in *Rome* ever since *Antony's* first expedition into *Parthia*, and had not found an opportunity of joining him. *Alexandria*, or its neighbourhood, was not a proper place; but seeing him about to set out a second time against the *Parthians*, she obtained leave of her brother to go and visit him. *Octavius* consented, as most authors agree, with a view of making *Antony* more odious by the ill usage he well knew his sister would meet with from him. As soon as she arrived at *Athens*, she received letters from *Antony*, ordering her not to proceed any further; alledging, for his excuse, the war he was preparing to carry into

^{V.R. 722.} *Partbia*. Upon receiving this message, she sent, by *Niger*, a friend of
^{1. of Chr.} *Antony's*, a letter to acquaint him, that she had brought with her two
^{32.}
⁴¹⁹ *Conf.* thousand choice men well armed, with cloaths for his troops and presents for the chief officers of his army : And she desired to know how she must dispose of them. *Cleopatra*, upon the first account of *Octavia's* leaving *Rome*, had made use of every artifice to prevent her meeting with *Antony*. She lost her stomach, fell sick, and was continually in tears : And her creatures were very eloquent in exaggerating to *Antony* her anguish, and the imminent danger she was in. They represented to him that his marriage with *Octavia* was a political alliance on account of her brother, and that she enjoyed by it the name and honour of his spouse ; whereas *Cleopatra*, the Queen of so great a kingdom, did not disdain to pass for his mistress, provided she could have the happiness of enjoying his presence ; but, deprived of that, her death was inevitable ; so ardent was her love to him. *Antony* could not consent to kill *Cleopatra*, and the answer to *Octavia* was to send him what she had brought, and return to *Rome*. He was then in *Syria*, and he hurried away to the interview with the King of *Media*, and, after making the agreement with him just mentioned, he returned to *Alexandria*.

Here he abandoned himself to all the extravagancies imaginable : While *Octavia* at *Rome* continued to behave with the greatest dignity ; bestowing the greatest marks of affection on his children by *Fulvia*, and testifying the greatest regard for all his friends. He assembled the people of *Alexandria* in the Gymnasium, where there was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself and the other for *Cleopatra*. There *Antony*, dressed like *Bacchus**, and *Cleopatra*, like *Isis*, were seated ; and, in the presence of all the people, he declared her his lawful wife, and Queen of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyprus*, and *Celo-Syria*, associating with her *Cæsario*, whom he styled the true and lawful son of *Julius Cæsar*. To the children he had by her he gave the title of *Kings of Kings* ; and, for their dominions, to *Alexander*, the eldest, he allotted *Armenia*, *Media*, and *Partbia*, which he pretended he would conquer in a little time : To *Ptolemy*, the younger, *Phœnicia*, *Upper Syria*, and *Cilicia* : And immediately the two boys were produced, clothed in the royal robes of their respective kingdoms ; *Alexander*, in a *Medish* dress, with a *Tiara* on his head ; and *Ptolemy*, with the robes which were worn by the successors of *Alexander*, the slippers, military coat, and cap covered with a diadem. In this pompous dress they paid their respects to *Antony* and *Cleopatra* ; after which they took their seats at their feet, being each attended with a guard, the one of *Armenians*, and the

* Crescente indies & amoris in Cleopatram incendio, et vitiorum, quæ semper facultatibus licentiaque et assentationibus augeatur, magnitudine, bellum Patrie inferre statuit : Cum ante novum se Liberum patrem

appellari jussisset, cum redimitus hederis, coronâque velatus aureâ, et thyrsum tenens, cothurnisque succinctus, curru velut Liber pater vestitus esset Alexandriz. *Vell. Pat. ii.* 82.

other of *Macedonians*. This ridiculous scene was followed by the most extravagant luxury. *Antony* suffered himself to be carried away with new pleasures and delights by *Cleopatra*, and the delicacy and profuseness of their entertainments still daily increased, till, at last, the Queen promised him, upon a wager, to give him one to the value of ten millions of sesterces. On this occasion a golden cup was served up, we are told, with a very strong dissolving liquor, in which *Cleopatra* put one of her pendants, which was a pearl of inestimable value, and immediately drank it off. *Plancus*, who was to judge of the wager, immediately secured the other pendant, which she was then taking off, giving it as his judgment, that she had already won the wager. The remaining pearl, after the death of *Cleopatra*, came into the hands of *Cæsar*, who caused it to be cut asunder, and made into two pendants for the image of *Venus*, which he thought gloriously adorned with the one half of this prodigal Queen's supper.

While *Antony* was thus degrading and bringing himself into general contempt, *Octavius's* administration gained him the respect and esteem of all orders of men. His arms were employed against the enemies of the State, and, out of their spoils, he adorned *Rome*. It was at this time he built a magnificent portico, to which he gave the name of his sister *Octavia*, and where he placed afterwards a numerous library. No year in the *Roman* annals was more famous for all the arts of peace. *Agrippa*, though he had been honoured with the consulship, did not think it a disgrace to accept the *edileship*, an office which of late was fallen into great discredit, as it required great expences, and was no longer a step to the greater magistracies, by the favour of the people, which it procured. He repaired the ancient aqueducts almost fallen to ruin, and made a new one, which he called the *Julian*, fifteen miles long. For the more commodious distribution of these waters, he made seven hundred water-places, one hundred and five fountains, and one hundred and thirty reservoirs. All these works were richly ornamented with three hundred statues of marble or brass, and four hundred marble columns. He adorned also the Circus with statues of dolphins, and what they called eggs, being large masses formed in the shape of an egg, and placed upon the pillars next the end of the Circus, round which the chariots were to turn. Such was *Agrippa's* passion for embellishing *Rome*, that he was desirous to draw all the statues and pictures out of private houses and gardens to dedicate them to public use. He pronounced a speech upon the subject, which was still extant in the time of *Pliny*[†], and which, that author says, was worthy of the first citizen of the Republic.

The common sewers, that stupendous work of the two *Tarquins*, had been greatly neglected. These, of consequence, were filled up with

[†] Exstat ejus oratio magnifica & maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis ; quod fieri satius fuisset, quam in villarum exilia pelli. *Plin.* xxxv. 4.

Y. R. 720. rubbish and choked up in several places. *Agrippa* made such a large
 Bef. Chr. collection of water, that it formed, as it were, seven torrents, which,
 32. being let in by the opening of the sewers, and running with rapidity,
 419 Conf. carried away all the dirt and filth; and, after this operation, he embarked himself upon the sewers which had been thus cleansed, and, by a subterraneous navigation, went from their entry to their opening in the *Tiber*. These great expences did not hinder him from entertaining the people in the most magnificent manner. Shews of all kinds, plays, combats of gladiators, courses in the Circus, and the *Trojan* game, were exhibited for fifty-nine days; during which time provisions were often distributed to the people, and a kind of lottery-tickets were thrown into the theatre, and those who brought them to him received their contents, which consisted of money, stuffs, and other moveables. An hundred and seventy baths were also kept open for the citizens, and served at his expence, during the whole year.

Thus *Agrippa* was no less serviceable to his Master by gaining over to him the affections of the *Romans*, and making them taste the long-interrupted sweets of peace, than by his military exploits.

C H A P. VII.

The rupture between ANTONY and OCTAVIUS: Their preparations for war. The decisive battle of Actium. ANTONY's land-forces submit with reluctance, and all the Kings and Provinces pay obeisance to the Conqueror. ANTONY's last efforts. His death: That of CLEOPATRA: And the settlement of the empire on OCTAVIUS.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, } Consuls.
 C. SOSIUS,

Y. R. 721. THESE two Consuls were *Antony's* friends, and *Dio* assures us,
 Bef. Chr. that he did not scruple to send to them from *Alexandria*, an ac-
 31. count of his late distribution of kingdoms and provinces in favour of
 420 Conf. *Cleopatra* and her children, to have it confirmed by the Senate: But it is hard to believe that he could expose himself in this manner, and, if he did it, he could not mean it otherwise than as a public insult upon *Octavius* and a declaration of war. The same historian says, that, though the Consuls were wise enough not to produce his letters, yet they had the boldness to harangue the Senate against *Octavius*, in his absence; and that *Sosius*, the fiercest of the two, would have proceeded to a decree against his interest, if he had not been stopped by the Tribune *Balbus*. *Octavius*, informed of this attack upon him, returned to the city, and appeared in the first assembly of the Senate, attended by a great number of his friends, armed with poniards under their robes. He took his seat between the two Consuls, and began by an open declaration of his

his conduct, and an artful apology for what was objected to it. Then he bitterly inveighed against *Antony* and *Sofius*, pretending that he could convict them of several attempts against the Republic, as well as against himself. He was heard with attention, but without the least mark of approbation; and yet this Senate was almost entirely formed by himself; he had endeavoured by every method to recommend himself to it and it was entirely in his power. Observing that his speech had not the success he expected, he appointed another meeting, in which he promised to read such pieces as would put *Antony's* designs in their full and proper light.

Y. R. 721.
Bef. Chr.
31.
420 Cont.

The Consuls did not think proper to wait for that day: They privately left *Rome* to join *Antony*, attended by several of the Senators; and, *Octavius* having declared that all *Antony's* relations and friends were at liberty to follow the example, all those in his interest left *Italy*. *Pellio*, who had hitherto acted as a friend to *Antony*, and was esteemed of his party, staid behind; but refused to join *Octavius* in any measures against his General: And, when pressed to it by *Octavius*, he answered: *The services I have done to Antony are greater than the favours I have received from him; but these are better known. I will therefore remain neuter, and become the prey of the Conqueror.*

The two Chiefs kept now no longer any measures with one another. *Octavius*, provoked at the outrageous treatment of his sister, made a report to the Senate of all *Antony's* scandalous behaviour. He said, that he was become a slave to a foreign Queen, and had sacrificed to her the provinces of the Empire, and that he had dishonoured the *Roman* name by his faithless and cruel treatment of the King of *Armenia* and his whole family: He reproached him also with the death of *Sextus Pompey*, and, in fine, he grievously complained of the affront offered by *Antony's* unjust and indecent behaviour towards his sister, and by his acknowledging *Cleopatra's* son *Cæsario* for the lawful son of *Julius Cæsar**. *Antony*, on his side, sent a bill of divorce immediately to *Octavia*, ordered her to leave his house in *Rome*, and, in his letters to *Octavius*, declared that he had been married to *Cleopatra* these nine years, and, consequently, that his children by her were his lawful children: And that *Cæsario* had been owned by *Cæsar*, which *Matius* and *Oppius* could attest. In answer to what *Octavius* had spoken and written against *Antony's* love for *Cleopatra*, and the prodigality of his feasts, he reproached him with the famous feast where he and his guests represented so many deities; with his preposterous match with *Livia*, his infamous divorce of *Scribonia*, and with the indecent familiarity in which he lived with several *Roman Ladies*: He even proceeded to attack *Octavius's* birth, his honour, and personal conduct, accusing him of cowardice in the battles of *Mutina*

* Some historians tell us, that *Cæsario* was acknowledged as the son of *Julius Cæsar* by the three Triumvirs; a fact, which is in itself utterly improbable, and which is disproved by this complaint of *Octavius*.

Y. R. 711. and *Philippi*. In fine, he sent formal complaints to the Senate, that *Octavius* had, contrary to all right, put himself in possession of all *Sicily*,
 B. 7. Ch. 41. and the provinces governed by *Lepidus*, whom he had unjustly and barbarously deposed: That he had not sent him back the whole number of ships lent him for his expedition against *Pompey*: And that he had parcelled out all *Italy* to his own soldiers, without giving *Antony's* their proper share: And, in some of these public letters, in order to regain the affections of the people, he declared his resolution to abdicate the triumvirship, as a magistracy too powerful and absolute in a republican State. *Octavius* answered that he was ready to do the same, and invited *Antony* to *Rome* to make good his word: And, as to the other articles, he made answer: "That *Lepidus's* conduct had obliged him to remove
 " him; that *Antony* should have a share in *Sicily* and *Africa*, when *Antony*
 " had shared with him *Armenia*; and, as for *Antony's* soldiers, that it
 " was not likely they would value a few pitiful lands in *Italy*, after they
 " had conquered all *Media* and the empire of the *Partians*, in following their brave Commander." *Antony* was so enraged at this jeer, that he ordered *Canidius*, to whom he had given the command of his land-forces, to march, without intermission, with sixteen legions, to *Ephesus*, which he appointed the general rendezvous of all his forces: And thither he soon repaired with *Cleopatra*. Here they were met by their friends, who had left *Italy* to join them. *Domitius* was very earnest to engage him to send *Cleopatra* back to *Egypt*, till the war was ended; and *Antony* was inclined to follow this wholesome advice; but she, fearing lest *Octavia* should take advantage of her absence, and make her peace, by large presents gained *Canidius* to represent to *Antony* the many inconveniencies her departure would occasion; particularly the depriving him of the assistance of the *Egyptians*, who made a great part of his navy. This Queen is said to have brought with her two hundred vessels with 20,000 talents, and provisions for all his forces. These counsels and her own cunning insinuations prevailed, and *Antony* consented to her stay. Left he should, however, be tempted again to give ear to *Domitius* and his true friends, she carried him over into the island of *Samos*, where, while the preparations were going on at *Ephesus*, she plunged him into all the pleasures and diversions that could be invented. Never, says *Plutarch*, were any man's cares so pleasantly divided as *Antony's*. On one side all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* sea, and from *Armenia* and *Illyricum*, had orders to send arms, provisions, and soldiers to *Ephesus*; on the other all the comedians, dancers, musicians, and buffoons were obliged to repair to *Samos*: And, while the whole universe was in commotion, and many parts of it in great misery and desolation, joy and all kind of pleasure reigned in this island. Every city of *Antony's* empire had a share in his sacrifices, and the Kings who accompanied him contended who should make the noblest entertainment, so that it gave occasion to one to ask, "What rejoicings will
 " those

“ those people make for a victory, who make such magnificent treats
 “ before a dangerous war.”

From *Samos*, *Antony* and *Cleopatra* crossed over to *Athens*, where the Queen, amidst the usual amusements, was intent upon another object. She was jealous of the honours which *Octavia* had received in that city, and, by flattering that vain people, obtained a decree comprehending all kinds of honours, beyond what had been offered to any mortal: And *Antony*, in quality of a citizen of *Athens*, was at the head of the deputation, and pronounced the speech, in the name of the city, on this occasion. Some authors tell us, that *Antony* meant this compliment as a solemn reparation for the injury he had done her in that city, by honouring *Octavia* as his lawful spouse.

Thus the whole year was spent, on *Antony's* side, between vain amusements and preparations for war, when, if he had carried over his forces immediately, he would have found his enemy very little prepared to receive him. *Octavius* found himself under the necessity of laying heavy taxes on the people of *Italy*. The citizens paid him a fourth part of their revenue, and the freedmen an eighth. This, with the dread of *Antony's* arrival with the formidable forces he had gathered, put them in a very ill humour, and he was often obliged to make use of his soldiers to get the money into his coffers: But *Antony* gave him time to quiet all disturbances, and to inspire them with a thorough contempt for a man, who was more taken up in filling the theatres of *Samos* with fiddlers and pipers, than in carrying on his military operations.

Antony began now to be despised by his own party. *Plancus*, the constant companion of his debauches and the servile flatterer of the Queen, deserted him at this time, with his nephew *Titius*, the same who had taken *Pompey* and put him to death*. These deserters, to recommend themselves to their new master, told all they knew of *Antony's* enormities, and, amongst other things, acquainted him with the contents of *Antony's* will. This will was deposited in the hands of the *Vestals*, who were forced to give it up; and *Octavius* made no scruple of reading it in the Senate, and publishing the contents among the people. *Antony* therein confirmed the declaration he had already made concerning Cæ-

* The virulence, with which *Paterculus* has treated *Plancus's* character, betrays him to have been his personal enemy:

Inter hunc apparatus belli, *Plancus* non iudicio rectè legendi, neque amore Reipublicæ, aut Cæsaris (quippe hæc semper impugnabat) sed morbo proditor, cum fuisset humillimus assentator Reginæ, et infra servos cliens; cum Antonii librarius, cum obscenissimarum rerum et auctor et minister, cum in omnia et omnibus venalis; cum cæruleatus et nudus, caputque redimitus arundine, et caudam trahens, genibus innixus

Glaucum saltasset in convivio; refrigeratus ab Antonio, ob manifestarum rapinarum indicia, transfugit ad Cæsarem: Et idem postea clementiam victoris pro sua virtute interpretabatur, discitans id probatum à Cæsare, cui ille ignoverat: Hunc mox avunculum *Titius* imitatus est. Haud absurde *Copinius*, vir prætorius, gravissimus, P. Siliî fœcer, cum recens transfuga multa ac nefanda *Plancus* absenti Antonio in Senatu objiceret: Multa inquit, mehercule fecit Antonius, pridie quam tu illum relinqueres. L. ii. 83.

Varro 2:

Y. R. 721. *scario*: He bequeathed immense legacies to his children by *Cleopatra*, and
 B. 1. Chr. ordered, "that, in case he died in *Rome*, his body, after the usual ce-
 51. remonies, should be transported to *Alexandria* and delivered to *Cleo-*
 423 Conf. *patra*, by whom he desired to be buried." To this a report was ad-
 ded, "that *Antony* designed to give *Rome* to *Cleopatra*, and to trans-
 fer the seat of the Empire to *Alexandria*."

Antony's friends in *Italy*, sensible how much the interest of the whole party was hurt by *Cleopatra*, made a last effort to recall their Chief to a sense of honour, and engage him to act a more prudent part. *Geminus*, one of his zealous partisans, was sent upon this errand; but *Cleopatra*, suspecting that she was the object of his mission, affronted him upon all occasions. However, *Geminus* bore with all, waiting an audience of *Antony*, till, at last, being called upon in the middle of a feast to explain himself, he answered, "The affairs I came to treat about are not of a nature to be debated at table: But one thing there is that every body must be sensible of, whether merry or sober, which is, that affairs would go very well, if *Cleopatra* returned to *Egypt*." *Antony's* passion rose, but the Queen answered, very calmly, "You have done right, *Geminus*, to speak your secret without being put to the torture." *Geminus* made his escape as soon as possible, and was followed by many more, who could bear no longer the imperious demeanor of the Queen, and the insolence of her favourites^b. *Rome* rung with complaints against *Antony*: A slave to *Cleopatra*, he appeared to have no other will, than that of his Queen, who had the assurance to promise herself the Empire of *Rome*, and, when she would confirm any thing by oath, used to swear by the laws she would dictate in the Capitol^c. She had already a *Roman* guard, and her name was engraved upon the bucklers of the soldiers. But *Antony* himself seemed to have forgot that he was a *Roman*: He would often appear cloathed in the manner of the Eastern Princes, all glittering with purple and precious stones, a *Median* sabre by his side, a golden sceptre in his hand, and a diadem upon his head, and, thus accoutred, set himself upon a throne of gold^d. His tent in the camp was no longer called *prætorium*, but *the royal pavilion*: And in the same manner as *Cleopatra* assumed all the attributes of the god-

^b ——— Capitolio
 Regina dementes ruinas,
 Funus et imperio parabat,
 Contaminato cum grege turpium
 Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens
 Sperare, fortunæque duci
 Ebria. ——— *Hor. l. i. od. 37.*
^c Romanique ducis conjux Ægyptia tædæ
 Non bene sibi cadet; frustra erit illa mi-
 nata
 Servitara suo Capitolia nostra Canopo.
Ov. Met. l. xv.

^d Hæc mulier Ægyptia, ab ebrio impe-
 ratore, pretium libidinum Romanum Impe-
 rium petit: Et promisit *Antonius*. Igitur do-
 minationem parare nec tacite; sed Patriæ,
 nominis, togæ, fascium oblitus, totus in
 monstrum illud ut mente, ita animo quoque
 et cultu desciverat. Aureum in manu bacu-
 lum; ad latus acinaces; purpurea vestis in-
 gentibus obstricta gemmis; diadema aderat,
 ut Regina rex ipse frueretur. *Flor. lib. iv.*
 c. 11.

dels *Isis* in her pictures and statues, so *Antony* caused himself to be represented in brass and marble, or in painting with the symbols of *Osiris*.

Y. R. 721.
Bef. Chr.
31.
420 Conf.

Octavius was very industrious in bringing the *Roman* people and soldiers acquainted with these follies; and a decree passed to deprive *Antony* of the consulship which he was to hold the following year with *Octavius*, as also of the triumviral power; and war was declared, not against him, but against *Cleopatra*. The decree was so framed, that it left his partisans the liberty of saving themselves by abandoning their General, and made him more contemptible than if he and his adherents had been declared enemies to the Commonwealth. *Octavius* affected to say, "that *Antony* was no more himself, since *Cleopatra*, by her philtres, "had taken away the use of his reason: So that he was not to be esteemed as a person engaged in this war, which was only managed by " *Mardion*, her eunuch; and *Iras* and *Charmion*, her women." All *Antony's* followers were invited over with promises of rewards: And all *Italy* engaged itself by oath to serve *Octavius*. The city of *Bologna* alone asked and obtained liberty not to join in this oath, having been always under the patronage of the *Antonian* family.

The forces of the two Generals were now got together, and they were proportioned to the empire they contended for; one drawing all the East, and the other the West to his party. The ancient writers tell us, that *Antony's* army was composed of 100,000 foot and 12,000 horse, besides the auxiliary troops sent by the Kings in his alliance. *Bogud*, King of a part of *Libya*, *Tarcondimotus*, King of the higher *Cilicia*, *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus*, King of *Paphlagonia*, *Mitbridates*, of *Commagena*, and *Amyntas*, of *Galatia*, served in person in his army: And the King of the *Medes*, *Malchus* of *Arabia*, and *Polemon* of *Pontus*, sent him their contingents. His fleet amounted to 500 vessels, a great many of which had from eight to ten rows of oars. *Octavius* had 80,000 legionary troops with cavalry equal to that of *Antony*: But his fleet did not exceed 250 vessels, and they were much smaller than those of *Antony*, but better built and better manned with sailors and rowers, who had learned their business in the war against *Pompey*; whereas those of *Antony* were half empty, and their sailors and rowers, being most of them forced into the service, had never seen the sea.

Antony sailed, with his whole force, to *Corcyra*, in the autumn of this year; but, being informed that the enemy's vessels appeared upon the

* Hinc Augustus agens Italos in prælia
Cæsar,
Cum Patribus, Populoque, Penatibus et
magnis Dis.
Hinc ope barbarica, variisque Antonius armis.
Victor ab Auroræ populis et litore rubro,

Ægyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum
Bactra trahit; sequiturque nefas! Ægyptia
conjux. *Virg. Æn.* l. 8.

* *Antony* having recalled the troops he had lent this Monarch, the *Parthians* took the opportunity to make themselves masters of *Media*; and *Armenia* was likewise lost.

Y. R. 721. neighbouring coast, he supposed that *Octavius's* whole fleet was at sea, and
 B. of Chr. retired towards *Peloponnesus*. There he put his troops into winter-quar-
 31.
 420 Cons. ters, and spent that season himself at *Patrae*².

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS III. } Consuls.
 M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS. }

Y. R. 722. The two Generals were now in readiness for action. *Antony* brought
 B. of Chr. his fleet into the gulph of *Ambracia*, and *Octavius* assembled all his forces
 30.
 421 Cons. at *Brundisium* and the neighbouring ports. We are told, that *Octavius*
 Gulph of wrote to his competitor, *that, if he would approach at the head of his ar-*
 Arta. *my, he should have ports in Italy to land in without molestation; and he would*
draw his troops so far from the sea, that he should want no room for en-
camping, and putting his men in battalia. To make a return to this bra-
vado, Antony challenged Octavius to fight a single combat, or, if he pleased,

² *Atticus* died under the present consulship at the age of seventy-seven. He had been attacked with a fistula, for which finding no cure, he came to a resolution of starving himself to death: And though, after abstaining for two days, the fever left him, and he found himself better, yet he remained obstinate in his purpose, and was deaf to the entreaties of his relations and friends. He died altogether in character, as a true *Epictetan*, voluntarily sacrificing the remains of a languishing life, to purchase a deliverance from pain, which he deemed the sovereign evil. The difficulty of the times in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet he enjoyed in them, shewed that he was a perfect master of the principles of his sect, and knew how to secure *that chief good of an Epicurean life*, his private ease and safety. One would naturally imagine, that his union with *Cicero* and *Brutus*, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of course in the ruin of the proscription. But, as if he had foreseen such an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to *Antony*; and, in the time even of his disgrace when he was driven out of *Italy* and his affairs thought desperate, he did many eminent services to *Antony's* friends, and particularly to his wife and children. It must be likewise imputed to the same principle of *Atticus's* caution and regard to his safety, that, after so long and intimate a correspondence of letters with *Cicero*, on the most important transactions of that age, of which there are sixteen books of *Cicero's* still remaining, yet not a single letter of *Atticus's* was ever published: Which can hardly be

charged to any other cause, but his having withdrawn them from *Tiro*, after *Cicero's* death, and suppressed them with a singular care; lest, in that revolution of affairs, they should be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new masters. But his interest with the reigning powers was soon established upon a more solid foundation than that of his personal merit, by the marriage of his only daughter with *M. Agrippa*; which was first proposed and brought about by *Antony*. This introduced him into the friendship and familiarity of *Octavius*, whose minister and favourite *Agrippa* was; and *Vipsania Agrippina*, born of this marriage, when scarcely a year old, being promised to *Tiberius*, son-in-law to *Octavius*, and his successor, he became allied to the reigning family; and dignity was added to his quiet. It appears, that he was born with very good natural parts, which he cultivated to his old-age by perpetual study, and was particularly very learned in the *Roman* history, which gave him an occasion of obliging many families by making out their genealogies. He never formed any pretensions to the honours of the State, and made therefore no enemies, but, with great address and assiduity courted the favour of all the great men, however opposite were their views and interests; and he had the success which every man of parts will have; who, with such a pliant disposition, and so much moderation, joins the splendor of an affluent fortune. Such a one is in nobody's way, and is necessarily looked on by all as an useful acquaintance.

he would give him battle in the plains of Pharsalia, where Cæsar and Pompey had decided their differences. As soon as the fair season came on, Agrippa was detached, at the head of a numerous fleet, to reconnoitre the enemy and distress them. He made descents on the coasts of Greece, took by force Methona, a considerable town of Peloponnesus, defended by a good garrison; killed Bogud, King of Mauritania, and seized a large convoy of provisions coming from Syria and Egypt. At his return, Octavius carried over his whole army, and landed them at the Ceraunian mountains, whence they were ordered to march along the coast as far as the gulph of Ambracia. He then sailed at the head of his fleet to the promontory of Ælium, where he was very near surprising Antony, whose fleet lay there at anchor, but was in no state of defence. Antony, however, put his ships into a fighting posture, and, to deceive his enemy, armed all his rowers, suspending the oars in such a manner, as to make their blades appear on each side of the ship. Octavius durst not engage him in that narrow passage, and stood off to sea. The two armies were now encamped on each side of the gulph, and, for several months, while they remained in this posture, had several skirmishes.

In the mean time, Agrippa, at the head of a part of the fleet, took Tiry-na, Patræ, Leucas, and Corinth, to the great astonishment of Antony's army; which success caused many desertions. Amyntas, Dejotarus, and Domitius Abenobarbus went over to Octavius^b. To the latter of these Antony generously sent all his servants and equipage, which so sensibly touched Domitius, who was already sick, that he died partly of grief and vexation. These desertions are said to have greatly soured his temper, and to have made him so suspicious and cruel, that he began to distrust Cleopatra herself, and would eat nothing without a taster. Cleopatra ridiculed his precautions: And, to convince him how useless all his care was, she poisoned the flowers of a garland which adorned her head, and, when the company was full of mirth and gaiety, she proposed to steep them in wine and to drink them. Antony instantly snatched from her the garland, threw the flowers into his cup, and was just going to drink, when the Queen stopped his hand, telling him *that now it was evident he could have no guard against her address, were not her heart interested in his preservation*. He thus perceived how useless it was to guard against

^b Longè antequam dimicaretur, exploratissima Julianarum partium fuit victoria. Vigebat in hac parte miles atque Imperator; illa marcebant omnia: Hinc remiges firmissimi; illinc inopiâ affectissimi: Navium hic magnitudo modica, cum celeritate; adversa illa, specie terribilior: Hinc ad Antonium nemo, illinc ad Cæsarem quotidie aliqui transfugiebant. Denique in ore atque oculis Antonianæ classis per Agrippam Leu-

cas oppugnata, Patræ captæ, Corinthus occupata bis ante ultimum discrimen classis hostium superata. Rex Amyntas meliora et utiliora secutus; nam Dellius exempli sui tenax fuit et illo bello; virque clarissimus Cn. Domitius qui solus Antoniarum partium nunquam Reginam nisi nomine salutavit, maximo et præcipiti periculo transmisit ad Cæsarem. *Vell. Pat. ii. 84.*

Y. R. 711. the arts of a woman, who could so skilfully mingle the inevitable snares
 Bet. C. 11. of death among her pleasures.

50.
 422 Conf. The summer was now spent, and nothing decisive was done. The grand question in *Antony's* camp was, whether to trust all to a naval or land battle? *Canidius*, who commanded his legions, represented to him in the strongest manner, *that it would be contrary to all reason to put a victory to the hazard of the seas and winds, which they were certain of at land, by the valour and experience of their General, who to that day had kept up the title of invincible; and by the bravery of their soldiers, who had been tried in so many great dangers: That it would be no dishonour for him to leave the sea to CÆSAR, whose officers and soldiers, in so long and desperate a war with S. POMPEY, had become skilful in sea-affairs.* He also proposed, *that CLEOPATRA should go back to Egypt, whilst ANTONY marched into Macedonia, where he might determine the quarrel by a general battle, and where he would receive a powerful assistance from DICOMES, King of the Getæ.* *Antony* was much inclined to follow this advice; but *Cleopatra* biassed him the other way, and obliged him, against his will, to hazard his empire and life in a sea-fight, and this only that, in case of a defeat, she might escape with the greater ease¹. *Dio* pretends that she even advised him to march back all his troops to *Egypt*.

Antony, having taken this resolution to fight by sea, picked out of his numerous fleet one hundred and seventy of his best ships, which was all he could well man, and burnt the rest. These, with *Cleopatra's* sixty galleys, made two hundred and thirty; but, as they were larger and higher than the enemy's, he reckoned that advantage would infallibly give him the victory. He put on board these ships twenty thousand legionary soldiers and two thousand archers. While he was thus embarking his troops, a brave old soldier, all covered with scars, spoke to him aloud, *My General, why do you despise this good sword and this old arm, which all my wounds have not weakened; and put your confidence in a frail*

¹ If *Octavius* had great advantages over *Antony* in a sea-fight, I cannot think that he had less at land; and, certainly, the fatal consequences of a defeat at land were more immediate, than one at sea. The legions *Antony* carried over into the *East* were greatly diminished by his losses in the *Parthian* expedition, and they had lived the rest of the time at ease in a luxurious country: Whereas *Octavius* was really the General of the veterans, and could command as many as he saw necessary, or was able to maintain; he had kept them under continual duty, and inured his new levies to war in his expeditions against the people of *Dalmatia* and *Illyria*. The several towns taken by *Agrippa*, as it were in the sight of *Antony's*

army, shew that *Octavius's* officers and soldiers were as active and enterprising as *Antony's* were dejected and spiritless. Now, in case of a defeat at land, *Antony* would have found great difficulty to escape; his fleet, locked up in the gulph of *Ambracia*, was lost. Whereas, in a sea-fight, which he took care to begin but late in the day, he had an opportunity of making off to *Egypt*, where he had a sure retreat, and an army in the neighbourhood, with which he hoped, if not to retrieve his affairs, at least to make a stand, and, perhaps, some composition with his rival. He seems likewise, it may be observed, to have despaired, from the beginning, of bringing off his land army, in case of bad success at sea.

piece of wood. *Leave the water to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, people born and nursed up in that element; but leave us Romans to the firm land, where we may boldly meet death, and fall like men.* Antony answered nothing; only by the motion of his head he seemed to encourage him, though he himself was not well satisfied; for, when his officers proposed taking away the sails, he opposed it, alledging, *that he would have none of the enemy escape.* Octavius, on his side, was very sensible of the advantage his enemy gave him by offering battle at sea, and prepared every thing for it. But, notwithstanding that the two Generals were ready to engage, a violent storm prevented them for four days. On the fifth, which was the 2d of September^k, the two fleets advanced towards each other.

Antony ranged his before the mouth of the gulph of *Ambracia*, giving the command of the right wing to *Gellius Publicola*, the left to *Sosius*, and of the center to *M. Octavius* and *M. Jussius*. He reserved to himself the general inspection of all, and, before the engagement, he, in his galley, went about encouraging his men with the remembrance of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, telling them, *that the largeness of their vessels gave them an opportunity of fighting as firmly and with as much assurance as on dry land; and that this day, as he expected the empire of the world from their valour, so they might expect rewards answerable to so noble a conquest.* Octavius gave the command of his fleet to *Agrippa*, who had under him in the right *M. Lurius*, and *L. Arruntius* in the left. The Consul *Messala* probably commanded the center. As to Octavius himself, he kept no particular command, but, surrounded by a number of little boats to carry his orders, superintended the whole. The two land-armies, drawn up on the two sides of the gulph, were simple spectators of the battle, and encouraged their friends; the one was commanded by *Canidius*, the other by *Statilius Taurus*. Antony had recommended to his officers to keep as near the shore as possible, and to consider their vessels as so many citadels designed to sustain the assault of a number of besiegers: And they staid in this situation till noon; Octavius, keeping at a mile's distance, being sensible that, while the enemy's fleet was in that position, he could avail himself but very little of the nimbleness of his ships, and the skill of his mariners, which were his chief advantages. About noon, a gale springing up, Antony's left wing, impatient to begin the battle, moved forwards; and Octavius, to draw them farther from the shore, made his right wing fall still farther back. The battle began on both sides with great courage and bravery, and so continued for a long time, till, *Agrippa* stretching out his left wing in order to surround the enemy, *Publicola*, who commanded Antony's right wing, was obliged to do the same; and, in spreading out his vessels, he was separated

^k The beginning of Octavius's reign was reckoned from this date by many authors. Vid. *Scal. de Emend. temp. p. 453.* and *Petav. Deß. temp. l. x. c. 66.*

gradually

Y. R. 722. gradually from the center, which began to be put in disorder. The
 Bet Chr. advantage was not determined on either side, according to all the an-
 421 Conf. cient historians, when *Cleopatra*, wearied with expectation and overcome
 with fear, unexpectedly tacked about, and fled towards *Peloponnesus*
 with her sixty sail: And, what is still more surprising, *Antony* himself,
 now regardless of his honour, fled precipitately after, and abandoned
 his men who so generously exposed their lives for his interest.
 Having reached *Cleopatra's* galley, he went into it, and sat a long time
 in a melancholy posture, without desiring to see the Queen, though he
 had followed her, says *Plutarch*, without any apparent reason but the
 thoughts of her absence.

The battle, notwithstanding, continued with great obstinacy till five
 in the evening, when *Antony's* forces were partly constrained to submit
 by the great conduct of *Agrippa*, and partly persuaded by the obliging
 promises of *Octavius* ¹.

The Conqueror's first care was to send away *Mecenas* with a squa-
 dron in pursuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; but they had got so much the
 advantage of him, that he soon returned from the chase ², and was
 then dispatched to *Rome* to keep all quiet in *Italy*, in quality of *Prefect*.
Antony's land-army could not be persuaded, at first, that they were aban-
 doned by their General, and were in expectation of seeing him every
 moment. In this confidence they held out seven days, paying no re-
 gard to *Octavius's* solicitations, and began to march towards *Asia*
 through *Macedonia*, till, at last, being deserted by the allies, who march-
 ed home, and also by their Commander *Canidius*, and by many of their
 chief officers, they yielded to necessity, and accepted the conditions of-

¹ Ubi initum certamen est omnia in al-
 tera parte fuere, Dux, remiges, milites; in
 altera nihil præter milites: prima occupat
 fugam Cleopatra. Antonius fugientis Re-
 giræ, quam pugnantis militis sui, comes
 esse maluit. Et Imperator qui in desertores
 sævire debuerat, desertor exercitus sui fac-
 tus est. Illis etiam detracto capite in lon-
 gum fortissimè pugnandi duravit constantia;
 et desperatâ victoriâ, in mortem dimicaba-
 tur. Cæsar, quos ferro poterat interimere,
 verbis mulcere cupiens, clamitansque, et
 ostendens fugiße Antonium, quærebat pro
 quo et cum quo pugnarent? At illi, cum
 diu pro absente dimicavissent duce, ægrè
 summissis armis cessere victoriam: citiusque
 vitam velantque Cæsar promissit, quam illis,
 ut ea precarentur, persuasum est. Fuitque in
 consensu, milites optimi Imperatoris, Impe-
 ratorem segacißimi militis functum officio:
 Ut dubites suone, an Cleopatræ arbitrio
 victoriam temperaturus fuerat, qui ad ejus
 arbitrium direxit fugam. Idem locutus in

terra fecit exercitus cum se Canidius præ-
 cipiti fuga rapuisset ad Antonium. *Vell. Pat.*
 ii. 85.

If the battle did not begin till noon and
 all was over at five; and if *Antony's* ships
 fought a long time after his flight; then
Cleopatra's expectation was soon wearied.
 Undoubtedly both she and *Antony* soon saw
 how affairs would turn, and were sensible
 that their fleet, consisting of heavy ships,
 was inevitably lost; and that they themselves
 would not be able to escape by flight, if
 they waited any longer. After they had lost
 their fleet and so many brave soldiers in the
 fight of their land-army, could they depend
 upon its fidelity? Since, even before the
 sea-fight, appearances were so much against
Antony, that he was deserted by several of
 his chief officers, and, to that moment, the
 most zealous of his friends.

² *Plutarch* says, that one *Eurycles* did actu-
 ally come up with *Antony's* ships, and took
 one loaded with plate and rich furniture.

ferred

ferred them. *Octavius* generously pardoned all his adversaries, excepting a very small number, who, in a very particular manner, were his declared enemiesⁿ. He then returned solemn thanks to *Apollo*, who was his particular patron among the gods, and the tutelar divinity of *Actium*, and consecrated to him a vessel of each kind, picked out of those taken from *Antony*, from one bank of oars to ten^o; and, remembering what had happened in *Sicily* after the reduction of *Pompey's* and *Lepidus's* armies, he immediately dismissed all *Antony's* old soldiers, and sent his own veterans into *Italy*, there to wait for the rewards which had been promised them: Keeping about him only such as had not served their full time, and who, in hopes of sharing the spoils of *Egypt*, would be faithful and zealous in his cause. At the same time to put the city and all *Italy* in good humour, he took off all the taxes, which he had been obliged lately to lay on them, and even remitted the arrears that were due. And, lest the veterans should raise a mutiny and disturbance, he sent *Agrippa* to take care of them. He himself went to *Athens*, where, being made acquainted with the oppression the *Greeks* had groaned under since *Antony's* arrival, he relieved the misery of the people by distributing among them the provisions which *Antony* had made for his army. From *Athens* he passed into *Asia*, with a design of marching on towards *Egypt*, when he was recalled into *Italy* by *Agrippa*, who had not authority enough over the veterans, who had grown turbulent, and loudly demanded their recompence.

Y. R. 722.
Bef. Chr.
30.
421 Conf.
Dio, l. li.
initio.
Strabo, vii.
p. 525.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS IV. } Consuls.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Octavius set sail in the middle of winter, and in his passage was twice in great danger of being shipwrecked; first upon the coast of *Peloponnesus*, and then on the coast of *Epirus*. He lost several of his ships, and the rigging and rudder of his own were torn away. At last he arrived safe at *Brundisium*, where he was met by all the Senators, Knights, and Magistrates, except two Prætors, and two Tribunes of the people, who were ordered by the Senate to remain in the city, in order to keep it quiet. His sudden arrival and this pompous reception disconcerted the mutinous soldiers, who were quite overawed by the severity of his

Y. R. 723.
Bef. Chr.
29.
422 Conf.

ⁿ Among the first are named *Sofus*, *Furnius*, and *M. Scaurus*, *Sextus Pompey's* half-brother by the mother's side. The chief of those put to death were *Curio*, the son of the famous *Curio*; *Aquilii Flori*, father and son; and *Cassius* of *Parma*. *Velleius* infers, from his present clemency, that the cruelties exercised in the beginning of the Triumvirate, and after the battle of *Philippi*, are not to be laid to his charge. *Victoria* fuit clementissima; nec quisquam interemptus, nisi

paucissimi, & ii qui deprecari quidem pro se non sustinerent. Ex qua lenitate ducis colligi potuit, quem aut initio Triumviratus sui aut in campis Philippicis, si licuisset, facturum fuerit. *Vell.* ii. 86.

* *Suetonius's* account is something different in *Aug.* c. 18. Ampliato vetere Apollinis templo, locum castrorum quibus fuerat usus exornatum, navalibus spoliis, *Nepotuno* & *Marti* consecravit.

Y. R. 723. look and the haughtiness of his behaviour². However, he distributed
 Bef Chr. what money he had among the oldest of them, and allotted lands to
 29. them; but it was not in his power to discharge all that was due to
 422 Conf. them, and, to make them sensible of it, he exposed to sale his own effects and those of his friends. These nobody ventured to purchase, and his soldiers were ashamed that they had forced their General to such an expedient. They consented, therefore, to wait quietly his time; and he paid them out of the immense spoils which he brought from *Egypt*.

² Divus Augustus vultu & aspectu Asiaticas legiones exterruit. *Tac. An. i. 42.* Our modern authors have made very free with *Octavius's* character as a soldier: "What a prodigious and incoherent mixture of opposite qualities in the same man!" says Abbe de Vertot, "and especially in a man that aspired to render himself master of the whole world! In him we see an exalted, bold, audacious genius, capable of forming the greatest designs, yet incapable of facing coolly the least danger, and that shewed no courage but in council, and where there was no need of venturing his person in the execution. He was very early sensible that courage, a General's first quality, was wanting in him: Yet, though he was conscious of this weakness in himself, it abated nothing of his ambition. He contented himself with calling another man's valour to his aid: He borrowed, as it were, *Agrippa's* courage." *Hist. of the Revol. of Rome, B. xiv.* Abbe de St. Real is of the same opinion, and Mr. *Montesquieu* is yet more severe in his censure: "I believe *Octavius* is the only man, of all the *Roman* Generals, who ever gained the affections of the soldiers by giving them perpetual instances of a natural timidity of spirit. The soldiers, at that time, were more affected with the liberality of their Commanders than with their valour: Perhaps it was even fortunate for him that he was not master of any qualities which could procure him the empire, and that his very incapacity should be the cause of his promotion to it, since it made him the less dreaded. It is not impossible that the defects which throw the greatest dishonour on his character were the most propitious to his fortune. If he had discovered at first any traces of an exalted soul, all

"mankind would have been jealous of his abilities; and, if he had been spirited by any true bravery, he would not have given *Antony* time to launch into all the extravagancies which proved his ruin." Reflections on the grandeur of the Romans, c. xiii. It is hard to understand what the President can mean by the last reflexion; for it is evident that, till *Octavius* had vanquished *Sexsus Pompey* and *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, by his extravagant behaviour, had lost the affections of the soldiers, the young Triumvir was not a match for his partner in power: And, as to the judgment these three very ingenious writers pronounce against *Octavius's* courage, it is grounded purely on some expressions which, *Suetonius* tells us, were thrown out against him in *Antony's* invectives and manifestoes. The whole tenor of his conduct, from his first entrance upon the stage of action is repugnant to it. No man could shew more daring spirit and more true courage than *Octavius* did, when he attacked *Antony*, armed with consular authority, and all the forces of the State, at the siege of *Mutina*; in his wars against *S. Pompey*; in those he waged against the *Dalmatians*; in fine, in this last against the formidable *Antony* himself. At the battle of *Philippi* he made no figure; he withdrew to *Antony's* camp: But we know very little of the circumstances of that battle: And it must be remembered that he had been long ill of a lingering disorder. But that he was lost for three days after the battle of *Mutina*; that he hid himself at *Philippi* among the baggage of *Antony's* army; and that, in a sea-fight against *Pompey*, he laid himself down in his ship upon his back, like a man in a trance, till the engagement was over; these are imputations as ridiculous in themselves, as they are inconsistent with the more authentic accounts of the ancient historians.

After a stay of only twenty-seven days, he embarked again for *Asia*, to complete his victory by the destruction of *Antony*. All the Kings of *Asia* came to assure him of their obedience; and none appeared more forward than *Hered*, King of *Judea*, who went as far as *Rhodes* to lay his crown at *Octavius*'s feet, and offered to serve him in person with his troops. *Octavius* received him into favour, but would not spare *Alexas*, the Syrian, who attended him: And who, after having been *Antony*'s greatest flatterer, was a most perfidious traitor to him. *Didius*, who commanded for *Antony* in *Syria*, declared likewise against him: And none of all his allies and officers remained faithful to him. A company of gladiators, which he had at *Cyzicum*, were the only friends he had left in all his dominions. These brave fellows set out to join him, and marched over all *Asia*, in spite of the opposition they met with from the Kings and States who had abandoned his party. *Didius* stopped them in *Syria*, but was not able to reduce them: They informed *Antony* of their situation, intreating him to come and put himself at their head; but, receiving no answer, they came to an agreement with *Didius*, and, upon condition that they should be no more obliged to fight in the amphitheatre, they consented to wait in the suburbs of *Antioch* till *Octavius* disposed of them. They were afterwards separated and incorporated into different legions.

Antony, after he was received into *Cleopatra*'s galley, gave himself entirely over to melancholy reflexions and despairing thoughts, and, through shame or indignation, refused to see the Queen for three days; till, arriving at *Tenarus*, her women so bestirred themselves, that they brought them to see one another, and to sit together. There news was brought him of the entire loss of his fleet, but that it was uncertain whether his army remained firm. He wrote, therefore, from thence to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia* and return to *Asia*, and he took what care he could of his friends, distributing amongst them all the money he had, and commanding them to leave him and provide for their own safety. From *Tenarus* he sailed to *Paretonium*, a town on the coast of *Egypt*, which borders on the territory of *Cyrene*.

Here *Cleopatra* left him to return to *Alexandria*¹. His view, in remaining some time in the neighbourhood of *Cyrene*, was to assemble about him the troops he had in that country under the command of *Piuius Scarpus*: But this Lieutenant declared himself for the Conqueror, and, having put to death *Antony*'s couriers and also some soldiers who spoke loudly in favour of their General, he delivered *Cyrene*, with four legions, to *Gallus*, who commanded for *Octavius* in those parts. This disappointment rendered him desperate, and he would instantly have put

¹ *Dio* tells us, that she crowned her ships with garlands, and entered the port as if she returned victorious and triumphant; fearing lest the *Alexandrians*, in her distress, should refuse her admittance: And that her first care, after her return, was to put to death a great many of her principal officers and to confiscate the estates of others.

Y. R. 723. an end to his life, if his friends had not hindered him, and carried him
 Bel. Chr. to *Alexandria*. There he found *Cleopatra* engaged in a project, which
 29. well shewed her enterprising spirit. She had caused some of her gallies
 422 Conf. to be carried over the isthmus of *Suez* into the *Red Sea*, proposing to
 Plut. save herself with her treasures in an unknown world: But, the *Arabians*
 Strab. I. having burnt them by the persuasion of *Didius* who commanded in *Syria*,
 viii. p. 335. she was forced to abandon a design so full of difficulties, and she set
 Liv. xli. about fortifying the avenues of her kingdom, and making preparations
 26. for war. She also solicited foreign assistance, addressing herself to all
 the Princes in the alliance of *Antony*; and it was then, to make up mat-
 ters with the King of the *Medes* in particular, that she put to death *Ar-
 tabazes*, King of *Armenia*, and sent his head to his enemy.

While *Cleopatra* was thus employed, *Antony's* behaviour was very dif-
 ferent. We are told that he betrayed a shameful weakness; built a
 house near *Pbaros*, where he shut himself up without either friends or
 domestics, *so imitate Timon*, as he said, *since he had no less reason to hate
 mankind than that Athenian, being betrayed by those whom he had most ob-
 liged*. But his natural temper did not allow him to remain long in this
 state, and, quitting his cell, he gave himself up to feasting and every sort
 of extravagance. The society formed in the days of his power, and
 known under the title of the *inimitable life*, was now changed into ano-
 ther, which was called *an engagement to die together*. His friends sub-
 scribed their names, and all the fraternity prepared for death by the
 most excessive intemperance. In the midst of these diversions, *Cleopa-
 tra* is said to have made experiments of all sorts of poisons and veno-
 mous animals in order to find out the means of procuring the quick-
 est and easiest death; and she found that the asp was the only one,
 which caused such a one as she desired, without convulsions or pains.
 A gentle moisture bedewed the face, the senses became obliterated, and
 an excessive heaviness oppressed the whole body like those who are in a
 very sound sleep: And to this death she resolved to have recourse.

Plut. Ant. Notwithstanding this firm resolution to die, we are told, that they
 sometimes entertained hopes of life; and *Euphronius*, tutor to *Antony's*
 children, was employed to make proposals to *Octavius* *. *Cleopatra*, al-
 so, privately sent her crown and sceptre, with a royal seal, as relinquish-
 ing all title to sovereignty herself, and demanded only the kingdom of
Egypt for her children: And *Antony* requested that he might be allowed
 to live as a private man at *Athens*, if *Octavius* was not willing that he
 should stay in *Egypt*. It is added, that *Antony*, to soothe *Octavius*, had

* He and *Cleopatra* at this time, according to *Dio*, gave the *toga virilis* to *Cæsario* and
Antyllus, and made this ceremony an occasion to regale the *Alexandrians*; perhaps, he
 thought also to strengthen his interest, by shewing two successors, who were already in a
 condition to supply his place and revenge him; but this precaution was of no use to him,
 and proved fatal to the two youths, who would have found more security under the robe
 of infancy.

the baseness to deliver up to him *Turullius*, who was one of *Cæsar's* murderers, but who had served him well. *Octavius* put *Turullius* to death, accepted of the presents, and made no answer to *Antony's* propositions, but sent word to *Cleopatra*, that there was no manner of favour which she might not reasonably expect, if she would either put *Antony* to death, or banish him. With this answer *Euphronius* returned, and with him *Thyr-^{Y. R. 723. Bef. Chi. 29. 422 Conf.}* *sus*, a freedman of *Octavius*, a person very artful and fit to manage an intrigue, who, coming with a message from a young Emperor to an ambitious Princess possessed with a mighty opinion of her own charms, had no difficult access to her. But these secret conferences between *Cleopatra* and him, and the honours she did him, threw *Antony* into such a furious passion of jealousy, that he immediately ordered him to be cruelly beaten with rods, and in that condition sent him to *Octavius*, with letters, that he had chastised *Thyr-^{Plut.}* *sus* for insulting over him at a time when his bad fortune had put him into an ill humour; but, if this proceeding offended him, he had his freedman *Hipparchus* by him, whom he might use after the same manner, and so be upon equal terms. *Hipparchus* was the first of *Antony's* freedmen that went over to *Octavius*. *Cleopatra* omitted nothing to clear *Antony's* mind of jealousy and suspicion; she redoubled her fondness and caresses, and, when her birth-day came, she kept it in a manner that was suitable to their deplorable condition; but *Antony's* was celebrated with great splendor and magnificence; and all the guests were enriched by the noble presents she made on his account.

In the mean time *Octavius's* forces advanced on each side of *Egypt*. *Cornelius Gallus* took possession of *Paretonium*, which was the key of *E-^{Div. p. 448 & 449.}* *gypt* on the west side; and *Antony*, who flew with his army and fleet to wrest it out of his hands, returned with great loss, particularly of his ships. For *Gallus* had left the port open, but had stretched chains under the water in the mouth of the harbour, which he drew up by the help of machines as soon as *Antony's* fleet had sailed in, and then attacked them on all sides: They were all burnt or sunk. *Antony* had flattered himself that the four legions which had been given up to *Gallus* would declare for him, as soon as he shewed himself to them; but *Gallus*, when he appeared and attempted to speak, caused all the trumpets to sound, and made a sally upon him with some success.

Octavius, on the other side, made himself master of *Pelusium*, the other key of *Egypt*. It was surrendered to him by *Seleucus*, and it was reported that this Governor had only followed *Cleopatra's* orders; but she, to clear herself, delivered up his wife and children into *Antony's* hands. Near the temple of *Isis* she had built a magnificent sepulchre; into this place she now removed her jewels, her gold and silver, and every thing she had which was valuable, causing them to be covered with great quantities of combustible matter; making no secret of her intention, which she declared to be to burn herself, if pushed to it, with all her

* According to *Div.* 1. li. p. 448, it was within the walls of the palace.

Y. R. 713. treasure. She was sensible that this menace would have some effect up-
 Bef. Chr 29. on *Octavius*, and she was not deceived; for, in his march towards *Alex-*
 422 Conf. *andria*, he omitted no occasion of giving her assurances of his respect
 and his kind usage.

The nigh approach of the enemy began now to rouse *Antony*: It was plain that no other hopes were left him than of dying like a *Roman*, and this he fully resolved upon. He gathered all the troops he had, and made a brave sally on *Octavius's* cavalry, which he drove back into their camp, and even put the camp itself into disorder. Upon this advantage he entered *Alexandria* as in triumph, and went all armed to *Cleopatra*, to bring her the good news of his success, presenting one of his officers, who had behaved himself bravely in the fight. The Queen rewarded the valour of the man with an armour of gold; but that very night he went over to *Octavius*, which dangerous example very much troubled *Antony*. He tried to provoke *Octavius's* temper, and challenged him to a single combat; but he was coldly answered, *that, if Antony sought death, he might find other methods to procure it.* Dio adds, that he endeavoured to debauch *Octavius's* troops, and threw billets into his camp, promising 1500 drachma's to every one who would come over to him; which had no other effect than to raise in them a general indignation.

Dio, p.
449.

Antony, now finding his affairs quite desperate, resolved to make the last push, both by sea and land, with a full purpose to conquer honourably or die bravely. He ordered his people to treat him cheerfully and fill him his wine plentifully; *perhaps, said he, this may be the last service you can do me, for to-morrow you may have another master, while I lie extended upon the ground, despised by all mankind.* Finding his friends much moved at this sorrowful discourse, he added, *However, I will not do you so great an injury as to lead you where death is more certain than victory.*

At break of day, the first of August, he posted all the troops he had remaining upon the rising ground nigh the town, from whence he sent orders to his galleys to engage the enemy. The fleet advanced in good order, but, as soon as *Cæsar's* ships approached, the soldiers all held down their arms and saluted them: These returning the salute, both fleets joined and stood over-against the city. His cavalry, seeing this, left him also and went over to *Octavius's* camp; his infantry engaged, but was forced presently to yield*. The unfortunate *Antony*, abandoned thus

Oros. vi. c.
19.
Dio, p. 449.
Strab. l.
xvii. p. 795.

* If these events followed so close upon one another, it is not possible to defer the taking of *Alexandria* till the 29th of August, the day which most writers have assigned: Or we must suppose the battle which preceded it later than the first of August. Dio, who always puts the worst construction upon actions, will have it that *Cleopatra* acted a

treacherous part to *Antony* all along. She ordered *Pelusum*, he says, to be surrendered; she made the army and fleet revolt to *Octavius*; she gave out her death to engage *Antony* to kill himself and so get rid of him; and afterwards did all she could to engage the affections of his enemy. M. l'Abbe de St. Real and M. le President de Montesquieu are of

thus by his men, and finding he could not die with glory in the field, returned back to *Alexandria*, overcome with a dreadful rage and fury, running and crying out, *that Cleopatra had betrayed him, when he had ruined all his fortunes for her sake alone.* Y. R. 723.
Ref. Chr.
29.
423 Conti.

The Queen, hearing of his transport, in a great fright retired to her monument, and secured the doors; and then made a report be spread that she was dead, which was soon brought to *Antony*. This sad and unexpected news recalled all that love and tenderness he had for this Princess. O wretched *Antony*, cried he, *what hast thou here in this world, when fate has snatched from thee the only thing for which thou couldst endure to live?* Then, returning to his cabinet, he laid aside his armour and renewed his complaints: "O *Cleopatra*, said he, *our separation is not my greatest grief, for we shall meet again; but what afflicts me most is, that I, who have commanded so many gallant men, should be out-done by a woman in courage.* Immediately he called *Eros*, the most faithful of his freedmen, whom he had engaged by oath to kill him, when he should think it necessary; and now bad him perform his promise. *Eros* drew out his sword, as if he designed to obey him; and, turning aside, gave himself a wound which threw him dead at his master's feet. Dear *Eros*, cried he, *I thank thee for teaching me to do, myself, what thy regard for me did not permit thee to perform:* And, at the same time drawing his sword and plunging it into his belly, he threw himself upon a bed that was near. The wound was mortal, but, the blood, by the situation of his body, being stopped, he soon came to himself, and most earnestly begged of his friends, who were come into his apartment, to dispatch him; but they all fled, leaving him in a miserable condition, tossing and struggling in the greatest anguish of pain. While he was in this situation, *Diomedes* came to him from *Cleopatra*, begging him, in her name, to suffer himself to be transported to the monument where she was, which *Antony* readily consented to. He was, therefore, brought to the place: But *Cleopatra*, having only her two women, durst not open the door, and only let down cords from the window". All the people of *Alexandria* were present at this

of opinion that she treacherously fled during the battle of *Actium*, with a design to ruin her lover, and make her court to *Octavius*. "Yet this same *Cleopatra*, says the Abbé, "who seemed to live in *Antony*, treacherously abandoned him, and, by her perfidious flight, delivered him into the power of his enemy, whose affections she determined with herself, from that moment, to engage, if possible; a perfidiousness of which we see many examples, and which should convince us, that such is a woman's love, that we can never be secure of not being betrayed by her." Confid. sur Antoine. "It evidently appear-

ed, says Mr. le President, by the circumstances of her future conduct, that she afterwards betrayed him: Perhaps, that incomprehensible spirit of coquetry, so predominant in her sex, tempted her to practise all her arts to lay a third Sovereign of the world at her feet." Grand. des Rom. ch. xv.

"Die, who is sensible that this tragical history is lame in many of its parts, has tried to mend it: He says that the door of the monument, when once shut, could not be opened again; that the monument was not finished at the top, and that the cords made use of to draw up *Antony* were the same

Y. R. 723. this sad spectacle, and nothing appeared so lamentable as to view this
 Bet Chr great man, renowned for so many conquests and victories, bathed in his
 29. blood and just expiring, holding out his hands to *Cleopatra*, and faintly
 422 Conf. endeavouring to raise himself; and to see this famous Queen striving,
 with her body almost out of the window, with the feeble assistance of
 her women, to pull him up, the people all the time seeming to assist
 her with their cries and tears. When, after much pains she had drawn
 him in, she embraced him, and laid him gently upon her bed, tearing
 all her clothes in a most violent manner, beating her face and breast,
 calling *Antony her Husband, her Lord, her Emperor!* And, though her
 own misfortunes were very great, she forgot them all at the sight of this
 deplorable object. *Antony* begged of her to moderate the transports of
 her grief, and asked for some wine, either because he was thirsty, or
 because he thought it would soon end him. After he had drank, he ex-
 horted *Cleopatra* to endeavour to save her life, if she could do it with honour;
 and, for that end, *Proculeius*, he told her, would be her best friend in *Cæ-*
sar's camp; that she would not too deeply reflect upon the cruel turn of fortune
 which he felt in his last days, but rather think of that glory and renown he
 had long lived in, and that, after he had been the first man in the world,
 and the most illustrious of the Romans, he was at last overcome by a Roman.
 These, we are told, were his last words, after which he expired, in the
 fifty-third year of his age.

It cannot be denied but he was born with great natural endowments,
 which, notwithstanding the profligacy of his life, he cultivated so as to
 capacitate himself for every great office of the State, both civil and mili-
 tary. After *Cæsar's* death, we see him roused from the midst of plea-
 sure and debauch, and an entire obsequiousness to the Dictator's will,
 forming the true plan of his interest, and pursuing it with a surprising
 vigour and address; till, after many and almost insuperable difficulties,
 he obtained the sovereign dominion which he aimed at. But, after the
 battle of *Philippi*, we find in him neither spirit nor prudence. The glory
 he reaped on that day, the influence he had over *Lepidus* and the greatest
 Commanders of the army, *Ventidius*, *Pollio*, *Plancus*; the esteem and af-
 fection of the soldiers, his own military skill, the immense riches of the
 Eastern provinces; undoubtedly gave him a great superiority over young
Cæsar. All which advantages he gradually lost. He suffered his wife,
 her brother, and all his adherents, to be crushed in *Italy*, without taking
 his revenge, or demanding the least satisfaction; he foolishly helped *Oc-*
tavius to destroy *S. Pompey*, who had sued for his favour, and who was
 a thorn in his competitor's side, and a strong barrier to his Eastern em-
 pire. He tamely saw his friend and saviour, *Lepidus*, deprived with ig-

same the workmen made use of to pull up
 the stones. He has also given the women
 an eunuch to help them. But, good Dio,
 if *Cleopatra* did not love *Antony*, and gave

out the report of her death in order to en-
 gage *Antony* to kill himself as you say, why
 did she not let him die in peace? Why put
 him and herself to all this trouble?

nominy

nominy of his dignity, his army, his provinces. He trifled away the treasures of the East, and wasted his army in an inglorious war. When we compare this conduct with that spirit which he shewed after *Cæsar's* death, it is hard not to allow the ambitious and politic *Fulvia* a share in the glory of his rise to power, since, separated from that active spirit, we see him weighed down by his indolence and sensuality.

Antony's bloody sword was taken up by one of his guards, and carried to *Octavius*, with an account of his death. He retired into his tent, where he could not refrain from tears, when he reflected on the deplorable end of so great a man. He called in his friends, to whom he declared, that he had contributed nothing to the overthrow of *Antony* through any hatred or ambition: Shewing them the copies of the letters he had written to him, which contained nothing but just and reasonable proposals, and *Antony's* answers full of passion and disdain. After this he sent *Proculeius* to employ his utmost address to seize upon *Cleopatra*, being extremely desirous to save her treasure, but more especially to grace his triumph with this Queen, who had so long triumphed over the Roman Commanders. *Cleopatra* refused *Proculeius* entrance, but, through the door, demanded *Egypt* for her children; which caused *Proculeius*, after observing the avenues of the monument, to return to *Octavius*, who, the same instant, sent *Gallus* with him, to make her new propositions. While *Gallus* was discoursing with *Cleopatra* below, *Proculeius*, with two others, entered by the window at which *Antony* had been drawn up; and one of her women, perceiving it, presently cried out, *Wretched Princess, thou art taken alive!* Upon which *Cleopatra* turned about, and, seeing *Proculeius*, drew out a dagger to stab herself; but *Proculeius* caught hold of her arm, saying, *Madam, will you at once injure yourself and Cæsar, in depriving him of the most illustrious testimony he can give you of his generosity; and make the best and gentlest Prince in the world pass for cruel and barbarous?* Whereupon he disarmed her, searched her clothes lest any poison should be concealed about her, and, after he had secured her person, returned to *Octavius* with this joyful news.

Octavius was extremely satisfied to have this haughty Queen at his disposal, who before had lifted the crown of *Egypt* above the empire of the Romans. He commanded *Epaphroditus*, one of his freedmen, to guard her with the greatest care, and yet to serve her like a Queen; and made his entrance into *Alexandria* in the most solemn and pompous manner. The majesty of *Octavius*, followed by so many armed soldiers, who breathed nothing but destruction, impressed the *Egyptians* with great fears, and they all fell prostrate upon their faces before him. *Octavius* told them, *be pardoned the city for the sake of its illustrious founder, for the extraordinary beauty of it, and for the great esteem he had for Areius, their fellow-citizen and philosopher, who was then with him.* Several Kings and Roman Senators are said to have begged of him the body of *Antony*, to pay their last respects to him; but he would not deprive *Cleopatra* of

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Bef. Chr.
29.
422 Conf.

Y.R. 723 a satisfaction so dear to her: and also furnished her with what was requi-
 Bef. Chr. site for the pomp of the funeral, which she solemnised with extraordinary
 422 Conf. magnificence. *Octavius* now redoubled his complaisance to the captive
 Queen, that nothing might occasion the encrease of her afflictions; but
 her excessive melancholy, and the many blows she had given her breast,
 threw her into a slow fever, which gave her great hopes of ending her
 sorrows and her life in a short time: She had, besides, resolved to ab-
 stain from eating; a secret which she trusted her physician with*. *Oc-*
tavius soon discovered her intention, and immediately threatened to put
 all her children to death, if she persisted in her obstinacy. This was the
 only thing she could be sensible of, and the thoughts of this caused her
 to comply, and receive whatever they prescribed to her.

Octavius resolved to visit *Cleopatra* and by his civilities to give her
 fresh assurance of his favour. He found her upon a plain bed[†], and,
 as soon as she perceived him, she rose in a slight garment she had upon
 her to throw herself at his feet, with her hair in disorder, her face torn,
 her breast bruised, her eyes red with weeping, and her voice weak and
 trembling; all which had not extinguished the brightness of her eyes,
 nor destroyed the charms of her person. *Octavius* civilly lifted her up,
 and sat down by her, and she immediately entered upon the justification
 of her conduct, pretending that all she had done was more out of fear
 of displeasing *Antony*, than from her own inclinations: But, when *Octa-*
vius began to confute every article of her excuses, she presently turned
 the discourse to move his compassion, as if she desired nothing more
 than to prolong her life; and delivered him an inventory of all her jewels
 and treasure. *Seleucus*, her Treasurer, accusing her of concealing several
 things, *Cleopatra*, in a great rage, threw herself out of her bed, dragged
 him by the hair, and beat him severely; which, *Dio* thinks, was only a
 pretence to shew *Octavius* her beautiful shape and body, which she had
 too great a confidence in. However, *Octavius* only smiled at this ac-
 tion, and led the Queen to her bed. O *Cesar*, cried she, *after the ho-*
nour of visiting me in this miserable condition, is it not cruel and barbarous
that a vile slave should accuse me of laying aside a few trifles, alas! not to
adorn myself, but to present them to Livia and Octavia, that their generous
intercession may in some measure procure to me your favour? This discourse
 gave great satisfaction to *Octavius*, imagining it implied a desire she had
 of living: And thereupon he assured her, *she might keep her jewels, and*

* This physician's name was *Olympus*,
 and *Plutarch* tells us that he left in writing
 the story of *Cleopatra's* end, from which he
 borrowed his account.

† *Dio* tells us, that the bed was very rich
 and elegantly adorned; that she herself was
 clad in a negligent manner, but such a one
 as greatly became her; that the closet was

hung with *Julius Cæsar's* images and pic-
 tures; and that she had ready in her lap, to
 shew *Octavius*, all the letters she had received
 from his father. He then tells us their
 whole conversation, and all her artful speech-
 es. It is thus the historians have taken the
 liberty to ornament these events, every one
 according to his notions of the actors.

that

that he would use her more generously than she could reasonably hope for; and so retired, much pleased with his success, having, as he supposed, overreached her: But the Queen had sounded him every way, and deceived him.

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Cleopatra was soon afterwards informed by *Dolabella*, one of *Octavius's* favourites and her admirer, that *Octavius* had resolved to set out soon for *Syria*, and had determined to send, within three days, her and her children away before him. Upon this information, she sent to beg leave to pay her last oblations to the memory of *Antony*, which was granted her. Whereupon she was carried to the stately sepulchre where *Antony's* body was laid; and, attended by two women, she fell upon her knees, embraced his tomb with extreme grief and passion, and, after a flood of tears, she cried, *My dearest Lord, I was a Queen and wore no chains, when I first placed thee in this monument; but, now that I pay my duties, I am Fortune's slave; my servile body is reserved to grace the triumph of thy foes, on which I dare not so much as print the marks of my grief. These tears, these pangs of grief, are the last tokens of the love and duty of thy Cleopatra, who now must be forced far from thee: No chance could separate us while living, but our cruel destiny will part us in our deaths. And, as, by a strange turn of fate, Egypt has afforded thee a tomb, so Rome will me: the only courtesy I shall receive from thy country. Yet I hope the heavenly powers that guard your happy abode (for ours have betrayed us) will stem the Conqueror's pride, and suffer him not to triumph over thee in my person. Hide me, therefore, here, and receive me into thy tomb; for, amongst all my bitter griefs and heavy afflictions, none ere pressed my soul so hard as living thus long without thee.* After these lamentations, she crowned the tomb with garlands and flowers, embracing it as if she designed to grow to it. Then, as if her mourning was quite over, she ordered her women to prepare her a bath; which, when she had used, she dressed herself in the richest manner, and ordered her table to be served with the greatest magnificence. While she was eating, a countryman came and desired to speak to the Queen: The guards stopped him, and would know what he carried in a basket that he had in his hand. The *Egyptian* turned up some leaves and shewed them some fine figs in so innocent a manner, that they let him go. After dinner she sent a letter to *Octavius*, wherein she earnestly beseeched him to permit her to be buried in the same tomb with *Antony*; and, clearing her room of all, except *Iras* and *Charmion*, she is supposed to have applied her arm to the asp that was brought her. *Octavius*, informed by her letter of what she was about, sent immediately some messengers, who found her dead upon a golden bed adorned with her royal robes, in the posture of one asleep, with *Iras* also dead at her feet, and *Charmion* just breathing and placing her diadem right. One of the messengers very angrily asked, *Is this well done, Charmion? Extremely well,* replied she, *and becoming a*

Y. R. 723. *Princess descended from so noble a race of Monarchs*; at which she expired
 Bef. Chr. at her Mistress's feet ².

²⁹
 423 Conf. Thus died this famous Queen, in the thirty-ninth year of her age, having reigned twenty-two, twelve of which she passed with *Antony*. *Octavius* ordered her a magnificent funeral, laying her body by *Antony's*, according to her desire: And her women also were interred with considerable pomp, to honour their fidelity. With her ended the *Ptolemean* race, after it had lasted two hundred and ninety-four years. Her son *Cesarion*, whom she had by *Julius Caesar*, was shortly after slain by *Octavius's* orders, who was told by *Areius*, the philosopher, that many *Cesars* were of dangerous consequence. Her two sons by *Antony*, *Ptolemy* and *Alexander*, were led in triumph, after which they were dismissed and were no more heard of. Her daughter, *Cleopatra Selene*, was married afterwards to *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*. Her statues were left standing, a favour, says *Plutarch*, which *Archilius*, a faithful servant of the Queen, purchased at the price of a thousand talents. *Antony's* statues were all thrown down in *Egypt* as well as *Rome*, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, by which all that had been enacted in his favour was made void; his birth-day was ranked among those deemed *unfortunate*, and it was forbid in his family to bear the name of *Marcus*. *M. Tullius*, *Cicero's* son, was Consul when this decree passed, and he had the pleasure of executing it. It was designed so probably by *Octavius*, when he took him for his colleague ³. He thus made some atonement for his treachery to the father; and, by giving the family this opportunity of revenging his death upon *Antony*, fixed the blame of it also there; while the people looked upon it as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of *Antony's* name and fortunes should, by a strange revolution of affairs, be reserved for the triumph of young *Cicero*.

Dio, l. ii.
 p. 456.

Egypt was reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, and its immense riches were transported to *Rome*; which enabled *Octavius* to pay all he owed to his soldiers. It is said that upon this event, and the re-establishment of peace, every thing rose to double their value, and the interest of money fell from twelve to four *per cent*. A province, so rich

² *Octavius* represented her in his triumph with an asp sticking to her arm, and it was the common persuasion that she had made use of this animal to poison herself: Yet there was no spot or mark of poison upon her body, or any animal found in the monument. Only there were observed upon her arm two small punctures, and, upon the sand near the monument, some marks of the flight of an animal. It was suspected, at the time, that she and her maids had made use of a golden bodkin steeped in a very subtle poison, with which they pricked themselves. *Dio* reports that the *Pfylli*

were employed to suck out the poison, which they attempted in vain. This historian tells us very gravely, that the *Pfylli* were a peculiar people of *Africa*, (all males, for, says he, there is no *Pfylla*) of such a natural complexion, that no poisonous animal could hurt them, and they could cure any one bit or stung by sucking out the poison: They also could know whether their wives were faithful by exposing their children to asps and other serpents.

³ It appears, by the *Capitoline* marbles, that he bore this office from the ides of *September* to the calends of *November*.

and

and so extremely fertile in corn, was a very considerable acquisition to the *Roman* empire. It is said to have supplied the capital of the universe with provisions for four months of the year. But it was necessary to take measures to keep in subjection a people naturally fickle and disposed to sedition and revolt, and to prevent the Governor of it from aspiring to an independency in a kingdom so remote from *Rome*, and of such difficult access both by sea and land. To prevent these two inconveniencies, *Octavius* would not suffer at *Alexandria* either Senate or public Council, as there was in every great town of the Empire; but subjected them to a Prefect, who had all the authority of a Viceroy, having under his command three legions, and some other bodies of troops leis-
Y. R. 723.
Bef. Chr.
29.
422 Conf.
Tacit. Hist.
i. c. 11.
Strab. l.
xvii.
considerable distributed in different parts of the kingdom; and for this Prefect he neither chose a Magistrate nor a Senator, but a man of low birth, without adherents, and who owed his whole fortune to him. The first invested with this important prefecture was *Cornelius Gallus*, more distinguished by his literary talents than his military virtues: And it became a maxim of state afterwards to follow these regulations^b. However, *Egypt* was never happier than from this moment. The Governor made his troops cleanse the canals into which the *Nile*, in its rise, discharged itself, and which were half stopped up with mud: And this greatly contributed to the fertility of the country and to the facility of the interior commerce. He restored the vigour of the laws, and encouraged the foreign trade. *Alexandria*, by these means, preserved its rank of being the second city of the world, which she constantly enjoyed till the translation of the Empire to *Constantinople*.

Octavius^c left *Egypt* towards the end of the fine season, and went by *Syria* into *Asia* to pass there the winter. In all these countries, he applied himself to gain the affections of the people, and replaced in the temples the several statues, which *Antony* had taken away to gratify *Cleopatra*; a restitution which both religion, and the taste the *Greeks* had for arts, rendered extremely agreeable to them.

He had now an opportunity of concerning himself in the affairs of the *Parthians*. *Pbraates*'s cruelty had driven them to a revolt, and they crowned *Tiridates* in his place. The fugitive Monarch had recourse on this to the *Scythians*, and, with their troops, returning into his kingdom, he, during *Octavius*'s stay in *Egypt*, expelled *Tiridates*, who retired into *Syria*, with one of his enemy's sons, whom he had made prisoner. *Tiridates* offered to *Octavius* to become his vassal, if he restored him to the

^b This Prefect was called *Augustalis*, and had under him an officer for the administering of justice, called *Juridicus*; and his retinue was made up of the household, or the freedmen and dependants of *Cæsar*.

^c Before he left *Alexandria*, he had the curiosity to view the coffin and body of *Alex-*

ander the Great, which were taken out of the vault: And he paid his respects to the memory of that Prince by the present of a golden crown and scattering flowers upon the body. Being asked whether he inclined to see those of the *Ptolemy's*, he replied, *that he had a desire to see a King, not dead men.*

Y. R. 723. *Partbian* throne; and *Pbraates* demanded back his son from him, together with his rebellious slave *Tiridates*. But *Octavius* hearkened to neither of them: He gave *Tiridates* protection in *Syria*, and kept the son of *Pbraates* as an hostage for his father's good behaviour.

Vell. Pat. 58. While he was still in *Asia*, *Mecenas* discovered at *Rome* a conspiracy against his life. The son of *Lepidus*, a rash, imperuous young man, was at the head of it: He saw in him the destroyer of all his relations, and proposed to revenge, by his death, his father whom he had spoiled of all his power and riches, his uncle *Brutus*, and, last of all, *Antony*, his father-in-law⁴. We have no full account of this plot: All we know of it is, that *Mecenas* soon discovered it, and kept such a vigilant eye upon the young man that he soon had proofs enough to convict him. He was seized and put to death: *Servilia*, his wife, desired to follow her beloved husband to his tomb, but, being carefully observed by her family, and, having no weapon, she choked herself by swallowing live coals⁵. The mother of the conspirator, *Junia*, sister of *M. Brutus*, was included in the criminal process against her son, and *Mecenas* was disposed to send her to *Octavius*, or, at least, he demanded security for her appearing, whenever she should be called upon. The Consul, before whom that process was carried on, was one who had been proscribed, whom *Appian* calls *Balbinus*.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS V. } Consuls.
SEXT. APULEIUS.

Y. R. 724. *Octavius* entered upon his fifth consulship in *Asia*, and did not return to the city till about *Midsummer*; he was then received with an universal joy and satisfaction, as a person who had put an end to the miseries and calamities of the State. The Senate had decreed him all sorts of honours both human and divine, as they had formerly done to his father *Julius*: And, in the month of *August*, he triumphed, for three days together, with extraordinary splendor and magnificence. His first triumph was for his success in *Illyricum*; the second for the battle of *Actium*; and the third for the conquest of *Egypt*. These triumphs were attended with the shutting of the temple of *Janus*, which had stood open 205 years; and by the performance of the divination called the *augury of safety*, which had not been renewed since the end of the third *Mithridatic* war: They were followed by great largesses made to the people and the soldiery; by entertainments of all kinds, and dedications of temples: And, to perpetuate the memory of a victory which had given

⁴ *Antony*, according to *Dio*, had given one of his daughters in marriage to *Lepidus*. She was now dead, since there is no mention of her among *Antony's* children, and the wife of young *Lepidus* was, at this time, *Servilia*.

⁵ The same thing has been falsely report-

ed of *Porcia*, *M. Brutus's* wife. This fact rests upon the authority of *Velleius Paterculus*, l. ii. c. 88. *Æquetur Calpurniae Antistii, Servilia Lepidi uxor, quæ vivo igni devorata præmaturam mortem immortalis nominis sui pensavit memoria.*

him the empire of the world, he encreased the splendor and pomp of those games which had been celebrated at *Actium* in honour of *Apollo* from the remotest antiquity, and ordered that they should be renewed every five years. Upon the spot of ground there, where his army had encamped, he built a town which he called *Nicopolis*, the city of *Victory*, which soon, by the privileges granted it, became populous and flourishing. Another *Nicopolis* was built near *Alexandria* upon the field where *Antony* engaged him, and games were likewise instituted there.

V. R. 724.
Bef. Chr.
28.
423 Conf.

Octavius was now sole master of the *Roman* empire by the destruction of his enemies, but with no other legal title than that odious one of the *Triumvir*, which he had promised to resign; and we are told, that he had thoughts of fulfilling his promise, and took the advice of his two most intimate friends, *Agrippa* and *Mecenas*. *Agrippa*, it is said, advised him to restore the Commonwealth; but *Mecenas* dissuaded it. *Dio* has given us the speeches which these two Ministers made to their Master; and a long sermon of *Mecenas*, concerning the right administration of the Empire. The Senate had ordered that his name should be inserted in the public prayers for the safety of the Empire, in which hitherto none but the Senate and people had been named^f: And, on the first of *January*, the Consul, his colleague, and the whole Senate confirmed all his acts, and swore to observe his orders. This ceremony was observed ever after, and was no less than an oath of allegiance. But the first decree in his favour, made by the Senate, seems to have been that of the *Tribunitian* power for his whole life, which had already been offered him: Yet he does not seem to have accepted of this grant till after his eleventh consulship. He accepted, however, of a very substantial one in that of *Imperator*, which gave him the command of all the armies: And this, joined to the consulship, invested him in reality with all the military and civil power: And he continued himself in the consulship, till he gradually was vested with all the offices of the State. The following year he was made Censor with *Agrippa*. In fine, in his seventh consulship, finding all matters ripe for his purpose, he went to the Senate, and, after a studied speech, resigned his sovereign power on the seventh of *January*. The house unanimously besought him with many words and entreaties, that he alone would take upon him the administration of the government; and, after many arguments and persuasions, they compelled him, as it were, to accept of the sovereignty, under the title of *Prince*, a word sometimes used under the Republic, as in the case of the *Prince* of the Senate: So that he would appear to be no

^f It was also enjoined, according to *Dio*, to make libations to him in private entertainments; one may doubt whether this was enacted by public authority; but we learn, from an ode of *Horace*, that flattery introduced the custom:

Quisque — alteris
Te mensis adhibet Deum:
Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
Desuso pateris; & Laribus tuum,
Miscet numen, ut Græcia Castoris,
Et magni memor Hæculis.

L. iv. od. 5.
more

Y. R. 724. more than the first man of the State. It was decreed, at the same time,
 Bel. Chr. 28. that he should have a constant guard, and that their pay should be double
 423 Conf. that of the other soldiers.

Thus *Octavius Caesar*, by his artifice, in pretending to lay down all his power and authority, got it confirmed to him both by the Senate and people. Yet, to soothe the Senate and make himself popular, he refused to govern all the provinces, or to have a perpetual power over such as he should take care of. Therefore, on the *ides of January*, or on the 13th, he made a division of the Empire. The weaker and inward provinces being in a more peaceable posture, he left them to be disposed of by the people in favour of *consular* and *praetorian* Senators, with these provisions, that they should not take possession of them till five years after they had borne offices in the city: That they should hold their government but for a year; and that, as soon as successors were sent them, they should immediately depart from their provinces, and not fail of being at *Rome* within three months. These provinces were *Africa* and *Numidia*, *Libya* called *Cyrenaica*, *Asia Minor*, *Greece* with *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and that part of *Spain* called *Betica*. *Caesar* kept the rest of *Spain*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, as also *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, and *Cyprus*, which were more exposed to the incursions of foreign enemies, and formed the barrier of the Empire. When any war broke out in any of the provinces in the department of the people, the Prince was to take it, and to give up some other one more quiet in its stead: So *Augustus* afterwards took *Dalmatia*, and made over to the people *Cyprus* and *Gallia Narbonensis*. By this contrivance he engrossed the whole militia of the Empire, declaring, at the same time, that he only took this charge upon himself for ten years.

On the 17th of the same month the Senate, in acknowledgment of the moderate use *Octavius* made of the sovereign authority, decreed him many honours. A laurel was placed before his gates, and upon it were hung garlands of oak leaves, to signify that he was the perpetual Conqueror of the enemies of the State, and preserver of the citizens*. His house was called the *Palatium*, wherever he took his abode. It was debated whether they should give him the title of *Romulus*, as second founder of the State; but the more venerable name and less invidious one

Suet. in
 Oct. vii.
 Florus iv.
 22.

* Postibus augustis eadem fidissima custos
 Ante fores stabis, mediamque tuebere quer-
 cum. Ovid. i. Metam. 562.

State Palatinae laurus, prætextaque quercu
 Stet domus. Id. iv. Fast. 953.

Cur tamen adposita velatur janua lauro;
 Cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores?

Num quia perpetuos meruit domus ista tri-
 umphos?

Au quia Leucadio semper amata Deo?
 Ipsane quod festa est, an quod facit omnia
 festa?

Quam tribuit terris pacis an ista nota est?
 Utque viret semper laurus, nec fronde ca-
 duca

Carpitur; æternum sic habet illa decus.

Id. iii. Trist. i. 39.

of

of *Augustus*, propounded by *Munacius Plancus*, was agreed to: For sacred places and temples, consecrated by Augurs, were termed *Augusta*^b. It was afterwards enacted that *the Prince* should have, *in the city*, all the honours and power of the *Consuls*, though he was not Consul; and *in the provinces*, governed by prætorian and consular Senators, the prerogatives of *Proconsul*, with a power superior to that of the proper Governors. He was made *perpetual Master of Manners*: He had all the power of the censorship and tribunate: And he was invested with the office of High-Priest, and the presidency in all the colleges of Augurs, *Septemviri*, and *Quindecimviri*. Thus the *Prince* got into his hands all the jurisdiction and privileges of the several offices of the State; and what was granted to *Augustus* by degrees was afterwards conferred upon his successors at once by one single instrument, and despotic monarchy established by a law, called afterwards *lex regia*^c. *Augustus* consented at first to receive the sovereign power for ten years: When the ten years were expired, he was prevailed to accept it for ten more, and in this manner kept it all his life.—His successors, in imitation of this example, though they had the Empire settled upon them without any limitation of time, yet, at the end of every ten years, celebrated solemn feasts, as for a renewal or continuation of the sovereignty in their persons.

^b *Traſtatum in Senatu, an, quia condidisset imperium, Romulus vocaretur, ſed ſancitius et reverentius viſum eſt nomen Auguſti, ut ſcilicet jam tum, dum colit terras, ipſo nomine et titulo conſecraretur. Flor. iv. 12.* The æra of the Roman empire is dated from the *fiſt of January* this year. This title of *Auguſtus* at fiſt was only perſonal, and did not convey any idea of ſovereignty: Several of the Imperial family took it, who were never Emperors; as *Germanicus*. The female line, who had not the leaſt ſhadow of ſovereignty with the Romans, had it, as *Antonia Major*: And thus *Livia* fiſt took the name of *Auguſta*, when ſhe was adopted by her huſband's will into the *Julian* family. After the time of *Diocleſian*, it was changed into *Semper Auguſtus*, which title

the Emperor of *Germany* now enjoys. *Taylor*, p. 36. See *Mem. de Litt. de l'Academie de Inſcriptions*, t. xix, p. 432. Where *Abbé de la Bletiric* has taken the pains to enquire by what ſteps and at what period the title of *Auguſtus* came to expreſs the Imperial power.

^c A fragment of that relating to *Veſpaſian* was found engraven upon copper in the church of *St. John de Lateran* at *Rome*, and is now preſerved in the Capitol. It was alſo called *lex Imperii*, *Auguſtum privilegium*, *lex Auguſti*: And *Ulpian*, writing upon this law, uſes this expreſſion: *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem: utpoſe cum lege regia, quæ de imperio ejus lata eſt, Populus ei et in eum omne ſuum imperium et poteſtatem conſerat.* D. i. 4. 1. pr.

E I N I S.

T H E

THE
CAPITOLINE MARBLES;
OR,
CONSULAR CALENDARS:
CONTINUED.

633. Y. of R.

332. *Consulship*. P. MANILIUS NEPOS.

C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Censors.

L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balea-
ricus.*The sixty-first Lustrum.**Tribunes of the
People.*

P. Decimus Mus.

M. Octavius Nepos.

The other eight are un-
known.*Pro-Consul in
Transalpine
Gaul.*

Q. Fabius Maximus,

Who triumphs over the *Allo-
broges* and *Bituitus*, King
of the *Arverni*.Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus,
Triumphs over the *Gauls* and
the *Arverni*.

634. Y. of R.

333. *Consulship*. L. CÆCILIUS METEL-

LUS DALMATICUS.

L. AURELIUS COTTA.

*Prætors.*Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus,
&c.*Tribunes of the
People.*C. Marius Nepos. The o-
ther nine are unknown.

635. Y. of R.

334. *Consulship*. M. PORCIUS CATO.

Q. MARCIUS REX.

VOL. IV.

The first died during his ma-
gistracy: And in his place
was substituted

Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.

Pro-Consul in L. Cæcilius Metellus,
Dalmatia. Who triumphs over the *Dal-
matians*.

636. Y. of R.

335. *Consulship*. L. CÆCILIUS METEL-
LUS.

Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA.

Pro-Consul in Q. Marcius Rex,
Liguria. Who triumphs over the *Steni*.

637. Y. of R.

336. *Consulship*. C. LICINIUS GETA.Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS
EBURNUS.

638. Y. of R.

337. *Consulship*. M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS,Who triumphs over the *Carni*.M. CÆCILIUS METEL-
LUS.*Censors.*L. Cæcilius Metellus Dal-
maticus.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

*The sixty-second Lustrum.**Prætors.*

P. Decimus Mus.

C. Marius Nepos.

*Tribunes of the
People.* P. Rupilius Rufus. The other
nine are unknown.

M m m

Pro-

Pro-Consul in M. Æmilius Scaurus,
the country of Who triumphs over the Car-
the Carni. ni.

639. Y. of R.

338. *Consulship.* M. ACILIUS BALBUS.
C. PORCIUS CATO.

Prætor in far- C. Marius Nepos.
ther Spain.

Prætor in Illy- T. Didius Nepos.
ricum.

Pro-Consul in M. Cæcilius Metellus.
Sardinia.

640. Y. of R.

339. *Consulship.* P. CÆCILIVS METEL-
LUS CAPRARIUS.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætor, a se- Lucius Cassius Longinus.
cond time, for
capital crimes.

Tribunes of the Sex. Peduceius Nepos. The
People. other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in M. Cæcilius Metellus,
Sardinia. Who triumphs over the Sardi.

Pro-Consul in C. Cæcilius Metellus Ca-
prarius,
Macedonia.

Who triumphs over the Thra-
cians and Macedonia.

Pro-Prætor a- T. Didius Nepos,
gainst the Who triumphs over the Scor-
Scordisci. disci and Macedonia.

641. Y. of R.

340. *Consulship.* M. LIVIVS DRVSUS.
C. CALPURNIVS PISO.

Prætor in far- L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.
ther Spain.

642. Y. of R.

341. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO
NASICA.

L. CALPURNIVS PISO
BESTIA.

Prætors. L. Cassius Longinus.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba, &c.

Tribunes of the C. Memmius Gallus.
People. C. Boebius Sulca.

Quæstor in P. Sextius Nepos.
Numidia.

Pro-Consul in M. Livius Drusus.
Macedonia.

643. Y. of R.

342. *Consulship.* M. MINUCIVS RVFVS.

SP. POSTHUMIVS AL-
BINVS.

Prætor at Rome. Q. Marcius Philippus.

Prætor in bi- Q. Servilius Cæpio.
ther Spain.

Tribunes of the P. Licinius Crassus Dives.
People. C. Manilius Limetanus.

L. Annius Nepos.

L. Lucilius Balbus. The
other six are unknown.

Pro-Consul in M. Livius Drusus,
Macedonia. Who triumphs over the Scor-
disci.

644. Y. of R.

343. *Consulship.* Q. CÆCILIVS METEL-
LVS NUMIDICVS.

M. JULIVS SILANVS.

Censors.

M. Æmilius Scaurus.

M. Livius Drusus, who died
during his magistracy,

Pro-Consul in M. Minucius Rufus.
Macedonia.

Pro-Consul in Sp. Posthumius Albinus.
Numidia.

Pro-Consul in Q. Servilius Cæpio.
farther Spain.

645. Y. of R.

344. *Consulship.* SER. SVPICIVS GALBA.
Q. HORTENSIVS NE-

POS, who did not enter
upon the exercise of his
office : And in whose place
was substituted

M. AURELIVS SCAVRVS.

Censors.

Q. Fabius Allobrogicus.

C. Licinius Geta.

The sixty-third Lustrum.

Pro-Consul in Q. Cæcilius Numidicus.
Numidia.

Q. Servilius Cæpio,

Triumphs over the Lusitani.

M. Minucius Rufus,

Triumphs over the Scordisci
and Triballi.

646. Y. of R.

345. *Consulship.* L. CASSIVS LONGINVS,
C. MARIVS NEPOS.

The first was killed during his
magistracy : And in his
place was substituted

M. ÆMI-

M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS
II.
Tribunes of the People. L. Manilius Mancinus.
C. Cælius Calvus.
Sp. Thorius Balbus. The other seven are unknown.
Quæstors in Numidia. L. Cornelius Sulla.
Cn. Octavius Rufus.
Q. Cæcilius Numidicus, Who triumphs over the Numidians and Jugurtha.
647. Y. of R.
346. Consulship. C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
Q. SERVILIUS CŒPIO.
Prætors. M. Licinius Crassus.
C. Annius Bellienus.
C. Flavius Fimbria, &c.
Ædiles. P. Licinius Crassus.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Mucius Sævola. The other nine are unknown.
Pro-Consul in Numidia. C. Marius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Africa. L. Annius Bellienus.
Pro-Quæstor in Numidia. L. Cornelius Sulla.
648. Y. of R.
347. Consulship. P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.
CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS.
Prætor in Sardinia. T. Albucius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Licinius Crassus.
C. Cassius Longinus. The other eight are unknown.
Quæstor in Sardinia. Cn. Pompeius Strabo.
Pro-Consul in Narbonne-Gaul. Q. Servilius Cœpio.
Pro-Consul in Numidia. C. Marius Nepos. Who triumphs over the Numidians and Jugurtha.
Pro-Quæstor in Numidia. L. Cornelius Sulla.
649. Y. of R.
348. Consulship. C. MARIUS NEPOS II.
C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.
Ædile. G. Aurelius Scaurus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Cassius Longinus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
C. Servilius Glaucia.
L. Marcius Philippus. The other six are unknown.
Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. T. Albucius Nepos.
650. Y. of R.
349. Consulship. C. MARIUS NEPOS III.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES, Who died during the term of his magistracy.
Prætor in Sicily. C. Servilius Casca.
Prætor in his Spain. M. Fulvius Nobilior.
Prætor in Macedonia. C. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.
Curule Ædiles. M. Antonius Nepos.
Q. Mucius Sævola.
L. Licinius Crassus.
651 Y. of R.
350. Consulship. C. MARIUS NEPOS IV.
L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
Censors. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius.

The sixty-fourth Lustrum.
Prætor in Sicily. L. Licinius Lucullus.
Tribunes of the People. A. Pompeius Rufus.
L. Apuleius Saturninus.
T. Junius Nepos. The other seven are unknown.
M. Antonius, after having given chase to the pirates of Cilicia, obtains at Rome the honour of a naval triumph.
652 Y. of R.
351. Consulship. C. MARIUS NEPOS V,
Who triumphs over the Teutones, the Cimbri, and the Ambrones.
M. AQUILIUS NEPOS.
Tribunes of the People. M. Acilius Glabrio. The other nine are unknown.
Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. Q. Lutatius Catulus, who triumphs over the Teutones, the

the Cimbri, and the Ambrones.

653. Y. of R.

352. *Consulship*. C. MARIUS NEPOS VI.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors. C. Servilius Glaucia, &c.

Tribunes of the People. A. Nonnius Suffenas.

L. Apuleius Saturninus II.

Cn. Boebius Tamphilus. The other seven are unknown.

Quæstors. Q. Servilius Cæpio.

C. Scafeius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. M. Aquilius Nepos.

654. Y. of R.

353. *Consulship*. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor in farth Spain. L. Cornelius Dolabella.

Prætor in Asia. Q. Mutius Scævola.

Curule Ædiles. C. Claudius Pulcher.

L. Valerius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Porcius Cato.

Q. Pompeius Rufus.

Q. Calidius Nepos.

P. Furius Nepos.

C. Canuleius Dives.

C. Decianus.

Sex. Titius Nepos.

L. Equilius Firmianus.

L. Apuleius Saturninus III.

The tenth is unknown.

Quæstor in Macedonia. C. Junius Norbanus.

M. Aquilius, after the defeat of the Sicilian slaves, receives the honour of an ovation.

655. Y. of R.

354. *Consulship*. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Prætor at Rome. M. Valerius Flaccus.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Prætor in Macedonia. C. Sextius Calvinus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Dronius Nepos.

A. Plautius Silvanus. The other eight are unknown.

L. Cornelius Dolabella triumphs over the Lusitani.

656. Y. of R.

355. *Consulship*. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Censors.

L. Valerius Flaccus.

M. Antonius Nepos.

The sixty-fifth Lustrum.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Hortensius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in farther Spain. T. Didius Nepos.

Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Sextius Calvinus.

657. Y. of R.

356. *Consulship*. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Prætor at Rome. Sex. Julius Cæsar.

658. Y. of R.

357. *Consulship*. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA.

Prætor in Sicily. C. Claudius Pulcher.

Tribunes of the People. C. Junius Norbanus,

L. Aurelius Cotta.

T. Didius Nepos.

L. Antistius Rheginus. The other six are unknown.

Pro-Consul in hisher Spain. T. Didius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in farther Spain. P. Licinius Crassus.

659. Y. of R.

358. *Consulship*. C. CÆLIUS CALDUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætor at Rome. L. Cornelius Cinna.

Prætor in Asia. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Tribune of the People. L. Sestius Nepos.

Prætor.

Pro-Consul in hisher Spain. T. Didius Nepos.

Prætor.

Pro-Consul in farther Spain. P. Licinius Crassus.

660. Y. of R.

359. *Consulship*. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. HERENNIUS NEPOS.

Prætors at Rome. T. Manilius Nepos.

L. Cornelius Sylla.

Prætor in Sicily. Cn. Pompeius Strabo.

Prætor

Prætor in far- P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
ther Spain.

Pro-Consul in T. Didius Nepos,
hither Spain. Who triumphs over the Celti-
berians.

Pro-Consul in P. Licinius Crassus,
farther Spain. Who triumphs over the Lu-
sitani.

661. Y. of R.

360. *Consulship.* C. CLAUDIUS PUL-
CHER.

Censors. M. PERPERNA NEPOS.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

The sixty-sixth Lustrum.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Licinius Crassus.
C. Geminus Nepos.

Prætor in Asia. L. Cornelius Sylla.

Pro-Consul in C. Valerius Flaccus.
hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
farther Spain.

662. Y. of R.

361. *Consulship.* L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.

Prætor at Rome. Q. Pompeius Rufus.

Prætor in Nar- M. Porcius Cato Licinianus.
bonne-Gaul.

Prætor in Asia. L. Cassius Longinus.

Curule Ædile. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the M. Livius Drusus.

People. P. Tarquinius Nepos.

Q. Varius Hibryda Sucronen-
sis.

L. Fufius Calenus.

C. Papirius Carbo.

Q. Rubrius Varro.

L. Luceius Nepos. The o-
ther three are unknown.

Quæstor in Q. Sertorius Nepos.
Cisalpine
Gaul.

The Marsic War.

663. Y. of R.

362. *Consulship.* SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.

P. RUTELIUS RUFUS,
Who was killed during his
magistracy.

Prætor at Rome. Q. Varius Hibryda.

Prætor in Nar- C. Cæcilius Metellus.
bonne-Gaul.

Curule Ædile. C. Julius Cæsar Strabo.

Tribunes of the C. Scribonius Curio.

People. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.

M. Plætorius Nepos.

C. Velleius Nepos. The o-
ther six are unknown.

Pro-Prætor in L. Cassius Longinus.
Asia.

Pro-Prætor in C. Valerius Flaccus.
hither Spain.

664. Y. of R.

363. *Consulship.* CN. POMPEIUS S

BO, who triumphs
the *Asculans* and the *I ...*
tines.

L. PORCIUS CATO, who
was killed during his ma-
gistracy.

Censors. P. Licinius Crassus.

L. Julius Cæsar.

The sixty-seventh Lustrum.

Prætors at A. Sempronius Asellio.
Rome. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

App. Claudius Pulcher.

P. Gabinus Capito.

Tribunes of the L. Cassius Longinus.

People. C. Papirius Carbo.

M. Plautius Silvanus. The
other seven are unknown.

665. Y. of R.

364. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA
FELIX.

Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.

Prætor in Afri- C. Sextilius.

ca.

Tribunes of the P. Sulpicius Rufus, who was
People. killed during his tribunate.

P. Antistius Labeo.

C. Boebius Sulca. The other
seven are unknown.

Quæstor in L. Licinius Lucullus.
Asia.

666. Y. of R.

365. *Consulship.* CN. OCTAVIUS, who was
killed during his magis-
tracy.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA,
who was deposed; and in
whose place was substituted
L. COR-

L. CORNELIUS MERULA, who put himself to death before the end of his magistracy.

Prætor in Sicily. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Prætor in Apulia. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Pro-Consul in Asia. L. Cornelius Sylla Felix.

Tribunes of the People. M. Virgilius Nepos.

P. Magius Chilo. The other eight are unknown.

667. Y. of R.

366. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS CINNA II.

C. MARIUS VII, who died during his magistracy, and in whose place was substituted

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Censors. L. Marcius Philippus.
Marcus Perperna.

The sixty-eighth Lustrum.

Prætors at Rome. C. Marius Gratidianus.
P. Antistius Labeo.
L. Licinius Murena.

Prætor in Africa. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Prætor in Macedonia. Q. Sertius Saturninus.

Pro-Consul in Asia. L. Cornelius Sylla.

Quæstor at Rome. C. Flavius Fimbria.

Quæstor in Asia. L. Manlius Torquatus.

668. Y. of R.

367. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS CINNA III.

Prætors. CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.
M. Lætorius Mergus.
Q. Granius Nepos.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
Cn. Granius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. Sex. Lucilius Nepos.
M. Petreius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Asia. L. Cornelius Sylla.

Pro-Consul in Africa. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

669. Y. of R.

368. *Consulship.* CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO II.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA

IV, who was killed before the end of his magistracy.

Tribune of the People. P. Popilius Lænas.

Quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul. C. Verres.

Pro-Consul in Asia. L. Cornelius Sylla.

Pro-Consuls in Africa. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
C. Fabius Hadrianus.

670. Y. of R.

369. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIATICUS.

C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.
Prætors at Rome. P. Burrius.
Q. Lucretius Offella.

Q. Antonius Balbus.
Q. Valerius Soranus.

Prætor in farther Spain. Q. Sertorius Nepos.

Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. C. Valerius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Popilius Lænas.
Cn. Aufidius Orestes.
C. Cassius Varus.

Quæstor in Italy. M. Pupius Piso Frugi Calpurnianus.

Quæstors in farther Spain. L. Herculeius Nepos.
C. Herennius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Italy. L. Cornelius Sylla.

Pro-Consul in Campania. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. Cn. Papirius Carbo.

Pro-Prætor in Africa. C. Fabius Hadrianus.

Pro-Prætor in Asia. L. Licinius Murena.

671. Y. of R.

370. *Consulship.* C. MARIUS, who was killed during his magistracy.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO, III, who was also killed during his magistracy.

Prætors at Rome. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS DAMASIPPUS, who was killed

killed during his prætorship.
C. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS II, who was also killed during his prætorship.
Pro-Consuls in Italy. **L. Cornelius Sylla.**
Q. Metellus Pius.
C. Junius Norbanus.
Q. Lucretius Offella.
Q. Valerius Soranus.
Pro-Consul in Sardinia. **Q. Antonius Balbus.**
Pro-Consul in hispania. **P. Burrienus.**
Pro-Consul in farther Spain. **Q. Sertorius Nepos.**
Pro-Prætor in Africa. **C. Fabius Hadrianus.**
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. **C. Sentius Saturninus.**
Pro-Prætor in Asia. **L. Licinius Murena.**
Quæstors in Italy. **C. Verres.**
L. Manlius Torquatus.
Dictator. **L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.**
G. of the Horse. **L. Valerius Flaccus.**
672. Y. of R.
371. Consulship. **M. TULLIUS DECULA.**
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
Dictator. **L. CORNELIUS SYLLA,**
 Who triumphs over *Mithridates and Asia* for two days.
 The creation of eight Prætors for *Rome*.
Prætors at Rome. **Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.**
Sex. Nonnius Suffenas.
Quæstors at Rome. **P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.**
L. Valerius Triarius.
Pro-Consul in Sardinia. **L. Marcius Philippus.**
Pro-Consul in Sicily. **M. Æmilius Lepidus.**
Pro-Consul in Spain. **C. Annius Luscus.**
Pro-Prætor in Asia. **M. Minucius Thermus.**
L. Licinius Murena triumphs

over *Mithridates and Asia*.
673. Y. of R.
372. Consulship. **L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX II.**
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.
Prætors at Rome. The first instance of eight Prætors.
M. Fannius Strabo. The other seven are unknown.
Tribunes of the People. **C. Herennius Nepos.** The other nine are unknown.
Pro-Consul in Macedonia. **Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.**
Prætor in Cilicia. A person of the same name.
Prætor in hispania. **L. Domitius Ænobarbus.**
Prætor in farther Spain. **T. Didius Nepos.** The creation of twenty Quæstors.
Quæstors in Cilicia. **C. Publius Malleolus.** The rest are unknown.
 Pompey, as yet a Roman Knight, triumphs over *Hircania and Africa*.
674. Y. of R.
373. Consulship. **P. SERVILIUS VATTIA ISAUERICUS.**
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Prætors at Rome. **L. Octavius Nepos.**
C. Calpurnius Piso.
Q. Calpidius Nepos, &c.
Prætor in Asia. **C. Claudius Nero.**
Curule Ædiles. **L. Licinius Lucullus.**
M. Terentius Varro Luscus.
Quæstor in farther Spain. **C. Urbinius Rufus.**
Quæstor in Cilicia. **C. Verres.**
675. Y. of R.
374. Consulship. **M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.**
L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella triumphs over *Macedonia*.
Pro-Consul in farther Spain. **Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.**
Pro-Consul in Sicily. **C. Claudius Marcellus.**

676. Y. of R.

375. *Consulship*. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS LE-
PIDUS.MAM. ÆMILIUS LIVIA-
NUS.*Prætors at* Cn. Aufidius Orestes Aureli-
Rome. anus.

L. Licinius Lucullus, &c.

Pro-Consul at App. Claudius Pulcher.
*Rome.**Pro-Consul in* Q. Lutatius Catulus.
*Italy.**Pro-Prætor in* Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Cisalpine
*Gaul.**Pro-Consul in* Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
*farther Spain.**Pro-Consul in* P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.
*Cilicia.**Pro-Consul in* Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
*Macedonia.**Prætor in Sicily.* Cn. Junius Norbanus.*Prætor in Nar-* M. Fonteius Capito.
*bonne-Gaul.**Pro-Prætor in* Cn. Terentius Varro.
*Asia.**Tribune of the* M. Turpilius Nepos.
People.

677. Y. of R.

376. *Consulship*. CN. OCTAVIUS.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.*Prætors at* L. Titius Nepos.
Rome. M. Terentius Varro Lucul-
lus.

L. Furius Philus, &c.

Prætor in Africa. L. Licinius Lucullus.*Prætor in A-* L. Gellius Publicola.
*chaia.**Prætor in Illy-* Cn. Aufidius Orestes.
*ricum.**Prætor in Sicily.* Sex. Peduceius Nepos.*Pro-Consul in* App. Claudius Pulcher.
*Macedonia.**Pro-Consuls in* Mam. Æmilius Lepidus.
Italy. D. Junius Brutus.*Tribune of the* Cn. Sicinius Nepos, who was
People: killed during his tribunate.*Quæstor in* C. Memmius Gallus, who was
farther Spain. killed during his quæstor-
ship.*Quæstor in I-* C. Ælius Stalenus Pætus.
*taly.**Pro-Consuls in* Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
Spain. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.*Pro-Consul in* M. Fonteius Capito.
Narbonne-
*Gaul.**Pro-Consul in* App. Claudius Pulcher.
Macedonia.

678. Y. of R.

377. *Consulship*. L. OCTAVIUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.*Prætors at* Q. Cassius Longinus.
Rome. C. Licinius Sacerdos.
P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.
M. Antonius Nepos.
M. Cassius Nepos, &c.*Tribune of the* Q. Opimius Nepos.
*People.**Pro-Consuls in* Q. Cæcilius Pius Numi-
Spain. dicus.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Pro Consul in Servilius Vatia Isauricus.
*Cilicia.**Pro-Consul in* C. Scribonius Curio.
*Macedonia.**Pro-Consul in* M. Junius Silanus.
*Bithynia.**Pro Consul in* C. Claudius Nero.
*Asia.**Pro-Consul in* Sex. Peduceius Nepos.
*Sicily.**Pro-Consul in* M. Fonteius Capito.
Narbonne-
*Gaul.**Pro-Consul in* Cn. Aufidius Orestes Au-
Illyricum. relianus.*Pro-Consul in* M. Terentius Varro Lu-
Macedonia. cullus.*Pro-Consul in* L. Gellius Publicola.
*Achaia.**Pro-Consul in* A. Pompeius Bithynicus.
*Bithynia.**Pro-Quæstor* M. Tullius Cicero.
*in Sicily.**Pro-Quæstor* L. Volteius Strabo.
in Bithynia.

679. Y. of R.

378. *Consulship*. L. LICINIUS LUCUL-
LUS.M. AURELIUS COTTA.
Prætor

Prætor at Rome. C. Verres.
Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Fonteius Capito.
Tribune of the People. L. Quinctius.
 680. Y. of R.
 379. *Consulship.* M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.
 C. CASSIUS VARUS.
Pro-Consul in Chalcedon. M. Aurelius Cotta.
Prætor in Sicily. C. Verres.
 681. Y. of R.
 380. *Consulship.* L. GELLIUS POBLICO-LA.
 CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.
Pro-Consul in Macedonia. C. Servilius Curio.
Tribune of the People. M. Lollius Palicanus.
 682. Y. of R.
 381. *Consulship.* CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.
 P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.
Prætors. M. Licinius Crassus.
 Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Consul in Pontus. L. Licinius Lucullus.
 Cn. Pompeius triumphs over Spain.
 683. Y. of R.
 382. *Consulship.* M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
 CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.
Censors. L. Gellius Publicola.
 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.
 The sixty-eighth Lustrum.
Prætors at Rome. M. Acilius Glabrio.
 L. Aurelius Cotta.
 684. Y. of R.
 383. *Consulship.* Q. HORTENSIUS.
 Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.
Ædiles. M. Tullius Cicero.

Prætors. M. Cæsonius.
 M. Pupius Piso,
 Who triumphs over Spain.
 Q. Lutatius Catulus.
 685. Y. of R.
 384. *Consulship.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, who died before he entered on his office.
 Q. MARCIUS REX.
Pro-Consul in Crete. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
Pro-Consul in Pontus. L. Licinius Lucullus.
 686. Y. of R.
 385. *Consulship.* C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
 M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
Tribunes of the People. A. Gabinius.
 L. Roscius Otho.
 C. Cornelius.
 C. Manilius.
 687. Y. of R.
 386. *Consulship.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
 L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.
Prætor in Africa. L. Sergius Catilina.
Prætors at Rome. M. Tullius Cicero.
 P. Vatinius.
 688. Y. of R.
 387. *Consulship.* L. AURELIUS COTTA.
 L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
Tribune of the People. C. Papius.
Censors. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
 L. Licinius Crassus. They both abdicate their office.
 689. Y. of R.
 388. *Consulship.* L. JULIUS CÆSAR.
 C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.
Censors. L. Aurelius Cotta.
 Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
 690. Y. of R.
 389. *Consulship.* M. TULLIUS CICERO.
 C. ANTONIUS.
Quæstor. T. Fadius.
Prætors at Rome. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
 Q. Pompeius Rufus.
 C. Sulpicius Gallus.
 L. Valerius Flaccus.
 C. Cosconius Nepos.
 P. Cotta.

- P. Cornelius Lentulus Surull.
L. Afranius Nepos.
C. Pomptinius.
- Curule Ædiles. L. Julius Cæsar.
P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
- Tribunes of the People. P. Servilius Rullus
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
T. Atius Labienus.
T. Ampius Balbus.
- Pro-Consul against Asiatick provinces. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
- Pro-Consul in Apulia. L. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
- Pro-Consul in Asia. P. Orbius.
- Pro-Quæstors in Pontus. P. Plautius Hypsæus.
M. Æmilius Scaurus.
L. Licinius Lucullus triumphs over Pontus and Cappadocia; and over Mithridates and Tigranes.
691. Y. of R.
390. Consulship. D. JUNIUS SILANUS.
L. LICINIUS MURENA.
- Prætors. C. Julius Cæsar.
Q. Tullius Cicero.
C. Virgilius Nepos.
M. Atius Balbus.
M. Valerius Messala.
M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
- Tribunes of the People. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
L. Calpurnius Bestia.
M. Porcius Cato.
Q. Minucius Thermus.
- Quæstors. P. Sextilius Nepos.
M. Curius Nepos.
- Pro-Consul in Pontus. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
- Pro-Consul in Macedonia. C. Antonius Nepos.
- Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
- Pro-Consul in Illyricum. C. Marcius Figulus.
- Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul. C. Pomptinius Nepos.
- Pro-Consul in farther Spain. C. Cosconius Nepos.
- Pro-Consul in Africa. Q. Pompeius Rufus.
- Pro Consul in L. Valerius Flaccus.
Asia.
- Quæstor in Macedonia. P. Sextius Nepos.
- Quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul. T. Fadius Gallus.
- Q. Cæcilius triumphs for the island of Crete.
692. Y. of R.
391. Consulship. M. PUPIUS PISO.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA NIGER.
- Censors. Unknown.
- The sixty-ninth Lustrum.
- Prætors at Rome. C. Octavius Rufus, the father of the Emperor Augustus.
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsorinus.
- Curule Ædile. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
- Tribunes of the People. Q. Fufius Calenus.
C. Cornutus.
M. Aufidius Lurco.
- Pro-Consul in Macedonia. C. Antonius Nepos.
- Pro-Prætor in Sicily. C. Virgilius Nepos.
- Pro-Prætor in farther Spain. C. Julius Cæsar.
- Pro-Prætor in Asia. Q. Tullius Cicero.
- Præsid. in Syria. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
- Præsid. in Narbonne Gaul. C. Pontinius Nepos.
- Pro Quæstor in Macedonia. P. Sestius.
- Pompey triumphs for his conquests over the chief countries of Asia, and over the Kings Mithridates and Tigranes.
693. Y. of R.
392. Consulship. L. AFRANIUS NEPOS.
Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.
- Prætors at Rome. P. Cornelius Spinther.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
- Ædiles. M. Terentius Varro.
C. Licinius Murena.
- Tribunes of the People. L. Flavius Nepos.
C. Herennius Nepos.
M. Lollius Palicanus.
- Q. Minu-

Q. Minucius Rufus.
M. Servilius Geminus.
T. Posthumius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Octavius Rufus.
Pro-Prætor in Asia. Q. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Narbonne Gaul. C. Pontinius.
President in Syria. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
Quæstor in Macedonia. M. Æmilius Paulus.

694. Y. of R.
393. *Consulship.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.
Prætors at Rome. Licinius Crassus Dives.
Q. Fufius Calenus.
Q. Claudius Flamininus.
T. Vettius.
L. Apuleius Nepos.
L. Piso Cæsonius.
Tribunes of the People. P. Vatinius Nepos.
C. Cosconius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Q. Ancharius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio.
C. Nigidius Figulus.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Quæstor at Rome.
Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. L. Afranius.
Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
Prætor in hispania. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Prætor in Syria. L. Marcus Philippus.
Prætor in Sicily. C. Virgilius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Asia. Q. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Octavius Rufus.
Quæstor in Campania. Q. Cæcilius Bassus.
Pro Quæstor in Macedonia. L. Æmilius Paulus.

695. Y. of R.
394. *Consulship.* L. CALPURNIUS PISO
CÆSONINUS.
A. GABINIUS NEPOS.
Prætors. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
C. Memmius Gemellus.
L. Flavius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.
P. Nigidius Figulus.
T. Ampius Balbus.
M. Terentius Varro.
Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
P. Plautius Hypsæus.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Calpurnius Bestia.
M. Lollius Palicanus.
Tribunes of the People. P. Claudius Pulcher.
L. Antistius Nepos.
P. Ælius Ligus.
Cn. Manlius Nepos.
L. Novius Nepos.
Q. Terentius Culco.
C. Julius Cæsar.
Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum.
Prætor in Africa. T. Vettius.
Prætor in Macedonia. L. Apuleius Nepos.
Prætor in Syria. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.
Pro-Prætor in Sicily. C. Virgilius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Cyprus. M. Porcius Cato.
Quæstor in Cyprus. M. Canidius Crassus.

696. Y. of R.
395. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.
Prætors at Rome. L. Cæcilius Rufus.
App. Claudius Pulcher.
M. Calidius Nepos.
C. Cornutus.
Tribunes of the People. T. Annius Milo Papianus.
P. Sextius Nepos.
C. Sestilius Nepos.
M. Cispus Lævus.
T. Fadius Gallus.
M. Curius

- M. Curius Nepos.
 Q. Fabricius Nepos.
 C. Messius Nepos.
 Sex. Atilius Serranus.
 N. Quinctius Gracchus.
Pre-Consul in C. Julius Cæsar.
Transalpine
Gaul and Il-
lyria.
Pre-Consul in L. Calpurnius Piso Cæso-
Macedonia. ninus.
Pre-Consul in A. Gabinus Nepos.
Syria.
Prætor in Bithy- C. Memmius Gemellus.
nia and Pontus.
Prætor in Ci- T. Ampius Balbus.
licia.
Pre-Prætor in M. Porcius Cato.
Cyprus.
 697. Y. of R.
 396. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS LEN-
 TULUS MARCELLI-
 NUS.
Prætors at L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
Rome. C. Claudius Pulcher.
 T. Posthumius Nepos.
 Q. Ancharius Nepos.
 Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
 M. Æmilius Scaurus.
Curule Ædiles. P. Clodius Pulcher.
 M. Claudius Marcellus.
Tribunes of the C. Porcius Cato.
People. Sex. Nonnius Suffenas.
 L. Proculus Nepos.
 A. Plautius Silvanus.
 L. Racilius Nepos.
 C. Cassius Longinus.
 L. Caninius Gallus.
 Antistius Severus.
 P. Rutilius Lupus.
 Cn. Plancius Nepos.
Pre-Consul in C. Julius Cæsar.
the Gauls.
Pre-Consul in L. Calpurnius Piso Cæso-
Macedonia. ninus.
Pre-Consul in A. Gabinus Nepos.
Syria.
Pre-Consul in Q. Cæcilius Metellus Ne-
lithæ Spain. pos.
Pre-Consul in P. Cornelius Lentulus
Cilicia and Spinther,
Cyprus.
- Prætor in Sar-* App. Claudius Pulcher,
dinia.
Prætor in Africa. Q. Valerius Orca.
 698. Y. of R.
 397. *Consulship.* CN. POMPEIUS MAG-
 NUS, the second time.
 M. LICINIUS CRASSUS,
 the second time.
Consuls. M. Valerius Messala Niger.
 M. Calpurnius Bibulus.

The seventieth Lustrum.
Prætors at P. Vatinius Nepos.
Rome. C. Cosconius Nepos.
 C. Fannius Strabo.
 C. Fannius Nepos.
Curule Ædiles. L. Æmilius Paulus.
 L. Sempronius Atratinus.
Plebeian Ædile. C. Messius Nepos.
Tribunes of the C. Trebonius Asper.
People. C. Atteius Capito.
 P. Aquilius Gallus.
 Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creti-
 cus.
Pre-Consul in C. Julius Cæsar.
the Gauls.
Pre-Consul in A. Gabinus Nepos.
Syria.
Pre-Consul in Q. Cæcilius Metellus
lithæ Spain. Nepos.
Pre-Consul in P. Cornelius Lentulus
Cilicia and Spinther.
Cyprus.
Pre-Consul in Q. Ancharius.
Macedonia.
Pre-Consul in M. Æmilius Scaurus.
Sardinia.
Prætor in Asia. C. Clodius Pulcher.
Quæstors. L. Roscius Nepos.
 C. Scribonius Curio.
 699. Y. of R.
 398. *Consulship.* L. DOMITIUS ÆNO-
 BARBUS.
 APP. CLAUDIUS PUL-
 CHER.
Prætors. T. Annius Milo Papianus.
 C. Albius Nepos.
 M. Portius Cato.
 Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
 P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.
 Ser.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
 Curule Ædiles. *Cn. Plancius Nepos.*
A. Plautius Silvanus.
 Plebeian Ædile. *Q. Pedius Nepos.*
 Tribunes of the *C. Memmius Nepos.*
 People. *D. Lælius Balbus.*
Terentius Varro.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
 Quæstors. *Faustus Cornelius Sylla.*
A. Hirtius Nepos.
 Pro-Consul in *C. Julius Cæsar.*
 the Gauls.
 Pro-Consul in *Cn. Pompeius Magnus.*
 Spain.
 Pro-Consul in *M. Licinius Crassus.*
 Syria.
 Pro-Consul in *P. Cornelius Lentulus*
 Cilicia and *Spinther.*
 Cyprus.
 Pro-Prætor in *C. Clodius Pulcher.*
 Asia.
 Quæstors. *M. Licinius Crassus.*
Q. Cassius Longinus.
C. Cassius Longinus.
L. Cornelius Balbus.
C. Lælius Nepos.
M. Tullius Nepos.
C. Sextius Gallus.
C. Pomptinus Nepos triumphs
 over the *Allabroges.*

700. Y. of R.

399. Consulship. **CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.**
M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
 Prætors at *L. Æmilius Paulus.*
 Rome. *P. Sestius Nepos.*
Voconius Nepos.
 Ædiles. *M. Favonius Nepos.*
M. Juventius Laterensis.
 Tribunes of the *Q. Pompeius Rufus.*
 People. *C. Lucceius Hirrus.*
P. Licinius Crassus Junianus.
M. Cælius Vicinianus.
 Pro-Consul in *C. Julius Cæsar.*
 the Gauls.
 Pro-Consul in *Cn. Pompeius Magnus.*
 Spain.
 Pro-Consul in *M. Licinius Crassus.*
 Syria.
 Pro-Consul in *Ap. Claudius Pulcher.*
 Cilicia and
 Cyprus.

701. Y. of R.

400. Consulship. **CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS** alone, the third time.
 Seven months after he associated with him
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.
 Prætors at *A. Manlius Torquatus.*
 Rome. *L. Fabius Nepos.*
Favonius Nepos.
M. Confidius Nonianus.
 Tribunes of the *Q. Pompeius Rufus.*
 People. *F. Munatius Plancus Bursa.*
C. Sallustius Crispus.
M. Cælius Rufus.
Manilius Caninianus.
M. Vibullius Rufus.
L. Livineius Regulus.
 Pro-Consul in *C. Julius Cæsar.*
 the Gauls.
 Under Pompey's orders.
 Pro-Consuls in *L. Afranius.*
 Spain. *M. Petreius.*
 Pro-Consul in *Ap. Claudius Pulcher.*
 Cilicia and
 Cyprus.
 Prætor in *A-* *L. Caninius Gallus.*
 chaia.
 Quæstor in the *M. Antonius Nepos.*
 Gauls.

702. Y. of R.

401. Consulship. **SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS.**
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
 Prætors at *A. Plautius Silvanus.*
 Rome. *M. Juventius Laterensis.*
M. Favonius.
C. Ateius Capito.
 Pro-Prætor in *C. Julius Cæsar.*
 the Gauls.
 Pro-Prætor in *Cn. Pompeius Magnus.*
 Spain.
 Pro-Prætor in *M. Calpurnius Bibulus.*
 Syria.
 Pro-Prætor in *M. Tullius Cicero.*
 Cilicia and
 Cyprus.
 Pro-Prætor in *Q. Minucius Thermus.*
 Asia.
 Pro-Prætor in *P. Atius Varro.*
 Africa.

Quæstors

Quæstors in *Cn. Velutius Saturninus*.

Cilicia and *L. Messius Rufus*.

Cyprus.

Quæstor in *Cn. Sallustius Nepos*.

Syria.

Pro-Quæstor *M. Antonius Nepos*.

in the Gauls.

Pro-Quæstor *C. Cassius Longinus*.

in Syria.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther triumphs for *Cilicia*.

703. Y. of R.

402. Consulship. *L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS*.

*C. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS*.

Censors.

Appius Claudius Pulcher.

*L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsoni-
nus*.

The seventy-first Lustrum.

Prætors at
Rome.

C. Titius Rufus.

C. Curtius Peduceianus.

M. Portius Cato, the second
time.

M. Livius Drusus.

Curule-Ediles. *M. Cælius Rufus*.

M. Octavius Nepos.

Tribunes of the
People. *C. Scribonius Curio*.

C. Furnius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in
the Gauls. *C. Julius Cæsar*.

Pro-Consul in
Spain. *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*.

Pro-Consul in
Syria. *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*.

Pro-Consul in
Cilicia and
Cyprus. *M. Tullius Cicero*.

Pro-Prætor in
Sicily. *Furcius Nepos*.

Pro-Prætor in
Africa. *C. Confidius Longus*.

Quæstor in Ci-
licia. *C. Cælius Caldus*.

Quæstor in Sy-
ria. *L. Marius Nepos*.

Quæstor in
Macedonia. *T. Antistius*.

Pro-Quæstor
in Cilicia. *L. Messius Rufus*.

Pro Quæstor
in Asia. *C. Antonius Nepos*.

704. Y. of R.

403. Consulship. *C. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS*.

*L. CORNELIUS LENTU-
LUS CRUS*.

Dictator.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

Prætors.

M. Æmilius Lepidus.

L. Roscius Nepos.

C. Allienius Nepos.

C. Sosius Nepos.

L. Manlius Torquatus.

P. Rutilius Lupus.

C. Coponius Nepos.

Sex. Peduceius Nepos.

Tribunes of the
People.

M. Antonius Nepos.

Q. Cassius Longinus.

C. Cassius Longinus.

L. Cæcilius Metellus.

L. Marcius Philippus.

A. Hirtius Nepos.

C. Lælius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in
Syria.

*Q. Cæcilius Metellus Sci-
pio*.

Pro-Prætor in
Sicily. *M. Porcius Cato*.

Pro-Prætor in
Sardinia. *M. Aurelius Cotta*.

Pro Prætor in
Africa. *L. Ælius Tubero*.

Pro-Prætor in
Cilicia and
Cyprus. *P. Sestius Nepos*.

Pro Prætor in
Bithynia and
Pontus. *Calvisius Sabinus*.

705. Y. of R.

404. Consulship. *C. JULIUS CÆSAR*, the
second time.

*P. SER' ILIUS VATIA I-
SAURICUS*.

Prætors.

C. Trebonius Nepos.

M. Cælius Rufus.

Q. Pedius.

P. Sulpicius Galba.

A. Posthumius Albinus.

Ædiles.

C. Albius Carrinas.

C. Marcius Figulus.

L. Cornelius Balbus.

Tribune of the
People.

A. Hirtius.

Quæstors.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

P. Cor-

P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.
C. Plautius.
T. Claudius Nero.

706. Y. of R.
 405. *Consulship.*
 Dictator II. **C. JULIUS CÆSAR.**
G. of the Horse. *M. Antonius.*
Q. FUFIVS CALENVS.
PUBLIVS VATINIUS.
Prætors. *L. Muffidius Longus.*
C. Sallustius Crispus.
Tribunes of the People. *L. Cornelius Balbus.*
P. Cornelius Dolabella.
L. Trebellius.
C. Afinius Pollio, &c.
Quæstor in Asia. *M. Apulcius.*
Quæstor in Syria. *Sex. Julius Cæsar.*
Quæstor in Cyprus. *C. Sextilius Rufus.*

707. Y. of R.
 406. *Consulship.* **C. JULIUS CÆSAR,** the third time.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
Ædiles. *L. Cornelius Balbus.*
Vopifcus Julius Cæsar.
Tribune of the People. *P. Ventidius Bassus.*

708. Y. of R.
 407. *Consulship.*
 Dictator III. **C. JULIUS CÆSAR,**
Consul IV. sine collega.
G. of the Horse. *M. Æmilius Lepidus.*
 Before the end of the year, Cæsar nominates to the consulship
Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS.
CAIVS TREBONIUS,
 who dies, and in whose place is substituted
C. CANINIUS REBILVS.
Tribunes of the People. *Pontius Aquila.*
L. Munacius Plancus.
Curule Ædiles. *Q. Hortenfius Nepos.*
P. Sura Nepos.
Plebei Ædiles. *L. Trebellius Nepos.*
L. Ælius Lamia.
Quæstor in Syria. *C. Antistius Vetus.*

Quæstor in farther Spain. *L. Cornelius Balbus.*

709. Y. of R.
 408. *Consulship.*
 Dictator IV. **C. JULIUS CÆSAR,**
Consul V. with
M. ANTONIVS.
 Before the end of the year Cæsar appoints to his place
P. CORNELIVS DOLABELLA.
Prætors. *M. Junius Brutus Cæpio.*
Caius Cassius, &c.
Tribunes of the People. *L. Cæsetius Flavius.*
C. Epidius Marullus.
C. Helvius Cinna.

710. Y. of R.
 409. *Consulship.* **A. HIRTIUS.**
C. VIBIVS PANSA.
 In whose room were substituted
C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANVS.
Q. PEDIUS.
 And, in the room of these,
P. VENTIDIUS.
CAIVS CARRINNVS.
Prætors. **Q. Gallius Lupercus.**
M. Cornutus.
M. Acilius Crassus.
Cn. Munacius Plancus, &c.
Tribunes of the People. **P. Servilius Casca.**
P. Titius.
P. Apuleius, &c.

711. Y. of R.
 410. *Consulship.* **M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDVS II.**
L. MUNACIVS PLANCVS.
Prætors. **L. Cornelius Balbus.**
L. Ælius Lamia.

712. Y. of R.
 411. *Consulship.* **L. ANTONIVS.**
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAVRICVS II.
Prætors. **T. Claudius Nero.**
L. Marcius Censorinus, &c.
Quæstors. **C. Rubellius.**
Q. Confidius Gallus.
L. Egnatius Rufus.

P. Ser-

P. Servilius Posthumus, &c.
713. Y. of R.

412. *Consulship*. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

C. ASINIUS POLLIO.

In whose room were substituted

Q. CORNELIUS BALBUS.

P. CANIDIUS CRASSUS.

Prætors.

M. Vipfanius Agrippa.

C. Coponius.

Tribune of the People.

P. Falcidius.

714. Y. of R.

413. *Consulship*. L. MARCIUS CENSORIUS.

C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.

715. Y. of R.

414. *Consulship*. APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

C. NORBANUS FLAC-
CUS.

Curule Ædile. P. Rutilius Rufus.

716. Y. of R.

415. *Consulship*. M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA.

L. CANINIUS GALLUS.

Ædile.

M. Oppius Nepos.

717. Y. of R.

416. *Consulship*. L. GELLIUS POBLICOLA.

M. COCCEIUS NERVA.

Curule Ædile. Q. Catulus Nepos.

718. Y. of R.

417. *Consulship*. L. CORNIFICIUS.

SEXT. POMPEIUS.

719. Y. of R.

418. *Consulship*. M. ANTONIUS II.

L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

720. Y. of R.

419. *Consulship*. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS II.

L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

Ædile.

M. Agrippa.

721. Y. of R.

420. *Consulship*. CN. DOMITIUS AHE-
NOBARBUS.

C. SOSIUS.

Tribune of the People.

Nonius Balbus.

722. Y. of R.

421. *Consulship*. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS III.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS.

Quæstor.

M. Æmilius Anianus Flaccus.

723. Y. of R.

422. *Consulship*. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS IV.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

724. Y. of R.

423. *Consulship*. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS V.

SEX. APULEIUS.

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